NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOL. XXII. ■ No. 82 ■ SUMMER 1981 ■ £ 1.45 ■ $ 2.90

82

The New Hungarian Quarterly

Editorial offices
17 Rákóczi út, H–1088 Budapest, Hungary Telephone: 136-857
Postal Address: H–1366 Budapest, P.O.Box 57, Hungary

Annual subscription: $ 11.50 or equivalent post free to any address

Orders may be placed with
KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY
H–1389 Budapest, P.O.B. 149
See also distributors listed on back page

Residents in Hungary may subscribe
at their local post office or at *Posta Központi Hírlapiroda*,
H–1900 Budapest V., József nádor tér 1.

Published by Lapkiadó Publishing House, Budapest
General manager: Norbert Siklósi

Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest

HU ISSN 0028-5390 Index: 26843

The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOLUME XXII * No. 82

SUMMER 1981

FROM THE PRESS

SURVEYS

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ARTS

THEATRE AND FILM

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

This issue went to press on February 3, 1981

IN FOCUS

Let me assure the reader that there was no intention to place the difficulties and aspirations of Hungarian society in focus when compiling this issue. Now that I have again read all the manuscripts before going to press I nevertheless can see it happen: we seem to have caught the essence of the situation in Hungary today. This is due not so much to editorial zeal, ingenuity or circumspection, but rather to Hungarian political and intellectual life which, in the early eighties, scrutinizes the seventies and sets forth, with greater care and objective understanding of the situation, and at the same time with an almost romantic patriotism, the aims of the decade ahead of us, of the next two five-year-plan periods, which can certainly not be described as romantic.

When we started to shape up this *NHQ* 82 we knew only what every Hungarian citizen knows: important changes are taking place, and more are still to come, in the structure of the Hungarian economy. The questions to be answered by political and economic leaders, and also by everyone here, considering their complexity, are such as have not arisen before or had been considered solved. Indicative of how much these questions engross the attention of this country, and also of world opinion, is the long interview with György Aczél, published by *Europäische Rundschau*, Vienna. György Aczél replied to many questions, which nobody in Hungary asks any more because they know the answers. The interviewer, Paul Lendvai, a keen-eyed observer, is Hungarian by birth and showed himself aware of foreign notions and misconceptions in his questions.

György Aczél's words about today's Hungarian society were meant for the foreign public but were of course published also in Hungarian, in the periodical *Valóság*. I stress this because readers of *NHQ* sometimes ask us if articles we publish on ticklish subjects appear in Hungarian as well. My answer is, of course, that far more, on many more touchy subjects,

appears in the Hungarian media than could possibly be fitted into *NHQ* once every three months.

The Hungarian economy is discussed by József Marjai and Rezső Nyers. In a manner which is unusual in Hungarian as well they connect national feelings and patriotism with economic programmes. József Marjai, Deputy Prime-Minister in charge of economic affairs and Hungary's representative on the CMEA, states: "The complete overturn of terms of trade on the world market has caused Hungary extraordinary damage. No other country in Europe has been so hard hit by world economic changes." Now there follows a sentence staggering even to Hungarian ears: "Some compare the ensuing losses with the 1526 Mohács disaster, with the material losses suffered in a world war." The author admits that this parallel is exaggerated but, if the world is to safeguard its living standards and living conditions, one has to be aware of the difficulties. After analysing these points József Marjai outlines a national programme for the Hungarian economy.

Rezső Nyers, the Head of the Institute of Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, who helped mastermind the 1968 reform, sets out from the same economic premises; with reference to the same difficulties he expounds that patriotism in Hungary means not only knowing well one's native land, its language, history, and culture. This is not enough today. Patriotism includes knowledge of the economic tasks. Their carrying out requires emotional commitment and patriotic inspiration too. The two articles complement each other: with reference to the national programme Marjai lists the practical tasks: by basing his argument on patriotism Nyers presses for an appropriate change in general awareness and makes recommendations to this effect.

The road leading up to the current change of structure is surveyed in Iván T. Berend's "Hungary's road to the seventies." The noted economic historian lays stress on the succession of reforms, and the search for more democratic ways. Iván T. Berend features a second time as co-author, with György Ránki, of the book "Underdevelopment and Economic Growth. Studies in Hungarian Economic and Social History," reviewed by Michael Kaser, Fellow of St. Antony's, Oxford. In the next issue, as a sort of follow up to what is widely regarded as a major scholarly statement on the state of Hungarian society, Iván T. Berend will discuss the new Five Year Plan from the angle of an economist and historian.

Three articles deal with more specific changes in Hungarian society. László Cseh-Szombathy, who is Deputy Director of the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, discusses the changes which have occurred, and still occur, in the functioning of the family. Difficulties

and deficiences are presented in an objective and candid manner, and appropriate concrete proposals for improvement are made. The development of urban and rural settlements is Gábor Paksy's subject. László Zöldi sums up a debate on the situation of young writers which, for some months, filled the pages of the weekly *Élet és Irodalom*. Even this brief account brings out just how wide-ranging such debates are in Hungary. Those who still entertain illusions about taboo subjects in Hungary are in for a surprise or two.

We still continue to concentrate on Béla Bartók throughout this centenary year. The next issue will contain a thirty year old but little known appreciation by Zoltán Kodály, the other great Hungarian composer of the century, and Bartók's companion as a collector and arranger of folksongs, as well as an article on Béla Bartók's folksong research by Lajos Vargyas, the well known authority on folk-ballads.

In the current issue one of Bartók's students, the pianist György Sándor, who lives in the United States, writes about his first performance of the piano version of Bartók's *Dance Suite;* in Carnegie Hall in March 1945; Ernő Lendvai analyses some of Bartók's compositional techniques in the *Fifth String Quartet;* and László Somfai discusses an unfinished work on Bartók by the late Ottó Gombosi, a Hungarian musicologist who lived in the United States. after 1939.

*

László Országh, the great old man of English studies in Hungary, writes on "Anglomania" in 19th-century Hungary. This is a chapter of European cultural and social history fairly well known in both England and Hungary. It is known that two great figures of the 19th-century reform period in Hungary, István Széchenyi and Miklós Wesselényi, looked for models for the Hungarian reform in England, but the details are little known to Hungarians today. As editor of this journal over the past twenty years I must admit that we ought to have dealt with this period at greater length and depth and more often, but we intend to make amends. Neville C. Masterman describes Gladstone's meeting with Kossuth based on the Gladstone diaries which became accessible not long ago. Just one quotation as a sample: "Saw L. Kossuth $10^1/_2$—$11^3/_4$ for the first time. A man of mark and of wonderful eloquence." This diary entry of 1861 is significantly dated March 15th: the thirteenth anniversary of the outbreak of the 1848 revolution.

I always insist that, in writing this preface, my intention is not to provide

an annotated contents table. Many contributions must therefore remain unmentioned. Let me, however, before concluding, draw attention to another two. The first is an interview with the nuclear physicist Sándor Szalay, the pioneer of the subject, and of uranium ore prospecting in Hungary who, at the age of seventy-two, is still active at least in an advisory capacity. The second is a short story by Mihály Sükösd. We learn right at the beginning that the author was a member of the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa. There he met the hero of the story, Jurek, a Polish writer. The figure of Jurek is based on a real person, well-known in his own country. He has been told about this authentic, here and there almost tragi-comically grotesque portrait—and liked it! I hope the reader will too.

THE EDITOR

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

DÉTENTE AND TENSION IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
János Berecz

THE DRIVING FORCES OF DEVELOPMENT
József Bognár

THINKING ABOUT THE SIXTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN
Iván T. Berend

THE COMPETITIVENESS OF THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY
Béla Csikós-Nagy

BARTÓK THE FOLKLORIST
Zoltán Kodály

BARTÓK AND FOLK MUSIC RESEARCH
Lajos Vargyas

BARTÓK'S QUADROPHONIC STAGE
Ernő Lendvai

A BUDAPEST PEACE CONGRESS IN 1896
Endre Ustor

THE REALIZATION OF A NATIONAL PROGRAMME

by

JÓZSEF MARJAI

The 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and most recently the December session of Parliament—its discussion of the Five-Year-Plan—strongly emphasized the need to preserve our achievements and living standards and made it the basis of a national programme. It is my conviction that this clearly points to the substance of the tasks facing the entire country and its people.

During the past five years, political and economic conditions have undergone parallel and interlinked developments. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has done exceptionally well in having been able since the beginning of political consolidation to develop production relations always with a timely awareness of the changes required. It has been able to make the people understand and accept the tasks deriving from this. The Party has always been able to advance in time together with the people, and to reduce to the barest possible minimum the recurring difficult periods arising from unfavourable external factors and from occasional rougher spots—a natural thing—within the country. Likewise, the creative, steady and brave development in the spirit of Marxism–Leninism of the framework and rules of economic operation, its internal system of relations and of all the elements therein has also been an outstanding feat and one which has ensured international respect and recognition for the country. The maintaining in production relations of the ability for continuous advancement and for development is just as great a national task as the strengthening and further development of socialist national unity.

In the last quarter century the harmonious linking in socialist construction of the demands of politics and of the economy—relying on the successes of rational socialist industrialization on the basis of our resources—has produced outstanding results in two distinct and clearly outlined areas. One of these is the exceptionally rapid transformation of agriculture and

of food production, and the remarkable performance achieved. Under the leadership of the working class and with the participation of the entire people, there has been, virtually at the same time as the social revolution, a revolutionary transformation in technology, management and production. The peasantry, which used to be at the bottom of the social scale in our history, was remoulded in its close political alliance and gradual merging with the working class. This change is apparent in its world outlook, in its way of life, living standards, in its approach to things and tasks, and also socially and in the style of production. The system of large-scale socialist farms and the wide range of auxiliary activities connected with them, are an original and deeply socialist solution playing a salient role in production results. Hungarian food production, with which today no longer only the peasantry is associated, but in which for all practical purposes all strata of society join, managed to achieve—on a smaller area and with less manpower—a level of production that ranks with the best in the world.

Without a doubt a great deal has been achieved in the last twenty-four years in raising living standards and improving living conditions. Hungarian people live today in a way that is qualitatively different from their earlier lot. The general sense of wellbeing and culture have never advanced so much in the course of our thousand-year history as in this period of less than a generation. There are few countries which have been able to ensure such living standards and living conditions from such historical antecedents, starting points and natural resources as Hungary's, and the given stage of national productivity. This is true despite the fact that—as we are aware of it—a significant percentage of workers and of families still have daily problems of existence and do not have an easy time. In the past quarter of a century supplies and the choice of goods available to the population have greatly improved even if the growth is measured by the yardstick of countries richer and economically more advanced than ours. This, too, has been a fruit of policy and economic endeavour.

The preservation and further development of these results are the great national challenge of the next few years. Without this, no further historic advancement can be envisaged. Unless all the strength, creativity and resources of the nation can be concentrated to this end, even the standards achieved so far will be endangered, and there will be regression.

Deterioration in the terms of trade

The radical changes in the world economy and the tumbling of the terms of trade in such a way as to cause exceptionally heavy losses to Hungary today, and probably for a rather long time, make further advance very difficult indeed. Even though the comparison of our losses due to the changed terms of trade with the material disaster of Mohács* or a world war may seem exaggerated, it is a proven fact that only the exceptional dimensions of preceeding political and economic development have enabled the economy to stand up so firmly under the impact of the tremendous outside pressures which it has had to withstand over the last seven years. If this economic squeeze has reduced the usual rate of growth, it has not caused a breakdown or a relapse in living standards and conditions, and in spite of it, the country's production forces have been able to continue their development. Few countries, richer and with greater reserves and natural resources, can say this of themselves. The foreign trade deficit in convertible currencies, which was in actual fact impossible to avert, culminated in 1978, and the increase in debts outstanding has come to a halt.

In the future, unfavourable changes in the world economy will have to be reckoned with, and at the same time the international political situation will also probably be more complicated and more contradictory. We are living in a fast-changing world, in a world of conflicts, which may bring a sequence of unforeseen and dramatic changes. The capitalist world is for a long time unlikely to regain the relative economic stability and the level of economic development it attained in the sixties. Differentiation is widening in the developing world, the proportion of solvent developing countries is diminishing, and in a good many product categories they are contributing to a sharpening of the competition on advanced capitalist markets. For the time being, rock-bottom cannot even be seen, just as the very significant fluctuations under the newly unstable conditions are incalculable. What is, however, clear is that international commerce has set a high and lasting value on the fundamentally important fuels and raw materials of which we are short; and likewise it sets a high store on transfer of technology and know how, investment commodities, component parts and semifinished products which incorporate advanced technology and in which we are still poor. The bulk of any increase in returns from exports can now be expected, almost without exception, only from work that turns out more valuable products of flawless quality which satisfy market demand

* The allusion is to the disastrous Battle of Mohács in 1526, won by the Turks and eventually resulting in the 150 years of Turkish occupation of Central Hungary.

at a higher level. This holds not only for the markets of the advanced capitalist countries, where incidentally the biggest advances must be achieved, where technical and quality requirements have to be considered particularly carefully when prices are being set, and where our exporters are up against discrimination as well. The same requirements are also appearing to an increasing extent in socialist integration. Thus, unless the Hungarian economy can be rapidly transformed and brought up to date, the deterioration in the terms of trade remains a permanent problem that continues to hit us and leads to our impoverishment.

The fact is that the countries in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance are at present, economically speaking, in a similar phase of development, and that the CMEA partner socialist countries face similar contradictions. Inevitably we shall take a further step towards a new era of economic development, with increased efforts and a greater drain on means and resources. Investments may become strained, needs will speedily increase for high-quality products and particularly for high-standard materials, semi-finished products and for up-to-date means of production. There will be a significant increase in demand for improvements in the quantity and quality of consumer goods. These requirements and this demand cannot be satisfied solely by production and trade with the other CMEA countries. At the same time the socialist community is able to make available its fuel and raw-material deposits only with much greater expense in terms of both money and effort. All this can be expected—at least for a time of transition—to reduce manifestly the earlier rate of quantitative economic growth and diminish opportunities for the utilization of the complementary resources deriving from integration.

As an economy of the size and natural resources of ours cannot develop without still wider and more developed world economic relations, Hungary has to accept the world economy as it is and what it is likely to become. It has to adjust to the conditions and it is in this that it must and can improve its position. Consequently the unfavourable world economic changes mean that there can be no delay in speeding up transition to the next stage of development.

From a trade balance deficit to an active trade balance

We must be aware that we have undertaken a task unique in economic history, one which must be carried out successfully, and one that, we are certain, can be realized. A tremendous qualitative change is to be effected,

encompassing the entire economy, and it will be effected during the short time at our disposal, relying on our own strength and largely without drawing on foreign resources. As far as we know, no other country comparable to ours has done this. The internal conditions and possibilities are ensured.

The political and economic guidelines of our work were determined by the December 1978 resolution of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and they were confirmed by the 12th Congress. It is certain that the turn came with some delay but still in time. In some areas—for instance, in energy management—it proved possible to reverse the harmful and burdensome processes only in 1980 when some headway was made in abandoning oil as a source for the production of thermal and electrical energy. The reasons for the delay were not rooted entirely in the international background. Part of it was that a lasting economic boom, which continued unbroken for fifteen or twenty years, made one retain the feeling that we could go on with our work without special efforts or labour pains, just as we did without them during the period called—and I believe with good reason—the golden age of Hungarian economic history. It was supposed that the shift to the new stage of emphasis on quality could be done in actual practice simply by carrying on in the earlier way. There is no question that, without the heavy blows received from the world economy, the transition would be easier, but even so it could certainly not have taken place in the idyllic fashion many people envisaged. Even though no particularly grave losses had been suffered, keeping up the earlier rate of economic growth over a longer period of time would not have been possible without endangering the transition to the new era.

As we cannot basically count on external sources, we must use effectively what we have and mobilize available reserves. These we have to utilize purposefully and rationally, in the way of good husbandmen. The great strength of the Hungarian economy can be mobilized; this is demonstrated by the fact that, with gradually more consistent central guidance and with the until now only partial adjustment, through the means of regulation, to the actual state of the world economy, it was possible to change the significant foreign trade deficit with the capitalist countries in 1978 into an active balance (if transport costs are not considered), and a considerable change for the better also occurred in our balance of payments in convertible currencies.

THE HUMAN FACTOR

In all activities the principle must be effectively observed that qualitative changes are needed throughout economic management and life. We have to live and work differently from the way we have done until now. In possession of a now higher level of culture, we must develop ambition, organization and cultured behaviour in our handling of technology, in our administration of work, in consumption and in human relations, to the point where this conduct becomes the general social reflex. The growth of this kind of thinking and instinctive style of work is vastly more important today than adding one or two percentage points to the national income. Let us not draw a sign of equality between the concepts of increase and development or true growth. If increases took place to the detriment of developing the new style of work and management, we would bar the way to further national advancement.

The new style of work imposes a great deal of responsibility on every citizen, manual worker, foreman or technician, intellectual and politican. Everyone is to feel an increased sense of responsibility towards himself, the collective of his fellow-workers, and toward the entire people in whatever he does. The basic orientation in the further development of our social conditions is what is now emphasized. When we are charting the map of the Hungarian national economy of the coming era, we cannot do without this orientation, this sense of direction. More cultured, more careful, disciplined, and better organized work is what determines the further growth of society. This applies to the quality and technical level of products, to the rationalization of traffic in goods and products, to business and cooperation between companies, to foreign trade, and also to company management. Simply by stressing order and discipline within a given company and within the entire system of national economic relations, by seeing to the quality of commodities, and of internal and external economic contacts, signicant resources in the national economy can be tapped and considerable savings in imports and extra export incomes made.

Attention must be focused on creativity and its source—creative man. A good many areas of research, technical development and creative endeavour which offer very great opportunities for scientists, engineers and skilled workers alike are now in the foreground of interest. Their work is of tremendous significance throughout the entire national economy; for they can contribute a great deal to the saving of energy and materials and to the development of the technical and technological, organizational and management conditions for it. As a country which has net imports of energy

and raw materials, we can counterbalance the incredible soaring of prices in this field only if, by using less energy and raw materials, we turn out more valuable semi-finished and finished products. Since 1973 the price of crude oil has risen six or seven times even within the CMEA; and on the capitalist markets, the rise has been double this already exorbitant figure. The prices of other raw materials have also risen considerably faster than those of finished products. It requires exceptional effort, consistency and stringent management, extending among other things to the complex utilization of existing natural resources (coal, bauxite, manganese, fertile soil and waters), to counteract this; byproducts and waste also have to be processed and used in all possible ways.

Structural changes

There are great and as yet far from fully tapped possibilities inherent in spending the investment funds available on capital improvements which would considerably increase productivity, and in correcting bottlenecks and replacing them with parts which fit better into the production process as a whole and therefore no longer detract from effectiveness. We not only have to manage the allocations available for investments thriftily and rationally, but we also have to speed up the recycling of money into investments.

Accelerating the modernization of the production structure within the enterprises and in the economy as a whole is very much in our interests. Until now only initial results in this field have been achieved. The changes in structure serve three aims, namely the increase of our export capacity, the replacement of imports with goods produced at home, and the availability of better domestic supplies offering a wider choice of better semi-finished products, capital assets and consumer goods.

With the alteration of the production structure it is particularly important to expand and develop the domestic background for our manufacturing industry, in other words the provision of high-quality materials, semi-finished products and component parts. Some of the companies which are not doing well under the new conditions but trying to fit in, should regear their production along these lines, and conditions for the establishment of new small and medium-sized plants, should also be created. Parallel with the preservation and further improvement of the excellent level of food production, the main tasks are to reduce specific inputs, to use the soil, machines and chemicals with maximal efficiency, to increase the protein-fodder bases for animal husbandry, to introduce energy-saving

technologies, to utilise the agricultural by-products and waste for the production of energy, to raise the technical level of food processing, and generally to turn out better-quality and more competitive products. The food producing sectors should strengthen the country's export capacity in a still more reliable and effective way.

The central task of improving the balance of foreign trade must not oust the provision of consumer goods for the population. We are stimulating industry and agriculture to turn out a wider range of higher-quality and more up-to-date products; and domestic trade is asked to require of industry ample provisions of good quality and to ensure a flexible choice of goods.

Supplying the home market

As an integral part of living standards policy we have to maintain and improve policy on consumer prices, and do this within the price system and price mechanism introduced in 1980. Under present conditions, the only way to safeguard and raise the level of the supply of goods and services is to keep our consumer price system and its operation sufficiently flexible. The differentiated changes in consumer prices—their increases and decreases—should occur in future in a planned, regulated and controlled fashion in harmony with the balance of purchasing power and the available commodity stock—services included. This is both the means and conditions of more differentiated incentives which are dependent on performance. A flexible price structure makes possible further qualitative improvements in the range of goods offered and helps supplies keep abreast with the rapid changes in requirements and demand thus ensuring purchasers and effective freedom of choice. It is an essential element of democracy that people should be able to decide on their own priorities when spending their incomes to satisfy their requirements.

We will consistently keep working for better harmony in planning, regulation, guidance, the operation of the institutional and organizational system and the structure of relations. This is no simple task. The further development and effective operation of socialist construction requires new solutions. These we develop with consideration of the experiences accumulated in the course of building socialism. We must accept the fact that not even in this period do we have at our disposal the perfect solutions that meet the criteria of an ideal state of affairs conceivable at a later stage of social development. Whatever we do and whatever solutions we find, there

will inevitably be some side effects, partly negative consequences, to which attention must be paid. Results and effectiveness can be improved only gradually. We cannot put off implementing the decisions that we have made on the basis of the best of our knowledge, simply because we are waiting for some abstract, non-existent ideal solution. In this respect, too, we intend to retain the virtue of the last quarter century's political and economic guidance, that it was able to correct itself always in time and in a satisfactory manner, on the basis of the criticism reality itself presented.

For this reason flexibility in management is particularly important for the qualitative transformation of our economy, and within it the changing of product structure and the increase of competitiveness, which are to be effected in a fast-changing world. Coordinated, concrete and inventive action by enterprises and the organs of supervision, their disciplined cooperation will play an important role even in the management of economic work based on the annual plan.

The are changes in the economies not only of the socialist but also of the advanced capitalist countries, where already the second structural shift since 1973 is taking place. Therefore policy must consider not only today's and yesterday's world-market changes, but have to foresee the course that can be expected. Insistence on solicitous, cultured, rational work is of particular importance at every level of management. Ambition in work and the desire to be effective in activities should be expressed today in the first place by our care not to make ourselves and our fellow human beings poorer through an accumulation of missed opportunities. Procrastination of well-considered decisions is the greatest sin we can commit in this period against ourselves and the entire community. Whatever gain has not been made, where it could have been, is an irreparable loss.

Growing independence and responsibility

Democracy should be strengthened in all areas of economic life; there should be stronger accent on community participation and activity, on local initiative, on the solution of central tasks. At the same time, for the sake of the fastest possible progress, increased economic compulsion should be applied in regard to all economic units. No satisfactory solution has yet been found to the problem of helping economic units and enterprises which are well-managed, which concentrate particularly significant forces of creativity and which are therefore the most likely to develop successfully to make improvements and develop, and to this end retain a larger part of

their incomes. After a transitional period of centralizing incomes, of largely incorporating them in the State Budget, we have to ease the redistribution of incomes through the Budget, and strengthen the financial independence and hence also the financial responsibility of individual enterprises.

At the same time rational, fast and flexible solutions must be developed for the movement of capital which go beyond slow and clumsily rigid forms, and also ways for the sensible and humane deployment of workers. At the same time prices, financial regulators, and enterprise and personal incomes should honour careful and cultured work. This also means, of course, that social criticism of expensive and poor-quality production, of bad organization and of insufficiently educated management should also be expressed in terms of money.

Future economic relations

The need and present conditions for increased participation in the international division of labour do not detract in our eyes from the definitive importance attached to economic relations and cooperation with CMEA, and within it with the Soviet Union, of their fundamentally stabilizing character that offers security in every other activity as well.

Even with the non-socialist world, we can advantageously develop our economic relations only if we can lean on the position we occupy within socialist integration.

Although in the next few years the continued expansion of trade at the same rate as earlier cannot be guaranteed, we must do whatever we can, we must exploit every further possibility for increasing this trade in accordance with the aims of economic policy. Extra import opportunities offering themselves in the course of the plan period must be maximally used and expanded for they also determine the extent to which extra increases in our exports are effected. Together with the partner countries, we must make joint efforts to ensure that the operational mechanism of CMEA, the product of an earlier period of political and economic development—which showed great achievements—and one which provided complementary sources for the whole community and each separate national economy within, should be able to continue its development today in accordance with the new tasks of the new era.

Today when we are concerned with efforts of the CMEA countries to make the transition to the new era of higher development, the question may arise whether the profusion of colours that has developed in the internal

operation of the national economies of member countries, in their systems of government and their economic and financial conditions, may not render the development of integration more difficult. It is our conviction that this variegation is more likely to broaden and increase the possibilities of cooperation, to open up new vistas in working together, for when the member countries are shaping the operational mechanism and system of management most applicable to their own conditions and resources they are thereby also ensuring the most favourable conditions and framework everywhere for the building of socialism and for progress, and they are strengthening and developing the basic, determinative shared elements of socialist national economies.

Development of a more advanced and wider international division of labour with the non-socialist part of the world is also a precondition for preparation of the new era of economic development and for paving the way of transition. The preservation of peace, which is in the vital interest of all mankind, and the continuation of the process of détente presuppose the development of economic relations on the basis of mutual interests between countries with different social systems. Without a doubt this increases mutual dependence, something that involves no small risk today when imperialism repeatedly attempts to use East-West relations as a political weapon against the socialist world.

In regard to the capitalist countries, what could decrease this risk would be to urge and broaden the most rational solutions for contacts, the forms of relations most favourable for us, in such a way that within dependence our economic positions should strengthen and the partner countries should depend on the maintenance of cooperation at least to the same extent as we.

This is today not merely a question of market competitiveness, of improving it from the side of supplying goods. It is our fundamental endeavour to see the termination of unfavourable discrimination and protectionism against us which artifically damage out competitiveness and which, in some places and at some times, are gathering momentum. The Hungarian national economy participates in the international division of labour with the capitalist countries retaining her socialist foundations, conditions and forms of operation and competes according to the rules of the game specified by the capitalist world. This is guaranteed by our position, rights and commitments as codified in GATT and other international organizations, and a number of bilateral agreements. That is why lifting the restrictions applied against us, which make our competitive position on the capitalist world markets unequal, is no gift or favour on the part of capitalist countries but a commitment they have undertaken in agreements.

It is with good reason that mention is made of the increased significance and importance of human factors. The requirements imposed on every member of society engaged in production are growing and this applies especially to those working in various posts of management and leadership. There are still leaders at various levels who either do not want to, or cannot, work in the new way necessitated by our position and formulated in our programme, or whose readjustment to the new requirements is too long and uneven a process. In many posts greater inclination is shown for explaining away what has happened in the situation that has developed, than for influencing, or changing the way things are going. Speeding up the transition to the new era demands that people able and willing to make changes should work on every level of management from the highest economic direction to the immediate supervision of production. That is the only way to mobilize the whole of society and to make everybody aware of the tasks.

Besides vocational suitability, considerably higher store should be set by the ability to make operative decisions, the readiness to bring new vigour and new vitality to the job every day and the acceptance of responsibility, and in addition by the presence of certain human qualities and feelings. At the level of leading officials they should observe the norms of human ethics both in personal relations in the production process and in the entire system of production relations, contacts within companies included.

During the time at our disposal it is impossible to accomplish the tasks facing us unless we can make impassioned efforts. It is very important emotionally to accept the tasks, to want to do them well; merely raising professional requirements is not enough. In any leadership position and in any official position only those will be able to meet the requirements in this era who consider themselves more than just employees in the present revolutionary transformation.

We need leaders who are able through their everyday actions and attitudes to impress our aims on their environment, who are able to fight for them with passion and are able to inject this attitude into their colleagues as well. People about whom it is inconceivable that they succumb to the sort of split personality which we still often see in the case of some of specialists and leaders who can clearly express in words what is the direction and method of correct action, what new things and ways are necessary, but whose actual attitudes and actions still implement the old. Suiting leadership style to the changed conditions is indispensable for making productive

activities more attractive, more secure, more humane and more fruitful, and for creating in everyday life, the kind of atmosphere where all of us are happier individually and together.

The sixth five-year plan adopted by Parliament contains the framework of the internationally significant national revolutionary programme and the way it can be carried out. Its successful fulfilment will match in splendour those great achievements, by now part of our national history, which ensure international respect, recognition and prestige for socialist Hungary and the Hungarian people. This is a programme not of slowing down, but of speeding up development; it is a programme that is not on the defensive, not even when it speaks about safeguarding the results and achievements made. This programme demands being on the offensive, the kind of activity that effectively creates values and transforms even ourselves. This requires all the strength, knowledge and creativity and true creative fervour of every citizen and of every community within the entire nation.

PATRIOTISM AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

by

REZSŐ NYERS

Patriotism as we understand the term today is not something you are born with, only feeling plus knowledge can turn someone into a socialist and patriot. School has a decisive part to play, that is where one is taught about one's country and taught the national language, history, and culture. Military training is also important, it develops the skills and, one hopes, the right feelings connected with the defence of one's country. In all this the economy is not allotted the place it deserves, such knowledge can only become complete when one starts work, that is once one grows up, and even then it does not do so automatically. In this sense patriotism must be shaped continuously, allowing it to become a more accurate and authentic expression of real conditions. In the age of specialization of work and knowledge it is a recurring danger that one sees social reality—including its national aspects—not in its totality, identifying it instead with those parts which one happens to know and to consider important. That danger must be reduced. Whether it be history, or culture, or the economy that is neglected, national consciousness is narrowed as a result. Every effort must therefore be made to ensure that more and more men and women should be able to see national being as a totality.

In our days the economy characteristically exists and functions in a two-dimensional structure: first as the differentiation of social classes, and second as a territorial and market structure. Tribal structures still persist in some parts of the Third World, but these can be disregarded for present purposes. One must be aware, however, that an authentic picture of economic reality can only be obtained if the two dimensions are examined in conjunction.

Concerning class relations the industrialized world has been divided into two parts, and it seems that these are going to coexist for quite a long time as two different social structures.

The capitalist class is the genuine power centre of the capitalist world, controlling economic power even when it takes second place in the political sphere. The laws of history mean that the working class acts as its counter-pole. It always fights as an opposing force in the economy, and there too only in a relatively narrow sense. In the economy there are two separate national interests. In this area the two classes with opposed interests confront each other in a zero sum game, i.e. both can only advance at the expense of the other. Their interests cannot, therefore, become integrated into a united national interest.

In the socialist world the working class is the power centre. It is allied to peasant members of cooperatives, professional men and women, and the small commodity producers. The majority of the political problems necessarily occur in connection with the concrete economic and political substance of this alliance, and can consequently be solved through co-ordination within the alliance. In a socialist society the classes are no longer closed but much more open, everyday factors play a greater role in the concrete interests of the classes and sections of society than earlier, consequently the process of clarification of interests within a class or section is more involved, and it does happen that such difficulties cause political problems. It is also true that at the present evolutionary stage the direct participation and intervention of classes and sections in power decisions is still rather narrow, the role of the representational system being dominant even in areas where participation may be made direct later. As a consequence, in a period of accelerated social mobility, the political mechanism of the socialist societies is often not efficient enough in the solution of difficulties. In spite of all these functional difficulties, the different sectional interests converge in an integrated national interest, in a socialist society, at least on the principal political and economic questions. The classes and sections do not jostle trying to eliminate the other, everyone receives more if there is an increment in economic output and everyone must carry the burden of difficulties. It is consequently possible to start the implementation of the national economic plans, which is in the public interest, from a co-operative basic position.

Examining the economy in terms of the territorial or market structure, one finds that, although the local market is not negligible, it already plays a marginal role today. Three factors really matter: the national economy, the regional international market, and the world market. Of these three the national economy only disposes over a full institutional system, the institutional system of the regional integrations is called upon mainly to promote trade and the specialization of production, and the institutional

system of the world economy is directed towards the formulation of the universal rules of trade, the maintenance of the international monetary system, to some degree the coordination of monetary policy, as well as the organization of assistance on an international scale.

The gradual turning outwards of national economies and the extension and intensification of the international division of labour are characteristic of our age. This is not simply a process induced by the logic of economic events but is associated with the genuine national interest, as it furthers national prosperity. Consequently patriotism would be economically unrealistic if it did not pay heed to international economic relations, and even to the fact that a growing proportion of citizens be able to consider the interests of other national economies as well.

Economic Integrations and National Economies

Economic integrations are growing in importance, particularly since international specialization, and trade, now also involves semi-finished products and components, and not only the finished article. This is a factor in international life giving rise to new counter-interests, demanding ongoing international arrangement. Consequently, the process which determines the relations between economies within an integration and the relationship of integrations with each other, especially in Europe, is one of the important factors of the present and the immediate future. The present institutional system of the world economy will prove inadequate in the future as well, mainly because it does not properly tie together, using adequate instruments, the three worlds of today: the industrialized capitalist countries, the socialist countries, and the Third World. New ways must be found in this field as well.

One might well ask whether national economies will continue as fundamental units of the process of renewal, or will they gradually find themselves dissolved in economic integrations and later in the world economy. One can unequivocally declare that the role of national economies is not reduced by the extension of the international relations or by their new form, it is only made much more complex. The fundamental importance of particular economies can be explained by three factors. First, national objectives are present in production and distribution, the decisive share of the social product being aimed at the national market. This is illustrated by the 1975 figures which show that in 40 per cent of the industrialized countries 85–90 per cent of the gross domestic product was

consumed or used at home, in a further 40 per cent of the countries 75–85 per cent, and finally in the most open economies which constitute 20 per cent of the above mentioned countries, 65–70 per cent. Hungary is in the last category, one of the most open economies. Furthermore, in international economic relations asserting the national interest is most important, and the common interest of economic integrations is not a thing apart but is due to the coincidence of the national interests. If this national interest ceases then the common interest also breaks down. Finally, the political responsibility for and control of the economy takes place within a nation-state framework, and this will not be moved, in the future either, to some international institution.

In the modern patriotic approach economic national consciousness requires development; the reflection of economic changes in the public mind is certainly not free of problems. Allow me to refer to several circumstances in this context.

— The changing present implies to a certain extent the revaluation of the past, partly from the angle of greater precision and partly because of the lessons to be drawn. A sound judgement of the historic heritage has tremendous importance for economic thought as well, although from the aspect of everyday practice its importance appears to be ancillary. The consequences of bourgeois development in Hungary still have an influence, there is still much to be learned from the economic reform programmes of Count István Széchenyi and Lajos Kossuth's policy of independence. It is important that we should correctly judge the process of industrialization in Hungary prior to socialism; a most peculiar mixture of modernization and the preservation of backwardness. It is equally important to have a sound view of the serious contradiction between the mass demand for democracy and the infantile state of that democracy. The effects are still felt today. Finally one should remember all the good done by the initial period of socialist development in laying the foundations for the future, as well as the mistaken economic policy which was not based on the real situation. Even today it is not easy to separate the good from the bad, and the lasting from the merely transient.

— Economic reality has a decisive role in the formation of socialist national consciousness from two aspects. The first refers to a correct appreciation of our place in the world, can we see things free of national illusions, but not full of dark forebodings either. Secondly, are we able to learn from our history, identifying ourselves with it yet through critical and self-critical eyes. The economy, in its complexity, cannot be easily seen clear and whole, although data offering information about it become

available *en masse* day after day. In the early years of socialism, for instance, but even in the sixties, we believed ourselves to be able to reach the peak of economic development within too short a time. We were overinclined to measure achievements quantitatively, we overestimated our resources, and this became a negative factor in the end. In recent years, aware of the grave problems of efficiency and quality, the danger is rather that of pessimism, and that we may interpret the economy as moving a stone upwards, like Sisyphus, which then keeps rolling back.

Is there a rational standard of patriotism, less not being enough and more too much for true patriotism? I think that this has nothing to do with standards of measurement but with a sound approach to reality. The point is that nationalism cannot simply be identified with exaggerated patriotism, or national nihilism with insufficient patriotic feeling. More is involved, the more so since a very different intensity of patriotic thinking is present in socialist-minded men and women. The nationalist approach has characteristics which cannot be re-interpreted in terms of a socialist patriotism: a biased national approach, the absence of class consciousness, placing other nations beyond the pale, or judging them to be second or third-rate, the absence of communist international solidarity. National nihilism also has its distinctive marks: a low degree of community-mindedness, which does not expand to national horizons, the generalization and exaggeration of national backwardness, the misunderstanding of the nature of a small nation, and identifying this with some soft of bitter fate. Both nationalism and nihilism can be very easily distinguished from patriotism, they are not overlapping notions in economic thinking either; consequently, arguing against them one does not threaten patriotism but only its spurious or pseudo forms. One should not, therefore, be afraid of fighting them, but one must indeed make sure to take careful aim.

The Place of Hungary in the World Economy

The world economy is huge, and compared with it the Hungarian economy is tiny, representing as it does perhaps one quarter of 1 per cent of world production and $^1/_2$ per cent of world trade. Consequently, the place of Hungary is small in this sense, but not really insignificant for the simple reason that the majority of countries are also relatively small. 1978 figures show 52 per cent of world trade as carried on by countries with a large population, 10 per cent by medium-size countries, and 38 per cent by small countries. The role of the latter is only modest if taken one by

one, but together they represent a considerable weight. We therefore have no reason to feed and permit to dominate a small country complex, as no disadvantages are due by the small size of the Hungarian economy. We only have to remind ourselves that Hungary is a small country when the danger occurs of mechanically transplanting something that only makes sense on a large scale.

On the other hand, the high degree of dependence on the world economy should certainly be kept in mind. There are several reasons, the lack of certain natural resources, or their presence in insufficient quantity, for instance. Many technologies have to be imported. Efficiency is a hard task-master and forces Hungary, in the processing industries, to participate increasingly in the international division of labour. In the last resort all this finds expression in a foreign trade of relatively large volume and weight, a dependence of which the country will never again be able to rid itself, the only option open being to exchange less favourable dependences for more favourable ones. Dependence becomes unfavourable if participation in the international division of labour also includes production of low world market value, and it turns favourable if one exchanges competitive and therefore favourably priced products against products which we need. In other words, it may be said that the unfavourable dependence on foreign trade cannot be terminated in trade itself but only in production. What this requires is, of course, a close knowledge of the market on the part of producers, and close links between trade and production.

Whatever economic strategy is followed in the future, it is certain that trade will grow parallel with domestic production, at a somewhat faster rate. Therefore: if, for equilibrium reasons trade has to be increased more slowly in a given period, then the growth of production also necessarily has to slow down.

Examining Hungary's present foreign trade by international standards, it becomes clear that it is very high in relation to production. This is why the Hungarian economy is an economy of the open type. However, trade per capita is not especially high and is even modest compared to Western Europe. In 1978 per capita foreign trade amounted to 1,500 roubles, resp. 1,350 dollars in Hungary which is higher than the corresponding figure for the socialist countries but is considerably lower than for most of the Western European countries. The different results of the two kinds of comparisons show that the Hungarian economy in recent decades tended to turn outwards more than that of the other socialist countries, and less than Western Europe. Consequently, if we wish to develop, we must develop in conjunction with trade. The expansion of international horizons,

the growth of knowledge and related wishes have become an essential national interest, and are therefore an indispensable feature of patriotic behaviour.

It is an essential attribute of Hungary's world economic connections that they are extensive and intensive, both with the socialist world and the non-socialist world, and since the two represent differing market conditions, one may claim that the Hungarian economy is one with two kinds of market relations and interests. The present situation has developed in the course of thirty-five years, and it is consequently not chance or the influence of momentary factors that make it what it is.

The share of the two external markets in Hungarian trade was not always the same as it is today. The present situation has arisen as the result of the different trends of two periods. In the twenty years following 1945 the CMEA connections of Hungary were expanded dynamically, from a low early level to over 70 per cent by 1965. In the second period it gradually diminished to the present 55–56 per cent. This reduction occurred in spite of the fact that Hungarian exporters and importers became more active and increased their participation on the CMEA market, since at the same time, the dynamism of mutual trade among the CMEA countries slackened and it grew at a slower rate than world trade as a whole. Since 1965 the CMEA countries as a whole have counteracted, through the expansion of world market connections, the slower growth of trade among each other. This has happened in essence in the case of the Hungarian economy as well. All this is connected with the new situation in the CMEA countries, with the need to switch to a new intensive course of growth from the earlier extensive ways. In the given situation this occurs slowly and inconsistently. So far the complex programme of the CMEA integration has not proved to be a sufficiently efficient instrument in practice. But one must go on insisting that a new dynamism should be lent to cooperation within the CMEA.

Hungary's relations with the CMEA must be given an important place in patriotic thinking, not simply from the ideological aspect, but for practical reasons too, this being one of the major factors of the country's prosperity. Cooperation within the CMEA is important not only for the sake of socialism but also in the national interest in the narrow sense of the term. There is no doubt that on CMEA markets the Hungarian economy is more competitive than on the capitalist markets, that is one of the reasons why more than half of total Hungarian imports are suitably obtained from that source, including 52 per cent of raw materials and energy, 74 per cent of machinery, 62 per cent of consumer goods, and

18 per cent of food imports. The present great weight of CMEA trade is not the consequence of self-propelled efforts but springs from a natural interest.

I should like to emphasize that today we can be on the CMEA side in another way, in another sense than earlier. The difference is that we are today much more capable of taking account of economic reality and of the resources than twenty or thirty or even ten years ago. Earlier we may have believed that through CMEA trade we may replace capitalist trade and reduce the latter to a marginal role, but today we already see clearly that this is impossible, because the domestic requirements of the country—and even the satisfaction of the demands of the CMEA market—make rather broad connections with the capitalist and the developing world necessary.

When we speak of the CMEA, we must take into consideration the distinctive weight and role within the community of the Soviet Union which is due to its size. The Soviet Union's share of mutual trade among the member countries is 37–38 per cent. In the case of the Hungarian economy its role is even larger. Hungary transacts one half of her CMEA trade with the Soviet Union, and the other half with the other member countries. This reflects the fact that the relationship of the Hungarian economy is more intensive with the Soviet economy than with the other member countries.

Western propagandists again and again try to imply that the Soviet Union trades with the smaller member countries on unequal terms, to its own advantage. Such propaganda became louder with rising world market prices and due to the fact that, over a wide range of goods we jointly deflect the prices, partly upwards and partly downwards, from the basic world market price. But the latter always occurs in the common interest, observing the principle of equal exchange. Talk of Soviet exploitation is no more than an old wife's tale. Of course, the opposite is not true either, that e.g. the relatively higher GDR, Czechoslovak, or Hungarian standards of living are paid for by the Soviet consumer.

The CMEA, as its name shows, does not rely simply on the principle of assistance, but mutual, i.e. not one-sided, assistance. The aim is that all member countries should derive benefits from cooperation. The benefit by one country is not gained at the expense of the other, but it is the additional profit achieved through the cooperation that is shared among the participating member countries. This is made possible by the exchange of equal values between member countries, in which world market prices express the international value ratios.

Socialist cooperation relies on common principles, but in concrete matters it can never find expression automatically in identical interests. It would be wrong to believe that there exists some abstract international interest, which is superior to concrete national economic interests, and that the latter could simply be derived from the former by deductive logic. No such supranational interest exists, and the truly common interests can be clarified in the process of coordinating concrete national interests.

The Hungarian economy carried out the gradual extension of relations with the capitalist world market without major disturbances until 1973, the more so since the economic reform of 1968 made it possible for a larger part of the economy to adjust more easily than earlier. However, the sudden and large changes in the world economy created a new situation by letting loose a huge terms of trade loss on the Hungarian economy, making a growth in exports more difficult. Until 1978 Hungary tried to adjust to this new situation in an unfortunate way. In the years 1974–78 the shortage in the dollar accounting trade was balanced by accumulating rather big debts, and the growth of exports lagged behind the growth of indebtedness. This process could only be stopped by changing over, from 1979, to a conspicuous equilibrium-restoring economic policy, in essence stopping a growth of the domestic share of the increment in output. It was possible to change the trend already in 1979, and the improvement of the balance continued in 1980, though there is no lasting solution at hand yet.

The question arises: does not Hungary become dependent of the capitalist world by maintaining broad contacts with the world market and by raising large credits? Would it not be preferable for economic policy to take up a defensive position *vis-à-vis* the world market and try to isolate the Hungarian economy? The question reflects a serious dilemma for both ideology and economic strategy.

The right answer was different twenty to thirty years ago and must be different today, since things have changed in the meantime. When socialism had not yet been consolidated as an economic and political system in Hungary, when extensive growth still had considerable reserves in the Hungarian economy, then isolation from the capitalist world could appear as a logical course. By today, however, socialism can stand on its own feet, both economically and politically, and the country proceeds irreversibly along the path of socialism, today, what is more, intensive growth must be fed also by the international division of labour, and consequently today it is not danger that dominates in trade with the capitalist world but opportunities which may be exploited. Of course, it is often accompanied by certain risks, but renouncing the opportunity would be unsound from the

ideological aspects too, and economically it would be almost impossible.

In the area of financial and credit relations the question of dependence is a bit more involved. Here degree is decisive. Raising credits proportionate to the expansion of exports is natural in economies like the Hungarian one, the expansion of the international money market facilitates credits and thereby the expansion of international trade. Credits are as much in the interest of the creditor as of the debtor. The salient point is the measure of the accumulation of credits and debts, the limits being set by the possibility of trouble-free repayment. The Hungarian debtors—in the case of Western credits the banks and enterprises—repay their loans free of trouble, and as long as they do so independence is not endangered. In recent years, however, already we have come close to the rational limit of the total amount of credits, and therefore we have had to change the earlier trend: in the growth of exports and credits it is hereafter exports that have to grow faster and not credits, this being the essence of the task. Hereby one can prevent the danger of one-sided financial dependence, and achieve at the same time the building of a more powerful bridge between the present and the future.

Economic Development under the New Conditions

In the second half of the Fourth Five Year Plan period (1971–75) the Hungarian economy received a great shock from two directions at the same time: from the outside through the changes in the world economy, and from the inside as a result of the exhaustion of the resources of extensive growth. The two effects strengthened each other and became an explosion the more so since they hit the economy in a condition of rapid growth. External equilibrium was lost for perhaps a decade, economic difficulties became considerable, and Hungary was unable to achieve the set targets. Fortunately, the preceding six to eight years had meant a period of increasing resources when internal reserves were also accumulated, and consequently resistance against difficulties was sufficient to gain time and to set out—even if a little belatedly—on action of a larger scale.

Two questions had to be answered in the new situation.

The first question is: are we faced with the problem of changing the earlier growth model, or merely a chronic weakness of economic performance? In essence the Hungarian leadership answered that the nature of

growth had to be modified. For this reason, it has not, since 1979, planned and guided the economy according to the earlier growth model, it has changed the hierarchy of goals, and it again renders the economic mechanism functional on the basis of the principles of the economic reform. In the new model efficiency and equilibrium are stressed instead of centrally guided rapid quantitative growth, and the growth rate became linked to efficiency and equilibrium. According to the new model, a strategic and tactical approach dominates central guidance, its main function being no longer the regulation of the composition of output but the furthering of the ability of the national economy to change, to adjust, and to function efficiently, the shaping of an economic environment which guides the enterprises. The enterprises must stand on their own feet instead of relying on instructions or financial props provided by the state. By applying these principles it is possible to fight efficiently against a chronic weakness in performance.

The second question is whether the new situation represents a challenge to the economy only or does it also test the strength of social solidarity? There is every indication that the latter is involved. The new situation is not a professional but a social fact, the modification of economic action requires numerous modifications in our social attitudes and actions. All this affects, of course, the sphere of thinking, economic performance gaining a greater role in the public mind, as well as the reciprocal link between the economy and the non-economic sphere. I believe that in a period like this patriotic thinking becomes much more closely tied to the economy, and this is the situation in Hungary today. This is why we had to work consciously for more social cooperation both in the economy and broader politics.

The challenge which has to be met makes economic man face more difficult tasks over a broad area, but the multitude of concrete difficulties boil down in the last resort to two general problems: efficiency and foreign trade equilibrium. For economic theory these two form in essence one and the same problem, expressing a different side of reality that is one since disequilibrium is in the last resort always the expression of inefficiency. In practice the two topics nevertheless require different treatment, having differing attributes. For instance, a given economy can enjoy external equilibrium at internationally low efficiency level, and another economy may suffer disequilibrium at relatively higher standards of efficiency. I would claim therefore that these are twin concepts, i.e. they were conceived together but exist separately.

The external disequilibrium was caused originally by the sudden and

big change in the world market in the course of which Hungary's imports increased in value (in the given product structure), and her exports were devalued in comparison to the imports (again in the given structure). One can accept the shortage caused by this as an outward blow, from which we could not save ourselves and which we could not counteract in the short run either. But if we adjust more rapidly to changed conditions, it is already possible in the medium term to reduce the import requirements of the economy and to make the structure of exports more profitable. Since we did not press for any of these sufficiently and efficiently until 1978, an internal cause, the weakness of the efficiency-profitability effect, also contributed to the accumulation of the trade deficit.

Since 1979 the restoration of foreign trade equilibrium has been conducted to a certain extent in a forced way. The growth of investments and consumption is reduced centrally, and thus the export increment is covered only in part by more efficient and more valuable production, in part domestic market capacities are used for export production. This kind of forced balancing is inevitable in the given situation and leads to the state being compelled to share its heavy economic burdens with the enterprises, and the various community institutions, and to pass some of the burdens on to the population. Two lean years are now behind us, how many are still ahead is not clear, the forced balancing task will certainly require a couple more, and if success results then a policy will become possible where lasting equilibrium is made possible based on increased efficiency, and simultaneously it becomes possible to relax restrictions and forced reductions.

Increasing Economic Efficiency

The more rapid increase of economic efficiency is the nation's business, consequently it is in essence a patriotic endeavour, and it is most desirable that, for its sake, enterprise should be stimulated in every part of the country, in every workshop of society. It would be wrong to believe that the degree of efficiency depends only of the producer or trader and that the sphere outside the economy is a passive beneficiary or victim, in other words is interested only in the consequences. The Marxist notion that, in our age, production turns social means that it is a social process in which, in addition to immediate producers, all those participate who influence the active persons, or who shape the human environment in which we live, move and exercise an influence on the economy. This is

valid especially for economic efficiency, since this expresses in essence a quality, and quality is even more the expression of the total work of society than quantity.

Economic efficiency means the relationship between input and output. Looking back on Hungary's first socialist economic mechanism, which was formed in the fifties, it is conspicuous that it did not sufficiently stimulate either the productivity of labour or the efficient use of capital, even less so the latter, since the most uncertain system of plan indices referred to it. This was why we permanently overstoked the investment boiler of the economy and obtained relatively little energy from it. This was why it would have been useless to tinker with the old mechanism, it had to be replaced by a new one. Today it is unequivocally clear that this mechanism must be developed further on the basis of its own principles and logic and not by reintroducing some elements of the old contraption, of centralism in the old sense of the term, into today's works. Central interests must still be given effect to, but in a different way and not by absolutizing them.

Whether we achieve, within a foreseeable time, a much higher efficiency depends of two principal factors: the rationality and harmony of central regulation and the taking wind of the spirit of enterprise on the spot; on whether executives really seek and find opportunities for independent action at as many economic units as possible, or whether they prefer to wait for and demand central programmes. Will they pass back the ball of improvement in efficiency to the central organs? In order to avoid this a certain patriotic ambition is also necessary on every level of action.

Efficiency can rule the roost under Hungarian conditions only if prices and exchange rates do not become divorced from the value ratios of the market. If the latter change prices must change too. In keeping with economic planning, the state is going to continue to regulate the price level just like the incomes level and the fundamental ratios of income distribution, and will not permit the spontaneity of market forces to dominate in this field. In the given situation, however, the state cannot guarantee the absence of change in the price level, on the one hand, rises in world market price levels, and on the other, rises in the cost of certain domestic inputs, exercise such an inflationary pressure on the economy that in the coming years as well an annual 2–3 per cent rise in producer price levels and an approximately 4 per cent annual rise in consumer price levels will be inevitable. The more frequent change of prices makes things more difficult for both producers and consumers. This is still the lesser evil; if the administrative fixing of prices went beyond a certain limit, it

would lead to a shortage of goods, and shortages give rise to uneconomical behaviour.

The principle of efficiency demands a change in employment policy. The solution must not be sought in some sort of socialist unemployment, but full employment must be given a new meaning. Supply and demand must be globally balanced on a national economic scale, and the appearance of overdemand cannot be allowed since this induces a peculiar and socially harmful migration of labour. Furthermore, together with the productivity of labour, the setting free of local manpower surpluses must also be stimulated, assisting also through an adequate employment-creating policy the flow of superfluous manpower. These are clear principles, and although it is possible to think that these are beautiful principles, but what will happen in practice?, they can nevertheless be the foundation for sound practice to be brought about step by step. In any case, if social understanding and confidence did not accompany this central endeavour, one would indeed have to fear what would happen in practice, then action in this direction would probably remain at zero level. In that event it would not be possible to develop the production structure in the desired way either.

We have to set out from an understanding that socialist society is homogeneous from the aspect of the most important political and economic goals only, while it is structured in respect of the interests and views concerning the economy. Solidarity can be better founded and be more lasting if it does not rely on discipline in the narrow sense only, but also on a clarity of interests and the harmonization of views. All this implies the intensification of the substance of socialist democracy and its further development, and the lively and well-oiled operation of the machinery of the mass media in order to make the real alternatives of development clear to as many as possible, while spurious alternatives and pseudo-debates connected with the latter should be eliminated.

Numerous subjects can be found which are still discussed in public today as if *either/or* were the issue though *as well as* is as justified an approach. Let me mention the most important:

— Is the increase of moral values or of material values more timely right now? I do not claim that it is necessary to act parallel along both paths always and at all times, but I claim that neither of them can be considered secondary at present, and even that one can only grow in conjunction with the other.

— Should one support agrarian-centred or industry-centred economic growth? There was a time when great political battles were fought around

this question, and it is still a very important subject, but making it an either/or question is long obsolete. Food production is one of our most modern economic sectors, it would be a sin to neglect it, but industry penetrates this sector too and the primary industrial areas also help form the basis of economic existence.

— Shall we strengthen the technical approach or the economic approach? Which of them has greater importance in society? It is obvious that both have those who urge them, and that they stand for a worthy cause, whether they press for technical development or economic efficiency. It is also certain that the two causes do not automatically coincide, and that from time to time it is necessary to oppose them to each other. But the basic approach can only be the linking of the two aspects.

By speaking of these subjects in favour of *as well as* against the *either/or*, I wish to clarify basic attitudes only, since I also maintain that *how and in what way* and *measure and proportion* are justified subjects for public debate.

HUNGARY'S ROAD TO THE SEVENTIES

by

IVÁN T. BEREND

It is difficult for a historian to place his own age in time. That is true not only because it is still too close to him, and because our own age is too complex, or because a shorter period of time can only be understood in terms of the duality of world-wide processes and of historical antecedents, making the task too large for one who lightly undertakes it. A more likely reason is that the traps of error and prejudice, though frighteningly familiar, are nevertheless prone to camouflage themselves. Our point of view is unavoidably influenced by our age, and the way we ourselves lived as part of it (and still do). Can we forget what we experienced, our very own fears and hopes, all the totem-poles and taboos that stand amongst us, and inside us?

There is some consolation, though not much, in the recognition that such questions arise not only when dealing with our own times. We all know that it was not only Friedrich Meinecke who was influenced by his own age when, following the Second World War, he saw twentieth-century German history of forty years as a long tragedy, an unfortunate series of contingencies, but also Theodor Mommsen, who bitterly disillusioned by the turn events had taken in 1848, waiting for a Bismarck, saw Roman history as national unity established from above, by military force, and the genius of a Caesar. One must agree with Arnold Hauser who argued that the point from which we survey history is not outside it, that studying the past is in itself its own product. But Karl Mannheim also rightly refused to draw pessimist conclusions from this truism, pointing out that the image we entertain of our parents depends on our own time of life, and yet it would be ridiculous to maintain that this makes recognition impossible. The truth is that we can only recognize what accords with the stage of development of our powers of perception.

The undertaking is, therefore, not hopeless after all. What follows is a

bird's-eye view and much will be missing naturally. Even more points will remain indistinct. Nevertheless I hope to contribute at least a brick to the protracted construction of the edifice of recognition.

A critical decade

The stormy quarter of a century which led up to the seventies is, in itself, an exciting subject. In that time, in Hungary, society and the economy, property relations and international alignment, ways of life and the settlement structure, were all radically reconstructed and stirred up. Let me say, however, that this process of reconstruction will not be the subject of my enquiry. Undertaking some sort of historical stock-taking would be doomed from the start. Nor do I propose to present major turns of event like the Liberation, the land reform, or the collectivization of agriculture. It is not the transformation of social relations that is the subject of my present enquiry, but the natural medium in which all those processes took place, their connections with the contradictions that manifested themselves in the seventies.

It so happens that the seventies turned into a time of the most odd contradictions. Economic growth was unprecedently fast and well-balanced, and this at a time when raising productivity was so to speak its exclusive source of growth. And yet in the same decade the forced march of a quarter of a century was suddenly slowed, the rate of growth suffered a break, and was indeed subjected to a lasting and significant braking. Incomes rose faster than ever before and standards of living and consumption were higher than they had been in Hungary at any time, commodities were available to a degree that had not been experienced for a long time. The same decade, however, gave rise to basic problems of income distribution, formulated precisely on the basis of the higher standards of consumption. Given that it is a basic source of conflict at certain stages of the socialist transformation of relatively backward countries that, in order to reach levels of development that can provide a foundation for equality in practice, incentives for higher economic performance must be given by employing the socialist principle of distribution according to work done. At the same time there will be efforts to employ the socialist principle of equality at that given level, and it is obvious that, in practice, this or that of the two principles suffers injury. By the seventies the Hungarian economy had exhausted the sources of extensive growth, that is labour reserves that had for long seemed a bottomless well. Productivity cannot be thoroughly de-

veloped without the appropriate incentives, that is greater income differentiation based on performance. Thus the principle of equality, which was easier to implement on the earlier lower level when quantitative growth was stressed, to all appearances suffered damage. At this time also, and precisely because of the higher level of consumption, the social value system gave rise to new, hitherto unanswered, questions concerning the desirable model or pattern of consumption.

Growing consumption and quality of life, that is a more meaningful life, were often confronted in a pseudo sort of way. In Hungary, in the context of an economy of scarcity, there was after all no threat of excess consumption. The dilemmas, however, were nevertheless real enough.

What happened in the event was that this critical decade, far from providing time for answering such questions, produced jolts in a standard of living policy which had been successfully pursued for a quarter of a century. The dynamic growth of incomes came to a halt and it proved impossible for some time to maintain the earlier sound long-term improvements. The gigantic social changes of the preceding period, particularly the switch from a peasant life to that of an industrial worker which touched a great many, and the processes which shaped the new managerial and professional strata which together defined the high degree of mobility of the times, plus an extraordinary extension of formal education, also suffered jolts. It was not only that the doors were closed to further huge transfer processes but there was a recoil due to the earlier degree of mobility. The change of guard as the forties turned into the fifties, and then again in the post-1956 period, was so concentrated and instantaneous, as it were, breaking up the organic process of generational change, producing such a degree of rejuvenation with men and women in their late twenties and early thirties being appointed to university chairs and the editorial chairs of newspapers and journals, to senior managerial posts in industry, as well as being promoted to field rank in the armed forces, that careers-ladders turned into bottlenecks for a long time ahead, handicapping the advance of professional people who were younger still, producing a considerable lack of mobility in large and sensitive areas of society. Mobility generally slowed down in this decade and a natural consolidation could be observed following the earlier huge cross-wise movement of classes. Getting back into a proper routine, however, unavoidably elicited new (or old?) contradictions. It became obvious, for instance, throughout the educational system, that social differences were being reproduced, a genuine equality of chances allowing someone of working-class parentage to become a member of one of the professions, became problematical once again, and after long decades of

unlimited job opportunities certain career-openings were closed and, what is more—though only in theory—full employment as such, which had become an article of faith, did not look such a certainty after all.

Progressing towards the seventies Hungary traversed a succession of periods of revolution and reform, times of continuous changes. The Liberation was followed by revolutionary years in which numerous ancient institutions were scrapped and new ones were introduced. Early in the fifties something new got on the way in an implacably systematic manner, and around the end of the decade much had to be started afresh once again. Things were changed and people changed. Many mistakes were made and course corrections were introduced again and again, as bearings were taken afresh, leading to new errors, and to new progress. At one time a leadership squeezing the philosopher's stone for all it was worth, moving with the surefootedness of somnambulists, complacently trusting in ready-made prescriptions being honoured, and in the speedy implementation of tailor-made scenarios, in the precise carrying out of marching instructions prescribed for this year, or that day, dictated the tempo. Later with a sober leadership carefully weighing up conditions, realistically reckoning with interests, including vested interests, and enlisting them in support of realizable objectives, a smoother harmony was produced between the objectives of the future and the existential conditions of the present. The morale boosting effect of permanent and genuine progress offered more stability and, at the same time, greater incentives. These decades were characterized by the dynamism of continuous change and the desire that these changes be made. The sixties were hall-marked by successful, tried and proven, experiments. The need for new reforms due to the achieved new stage of development and the changes that had been made as well as the huge shake-up the world had gone through, became obvious once again by the seventies. That this need was largely recognized is reflected in the quantity of case studies which pointed to the making up of lee-way by backward service industries as a central task, as well as by government decisions to reform educational policy, the industrial structure, foreign trade strategy, the price system, and the economic regulators. And yet it seemed as if the earlier dynamism of reform had died down. Stability, the desire to preserve what had been achieved and become familiar, taking things easy "as long as things do not get worse", slowness in doing something about recognized problems, all fed the pitfalls and way of looking at things of old age. The attack on an experimental economic reform of far-reaching implications, which went off half-cock in the middle-seventies and looked for a time as if it might succeed to break through, formulated

general questions that were more serious than its immediate effects. How inflexible had the framework become? Was the country capable of a genuine renewal?

In the previous quarter of a century just about every Hungarian old enough to, had—at one time or another—experienced the euphoria that goes with the feeling of liberation, though there have always been, and there will always be, alienated individuals whom history passes by and who turn their back on history. Liberation from the *cauchemar* of the Second World War, liberation from peasant misery, the isolation of a wattle-and-daub homestead-shack in the mud, the backwardness of villages without electricity and one-class schools, anxieties about daily bread and shoes for the children to wear to go to school in, liberation from the humiliations inflicted on minorities, liberation from the fears of the first Cold War, the horror of the sound of brakes and the door-bell ringing at midnight, liberation from the oppression of obligatory enthusiasm which—perhaps strangely for English ears— finds expression in the rythmical handclap in this part of the world. Just about all these men and women experienced a sense of taking flight and soaring at some time in their lives: the joys of having made it at last, having risen in the world, the satisfied satiety produced by a proper diet, the achievement of industrial worker status, the happiness of obtaining a diploma that had earlier looked unattainable, or that of getting a new home where three generations no longer crowded together under a roof and where there was no need to make do with a wash all over using a tin basin. I might mention the sense of wonder and surprise at the unexpected speed with which new technical devices and gimmicks spread, the doubting admiration of the first television broadcast witnessed, the happiness of the first motor-car owned, the gift of the first trip abroad. These people knew in their bones that things had been worse, and could be worse, and it is precisely for that reason that they often confront uncomprehending the frequently met with sense of frustration, impatient dissatisfaction and eternal demands of those under thirty. The young have naturally grown into the medium which to the old meant a magnificent achievement, they therefore long for more, and for something different: more independence and greater scope to stretch one's wings, and less sermonizing. The performance orientation of earlier generations has also lost its attractiveness, as a way of life it no longer serves as a model. The young are drawn to enticing distant fashions, they want to make up their own minds, and they want to ask questions which older people cautiously or tactfully dodged. What looks like determination to the old is often reckoned to run counter to human nature by the young. In any event they would

prefer not to have to follow the tastes, desires, and objectives of those ahead in years. Doing your own thing is, however, an aim only attained at the cost of pain and trouble—if at all—be it in one's thinking, or action, or even just in having a home of one's own.

In these days of slowed-down economic growth, and material decline in certain fields, in the midst of new social and world political tension, fearing a second Cold War, and what is more, again unable to allay anxieties about a third World War, with the premonition of all sorts of turns for the worse in one's bones, finding ourself unable to draw a dividing line between the problems of society and the nation and one's own, a man given to thought unavoidably poses questions that probe the present and future and, what is more, he might go as far as reformulating those that had earlier seemed to have found an answer. Trying to find an answer for the future one questions the past as well. Was the course taken the right one, or did we lose our way amongst the possible alternatives.

On Course and Off Course

We are living through the difficult times of a changing world, in a small country exposed to international determinations, the storms of the world, world powers, and world market prices. These forces, storms, and changes do not encircle us, they stand for that universal medium of which Hungary is also an inseparable part, from which no part of our existence can be lastingly isolated. Hungarians had to find their way in terms defined by this medium.

It would be simplest to say that there were courses set by the stars, or else pre-determined by them; finding one's way would not be an appropriate expression in such a context. Furthermore, in the course of our long march we found many a good road, but we also lost our way on occasion.

Though this is obviously true it should not be forgotten that even the defined courses of history offer alternatives, even if it is no more than a take it or leave it when faced with a real or imagined determination. A balance can after all be drawn from the unavoidable mixture of sound and bad decisions and steps that proved successful or failed. Confronting debts and assets must show some kind of balance.

Following the tragedy of the Second World War and the new arrangements in Europe the only genuine alternative and possibility implied tackling the problems of social and economic advance at home. Following the sweeping away of the old social relations, structure of landownership

and private property priority was given to overcoming economic backwardness, making industrialization the central objective. It should be remembered that by the middle of the twentieth century only around a dozen and a half countries had reached and stepped across the threshold of a high degree of industrialization. At the time of the Liberation Hungary was not yet amongst them. The figures show that at the time of the 1949 census 53 per cent of the working population were still earning their living on the land, that close to two-thirds of the country's inhabitants still lived in rural areas, around half of the latter in scattered homesteads and hamlets. By the seventies the proportion of the genuinely agrarian population (that is not including the third of those employed by agricultural enterprises who are actually doing industrial work) had shrunk to a sixth of the working population. Fewer than half of the population live in rural areas, and only around 16 per cent of the total in scattered homesteads and hamlets.

One must take note that these dry figures express a turning-point in the history of the Hungarian nation, which is passing over and through the age of industrialization. This is a process of great historical importance, taking place within the framework of a switch of social systems, something that has only been achieved by a round three dozen countries out of the more than a hundred and fifty on this earth. Due to this in the first place the general level of development of the economy also rose considerably. Reckoning in per capita GNP—I propose to use Paul Bairoch's figures which may include some errors but which can certainly not be accused of bias—Hungary was clearly placed in the European middle zone, both in 1950 and in the seventies but, while only reaching 75 per cent of the European average at the earlier stage, she moved up to 90 per cent by the latter. Though it may be true that ten out of twenty countries in Europe are still ahead it should be remembered that moving forward at such a rate took place during the fastest and most spectacular period of economic growth in the whole history of Europe, nor should one forget that as a result Hungary has now reached levels that are around those of the most highly developed countries at the time of the Second World War.

It may have been a tough road, strewn with sacrificies, but industrialization has so far been a tough time everywhere, even in countries fortunate enough to be in a position to exploit the resources of others. What had been achieved by the seventies will be of lasting value though the path of industrialization frequently found the ship of the nation off course. The initial strategy, with a one-sided emphasis on heavy industry and autarky, with an almost exclusively quantitative point of view, copying a pattern that had been designed under different circumstances, and with different re-

sources, and doing so almost without amendment, obviously did not suit the country's properties or the technical and structural requirements of the second half of the twentieth century. True, it proved possible to correct this wrong course somewhat already after 1953, and again starting with 1957, nevertheless, almost up to the seventies—even in the sixties—the country was haunted and tempted by notions of self-sufficiency, either as a necessity or as a reflex, by the practice of constructing lines of vertical industrial integration, placing emphasis on industries with high material and fuel requirements, and the creation of more and more jobs by more and more investment projects. By the end of the sixties the values of the total volume of industrial production had grown seven-fold but production per person employed only three-fold. Hungary was seventh out of thirty-five countries in the number of persons employed in industry per thousand inhabitants, but only twenty-second in per capita net industrial production. In other words, the relative backwardness of the country in productivity and technological modernity increased at the time of the great industrial breakthrough. In the whole period prior to the 1968 economic reform a considerable part of production, at certain times as much as 5–7 per cent of national income, was devoted to the accumulation of superfluous and useless stocks. At the same time just about everything was in short supply. And this in spite of the huge increase in the volume of industrial production, or rather as its result. The characteristic symptoms of an economy of scarcity handicapped the flow and efficiency of production as well as the proper provisioning of the population.

It was part of the wrongly set course of the industrialization breakthrough that standards of living and other sectors of the economy were sacrificed on its altars. The first was most true of the First Five Year Plan (1950–54) when, at one time, real wages and salaries dropped by as much as 22 per cent. True, after an initial 13 per cent, the investment share of agriculture quickly grew to 18–20 per cent after 1957, but the development share of background sectors, though it somewhat increased from the original one-third, remained, up to the seventies, well below a level that would have sufficed to keep the sector abreast with the needs of production, and international standards of progress. In this period the equipment park of what is called the productive sector grew six-fold, while that of service industries and "non-productive" sectors only doubled. The industrial work-force doubled, but that of this sector only grew by a third. Given the international infrastructural revolution of the second half of the century, the relative backwardness of many areas of this sector was potentiated, and the effects of this have adversely marked developments for some time.

Only the spontaneous process of growth of what has been called the Second Economy was able to bridge the gap of shortages. Mechanical repairs carried out after working hours (or in working hours), poultry and fruit produced on household plots, building work done at week-ends, made up an extraordinarily large proportion of the supply of commodities and services. Official figures speak of 98 per cent of production and services as the fruit of the socialist sector but some estimates claim that at least a seventh or a sixth of the effective work done occurs within the Second Economy.

Starting with the sixties, Hungarian economic policy not only tolerated this sector but in certain cases encouraged it. At certain periods, however, it was subject to sharp attacks and firm sanctions were employed to limit it.

The Transformation of Agriculture

Slowly, when compared with industrialization, and clumsily, a proper course was set for agriculture as well, starting with the sixties. It must be stressed, however, that there were even larger detours in this case. For a long time agriculture only served as the capital and labour reserve of accumulation and industrialization. The flow of half the agricultural labour force into industry and the agrarian scissors that were the result of the price system were present in Hungary right up to the seventies. Up to the middle sixties growth was therefore extraordinarily slow, an annual rate of 7 per cent, about a third of the international rate of growth for agriculture. The relative backwardness of the quantity produced, and of productivity, grew further. A genuine turn of events was produced by changes initiated during the sixties. In the course of collectivization, using methods and incentives of agricultural development that were particularly inspired, persistent and successful, the agrarian scissors were steadily closed and investment was increased. As the sixties turned into the seventies agriculture was lifted from the handicrafts stage and turned into an industry. Within a single decade crops were doubled or trebled, and a rate of growth that competes with that of industry, and is twice as high as the international average, was produced by the speedy mechanization of most major work-processes, a three-fold growth in the use of artificial fertilizer achieved within a short time, crop-improvement, and the introduction of industrialized closed production systems. After the bitter off course decades agriculture finally found itself on course in the seventies, producing exceptional results and becoming a determining factor in the shaping of the life of society.

The tremendous transformation of Hungarian agriculture, combined with the effects of industrialization, became a determining factor in the advance of the peasantry and of rural areas. Within a single generation the thousand-year-old rural beggar's world of poverty, impotence, and backwardness had disappeared. This is true in spite of remnants which crop up from time to time, which are naturally present. The wealth of rural home-building pointing to a new way of life, the growing mechanization of households, and the transformation of communal services available in rural areas, are undoubtedly the most spectacular feature of the social changes that have occurred. It was the peasantry, of course, that provided the greatest flow of new recruits into other occupations. That half of what had been peasants turned into industrial workers added to the significant peasant basis of the reformed professions, and the major links with what remained of the peasantry became the determining driving force of social mobility. In three-quarters of peasant families with more than one member in employment the other had a non-agricultural job.

This also makes evident that the working class, which doubled its numbers and became more homogeneous, is the fastest growing section of society. The proportion of those engaged in industry and construction leapt from barely a fifth of the total work-force to close to a half. The fact that an important section of the proletariat, domestic servants, has practically disappeared, and that the overwhelming majority of industrial workers are employed by large enterprises, points to homogenization.

The new managers and professionals were largely recruited from their ranks, following the extraordinarily speedy disappearance of the old ruling classes and power élite. The changes that took place are brought in evidence by figures referring to the early seventies which show that 61 per cent of managers and executives in Budapest and other towns and cities, and more than a third of professional people, had first worked in a different sort of job, starting as industrial workers or peasants. Intergenerational mobility shows an even more strongly flowing tide. 78 per cent of managers and executives in Budapest had parents who were not members of the professions, 58 per cent of them being industrial workers or peasants. More than 70 per cent of those in top positions were recruited in this way, 63 per cent of them having themselves done manual work in industry or on the land. More than half the engineers were born into working-class or peasant families, and half the agronomists and veterinary surgeons had peasant parents.

Social mobility on such an extraordinary scale can, naturally, only be imagined during a period of major changes. Wrongly set courses which—at

the time of the huge social changes—exemplified a pathological lack of confidence and a mean doctrinaire attitude, undermined the ability to earn a living and the sense of its own worth of whole sections of society. This could probably only occur because of the nature of the times. The liquidation of the old power élite and ruling classes also swept away a multitude of professional people and petty bourgeois. Unreasonable and unjustified methods were frequently used. It ought to be added, however, that this unjustified lack of confidence was also in evidence in relation to the new professional people, that is those of worker and peasant origin who had undergone full courses of professional training. Professional training was confronted by political reliability. In spite of the new social structure, in the seventies more than half of the executive positions in the economy, and what is more, about half the chief engineer posts, were occupied by persons lacking the appropriate educational qualifications. In the feverish haste of extraordinarily important social mobility which rearranged all things was a far greater neglect of standards of quality than can be described as unavoidable, and what is worse, this, in time, was taken for granted.

The Changing Pattern of Consumption

Mobility was not, by a long shot, the most important means of working-class advancement. Material and cultural progress affected much larger numbers. Following the decline of the early fifties there were major leaps forwards. 1954 measures increased real wages by 18 per cent and restored the 1950 level, while the 1957 rises produced another growth of almost 18 per cent. This was followed by a steady growth rate of 2–4 per cent over a decade, increasing to 4–5 per cent as the sixties turned into the seventies, a growth rate in real wages without precedent in the history of the Hungarian economy. In the quarter century here surveyed per capita real wages and salaries roughly doubled. Consumption, growing even faster, trebled. This growth, accompained by an equalization of worker and peasant incomes, everywhere resulted in anxieties about earning a living fast losing their importance. Poverty which had still weighed heavily on the majority of the population before the Liberation, and still burdened about a third around 1950, was still an important social problem in the seventies though affecting no more than 10–15 per cent of the population. People whose living conditions were particularly unfavourable, such as those showing a conjuction of a low income and a large number of children, old system pen-

sioners, single-parent families, and others were still numbered among the poor. One should add that many more should be included if obtaining a home—a difficult and often insoluble problem for young couples—is included amongst existential anxieties.

A nation that had long done without, where large numbers had been badly fed, obtained adequate quantities of food, something expressed in a per capita consumption of 3,300 Kcal, too large by international standards, and an exaggerated reaction to earlier want. Meat consumption doubled, that of milk increased significantly, and, for the first time in the history of Hungary, the consumption of cereals started to decline.

The growth in incomes produced other essential modern changes in the pattern of consumption. The proportion devoted to food gradually declined and that of consumer durables grew fast. The growing dynamism of building activity deserves particular attention, as does the intrusion of modern technology into households, and the extraordinarily fast spread of television in a country where ten million inhabitants had owned only half a million wireless sets before the war, not to mention the start of the motorization of the citizenry. A million new homes were built in fifteen years, housing a third of the population, and the larger part of them owner-built.

Add the leap forward in the use made of educational and health services, made possible in part by their being supplied free. Their share of the total social income grew from 15 per cent to close on 30 per cent.

The standards of living policy that got off the ground in the late fifties and found itself in full flight by the early seventies manifestly implied the setting and following of a course which changed the life of most people with undoubted success.

Nevertheless, one unavoidably occasionally found oneself off course in this area as well. For a time, given limited opportunities and a high rate of accumulation, it only proved possible to produce an essential improvement for those living in the most backward conditions by radically equalizing incomes. There was no rise in wage-levels in a number of fields, differentials for higher qualifications ceased, and there were certain fields where wages actually declined. The differential between the income of highly qualified technologists and the average working-class wage shrunk to 50 per cent. The income of nurses or teachers was 10–30 per cent below that of an average locksmith or bricklayer, and that of a medical practitioner did not exceed it by as much as a third. The levelling of incomes, perhaps partially unavoidable at first, petrified later. The reform measures of the late sixties were the first to make at least partial amends. High qualifications, con-

siderable responsibility, and difficult work were not properly valued, and more self-sacrificing outstanding performance was not appreciated or encouraged. The lacunae of the wage system let to a decline in standards in important occupations, to a seeking out opportunities to make something on the side, to corruption, and to a frightful spread of tipping. Lack of interest and moral decline became central issues and the springboard for serious economic and social conflicts. And yet the initiated greater income-differentiation was often only remotely linked to performance, and genuine wage-differentials were often handicapped by organizational weaknesses and the jolting supply of materials and parts.

Many another difficult question remained unanswered. Rising levels of consumption were not linked to new consumer models, nor did extensive housing construction succeed in laying the foundations for new models of social living. Though effect was given to certain social preferences, the social ideals of socialism did not take shape, and that includes consumer habits, ways of life, communal living, and the domestic environment. It is true that these do not exist in practice anywhere, nevertheless it appeared that their absence turned into a source of social conflict. All that had become possible was a delayed and lower standard following of the pattern established by better housed nations, that were better supplied with consumer goods. The spread of grey and uniform prefabricated high-rise tenements, and the Trabant, a cheap and small two-stroke car made in the GDR that was just within reach of the average man, were naturally evidence of a great leap forward, but they also symbolized the fact that it proved difficult to chart a course that went beyond a limping attempt to keep up with the rightly condemned consumer society.

Are these unjustified pseudo-utopias that can even be exploited for all sorts of aims in a given event? Or is this a survival of voluntarism in this area? What can we in fact demand of ourselves? Is it possible to create a consumer model that differs from the one we know, with all its weaknesses, within the foreseeable future? If not then may one, in a doctrinaire manner, deplore the absence of the non-existent? Should one not rather demand the presence of the principle of collectivity in spheres of social life where open questions—demanding action—offer real scope. Meditation on the absence of forms of collective leisure would obviously offer more feasible progress in the direction of a collective solution of the problems of the aged, instead of leaving things to their families. Let us then face up to the genuine options open to us. What aspects of social collectivism can be genuinely created on the given level of urbanization and industrialization, and in the context of the need for wages differentiations, and where can progress be

really made in the direction of some sort of new model? Let us see more clearly what can be done, and what ought to be done.

In plain words: a policy of industrialization, social policy, and standards of living policy which produced the tremendous achievement of overcoming the basic problems of backwardness, that is the torments of insufficient consumption, placed the questions of further progress on the agenda in a more acute form. The issue is now the realization of socialist principles on a higher level, finding the proper patterns, and overcoming backwardness, levelling, and socializing basic benefits can no longer be the only objectives.

All this, naturally, also made an appearance in the context of politics and the demand for a democratic society. At the start it was undoubtedly a major social and political achievement that the earlier ruling classes, including every kind of exploiter and speculator, and the hated élite of gentlemen and military and civil officials were liquidated. The replacement of formal and basically meaningless rights of equality, the turn towards the substantial and material side of social equality, and the achievement of democracy in society through major mobility were, however, accompained by offences against basic human rights, and illegal actions on the part of those whose job it was to maintain the law. Putting an end to the earlier distortions, a process initiated in the middle and late fifties, was a tremendous political and social achievement. The wide range of mass prosecutions and impoverishment of members of the working class ceased and so did court procedures against close to half a million peasants, to violent measures employed in the course of collectivization, and generally to officially sanctioned illegalities—all the way from show trials to everyday intimidation. Church and State relations, and the religious issue as such, were settled; individual rights were assured, including the chance to travel, and the wiping out of discrimination in university admissions; cultural policy rested on principles and practised toleration, the right to be different was accepted. These and other successes, and finding a way to a soundly based popular alliance, must all be reckoned major achievements. But democracy on the job that includes the rights of citizens achieved by political democracy in the course of history, providing the material scope for their effectiveness, and taking them one step further by ensuring the direct and genuine and determinant participation of the masses, as well as administration based on direct participation and an open government policy, eliminating the bad type of bureaucracy, and the creation of institutionalized conditions assuring control, can certainly not be taken as achieved. The early introduction of local councils or the recent essential extension of trades union rights

and many other steps taken, were obviously not enough. The discovery of new paths and the institutionalizing of already discovered achievements still lie ahead. Assured rights, be they of the old bourgeois sort, or the newer, socialist kind that go much further, cannot become suspicious commodities whatever propaganda or political attack may be directed against them. Many tasks of political and social road-construction still lie ahead, as we progress widening and paving existing bridle-paths, as well as discovering and mapping thoroughfares that have not been found yet.

Progressing towards the seventies many sound roads were found, at the same time many possibilities were given a wide berth (or not even seen), wrong choices were often made, and some of the way led across unnecessarily tiring slopes, and even on the brink of dangerous chasms. All this was a source of numerous contradictions that awaited solution in the seventies.

Old Difficulties and the Birth of New Ones

Contradictions, however, were certainly not merely the result of avoidable or unavoidable errors. A fair part were the product of the natural dialectics of progress. They frequently met with vulgar interpretation of historical progress which presumes linear improvement to be natural, or the sort of apology for the present which recognizes development as a process involving the clash and struggle of contradictions right up to our own day, while seeing the present as the embodiment of absolute reason—as Hegel did—presuming contradictions to be either non-existent or else something to be ashamed of—as old rubbish that has not been disposed of, or unremoved stains—uncomprehendingly faces ever renewing conflicts. But the reproduction of conflicts in the economy, in society, in politics, and in culture, in other words, in the history of society, is a natural process, and the only possible course of progress. Huge efforts are made to put an end to a given contradiction, success is taken as the pledge of progress, but by the time success makes its appearance—if it does—a new conflict arises from what has been achieved.

Abstracting the errors and detours mentioned above, one can say that efforts were made to resolve the basic contradictions that had accumulated as the fruit of the earlier history of Hungarian society. Economic backwardness, social inequality, and the serious shortcomings of social policy had caused the most serious troubles. But their solution, inasmuch as it succeeded, created new conflicts of a different kind. Take social policy as

an example. The backwardness of health services, the fact that pensions were the privilege of civil servants and a few others, were important sources of existential anxieties, social isolation, and misery for the 60 per cent of the population not benefiting from any type of social insurance. Social insurance as a citizen right, general health care free of charge and the supply of almost free medicines, the universal system of pensions and a pretty low retirement age, all achievements of socialism, were obviously important aspects in overcoming earlier contradictions. Their tremendous importance in creating equal conditions for a human life, and in providing proper foundations for such a life, cannot be overemphasized. But new contradictions arose in the course of coping with the old. Given the level of development, and industrialization which reduced resources available for improving the infrastructure, the equipment of health services, the capacity of hospitals and clinics, and the quality of professional medical services, were unable to keep pace with increased requirements. Tensions and contradictions were the result, including overcrowded hospitals, declining standards in the care of patients, doctors often degraded to the status of prescription-writers, and paying under the counter for hospital beds and better medical care. At this point free health services were so to speak reversed. At a time when life expectancies increased—the proportion of the population of pensionable age grew to one-fifth of the total, which meant not only a greater burden for the community, but also a lowering of pension rates, producing a section of the population who live in peculiarly difficult circumstances, thus simultaneously eliciting new economic and social contradictions.

I could give many similar examples. Industrialization and concurrent urbanization, while overcoming the contradictions of a backward settlement structure, swept huge rural masses into towns—again amidst conditions where industrialization limited the funds available for urban development—thus making the urban housing shortage particularly acute. The satisfaction of new urban housing needs turned into a race that proved almost impossible to win with poorer quality, smaller barracks like high-rise flats as a result. At the same time owing to the overcentralized location of industry and therefore of jobs, the number of those travelling a long distance to work, commuting the Hungarian way, was considerably increased, again leading to serious personal and social problems. It ought to be noted that speeded up mobility mentioned above, which also helped to break up traditional family ties, contributed to particularly serious contradictions in housing. The role of mobility cannot be overemphasized in the break-up of three-generational cohabitation earlier considered natural, and the accompanying sudden leap forward in the quantity of demands for housing. It is also true

that the position was unjustifiably worsened by the frequency of misguided efforts to do away with the homestead type of settlement structure, and to amalgamate smaller villages, against the interests of those living there. This often led to the destruction of habitable buildings.

It is therefore impossible to move beyond an ancient economic or social misery, or to do away with old contradictions, without giving rise to new social or economic conflicts which then await solution. One can, of course, justifiably say that these manifest themselves on a higher stage of development. It is obviously not the same thing if social insurance is confined to 40 per cent of the population or if the standard of social insurance covering everybody is not as high as one might wish, but this in no way diminishes the tormenting power of the tensions of conflicts or contradictions.

Thus the solution of contradictions without number along the road that led to the seventies in itself became a hotbed of new contradictions and conflicts. The way of history contains the need of unceasing struggle flexing one's muscles again and again, to move across the obstacles of solved and newly arising contradictions.

Without Illusions or Ready-made Formulae

What was achieved in Hungary did not stop this being a time of lost illusions as well, of clashes with the hard realities of history which frequently produced disappointment. The peace that followed the war, and the expectations of a faith that moved mountains and wished to start everything from scratch in a revolutionary way, which was full of naïve illusions, unavoidably became the source of serious wounds. Those who had lived through the war believed that much that they had experienced could not be repeated. How they had waited for the final disappearance of hatred and conflicts between the nations, and that the rule of pure reason would govern the world, after the raging of irrationality! These illusions were dispelled as naturally as they had bloomed in the course of progress stumbling over the stumps of reality. Pure reason could not come to power just as the dreamt-about future could not be fitted out like a new house. Irrationalities that could never happen again revived in the world, in our world as well. The dangers of war that were so oppressive after the war, the injustices committed against whole sections of society, lies that denied the facts, frame-ups that masqueraded as trials, prescribed tastes in art and literature; judgements on world policy hidden in the cloak of pure principles that could not be doubted, that were no more than formulations of pragmatic

interests, which often changed from one day to the next, and the description of what was obviously defective as the optimum, were only some of the reasons why illusions were dispelled. A whole generation that felt that it could shape history as it wished, and that it could create a new world in six days, had to find out with a shock that history was not soft clay but hard as a rock, granite that breaks chisels. If the blow is too weak the stone will not split, if it is too hard flints will peel off that should have stayed in place, and six days are really a short time indeed. Whole generations lived through the revival of inner social conflicts and prejudices which had been thought of as so many buried hatchets, they realized that history knows of no starting from scratch that wipes the slate clean. Faith in lessons taught by history which had been accepted as certain was shaken. A generation, with the best of intentions, set out to make that mutual recognition of the peoples of the Danube valley come true which was expressed in Ady's and Bartók's work as their testament and heritage—something that had seemed simple and natural in the new historical situation—and we stubbornly rehearsed that everyone had to face up to his own past, putting an end to their own nationalism. But we had to wake up to a new flowering of nationalism in the world around us. The reaction was expressed in a clouded national consciousness, as well as in a sense of responsibility for the fate of Hungarian minorities living beyond the frontiers of the country, but also in the fact that nationalism and racial prejudices which had been imagined to have disappeared, raised their ugly head again.

But we also lost illusions as a result of unexpected contradictions which presented themselves in the course of our advance, something which shook many a faith placed in progress. Overcoming ancient lee-ways it proved impossible to keep up with the new advances made by others, and we found ourselves in arrears once again. We gained new values and lost old ones. Some identify this as the difficulty in obtaining desired and needed industrial goods in a country that has become industrialized and has climbed to higher levels of development. The quality of bread and of shoes has declined in that context. Others complain of the nervous urgency of life, and the impatience which people show each other. In that medium nostalgias for what has long been obsolete are revived. In the eyes of some everything is of value that is old and has been declared obsolete.

We traversed a whole age, and things to be done in another have accumulated.

The serious international shocks which the seventies have suffered, the crisis-ridden changes in the world economy, the new world-political tensions that threaten to explode, and the multitude of irrational answers to

questions which history put in good faith, strengthened all these inner processes and placed them in a new context. The contradictions and conflicts accumulated in the course of time were knotted unprecisely as the effect of these outside influences. We see, illusionless, that we can make progress only in the context of difficult determinations, and certainly not along a line planned and drawn with the help of a ruler. We shall move ahead not in growing harmony but as part of the historical processes that have recurrently become more acute.

Looking back over the road travelled to the seventies confirms the truth of H. Focillon's metaphor: "History cannot be compared to a river that sweeps events and their sediment in the same direction, and at the same speed. What we call history is precisely the multiplicity of currents." In this multiplicity, amidst the revival of what has been overcome, the rising from the dead of what had been forgotten, the conflicts elicited by progress, and the tensions created by errors, we must look ahead in our tasks, the jobs that await us in the economy, in society, in education and in politics, with faith in the possibility of finding one's way again and again in the interests of reforms, and in the meaningfulness of the fight without cherishing illusions about ready-made formulae or roads that lead straight ahead without breaks.

LÁSZLÓ CSEH-SZOMBATHY

THE FAMILY, ITS MEMBERS, AND SOCIETY

It is a fundamental principle of Hungarian social policy that the survival and proper functioning of the family are necessary for the attainment of the aims of social progress. Sociological research of the past twenty years having looked at the question agrees that the family is essential for the health of both society and individuals. Such views are based on a study of the recent past and the present but the discerned trends show they apply to the future as well.

Some have argued earlier that the family was unable to satisfy the demands made on it. They enumerated negative consequences and proposed radical changes including the replacement of the family by some other micro-social unit. They based their opinions to a large extent on research done in North America and Western Europe, that is on some developments observed there. One cannot, of course, dismiss their criticisms by calling them irrelevant because of the difference in social systems. Hungarian research showing that the family was necessary, at the same time pointed out a number of functional disturbances which could not be interpreted as the consequences of outside influences alien to socialist society; on the contrary, they are closely interrelated with the socio-economic developments in Hungary. This has produced fundamental changes in the structure and functional mechanism of the family; owing to these changes the family is unable to perform unaided many of its conventional duties which still devolve from it.

There is thus a contradiction between two conclusions: on the one hand it is argued that both society and individuals continue to need the family, on the other hand that the family no longer meets some of the needs of both society and the individuals who constitute it although earlier it did so adequately. I think that the answer can neither be the replacement of the monogamous family by some new micro-social association, nor the socialization of functions now unperformed. Society should help the family to change itself and its functions and to adjust to changed conditions while at the same remaining able to perform its essential role. This requires an active family policy guided neither by an idealized image of the family of the past nor trying to restore the earlier balance between society and the family; a family policy is needed which realizes that the problematic changes concerning the family are reactions to changes which occurred in other social spheres, and that the balance can be established again in a modified form by transcending the conditions of the past.

Family Structures

One should start with the recognition that in Hungary, in the past thirty years, the inner structure of families has changed. In the past the family showed a clear sex-linking of roles. This is no longer so. Married women now go out to work and the majority of families have two breadwinners. Furthermore, owing to the social contacts established by women on the job, outside the home, the representation of the family in the outside world, formerly the monopoly of men, is also increasingly divided.

All this effects the inner life of families,

influencing the decision-making process which will follow an egalitarian model. On the other hand husbands have become increasingly important in shopping, household chores, the bringing up of children, etc. The division of family tasks and the implementation of the principle of equality changes in every family in the course of the family's life cycle from marriage to death or divorce. This separation of tasks according to sex is still present in most families concerning one or another activity, but the characteristic trend is towards the unisex arrangements. Sociologists of the family call the earlier type characterized by role division an asymmetrical family; the other type towards which the changes tend, and where the ruling principle is identical roles, is called the symmetrical family.

The two-bread-winner family is a political and economic necessity in existing socialist societies. The working-class movement has made it one of its aims from its inception to put an end to the inequality in the social status of men and women. As Engels explained to the world, in societies based on private property the unequal participation in the social division of labour determined conditions within the family. In the monogamous family which developed with private property men attained domination and women became slaves. This difference between the sexes determined the functioning of the family even where there were no open clashes between husband and wife. The women submitted and did not rebel against male supremacy.

This was the consequence of the family participating in social production only through the husband; even if the wife contributed with her work to the family income this was only in the form of auxiliary work, as in the families of peasants, craftsmen, and shopkeepers; or she complemented her husband's earnings as in the case of working-class wives taking in washing or cleaning the homes of other women. Neither society, nor the family itself accorded this work equal status to the husband's. To put an end to inequality within the family the wife had to go out to work and earn some money.

The work of the majority of married women was a social and economic necessity, their labour was needed when society turned socialist. The employment of women is indispensable and in future the present rate will probably grow.

All this means that there can be no turning back. In socialist societies the characteristic family has two bread-winners. Not all the changes are, however, welcome, least of all to the women concerned. Some of these troubles were reduced if society had noticed the changing of the family in time and had extended and developed institutional systems to help families in the performance of tasks with which they could not cope alone.

The Birth Rate

What bothered society most was that for over twenty years the birth rate has not been high enough to ensure population growth. This was true also for those years in the seventies when there was a significant increase in the number of births, a fact largely due to age-groups when there had been a population bulge reaching the age of fertility. Given certain immediate incentives they had their families earlier, but this did not imply a general trend towards more children. *

Demographers and sociologists have conducted several studies in depth and they came up with a number of reasons. Many factors contribute to the low birth rate but I think the most important is that for large families it is very difficult to live up to the

* In 1975 there were 41,159 more births than in 1972; 10 per cent of them, 7,683, were third, fourth, etc. births. The growth was mainly due to more second and especially first births.

established model of the symmetric family with two bread-winners given the existing standard of social services for large families, and without a more active participation of fathers in the care of small children.

Recent investigations show that the ideal of the symmetric family based on unisex roles is present in the minds of young people about to marry. The essential fundamental conditions for the realization of such notions are present to a greater degree at that stage of the marriage. In Hungary over 90 per cent of all women about to marry hold down jobs and many of those who do not are still undergoing training to do so. Young people who marry today find it natural that the wife should make money; this is what they have seen in their own family and the schools also prepare girls to take up jobs. Unisex roles, however, means more than this. Most young people think that, beyond jointly providing for the family, they will also share chores, and ensure each other equal rights and opportunities for preserving their relationships outside the family, and to develop their personalities in keeping with their inclinations.

The experience of everyday life, as well as sociological research shows that reality differs in the majority of families. There are many cases when asymmetry becomes the characteristic feature in socialist society though there are two bread-winners as an economic necessity.

Generally the deviation from the symmetric family model starts with the birth of the first child. Labour and nursing fully devolve on the mother, they cannot be shared, and, together with their penumbra, they take up all her time. A mother is entitled to 20 weeks' maternity leave with full pay but after the 20th week the infant still needs constant care. In the traditional monogamous family child care was the wife's main duty beside which she performed the household chores; her share of social production was limited at best to lending a helping hand in the family farm or business. In the first phase of socialist transformation baby care became a job for grandmothers. Young mothers were in jobs and after 12 weeks' maternity leave which they were then entitled to the need to earn something to supplement the husband's income drove them back to work. Most older women, however, were not, at that time, holding down jobs and their services could be enlisted to replace mothers and look after their grandchildren. By the early seventies, however, this reserve was exhausted; today's grandmothers have themselves held down jobs for many long years. Since most births occur in the early years of marriage, when the mothers are in their twenties, most grandmothers have not yet reached retirement age when their grandchildren are born.

The crèches

Work on a network of crèches was initiated in the fifties so that the smallest children were included in the social welfare system. Much has been done but crèches are still overcrowded and can nevertheless only accomodate 15 per cent of children under two.

In the past thirty years crèches have frequently been discussed. Did they really damage young children or were such fears exaggerated? Did growing up in a crèche community perhaps offer advantages to children? Much has appeared pro and con in learned journals, and child psychologists, paediatricians, sociologists, and educationists have all had their say. The debate will never be closed but two conclusions can be drawn nevertheless:

1. It is impossible to generalize. Some children thrive in a crèche without any damage to their minds or bodies, while others show themselves illness-prone and tend to be retarded.

2. Crèches will be in a position to offer really help to mothers to pursue their

careers only if both staff and equipment undergo considerable improvement. (What I have in mind e.g. are facilities for children who are not well but not seriously ill. Right now a child—and an adult to care for him—have to stay at home every time he runs a temperature, and for prolonged periods after the acute stage of an illness is long over.)

There is no hope of real progress of this sort. This was obvious already in the second half of the sixties, that is why the child-care allowance was introduced. There is no doubt of its advantages and large numbers still stay at home with their small children and draw it. At the same time let it be said that it hinders the consolidation of the symmetric family and that it acts as a deterrent against having large families.

Under the child-care allowance system women interrupt their careers for several years and so inevitably fall behind their former colleagues in experience; their career is broken whereas the husband advances both in status and income. The second effect of the child-care allowance is that the structure of the family changes during this period. The husband has to take up some extra work outside working hours to compensate for the difference between the wife's former earnings and the child-care allowance. Consequently his share of the household chores will diminish; the latter will devolve exclusively on the wife who is at home anyway. The consequences of both these negative influences will be felt also after the expiration of the child-care allowance period. A woman returning to her job after several years must not only make up for arrears: she is still not a full staff member since, with a child at kindergarten, she must stay at home and look after him from time to time. Although an active bread-winner, she is looked on as somebody on whom one cannot fully depend. This is reflected in her earnings which fall behind those of her husband; as the gap widens in their incomes she will be a second string bread-winner and this may cause the past-parturition structural rearrangements in the family to become stabilized.

These factors are present already if the couple have one child only, but the more children they have, the stronger these influences are felt. The periods for which a woman must do without pursuing her aims in life are lengthened; and as the years pass during which she has to renounce plans she entertained as a student and as a young bride, the probability of making up for lost time and restoring what they had thought of as a modern family structure based on a unisex approach to family roles, gradually diminishes. Every woman goes through this experience as an individual but it is also an expression of the contradiction in the socialist value system. Having more children on the one hand, and allowing women to develop extra-family abilities, ensuring growing participation in institutionalized and social production unisex treatment of husband and wife on the other.

In trying to find a way out I believe it to be most important to progress toward a solution which continues to accept the goals outlined above, and does not wish to renounce them, encouraging women to have more children by holding up the ideal of the asymmetrical family as a model. What has to be done is to develop methods which would help women with several children to bridge the gap in their careers, and to strengthen the unisex pattern of husband and wife relationship within the family.

Changing the system of child-care allowances should be considered bearing in mind the above considerations. The possibility of part-time work for women on child-care allowance should be examined. This would preserve a connection with the job and their colleagues and would also help to avoid the social isolation which often weighs heavily on mothers staying at home with their baby.

Given part-time work other mothers on child-care allowance could baby-sit for those who work; there would be some women who

prefer baby-sitting for payment and do not wish to avail themselves of the opportunity of part-time work; others again would go out to work but could coordinate their working hours.

Fathers should be encouraged to share in caring for their child. It should become legally possible for fathers to remain at home on child-care allowance or on sick leave and look after their child. Part-time work should also be possible for fathers; so parents could arrange things allowing them both to do part-time work and care for the child alternately. Such an arrangement would not only contribute to a unisex role-allotment in the family but also increase the status of child raising and education. With the institutionalized participation of fathers the socializing role of the family would grow: the child could learn the knowledge and customs which provide the basis for its later social integration, within the family. In the majority of families this function is performed by the parents but without being adequately prepared for it and without knowing that their every word and gesture is imprinted in the consciousness of the child.

Right now the obvious prerequisite of having more children is that young couples have their own home and that, as the number of children grows, housing mobility grants them more space. The housing problems of young couples are an organic part of family policy. In the absence of adequate housing one cannot expect that family sizes should be in keeping with what the country's population policy prescribes. There are, however, a number of countries with no housing problems which have a lower birth rate than Hungary had in the sixties. This means that coping with the housing problem is in itself no guarantee that mothers and fathers will perform to satisfy demographic requirements.

Given the availability of birth control most children are born on the basis of considered decisions. This corresponds to the objectives of socialist society. Limiting the decision-taking rights of married couples for the sake of population policy would be undesirable.

On the other hand, one should pay closer attention to the influencing that part of people's thoughts which determines the wish for children. Every field of culture and education and all other available means should be enlisted. Although lately education for family life has become a school subject, there is no adequate curriculum as yet and insufficient knowledge is transmitted to permit young couples to discuss the joys, troubles, sacrifices, and responsibilities of raising a family. Unexpected troubles connected with the first child discourage many from repeating the experience. At the same time the positive experiences which accompany the raising of children are not strong enough because the young parents have not learned what they should enjoy and regard as success.

The living conditions of the aged

The other major problem with which families cannot really cope on their own is the care of old people. In the past this was part of the job of housewives. These days, however, many old people in need of care have no relatives able to cope.

This is a new problem connected with structural changes in family lives, that is with the fact that the overwhelming majority of women of working age go out to work. There is another factor as well and that is the greater number of old people.

Becoming helpless mentally and physically does not happen at the same age for everybody. The age composition of the population allows only estimates concerning the number of the category. Simplifying things and describing everybody over 80 as in need of care, their absolute number and relation to the working population changes as follows in the past hundred years:

	No. of those 80 and over (in 1,000s)	Those 80 and over as a percentage of the population of working age
1869	10	0.3
1880	21	0.7
1900	32	0.8
1920	45	0.9
1941	79	1.3
1949	77	1.3
1960	109	1.8
1970	152	2.0
1979	199	3.0

The absolute figures and percentages show clearly that with a longer life-span the number of those in need of care has grown fast, while that of those who can provide this care as part of household duties, lacking other employment, decreases gradually.

Taking those of 80 and over as in need of care is to a certain extent misleading. Many of them have children who are past retirement age and are able to care for their parents unless they are themselves invalids. Thanks to the latter most old and incapable do not need institutional care. This was shown by a survey conducted in 1970 by the Central Statistical Office. It showed that only 5.4 per cent of those between 80–89 and only 6.6 per cent of those 90 and over were cared for in old people's homes or hospitals. The care of the invalid 60–80-years-old is more problematical, since their children still go out to work.

Old people's homes

Old people's homes can accommodate only a small proportion of the aged just as crèches can cater for only a small percentage of babies. The number of places increases more slowly in both than the number of those who have need of them. Furthermore, a considerable proportion of the now available 33,000 places is taken up by people below retirement age who need care.

Socio-gerontological surveys over the past twenty years have left no doubt that it is much better for old people to remain in familiar surroundings, their own homes, or those of their children or other close relatives, rather than in institutions. The best organized institutions cannot produce stimulating impulses that arouse interest and mobilize still existing faculties as a family environment can. Even where old people's homes are of a higher standard than in Hungary they are a *pis aller*. Of course they are necessary to accommodate the lonely aged to start with, and the number of available places should be increased. Priority should, however, be given to enable families to care for those of their kin who need them even within their present structure.

The word "home" implies on the one hand a place where most of our material needs are met, but also an environment where people are able to act out their emotional needs in the give and take of family life. People are insufficiently aware of the latter. Children are expected to provide for their aged parents and it is taken for granted that if they do so their emotional needs will also be satisfied. In reality, however, the very efforts made by children to offer the material benefits may hinder the preservation of emotional ties. If the wage-earning son or daughter or their spouse have to get up earlier in the morning to tidy up the old parent before going to work and go to bed later because they have to cook a meal to be warmed up, when a son or daughter can spend only a minimum of their leisure outside the home and can never go on holidays with their spouse, because there is nobody who could take charge of the aged parent, their feelings will inevitably become ambivalent and they will not be able to satisfy the emotional demands which the aged parent often expresses in counterproductive ways.

Hence one should strive to introduce or-

ganized services which free the adult working members of a family from the duties of catering for the material needs of their aged parents, at the same time demanding more from them in the way of emotional support. A few initial steps have been taken by the establishment of a home service network that also provides hot meals. This network should be enlarged and more services should be available. The influence of society in some organized form with regard to the second problem is not yet clear. Given fewer material burdens and less work the difficulties which hinder the intensification of emotional ties may be overcome. Only too often this is not enough in itself. Some doctors and welfare workers who visit old people still consider it their job to speak also to family members, easing the tensions which disturb relationships and advising on ways that ease the problems of sharing a confined home. These, however, are the exceptions: Hungarian society has not yet created a profession for those who have the gift to help in the solution of emotional disturbances that arise between adult members of the same family.

The problems of broken marriages

That type of qualified social workers could also handle the problems that arise from broken marriages and their consequences

The number of divorces has grown almost without interruption since 1946. In 1978 their number was so high that it was expected that out of 100 marriages 30–40 would end in a divorce court unless things changed. The divorce rate is similar in many European countries, including Britain, Denmark, the GDR, Norway, Switzerland, and Sweden. The increasing instability of marriages is thus not a specifically Hungarian problem. However, in Hungary the growth in the divorce rate was not the fruit of easier divorce as in other countries; the divorce rate has increased steadily with the transformation of the family structure.

It is now the professional consensus that divorce is the result of the marriage relationship not satisfying the expectations of one or both partners. This may be because they already misinterpreted the other's ability to fulfil these expectations at the time of marriage, or because they were unable to appraise their own demands and tried to find someone who suited this erroneous image of themselves. Dissatisfaction with each other can also be the outcome of a longer process during which the personality of the partners has changed so that adjustment to each other becomes increasingly difficult, and living together offers less and less satisfaction.

To find an explanation one must, on a macro-social level, search for the reasons which are responsible for erroneous judgements in partner selection, and are apt to increase the possibility of basic antagonisms during marriage. Here again the change in the status of women raises its head: the general trend of women going out to work and the growing proportion of women with paper qualifications have led to the increase of these misunderstandings and differences.

Let us look first at changes caused by the growing number of women doing paid work from the angle of expectations which are regarded decisive in partner selection. In the past the purpose of marriage was markedly economic. For the woman her future financial situation depended substantially on her marriage, that is the financial success of her husband. From the husband's viewpoint the purpose of marriage was also essentially economic: he needed a wife who would create optimal living conditions for him given his available financial resources.

Emotional bonds

I do not argue that financial motivation has completely disappeared but its role is incomparably smaller. The groom's professional qualification is important of course, and the family's financial status is likely to

be determined by the husband's success or failure; but at the time of marriage most brides have similar professional qualifications, and if they do not marry they can count on a similar career; so marriage does not place them in a more favourable position. In the case of men the motive of finding a good housekeeper is also of lesser importance. Available services and modern household appliances enable them to create agreeable conditions for themselves even without a wife.

According to investigations in Hungary young people who marry are guided by the wish to forge an emotional bond with somebody who will strengthen their self-confidence with positive declarations and who, in turn, can be the object of outgoing emotions. This desire is formulated in many forms—often very vaguely, sometimes consciously and firmly.

As long as the purpose of marriage was in the first place to have a partner who satisfied financial requirements, this desire appeared more or less clearly at the time of partner selection. It was easier to measure and judge the values of the desirable partner than today when even individuals used to self-analysis are unable to determine their emotional demands and their priorities. The circumstances in which partners meet are favourable to role-playing and this prevents the manifestation of their essential qualities; conflicts are avoided which display one's character to the full. They marry without sufficient information about the things which are the most important for marriages today.

The structure of emotional demands may change more easily than economic or financial demands. The latter may, of course, change as well. Economic development or individual or family mobility can give rise to conflicts if one of the partners changes his or her order of priorities and the preferences of the other remain unchanged. The emotional structure, however, is always more liable to change because it depends not only on changes in the social macro-structure or the changed status of individuals. Life itself changes, the interaction of the partners, their kind of talk, contacts on the job and people's love life as well. The structure of emotional demands remains right only if they both strive more or less consciously to develop their personality together during marriage.

Differences in marriage are inevitable. Married people tend to overestimate them because they affect the bond which is most important to their emotional security. They regard different opinions and different goals as a betrayal and hence they tend to escalate the conflict both with regard to the issue and the way the dispute is conducted. The future of the marriage depends on whether they are able to work out a method for the reasonable handling of these conflicts which helps them to turn differences on concrete questions into fruitful discussions instead of letting their passions loose.

The family gets little help from the outside when it comes to learning how to handle conflicts. What they have seen in the family of their parents is in most cases inadequate, because they follow the conventions of an earlier family pattern with greater role differentiation according to sex. School does not, in general, offer the possibility of learning behaviour patterns applicable to conflicts. Finally, there are not enough qualified people able to give advice in the case of conflicts which, although felt to be essential, do not as yet disrupt the emotional ties between husband and wife. Professional advice is only available if one or the other is seriously disturbed psychologically and seeks the advice of one of the relatively few doctors who look into the social background or else when they seek legal advice having made up their mind to seek a divorce. Then it is generally too late. A new profession should be created who help arrange the relationship of young and old and help couples over the hurdles of marriage problems.

Society cannot look upon marriage break-

up with indifference. It must not, however, put obstacles in the way of the break-up of a relationship which is already non viable. This prevents the creation of new, healthier relationships. But one must be aware of the price of divorces, one must be aware of their negative consequences. A husband and wife are rarely able to get out of the old marriage and enter a new one without a prolonged emotional disturbance. This can have an adverse effect on health and social contacts, and also on work. Several countries created organizations which offer assistance to divorced people to help them adjust.

The real problem are the children of broken marriages. More and more marriages with children are dissolved and a growing number of minors is affected. In 1938 more than half of all dissolved marriages (56 per cent) were childless; at present this ratio is 33 per cent. In 1960, 11,638, in 1978, 24,138 children were affected by the divorce of their parents. There are a number of advisory bodies which concern themselves with the disturbances and anomalies manifested by children of divorced parents. Social aid must be extended so that both divorced parents and their children can get help fast before their troubles reach a stage when they grow beyond control.

GÁBOR BETHLEN'S EUROPEAN POLICY

by

LÁSZLÓ MAKKAI

The 400th anniversary of the birth of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania from 1613 to 1629, was celebrated in 1980 wherever Hungarians may live. Bethlen was not only one of the greatest Hungarian statesmen, but he became a symbol of peace and friendship between Hungarians and other peoples. The Hungary of his period was a multi-lingual and multi-denominational country. Bethlen accepted this as inevitable and made it the basis of his policy, which was characterised by national and religious tolerance in an age when throughout Europe the achievement of religious and linguistic unity was considered the alpha and omega of the raison d'état. Was this a sign of weakness, compromise, acquiescence in the existing constraints or, conversely, a proof of his ability to rise above the prejudices of his age and open a path for the future? Hungarian historians have failed to come to a definitive conclusion after fifty years of debating. The present anniversary has once again raised the problem.

Tripartite Hungary

In the beginning of the 17th century Hungary was torn into three parts. In 1526, after the defeat suffered at Mohács at the hands of the Turks, a group of aristocrats opposed Ferdinand of Habsburg, the Archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia as a rival to János Zápolyai, the lawfully elected Hungarian king. The Turkish Sultan Suleiman II exploited the warfare which the two rival kings conducted against each other with varying degrees of success, and in 1541 he occupied Buda and the central part of the country—about two thirds of Hungary's present territory. In the Western and Northern border zone most of the region which is now

Slovakia remained under the control of the Habsburg kings; the Eastern Hungarian kingdom, known from 1571 as the Principality of Transylvania, much later became part of Rumania under the 1920 Peace Treaty. In the North the Bohemian Moravian Protestant emigrants augmented the Slovak population; in the South and East refugees from the Turkish invasion increased the numbers of the Croatian, Serbian and Rumanian populations. During the Turkish occupation however, the overwhelming majority of the population was Hungarian in the Habsburg kingdom; in the Principality of Transylvania the Hungarians had a relative majority. The Hungarian nobility also controlled the internal administration of the Hungarian kingdom and of the Principality of Transylvania although the foreign policy of the Habsburg Kingdom was directed by the courts of Madrid and Vienna; while the Hungarian Prince of Transylvania, although freely elected by the country, recognised a Turkish protectorate.

Several attempts were made to unite the dismembered country and drive out the Turks: the most important of these was the "long war" (1593–1606), in which the Habsburg King and the Prince of Transylvania first fought as allies, before Transylvania came also under the rule of the Habsburgs (1601). But the inefficient and penniless Habsburg supreme command was unable to force back the Turkish conquerors, and even lost further territories. They tried to find a way out of the difficulty by eliminating the autonomy of the Hungarian nobility, introducing military terror and confiscating the land of the Hungarian aristocracy; in addition, they initiated a forced counter-reformation in a country with a Protestant majority, and seized the churches. The reaction to this was the war of independence led by István Bocskai (1604–1606), which ended with the Treaty of Vienna. This guaranteed the autonomy of the Principality of Transylvania as a Turkish protectorate, the autonomy of the nobility, and religious freedom for Protestants in the Habsburg kingdom.

As a young man Bethlen had taken part in Bocskai's war of independence: he had mediated between Bocskai and the Turkish Porte. In 1613 he became Prince of Transylvania with the ambitious programme of achieving unity and peace for a divided Hungary which was suffering the consequences of the ceaseless war between the two great powers. To this end he had first to paralyse only one of the two dangerous neighbours—if possible, with the other's help. Alliance with the Habsburgs did not promise success as the negative outcome of the "long War" had proven, furthermore it threatened the tolerant Transylvanian system with aggressive counter-reformation whereas in Transylvania everybody had been free to practise their religion since the middle of the 16th century. Neither did

Unknown painter: Contemporary portrait of Prince Gábor Bethlen
(National Museum, Budapest)

Vajdahunyad.
Bethlen coat-of-arms above the Calvinist church's gate, founded by the prince

Marosillye.
The birthplace of Gábor Bethlen

Lucas Kilian: Gábor Bethlen
(Engraving, 1620. National Portrait Gallery, Budapest)

Portrait of Gábor Bethlen (as elected King of Hungary 1620, engraving.
Historical Portrait Gallery, Budapest)

The view of Nagyvárad. In the middle, the pentagonal Bethlen castle erected by Giacomo Rest inside the fortress. (Copper engraving by Georg Hoefnagel in a book of Hungarian castles and towns.)

Fogaras. Gábor Bethlen's favourite residence. The bastions raised by Giovanni Landi, 1616–1626

All reproductions and photos by Kálmán Könya

Bethlen overlook the power crises of the Habsburg dynasty: the cease-fire of 1609 which sanctioned the results of the German Protestant princes in 1608. So the uprising of the Bohemians in 1618 did not find Bethlen unprepared; he concluded an alliance with them, and when the Austrian and Hungarian estates joined in, he marched against Vienna at the head of the Transylvanian army in autumn 1619. The siege of the imperial city had to be abandoned, the allied forces lacking strength and organization. At first Bethlen hoped for intervention by James I, father-in-law of King Frederick of Bohemia and by the Netherlands, but when time ran out he tried to win the Turks over to his side. He had persuaded his allies, the Bohemian, Austrian and Hungarian estates, also to request and accept this help.

French politics had demonstrated the possibility of a Turkish and Christian alliance a hundred years earlier, but in Eastern Europe it carried with it the risk of further Turkish conquests.

However, Bethlen knew exactly what he was doing. He had had personal experience of how deeply the Turkish empire was involved in internal crises. Between 1606 and 1608 the popular uprising in Asia Minor had advanced to the walls of the capital, in the war against the Persians defeat followed defeat, and the janissary was in revolt. In 1619 Mustapha I was dethroned and in 1622 his successor, Osman II was murdered together with his Grand Vizier. Only war could help the Turkish rulers to overcome the difficulty but its resources sufficed only for smaller ventures. Under these circumstances Bethlen could risk asking for Turkish help, all of which he used for keeping in check the Polish kingdom, a Habsburg ally. Later a Turkish historian wrote about Bethlen: "This infidel has never helped the Islamic armies because all he cared about was his own country."

Alliances and wars

True, Bethlen's concern was Hungary, but as a convinced Calvinist he wanted to guarantee its future within the anti-Habsburg alliance of European Protestantism. In the summer of 1620 Ferdinand II of Habsburg was dethroned and Bethlen was elected king of Hungary. He was never crowned, however, because his Bohemian allies suffered a decisive defeat on November 8th at the battle of White Mountain. As a consequence the Bohemian noblemen were executed, their properties confiscated, and Bohemian Protestantism was exterminated. So Bethlen remained paralysed in his small Europe, the zone of Habsburg–Turkish clashes. The nobility

in the Hungarian kingdom, alarmed by the bloodthirsty revenge of the Habsburgs in Bohemia, abandoned him and wanted to make a compromise and establish peace. In the following decade almost all aristocrats in the Hungarian Kingdom catholicised to prove their loyalty to the Habsburgs. Bethlen, however, did not retreat; he kept Hungary occupied and even penetrated into Moravia to incite an anti-Habsburg revolt. He also tried to look beyond the frontiers of the Austrian Habsburgs. First he tried to come to an agreement with Venice, his most important trading partner, and offered an alliance to the "queen of the seas" against the Habsburgs—but he was politely refused. Then he made moves towards the West—the fleeing King Frederick of Bohemia showed him the way. However, his legate to the English Parliament brought back nothing but fine words. According to this message from King James I and his Parliament on October 21st 1621, the 'glorious Hungarian people' was contriving to perform for the sake of tormented religion what all of Europe was praying God might grant. The whole country was trembling in fear because of what was happening in Bohemia in those sorry days but, the message ran, Hungary should not be eliminated from the ranks of the free countries and thrown into servitude, since it was in the interests of entire Europe that this 'glorious Hungary' be maintained in independence on the one hand as the unassailable bulwark of Christianity, and on the other hand as the bridle of Germany to repulse the power of Austrians who had already threatened the balance of Europe on more then one occasion.

Bethlen had to understand that England and Holland, with their interests in sea routes, would wish to maintain the balance of power in Europe and not to annihilate the Habsburgs. So at the end of 1621 he was forced to conclude a peace treaty with Ferdinand II in which he renounced the title of Hungarian king but was entitled to annex one third of the Eastern part of royal Hungary to Transylvania for life. In the territory which remained under Habsburg rule he was guaranteed the autonomy of the Hungarian nobility and freedom of religion for Protestants.

With this act Bethlen performed two historical deeds: he protected the autonomous Hungarian state and the existence of Protestantism in Eastern Central-Europe. This meant, however a respite which allowed the anti-Habsburg forces to reorganise. When later the victories of Wallenstein actually threatened the balance of power in Europe, England and Holland also intervened in the Thirty Years' War, and in 1626 Bethlen was admitted to the Westminster alliance. He repelled Wallenstein's advance and forced him to leave Hungary but in his isolation he could achieve no more than a repetition of his earlier peace treaty. In the last years of his life he

married a Princess of Brandenburg and so became the brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus whose campaign in Germany he tried to back up by interceding in favour of a Russian–Turkish–Swedish agreement. He did not live to see the Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War which he could have exploited for his own ends.

The first modern Hungarian ruler

Bethlen was a successful military leader and skillful diplomat, and, above all, the first modern Hungarian ruler. His political ideas were determined by the absolutism spreading throughout Europe; not in its crude, Machiavellian version but rather along the lines of the ideal of the magnanimous ruler who respects and implements the laws. The immediate model was the "Basilikon doron", the "Royal Gift" of King James of England and Scotland, translated into Hungarian in 1612, which said that 'the cruel and godless ruler' could be recognized from his ignoring of every law, considering himself not to exist for the community but the entire community as being for him. These ideas were echoed by Bethlen in a letter written in 1618: "There can be no prince so powerful that he is not bound by the law in this Christian world, and although it may came to pass in this life that a man may wield power over somebody weaker than himself, justice will finally prevail, because as they are wont to say, the law never dies." These Christian-inspired moral constraints, however, did not signify submission to the anarchy of the estates. Unlike the Bohemian, Austrian and Hungarian nobility in revolt against the Habsburgs, unlike the Polish "noblemen's republic" intended to hold the king's power in check, Bethlen exercised unlimited power in Transylvania. His ideologist, János Pataki Füsüs who, referring to King James of England in his book "Mirror of the kings" (1626), stated explicitly that the real ruler "is sent and elected by God, as is Gábor Bethlen who taught the warriors living on his soil how to conduct warfare." The dignitaries and corporations of the estates can only act as his counsellors: "although many are those who pull the oars of the ship, the supreme concern for the ship falls to the ship's master; in the same way the king alone has to care for the country and its citizens." This sequence of ideas as applied to Transylvania has also a social welfare aspect. "The king or prince who loves his people and is loved by them shines out in his empire as the good master of the household among his people, or the ship's master among the coarsmen, man's heart among his other parts, or the radiant sun and the moon among

the other brilliant stars; indeed the king personifying God is on this earth what God is in Heaven."

This Transylvanian version of the contemporary absolutist theories resembles most closely the propaganda of the Dutch House of Orange seeking support among the masses against the estates; it is not simply an interpretation of foreign ideas, reflecting also the aspirations of the Hungarian Calvinist preachers for a king leaning on the common people. With this Bethlen was able to win over the pulpits for preaching absolutism: proof of his success are the many sermons exhorting to obedience to the prince, foremost among them by István Milotai Nyilos, preacher at Court, who modelled the Christian ruler on the image of Bethlen in his explanation of the 20th Psalm.

In the same way that he tried to adapt absolutism, the then modern political system, to Hungarian conditions, he attempted to adjust the country's economy to the world market. His economic policy has been called mercantilistic and even though he was at a disadvantage vis-à-vis the mercantilism of absolutists in the West, the system was up-to-date in principle and practice. Whether we call Bethlen a mercantilist-absolutist or —borrowing the words of the Papal legate in Vienna—a tradesman-tyrant, it is a fact that he deliberately tried to shift the weight of the material bases of princely power from the feudal landed-estate to industrial and commercial wealth. He did not utilize the monopoly system then widely used in Europe to reward his courtiers, as the Stuarts did in England, but to bring foreign trade under state control. He instructed his agents to buy up cattle, minerals and agrarian products and commissioned merchants to sell them in Vienna, Venice and elsewhere. True, he did not establish manufactures—this was done only one generation later even in the Habsburg-controlled provinces—but when Ferdinand II compelled the Protestant craftsmen of his towns to emigrate *en masse*, Bethlen settled German Anabaptist craftsmen and Catholic glass-blowers from Murano in Transylvania.

He was not prejudiced against the Germans: when in the Habsburg-controlled part of Hungary a law prohibited the importation of German mercenaries, he recruited his court armies from German infantry reserves abroad and put a German captain in command. He accepted the fact that Transylvania was multilingual and respected this. When the noble and Szekler majority of the Transylvanian national assembly enacted a law according to which the "Saxon" (German) towns were obliged to accept Hungarians among their citizens, he complied with the request of the Saxons and had the decision annulled. He ordered the translation of the Bible into Rumanian to stimulate the development of the Rumanian language.

A POLICY OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Bethlen's policy in matters of religion was also dictated by the tolerance which had prevailed in Transylvania for many years, although he was aware that special tact was needed to govern a country with many religions. His education, convictions and foreign alliances linked him with Protestantism, but he acknowledged that although the advance of the counter-reformation could be delayed and limited for a while, it could not be prevented altogether and, if he wanted to become king of Hungary, he could certainly not achieve this in open hostility to Hungarian Catholicism. Transylvania, the backbone of his policy, had to be maintained as the stronghold of Protestantism. The establishment of a Calvinist state Church was his declared aim. He also wanted to give the Calvinists a university, first in Nagyszombat, which at the time had a Calvinist population, then in the Lutheran town of Kassa, followed by Kolozsvár with a predominantly Unitarian population; finally his ambition was realized in Gyulafehérvár, with a college with professors transferred from the German university of Herborn. While he worked to establish his own university, he sent his scholarship studens to universities in Holland and England instead of Heidelberg, which had been destroyed in 1622. They returned home full of the democratic ideals of the Presbyterian Church organisation and general education in the mother tongue. The year Bethlen died almost one hundred Hungarian Calvinist students studied in Franeker under the Puritan professor William Ames, who had emigrated from England to Holland.

Bethlen was strictly opposed to every form of forced religious conversion by pressure. Non-Calvinists, especially Catholics, formed the majority of his counsellors and intimates and the Lord Steward and the Chancellor were prominent figures in the Sabbatarian (Judaizing) sect prohibited by law. In 1615 he proclaimed in the National Assembly the freedom of movement of Rumanian priests of the Greek Orthodox Church and their exemption from the obligations of the peasants. He united the four Rumanian bishoprics under the Archbishop of Gyulafehérvár. This Church dignitary had been a modest rural monk before being appointed metropolitan. He prohibited the alienation of Orthodox Church property even against the rights of landowners. In the tense political climate created by the spread of the counterreformation his tolerance towards the Catholics was a wise, patient, and unparalleled attitude. Going even further then his obligation under the tolerance system in Transylvania, he resettled the Jesuits who at that time were barred from acquiring property in the

Kingdom of Hungary at Kolozsmonostor in 1615. He appointed a vicar to head the suspended Transylvanian Catholic episcopate and again permitted the practice of Catholicism which had been banned in 1610. He was a patron of the first Catholic Bible translation into Hungarian after the Tridentinum. He permitted and even encouraged the settling of Jews in Transylvania, and also made them discard the stigmas of humiliation, the wearing of the yellow star and gaberdine which were obligatory elsewhere.

In contrast to the aristocratism of the Habsburg absolutists Bethlen supported the middle sections of society and made them the mainstay of his policy. The aristocracy of the Hungarian kingdom had largely taken up Catholicism, so he had to try and win over the Protestant nobility in support of his military campaigns. As Transylvania was impoverished, he could recruit his army only among free peasants, Szeklers and Heiduks, who in return were exempted from taxation: so he was obliged to defend and even increase the liberties of these people. This does not mean that he fundamentally relaxed the system of "eternal serfdom". He himself was a big estate owner whose peasants performed villainage for him as they did for every member of the ruling classes in Eastern Central-Europe. But his socio-political interests, were conditioned by his need for the backing of the middle sections, this guided not only his rational thinking but also his feelings in favour of consciously protecting the small man. Not only did he defend the freedom of Szeklers and Heiduks, not only did he consolidate the social position of Protestant preachers by raising their descendants to nobility: he also extended his solicitude to the rural serfs. For instance, it was forbidden to prevent the sons of serfs from going to school.

The patron of art

His contemporaries recorded Bethlen's love of art and pomp and described his building activity and the everyday and festive events at his court; there are even inventories of his furnishings. We know that he was a passionate music-lover and, notwithstanding the reproaches of his severe Calvinist preachers, he had an organ installed in the church of his capital, and organised masked balls and ballet performances at court. Indeed the then emerging Italian opera was also performed there by Venetians conducted by his Spanish dancing master. History, however, has not spared Bethlen's heritage. The palace of Gyulafehérvár where he collected his art treasures, was demolished in 1658 by the Turks and Tartars. Most of his famous library was destroyed at that time, and what remained of it perished in 1849.

Almost nothing is left of his furniture and personal belongings. One of the most interesting buildings in the 17th century, the pentagonal castle inside the fortress of Nagyvárad, a masterpiece of Giacomo Resti, the architect from Verona, was first destroyed by the Turkish occupation and later by the Habsburgs when they recaptured it.

*

Gábor Bethlen lived in an age torn by deep contradictions and he carried in himself contradictions which seemed irreconcilable. And they could not have been reconciled, even if he had wanted them to be. Instead of the levelling out of differences he desired their peaceful coexistence, although this seemed impossible at the time. He, the determined champion of Hungarian political unity, had to prevent this unity under Habsburg rule; he who had proclaimed and practised religious tolerance had to involve Hungary—which until then had been spared religious wars—in the armed conflict of reformation and counterreformation. Small wonder that both his contemporaries and later historians evaluated his political ambitions and achievements in so many different ways. There is one point, however, on which his partisans and his enemies, his eulogists and his critics are in agreement: each in his own way recognizes his exceptional greatness; thus among the princes of Transylvania Gábor Bethlen is the one known as the *Great Prince.*

FOUR POETS

What the four foreign poets represented below have in common is an interest in things Hungarian, be it music, poetry, history, or life itself. Eric Mottram, the English poet and critic, wrote his poems before first visiting Hungary in 1980; Philip Martin, from Australia, also brought his poems with him when he came in the same year (and graciously acknowledged the fact, when told, that there is no kinship whatsoever between the Huns and the Hungarians); Christopher Levenson, from Canada, visited in 1975 and 76, to trace Bartók's folk music collecting activities and to meet people who had known him; and John Kendrick, American poet, playwright, actor and prize-fighter, wrote his poem in Budapest while at work producing, and also acting in, two of his one-act plays at Budapest University. — The Editor.

A REVOLUTION: ELEGY 8 — FOR BÉLA BARTÓK

BY

ERIC MOTTRAM

even the flame in our oil lamp
leapt high
at every beat counterpoint
an inner necessity and late in the working
when the most wonderful moths
insects flies and other arthropodas
fly into our flat
quite unknown to me
this is another continent

G sharp and A as a second we know is blood
who depends on whom for a living
once penetrated into you
eye and ear
the stag cannot return
from clear water

after the bridge your skin changes
a melody continually shapes
leaves flowers and roots singing
onward a magic hora lunga
hunter into hunted and the deer is freed
gun and father left before the bridge

freed into forest shadows
played upon their fear
valleys without lanterns
resilience of leaf mould
spread of arterial horns
above door height
raised thorns of fire
to pathless winds

NEW YEAR 1977: FOR GYULA ILLYÉS

the last hare stiffens into sculpture as catastrophe approaches
but here a field of animals stiffen
are stiffened
into 1937 where you lifted
an archaeology of wealth
a castle above slag and stubble
stiff and loose headed
helpless in traffic
they strike within a cage of words
dream about life in a pressure cooker
with tv goods their flowers
a castle where fish come for ever rectangular
without eyes

early darkness this winter solstice met with strip lights
faces illuminated by teeth
whitish fear signs
money crunchers
our vaccination rate decreases
the used car trade governs
from disused railway arches
loose trade in parts in roadside surgeries
your quivering compasses Illyés
paralysed directions
once a trail-breaker rising and falling in a bowl
under stars swung around our axle
in any hemisphere
now no centre should hold
no vertical gauge from heaven to underground
from castle to people
a compass never did direct
Santa Maria the name signals
directions a maniac under
direction in prevailing wind
Columbus' head swelled with globes and charts
new slaves under parakeets in mist
a lodestone across steppes
brought brick tea barbaric caravans
whether a law of a fish in snake jaws
is oldest or not and the howls silent
untranslatable as ants under foot
we must move from such compass centres
from snake totem
or ant or bee or cities jungle
polis Illyés is built and makes law in building
your poems make a city
whatever snakes do
a compass intervenes

stars design belies frozen animals
fantasies in Bear or Plough
an automatic pilot computes through peasant and ruler
field and plot around wimpled battlements

Newton omitted electro-magnetic fields in his Mint gravitations
an orphan can carry the watershed from bloody Harvey
Dalton's atoms through abuse
teach love's techniques
against fear
the hare mindless all ears and quivered rigid
in directions
erect at the point intersection
waves flood brain and nerve
language whittled by guards alert
angel employees
heraldry splays from a chart pedigree
all runners sired in batteries
we must believe *the experience of chaos prompts the upsurge of reason*

HOMAGE TO FERENC JUHÁSZ

for Miklós Vajda

in the call to home
her voice encircles each bole
into his world the years of lives to come
his homed voice hangs
in the branch swayed leaf rustled air
the gate of secrets
cantata profana of the Sun Stag
light-hung antlers
star hairs eyes of knowledge in a mask of deer
coils of head antennae reach into
distant forest circuits

home cried out to be bride
roiled in a clearing to be generate
needing the stag back as a returning boy
of her past as if she centralized the wild geese
the shining potato flower
reed fingered fish in rings of forest water
smell of blood in her spells
she tries to quieten silent sounds of creatures

she does not need
her son must return but it is he
who gathers forest to a distant point
shining with atom's depth

she cries My own
a spiral scream ropes out to nitre caves
pits of ore his hooves guard
she cries Your fountainhead
he lowers his branch crowned head
to forest surface sees fish beneath
the mouthed surface
she cries Flesh tough as shell
Come control them with your knife again
Afford images of revolt for their screen
Breathe their life and call it revolt some future

the boy tossed his head
nostrils valves in his flickering muzzle
at her false hunter's crackling of twigs
underfoot bracken in early Spring
he stares at fur in moonlit water
his penis a tassel
the urge to paw hard earth
bellow into hoar breath slow formed
before his huge eyes in the clearing
above moon foam he masks expression

somehow she hears a language
I cannot return
Spring is more marvellous than ever
I would rip father from grave
you mother would open to gape of stars
your son's tramp of hoof horn
antlers of fire fill the night cloud sky
a tree of bone out of his plotting head
I would smash your wall your well
your flowerbeds to burial ground
scatter father's laid bones
your cooking to a mess in shards

she pours wine tears weeds
shrieks over fat
strokes feathers on ebony
airs his mattress on a sunny sill
his language of refusals remembers
milk-loaf flowered glass doughnuts
but the dew struck grass smells most sweet
on upland slopes at dawn
soft furze on horn as she recites
school report Popular Mechanics
dissected frogs the old happiness

a circle of painters and writers of night conversations
earnest leaders a choral society
where are they now games horn music
brief cases in street cafés
rain in tram streets thunder over buds each year

after decay in fire and earth
bullets remain to shine for the dig
while my antlers attract the galaxy
you call me back to die to be washed prepared
childhood in your hands earth woman
vortex of dead regimes mother

we cannot pass the door
bear shirts
or leave clear water

Reprinted, by permission, from *Pod. No. 1*, 1976, edited by Kirby and Rosemary Malone.

ATTILA AND THE HUNS

Poems from a cycle

by

PHILIP MARTIN

THE DEATH OF ATTILA

No one divined it but his twenty years'
Supreme rule was done. Not quite supreme.
Last autumn, the battle horns were silenced.
At the hem of Rome defeat, with no blow struck.
None knew what power turned him about.

Home, the Hun king said little. Idled,
Waiting like a flag for the wind. A girl came
And the night glared with banqueting. Attila
Called his shamans, instructed them, against
All local custom, how he should be buried.

Out of the marriage feast the king withdrew,
The young bride took him. At the end he slept,
Grey head to her left breast. Hours, clouds
Passed over them. He did not wake.

They brought him
To where the great river and the smaller
Become the same. He lay in a gold coffin,
And that in one of silver, that in a third
Of iron. Sealed, cast into mid-stream,
The depth of mud. He will not be discovered.

ILDIKÓ

This last queen, a stranger.
Slant-eyed direct
Glance confronting his.

When sun rose on the corpse
She did not gash
Her snow skin, but stood
Tearless amid their howling,
Watched the coffin plunge,

Then in the next darkness
Rode out of knowledge.

THE END OF THE HUNS

The silt gathers and firms. Two years, and his whole
Empire crumbles away. His son's head
Bobs through Constantinople on a pole.

ATTILA, FATHER OF THE CITY

Three months of siege, food short, the army murmurs.
Brooding under the walls of Aquileia
He notes the storks. 'Look, they're leaving! God
Speaks to the birds. The city's ours!'

It is.
No stone cleaves to a stone as they ride out.
Citizens who survive fly this way that way,
And some make for the coast, the marshes
And islands on the Adriatic. Here,
Three generations later, Cassiodorus
Finds them, a people who, like waterfowl,
Have fixed their nests on the bosom of the waves.

An economy grows up on salt, and trades it,
Rises, and is Venice. Sinking now.
The state founded unwittingly by Huns.

ATTILA, PATRON OF THE ARTS

Barbarians
Are only human, therefore
Unpredictable. Mostly

Attila and his men
Trampled a city flat.
But sometimes . . . well, consider

His revenge against Milan.
He sees a fresco. 'What's
This!' The Caesars on their thrones,

The Scythians prostrate at their feet.
He thunders. 'Get that painter!'
'He is dead, great king.' 'Then get

Another!' One is brought,
He paints to Attila's order.
The Scythians enthroned,

The Caesars at their feet,
Emptying bags of tribute. 'That's
More like it.'

The Milanese agree.

Reprinted, by permission, from SOUTHERLY, Australia.

THE JOURNEY BACK

Section I: The Settlers

by

CHRISTOPHER LEVENSON

So in the beginning they all came,
burdened with doubts, shabby, hastily string-tied
suitcases bulging, eyes wide open to promise,
a grandfather's stubbly kiss still grazing their cheeks
as they bundled themselves into a dusty bus

that drove them to the capital, the harbour,
never in their own lifetime to return.
In New York and Toronto still
they bear suffering with them like a talisman
to know the real, the hard edge pressed in the palms
that they may not forget.
The land that released them fades, intensifies
into a few unconsciously chosen things
around which treadmill memory revolves;
staked out, an inviolate childhood.

Borne into a new land,
a boundless plenitude, first home
after so hard a labour of crossing,
they found the ocean's wilderness replaced
by glass, blank steel. The envisioned cities
enveloped them like black shawls
and after their permitted entrances
they made their own way, choosing their loneliness.

For Bartók it was not the same:
a man sculpted from wood, hard-grained, resilient,
but turned inward, forced to abandon much.
When you went to the States before
you were a guest: exile was different.
Did you ever even wish to feel at home:
a modus vivendi, an interim.

Ditta imagined the USA all dark
and was surprised to find her favourite flower,
the sunflower, so far away
from home. Slowly they both relaxed
into a long farewell. They were not settlers
but transplants, yet did not travel light,
the whole earth seemed to cling to them;
obstinate, their hearts set on return.

Yet between the wars was a preparation —
a hostile national press, strutting dictators, merely grudging
acceptance in your own land. You had to travel abroad
to find understanding, were made to justify
'the international,' what early on you had heard
in the blood, this link between peoples, genuine, archaic,
the pentatonic scale that you divined
like a subterranean stream rising beyond the Urals
in central Asia, spreading to Hungary
and wherever you sought music. Was this meant as challenge,
doing your own work in a world of boundaries?
It made you enemies, you were already in exile.

Though at Columbia you could at least create order
in manuscripts of Yugoslav songs collected by others;
another new world of study, coming too late
still became part of the fabric,
intertwined with the roots.
So do scholar and artist
preserve what is true, making it what was true.
The handcrafted wooden plough in the folk museum
is swapped for a plastic jetliner, but on a new scale
painstakingly music restores forgotten harmonies
as in Greece and Rome archeologists prized out
and pieced together shards of old pots, unearthed whole theatres
whose marble oblivious natives had carted away.
'Restores?' We cannot restore, be happy if we preserve!

And already in New York
foreknowledge of death
bestowed a kind of freedom:
"I cannot be used wrongly by anyone any more,
for I am in the hands of the strongest force of all,
held in that grip that keeps me separated.
Whatever I do, or wherever I go, is my choice alone.
And so I am freer and more elusive than all the birds."

Reprinted, by permission, from *The Journey Back, and Other Poems*. Sesame Press, Windsor, Ontario. 1978.

GELLÉRT EYES

by

JOHN KENDRICK

Go lightly into the pools
of the Gellért,
for in between the usual
wedding feasts,
stellar eyes will gauge
your soft walk
toward rococo waters filled
with varieties
of flesh, and only half of
you will be so
exposed in the napkin clothes
that make you
look like coteries of French
maids, showing
one side of your privacy...
which is the
most important part of the
anatomy, for
those who seek the rib of Eve
in the backside
of Adam.

BARTÓK

1881—1945

PIZZICATO EFFECT IN BARTÓK'S FIFTH STRING QUARTET

by

ERNŐ LENDVAI

"WHERE IS THE STAGE, WITHIN US OR WITHOUT?"
Béla Balázs: Prologue to "Bluebeard's Castle"

There is no harder task for the composer than to capture the listener's *emotions*. The chief obstacle to achieving contact with the emotions is actual *sensation* (perception through the senses, i.e. actual hearing, seeing, touch). Composers have therefore long been aware that emotional life may be reached via an indirect route—through the senses. The procedure of the composer is not unlike that of the robber who first drugs his victim in order to do what he likes with him.

Following Hans Sachs's method (as set out in the text of *The Mastersingers*) I would call this technique the "dramaturgy of the slap". If a gun is fired, a piercing light is flashed before someone, or if he is slapped in the face, it is impossible for him not to pay attention. And for the composer it is precisely this moment, when the senses are arrested and captured, that opens up the way towards the deeper chambers of the listener's emotions. The climax of *The Mastersingers*, the great quintet of Act III, would hardly achieve its magic spellbinding quality without the memorable slap that immediately precedes it (the orchestra even creates the effect of the "pain" resulting from the slap): Hans Sachs, according to the custom of the guild, thus declares his apprentice, David, to be a journeyman.

Just imagine how the main theme of Kodály's *Háry János* Prelude would lose its force of expression if it were not preceded by the famous "sneeze" that overtakes the entire orchestra: impression is complemented by expression. With the aid of this effect, Kodály engages and holds the listener's attention, in order to prepare the way for the birth of the expressive main theme.[1]

At the end of the *Háry János* Prelude, precisely the opposite technique is used: the emotional climax—the intensification that ascends to fortefortissimo—calls forth the effect—the echo; it is the task of this *echo* to evoke the "past" from the distance (with the help of an archaic six-four chord, characteristic of the oldest type of Hungarian folk music).

In opera, whenever a cannon or pistol is fired and whenever we hear the ringing of a bell,

1 It is interesting to note that the first version of the *Háry János* Prelude does not contain the "sneeze" —in the same way as Beethoven later added the shock effect of the opening chords to the *Eroica* Symphony—in order to enhance the expressive force of the main theme.

a knocking, hammering, thumping, or rattling of swords, a battle scene, a scream, natural phenomena or any other unusual *effect*, then this will with an almost psychological certainly herald its contrast: the moment of *emotion*. The street noise *(Bacchanal)* in Act III of *La Traviata* is naturally complemented by the farewell and death of Violetta. The lightning and storm-music in the last act of *Rigoletto* is compensated by the emotional apotheosis of the Gilda–Rigoletto duet. The expression is prepared by the impression.

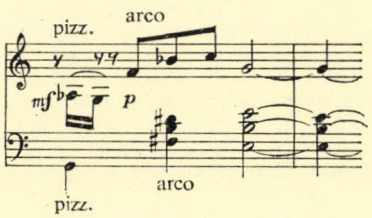
How less powerful Tosca's prayer would be if (as is common in recordings of the aria) we omitted the nerve-racking excitement of the execution-drums that precede it. Before the great emotional outburst in Act II of *La Traviata*, the sensual effect is provided by trill-like violin ostinati. Or, to take the example of a comic opera, in the second scene of *Falstaff* the refrain melody (fulfilment theme) of Nanetta and Fenton is introduced by flashes of light. The lyrical "letter"-theme at the very end of Act I is born from an explosion: "You'll see Falstaff puffed up in pride—puffed up and then popped!"

How does Verdi evoke, right at the beginning of the first act, the "heavenly" figure of Aida in the aria *Celeste Aida?* At first—leading us through tonal labyrinths—he cuts us off from the world of reality; by means of unexpected modulations he deceives and deludes our senses and we thus lose our bearings (our musical orientation). Yet precisely this effect is required to guide us to the unknown island that exists only in the imagination of the poet.

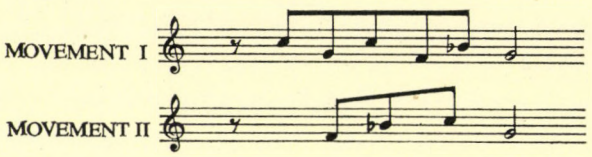
To return to *The Mastersingers:* to the night-watchman's *mistuned* horn (an F sharp instead of the tonic F). In our initial surprise we tend to find a certain irony in this effect. The next moment, however, reveals that out of this F sharp will (with a bold enharmonic modulation) emerge the moonlit, nocturnal atmosphere of the end of the act.

In orchestral works this effect may be achieved by a cymbal-stroke (as in the *Lohengrin* prelude), a triangle-stroke (*Mastersingers* overture: recapitulation); it may be an echo-effect (*Oberon* overture)—or even a single pizzicato (*Jupiter Symphony:* closing theme). In the course of musical events these act as the "threshold": stepping over this threshold the character of the music changes.

And now to the subject of this article: in Movement II of Bartók's *Fifth String Quartet*, this threshold is created by a pizzicato effect in the central theme (the pizzicato is performed with a chromatic glissando in bar 34).



This melody has a key role in the structure of the work: its cadence (see Fig. above)—which at once marks the turning-point of the "bridge form"—comprises the basic idea of the work:



Bartók amplifies its expressive force by making it emerge from an *effect*—a pizzicato effect.[2]

Bartók has a dramatic temperament like all creative geniuses whose characters display simultaneously a bent for logic and heroism. The form in which this conception, i.e.

(a) structural unity,

(b) the counterposing of characters, and

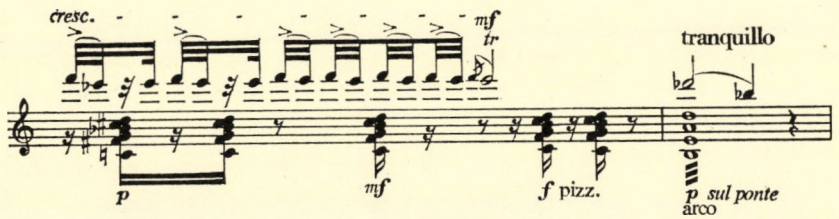
(c) the principle of dramatic metamorphosis

materializes is known as the "bridge form". This is how Bartók himself named the structure of his mature works on the basis of the symmetrical arrangement of the movements and the themes contained within them. The five movements of the *Fourth Quartet*, for example, form the following pattern: A—B—C—B—A. That is, Movements I and V on the one hand, and Movements II and IV on the other, rest on common thematic material.

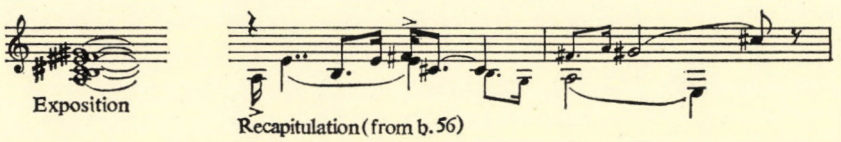
But symmetry is merely an external feature of the bridge form. The clue to its content is perhaps best offered by the tale of *Cantata Profana*. The nine sons pursuing the miraculous stag step on to the bridge, and become stags: they change their form of life. A metamorphosis takes place.

It is typical of Bartók that this metamorphosis occurs within the framework of natural magic. But is this not what happens in the *Fourth String Quartet* as well? At the central point of the third movement—right in the heart of the work—the parts start vibrating and, accompanied by effervescent tremolos, suddenly become weightless and airy and—as in *Cantata Profana*—the sound material undergoes a change of physical condition. Accompanied by strange flashes of pizzicato lightning, it swings into a new dimension (*sul ponte* effect):

2 This technique is not unknown in the performing arts either. It is precisely the greatest who are aware that the musical stress must never be placed on the tone in which the culmination is enacted, but immediately before it. Emotional fulfilment is an event actually taking place "inside": it is invisible and inaccessible to the external senses. This is why in Toscanini's orchestra, in the most fervent moments, tonality becomes anything but neutral: as the impact thus multiplies, we look inward and the outer world ceases to exist for us. Haydn and Beethoven composed these "negative accents" into their scores as a matter of course: this is the genuine sense of the *subito piano* climaxes. (In connection with Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, I should like to mention a performers' tradition; for the melody at the beginning of the second movement to be beautiful, it is not the third note which should be played beautifully but rather the second note which should be given a tenuto weight: this singing accent renders the third note "alive" even if this, figuratively speaking, appears only in our imagination.)



A further unique transformation takes place in the musical material as well. The *harmony* of the exposition becomes a *melody* in the recapitulation,



and, *vice-versa*, the melody of the exposition returns as an accompanying chord in the reprise: the linear element becomes vertical, and the vertical linear.

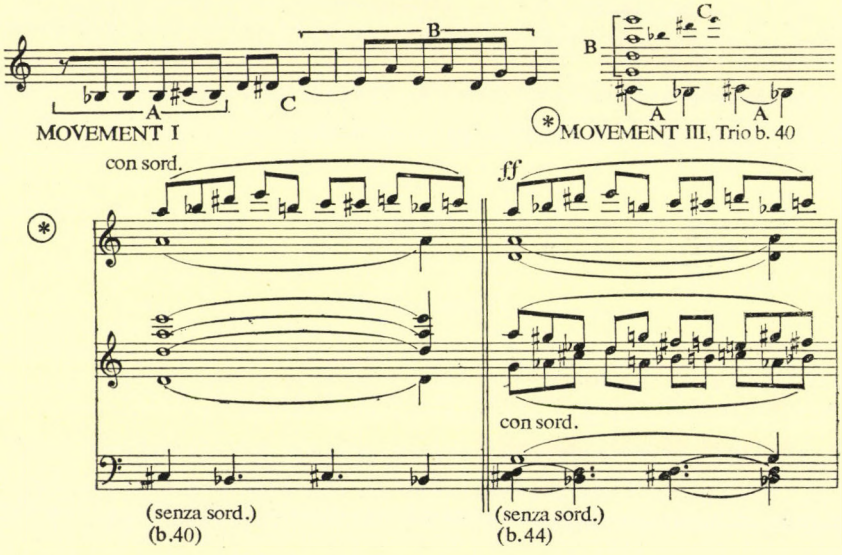
The key to the bridge-form must above all be sought in those works which have a text and which themselves display a bridge-structure. The chorus *From Times Past*, for instance, is based on a three-part symmetry: the first and third parts stand in an antithetic interrelation:

PART I The peasant is the most unhappy of all men
For his miseries are bigger than the sea!
PART III The peasant is the luckiest of all men
For his fate is the happiest of all crafts.

and wedged between the two, the action of the second part causes the dramatic transformation to come about:

. . . For chestnuts rags,
For rags good wine,
For good wine manure,
For manure wheat,
For wheat flour,
For flour a loaf,
For a loaf: flogging! flogging!
. . . . . .
Yet life is life!
Yet life is a pearly life!

Crossing the centre of the bridge, the musical material gains new meaning. Let us return to the *Fifth Quartet*. At the top of the pyramid of the composition—i.e., the centre of the middle movement—the "linear" *unisono* theme of the first movement turns into a simultaneous "vertical" harmony:



The *melodic* element is condensed into a *colour* effect—that is, the dimension of "time" is replaced by the dimension of "space."

The second movement (in the centre of which the pizzicato effect of Fig. 1 is enacted) creates, even in itself, a closed bridge structure. It is characterized by a "to and fro"—"forwards and backwards" form: starting out from shapeless and amorphous elements, the material proceeds step by step to become an organic musical form, interlocking at the centre of the movement in a single "song"-like theme; then, departing from the centre, it gradually breaks up again into its original elements. Accordingly, by means of the thematic concentration and deconcentration, the real principal theme of the movement emerges at the centre of the bridge.

It is precisely the pizzicato effect which marks the turning-point of the form and gives rise to the dramatic transubstantiation. The first part of the movement is "expressive", the second part "impressive" in content. The chorale theme of the exposition (bars 10–24), by integrating the form in a single dynamic-harmonic-melodic arch, draws our attention to the continuity, the uninterrupted unity of *time:* the unbroken unity of birth, growth and decline. We are possessed by a feeling of "inner" emotion. In the chorale of the recapitulation, however, it is the "external" magic of chords that captivates us (bars 46–49). The chorale of the exposition is built on a single crescendo-decrescendo form—while the chorale of the

recapitulation becomes atomized: we hear nothing but impressionistic colour-chords projected one beside the other ("drop beside drop," as someone once described impressionism). The material is transformed into "acoustic" elements: refractions of light and atmospheric harmonies. (In addition, the colour-chords are covered by an upper organ point—a G note—preventing the occurrence of any melodic element.)

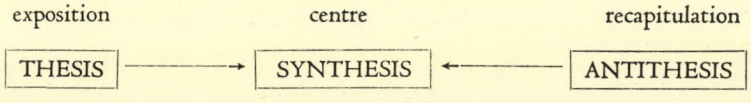
With the pizzicato effect, the role of the "time" elements comes to an end, and we step into the dimension of "space." A similar turn is to be met with in *Parsifal:*

PARSIFAL: I scarcely tread,
yet deem myself already far.
GURNEMANZ: You see, my son,
time changed to *space* here.

It is symptomatic of Bartók's mind and philosophy that this central point, the most important moment of the movement, coincides with the *point of rest*—the perfect standstill. It is precisely this experience of quietude—a momentary motionlessness following the pizzicato effect—which gives rise to the metamorphosis.

A bridge can have a double significance. On the one hand, it leads from somewhere to somewhere—for example, from darkness into light, as in the case of the *Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion.* Or it serves as a framework. It is not for nothing that the bridge-form is also called the "pyramid" form: it is not the sides of the pyramid that strike the eye but its peak, and, in a similar way, in the Bartókean bridge form it is not the outer movements, or outer themes that come to the limelight but the centre of the work.[3]

The central theme is almost the "Archimedean point" of the Bartókean form. Here it becomes clear that the polarity inherent in the bridge structure serves—by the energy of its contrasting charges—to throw even more intensive light on to the centre of the form.



3 To understand this phenomenon, we have to offer a brief historical survey. In a Bach fugue there are no important or less important details because the work presupposes a continuous tension of form; its architecture is so organic and integrated that the mutilation of just a few bars would inevitably mar the piece as a whole. In early classicism, however, everything depended on the opening movement, and so within the opening movement a prominent place is accorded to the main theme—the *Hauptthema:* it is really the "head" of the piece (the coda is frequently either missing or it is rudimentary). With Beethoven, then, a radical change takes place: the codas stretch out disproportionately and by this means the type of Romantic Symphony is born where the solution to the conflict is reserved for the crowning *finale* (in Mozart the finale is rather the "stretta" of the work, while in Brahms' and Bruckner's music it almost amounts to a symphony in its own right. In the Wagnerian *Barform* this permanent "striving after the goal" practically becomes the rule (in *The Mastersingers,* for instance, Wagner does not miss a single opportunity to have this form-type spoken about: the listener hears an exact description of the *Stollen—Stollen—Abgesang* form no less than three times). This is the epoch of *Abgesang*—great elevation. But what happens in the Bartókean bridge form? Within the bridge-form it is the *centre* of the work that comes into the limelight, and the extreme points of the work—its beginning and end—may be considered as negative and positive poles, so that the analogy of a magnetic body presents itself, between the two poles of which a sparkling energy-current is generated.

For Bartók, the principle of duality meant the possibility of synthesis. If in the movement analyzed above the first half of the piece reflects an "expressive", and the second half an "impressive" world, then in the central theme—to use one of Beethoven's favourite expressions—the harmony of the "inner" and "outer" world is realized.

What is the significance of Bartók's bridge form? Firstly it represents the logical organizing principle of classical symmetry. Secondly, Bartók realized in the bridge form his polar conception of the world. Thirdly, he succeeded by means of the bridge form in expressing the endeavour characteristic of our age: the desire for transformation. The bridge *leads* somewhere. Its middle point has the role of bringing about the qualitative transformation which is a necessary condition of any genuinely dramatic action.4

This is how Bartók synthesizes the *spiritual* formula of classical symmetry with the *natural* dynamics of polarity and the *historical* concept of transformation.

4 For further details, see the author's *Bartók and Kodály* (published in English by the Hungarian Institute of Culture, Budapest, Volumes I–IV.)

A MAJOR UNFINISHED WORK ON BARTÓK

by

LÁSZLÓ SOMFAI

General public reaction and especially the response of musicologists to Bartók after his death would have been entirely different had Otto Gombosi (1902–1955) been able to complete his book, in English, on Bartók. That book would have provided us with a reliable guide to Bartók's entire life and work written by a professional musicologist, a Hungarian scientist whom decades of experience of life abroad had made fully aware of the answers and explanations that readers, musicians, and concert-goers would all need. The very name of the author would have been a powerful magnet attracting supporters and followers for Bartók in professional circles in the 1950s. For although it may be argued whether internationa musicology has been sound in its judgement, the fact remains that on the strength of hi research primarily on Renaissance music and his excellent writings, published mostly in world languages, Gombosi is recognized to this day as the greatest musicologist Hungary has ever produced.

Gombosi had a good schooling. He studied piano and composition in Budapest, was a student at Berlin University from 1921 to 1925 and was 23 when his first book, his doctoral thesis *(Jacob Obrecht, eine stilkritische Studie)*, was published: this is a real masterpiece. HI attempted to settle in Budapest (where he edited a musical periodical, *Crescendo*, in 1926–28), but there seemed to be no real opening for him there and so he moved to Berlin in 1929. The Nazi takeover dashed his hopes of a university chair in Germany, and he therefore worked in Rome in 1935 and from 1936 in Basle (the home-town of his wife, Annie Gombosi, a violinist and specialist in Early Music). The two attended an international congress on musicology in the United States in 1939 on the day the Second World War broke out. They decided to stay; then followed several difficult years before he received the university professorship a musicologist of his standing would deserve. He taught in Seattle from 1940 to 1946 and at the Michigan State College in 1946–48—the latter to be discussed later in connection with his book on Bartók. After a lecture tour in Bern in 1949, he wa assistant professor at the University of Chicago, and he was at long last granted the professorship to which he aspired at Harvard University in 1951. Unfortunately, he held that chair only until 1955 when he died from heart disease.

Although Gombosi made his name as a musicologist specializing in medieval and Renaissance music, he had always been interested in Bartók's work. In addition to reviews published in his own periodical Crescendo, he devoted three studies to Bartók (*Musik*, Copenhagen, 1923; *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1931; *Musical Quarterly*, 1946). Realizing all the ignorance and misunderstanding surrounding Bartók's music and the minimal number of compositions performed in America after the composer's death, Gombosi embarked on the mission even at the expense of his favourite themes and decided to write the major Bartók book. The great models for this type of work were probably Spitta's Bach and Jahn's Mozart books in the nineteenth century. Following their example, he plunged into a work of basic analysis covering every one of Bartók's works, and tracing every minute detail of his life. In March 1946, he signed a contract with Boosey and Hawkes, Bartók's publishers in America, and it is a reflection of his basic optimism that he accepted October of the same year as the deadline for completion of the manuscript of his *Béla Bartók*.

But he was virtually snowed under in the work of collecting data and thus had no way of keeping to this deadline. The huge stock of original material that made up Bartók's American estate were at his disposal, since Victor Bátor (the trustee of the Estate of Béla Bartók) had realized the potential significance of a book on Bartók by Gombosi. He worked with the untiring perseverance and enthusiasm of the scholar, collecting all the material himself and assessing and systematizing it as he went along. Meanwhile he annotated hundreds of Bartók's unpublished letters. He copied out the composer's first drafts for the themes of his *Concerto* for orchestra which were noted down on the pages of a small black music-book he had once used on his folk-music collecting tours. By studying and analysing the manuscripts he was able to draw conclusions as to the chronology of the piano pieces Bartók had composed between 1908 and 1911 which were later regrouped to form part of a different series. He outlined the life and works of Bartók in a year-by-year chronology. The material ran to hundreds of pages, some written on the back of Michigan State College headed letter paper which dates them back to 1946–48.

But it was analysing the compositions that really aroused Gombosi's passionate enthusiasm. He filled three portfolios with several hundred pages of analytical notes; in fact his comprehensive notes covered the majority of Bartók's compositions and he would only have had to write them up in final form. He approached the various masterpieces in several phases. Some of his pages contain ideas in their first, rough form, for instance two pages of notes on the *14 Bagatelles*, the significant piano cycle, written in 1908, which contain some basic conclusions relating to Bartók's reform of the musical idiom. There are also detailed descriptions with a bar-by-bar formal analysis of a movement, "maps" of the events in music that Gombosi drew diligently in his characteristic tiny handwriting. The material he prepared for his book on Bartók usually included pages of analysis with musical notes, clarifying for the non-initiated the tonal and chordal structure of the pieces, thematic interrelationships, symmetric formations, and several other features completely absent so far from other works analysing Bartók.

What did the pre-Gombosi literature analysing Bartók's style have to offer? Besides more general discussions and reports which are valuable from an aesthetic rather than from a musical point of view, there was Edwin von der Nüll's ponderous although undoubtedly thorough book and one by Emil Haraszti (whose person and work were rejected as incompetent by Bartók—with a totally uncharacteristic sharpness).

What Gombosi was unaware of in 1946–48 was that Ernő Lendvai's idea for an analysis of Bartók was under way, inspired by Bence Szabolcsi's lectures at the Budapest Academy of Music. It is truly unfortunate that Gombosi with his basically German style of education in harmonic interpretation had no chance to become acquainted with Lendvai's new interpretation of tonality. At the same time, it was also a pity that the Lendvai concept on which attention became focused, first in Hungary then internationally in the 1950s, had no solid analytic alternative of the Gombosi type. One can only regret that in this way the requirement of a detailed scientific analysis of the various compositions could not be combined with serious musicological research of the sources of Bartók's art and way of thinking. Gombosi knew the text of Bartók' *Harvard Lectures* that remained unpublished until 1976; already in his analytical notes he recognized folk-music analogies, e.g. in the themes of the *Concerto*, a ecognition which is still completely absent from the otherwise extensive literature on Bartók.

But while he was proceeding with the enormous work of preparation, there arrived a point when Gombosi had to make a decision on the chapters of the book. The programme of the book as he outlined it tells us how he viewed Bartók's œuvre in terms of periods, while the very titles of the individual chapters reveal much about Gombosi's assessment. It is worthwhile reading his proposed table of contents:

I. In the Beginning
II. Years of Orientation
III. Scholar, Teacher, Pianist
IV. Expression and Form 1916–1924
V. Beyond Neo-Classicism 1926
VI. Expanding Universe, beyond 12-tone technique 1928–1932
VII. Last Wisdom: Microcosmos
VIII. Synthesis: the Last Works
IX. Nature and Culture: B' pantheism tradit. elements revol.—evol.—originality

Recollections of family members are of little assistance in determining when exactly Gombosi began writing the rough draft of his book. As he completed each part of the manuscript he had it typed and copied down the examples in note form. He got as far as the *Allegro Barbaro*, in 1911; in other words, his work came to a sudden halt in what, according to the draft, was the second chapter. His 315 typed pages with the 124 examples in notes represent at most one-third of what would have been a great, comprehensive work on Bartók that will now remain forever incomplete.

When I first heard about the unfinished Gombosi book from Egon Kenton and Paul Henry Lang, two musicologists of Hungarian descent, during my study-trip on a Ford acholarship in the United States in 1968/69, access to the book seemed impossible. On Annie Gombosi's authority, Victor Bátor had made inquiries with a few specialists in America asking them whether they thought it was possible to publish Gombosi's unfinished book as it was or whether it was possible to complete the book on the basis of Gombosi's notes. Naturally, no one offered his services as a co-author, and everyone had good reason to hold the view that Gombosi's prestige absolutely ruled out the possibility of his name being associated after his death with someone else's whose academic prestige was not so unquestionable. Annie Gombosi was still undecided when we met in Boston in 1969; she might perhaps have given up hope of any of her late husband's contribution on Bartók ever being published. She was in Budapest to visit relatives several times in the 1970s and she showed me the unfinished work of 315 typed pages, asking my advice. She possibly realized that as head of the Budapest Bartók Archive, I also attached great importance to preserving the material whilst at the same time safeguarding Gombosi's prestige. In 1977, she brought me the manuscript and all the remaining portfolios of manuscripts, depositing them in the Budapest Archive. She asked me to suggest what should be published of Gombosi's Bartók book, and how.

The most quickly outdated part of the one and a half chapters Gombosi had completed is, of course, the biography. Given the volumes of Bartók's letters and other documents published by János Demény and after Denijs Dille's research into Bartók's early years, these biographical sections have lost their validity. As far as the passages analysing individual works are concerned, however, the situation is entirely different. It is certainly worthwhile publishing the best parts of Gombosi's analyses even though literature on Bartók has swelled to full libraries since then, because his approach is refreshing. He does not have his own central concept of the kind that continuously relegates everything else to the background and uses Bartók's works as its own illustration. Fortunately, or perhaps simply as a result of Gombosi's genuine musicological training, he also resisted the temptation to interpret the idiomatic phenomena of music once he had classified their direct aesthetic meanings. His analyses might not contain sensational observations of a mathematical flavour, but they certainly provide a thought-provoking and thorough introduction for the reader of the scores.

By way of example, here are a few pages from Gombosi's text in English. In them, he starts discussing Bartók's two longer piano series from 1908, *14 Bagatelles* and *Ten Easy Piano Pieces;* the following excerpt includes the introductory paragraphs and Gombosi's analysis of Bagatelles Nos. 1. and 2. The scores are reproduced from the author's own manuscript.*

"The common feature of the piano pieces of 1908 is their intensity of expression. The music is stripped of all non-essentials. New regions of psychic life are opened up: the witty, the burlesque, the ironic, the tersely lyric, elegiac, and lugubrious, the wild, barbaric, and

* At the author's special request the idiosyncrasies of Gombosi's English were left uncorrected (The Ed.)

daemoniac, the pantheistic and transcendental find an outlet in novel terms of melody, harmony, tonality, rhythm, texture, and sonority. Gone is, forever, the self-conscious objectivity of thematic design and of motivic work; gone all academic aspects of form. There is no 'form' at all, in the traditional, classic-romantic sense; the pieces grow out of a germinal idea that poses itself as a problem to be solved; the solution is contained in the natural growth of this idea. This is why the first of the two collections, the 14 Bagatelles Op. 6. has been called, with some justification, the dictionary of modern music. Some of its pieces have been labeled 'cerebral'. Bartók readily admitted, in later years, that some of them were 'experiments'; as a matter of fact, all of them should be regarded as such. Evidently Bartók used his brains. But it is impossible not to feel the fire of spontaneity in even the most 'cerebral' of these pieces.

Each of the short sketches poses a new problem of very specific nature. It will pay good dividend to invest our time in a closer look at them.

No. 1 of the Bagatelles is a short quiet piece of generally two-part texture. In the upper part (right hand), a broadly stepping phrase alternates with another of more lively rhythm of Hungarian flavour. This choriambic rhythm is quite characteristic of Bartók's style at that time. While it rarely occurs in folk music in whole chains, the choriambic germ is genuine. Bartók abandoned this rhythm later, evidently under a more penetrating influence of folk song. While the rhythm is reminiscent of folk song, melodically these phrases emphasize fourth progressions which create a terse neutrality of harmonic-tonal implications. The lower part (left hand) opposes the broadly stepping curves of the descant with a quasi-ostinato figure of dropping eight notes: ♩♩♩♩ ♩ which originally appears as C Phyrigan (*g f e*-flat *d*-flat *c*) and is later transposed to Subdominant *f* and Dominant *g*, to be finally extended to a full octave between *g* and *G*.

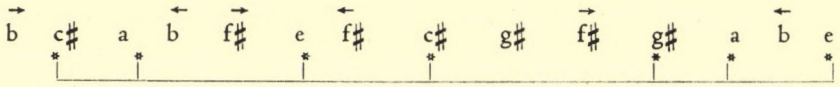
This C Phrygian mode of the lower part clashes sharply with the modality of the upper part. The latter moves in what looks like *c*♯-minor and emphasizes its final tone *e*. In other words, here we have the very first example of what is called in the official jargon of modern music 'poly-(bi)tonality' extended to a full musical entity. (Occasional splitting up of tonality occurs, of course, much earlier, e.g. in Strauss, etc.) Yet, in reality, the *C* is firmly established as the tonal centre, and while it is not possible to label the piece in terms of Major and Minor or of any one modality, it is 'in' *C*'. The melodic lines move in different, sharply contrasting, modes and boldly rattle at the barriers of tonality. Full reconciliation of the diverging forces does not take place until the final evaluation of the closing tone of the Descant *e*′ as the Major third of the Tonic *C*′. The fact that *e*, flat, the minor third, is in almost simultaneous evidence, clouds the Major character of the final consonance but does not detract from its unambiguous tonal meaning. The piece is, to use Bartók's own expression, polymodal rather than polytonal.

Bartók rightly maintained that real polytonality was just as hardly possible of achievement as real atonality. As long as musical perception recognizes—or constructs—any relationship between tones, there will be a difference in their relative weight and there will be a central,

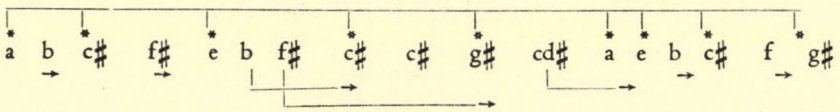
'final' tone, a tonic or what have you, and with it Tonality, *one* Tonality. It is impossible to relate a tone to two tonics, two tonalities at the same time. But it is possible, as in this piece, to use, simultaneously, several melodic lines in different modes or mode-like rows without giving up their common denominator: harmonic tonality.

This concept, vigorously put forward by Bartók in his Harvard lectures of 1942/43, is essential in any theoretical discussion of contemporary music. A far-fetched pedal-point effect is not polytonality; nor is the simultaneous use of different keys, even if it remains unresolved, more negative from the point of view of tonality than any unresolved dissonance. Beyond clarifying the theoretical issue, Bartók's concept is important because it emphasizes the primacy of melody in Bartók's style. In the first Bagatelle, at least, purely melodic-linear elements are fused into a novel unity. This experiment paid off well in later works; its effect is noticeable already in the middle section of the first movement of the first Quartet and it becomes important for the evolution of Bartók's contrapuntal technique some twelve years later (Improvisations, Violin Sonatas, etc.).

The bi-modality of the first Bagatelle is on the surface. Let us attempt a more penetrating analysis and interpretation. No doubt, there is high tension between the two parts: the upper one is quasi pulled up (a half tone) as against the mode of the lower part. The upper one is ascending, the lower heavily descending, to C. Dream and Reality are opposed, as it were. Indeed, the upper part is heavy with symbolism. It is built in a longing but evanescent gesture, on the symbol-motif *c♯—e—g♯—a*, with passing tones *d♯* and *f♯*. The last phrase uses another version: *c♯, g♯, a, e,* breaking up the chord into its constituent fifths, with *f♯* and *b* as passing tones. The unaccompanied episodes of capricious choriambic rhythms show fourth-chord elements which turn out to be double suspensions of the symbol chord, thus: first



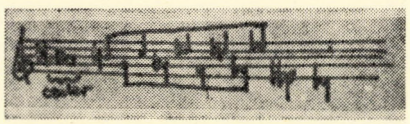
then:



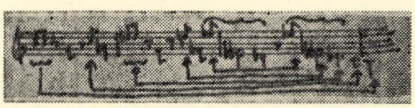
e — *c*H — *a♯* —
b *c♯ g♯* — *e* —
f♯ g♯ d♯ *e* b *c♯*

Pure day-dreaming, with the heavy reality always in the back of the mind; simultaneity of opposite emotional poles translated into adequate musical terms; this is the first Bagatelle.

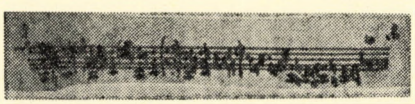
Farsighted also is the solution of the problem posed in No. 2. Here, the germinal idea is 'symmetrical melodic construction in an abstract musical space' and the ensuing deliverance of chromaticism from the harmonic concept of 'alteration'. It is a matter of choice whether *G* or *D* flat should be considered the tonal center of the piece. As a matter of fact, it is suspended between the two opponents. This augmented fourth (or diminished fifth) relationship of tonal centers, dividing the octave into two equal parts, becomes a means of constructive space disposition. The symmetry of the opening phrase is rather complex. While in the up-and-down direction,



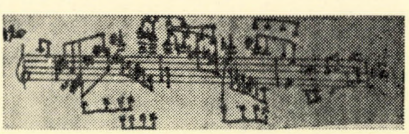
the forces, diverging from the *a* flat—*b* flat center, come clearly to the fore, in the temporal direction the partial cancrisans movement is hidden behind motivic repetition and expansion:



The capricious rhythm is opposed by throbbing ostinato seconds *a* flat—*b* flat, interrupted, in the second section, by an ingenious circumscription of the *d*-minor chord by multiple, increasingly dissonantly resolved suspensions:



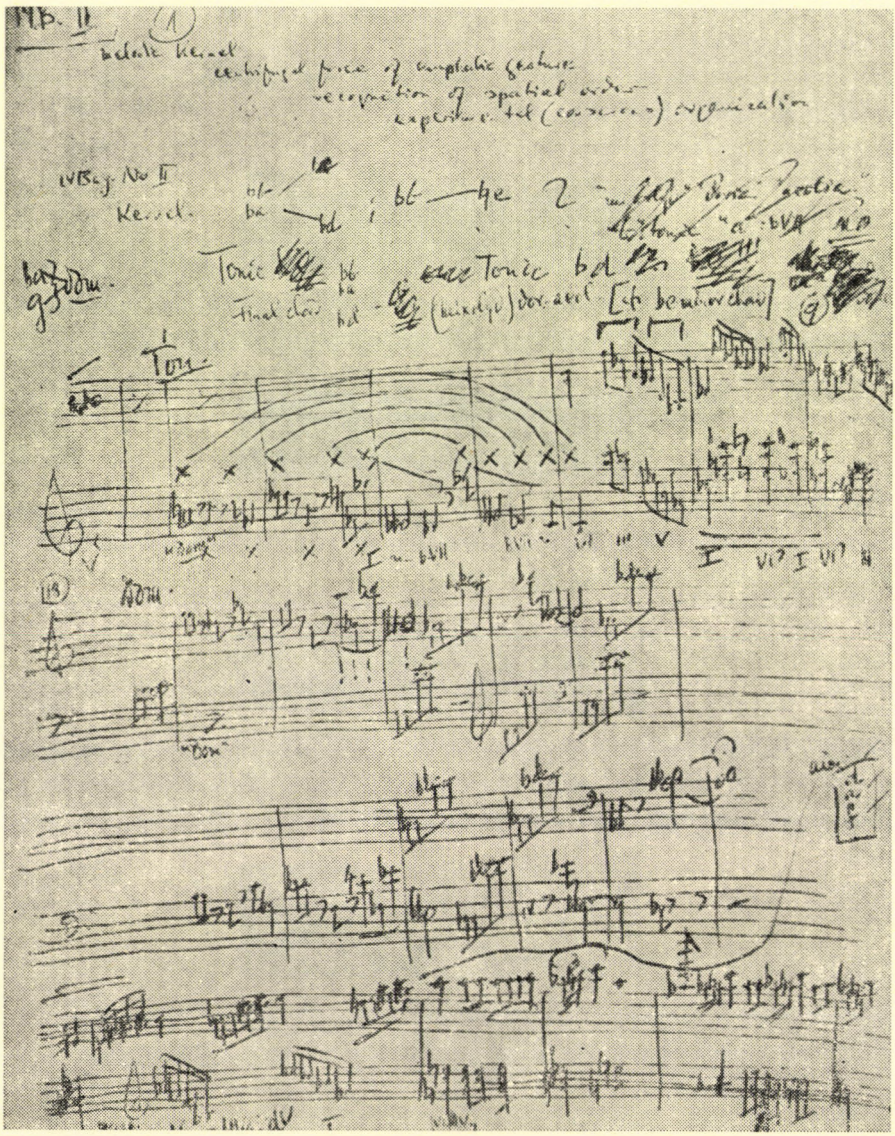
Partially telescoped broken chords produce major second parallels that herald in the ostinato *d*—*e* of the third section, a transposition of the first one to the sphere of the opponent. The symbol chord mockingly comes to the fore in this transition



The last measures recapitulate the thesis and close with a 6th ajouté of D flat and the *a* flat-*b* flat of the ostinato seconds. The 'form', germinal as it may be, is highly original:

opp
(2) a b a a
(2) 5 7 (4) 5 7
(5→)

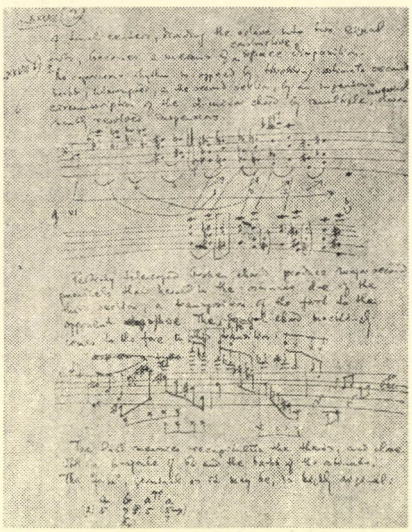
The giocoso character of the little piece has a grim and determined undertone and a rhythmic drive and energy that point toward the imagery of the later Bartók."



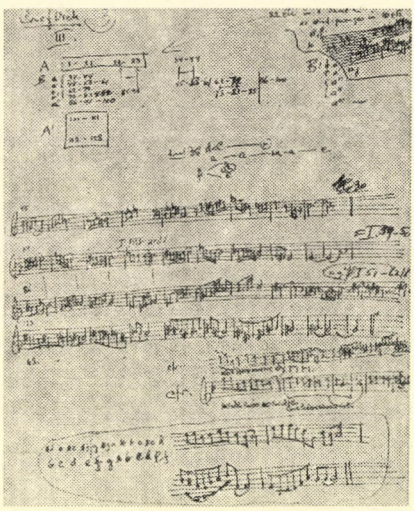
1. Bartók: 14 Bagatelles No. 2. Otto Gombosi's manuscript of the tonal structure and the symmetrical arrangement of the notes

Before her sudden death in 1978 Annie Gombosi approved a compromise solution designed to save the major part of the book. My task was to extract the sections which analyse the compositions, illustrated with notes, and publish these in book form in Hungarian under the title *Otto Gombosi: Béla Bartók—Years of Orientation (1903–1908). Analyses from an unfinished work on Bartók.* The volume of literature in Hungarian on Bartók is so enormous that this material, which can be regarded to some extent as being of academic and historical interest, should be published first in the composer's native tongue. (The translation is the work of the musicologist Katalin Komlós and is scheduled to be published by Editio Musica, Budapest in 1981, the centenary year.)

Gombosi's analyses of the following works form the main body of the book: *"Kossuth" Symphonic Poem, Four Piano Pieces, Rhapsody Op. 1 for Piano and Orchestra, Suite No. 1 and No. 2 for Orchestra, Two Portraits, 14 Bagatelles, Ten Easy Piano Pieces.* Appendix 1 contains an exhaustive list of the sources of Gombosi's book; Appendix 2 consists of a selection of important draft notes on sections that were never written up, and Appendix 3 gives sample facsimiles of some pages of Gombosi's manuscript, the majority of them analytical notes in English.



2. A page of Gombosi's draft manuscript. P. LXVIII, concerned with 14 Bagatelles No. 2.



3. Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra, 3rd movement. Gombosi's manuscript analysing the Hungarian theme, with reference to analogue peasant songs (cf. "Come my way" and "Every man by good luck")

I hope this short book will be worthy of Otto Gombosi's reputation as a music historian. And if its impact on musical circles is stimulating, then the second edition can be published in the language in which it was originally written, in English.

THE FIRST PERFORMANCE OF THE "DANCE SUITE" PIANO VERSION

by

GYÖRGY SÁNDOR

On November 19, 1923 the fiftieth anniversary of the unification of Buda and Pest and Óbuda was celebrated at a concert. This turned out to be a most significant event in the annals of Hungarian music. Three of the greatest composers of the century, who happened to be Hungarians, were commissioned to write a musical composition to commemorate this event.

In spite of the hardships the country has experienced after the disasters of the Great War, the first four decades of the twentieth century proved to be a second golden age of music in Hungary. The first had been the glorious period represented by Ferenc Liszt, during the nineteenth century.

Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, and Ernst von Dohnányi are a triumvirate of geniuses any country can be proud of. Each of these masters did justice to his talent by writing one of their major masterpieces. Dohnányi wrote *Ruralia Hungarica*, a set of folk inspired pieces for orchestra and piano. Kodály composed his *Psalmus Hungaricus*, perhaps one of his most inspired works, for tenor solo, choir, and orchestra, and Bartók offered one of his most imaginative, most original compositions, the *Dance Suite*. This brilliant composition was published both in the orchestra and in a piano version by Universal Edition, in 1925.

Interestingly enough, the piano version of the *Dance Suite* was not performed in public until March 1945. The orchestral version enjoyed many performances—with variable success, as was unfortunately the case with most of Bartók's major compositions during the first half of the century. It was only in January 1945 that I was told by Bartók himself, to present this superb piano work at a recital I was preparing at that time, and that was to take place in Carnegie Hall, New York, during the month of March 1945.

I was indeed very fortunate to have been Bartók's piano student in Budapest, between 1930 and 1934. I studied with him both privately (at his home in Kavics utca and in Csalán utca) and also at the Liszt Academy, where I obtained my Performer's Diploma under his guidance, in 1934. This was, incidentally, the last year Bartók was teaching there.

In 1940 Bartók went into voluntary exile to the United States, where he lived the rest of his life, until 1945. Our contacts resumed there and, as I said before, I approached him

early in 1945 and asked him whether he had written any new piano compositions that I could first perform at my recital at Carnegie Hall in March 1945. At that time Bartók was already in a very precarious state of health, but was fully absorbed in composing his last major works, none of which were for solo piano: the *3rd Piano Concerto*, the *Viola Concerto*, the *Concerto for Orchestra*, and the *Solo Violin Sonata*. He was, however, most responsive and interested, and immediately proposed the presentation of his piano version of the *Dance Suite*. I was very much aware of the existence of this major piano work—and indeed it was a *piano work*, written by Bartók himself. I could not know at the time that this was to be the last year of his life. Neither did I know that it was to be the last public appearance of Bartók when he attended the first performance of his *Dance Suite* at Carnegie Hall, at my recital. The photos with him published on so many occasions were taken in his apartment in New York, at 309 West 57th Street, just a few days before. The photos already show the traces of his deteriorating health. He had about six more months to live.

The artistic validity and the pianistic excellence of the piano version of the *Dance Suite* are beyond doubt. The plasticity and economy of the thematic material of this Suite lend themselves supremely for the piano. It is a work in its own right and while no one can dispute the coloristic superiority of an orchestra, the piano version nevertheless had the approval and the blessing of not only Bartók, but of all pianists, who enjoy performing it.

It has been suggested that Bartók wrote the piano version for me and that I performed it from a manuscript given to me by Bartók. This is not true. Bartók only re-worked a few passages for me from the printed version (Universal Edition, No. 8397). Obviously, some of the orchestral passages were not suitable for the piano, since the complexity of sounds of, let us say, four different brass instruments, or other instances of poliphony, cannot be reproduced intelligibly by one piano. Therefore Bartók suggested some cuts in the piano version, such as on page 9 (Dance No. 2.). Also, there is a cut from the *Piu Allegro* on page 21 to the *Meno Vivo* on page 22. The next cut is from the 3rd bar after the *Allegro Vivace* on page 24 to the *Presto* (bottom line) of page 25. He also suggested cutting three measures on page 17 (second bar of the fourth stave to the second bar of the fifth stave, to the $^5/_8$ bar). Besides these cuts, he changed the second bar of the fifth stave on page 5, by placing the Ab-Eb-B chord to the second beat of that same bar and pedaling it through the following measure.*

These are indeed practical, but minor changes, which improve the structure of this rather free composition, as performed on the piano. As is usual with orchestra adaptations for a solo instrument, the tempi will be slightly faster on the solo instrument, compared to the full orchestra. This is justified because of the total synchronization of chords, entrances, etc., and because of the comparatively smaller volume of a single instrument, versus the enormous volume of the full orchestra. Also, acoustic factors do influence the

* These indications are based on the publication of the *Dance Suite* for piano by Universal Edition, No. 8397.

tempi and the interpreters are necessarily more concerned with the proper recreation of moods, than with exact metronomic units.

In retrospect, I will say that the presentation of the *Dance Suite* for piano was well received by the public, but as is the case with most contemporary works of major proportions, its proper evaluation and success will be reached only in the perspective of long decades of exposure and familiarity after many performances. The popularity of a masterpiece like the *Dance Suite* will never be the same as that of an *Allegro Barbaro* but, it is gaining ground, nevertheless.

The original score where Bartók marked his changes in the *Dance Suite* is no longer in my possession. I gave this rather valuable copy to Enrique Villegas, a friend who is also an ardent admirer of Bartók. He is a well-known pianist and musician in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and I must say, I have mixed feelings now about having parted with this important document. But at the time I gave it to him, I felt his enthusiasm and love for Bartók justified my often regretted gesture. In any event, I feel that I have now given an accurate report of the circumstances of the first performance of the piano version of the *Dance Suite*, which took place over 35 years ago.

THE PRINCE OF BABYLON

(Short story)

by

MIHÁLY SÜKÖSD

Cedar Rapids

Small town in the mid-West, in the US state of Iowa, south-west of Chicago, about 30 kilometres from Iowa City. The airport is a provincial two-storey building, the waiting-room seats twenty-eight, cheeseburgers, coke, and weary coffee are on sale in the buffet. Anyone coming to Iowa City or leaving it has to use this airport.

September 2, 1977

I arrive at Cedar Rapids airport with four fellow writers. From Chicago. My four fellow writers and I and our hosts are waiting for the plane. From Los Angeles.

Early afternoon, brilliant sunshine. Twenty-eight degrees Celsius.

Jurek on the plane steps. Jurek in the waiting-room of Cedar Rapids Airport.

Dzień dobry, towarzysze. Dobri den, tovarishchi. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen. You are the international writers?

Entrée

Black teeshirt, jeans, gymshoes, narrow hips, the torso of a wrestler, short-cropped golden-blond hair, violet eyes. Two tennis rackets under his left arm, an airline bag over his right shoulder. Eight of us are waiting for him, five international writers and three American guides. Jurek goes round shaking hands, he reaches me, shakes my hand, I have a good memory for names, I've read a volume of his short stories published in Hungarian.

"Polak, Węger dwa bratanki," Jurek puts down his tennis rackets and kisses me on both cheeks. "Want a sip of vodka, Hungarian friend?"

It's a fact that Hungarians and Poles are good friends, but I never drink vodka during the day. "The greater fool you are," says Jurek in the language he imagines is English, and he offers round the bottle of vodka.

"He's the reason." Jurek in the minibus on the way to Iowa City points to the vodka bottle. "Or rather, his big brother, the litre bottle, he's the reason that I came from Los Angeles and I've got to pay 482 dollars extra out of my scholarship on my ticket. The day before yesterday I gave a farewell party in my flat in Warsaw, four men, four girls, we drank a little vodka, listened to music, drank a bit more vodka, we fell asleep at three in the morning, most of my guests on the carpet because there are only three beds in my flat."

The way he speaks

At first it's hard to understand Jurek's English, later, when you've got used to it, it's easier for someone whose mother-tongue isn't English. He's got a relatively wide vocabulary, but he can't and won't decline anything. He pronounces the words almost phonetically. He's evolved some sort of individual pidgin English for himself—big white man now go blue lake and there want shoot many and many fat wild duck, as our translators of pidgin English would put it—this, however, he speaks fluently, with no inhibitions.

It happened like this

"My plane was leaving at nine in the morning, I was woken up by the telephone alarm call, I put on the coffee, I gave a kick to my four girlfriends and four boyfriends, good-bye, I'm off to America, I want to lock up my flat. They had trouble waking up, their heads ached, I gave each of them a Polish painkiller, they said they wanted to see me off at the airport, that made me so happy I put two tennis rackets into the car instead of one of my suitcases, as if I were just off for some tennis. My car is certified for five people, we managed to squeeze in nine, I felt as if two heads were sitting on my neck, and my two heads wanted to do things in different directions, but I had to drive, because the two of my friends with driving licences both had more of a hangover than I did. At the airport I handed

over the car keys, kissed my four boyfriends and my four girlfriends, they announced that all eight of them would wave to me from the balcony and I should wave back, that made me so happy again that all I said to the ticket collector was I'm going on the American plane. In the bus on the way to the plane I looked for my boyfriends and girlfriends and waved to them. Unfortunately the American plane was flying east not west, but I only realized that in Vladivostok because I was asleep till then. In Vladivostok I had to change planes, in the transit lounge I drank a bit of vodka to help my hangover, on the new plane I found a sweet Japanese girl, we talked, drank a little whisky, slept, only in Tokyo did I realize that I was in Tokyo and that I was approaching Iowa City from the west, not from the east as the rules for my scholarship specify. So now I'll have to pay an extra 482 dollars for my ticket out of my first month's scholarship."

Mayflower

In the heat, in the shrapnel fire of the Indian summer sunshine: a mousy-grey concrete block, eight indifferent floors, eight hundred and nineteen apartments. In the entrance hall American pensioners are munching peanuts with their false teeth, in the games room Malaysians are playing billiards, in the eight corridors of the eight floors the lights are on all day, the two lifts never break down, girl students from Hong Kong wash their underwear for fifty cents in the washing machines in the laundry rooms on each floor.

I open my suitcase, I'd like to get settled in. Jurek turns up without knocking, he sits down on my unmade bed and makes a face.

"It's just as ugly a room as mine is. Are we going to sit here (in his own Polish–Russian-pidgin English: are we going to scratch our balls here) for a whole six months?"

"Before leaving for Miami Beach."

"I'm going to Los Angeles to sell my film story"—Jurek checks the refuse disposal unit in my kitchen, the gum spray in my bathroom—"at the beginning of November, but if this is such a rotten place, it'll be next week. Come and have a swim, I've got to clear my head."

Exercise

Then for the first time. How many times since?

Jurek goes over to the young lady sitting at the reception desk and kisses her on the temple. I'm the Prince of Babylon, I've arrived, I must take

an urgent swim, give me the swimming pool key, darling, the lady twitters, oh, that's great. Jurek returns the key, he kisses the lady tenderly on the lobe of her ear, the matter-of-fact American set giggle, oh, that's really great.

We do a bit of weightlifting to warm up, I lift ten kilo weights, Jurek heavier ones; we swim side by side, the twenty-metre pool is just right for us, we don't push the water out of it, we do the crawl, breast stroke, arms only, then legs only. Jurek informs me in pidgin English: you and I fitness important, Mishu, what you and I lose there inside bed and there inside vodka bottle, you and I to make up here inside swimming-pool water.

"What have you done in the way of sport?"

"Let's see," Jurek shakes the water out of his ear, "well, I've done a bit of swimming, tennis, football, handball, oh, yes, I boxed too, only, you see, I wasn't really good at any of them. So what's the point?"

How many times he's going to say that, how many times I'm going to hear it, on how many different occasions: so what's the point?

Meeting

In the Mayflower entrance hall, on the sofa, a short, spectacular lady in a maroon-coloured blouse embroidered with gold thread and a long black skirt. By the time I get over there Jurek is bowing in front of her.

"Ninotchka Rosca from the Philippines," the lady introduces herself. "Playwright and journalist. I spent four months extended detention on remand in President Marcos' jail, but they didn't dare so much as harm a hair of my head."

"Four months? Detention on remand?" Jurek snaps his fingers. "So what?"

It's still the first American day, the first American night. Mr. E. is giving a party in honour of the international writers so that they can get to know and like the Americans around them. The three of us set out together to Mr. E.'s house. Two East European writers and between them totters Ninotchka Rosca: in her high-heeled sandals she still only comes up to about our third rib, her thick black hair covers her hips, her confidently pretty face is defined by two slanting ironical eyes. On the way Jurek puts his arm round her shoulders and wants to give her a gentle kiss on her temple, Polish style, but Ninotchka brushes him aside: that sort of thing isn't the custom in my country.

At Mr. E.'s party there are a lot of Americans and a lot of drink. I widen my acquaintances. Now, right away, on this very first night in Iowa City

I devour as much of America as I possibly can. A poetess from Thailand, twenty-six years old, with three literary awards, has come to Iowa City for a year and a half to translate Walt Whitman from English into Thai at the university translators' workshop, her father is a colonel in the security forces, the poetess belongs to the untouchables in Thailand, I don't know what her announcement means, she doesn't know what I mean when I say that we studied her country in secondary school as Siam, and we called the oldest male elephant in Budapest Zoo Siam, too, when I was a child. I'm busy, I ask questions, I'm asked questions, I only realize from the clapping that something important is happening behind my back.

Jurek is dancing with Ninotchka, they are both born dancers, first of all they astound the Americans with a slow rock from Barry White. Jurek puts up his hand. He asks Mr. E. permission to drink from the bottle (Mr. E. nods, ever since then Jurek—how many times? any number of times—always asks and gets permission to drink out of the bottle), he rinses his mouth with two drags of Bourbon, and slots the cassette he's brought with him from home into the tape recorder at a mazurka. The mazurka is danced by at least four people in Poland, but Jurek dances it now in the United States *à deux*. Ninotchka Rosca from the Philippines has never heard of the mazurka, but she has a talent for dancing and languages, she gets the hang of Jurek's pidgin text as he whispers the rudiments of the mazurka into her ear. She understands, she's got to understand, they are like the male and female unity in some sort of cave painting, or our bashful midnight fantasies: the blond, hard-muscled male and the pitch-black haired, fragile female, one and a half heads between them in height. If I didn't know, I wouldn't believe that they are dancing together for the first time, their knees, their hips, their arms, their hands adjust to each other, seek and find each other.

Late night news

Can it still be that same first night? the next night? the one after that? which?

I've already washed my socks, I've put the paper into my typewriter. Jurek bangs on my door, let me in, Mishu, I want to tell you something.

I let him in, he settles himself down, puts his feet up on my bed, he's twirling an unopened bottle of Bourbon in his hand.

"I stole it from the party," he says in a matter-of-fact way. "Pity it's only one. On the night before I left Warsaw I swore that I would get as

much out of America as I possibly could. On the plane I'd eat as much as I could hold, I'd drink as much as I was offered, and everywhere I'd steal whatever I could. That much is due to us under-developed East Europeans, don't you agree?"

I only agree with him in part, I ask him what he stole tonight from Mr. E's house.

"Very little," Jurek answers sadly. "This bottle, a Janis Joplin cassette, an Indonesian pipe, a bow tie, and three packets of peanuts," his eyes glint with pleasure. "It's not a lot, but this was the first time I've stolen in America. Next time you steal too, Mishu, next time we'll steal together, then we're sure to steal more."

I'll have to give the idea some more thought. Jurek stands up and stretches.

"And now we're going to screw," he announces. "I made a decision about that too in Warsaw. I'm going to screw as many American girls as I can get hold of. Though in Warsaw I never thought that the first girl I screwed in America would be a Philippine playwright."

He goes into my bathroom, combs his hair with my comb and deodorizes himself with my deodorant. He's slightly drunk now. From now on for six months Jurek will be slightly drunk every evening: you can't tell from his eyes, you can't sense it in his movements, it's only betrayed by his deepening throaty voice and his uninhibited speech. Strangely enough he's always only slightly drunk, whereas he drinks from morning till evening, only a sip at a time mind you, but continuous sips.

"Wish me the best of luck, Mishu," he says in the doorway. "Don't you want a screw, Mishu?"

I don't feel like it at the moment, it was a long, full day, I'd rather work a bit. Dosvidaniya, says Jurek as he goes. I turn on my radio and get acquainted with American pop music and the idiotic commercials in the intervals between songs. I swig Hungarian cherry brandy, sit down at my typewriter, I'm not sleepy.

"Let me in, Mishu!" Jurek asks from the corridor. "I don't want to disturb you, but let me in at once, Mishu!"

Grasping the almost empty Bourbon bottle, he settles half his bottom on my desk, sweeping off the papers.

"She wouldn't sleep with me!" he tells me in an incredulous tone. "Just imagine, she wouldn't sleep with me!"

I am sympathetic about it.

"I knock on her door, she opens it, I go in, I ask her, Ninotchka, shall we screw right away, or do you insist on the preliminaries? She replies that

I should get out of her room at once. I think perhaps she doesn't understand my Warsaw English, I repeat the sentence, she says no one can talk to her like that and would I stop this dirty talk right away. I reply that first of all I don't see anything dirty about my talk and secondly as far as I remember we were on good terms during the mazurka, and just imagine what she did? She stood on tiptoe and slapped my face left and right with all the strength that she could muster in her flower petal palm. What can I do, I apologize to her, sit down on the floor in front of her chair and ask and get her permission to kiss her feet just once, and ever since I've been trying to convince her that that's not what I meant and that it's my nature and my way of speaking. As I said, I quacked away for an hour and a half and I thought everything was fine, I was about to unzip her trousers when she punched me on the nose and said I should get lost this minute, she can't stand the sight of me. You've been married twice, Mishu, you're older than me, can you understand?"

I more or less understand, though I've never had any dealings with a Philippine playwright either. I ask Jurek whether in his thirty-eight years of life this is the first experience he's had of being refused.

"For me?" In vain I repeat the question in pidgin English, pidgin Russian, Jurek doesn't understand. "But you said you'd been to Warsaw, Mishu. Don't you remember what the Warsaw girls are like?"

I've no coherent memories.

"I've got three flats in Warsaw," Jurek tells me. "In one of them I live with my mother, no one else can put a foot in there, of course. The second I share with my artist friend, that's where I work, well, there I sometimes don't even know whether it's my girlfriend or my artist friend's girlfriend sleeping in my bed. Not to even mention my third place, it's supposed to be my place of rest, but those little bitches always bring round their girlfriends who have nowhere to sleep. There are times when I flop down dead tired only to get smothered on my own bed like Bagheera, the black panther, was smothered by the monkey people in *The Jungle Book*. You read it as a child too, didn't you?"

I remember *The Jungle Book* clearly, the black panther and the monkey people.

"So now you're going to come down and have a swim with me, aren't you, Mishu?"

"It's half past one, Jurek."

"What of it?" He opens his violet blue eyes at me. "Half past one in the morning is the best time for swimming, isn't it? I hate swimming on my own."

This charming, this disgusting egotism is irresistible, I do as he wishes, and later on too, I almost always comply during the six months of our friendship (friendship? relationship? time together?). We do the crawl side by side, we do butterfly for ten lengths, twelve lengths, before, during, after we drink my cherry *pálinka*, Jurek kicks the empty bottle with the outside of his foot onto the road in front of the Mayflower.

"I hope I hit at least one American on the head," says Jurek with satisfaction. "I hope I punctured at least one American car tyre. Couldn't I sleep in your room, Mishu? I can sleep on the floor, on your spare mattress, I hate sleeping on my own."

He sleeps on the floor, on my spare mattress, he cleans his teeth with my toothbrush, he puts his golden-haired arms around my spare pillow, he mutters something, his first-class athlete biceps contracts.

Then and ever since. How many times does he sleep in my room? Mainly on my spare mattress, less frequently swapping places: he on the bed, I on the floor. How many times? Who with? I'm sitting at my typewriter when he turns up, either alone (in which case I know that in five minutes the telephone will ring and a female voice will ask after Jurek), or with American girls, all of whom he wants to screw. Jurek knocks, I'm sitting at my typewriter, in the sound tent of the pop music on my radio. Jurek enters carrying the inevitable vodka or whisky bottle, beside him, behind him, one or sometimes two American students, in jeans, teeshirts, they titter, giggle, their blond hair flowing in the perfect air-conditioning of the Mayflower, their rows of teeth flashing in the dim lighting of my two-roomed temporary American lodgings, hi, they greet me casually, hi, I reply, feigning casualness, from the shelter of my typewriter, my radio, my vodka, or whisky bottle. Jurek and his partner or partners sleep with me in one flat, we wake up, now there are just the two of us, Jurek is shaving with my razor.

Service

He does this for a long time, for days, weeks, and in the meantime he keeps watch on Ninotchka Rosca. Ninotchka doesn't forgive him for a long time, but she appreciates his humble repentance and permits Jurek to buy her frozen calves' liver and plum yoghurt in the supermarket, she tolerates Jurek buying two tickets for the campus cinema, she accepts Jurek

as her natural first dancing partner at the frequent parties. I watch them from above, from the fifth floor of the Mayflower, or pacing the street beside them and behind them. In front a dragonfly, holding herself in proudly, an immaculate yellow complexion turned to face the sun, the wind, investigating with her slanting black eyes the task on hand, the most modern American sunglasses on her charming Philippine nose. And behind her, always to the left, about three paces away, the Polish writer, carrying grocery bags, parcels of books, female clothing from boutiques.

"She still hasn't slept with me," Jurek shakes his head as he sits on my desk, on my bed, sipping my vodka, my whisky. "She says that sort of thing isn't the custom in the Philippines, in the Philippines it's only the custom with someone who will be your love till the end of your life. And she says she's not quite convinced about that yet. Tell me, Mishu, you are cleverer in these things, what should I do?"

Chicago, October 21, 1977

That three-storey, who knows how many-roomed house in Chicago on the banks of Lake Michigan. Dr. Duncan, the dentist, is entertaining members of the International Writing Program.

Those American members of the family, friends and acquaintances. Wizened old gentlemen in striped suits and bow ties, young men with crew-cuts and predacious rows of teeth, teenagers in torn jeans and dirty gymshoes. Alongside the dentist and his wife, the father-in-law, with a hearing aid, in a wheelchair, a very rich furniture manufacturer. We know our job: we international writers line up and slowly, articulately we repeat our unpronounceable names and Cloud-cuckooland countries. Oh, Malaysia, that's great! And Yugoslavia? Wonderful, you are welcome! You can see by the clouding of their hospitable American expressions that they can't quite place Malaysia or Yugoslavia on the map. Dr. Duncan's circle of friends and relations is unfathomable. I take note of two single or married, honey-blonde beautiful-bosomed girls (sisters, twin sisters?), a sunburnt major in the uniform of the United States Air Force, and an unnaturally fat little girl dressed in a green maxi skirt with green ribbons on her plaits. We take over five rooms, there are any number of small children and four snow-white, long-haired deaf Himalayan cats at our feet.

It's Jurek's turn to be introduced, he leans over the wheelchair and whispers in an engaging way: "I'm Johnny Weismüller."

"I beg your pardon?" asks the paralysed furniture manufacturer. "Which country are you from?"

"Hollywood-country," Jurek enunciates. "From the Tarzan films. You surely remember, you're not that old. I'm the one who sends messages through the jungle like this," Jurek raises his cupped hand to his mouth and in Chicago, on the shores of Lake Michigan, through the open window of the three-storey house, over the heads of the international writers and the American hosts, he yells Tarzan's battle-cry into the autumn night.

The children are ecstatic, the Himalayan cats climb up the curtains and hang by their outstretched claws at a height of two and a half metres, the big little girl fixes her eyes on Jurek.

"Marvellous!" The furniture manufacturer propels himself up and down, back and forth in his wheelchair. "So you're a film actor, not an international writer?"

"Not a chance," Jurek shakes his head sadly. "I'm a professional dancer, the Prince of Babylon, male prostitute from the outskirts of Warsaw. Warsaw's a Polish city in East Europe. D'you know where Europe is?"

Mr. E. intervenes. He's our court jester, he says, and a significant writer and film writer, and he's written four screenplays for Polanski who is currently directing in the States.

"Who's this Polanski?" Jurek has already discarded his corduroy jacket, he unbuttons his linen shirt to his navel, he pushes the wheelchair, and shouts into the hearing aid. "This tiny lady is Ninotchka Rosca, the most famous ladies' hairdresser in the Philippines, Greta Garbo's godchild. She got that emerald ring from her godmother," and he thrusts Ninotchka's ring finger under the nose of the furniture manufacturer and breathes a devout kiss on it.

"My God, Queen Christina!" The furniture manufacturer brakes in his wheel chair, "It's as if it were only yesterday that I came out of the cinema!"

"And he's the youngest Count Dracula," Jurek swings me before the hosts. "You know, the great-grandchild of the blood-sucking vampire from Transylvania in East Europe. Have you remembered where Europe is yet?"

I shake hands with the furniture manufacturer, the Air Force major slaps me on the shoulder. Jurek steps over two little children and three Himalayan cats, and anchors himself at the bar. Without water, he says, declining the offer, and without ice, he reflects for a moment, and without a glass, if I may.

Chicago, October 1977, I am consuming the bounty of a North American dentist and a paralysed North American furniture manufacturer. I wander to and fro between the five rooms, I sit down, ask questions, stand up, ask questions, I meet Jurek, he's half sitting, half lying in the leather armchair,

one of the single (or married) blonde girls is sitting astride the arm of the chair.

"Come here, Mishu!" Jurek is mechanically yet sensually caressing-ruffling the single (married?) American girl's long honey-blonde hair. "Listen here, sweetie-pie, he's my Transylvanian friend and partner in sport and adviser, you like him, don't you? If you like me you have to like him as well, you see, you little American sex organ?"

"Is it true that you wrote the screenplay for *Knife in the Water?*" asks the married or single girl (without so much as a look at me).

"It's not true!" answers Jurek. "I've never written any sort of screenplay, either in Poland or in the United States. Anyway, why are you interested in Polanski, that drug-addicted seducer of young girls?"

"Have you seen *Chinatown?*" enthuses Jurek's blonde partner of the day, "Polanski's a genius."

"Polanski's a heap of muck!" says Jurek angrily, sadly. "I should know, he's been a friend of mine for fifteen years, we went to university together for two years, then he was expelled, first from the Communist Youth Organization, then from the university as a class enemy because his father made knick-knacks as a self-employed artisan." Jurek is speaking pidgin English, Polish, Russian all at once now. "Mishu, can you translate for them. What's 'expelled' and what's 'class enemy'?"

The last tango in Chicago

Jurek is kicking off his shoes, his voice announces to the five rooms that now comes

The last tango
The last tango in Paris
The last tango in Chicago
performed by Ninotchka Rosca and Jerzy Nowim

In the last sentence his voice trembles slightly and at that there is silence, all the American members and acquaintances of the family stop talking, all the international writers pay attention. Ninotchka and Jurek do an imitation of the tango scene from the famous film, with mock sensuality they step up to each other's crotches, entwined they chassé together, with their feet riveted they stare transfixed into the faces of the audience, they get entwined again, tumultous applause. Then somehow they forget about their roles, Jurek embraces Ninotchka with both arms, Ninotchka glues her loins to Jurek's thighs, Jurek bends down and keeps whispering softly in

Ninotchka's ear. Ninotchka turns her pair of almond eyes upwards, she keeps talking softly upwards, the Americans are astonished, embarrassed. Mr. E. is conversing with a soya-bean producer in the third room, but he has eyes at the back of his head. He comes over to me.

"Personally I like what they're doing very much," he begins in an anxious tone. "But we're exposed to too many eyes here, and these are real Americans, you know."

On the parquet of the last tango, Jurek keeps giving Ninotchka tender kisses on the neck.

"You're on good terms with both of them, Mihali," Mr. E. continues, getting more and more anxious. "Tell them to do it in the motel or at home in the Mayflower. I'd be terribly pleased if they would carry on there and not here. If they carry on here, these Americans won't give the Program a dime next year."

Don't worry, as far as I know an intellectual Philippine lady always knows how to behave when, where, and with whom. My knowledge is correct. When Jurek starts kissing her ear-lobe, Ninotchka brings the last tango to an end, she takes the Polish writer by the hand, sits him down beside her and starts lecturing him.

Kaleidoscope

From now on there are just

pictures? fragments of pictures? clear, hazy?

as far as I remember, one of the single (or was she married after all?) blonde girls gets excited by the sweet name of Transylvania which has been mentioned several times. I explain my relationship and the status of constitutional law in Transylvania from Gábor Bethlen till the treaty of Trianon. I don't imagine she takes it in, I fondle her mass of flaxen hair, I don't notice that she opposes it, I don't notice that she is pleased by it

later

a podgy young man with a goatee sits beside me and asks how far equal rights for women and equal rights for homosexuals have got in Hungary. I happily reply that equal rights for women are being achieved in Hungary, I sadly reply that equal rights for homosexuals are not a public concern in Hungary. I bear with his contempt

even later

the music is fading, the overgrown little girl settles down at my feet, she arranges her maxi skirt over her feet, and holds out a picture book to me,

would I read today's bedtime story, she may be seven, she may be sixteen, she fixes her hazy fish eyes on me, I start reading the story about Andrew the mouse and his friend the Mischievous Magpie, she puts her two fat arms around me, her vawy mouth searches for my face, she says I love you very much, will you always read my bedtime story. Dr. Duncan disentangles her from my neck, Oh, I'm terribly sorry, you know, she always picks out one of the guests

meanwhile

I cast regular glances at the sofa, Jurek and Ninotchka are sitting side by side, I always see the same thing, Ninotchka explains smilingly, Jurek nods silently, later I go over there, can I do anything for them, they gradually recognize their friend, Ninotchka thanks me, but they don't need anything, I leave them, from a distance I can see that not even their little fingers touch.

Confession

What time do we get back to the motel? When do I go to bed? Did I clean my teeth? I don't know, Jurek is sitting on my bed, shaking my shoulder.

"Wake up, Mishu, I've got something important to tell you!"

"What's the time?"

"Early morning, late morning, who cares, I want to tell you something very important."

"What's happened?"

"It's happened?"

"What?"

"She's mine!" Jurek is pummelling my shoulder, my arm. "Today she became mine at last."

I'm truly delighted.

"Don't be so cynical, Mishu," Jurek's voice falters, his violet blue eyes are dewy. "I'm in love, Mishu!"

We take two American aspirins to counteract our hangovers and I make two American coffees.

"I've never been in love before," says Jurek. "The word and the concept have never meant anything to me before, however many times I've written about love, I wasn't familiar with it, I didn't understand. At 21 I married a fellow student, we lived in a students' hostel, we loved each other for six months, we put up with each other for another six months, luckily we didn't have any children, you know how it is in our part of the world."

I've got a rough idea.

"And since then things have been like I said," Jurek continues, "I live with my mother in one flat, and I keep up two other flats. My mother is unhappy if I don't wake up in her flat and if she can't cook me my boiled egg for breakfast. They aren't even allowed to phone me at my mother's, those steamy bitches I told you about whose names I don't even remember, I just know that after the so-called moment of passion I always think, get the hell out of here, I don't want to see you again. Can you give me a bit of beer, Mishu?"

He drinks coffee, he drinks beer, he sits cross-legged on my bed.

"You see, to all appearances my life seems to have been so easy." Jurek grasps the standard American motel bedside table, carries it over to the open window and starts weightlifting. "My first short story was published when I was twenty-two, my first book when I was twenty-four, I'd only just finished university. Then I made friends with Andrzej and everything clicked. I earned as much as I wanted or could have wanted."

1977, October twenty-second, nine thirty-two in the morning, in the open window, out of the columns of mist over Lake Michigan, out of the pale sunshine, Andrzej Wajda waves: Jurek wrote the screenplays for the *Flycatcher* and *Everything for Sale.*

"But I've never been interested in money," Jurek stares at Lake Michigan, he lifts my bedside table evenly. "On the contrary, I've always been afraid of money, because I know that if I ever have a lot of money, I'll stop writing and my life won't be worth a fig."

I've often read that Slavs are sentimental by nature, I say, but since I've met you, Jurek, I reckon the most selfish, the most bestial Slavs are the most sentimental.

"To all appearances," Jurek continues unabashed. "Until I was thirty-eight I thought that I had nothing to do with anyone apart from my mother, and my mother was bound to die before me, in other words, I only wanted to live as long as I wanted to write and could write. And here you are, I had to come to America, to Iowa City in order to fall in love with someone at the age of thirty-eight and see my life differently. What do you say to that, Mishu, you've been married twice?"

Intermission

Now they are inseparable. Now they always go everywhere together, side by side, their elbows brush, but Ninotchka doesn't let Jurek put his arm through hers or round her shoulder or stay with her for the night, because

it's of no concern to anyone else that they love each other. Then Jurek flies to Los Angeles to sell his film story to Polanski, or rather, not to Polanski, who happens to be defending himself in court for statutory rape, but to the appropriate manager, and from then on Ninotchka Rosca goes alone to the supermarket, the university library, the university cinema, she thrusts out her chest, she swings her lovely bottom impartially, there is a self-assured smile on her thick mouth, the answer to her own questions.

Nights again

I'm sitting at my typewriter, composing Hungarian prose, the wind is blowing now, and there's sleet in Iowa City. Jurek phones me, in the background pop music.

"The sun's shining, I go swimming in the Pacific and in my hosts' pools," Jurek informs me. "I'm in a middling to rotten mood. How is she?"

"She's fine," I say. "What about your film story?"

"Who cares about my film story," is approximately what Jurek says. "Are there any male beings fussing around her?"

"Don't ask unnecessary questions," is my approximate answer. "Do care about your film story, and don't think for a moment that anyone could possibly be fussing around a Philippine playwright. But why don't you call her and ask her about it?"

"I've just spoken to her," Jurek replies. "For forty-two minutes. But I'd sooner believe you, Mishu, you are my only friend in this wonderful America."

While he talks he's constantly drinking, every time he pauses he takes a swig from the bottle, from now on (by his standards) he'll be drunk, he mixes more and more Polish words into his pidgin English sentences, I answer in Russian as far as my vocabulary allows, the line breaks mid-sentence. The next night he calls again, again there is marvellous pop music in the background, he immediately starts speaking in Polish and Russian, I can hardly understand him, maybe he's trying to tell me that he can do butterfly perfectly well without me, the line breaks mid-sentence.

King Marke *malgré lui*, next day I look for Ninotchka Rosca in the university library. She's reading her ideal, Oriana Fallaci, in the original because she can speak Italian too. I tell her that our mutual friend is ruining my nights, tell him something reassuring. Ninotchka Rosca smiles, neither you nor I can tell him anything that would reassure him now.

Jurek comes back, he says Polanski is not under arrest but things don't look very bright for him, there are a lot of witnesses for the prosecution. He says that he was introduced to Jack Nicholson, but the famous actor was unable to speak because he was loaded with drugs. He, Jurek, gave heroin or hashish a try, but since it enticed him to dive head first out of the open window of the second storey, he didn't want to try it a second time. After two weeks Hollywood and Beverly Hills were as boring as Warsaw, people chatter, drink, make love, make films, only for more money than in Warsaw. He, Jurek, had been given a 1,250 dollar advance on his film story, from which he had to write a screenplay by the end of December.

Jurek comes back, the days pass, the weeks pass, we get on with our work, international writers in America, and they are now together from morning till night (and obviously from night till morning too, but nobody is aware of that because Ninotchka proudly guards her independence). Jurek writes his screenplay in Polish and pidgin English, in the evenings Ninotchka tidies up his dialogues. The end of November, Iowa City is covered in snow, from the north-east, from Canada, an icy wind blows ceaselessly. Ninotchka Rosca in all her furs still shivers, she decides to fly to San Francisco in the first week of December, the Polish writer will go after her when he has finished his screenplay, they'll spend Christmas together in California, they'll spend New Year's Eve together in New York and after that

"After that I don't know what'll happen." Like a timeless cave drawing: Jurek is crouching on my bed, drinking vodka, talking. "It's easier for her, she can extend her visa, she can send her articles in English to her magazine. But I have to go home in January, you know."

I know very well that both he and I have to go home in January.

"I asked her to come with me to Warsaw," says Jurek. "If she wants I'll marry her, if she doesn't I won't marry her, she should just come with me and stay with me. My country will be pleased that a Philippine playwright wants to continue her career in Poland, and, given her talent for languages, she'll learn Polish in six months. And do you know what she replied?"

I've got a good idea what Ninotchka Rosca replied.

"She said she wouldn't come because she couldn't." It's not hot in my room, but Jurek starts to sweat, he unbuttons his shirt to his navel, then takes it off. "She says she isn't very keen on President Marcos' dictatorship, and she adores traipsing around the world, but her home is the Philippines even if she's in love with me."

Don't you and I feel the same way?

"Yes, Mishu, but your ex-wives and your sons are waiting for you, and you've already been in love. I'm in love for the first time, and she says she'll be happy to give birth to my child, but she doesn't want to live continuously in Warsaw because she just can't. Tell me, what should I do, Mishu?"

It's not something I can give advice on, you'll have to decide for yourself. I hesitate, what you said, does that mean Ninotchka is pregnant?

"What else could it mean!" Jurek pummells the mosquito net in the window, he kicks the cupboard and the chairs. "She's pregnant for the first time in her life, because when she fell in love with me she stopped taking the pill and she only told me when she was quite certain of the outcome. And to my frenetic delight she said she wanted to have our child, she doesn't care what I think, if I want she'll register it under my name, but she'd rather register it in her name and bring it up on her own." Jurek gets into the bath and turns on the shower. "Can I stay the night with you, Mishu?"

I put down my spare mattress.

Landscape with figures

The spare mattress on the floor is empty, my lent teeshirt is on my lent pillow.

I look out of the window: no wind, silence. Snow on the frozen Iowa river, unbroken thick snow in place of the park, in place of the yellow benches, in place of the chirping of the crickets where three months ago Jurek and I gave an East European party and we went on talking till the brick red sun rose from behind the hills of Iowa State, and we bathed our hangover foreheads in the early morning dew. Unbroken, even, silent virgin snow. On the banks of the river two black ponies up to their bellies in snow, their heads are hanging down, they've got no saddles, nor harness on them, they are quite still. And behind the snowed-up bus-stop there are two figures in the lost park. Jurek in an anorak, gum-boots, bare-headed, his blond hair going grey in the falling snow. Ninotchka in her beaver coat, beaver hat, eskimo boots, trudging thigh deep through the snow.

I am looking at them from the fifth floor of the Mayflower: what are they doing? They are walking with difficulty up and down, then they go round and round each other, in narrower or wider circles, their boots cutting deep wounds in the virgin snow, they stumble, even now they

aren't holding each other's gloved hands, they are just walking side by side, back and forth, side by side, round and round. And they are talking, even from the fifth floor I can see the cloud of vapour in front of their mouths in the transparent, crystal-hard air, it grows, it shrinks, but the cloud of vapour is there constantly in front of their two mouths, which means that they are both talking at the same time.

What are they talking about? Can there be anything still to discuss? Why does it have to be there, in the horrible American winter, in the falling snow, in the blanket of snow in place of the lost sets of late summer. Do they understand, can they understand each other? Can they grasp what the other is saying? Do they have any reserve words left with which to express themselves or convince the other?

The steady, impartial snowfall. The steadily, impartially thickening American blanket of snow which hints at the last judgement. Two specimens of humanity from two continents have landed up in a third; they have got to know each other, my friends, they are walking tortured through the snow, talking happily, unhappily. I am watching them from the fifth floor of the Mayflower, from the shelter of the hot-air heating, happily, unhappily.

Atonement

Ninotchka leaves for San Francisco late in the evening, I put her suitcases into the ordered taxi. Jurek stands there in his jacket, bare-headed in the Mayflower entrance. This time he is stoned, this time there is no bottle in his hand. Ninotchka runs over to him for the last time, she reaches up, kisses the Polish writer on the mouth, says something in her mother tongue, Jurek is leaning against the doorpost, the taxi sets out. Jurek raises his right arm in farewell, come up to my room, have a drink, I say, have a coffee, sleep on my mattress. Thanks, he says, I'd rather sleep alone.

He sleeps alone that night, he sleeps alone the next night, for three days we don't even meet in the swimming pool. The wind from Canada drops then starts blowing again, it gets colder and colder, more and more snow piles up in Iowa City.

On the fourth evening I'm sitting in my room, I'm trying to write something in Hungarian. A yell, a human cry of pain above my head, it's louder than the tapping of my typewriter, than the pop music on my radio, by the time I stand up my phone is already ringing, an agitated Negro voice asks me to go right away to the room of the Polish writer. I get up

there, three female employees of the Mayflower are trying to get the Polish writer to lie on the bed, but Jurek is drunk, he's standing in the middle of the room, shouting in Polish, Russian, and pidgin English, blood is pouring from both his arms. Ever since his arrival he's been annoyed by the standing lamp, a standard item in every Mayflower apartment, which is built into the middle of the room. This evening Jurek, being drunk and in love and separated from his love, has decided that at long last he will move the standing lamp to beside his bed, and as he tears it out of the floor, he gets deep wounds in his wrists and the lower part of his arm.

The ambulance is braking in front of the Mayflower, its siren screaming. I support Jurek to the lift, blood seeps through the bandage on his wrists and arm, he yells rowdily for another sip of vodka, please, Mishu, he can't grasp that he isn't allowed to drink vodka now, he is already tottering from loss of blood, phone her up and tell her everything, they lay him down in the ambulance, I can still hear his voice, don't let

The chilling, hopeless American winter. The unconcerned snowflakes, snow-drifts. Those deep wounds, that blood-soaked bandage, that irrational shouting which solves nothing.

And in the end

Jurek's arm is clipped and sewn up. By the time they released him from hospital I had already set out for California. Wherever I went I looked for them, but I never managed to meet either Jurek or Ninotchka. I, too, spent New Year's Eve in New York, but I didn't find a trace of them there either. At the end of January I came home to Hungary. Since then I've often called Jurek's flats in Warsaw, but either no one answers, or female voices giggle in Polish, then they put down the receiver. So I don't know what happened to Jurek and Ninotchka. Has their child been born? I hope their love overcame country borders, I very much hope so, but I'm not optimistic about it.

Translated by Elizabeth Szász

INTERVIEWS

GYÖRGY ACZÉL ANSWERS QUESTIONS ON HUNGARIAN SOCIETY

"Europäische Rundschau" 80/4

Q: What are the problems present Hungarian society is faced with? Where can a line be drawn between the rise in living standards and prestige consumption (what Thorstein Veblen called conspicuous consumption), or the consolidation of social inequality or the emergence of new conflicts between sections of society?

A: I accept the bona fides of your question, so please forgive me if nevertheless I feel that it is haunted by the well-known, stereotyped and hackneyed replies which people in the West make, or which they think can be made, to questions concerning the principal problem of Hungarian society today, or of socialist societies in general.

One of such replies is: The countries of Eastern Europe have failed to bring genuine liberation to their people; moreover, not even materially have they been able to offer them any more than economies wrestling with permanent shortages, economies of scarcity. This—in addition to being contrary to the facts, that is, it is not even objectively true—is utterly unfair because it judges these countries in the context of the most developed Western capitalist ones without taking into account their economic history.

What are the historical antecedents of socialism, in Hungary for example? Take 1937, the year when the independent Republic of Austria went through tough times indeed socially, politically and economically alike. Hungary at that time, in the most important indices of economic growth, lagged far behind even an Austria in the midst of difficulties and troubles. More than half the population of Hungary lived off the land, and one-third only in Austria. Per capita national income in Austria was the equal of the European average, in Hungary it was 40 per cent lower. This difference in development did not decrease at the time of the Second World War, war damage suffered by Austria was incomparably smaller than in Hungary.

After 1956 agricultural growth and the improvement in the living conditions of the peasantry had an exceptionally important place. There was a time—from 1971 to 1975—when the annual growth rate was close to 5 per cent; this meant dynamic development that stands out by world standards. Wheat production increased from 12.5 quintals per hectare in 1958, to 42.8 quintals in 1978; the average yield of maize rose from 21.7 quintals per hectare in 1958 to 51.3 quintals by 1978. In terms of average yields Hungary can already compete with the most developed capitalist countries of Europe. The foundation of agricultural producers' cooperatives marked the beginning of a new era also because it demonstrated that community life does not atrophy but improves individuals. Large-scale farming, which provides the bulk of products using modern methods of cultivation, is, in a most fortunate manner, wedded

György Aczél, a member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, was recently interviewed by Paul Lendvai, editor of *Europäische Rundschau*, published in Vienna. The interview appeared in No. 80/4. We are publishing a somewhat abbreviated text of the interview.

to household plot farming which augments personal incomes and helps in the victualing of the population.

Three standards

Any one of a number of standards may be used to measure the economic development of a country. Let me mention only three. First: what it has achieved in comparison to its earlier self. Second, and this is objectively the most important: how many of the socio-economic objectives it had set itself have been realized. Third, and this receives considerable attention today: the country's position in the world economic hierarchy. I think the most decisive change in that development in Hungary is shown to be sound, not only by the first two standards, but also by the third.

According to economic historians the socialist construction of the past twenty years—although development was not free of contradictions—has meant the fastest and most balanced rate of economic growth in Hungarian history. It was in the middle of this vigorous development that the crisis in the world economy occurred, a price explosion took place, affecting fuels and raw materials, and—particularly given the exhaustion of our reserves—conditions within the country changed as well. Given these two factors we have had to realize that, to safeguard our achievements, and to make further progress, methods had to be changed. We use the concept of crisis in the Marxist sense to delfine the antagonistic contradictions which follow from the basic structure of society, and which not even the cleverest of policies is able to eliminate—even in the long run let alone for good—from socio-economic practice. In this sense the matter at issue for us is not a crisis, but on the one hand, the critical shocks the capitalist world market was subjected to which, on account of our foreign trade sensitivity, have influenced us and brought to light weaknesses of our economy and, on the other, the necessity to reform the economic structure, and the system of economic management; you might call it our way of thinking. This is our main concern.

We talk openly about concrete economic problems and tasks practically every day. There is perhaps less discussion of some of the social projections of these problems. One of the most difficult, vexingly difficult, problems for us is housing and that in spite of the truly remarkable things done in this respect, something which the Western propaganda media so often raise, showing no little malice. We have not reached the point we should like to be at: there are more people on the housing list today than twenty or thirty years ago. Is this because no new housing has been constructed? To suggest that is evidence of not having seen anything of Hungary, even on photographs. In recent decades more than a third of the population has moved to new homes. Between 1970 and 1980 the proportion of dwellings with three or more rooms has risen from 11 to 24 per cent. The lengthening of the housing list is due in the first place to the fact that the number of those entitled to a place on it grows faster than our resources.

A great socialist achievement is security and full employment. This also has negative effects which differ qualitatively from earlier ones but should not be neglected. The demand for labour is greater than the supply, and labour is not necessarily available where there is most need of it. This is true not only for working men but also for professional men and women. We have not yet found the optimal methods of selection that do not neglect the requirements of socialist humanism. Mass redundancies and methods of that ilk are out of the question in Hungary. In our own socialist way we have to find a solution for the rational distribution of manpower; it is in the interest not only of the community but also of the individual for men and women to work where they can do most for the common good.

In the present stage of development two basic tendencies prevail: the incentives according to work done, to performance, which implies income differentiation, and the gradual extension of social welfare services tending towards social equality. The right proportions of these two processes are of decisive importance for our future. This is no easy task, and we have not yet found the key to a definitive solution. A more precise scale of income rates in accordance with actual performances and harmony between the two processes mentioned above are of decisive importance.

Prestige consumption is not among our more important problems. This is another question in which there are overtones of oft repeated, superficial Western opinions. Indicative of the character of such views is that, while they claim to detect symptoms fo a consumer society here, and blame us for them, they reproach us at the same time for poverty, underdevelopment and an economy of scarcity. Both extremes are exaggerated. We know all right that there are still far from negligible sections of society which count every penny, but the miseries of the past are a long way behind us. It is not enough to put an end to poverty, but it should be razed from the minds of people, once and for all.

Prestige consumption naturally haunts us as well. The rise in living standards, the appearance of new consumer goods and needs—at least as long as poverty is still close to us and opportunities are not sufficiently ample—they go with a certain distortion of the relationship to property and to consumption. Among the causes are things inherited from the past and such as flow in from Western societies, as well as stupidity and vanity. It is inadmissible, though understandable if among the former paupers—also as a reaction to past misery—a greed for possessions, passionate acquisitiveness, overconsumption, waste, and snobbery become manifest. In the developed capitalist countries the social institutional system, an economic system based on profits, approves and stimulates consumption and status seeking, under socialist conditions the same social forces act against such phenomena and stop such behaviour from prevailing for too long. The aim of improving prosperity and of increasing consumption, is to create a better, more liberated and fuller life.

It is worth thinking through what creates this sound morale and mental equilibrium. I should put security in the first place. People do not have to worry about the morrow; they do not have to fear unemployment, they are not plagued by the spectre of bankruptcy and by the prohibitive costs of hospitalization and medical treatment. I mention in the second place, but not as a secondary factor, the widening and ever increasing opportunity of participating in decision-taking. In keeping with their interests and inclination, everyone can have a say in the affairs of their immediate or broader community. In keeping with their abilities, and the force of their arguments, they may shape the course of public affairs, and can freely express their opinions. True, they may find themselves facing conflicts due to the vanity or jealousy of a boss or bosses, but they are not defenceless, and not endangered in their being as breadwinners. Then there is the chance to satisfy cultural needs. I think that if a competition were run on how many books on an average are in the possession of one citizen of a given country, or how many cultural functions he attends—we Hungarians would finish somewhere up front. I might also mention the increasingly available options open to individual talents. How many children of workers and peasants study at universities and colleges in capitalist countries, and how many do in this country? Last but not least, let me mention a good and clear conscience. Man is a moral being, injustice offends his very being. Poverty and exploitation and human suffering may become, for a man of sound moral sense, the

source of constant mental disequilibrium and conflicts of conscience. What is instrumental in the sound state of morale in Hungarian society is also the awareness that Hungary takes the side of progress in international life, that we support those who fight for a just cause: for independent nationhood, for progress and a life worthy of man.

On the "red bourgeoisie"

Another lot accuse us of not having abolished classes, but, on the contrary, of having produced a new class, the "red bourgeoisie." Those who lend an ear to propaganda against us may consider this to be a problem of considerable weight. No use denying, there are men, some in positions of authority, who abandon their earlier selves in the image they project their way of life and thinking, and this can, in turn, become manifest by distorting their behaviour, working style and methods. But they are individuals, not a whole section of society. A whole series of safeguards operates against unhealthy isolation. The way leading officials are selected, judged and rated is one such safeguard, the point of view of mass organizations being considered as well. The basis of this is a three-fold requirement those in charge at all levels have to meet: political suitability, professional skills, qualities of leadership. Of course, it is necessary to size up every individual as a person, all the essential features of his character and behaviour. Another safeguard is the particularly critical attention to which public opinion subjects all office holders.

Those in charge are required to observe the norms of socialist morality even more strictly than the average man. Social control of the work and behaviour of leaders as well as the collective character of decision-taking—especially the most important—becomes increasingly firm and institutionalized. I do not claim, of course that recall on the initiative of "the constituency", or demotion and dismissal on that of the staff, are already an established practice in this country, but this method is increasingly taking its place with changes in personnel proposed from higher up still, and we hope it will prevail more with the passage of time. A further safeguard is the ongoing mobility manifesting itself, for example, in the composition of the student population, and in the character of political representative bodies encompassing all sections of society, and all spheres of interest. Considering these alone means that we have no reason to fear the emergence of a mandarin class that is estranged from the masses and bears in mind its own vested interests only. We do not deny that there were, there are, and there will be, cases of men who abuse their power, but the moral and legal order of the system is capable of forestalling such manifestations, and of steadily narrowing down their scope of activity.

The place of Hungary in the world economy

In the August issue of Valóság *a Hungarian economist affirms that, in spite of all economic success and all social and cultural progress, Hungary's place in the international economic hierarchy has not changed in the least; furthermore: "... according to certain calculations the terms of trade of the Hungarian economy as compared to 1913 —i.e. to the times before the Great War—have deteriorated by about 70 per cent... The real problem therefore is not that the world economy undergoes all sorts of—sometimes very rapid—changes but that the Hungarian economy has found it equally difficult, in the most diverse periods of its development, to give constructive answers to the challenge." Do you think this judgement is sound?*

No, I don't. I wish to call your attention to addresses delivered by Professors Berend and Bognár at this year's general meeting of

the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.* They have shown that Hungary today, as regards levels of economic development, occupies a much higher place in the international hierarchy: she has climbed to the midfield from the lower grades. Some Hungarian agricultural and industrial products are up to world standard, and their cost of production is also favourable. In per capita barnyard production, poultry and eggs alike, Hungary is among the world leaders. Much the same can be said about per capita meat and grain production. The results of the Hungarian pharmaceutical and coach building industry are sound. What misleads many is that costs have grown disproportionately fast in a country where wages had, in the past, been among the lowest in all Europe. The terms of trade have deteriorated just as fast; particularly unfavourably for Hungary after 1973 and this has held us back in a certain sense. I do not want to be misunderstood, people in this country continue to lead their normal lives, there has been nothing that can be called a shock to the lives of ordinary men and women. Much of it has been absorbed by the state, preventing thereby any major damage to living standards. Despite the fact that conditions abroad have deteriorated, general sickness insurance and free medical treatment have been turned into citizen rights, family allowances have been increased, and education is free. About 50 fillér are added to every forint earned. Does not all this increase costs of production? You mention the year 1913. In those days about a million and a half emigrants left Hungary because there was no work for them here. Hungarian industrial and agricultural products were very cheap between the wars too. But at that time an agricultural labourer's 80 fillér a day was—as they used to say—too much to die of starvation but too little to live on. The essential thing is that since 1978 we have faced the deterioration in the terms of trade and the economic challenges flexibly and dynamically.

World economic factors undoubtedly have had, and still have, an effect. And yet the afore-cited article suggests that in recent years the highest-level, and highly important decisions generally came to brought in practice owing to the resistance of the facts. Why is it that these difficulties have accumulated just now?

The relationship is not all that simple. Up to the early 1960s we concentrated efforts on post-war reconstruction, on the liquidation of the damage caused by the 1950s and the Counter-Revolution, then on the organization of the socialist agroindustry. This means that the period of smooth socialist development is no longer than a short 18–20 years. This is one of the factors.

The other is the old-established Hungarian commodity production structure which determines the conduct of foreign trade as well. Earlier we gave 2 metric tons of meat in exchange for 10 metric tons of protein fodder, today we have to give 3 metric tons. In other words: the terms of trade have changed to the disadvantage of our country—poor in oil, natural gas or iron ore deposits—as much as never before in the course of history. From this point of view we are in the European vanguard—perhaps we head the list. There is no other way than to increase efficiency. Some Hungarian economists think highly of capitalist efficiency. Such efficiency is generally accompanied by considerable unemployment, inflation and insoluble social tensions, though I believe, Austria is, to a certain degree an exception. Efficiency the socialist way is a social problem: it must be achieved in a decent manner, without unemployment or any other depressing distress. This is perhaps the greatest piece of social engineering we have undertaken so far.

Doubtless this is a fundamental issue, on which I fully agree with you. But I wish to quote

* József Bognár's contribution is in *NHQ* 81, Iván T. Berend's on page 35 of this issue.

*a noted Hungarian economist who argues that (*Valóság, *5/1980) "it is impossible to frame a coherent and consistent socio-economic normative theory which would implement without contradictions a politico-ethical scale of values and secure the efficiency of the economy at the same time. Impossible if it desires to be realistic, taking into consideration the real nature of people, communities, organizations and social groups."*

I do not agree with this impossibility. The author does not even affirm this. Contradictions undoubtedly exist between strictly interpreted economic rationality and the politico-ethical scale of values. But socialist society—and only a socialist society—is capable of coping with the problem, and we have already laid the foundations of the solution. We are aware that implementation will entail certain tensions as is usually the case when the old is replaced by the new. Nor can it be figured out accurately how the future will modify ideas. But I am convinced that we have a good chance of solving the problem. Planning for real and expected needs is an important factor of this great social experiment intended to develop efficiency together with human ways of social action. Jobs may become obsolete, but needs create new ones. Those in charge of education, the economy and work force management have to take care of that. Years ago we believed we needed only geneticists. Since that time, large agro-industrial units have been established, and it has become clear that we need men and women who can handle the breeding of plants and animals in practice. I complained lately in the pages of *Magyar Tudomány* that the agricultural producers' cooperatives employ 1,430 men and women with legal qualifications to handle their contracts etc. but only 43 biologists. They are only beginning to realize that they need people with graduate qualifications in genetics, botany and zoology.

We are not menaced by unemployment, we only have to make sure that people find themselves where they are needed. We know having to change one's job is tough, but being without one is still more painful.

Some argue that too many in Hungary go to university, that the secondary-school leaving certificate has been devalued, that only college diploma holders are considered to be somebody. There are plenty of theoretical institutions. I wonder if the number of diploma holders is not too great for the country. This is not a Hungarian speciality of course, it is peculiar rather to Central Europe as a whole, and it was true already in the 1930s. But it is particularly today that too many attend college. They get their diplomas and afterwards they do not do the work they should do.

Precisely because of the rapid changes in needs, it is difficult to strike a proper balance. In the 1950s we started a huge educational campaign which also aimed to turn boys and girls from working class and peasant families into professional men and women, doing away with established privileges. In a general way there was talk of increasing the number of highly qualified specialists. Before the Liberation the number of university graduates was disproportionately low, merely a fraction of the present number. What is more, some of them, compromised by the part they had played, left Hungary.

But others stayed and did all right for themselves.

The honest ones have found their place. The training of professional people has been a success. Today there are counties in Hungary with more agronomists with university qualifications than the whole country had in times past. Specialists are sorely needed, especially in factories run by modern methods. In the Bábolna farm there are one hundred and sixty university men and 4,000 manual workers, elsewhere there are only twenty.

Thus the question is rather one of wrong distribution, and not the lack of rational utilization?

These are interdependent. Our system of training has become overspecialized, and so has the training of scientists. This narrows down the necessary mobility of the labour force. Our reform of education and higher education is intended to train people, giving them fuller basic knowledge and more convertible qualifications. Because of the rapid shift in needs almost the entire body of knowledge has to be renewed every seven or eight years; more frequently in our country than in other, more developed ones. Being bound by the humane norms of socialism, we cannot, for example, afford to turn a man aged 43 out to grass because his qualifications have become obsolete.

Flexibility determining manpower economy has to be established so as to develop further the greatest force of attraction of the system: humanity, social security, and freedom. True, this is no easy task, it can be accomplished only in a constructive way, but it is precisely this—the ability to find new solutions for new tasks—which we regard as the Marxist spirit. Our model is Lenin, who sought a new Marxist answer to every new situation and did not content himself with quotations from Marx.

To come back to the international challenge to be met by our economy—what I mean here are the ever higher demands made on us by the world market—this will be, in the long run, definitely advantageous to socialism by urging it towards new, more modern ways. The readiness to make changes improved already in 1979, this process is intensifying, and in a couple of years a new, very dynamic, positive development will get off the ground.

A "Hungarian method"—but no Hungarian model

Is there a Hungarian socialist model or method at least? To put it in a different way: What is specific and what is general in the experience of the past twenty to thirty years?

We have common principles, a common *Weltanschauung*, common objectives and ideals, and there are specific features that differ from country to country. What is identical in the socialist countries is that their policies are based on the social ownership of the means of production, a socialist planned economy, the power of the working class and the working people, and the leading role of the Communist Party which embodies that power. There are no models which are equally applicable everywhere. Nor is the term adequate: it suggests something to be copied, something exemplary. In this sense we are no model. The expression "Hungarian method" is better if you mean by it that the general laws of socialism are enforced here in harmony with national characteristics, and if your intention is not merely to establish a sort of confrontation. But the best thing to do is, perhaps, to speak of a socialist Hungarian response to the challenge of Hungarian reality. The point is that we ourselves want to respond in our own specific way to the world-historic challenge of socialism. We wish to apply and add the historical experience of socialism to our own reality, and to make it prevail in this manner.

Whether this specifically Hungarian response has an aspect which contributes to the international experience of socialism is not our business to decide. The essential thing is for us to comply with the requirements of the age and to build socialism in our country in the way demanded by Hungarian reality, with its specific economic, geographical and historical criteria and in accordance with the interests of the people. Everyone understands that it would be an absurd venture for two countries with different climates to try to attain identical yields—by sowing identical sorts of wheat. This would certainly result in failure. Sub-

stantive identity can be brought about only by taking account of the differences.

It is there on the pages of our recent history that, in 1956, we put down an armed Counter-Revolution by force of arms, and that we radically and critically drew the consequences from the period marked with the name of Rákosi. The process began not in November 1956 but in July of that year, at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. The events of October and November only made the necessity of change more imperative. We had to reconsider the aim of socialist policy and the means of attaining it. We put the question to ourselves in this way: How is it possible to realize socialism together with the entire people, without bloodshed and suffering, without unnecessary pain; how can public opinion be enlisted to help control persons and institutions vested with authority; how can social life be made more democratic; how is it possible to establish a collective leadership which preserves us from subjectivism and dogmatism? And how is it possible to keep up and strengthen the close ties which links us to our socialist friends and major allies?

The relationship with the Soviet Union

The internationalist character of our policy has been very strong from the start. We consciously know, and declare ourselves, to be part of the forces of world socialism. Our relationship to the Soviet Union was, has remained, and will be, of outstanding importance to us. Our opponents look with favour on any kind of hostility to the Soviet Union, whether it originates from Pinochet or Pol Pot. They seize any means of it thought suitable for the denigration of the Soviet Union. I took the trouble to look through the latest issue of *Europäische Rundschau*. I must say I was surprised at the quantity of material in that spirit; for example, Jean Leloy's piece justifying the Cold War, or Norman Podhoretz's article rehashing the most old hat anti-Communist arguments under the pretext of criticising George Kennan. We do not prompt a single paper or editorial staff here—nor do we allow such a practice to come into being—to write either ill or nothing at all about capitalist countries. Such an absurd bias characterizes most of the capitalist press, particularly when the Soviet Union is in question.

This applies equally to the internationalist aid the Soviet Union gave Hungary in 1956. The passions aroused in this connection have more or less died down. The prophets of those times do not really like to remember what they predicted about the decades of retaliation ahead, the oppression in store for the Hungarian people who would groan under the tracks of armoured vehicles, about a government which rested on the points of bayonets, for only in this way would it be able to maintain itself. What has come true of those predictions?

Of course, there is no lack of manifestations disparaging our country today either. Our being a "satellite" is deplored, the old phrases are repeated: if it rains in Moscow, umbrellas must be opened in Budapest; Hungary is a vassal state of the Soviet Union; in Hungaro–Soviet economic relations only Soviet interests count, and so forth. To those who say things like that it would be useless to explain, for example, that our relationship with the Soviet Union, Hungaro–Soviet friendship, is the most decisive external factor which has ensured that the past three decades have been a period of the most dynamic development in the history of the Hungarian people. There are some who cannot understand this, and others are not willing to do so.

A fact which no one can deny is that it was with the help of the Soviet Union that we repaid the enormous debt which the official Hungary of the past owed to the people; we received from the Soviet Union not only encouragement and sympathy but

effective assistance. And this at a time when the Soviet Union itself was in sore need of every kopeck and every ounce of grain and raw material.

Enemies of socialist ideas have often asked how much the "services" of the Soviet Union cost us? The answer to such questions is in the facts. But we might counter by asking: How much would it cost the world if there were no Soviet Union? How many Chiles would there be? Where would the independent countries of the third world stand now? Could it have possible to record in the annuals of the continent of Europe the longest—already 35-year-long—period of peace for many centuries? Would there exist an independent and neutral Austria, in the establishment of which, as was recognized also by Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Federal Chancellor, the Soviet Union played a clearly positive role?

Hungary supports and advocates extensive and ever intensifying international contacts. Openness to the entire world is imposed on us, just as on Austria, not only by the country's resource endowments—the scarcity of many raw materials and fuels—not only by the country's specific economic situation. What is even more important: peace is our vital interest. Again and again we insist with all our might that the historic confrontation between capitalism and socialism be decided under the conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Conflicting interests

In domestic affairs we develop socialist society by accommodating ourselves to our traditions and to the realities of our age. We take note of diverse interests; besides the general interest, that of the entire nation, there are particular group and individual interests as well. We also reckon with the fact that the social interest fundamentally determines only the actions of the most class-conscious persons, those who are very clearly committed to our ideas. There are many more whose behaviour is guided by group interests and individual interests. We do not for a moment lose sight of the primacy of the general interest; but we do not want to repress particular interests, instead we enlist the energies inherent in them in the service of the common good. We intend to achieve this by improving economic incentives and with the help of socialist democracy.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture established a new basis for the policy of alliances, that is for the worker-peasant alliance. At the same time, in the spirit of confidence in the strength of our ideas and in the people, the country has taken up a slogan formulated by János Kádár that "he who is not against us is with us." The soundness of this basic posture has been proved several times over by the facts and results of almost a quarter of a century. This is why we look on religious people as our allies, with whom we have fundamental ideological differences, but apart from that we are united in a common front not only by the fight against armaments, bloodshed and war, but also by the construction of our socialist country. History has taught us that our cause is rendered a good service by a policy that is looking for what we have in common, not for what divides us, and by the tolerance which this entails.

This need not in the least be at variance with the consistent maintenance of our principled steadfastness. Internationally, we consider as our ally everybody who is capable of objectivity, everybody who is not an addicted or fanatic anti-Communist, spoiling for a fight and always ready to hate, everybody who is a supporter of peaceful coexistence. This is why Austria and countries like Austria are close to us, although our viewpoints differ on a number of questions of principle.

These days we are often praised for our results and ambitions; what is more, we are called "an example" and not always with sincere motives. But we judge ourselves and

our place, our role in the world, in an objective manner. Our results cannot make us overconfident, if for no other reason then because we are not protected against errors today either. In the beginning, for example, we underestimated the probable effect of the world economic crisis on our national economy. Yet I believe we have woken up to the fact in good time that—in consequence of the manifold ties between the world market and the Hungarian economy—the swelling surf of the crisis will not abate at our frontiers and we will therefore have to navigate on the high seas of the world economy.

The danger of political subjectivism

In an interview you gave to an Indian journalist you called political subjectivism one of the greatest dangers of "today and not only today". How and by what means does the Hungarian leadership avoid committing this error? What is the guarantee that the mistakes of the past will not be repeated, since no opposition press exists and you have a one-party system? What is the mechanism, if any, for the identification and solution of contradictions?

A subjectivist is a person who sees reality in terms of what he would like to see and not what there is; who projects his daydreams and delusions into reality: who confounds desires with the existing and with what is possible. The danger of political subjectivism exists in every political system. It menaces every party, mainly those in power, but also those in opposition, or underground. Subjectivism becomes particularly dangerous socially when there is no control, when the political leadership takes decisions on the basis of subjective information.

New social systems are exposed to the temptation of subjectivism especially in the beginning. In every system one can find people who, taking no notice of reality, only see their ideas and their ideals. The spreading of subjectivism is promoted also by the feeling of being threatened, as was true in Hungary in 1919, then after 1945, in the years of the Cold War. It is in the fundamental interest of socialism that those working for it should do their best, and use every means, to put a check on subjectivism. This is also what we aim at. There are no perfect formulae and no patented solutions. We have aimed at working out methods of many kinds, but those we have devised we cannot regard as satisfactory, we need still more reliable ones. We are aware that the political system of socialism does not rule out subjectivist practices. But socialism is the very social system which can eliminate subjectivism as soon as it has recognized its dangers. Fundamental conditions are the social ownership of the means of production, the transformation of class relations, a scientific ideology, and the ever livelier functioning of democratic opinion exchanges.

The primary condition for avoiding subjectivism is a fully functioning system representing social interests. But I think it is erroneous and short-sighted to make the real social representation of interests dependent on a plurality of political parties, and the existence of opposition parties or an opposition press. It is erroneous and false because it presumes that its practice and its system of values are absolute and it brands any other approach as antidemocratic. It holds that its own norms are eternal, it applies them to everything: to ways of life in the same way as to the political mechanism.

But is this really sound? Is it not one of the major varieties of subjectivism? Do a multiparty system and an opposition press really constitute the only practicable way of democracy and power control? The political mechanism of Western democracy is a model of dubious value not only for the socialist countries. Many countries of the third world are also unwilling to adopt it.

Multiparty systems and democracy

If we were to accept the number of political parties as a criterion in itself, we would have to accept the Horthy regime, with its several parties, as a democracy.

We have frequently said that we do not consider the number of parties to be a criterion of socialist democracy. We think it possible to build socialism in a multiparty political system as well. Historical circumstances led to our political mechanism being based on a one-party system. This was due to many factors which it would take a long time to describe. It is, however, one more reason for us to concentrate attention on other forms of democracy suited to the given conditions.

In the West they are unwilling to notice that in this country the dialogue between leaders and led becomes ever livelier, this is an ongoing exchange of views and ideas. We are busy looking for many other forms of democracy, too, without having new parties in mind.

The question arises what the electorate is asked to vote on, given a one-party system. The answer is simple: for the policy of this party. For something that cannot do without the support of the overwhelming majority of the nation. It is true, this is a referendum rather than an election. Let me add that we no longer consider this fact to be satisfactory. We shall certainly go ahead and improve our electoral system. We shall make it more effective and more direct, in order to give the constituents greater scope and more effective options in choosing spokesmen to represent their interests.

There was a time when we still cherished illusions about socialism imagining to be something idyllic. Despite the warnings which the classics of socialism contain we believed and hoped that we were starting on the building of a society free from contradictions. We forgot Lenin's warning that, as long as there is a living society, there will exist contradictions as well, and that socialism differs from capitalism not in that it has no contradictions, but in that it copes with them. Today we already reckon both with contradictions and with a difference of interests.

Far be it from me to prettify the real situation. Much remains to be done to get socialist democracy off the ground. But we have already laid the groundwork, and what I mean here is shop-floor democracy in the first place. I am convinced that in this field we are a long way ahead of the capitalist countries. We are progressing towards a point where a working man on the job gets more of a chance to shape his working conditions, to express his opinion on the problems, tasks and plans concerning the team, and to find remedies for possible grievances. It is our intention to learn from experience, to do away with mere formalities, to lend a lively substance to the already established and still developing institutions, and to prune the shoots of bureaucracy. This is today a key issue of shopfloor democracy.

More recently different organizations representing particular interests increasingly make their presence felt and participate in the discussion and solution of problems concerning larger or smaller communities. Nothing is submitted to Parliament or regulated by decree without prior consideration by wide sections of the population directly concerned in the measure to be taken. The trades unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the Communist Youth Federation, the women's movement, various bodies representing cooperative and professional interests, and the associations discharging other functions express their opinions on all important questions. Their stand-points reflect the opinion of the vast majority of the population, and convey their criticisms, too.

Scientists belonging to many disciplines are assigned an especially important role in the formulation of the country's plans and ideas. The party and other leading organs for example regularly and concretely com-

mission sociological research institutes to study and survey the facts, revealing contradictions and formulating appropriate proposals and recommendations. Various scientific committees and institutions take part, as advisers, day after day, in ongoing political business.

Following the reform of the structure and functioning of the economy the greater autonomy of economic units, the gradual introduction of a price system that bears costs in mind, as well as world market conditions, all act against subjective errors. There is less and less room for subjective decisions, however well-meant they may be. For example, we cannot decide to reduce the purchase price of pork ignoring costs of production, such a measure would obviously mean that the producers, including producers' cooperatives and household plot farmers, would either stop raising pigs or else kill them and eat the meat themselves, rather than sending them to market.

The institutions and the reform

But has the system the strength to make corrections in accordance with changing circumstances? Many changes have been made in decision-taking methods, but several Hungarian economists, sociologists and publicists are of the opinion that the changes have not affected the system of institutions, and the centralization of decision taking. Is it possible, in a difficult economic and socio-political situation, to find the way out without changing the system of institutions? Does this system permit the free flowering of talents, of creative, enterprising experts without whom it is impossible to face economic competition?

You hold that ours is a static system of institutions, although it has developed a great deal during the past twenty-five years. Nonetheless, we are still at the beginning of the road, we have to develop our institutions further. The importance of autonomy has grown enormously. Managers who have been awarded the State Prize in 1980, Róbert Burgert,* Ede Horváth,** István Szabó*** and the general manager of the Skála department store chain, Sándor Demján, are amongst those who are able to ke matheir own decisions in a creative manner within this institutional system. Today the institutional system not only permits this, but it requires just this kind of man and such forms of behaviour although, of course, there is no little conservativism here.

Is there no fundamental problem in this whole business of reform? The reform has to be carried out by the present local and national leaders who may possibly lose their posts with the victory of the new. The introduction of the reform is very often expected from those whose entire livelihood depends on whether or not the old-type system continues.

The great majority of managers are capable of carrying out the reform, capable of renewal, and of renewing their institutions. That is in their interests, since such an attitude improves their moral and financial position. What they are interested in consequently—your question has not been logical—is not the preservation of old, obsolete, out-of-date conditions but, on the contrary, adjustment to present requirements. We strive to create the circumstances—as you could see for yourself if you have read attentively the proceedings of the latest Party Congress—which stimulate the leading cadres, and even force them, to make decisions independently and more promptly.

Is anyone against the reform? Some people certainly are. Some have ossified and are incapable of change, they naturally constitute an obstacle to anything new. Unfortunately, custom is also part of human nature. I can often hear, for example, that people are reluctant to move even to better accommodation, and this simply because they have got accustomed to the old place. I wish to say neither more nor less than that

* General Manager of the Bábolna State Farm
** General Manager of the Rába Motor Works
*** Chairman of the Nádudvar Agricultural Cooperative

people must be treated with patience; if we fail to convince them, excessively radical changes cannot serve progress.

How do you notice that somebody in a leading position is not equal to his task, that a person is unfit to do his job?

The performance principle should be effective also for those in leading positions, and the reform and progress of society will enable us to ascertain better, and more directly, how an enterprise is run, what results it has attained. This classifies the management, disclosing aptitude and ineptitude. In all this I ascribe enormous significance to democracy, to the judgement of the community, the severest judge conceivable. People are less and less willing to accept that a secretary or council chairman, factory manager, a coop chairman or any other office-bearer should act against their interests.

I concede that in this country the replacement of such people is slower and more difficult than necessary. The process has started; there may still be set-backs and stand-stills, but the process itself will not stop. There is a great difference between the start of the 1968 reform and the tasks of the 1980s. People have grown twelve years more mature, to start with, their judgement of the tasks are different and finds expression also in the higher demands which office-holders are expected to meet.

Is the situation therefore politically easier and economically more difficult than five years ago?

The situation is more complicated economically and perhaps socially as well—because we are at a more advanced stage today. But I do not wish to dramatize economic difficulties, however serious they may be. The 12th Party Congress emphasized the human factors which mean very much in our effort to achieve our social and economic objectives. Our highest ambition is to make sure that talent and performance get their due in all spheres of work. Our entire system of management, including the price system, stimulates us to do this and establishes social conditions of growing clarity.

Was it not a mistake to delay replacing those unfit to hold positions of responsibility?

For us it is a question of principle to decide personnel questions in agreement with the collectives, that we should persuade people. This takes a lot of time and perhaps a lot of money as well. But we cannot give ourselves exemption from this task. The humanism of the system does not permit anything of the kind, now or in the future. Thus we too have our limitations which we cannot ignore as easily as all that. It is our aim, of course, to speed up these processes.

To what degree is Hungary able to pursue an autonomous policy?

Your questions comes as a surprise. Up to now you seem to have been out to prove that what is happening in Hungary is something that is altogether different to the other socialist countries, and now you question our independence. As is proved by practice itself, our policy is entirely autonomous. This is recognised, without prejudice or mental reservation, by numerous Western observers as well. Many know that we pursue our foreign, just as our economic, cultural, scientific and educational policies in keeping with characteristics specific to Hungary, employing Marxist-Leninist methods in alliance with our friends, in the interests of attaining socialist objectives. This takes place with the complete agreement of the people, since this socialist policy serves our best and most important national interests.

On "hegemony" and the "dissidents"

What does Marxist hegemony mean in Hungarian cultural life today? Are there dissidents or oppositionists in Hungary? What sort of political effect do they reflect or imply, that is, if

they exist? And if there are none, then why not? Is there censorship in Hungary?

Our notions of hegemony start with the premise that, besides Marxists and some oppositionists, there are several intermediate intellectual-political currents which are not antisocialist ideologically. We strive for hegemony in our relations with them. This concept of hegemony applies both to culture and to the social sciences, in general to ideology. Marxism-Leninism is not a state religion, its primacy was fought for, it was not decreed.

The Communist Party, the party of the working class, fashions its policy in such a way that it takes into account the interests of all the working sections of society, of all honest citizens. It feels responsible for the people as a whole. This describes the nature of the seat of power, we have no reason to be reticent about that. It would be a mistake, however to suppose that it follows that every individual member of our society shares the Marxist–Leninist philosophy.

The fact is that Marxism holds a position of hegemony within the framework of our social system. Working on the building of socialism in our country are a good number of god-fearing people, or such as live according to a variety of petty-bourgeois or bourgeois philosophies. We keep our ear to the ground of reality and pay attention. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, in the period we also live in, we shall, for a long time to come, still have to reckon with this situation, and today I would consider it premature to think about the time when Marxism will be the philosophy of general validity in our society. While differences in philosophy survive, we strive for national unity in pursuance of the socialist objectives.

Consequently, a permanent debate and dialogue between Marxists and Marxists, between Marxists and non-Marxists, between socialists and non-socialists are part of the nature of hegemony, a debate which gives space to the other side, and which responsibly weighs critical words and remarks. The essence of socialist hegemony is to protect and strengthen the leading role of the socialist ideas while showing understanding for and convincing the other side.

This is not merely a basic principle, but the practice of our cultural policy. We say, and we also act accordingly, that we encourage and support, first of all, the emergence of progressive cultural values, which make a contribution to socialism. We do not worship sacred cows, but we show our respect to the authors of major works. We hold that it is the arts which have the right and duty to criticize things as they are in a responsible manner, and in harmony with this notion we support experiments of serious intention and rich in substance, we also accept a diversity of styles. The struggle for socialist hegemony is not inconsistent with appreciation shown to political loyalty. It is well known, even in the West, that we have talented people whose aptitudes we value most highly, whose works we publish regularly, including works by those whom we honour with the highest prizes in the giving of the state, but with whom we are in an ongoing, sometimes vehement, ideological dispute situation.

There is no censorship in our country. Those in charge of papers and journals, and other information media, decide by themselves, independently but responsibly, to what kind of views they offer space and publicity. There are a good number of open debates, a great variety of viewpoints are expressed. We think it is in our fundamental interest to offer a platform to different views—unless they imply ideas that are hostile to the system. Common beliefs and a common cause can only be established through such manifestations.

Besides our own values we appreciate and publish any humanist value, no matter which part of the world it originated from, and even if it appears in a religious,

bourgeois, or some other ideological guise. We are tolerant in this respect. We certainly publish, sometimes perhaps unnecessarily, much of the intellectual production of the West. But the result is sound on the whole. This is not identical with an uncritical attitude, with the acceptance of views we regard as erroneous, with giving up debating against them.

Let me once again clarify what we restrict and prohibit. We list in this relatively narrow category reactionary efforts attacking the foundations of the social order; in other words, those which violate the Constitution. Warmongering, the propagation of views hostile to peace and humanity, as well as of fascist and racist ideas are part of this. Such are not tolerated in a number of capitalist countries either and are prohibited also by the U.N. Charter.

In the West they often and willingly confound the opposition with people professing philosophies different from ours. With the latter we are in constant dispute but also in alliance. As concerns the dissidents or oppositionists, you have to take into consideration, among other things, that every society has members thwarted in their ambitions, who find it difficult to adjust, and there are writers and artists among them. People who, when it comes to conflicts, never blame themselves but always society. The dissidents are frequently recruited from such people, and their numbers are insignificant anyway.

The weight and importance which similar-minded people in the West attach to them is mostly due not to their intellectual and artistic accomplishments but to their political role; which makes them useful to our opponents. Their overvaluation, which is contrary to every sound judgement and is often even ridiculous, the artificially created nimbus with which they are surrounded reflects unscrupulous anti-Communism, for which anybody who joins in propaganda against a socialist country is an outstanding mind. Such propaganda in no way reflects the instability of our system of values. Among the dissidents there are those without talent, and aborted semi-talents, whom the mass media proclaim great artists without reason.

In socialist society, thus in today's Hungary, there is no genuine literary talent or scientist who would be unable to succeed for political reasons. If, nevertheless, one or another happens to drift to the opposite shore, we are sorry for them. Not least because of the bitter fate of such people once they cannot sell themselves as sensations. And we continue to believe that there is a way back open to everyone.

There is thus no opposition that has to be reckoned with in Hungary. An opposition attacking the foundations of socialism and carving for capitalism lacks a supporting soil, simply because there is, in Hungary, no section of society which would reject, or refuse, the foundations, objectives, methods and working style of the system.

Of course, we do not regard as being in opposition those who judge the situation of our country differently from the way the party, the government and the majority of public opinion do, those who think differently so that what they contest is not the essence of socialism but the rhythm of practice, priorities, and matters of detail. We carry on a dialogue with them; moreover, we thank them for their useful observations and proposals.

The composition of the sparse opposition groups is very peculiar and heterogeneous as concerns fortunes and walks of life. One of their characteristic traits, for example, is that there are some who are fond, in a kind of way, of one or another institution of bourgeois democracy, but the majority feels no enthusiasm for exploitation, they do not wish to see the return of capitalists or landowners.

In Western countries the large number of provocateurs weighs heavily on social life. They attack bourgeois institutions with bloodshed and terrorism and want to

provoke barefaced dictatorship. Far from applauding such attempts, Hungarian public opinion thoroughly condemns them. In Hungary as well there are people—few and far between—who resemble such provocateurs, but the means they use are different, they are tamer. They likewise profess that the worse the better, that is, they wish to annoy the established system until "it takes off its velvet gloves and the iron claws are bared." It is surprising, however, that the Western world supports such attitudes, magnifying a hundredfold the significance and influence of this kind of opposition, treating those concerned as champions of liberty. These are given free scope of action and publicity. Characteristically, when 184 in Budapest signed a sort of provocative protest, this is trumpeted forth by the Western news agencies. But they did not even mention, for example, the Budapest Peace Appeal, although millions of Hungarian citizens protested against recent U.S. armament plans.

In connection with the afore-said document of protest: a fair few have now lost their jobs on orders from the centre. At least this is what I have been told. I was also told that somebody was looking for a job and went to a factory or somewhere; there an official looked up a list and told him they could not employ him. So, a list did exist. Did you know that?

Do you believe everything you are told? What is more, in such a wishy-washy way that you can say nothing concrete?

There is something I do not understand. No one in your country was arrested on account of having signed the protest against the sentences in Czechoslovakia. Why then did contracts of employment have to be cancelled?

There is no central measure in this connection. Nor is it true that we are talking about persecuted and hounded persons. Many of them live very well, some of them would not exchange incomes with me. Some are very good translators who work hard and make a lot of money. There are some who do not like to work, who lack in talent, who are, of course, not welcome anywhere.

Yes, all I am asking is whether there was a central arrangement. If there had been a central measure, it would apply to 184 persons.

There was none and there is none. Just yesterday I read an article, a bad article, by one of them, in the daily *Magyar Nemzet*. Others express their opinions in the journal *Kritika*. But whatever paper you may read, you will find a "signatory." Their books appear, issued by state publishers.

Is it true that there was a protest note from Czechoslovakia in this matter?

I have never met with such a thing, I have heard nothing about it. There was no Czechoslovak protest. I am surprised to see that the West considers these people to be the realist thinkers of the East. Watch our television, listen to our radio. Read the journals and dailies, they are full of criticisms and exposures. We not only tolerate but even encourage critical exposures, and this is not in the least contradicted by the fact that we take issue with the false valuations and ideas which these authors offer.

I have read in the weekly Élet és Irodalom *that one cannot manage on one's pay, but one can grow rich on what one makes on the side.*

This is a writer's point, like a good joke: there is a grain of truth in it, but things are not quite like that. People in Hungary live on wages, on incomes earned by honest work, which have a variety of forms and sources. He who has the energy and time can, in addition to his job, undertake socially useful additional work, or officially hold down a second job beside his principal office. A worker may, in his time off join in, providing industrial services and doing repair work; peasants, in addition to working the commonly owned land of the co-operative, produce marketable stuff on their

household plots. Unfortunately, the habit of gratuities still persists in Hungary in a few trades, especially in the service industries. There are aspects of medical practice where the paying of what is literally called gratitude money has come into vogue, but the whole truth is that such an income is out of question for 42 per cent of all doctors, those who work in laboratories and research as well as radiologists; it is usual only in the direct doctor and patient relationship. One of the causes is perhaps that medical treatment in Hungary is free of charge for everybody.

What will the future hold? To what degree do political stability and the good atmosphere depend on János Kádár's continuing as First Secretary?

János Kádár is doubtless an historical personality. Not only because he became a leading figure in Hungary at the time of an historical turn of events, but mainly because he is, and has turned out to be, exceptionally suited for his post. If I may express myself in this way: our people have the historical luck to have found the right leader whose principal ability, in addition to his own good qualities, is that he can learn from history, recognize what the facts demand and is able to see the perspectives, that he can make people accept the tasks ahead, that he can unify a diverse society.

János Kádár's fate has always been one with that of the people. He has lived through, and knows from experience, the past half-century of Hungarian history: all the misery and suffering during the Horthy era, the brute force and prisons of fascism, the suffering of the Second World War, the joys of Liberation, the distortions of the personality cult. His life—one could say—coincides in many respects with the history of the Hungarian working class, of the people. His personality has been formed by this high amount of experience and knowledge, and at the same time he has preserved the virtues of a working man. The fundamental principle of János Kádár's life is that without the people there is no way of engaging in politics; a good leader does not take decisions on his own, he must ensure that as many as possible take part in making and implementing decisions. He regards the party not as a ruling authority but as an organization in the service of the people. His every ambition is that the largest number possible should make the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party their own, representing and pursuing it ably and actively.

I cannot claim that we have already succeeded in establishing socialist democracy, but I can declare that our democracy today is already so strong that nobody could succeed in changing fundamental objectives. In this respect developments have taken place which, in the minds of our people, have become inseparable from Kádár's person, and in which the role of men, in the first place that of János Kádár, is incontestable. The most essential thing is that this country has learned to appreciate its own values, modestly though they be, that it has learned to fight for development and to face faults.

Are there any political prisoners in Hungary?

No, there are not. Apart from the fact that part of the capitalist press regards as political prisoners even those who, inebriated, smash the furniture of a drink shop shouting fascist, Arrow Cross slogans, and have been given, say, three months.

I ask because I thought, or rather I knew, that there were. In the exile press or in a samizdat publication somebody mentioned in an article that the Hungarian Procurator General mentioned precise figures.

If there were a single political prisoner in Hungary, the Western press would have trumpeted it abroad. Of course, the law of the country prohibits incitement. Nor does it tolerate somebody being stigmatized merely because he is—say—a Gypsy. This,

however, is not the persecution of anyone who thinks differently, but it is the maintenance of law and order, and this does not violate human liberty.

On the dangers of war

Do you fear a war?

When I still flew on small twin-engined planes, I always had a good look to see where the emergency exit was. In today's supersonic aircraft I no longer bother. If there is a catastrophe, there is no way of escaping through the emergency exit either. But I think the point at issue is not merely the danger of war but the possibility of crises which slow down social progress. Given the present stage of development it is impossible to repeat the Cold War of the 1950s, if only because tensions and explosions will occur also in the Third World, and they open up new fronts. Not to mention that in America, for example, false nuclear alarms are more and more frequent. But the will for peace is an increasingly strong factor, and I am confident that peace will prevail.

Yes, we know about nuclear alarms in America. On the other hand, we are told nothing when a similar failure occurs in the Soviet Union.

When weapons are so dangerously piled up, the potential threat of technical failures exists everywhere, but if such accidents were to happen in the Soviet Union, you certainly would know about them. I wish to point out one thing. I often visit the Soviet Union, and I met and talked with all sorts of people. The Soviet people and the Soviet leadership do their utmost to prevent war and desire disarmament with all their strength.

There is no Soviet general who would like to unleash the dogs of war. The Soviet people, after such awful suffering, are ardently desirous of peace, and this is given expression in Leonid Brezhnev's pronouncements. Peace is desired not by him alone. You can find no share-holders in the armaments industry there, neither among the leaders nor among men in the street. Disarmament would immensely benefit the Soviet Union, it would mean no loss at all, in no sense of the term.

National income in the Soviet Union is half that of the United States, yet that country spends more on armaments.

The socialist world has to defend itself, the Soviet Union does not wish to spend a single kopeck more than necessary.

These are already value judgements and go beyond my competence. Such a debate would break the limits of an interview.

But their logic is not transcended by the fact that the Soviet Union is from the start not interested in war. It did not invent colonization, it did not start the world war, the first act of its existence as a state was a decree concerning peace.

Not interested in war, but—it drifts into it. Neither is Afghanistan interested, nor is Cuba...

...but you don't deny that in America a great many are interested in the development of the military industrial complex?

...in weapons production, yes, they certainly are, but in making war...

Weapons production is interested in the replacement of all weapons every seven years.

Well, this is also—as you would say—a more complex thing. No one can believe that within U.S. capitalism there are no leaders with their feet on the ground...

Unfortunately, the fact is that, right at this moment, some of even the well-intentioned but misled masses in America—although they consider war and the development of the weapons industry to be irrational—are afraid of unemployment. Dis-

armament would endanger the living of none here. I believe in socialism as the future of mankind.

Without meddling in the internal affairs of Poland, I should like to ask whether the Polish events imply any lessons for Hungary.

We shall never give up following the right principle, studying continuously international and domestic experience, learning from what was well done and mistakes alike, and especially taking into consideration the lessons of socialist construction. We cannot look on the people as guinea pigs, we have to work together with the people. We did so after the very serious conflict in 1956 as well. That is how we have been able to hammer out a national unity which constitutes a force of cooperation and common action and holds people together. This is how we have succeeded in further strengthening the system of socialist democracy in which trade unions and mass movements work independently, and the Churches are active in mutual agreement. It is precisely the consistent enforcement of experience which has given us to understand that we must be for ever dissatisfied and must improve our methods all the time, always in such a way, and to such a degree that we can remain in agreement with our people, acting together.

It is natural also that the socialist countries, Hungary among them, should provide much moral and political assistance to the party and government leaders of Poland and to the Polish people, in the firm belief that they will succeed in solving their problems, settling things which they—and they alone—are able to settle. We are sure they will find the proper, socialist way.

It can be said of socialism also what Kafka said of truth: There is only one truth, but it lives, so its face changes in a lively manner.

I agree. What's more, I hope indeed that socialism changes and develops. It not only recognises development to be a major value in its dialectical philosophy but it also changes things according to its abilities, nature and possibilities. We are sure that socialism will change to a far fuller measure, and will aim much higher, than we can imagine today—although we are not utterly lacking in imagination. And the better it extends, the more varied and more colourful it will be, with still richer forms.

Is not a set-back like that of 1953/54 theoretically imaginable?

Theoretically everything is always imaginable. But I think people here have since then developed so much, and the wish for changes for the better has so much matured in them, that this cannot happen again.

In one of his last articles Lenin has drawn attention to the need to fight bureaucracy.

Yes, this is an ongoing struggle.

But there is bureaucracy everywhere here. For example, the same departments and functions recur in different organizations. The country is small, and everybody knows everybody, and nevertheless more persons are occupied in every line of work than would be necessary. In the press just like elsewhere. Bureaucracy is enormous.

It surprises me a little to hear that you identify the existence of bureaucracy with socialism. It was on the basis of experience gained in your world that Parkinson wrote his famous books on the irrationality of bureaucracy. If I know things right, Peters's book, which produced such a sensation two years ago, also castigates the perversities of bureaucracy rampant under capitalism. He writes that someone is promoted until he reaches a post where he proves to be incompetent, and then he is left there. Why would I deny that the danger of bureaucracy is lurking wherever officialdom exists? I think some of it is inevitable, and the rest could perhaps be avoided. It must certainly be fought. The danger of social overorganization threatens here as well, and steps

must be taken towards simplification as soon as conditions are ripe. There are model examples of doing away with overorganization.

For instance...

Factories, enterprises, institutions. It is no secret that in research there are a few thousand superfluous people who could be made good use of in industry and in agriculture, and in agriculture, and in other places there is a shortage of specialists with scientific qualifications. This means that redistribution of manpower is necessary there.

But what about those who have no trade or profession, who can only give orders?

In the historical situation following the Liberation it was necessary to put in leading positions thousands of people who accepted the building of a new life—workers, peasants, clerks, professional people—who had not, and could not have, any earlier experience. Very few of these lack formal qualifications today—a diploma in engineering, etc. is needed in their positions. Those still hold their office who have proved competent.

But these had original occupations of their own, and they quitted them for the sake of promotion, of a career. And the result is that they now sit in the most diverse positions in the People's Front, the trade unions...

Do not think that precisely the mass movements and the agencies representing sectional interests are hospices for the dying. This is simply not so, there are no such institutions. It happens though that some who have had their day—are given other business or administrative posts where they can still be of use. We have the political courage and determination to regroup them, but we carry out this measure in a thoroughly humane manner, not forgetting the service they have done the state and the community. Your question characteristically refers exclusively to managers who have risen from the ranks, and rather summarily as well. Not only decisions cut the cloth. Here a role is played—I say: fortunately—by accelerated pressure as well.

Socialism also strives for rationality and quality, the system assumes a new face, it develops. This is also a reason why we resist attempts to revive the Cold War. Only a period of détente can speed up the full attainment of democracy and liberation. Sometimes you accuse us of playing down human rights, and sometimes you reproach us for being too tolerant of human errors. We cannot, nor do we wish to, treat anybody with humiliating brutality. I also feel it my duty to help those whose time has passed through no fault of theirs.

There sure is a great deal that still has to be done—at the top as well.

Most of the way is still ahead, and I do not think we will ever reach the end of the road.

Nationalism is a deadly peril

The world over they talk and argue about the strengthening of nationalism. Am I right in presuming that nationalism is growing in Hungary as well? Or is it merely and exclusively a matter of sound national feeling? How far do the Hungarian minorities living in neighbouring countries cause a moral or national problem to Hungary today, to the Hungarians living abroad and to the Hungarian political leadership?

Nationalism is a deadly peril which has shrunk and expanded at the same time. We think of honest national feeling and patriotism to be an inalienable, fundamental human right, for socialism also grows within a national framework; moreover, the criteria of national existence find better expression in it than in other kinds of societies. We look on national pride based on genuine values of the past and present as justified. But we regard as manifestations of nationalism, and condemn as such, any in-

tention, ambition and sentiment which openly or covertly incites to, and builds upon, the despising of other peoples, in its extreme forms racial hatred, occasionally the falsification of the history of the nation, and the embracing of sham values and chauvinistic passions.

Nationalism is dangerous everywhere and is looming in Hungary, too. It is enough to recall that after the Great War the imperialists of the Allied and Associated Powers reduced the territory of Hungary —not least as a punishment for the Republic of Councils—to one-third of its former size. For this reason, as well as others, one-third of Hungarians live beyond the country's frontiers.

Nationalism was given a boost by the Horthy regime responding to the serious socio-economic problems of the country in a chauvinistic way. It poisoned our people by stirring up nationalistic-chauvinistic passions for a quarter of a century.

We have broken radically with this evil and mendacious tradition. We rely on our Marxist principles, on the genuine interests of the nation, in building and shaping relations with neighbours as well as with the national minorities in Hungary. Owing to the well-known political distortions, it was not easy to take the first steps in the years following Liberation: excesses weighed heavily on the Suebians,* and later the South Slav minority was subjected to serious abuses. Today all this is only an instructive memory. Characteristic of our conditions is that German-speakers in Hungary, as well as the South Slavs who settled here, have found a home in this country. The other minorities likewise feel they are owners of the land where they were born, where they live and work. We systematically guarantee the rights of national minorities, the use of their native tongues, the promotion of their national cultures, opportunities for education, and building and strengthening ties with their mother country. Thus these national minorities act as elements not in the preservation or revival of old antagonisms but of cooperation and rapprochement. They act the part of a connecting link, of a bridge, and we sincerely help them fulfil this function also because we are aware that a country is that much the stronger as the morale of its citizens grows—including, of course, that of the national minorities.

In spite of all this we have not yet succeeded in grubbing out the roots of nationalism. We do not deny that there are frictions and some unfinished business in this respect. We take issue with all those who hold wrong views of the natonali minorities question. Also with those who deal with this problem as if it were the only vital question of the nation. We have to argue with those who are mistaken, but there is no common ground with narrow-minded chauvinists. We take it that our task is to set an attractive example, and not to excite hatred. Our aims include rational and sensible management, raising living standards all round, and creating an attractive life fit for human beings. All this, taken together, means a really socialist policy that suits the interests of the nation, and it calls for a sound national minorities policy.

Since the complexity of the national problem things can be set right—in our opinion—only by internationalism making vigorous progress everywhere. Where the principles of internationalism are violated, harm is done not only to the national minorities but also to the nation concerned. At the same time we know full well—no matter how stubbornly a feeling of solidarity with the Hungarians living in many places abroad persists in us—that the destiny of the nation depends on what we construct here at home, and on whether we are able to construct a socialist Hungary which we can look to with pride.

* Germans who settled in Hungary during the 18th century are known there as Suebians, whatever their tribal origin.

We condemn all efforts to answer nationalism with nationalism. A new—but by no means striking—fact is that such efforts find eager allies far beyond our frontiers, first of all among extremist Hungarian exiles in America, and even in certain official circles of the United States, which pursue a two-timing policy, they say one thing to one country and something else to another. What they want is not to quieten but to stir up the tensions flaring up from time to time between them. We are convinced that those who fall for such manipulations inevitably damage Hungarians living beyond our frontiers and Hungary as well. We do not want to hush up or evade problems that really exist but we wish ultimately to clarify and settle our common business in a friendly and socialist way. This we think of as our own affair, for this we need neither uninvited foreign helpers nor others who wear the strip of national conscience.

PAUL LENDVAI

FROM THE CAVENDISH LABORATORY TO THE DEBRECEN NUCLEAR RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Talking to Sándor Szalay, the nuclear physicist

Professor Sándor Szalay is 72, but he is still actively engaged in research as well as holding a number of positions. He is a member of the National Atomic Energy Commission. For many years he was chairman of the Subcommittee on Nuclear Physics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He is a member of the Presidium of the Loránd Eötvös Physics Society. He is an honorary doctor of the Marie Curie-Sklodowska University of Lublin. For his uranium prospecting he was awarded the Kossuth Prize in 1952 and the State Prize in 1978.

ISTVÁN KARDOS: What were the earliest decisive influences that you remember?

A. My father taught physics at the Kossuth *gimnázium* in Nyíregyháza, he was my first teacher. He was a stubborn man, a difficult man one says these days in Hungarian. He made up his mind that he would fit out the school's very poorly equipped physical laboratory with instruments of his own making. He certainly possessed the necessary know-how and skill. He had started as a teaching fellow at the University of Kolozsvár, but gave that up on marriage. More security was needed to suppo family than a position to which one had to be reappointed year after year. I spent all my leisure as a boy in the physics laboratory where I acted as errand-boy to my father. We worked together on the lathe, wound the coil on the spark gap and the Tesla transformer, and prepared laboratory equipment. Throughout my eight years at secondary school I spent practically all my Saturday afternoons and Sundays in the lab.

Q. At which university did you continue the studies started at school, with your father?

A. The fact that I passed my **érettségi*** with honours—made it possible for me to obtain a scholarship to the famous Eötvös College in Budapest. I think this was the next decisive factor influencing my studies. An immense library with foreign periodicals, eminent learned teachers, a close attention to foreign languages, and intensive study.

Eötvös College collected gifted young men studying a great many things.

* The secondary school leaving and matriculation examination.

I acquired a good knowledge of German, some English as well, and I began to study French. I learnt how to use the library. During part of my time there Zoltán Gombocz headed the College, an eminent student of language of great renown. At the time I had no financial problems, the College provided board and lodging almost free of charge. Financial problems started later, after I had graduated. I did so in 1931, in the very middle of the Great Depression, when Hungary, burdened also with war reparations, found itself in an especially difficult plight as an agrarian country.

Unexpectedly I received an invitation to Szeged, to work with Professor Albert Szent-Györgyi the biochemist. He had always looked on physics as important in his own work. I discovered that, under the effect of ultrasonic rays, giant molecules are rent apart, decomposed, depolymerized. Thus, e.g., ultrasound converts starch first into dextrine, then into glucose. Szent-Györgyi destroyed cancer cells using ultrasonic radiation, and we performed tests on experimental animals, too.

Szent-Györgyi made a very great impression on me. For the first time I was a member of a research team. There were only five of us in addition to the professor, and we feverishly worked on vitamins. Our work attracted notice, and interesting results succeeded each other at a steady rate. In Szent-Györgyi I came to knowa scientist of genius who worked with wonderful intuition and astuteness. We could be prepared for some surprise every day of the week. Let me tell the tale of such an episode I still remember well.

On a Saturday we rowed up the river Maros with some friends. I got home dog-tired. I scrambled some eggs in the small kitchenette and gobbled them up with great appetite when Szent-Györgyi burst in carrying a basket of green paprika. 'Szalay, my boy, come and help me!' he said, and we immediately set to taking the seeds out of the paprika pods. We ground them all in an electric meat-grinder, then he titrated the juice and established that the extracted juice of paprika contained much more vitamin C than cabbage juice which had been used up to then; it oxidized to a lesser degree and, spread on a plate in the open air, still kept its vitamin C content. In the days that followed paprika came in by the cartful; the whole personnel as well as the professor's wife and daughter were taking out paprika seeds, and the extracted paprika juice was gathered in 50-litre flasks. Within a few weeks we managed to produce a few hundred grams of crystallized vitamin C. In possession of so great an amount it was easy for the professor to demonstrate against his critics that the compound he had first called ascorbic acid was really identical with vitamin C and that it not merely contained some. At that time, it was still believed that vitamins were to be found only in small amounts in nature. Szent-Györgyi's basically scientific character is shown by what happened afterwards. Any other scientist in his place would certainly have kept this treasure to himself and would have tried to ensure its structural analysis to himself or to his immediate team. Szent-Györgyi did not do so, but immediately sent a great part of this substance of great value to different institutes all over the world, where the job could be expected to be done within the shortest possible time. To him the progress of science was far more important than his desire to claim credit for himself or for his school. In the small, modest, and provisionally established laboratory the emissaries of various famous scientific institutes and of industrial firms appeared in succession, and he gladly and readily imparted to all of them his knowledge and experience, he kept nothing to himself.

It was through him that I made inquiries about Cambridge and Oxford, about the work going on there, about the atmosphere of those institutions, and it was at that time that while reading physics I came to the

conclusion that nuclear physics was its aspect which led to new surprises year after year. My job with Szent-Györgyi ended in the summer of 1933, and from that time on I left no stone unturned to get to Cambridge, to work with Lord Rutherford at the Cavendish Laboratory which, at the time pioneered nuclear research. [It was also mainly at Cambridge, at the side of Sir Gowland Hopkins, the originator of vitamin research, that Szent-Györgyi had received his training in the field.] Unfortunately, there were only two Hungarian travelling scholarships to England. Thus I had to wait until 1936, and even then the scholarship was divided, so that I obtained it for half a year only.

Q. Do you mean to say that it was then more difficult to get a job than a travelling scholarship?

A. It was equally difficult. I still had no prospect of employment at that time, and I wanted to continue my studies. I applied for German student-exchange scholarships that were relatively easy to obtain, and I spent a year in Leipzig, beside Professor Peter Debye, who a few years later was awarded a Nobel Prize for his studies in molecular physics. Then I spent a year at the Technical University of Munich, at the side of Professor Zenneck, a pioneer of wireless telegraphy. Unfortunately, these were very modest scholarships, just enough to cover bare expenses; I not only had nothing left for trips, but I could not afford to clothe myself either. What is more, I constantly had to think of unemployment waiting for met at home as a sword of Damocles hanging over me.

When I returned to Hungary I wrote to Lord Rutherford and asked him to permit me to work as a guest in the Cavendish Laboratory. I soon received his answer saying I would be welcome.

Q. Were you attracted to Rutherford and the Cavendish Laboratory expressly by the interest you had in nuclear physics?

A. Nuclear physics was in its heroic age. The Cavendish Laboratory gave my working life a clear direction. At that time the Cavendish was one of the fortresses of nuclear research in addition to Madame Curie's laboratory in Paris, Professor Otto Hahn's institute in Berlin, and the new institute of E. O. Lawrence, the constructor of the cyclotron. The Cambridge laboratory did not particularly impress me. Antiquated buildings, centuries old, with bare brick walls inside, a lot of ancient equipment, what was new was mostly improvised, it all told of a makeshift character, of pieces constructed in feverish haste. Yet, there was among them the world's very first particle accelerator which could transform atoms by artificial acceleration. It was so primitive that it took weeks or even months to make it function for a few hours, but those few hours might give rise to important discoveries. Electronics was not particularly modern either. And yet five Nobel Prize laureates worked in the Cavendish at that time—people who will be remembered for a long time. J. J. Thomson—simply J. J. to all of Cambridge—who had discovered the electron before the turn of the century was already 80 but going strong. F. W. Aston was working with the first mass spectrograph; C. T. R. Wilson was there, the inventor of the cloud chamber, as well as J. Crockcroft and E. Walton, who constructed the first particle accelerator and demonstrated with it the first successful transformation of atomic nuclei by acceleration. J. D. Bernal started the X-ray diffraction test of organic large molecules. After the Second World War Bernal was prominent indeed in the World Peace Movement. J. Chadwick who had discovered the neutron there a few years earlier had recently left. A year before P. Kapitza, a physicist working with low temperatures, had gone home to the Soviet Union. Last but not least Lord Rutherford, the gifted son of a New Zealand farmer who had always remained a simple man. He was the moving spirit of the entire laboratory.

There were around fifty post-graduate students, mainly from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, the old dominions, but also from other parts of the world, including people who had fled from Germany owing to the Nazi terror.

I was especially surprised at the high intelligence and skills of students working for their degrees. Colleagues about my age who had worked there are today heads of famous nuclear research institutes, or chairmen of atomic energy commissions, or they occupy similar posts all the way from Canada to Australia. A colleague, with whom I worked together and prepared a joint publication, W. Y. Chang, is today president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and head of a large research institute. The greatest effect that Cambridge laboratory had on me was not even that I learnt there the fundamental professional and technical skills of experimental nuclear research, but the realization that if one is a pioneer working in a new field, one has in any case to construct most of the equipment with one's own hand, and that the essential factors of productivity are not imposing technical equipment, ample financial means, modern buildings, and large-scale organization, but the intellectual capital and skills at work and the atmosphere which inspires all those there. It is, of course, necessary to ensure objective conditions. An exceptionally effective scouting system ensured that such laboratories collected the most gifted young men. This was made possible by different kinds of scholarships. Rutherford himself had been brought to Cambridge by a scholarship scheme and, after a relatively short period of time, he rose to high scientific rank. Thus he was in a position to exploit the years of his youthful vigour for the advancement of science.

'I put my faith in simple things, being a simple man myself,' he said, and that was characteristic. Indeed he simplified nature. The immensely large number of apparently very different things making up the universe, and containing perhaps millions of organic compounds, are various combinations of only 92 kinds of atom. He made the discovery that these atoms are similar, every one of them containing a relatively heavy nucleus with a positive charge with negatively charged electrons around them. Niels Bohr, who further developed Rutherford's atomic model, was his pupil. Rutherford's influence inspired Bohr to formulate his theory of atomic structure.

In the short span of six months I learnt to speak English fluently, and I produced a well-received work in collaboration with W. Y. Chang, as I mentioned, a work which was presented also to the Royal Society. I returned home much more optimistic since I had learnt that it was possible to do valuable, pioneering research even with modest hand-crafted tools. I knew that if I wanted to get something done in Debrecen, the most important thing was to gather gifted young people around me. I remembered also what I had often heard Szent-Györgyi say: 'It is not worth the trouble for an intuitive creative researcher to follow the beaten track and devote much energy to the solution of petty questions of detail. With the same intellectual effort he can even make pioneering novel discoveries if he can discern the major problems still waiting to be solved in nature.'

Starting with 1936, I was a teaching fellow and then, following promotion, I stayed in Debrecen for five years, with six months' interruption. I had very little time for research; The department's funds were not sufficient for teaching purposes or for Professor Gyulai's interesting research in the physics of solids either.

Q. To realize the scientific dreams nursed beside Lord Rutherford, you therefore had to create the possibilities in another institute specialized in a different research project in Debrecen?

A. I practically had to lead a double life as far as my research in the institute was

concerned. It was a great trial of strength as well. The years in Debrecen were oppressively difficult, much enthusiasm and perseverance was needed for some energy to be left for research under such conditions. I worked at least twelve hours a day; usually even more because, what with teaching and organization I only had time left for research at night. One summer I worked with Professor Stephan Mayer in the Vienna Radium Institute, at that time there was no radium in Debrecen as yet. He wrote on my behalf to the uranium mining authorities in Czechoslovakia, and those sold me at cost price some radium-D from which I extracted polonium in Debrecen. We bombarded light atomic nuclei with the alpha rays of polonium and examined the resonances during their transformation. A great number of publications on this subject were produced in the institute up to the middle of the 1950s. Of great importance to this work was the extremely fine preparatory technique which I had developed in making high-purity polonium concentrated preparations. This was unique at the time. These were the first Hungarian accomplishments in nuclear physics, and from 1939 onward they were published in other languages as well and obtained general recognition.

In 1940 Professor Gyulai left Debrecen for Kolozsvár University and I, at the age of thirty, was appointed to the chair. There was no other applicant, as nobody in Budapest felt like applying for a post at an institute in such a state. The appointment solved my financial problems overnight and reassured my father who was anxious about my future, but it did not improve the chances of doing research any better, as well as imposing greater responsibilities.

Those were difficult years amidst the hardships of war compounded by air raids. With the aid of a few students, clerks, and my assistants I managed to preserve the institute's equipment and library from the ravages of war, and thus, shortly after Liberation, when the siege of Budapest was still going on, teaching could start in Debrecen with experimental demonstrations and laboratory practice. At the time we had very fine students there, some of them young men who had deserted from the army, others, members of persecuted minorities, who had escaped from forced labour service.

We started to think of developing a Van de Graaff electrostatic particle accelerator. With the help of ambitious students we built the first small generator out of two egg-whisk kettles, which produced a few hundred thousand volts.

Then we built a 2-million-volt generator whose copper sphere had a diameter of two metres, and this was completed by Ede Koltay, one of my most talented students. In the Nuclear Research Institute which I hadorganized there a 5-million-volt generator had already been built. It functioned perfectly after starting at the appointed date under the grid plan.

All things considered, the years at Debrecen University were extremely difficult and very unfavourable to research, but I succeeded in rallying round me a few young men who were later to make up the Debrecen school of nuclear studies. I can see clearly now what gave me strength to persevere and make ceaseless effort: my father's influence. I did here at the department in Debrecen what he had done in the school's physics lab in Nyíregyháza. Perhaps I had inherited his nature, or else he had brought me up that way. As he did not receive, and had never expected to receive, any special recognition of his educational work, I also did not expect it from the University of Debrecen. So much the more I would have expected, and I indeed asked for, the development of my department, and the erection of an appropriate building. Unfortunately, nothing has come of it till today, and the department has since 1923 been functioning in the orphanage building, at that time provisionally converted for the purpose. My years as a teaching fellow included, I worked at Debrecen University

under very adverse circumstances for thirty-three years.

By good fortune the Hungarian Academy of Sciences came to my aid in 1954. I was commissioned to organize a nuclear research institute, and since then I am engaged in research under incomparably better circumstances. In 1958 I resigned my university chair, which was then taken over by Gyula Csikai, a former student of mine, who has since been elected a member of the Academy. Essentially the department is still the same as it was: it has remained a stepchild of the University, although along another line the University has been given, and has realized, great opportunities for development. This reminds me of a Balzac's donkey-hide story...

Q. You are recognized by scientists as the pioneer of prospecting for uranium in Hungary.

A. When in 1945 it became widely known that it was possible to release atomic energy from uranium by means of the chain reaction of nuclear fission, I saw quite clearly that in Hungary, a country very poor in energy sources, it would be highly important to discover uranium deposits, if there were any. Since at that time nuclear research in Hungary was going on only at Debrecen, I felt it was my responsibility to take the initiative. I asked the Geological Institute for assistance, and in 1947 I received 10,000 forints in support of our basic research. This enabled us to construct the first portable Geiger–Müller counters, and together with Aladár Földvári, a geologist, we first visited likely sites in 1947. Geologists at that time considered it an utterly hopeless proposition that uranium might be found in Hungary. Temporarily the survey thus bore the character of a scientific hobby which we pursued at the expense of our summer holidays. In 1949, in the Lantos Valley in the Mecsek Hills, we caught sight of a surface coal outcrop, and I applied the Geiger counter. It began to pulse rapidly. At variance with what was reported in the literature, the coal there had uranium concentrated in it. By 1952 we had examined the best part of the coal-mines of Hungary, and we found uranium in many places, but the deposits were not concentrated sufficiently for economical extraction. These surveys showed in any event that uranium can be expected also in the sedimentary layers covering vast areas of the territory of Hungary. We reported our findings to the competent government authorities, and they sent our report to Soviet experts. Shortly thereafter a number of Soviet experts came to Hungary and conducted their own surveys; prospecting on an industrial scale was then started on their advice. In 1954 this resulted in the discovery of economically extractable uranium barely a few kilometres from the site which we had surveyed. Meanwhile I was preoccupied with the mystery of the force which must have put uranium into coal from the water of marshes covered millions of years earlier by the plants of which coal was formed. Here, therefore, I saw a mystery in nature towards which no trodden path led, and I had to proceed guided only by intuition, in a totally unmapped territory. I soon found the answer. It is not living plants which gather in them natural uranium from the very thin watery solution, but it is peat formed of decaying plant material which binds it, augmenting its concentration about ten thousandfold, in the peat humin acids.

We actually succeeded in the decisive experiment in 1951. It was late one night, and afterwards I worked feverishly and studied the phenomenon in detail. The study of the details went on for years with the participation of several post-graduate studies. As against the initially formulated opinions to the contrary this research and the resulting principles are today recognized by physicists in many parts of the world and are applied to research forecasts. I have passed in review what we have done at

various international congresses: twice in Moscow, then in Tokyo, Amsterdam, London, Stockholm, and in many other places. In 1956 I delivered a lecture as the guest of the Swedish Society of Atomic Energy. Relying on my findings, a young Swedish geologist discovered a swampy glacier moraine beyond the Arctic Circle where uranium concentration in peat is taking place under our very noses. He measured concentration coefficient of peat in nature there and found it to be nine thousandfold as against my ten thousandfold figure. In his publication he stated most categorically that my research provided a full explanation of organic concentrations of this type. It was likewise in Stockholm that I gained the greatest scientific recognition in connection with the same subject: in 1968 as a guest lecturer at a plenary session of the Swedish Academy of Sciences I could already report on a stage of research which was close to completion.

I received a strange recognition on another occasion. In 1974 I spent a month in the United States, where I travelled widely on the lecturing circuit. The U.S. National Academy of Sciences, which had arranged my trip, included in my itinerary a visit to the Denver Geological Institute, and a lecture to be given there. I found myself at the very hub of uranium and thorium research in the U.S. My lecture was attended by a great many people who seemed to listen with unflagging interest. Questions and discussion followed. Of course I was glad of this success, and the next day I visited the laboratory. There I was surprised to see my relevant papers laid out on the desks—even my Hungarian-language publications had been translated into English and printed. In other words, this meant that I had told them nothing new: they had already known everything in my lecture, and they had even made use of it all. I was shown a volume—still classified at that time but the public has been given access to it since—in which geochemical literature on uranium is evaluated. On about twenty pages at the very beginning, and also in other places, the book deals with my own works. It considers my accomplishments to be of fundamental value in the understanding of the wandering of uranium and its concentrations related to organic matters. I recall, as I had told my dear friend Aladár Földvári, who is no longer with us, about my nightly experiments connected with the concentration of uranium in peat. He had congratulated me warmly telling me that I had made an original discovery in geochemistry. I had asked him then what geochemistry was, I had never heard of the discipline. He gave me a few books which I studied later. This extremely interesting and relatively novel discipline, practised initially in the Soviet Union and in the United States, and with a great future of it, is concerned with the wanderings and concentrations of elements on the Earth and provides considerable assistance to those prospecting for deposits of various kinds. This was the first interdisciplinary research of major importance done in Debrecen, and further interdisciplinary work in different directions followed later.

Q. You have talked about this work of exploration while remaining modestly silent precisely about the great comprehensive scientific achievement which ensues from the generalization of the mechanism of uranium concentration.

A. It occurred to me in 1968 that, since the peat humin acids greedily bind not only uranium in water but a large variety of cations, the plants growing in peaty soils cannot get an adequate quantity of certain micro-elements. Such conjectures have been verified by surveys conducted on collected plants. It is mainly manganese and copper that the plants cannot get enough of in peaty soils. And this has a disadvantageous influence on the quantity of crops. We have succeeded in filling the gap using artificial fertilizers. This can be done only by

sprinkling the leaves, since the micro-fertilizer spread onto peaty soil is also strongly bound by the humin acids. In Hungary only 2 per cent, i.e. about 100,000 hectares, of arable soils are affected, but there are more than 200 million hectares the world over.

Apart from peaty soils I have lately been engaged in the study of deficiency phenomena of micro-elements in different soils. A recent discovery has been that the plants of over 50,000 hectares of alkaline pasture in the Hortobágy are equally deficient in micro-elements, copper and zinc in the first place.

Q. You were the first to produce radioisotopes in Hungary. Have you dealt with the use of isotopes in the medical field as well?

A. We set up a small research team for the purpose at the department towards the end of the 1940s and in the Nuclear Research Institute starting with 1954. We collaborated with the Medical University of Debrecen in working out a number of instrumental techniques and methods. Between 1945 and 1954 we trained personnel for the first isotope laboratory.

Q. Your institute is concerned with basic research in the first place, is it not?

A. Yes it is. But we endeavoured to ensure the widest possible scope. As early as 1952, in addition to developing the said accelerator, we established a station for the regular study of air and environmental pollution using radioactive fission products. We help geology and prospecting for ore and oil in Hungary with the mass-spectrometric determination of the absolute age of rock formations. It was our job to cope with this specifically Hungarian task, since no one abroad would do it for us.

Q. A scientist's achievements are crowned, so to speak, by the school built on his results and relying on his students. You have created here, under unfavourable circumstances, the Debrecen scientific school of nuclear physics.

A. Science at Cambridge goes back seven to nine hundred years and the right atmosphere has slowly grown. In Hungary individuals have had to devote a few decades or all of their lives to build up scientific schools where gifted young people can feel assured of the possibility of successful productive work.

It was in 1940, when I was appointed to the chair, that I decided to establish a nuclear research school in Debrecen, work on which I had started with extremely modest means, while I was a teaching fellow here. Until now I have never spoken of this being afraid of ridicule. Many would have said that I overrated my abilities and opportunities. Now, having succeeded, I can talk. A large number of scientists who have joined the institute and obtained qualifications here, had been students at Debrecen University, and two of them have been elected to membership of the Academy. Many others also have achieved scientific rank and status. The Nuclear Research Institute is a recognized institution with an international reputation. We have established good contacts, especially with Dubna in the Soviet Union, but also with Swedish, Danish, Dutch, English, and other well-known centres of research.

ISTVÁN KARDOS

FROM THE PRESS

LET'S MOVE ON — IF WE CAN

The above title was given to an article which appeared in a summer 1980 issue of *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary weekly. The article was followed by a controversy which lasted for the next three and a half months: contributions from 72 well-known writers and from many readers appeared in the next 15 issues. Before going on to describe the controversy itself I shall give a brief introduction to the weekly and its polemical traditions.

Attracting Attention

The weekly was founded in the spring of 1957; it made a significant contribution to the re-establishment of intellectual life following the events of 1956 in Hungary, because it involved writers in public life and has always held up for public examination any literary or social contradictions which might be of interest. Its features page merits special attention, because it is there that both writers and readers have the opportunity of airing their views on controversial questions.

By the sixties the methods of discussion used in *Élet és Irodalom* had become established and these continued in the seventies albeit in fundamentally changed conditions. The Hungarian economy had passed from the stage of extensive expansion to a phase of intensive growth. A further factor in the changed conditions lay in the fact that the weekly's original readership, those who had received a literary education, had expanded and now included young people with a more technical background. The circulation now totals 60,000 copies per week.

In the mid-seventies, when the circulation was 28,000, a new debate began during which various people called for a fresh, more flexible approach to be adopted in economic and social practice. Bulcsú Bertha, the now 47 years old writer and journalist, wrote an article, headed *Kesudió* ("Cashew Nut"). Using the example of these tropical delicacies, which are retailed at particularly exorbitant prices, he argued that now that the oil price explosion had led to such a fundamental reassessment of international relations, it was wrong to neglect value as a factor in questions of commodity exchange. The Hungarian economy, like all other national economies, could not operate in the absence of proper international trade relations, and the Hungarian consumer needed a rich supply of goods. The vehement article, which presented a lively picture of the shortage economy, attracted considerable attention and increased the paper's circulation by several thousands.

The next controversy appeared to affect a smaller group of people but in fact involved the largest group among the profes-

sional class, the teachers. It was initiated by György Száraz, the 50-year-old essayist and journalist, and senior member of *Élet és Irodalom* staff. The article, *Semper reformare!*, acknowledged that schools were developing steadily; but Száraz felt there was something missing. Only a small proportion of the official plans had been implemented; the original aim had been to adapt the Hungarian school system to contemporary requirements. Zoltán Molnár, a 60-year-old writer, member of the weekly's staff, later summarized the essence of the debate: "The main source of an intensive growth in production is education." Again *Élet és Irodalom*'s circulation increased, this time by 10,000 copies; the teaching profession was clearly roused.

The initiator of the next debate was the poet and journalist András Mezei, a senior member of *Élet és Irodalom*'s staff. In an article headed *"Are We that Rich?"* he discussed the problem of people in the engineering professions, stating that one reason for the problems involved in switching from extensive to intensive economic growth was that inventors were neither materially nor morally appreciated. Elizabeth Windsor, the Budapest correspondent of the *Financial Times*, commented on Mezei's article on July 12, 1978: in her article, "Tough Times for 'Difficult People'," she wrote that Mezei had drawn attention to the fact that every year Hungary was robbed of an income of several thousand millions, and that West German sharks pocketed 25 million D-Marks every year by pouncing upon Hungarian inventions as soon as their patent protection expired. Mezei was pressing for a change in the relevant legislation—and suggesting that private persons should be allowed to form companies or participate as shareholders in enterprises. According to him, Miss Windsor continued, all this could be achieved within the economic framework of socialism.

Subsequently the weekly printed an interview with the president of the National Patents Office which concluded with these words: "Either we draw a lesson from our own mistakes and omissions or we will be caught with our trousers down on the world market."

Apart from writers directly involved, the chief contributors this time were specialists in the field under discussion, and the result was not only another increase in circulation by 10,000 copies per week but also, and more concretely, a change in the climate of public opinion. Inventors ceased to appear as "difficult people," or contemporary Don Quixotes; after the debate had subsided the press increasingly reported lawsuits won by inventors, even when these went against state enterprises.

The Writer's Role as Manager of the Waterworks

A new debate started in the issue of June 14, 1980, when the editors decided to ask representatives of the younger generation of writers, those who had started their careers in the seventies, to give their views on their situation, their problems, their opinion of the literary world, and to say what they thought about their own works and works by other people. This idea was sparked off by the literary review *Mozgó Világ* which, a few months earlier, had conducted an all-round enquiry among Hungary's young writers, poets, critics, artists, and even pop-singers who were asked to talk about their general situation. The replies to the questions were summed up and interpreted by Mihály Sükösd, a 48-year-old writer, playwright, essayist, and student of English and American literature, in an article headed *Let's Move on—if We Can*, in which he classified the rising generation of artists as follows:

1. Those who are content and have found their position in society, the conventional medium for their work;

2. the loners who live and work outside that medium,

3. those who are not satisfied with the demands currently made upon them by the community and try to find and form small groups for themselves.

In the author's opinion, young writers "... are greatly attracted by their great myth-making predecessors, such as the poets Sándor Weöres, János Pilinszky, and László Nagy. Obviously because they feel most at home in that myth-making private world, they project the private world on to the universal." It follows that those who have retreated into their own world are uncertain about their public. And the gap between the producers and consumers of culture "is not only the experience of young writers; it is the common experience of Hungarian writers at the end of the seventies."

Sükösd goes on: "The golden age of Hungarian literature is over—the long centuries during which, in the words of Gyula Illyés, the poet, the Hungarian writer had tended to assume the responsibilities even of manager of the waterworks. Changes in social structure and the division of labour have put an end to this impossible situation in Hungary, as elsewhere." Sükösd concludes by explaining that he has deliberately borrowed his title from an essay by Gábor Halász, a writer who was killed in the Second World War, because he believes that three and a half decades later it is worthwhile re-examining the question of whether it is possible for literature to move on.

This particular question aroused great interest among intellectuals: professional writers, amateurs and beginners, young poets and critics, and observant readers stated their views in some 200 letters to the editor. In the first phase of the debate the editors gave the floor to the youngest, who reacted particularly sensitively to a phenomenon characteristic of Eastern Europe—and one which is strongly condemned by Mihály Sükösd: this is the literary and political tradition according to which artists tend to take on their own shoulders the burdens of their people and their nation, despite the fact that political journalism would be a more suitable medium for their involvement. To what degree is the modern writer a prophet, in this the last third of the century, and in the conditions of socialism? To what degree does he express political interests in his works? These were the major questions put by many of those participing in the debate. Before summarizing the suggested answers, I should mention an article by Jenő Alföldy, 40-year-old staff member the weekly, in which he attempted to present the literary and historical aspects of the original essay which gave this contemporary debate its name.

According to Alföldy, Halász's article appeared a few months before his death in 1944. In the closing stage of an almost ten-year-old debate about contemporary Hungarian lyrical poetry, Halász wrote: "Our new poetry has become truly bogged down, and what is worse, it likes it... Not only have our poets learned formal perfection —not a bad thing in itself—but they have adopted conventional poetical messages, melodies, orchestration, and motives; it would never occur to them to try to widen the scope of poetry..."

Alföldy adds to this his feeling that those participating in that previous debate were well aware that their discussion about the intricacies of poetry was overshadowed by bombers and concentration camps. "This quixotic debate," writes Alföldy, "reminds one of a story written by Ferenc Sánta where the inmates of a forced labour camp condemned to death, oblivious to everything around them, discuss an aspect of cultural history instead of trying to find a way to escape."

One of the readers—a 29-year-old secondary-school teacher from Budapest—sent the editor a collection of quotations from the sixties by prominent Hungarian writers, including Tibor Déry, József Lengyel, László Nagy, László Németh, and István

Örkény. For him these were proof that at that time, in a golden age of Hungarian intellectual life, their concern was the same: young writers and poets continued to struggle with difficulties of adjustment just as their predecessors had done in the mid-forties. And—suggests the sender of the quotations—whilst it might be true that one or two of the quotations could just as easily have been applied in the context of the current debate, the social and economic background of apparently similar phenomena is totally different. The difference is probably to be found in Gyula Illyés's analogy about the manager of the waterworks—to which several letter-writers referred.

Cultural Innovation or Modern-day Prophets?

On the social role of the writer, i.e. the fact that Hungarian writers were willing to assume the additional role of the manager of the waterworks, Jenő Alföldy wrote: "poetry, in its own emotional and sensitive way, often gives a more reliable account of people's real problems than do science and journalism." He suggests that his partners in the dispute should not confuse the prophet with the politically committed poet. "The age of obligatory political commitment should never return"—here he is alluding to the rigidity of the fifties, the personality cult—"the slogan-writing and toadying... but let us continue to have politically committed poetry in the spirit of Sándor Petőfi, Endre Ady, and Gyula Illyés." György Asperján, a 40-year-old novelist and journalist, claims to stand essentially for the same thing; his interpretation preserves the province of the prophet by putting an end to it: "... the role of the writer to concern himself with fundamental questions has not ceased, because it follows from the essence of art that he formulates what the politican does in a different manner and according to other standards... The formulations of the politician come across directly, those of a writer indirectly. And if the basic questions of the nation are formulated in literature this may help to make his ideas intelligible to everybody."

It was characteristic of the debate that, as well as writers, poets, critics, representatives of many other professions—social psychologists, historians, and sociologists—also sent in their contributions. In general, they felt prophetic attitudes on the part of the writer to be archaic, and thought that the concept of the writer as a prophet could not be updated, because contemporary Hungarian intellectual life was already so many-sided that the academic approach was as justified as the artistic one. One of the most analytical contributions, by Pál Tamás, a 31-year-old sociologist, expressed the view that "with the changed social division of labour the prophet's role has been declining since the early years of the century. The massive involvement of writers in public life was short-lived and has evolved in precisely defined political conditions. (The author is thinking here of the writers turned rural sociologists in the thirties, and of the events which led up to 1956.) The projection of social conflicts on to literary life and the use of a literary barometer in measuring general conditions are elements of this vocation which appear in some periods and disappear in others. On the other hand, these are always connected with 'bottlenecks' in public life. Social and political conflicts must not necessarily come to a head in literature." This view is symptomatic because it appears to reflect the opinions of several participants and not only of those whose ideas are sociologically based. They believe that one, although not the main, reason for the decline or stagnation of contemporary Hungarian literature should be sought in the absence of democratic traditions.

Other correspondents argued that this was not the case. The 51 year-old writer, critic and literary translator Tamás Ungvári

admitted that in the absence of democratic traditions generally, "politics has been often entrusted to poetry," but in his opinion this was far from saying that literature itself had no democratic features. Even if the public life of Petőfi and Attila József did not always take place within the political party, the coffeeshop and billiard table offered sufficient scope for discussing the ideology of national will and individual prosperity. Ungvári adds: "We did not inherit our power structure from anybody... neither does the structure of our literature resemble that of yesterday which was allegedly characterized by an absence of democratic tradition. I think the problem is rather that we have more trouble with our own modern traditions than with those of yesterday. The mistakes and distortions of the recent past exert a stronger impact on our present than any harmful heritage or 'lack' of past." This question without doubt deserves some thought. István Lázár made his point very clearly: "... the dispute about young writers always becomes vehement when the issue stops being 'professional' in the narrow sense, and becomes more concerned with the state of society as a whole." Above all, with the contradiction already discussed in the article *Are we that rich?* that is, lack of cultural innovation.

Pál Tamás wrote: "The fate of cultural innovation is obviously connected with economic and political innovation. The intellectual effervescence that followed the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956 was clearly political in nature, and in the second half of the sixties the connections between economic experiments going on in Hungary and the intellectual climate here were clearly observable... In the last 15–20 years strategies adopted to solve various problems have followed the pattern of strategy adopted in public life in the broad sense (although never declared explicitly, the main points of this strategy are peace, a willingness to compromise, and a quest for common ground). This strategy is based on economic growth, a rise in living standards unprecedented in Hungary. However, this mitigation of inherent conflicts, with a deferment of real solutions, has had a peculiar side-effect. Although the political and economic leadership has always insisted that a condition of further development was society's ability to renew itself and its innovative tendencies, the situation described earlier has led to laziness, to a rather take-it-easy attitude in public life, to a proliferation of conservative values."

This inertness in public life explains also why some of the younger writers sharply criticized the older writers, as the aesthetic trustees of conservative values. Péter Fábri, a 27-year-old writer, rejects his intellectual predecessors and asks them: "Did today's younger generation write the Stalinist doggerel?" Several older writers reacted sensitively to this "impudent and arrogant tone," as one of them put it, and the conflict between older and younger writers, regarding the conditions in which young literature is produced, became a side-issue in the debate. After this many participants wrote exclusively about the presentation of social reality in literature.

Ends and means

The turning-point in the debate came with an article by Sándor Csoóri, the 51-year-old poet and essayist. It is difficult accurately to sum up in a few lines his passionately written and controversial article, which was so rich in poetical imagery; that its effect was considerable was clearly demonstrated in the reactions of several people who agreed and at the same time disputed its contents. Many writers of the same generation reacted to Csoóri's article; they had started together but later went their separate ways; their responses proved that strong differences of opinion were possible not only between members of

different generations but also among contemporaries. For the sake of clarity we have grouped Csoóri's theses along with those of his opponents.

Csoóri writes: "Here is this country cut out for something better, squirming "with a distorted grin on its face; an analgesic would help but there is nothing at hand." The sequence of ideas continues: "... despite a few more cheerful compensating factors as regards living standards and greater freedom of movement, the Hungary of the seventies is a country with a sick soul." This comparison stimulated readers' imagination so much that the poet András Mezei reacted to it in the next issue of *Élet és Irodalom* as follows: "Sándor Csoóri describes the seventies' living standards and freedom of movement merely as 'cheerful compensating factors' and has a devastating opinion of 'the sick soul of the seventies'... I don't really know when the 'soul of a country is sick'; I only know that in my lifetime it was always at its sickest when prisons, mental clinics, and concentration camps were filled in the name of health."

Csoóri continued thus: "Let us not mince words: contemporary Hungarian literature gives discouraging reports on this general condition." Then he sums up: "Instead of whining and drawing up scandalized lists of complaints, literature must in the name of life itself learn to rebel and to struggle for the right to action."

Mezei has his counter-arguments; he says that "Csoóri himself... does precisely this: rebel 'in the name of life itself struggling for the right to action' in writing all this. How can a writer rebel if not by drawing up scandalized lists of complaints? The rest is not his business."

In the following week's issue István Eörsi entered the debate. The 50-year-old poet and translator, responsible for the Hungarian version of György Lukács works written in German, does not agree with Mezei that the writer's rebellion consists only of mapping scandals. "In most cases," said Eörsi, "writers are human beings too; so their existence does not merely amount to a formulation of their experiences. This means that their actions, lives, and deaths, do not belong solely to their existence as writers; they are features of the same personality as are the works they produce. Only a bureaucratic concept of literature can claim that life going on outside his works is not the writer's business, that he must act out his rebellion in his writing."

Csoóri's next thesis also provoked a counter-argument from Eörsi. Csoóri wrote: "I see our literature writhing in prolonged misery, in a state of gloomy vegetation where even its outstanding achievements are only half-successes because if a nation is not a common undertaking then the reflex of uncertainty is present in its every movement and also in its spirit." According to Eörsi the nation could not be a common undertaking in Hungary, because progress and national feeling were always opposed to each other "as a false but historically necessary alternative." "The nation cannot be a common undertaking as long as it is filled with conflicting interests... It would be much better for literature if, instead of participating in the non-existent common undertaking, it could openly articulate its conflicting interests." In the next issue Géza Páskándi, the 47-year-old writer, poet, and playwright, condemned this idea as exaggerated and small-minded.

Csoóri concluded his contribution with the following statement: "The goals of the present government are visibly primarily economic. It believes that economic achievements will transform themselves spontaneously into national values. But they cannot be transformed in this way! Indeed, it may happen that the familiar parable will be applicable to us: we will find ourselves sitting in a beautifully built house and eating cold strawberry cream in a state of acute malaise..." The last statement ruffled many people, and without exception the

above-mentioned people rejected Csoóri's parable; their arguments were different but they all agreed that Csoóri's views lacked sophistication. Miklós Szinetár, the 48-year-old vice-president and artistic director of Hungarian Television, entered the debate at this point and formulated his counter-arguments with some force:

"I don't believe that the aims of the government are exclusively economic. Genuine economic and social progress is interdependent... but the government does well to concentrate primarily on economics. The achievements of the last 15–20 years are of historical importance, but in the next twenty years their preservation and refinement is imperative. Those who look at those people sitting happily in that beautifully built house eating cold strawberry cream for the first time for many hundreds of years and clinging to their little bit of prosperity... those who see but do not care about these people may experience what the American and West German intellectuals experienced: they rebelled against a real prosperity, and it was not manipulation by the ruling groups but the aversion of the people that pushed them out of the political scene."

To be continued?

The follow-up to the debate in question is also very informative. "Shallow contributions," "withered speculations"—these and similar qualifications can be read in university papers, whose student collaborators were disappointed when the dispute was deflected from its primary purpose. They blamed the editors for having opened the weekly's columns to middle-aged instead of to younger writers and poets. On the other hand, the more "adult" press organs of institutions attached to more "conservative" values have criticized the paper because, they said, although it allowed writers playing at being prophet a chance to let off steam, they felt that the image of contemporary Hungarian society as it emerged from the debate was much too dark and gloomy. The author of the present article adopts a third view: both literature and public life benefit from an intellectual review with a circulation of 60,000 which gives people the opportunity to articulate their conflicting interests in public.

László Zöldi

SURVEYS

GERD BÍRÓ

HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL POLICY AND WORLD MARKET CHANGES

Now that one and a half years have passed since the "shifting of the points" in Hungarian economic policy and the system of economic management, it is now possible to draw up a first intermediate balance sheet and look forward to the first half of the eighties. The "shifting of points" can be briefly described as follows: since the beginning of 1979 a considerable expansion of exports, made possible by a slowing down of the growth rate and a new system of producers' prices, has already achieved important successes, while at the same time the reform of the system of economic management begun in 1968 has been further developed in the light of the economic changes which have occurred since that time both internationally and in Hungary.

In these circumstances the basic requirement is not to eliminate the effect of transitory disturbances, but rather to modify economic management mechanisms so that they permit flexible adaptation to the changes continually taking place on the world market. Whereas the 1968 reform focused on the mechanisms of the economic management system the present changes also affect economic policy and institutions, and call for greater attention to be paid in decision-making to external economic conditions. The appropriateness of the organizational structure of the economy has in recent years been a central point of discussion among experts. This is connected, among other things, with the fact that improving the supply of semi-finished products has become a major task in which small and medium enterprises can play an important part. This could and should also make it possible to make increasing use of Hungary's comparative advantages in manpower through medium-sized enterprises specializing in the manufacture of semi-finished products.

Moreover, organizational structures which promote efficiency and adaptability should be encouraged in enterprises.

Association agreements

In this connection the promotion of association agreements between foreign trade enterprises and industry has also become topical.

Association agreements can contribute to an increase in the efficiency of economic activity because they create a common financial incentive between the producing and trading enterprises which goes far beyond the foreign trade enterprises merely acting as a commission agent and making a profit by selling above the price limit set by the producing enterprise.

Thus, for instance, the Hungarotex Foreign Trading Company recently concluded association agreements with some

Hungarian textile mills which provide for the sharing of the profits achieved by reducing import costs and increasing export prices. Another association agreement recently concluded between the Mogürt Foreign Trading Company and the Ikarus Bus Works provides that after-sales service both during and after the period of guarantee should be transferred to Ikarus thereby giving the factory continuous and direct contact with its foreign customers.

These association agreements thus involve organizational methods which should increasingly serve the interests of the enterprises and the economy.

Organizational changes

As far as organizational changes in the administration are concerned, the principal factor to be taken into account is that certain trends in production are breaking down the traditional divisions of industry. This led the Council of Ministers meeting on July 10, 1980 to create an Economic Commission to coordinate the government's work on the implementation of national economic plans and on the management of international economic relations.

The organizational changes are also made with the purpose of developing new capabilities by improving management and organization.

Efforts are also being made to take advantage of the benefits of international cooperation, primarily those afforded by socialist economic integration within the CMEA. That similar problems are being experienced by member countries of the CMEA suggest that common solutions aimed at increasing efficiency can and must be found. This is to be done in the main long-term projects, including the agreements relating to the development of the processing of oil products and to data processing, which were concluded on the occasion of the 34th session held on June 17–19, 1980.

There should not, of course, be any isolation in future either, and Hungary, like other CMEA members, endeavours to maintain mutually beneficial economic relations with all willing countries.

Improvement of the trade balance

An interim balance sheet of economic activity in the first months of 1980 shows unequivocally that the improvement in the balance of trade which began in 1979 has continued. The fact that enterprises have increasingly adapted to the changed economic conditions has played a significant role in this development.

Whereas in 1979 hard currency exports increased by 28 per cent over the preceding year and the value of imports remained approximately unchanged, in the first five months of 1980 hard currency exports increased by a further 29.3 per cent, and imports decreased by 2.6 per cent compared with the same period in the preceding year.

An important factor in this development was the slowing down of the growth rate, and in particular an 8 per cent reduction in investment, since it created a considerable incentive for the enterprises to adjust to changes on the world market—an essential precondition of further progress.

A further factor was the new system of producers' prices introduced on January 1, 1980, which contributed considerably to the expansion of exports by making the judgement of the world market a yardstick of the efficiency of Hungarian enterprises.

The continual modification of the exchange rate should also contribute to the maintenance of relative price stability. Here account must be taken of the fact that the rest of price increases is considerably higher

on the world market than in Hungary. The main criterion for fixing the exchange rates is therefore the extent to which the protection of relative price stability on the domestic market necessitates a revaluation of the forint, since a revaluation of 1 per cent reduces the level of prices by approximately 0.6–0.8 per cent.

A further factor in this context is the extent to which revaluation maintains incentive to export, whereby it should be remembered that exports have been encouraged since 1979 mainly by the restriction of the growth of domestic demand.

When fixing its new exchange rates the National Bank of Hungary considers not already imported or exported goods but contracts concluded by enterprises, since in this way changes in the exchange rates before these goods are paid for have little or no effect on domestic prices, and the Hungarian exporting enterprises are also left with lower inflationary profits.

At the same time exchange rate policy should, along with the other components of the economic management system, help to improve export profitability by compelling enterprises to improve on or stop their inefficient and unprofitable activities, and on the other hand enhance the opportunities for profitable activities to develop.

The policy of revaluation of the Hungarian exchange rate is, of course, directed not only at the convertible currencies but also at the transferable rouble, given that since the mid-seventies prices have also changed in the CMEA region. As is well-known, long-term price changes on the world market are taken into account within the CMEA in that the average world market price of the preceding five years forms the basis on which annual prices are fixed. It follows that rouble prices also increase, even if at a slower rate, which necessitates an active revaluation policy in respect of these.

The Role of the Financial Regulation System

The above illustrates beyond all doubt that in Hungary economic policy is based on the assumption that efficiency can be considerably improved through the application of the financial regulation system.

As an instrument of economic policy, this also currently serves the objective of gradually redressing the balance of payments.

For this reason, taxation policy should maintain incentives as far as enterprises are concerned and eliminate the budgetary deficit not by increasing the burden of taxes on the enterprises, but by improving efficiency and the degree of processing in production, and thereby also profits. In this a special role is attributed to the export credits made available to enterprises by the National Bank of Hungary, which have also contributed considerably to bringing about an expansion of exports.

By mid-1980 Hungarian enterprises had been granted credits amounting to 54,000 million forints for this purpose, which enabled them to undertake total investments of 90,000 million forints, corresponding at the commercial exchange rate to approximately 3,000 million US dollars. The value of the additional exports made possible by these credits, in convertible currencies, amounted in 1979 to 869 million US dollars.

The expansion of exports has also been promoted by the thousand or so cooperation agreements between Hungarian enterprises and Western companies, the latter including 378 West German, 92 Austrian, 86 Swiss, 75 American, 63 French, 53 Dutch, 52 British, 46 Swedish, and 43 Italian firms.

Outline agreements achieved with a number of multinational corporations providing for manifold cooperation in the most diverse areas have also been successful.

Internationally, Hungary's reputation as a financial partner is helped, among other things, by the fact that the Hungarian

government has endeavoured to fulfil her obligations arising from the time of the two world wars and to pay compensation for the nationalizations carried out in Hungary three decades ago; consequently Hungary now has no unsettled foreign debts.

Foreign partners also look favourably on the fact that the drawing of foreign credits intended to make up gradually for the deterioration in the terms of trade through a constructive expansion in exports rather than import restrictions is done centrally in the banks, and that credits are not drawn abroad by Hungarian enterprises and other economic units.

Foreign credits are drawn by the National Bank of Hungary which thereby accepts responsibility both for the selection of investors and investment projects and for repayment.

On November 9, 1979 the Central European International Bank Ltd. was established in Hungary. Its shareholders are the National Bank of Hungary with a share of 34 per cent, and the Banca Commerciale Italiana, Milan, the Bayerische Vereinsbank, Munich, the Creditanstalt-Bankverein, Vienna, the Long Term Credit Bank of Japan Limited, Tokyo, the Société Générale, Paris, and the Taiyo Kobe Bank Limited, Kobe, each having a share of 11 per cent. The registered capital of the bank amounts to 20 million US dollars, with further standby credits amounting to 15 million US dollars.

The bank was established with the aim of promoting the international division of labour and thereby economic progress by contributing to the financing of East–West trade and joint investments.

This is an "off-shore" bank, which acts as though it were situated in a free port.

This means in practice that the bank is entitled to carry out all international banking transactions in convertible currencies and is exempt from Hungarian foreign exchange regulations.

The Outlook for the Sixth Five Year Plan (1981–85)

The institution of the Central European International Bank Ltd. in Hungary did not amount to a complete change in the banking system in Hungary; but it was new in the sense that this was the first time in a socialist country that an off-shore bank with a majority of Western shareholders had been established able to carry out any banking activity in convertible currency and to work in the same way as banks situated in the international financial centres.

In their preparations for the Sixth Five Year Plan which begins in 1981, a number of Hungarian enterprises are engaged in negotiations with foreign partners about long-term cooperation on various larger projects.

Preparatory work for the Sixth Five Year Plan began some two years ago, based on analyses of the national economic and also on international economic forecasts. It had to be concluded that the terms of trade would probably continue to deteriorate for Hungary, while the growth of raw material and fuel imports from the other member countries of the CMEA would be more moderate than previously.

According to the forecasts, a deterioration of approximately 8 per cent in the terms of trade is to be expected during the period of the Sixth Five Year Plan. In these circumstances it would appear necessary to expect a more moderate growth rate in the first half of the eighties than was recorded in the seventies.

The experience of the one and a half years that have passed since the "shifting of points" in economic policy have shown beyond all doubt that a reduction in the growth rate is a substantial factor in the expansion of exports and at the same time contributes to the improvement of the balance between supply and demand in the domestic market, which in turn leads to the

further improvement of the quality and thereby of the competitiveness of Hungarian goods.

In accordance with this the essential idea behind the Sixth Five Year Plan is that —through the faster adaptation of the national economy to changed circumstances on the world market—development should be based on qualitative factors. With this in mind, emphasis should be placed on selective development, which is linked to the extension and intensification of Hungary's participation in the international division of labour.

Coordination of the five-year plans of the member countries of the CMEA for 1981–85 is currently also nearing completion. The results so far combined with the coordination of long-term projects provide a good basis for the elaboration of the main directives of the five-year plans in the individual member countries of the CMEA.

It is calculated that the requirements mentioned can be met by an annual rate of growth in the national income of 3 per cent, 4 per cent in industrial production, and 2.5 per cent in agricultural production.

In the Sixth Five Year Plan priority is given to the further improvement of the external trade balance. It is therefore assumed that approximately one-third of growth during the period of the five-year plan will be needed to compensate for the further deterioration in the terms of trade and one-third for improving the balance of payments. Consequently, only one-third of the increase in national income is available for increasing domestic consumption. It would appear advisable to consider 4–5 per cent as the upper limit for annual retail price increases since this should not have a negative influence on the population's propensity to save and at the same time should avoid the necessity of putting up the interest rates paid to the population by the National Savings Bank.

The volume of investments in the period of the Sixth Five Year Plan will be approximately equal to those made under the Fifth Five Year Plan (1976–80): a further reduction in investment is to be expected in 1981, with a certain growth following in the second half of the period of the plan.

The difficult task of bringing about tangible improvements in the international competitiveness and efficiency of national economic activity is facilitated by the modification of the system of economic management at the beginning of 1980 in accordance with the objectives laid down in the Sixth Five Year Plan; this in a sense placed economic pressure on Hungarian enterprises to develop their product structure and increase their efficiency.

The deceleration of economic growth does not however mean that individual enterprises are also expected to slacken off their activity. However, the emphasis must be centred primarily on qualitative developments. This means in practice that the enterprises' strategy must be centred on structural changes which promote the production of easily sellable highly processed goods. Their main consideration should be increased efficiency of exports.

At the same time, the enterprises can count on having a more balanced supply of labour than it has to date, and that the shortage of labour which is confined to certain areas will not generally place any substantial obstacles in the way of the development of dynamic enterprises.

GÁBOR PAKSY

URBAN AND RURAL PLANNING FOR THE YEAR 2000

Interest in the conditions and development of housing and job location is growing throughout the world. The dynamic economic, social, scientific, and technological changes of the age made their impact on towns and villages, influencing their structure and pattern, be that organizational or architectural. An increasing proportion of available investment funds are earmarked for housing or industrial estate development. Urbanization is taking great strides forward in Hungary as well and these processes are becoming difficult to control. Living conditions are largely determined by the standard of communal services. The relation between large and small towns, villages and hamlets, and isolated homesteads, in all its aspects, be they organizational or architectural, affecting transport, standards of living, or communal services, is an evergreen question.

It has become clear to most by now that such issues cannot be left to spontaneous processes. Only deliberate, far-reaching measures, coordinated with social and economic objectives, can produce lasting results. Moved by the wish to influence and control these processes, the Hungarian government adopted a relevant development programme in 1971.

In the early stages of socialist construction it had not been possible to modernize an underdeveloped structure inherited from the past which reflected the conditions of feudalism and capitalism. By the end of the sixties the network of 3,156 towns and villages showed considerable contradictions and problems. The 76 existing towns were too few, and their territorial distribution was unfavourable, so they were unable to ensure the equable performance of their functions in production, administration, and services.

Budapest's share was too big: the capital included 20 per cent of the country's population, 43 per cent of its industrial workers lived there, and the overwhelming proportion of institutionalized cultural life is centred there. The second largest city, Miskolc, had only 173,000 inhabitants. There were tremendous differences between places situated along the country's North-East–South-West industrial axis and the rural areas which cover two-thirds of the country's territory. Further tension arose from differences in the communal services of towns, villages, hamlets, and homestead areas. In general the development of infrastructure lagged behind the growth and concentration of the population and the forces of production and followed the latter with considerable phase delay.

Objectives until the year 2000

The development programme envisaged a system of towns and villages which would ease tensions and create the basis for reconstruction and controlled development.

The main objectives were as follows:

— in the larger cities (in the first place in the five county status cities: Miskolc, Szeged, Debrecen, Pécs, and Győr) the furthering of the institutions of culture etc. should make it possible to develop them into centres for their part of the country;

— in areas where towns are few suitable large villages should be turned into towns;

— the development of local centres to improve the living conditions of villagers and homesteaders.

The scheme envisaged a system of towns and villages which could coordinate the forces of production with housing location minimizing the journey to work. One of the important socio-political objectives is to approach the degree of development and availability of facilities of places which, although situated in different parts of the country, have a similar range of functions, and to reduce the considerable differences which exist now in the living conditions of towns and villages. The scheme can be considered as an urbanization programme. Naturally the purpose cannot be to have in every village what is available in towns but basic services and their institutions which make it possible to strive for a civilized life as a realizable aim. The scheme classified towns and villages in keeping with their future function in administration, production, and services. Towns offering jobs and local-type central facilities should be sufficiently thick on the ground to be accessible, by public transport, from anywhere in their catchment area within 45 minutes at first and later within 30 minutes. By the year 2000 two-thirds of the country's population would live in approximately 130 towns. The plan provides for breaking down on the county level.

Not much has been accomplished in the past ten years. The circumstance of planning for the 1981–85 planning period, and especially changes in the economic situation, justify revision on both a national and the county level.

From village to towns

Some conclusions can already be drawn from the analysis of the past ten years. Primarily that the national scheme and the county projects have moved in the right direction. Work in this field has become more systematic and the projects have become the useful instruments of economic and local government planning. Their orientating effect is felt in the development of both the forces of production and the communal services instrumentalities. Data show that the growth of places with a similar function has become more equal, that differences diminished between places with differing functions, and living conditions have improved generally. The urban network aimed at an equitable distribution of services has grown and become stronger. In recent years 23 large villages were promoted to the rank of town, thus improving the situation of all those living in them and in their area.

Planned development eased the tensions which had characterized this field in Hungary at the time the scheme was adopted. It also became clear that the objectives and the effective development were not always in harmony and disturbing objective processes and human intentions have also emerged.

Classification according to function sometimes encouraged unhealthy competition, especially in the case of towns. In order to gain higher status and all that goes with it they tried to increase their population even at the detriment of facilities for those who already lived there, and sometimes they deprived villages of development resources. The growth in population of county seats considerably exceeded what was envisaged and expected, and a marked decline in the population of villages went with this.

Although the upper-level centres were developed to a large extent, there was no substantial change in the services they offered. The treatment of Miskolc, Debrecen, Szeged, Pécs, and Győr and their classification as priority upper-level centres was meant to reduce the differences between the capital and the provinces in controlling production, and in science and culture. The share of Budapest diminished in keeping with this scheme as regards the share of industrial workers—by 34 per cent in the period under review—but the role of the capital did not change much with respect to controlling the economy and directing cultural activities.

Population changes

Function	Number of inhabitants (in 1,000s)			Changes in the number of inhabitants (in per cent)	
	Number	1971	1978	1971	1978
National centre	1	2,020.0	2,093.2	19.5	19.6
Priority upper level centres	5	767.1	840.7	7.4	8.3
Upper-level centres	18	982.6	1,193.2	9.5	11.2
Medium-level centres	106	1,639.0	1,822.2	15.8	17.1
Low-level centres	984	2,792.8	2,718.0	27.0	25.4
Villages etc. on the fringe of the Budapest agglomeration	44	348.0	417.0	3.4	3.9
Villages without centre functions, homestead clusters, etc. in the rest of the country	988	1,804.2	1,567.5	17.4	14.5
	3,156	10,353.7	10,699.0	100.0	100.0
Towns		4,991.9	5,609.7	48.2	52.4
Villages		5,361.8	5,089.1	51.8	47.6

Since it cannot be established precisely what the classificatory categories denote in terms of English equivalents, the Hungarian terminology was translated literally.

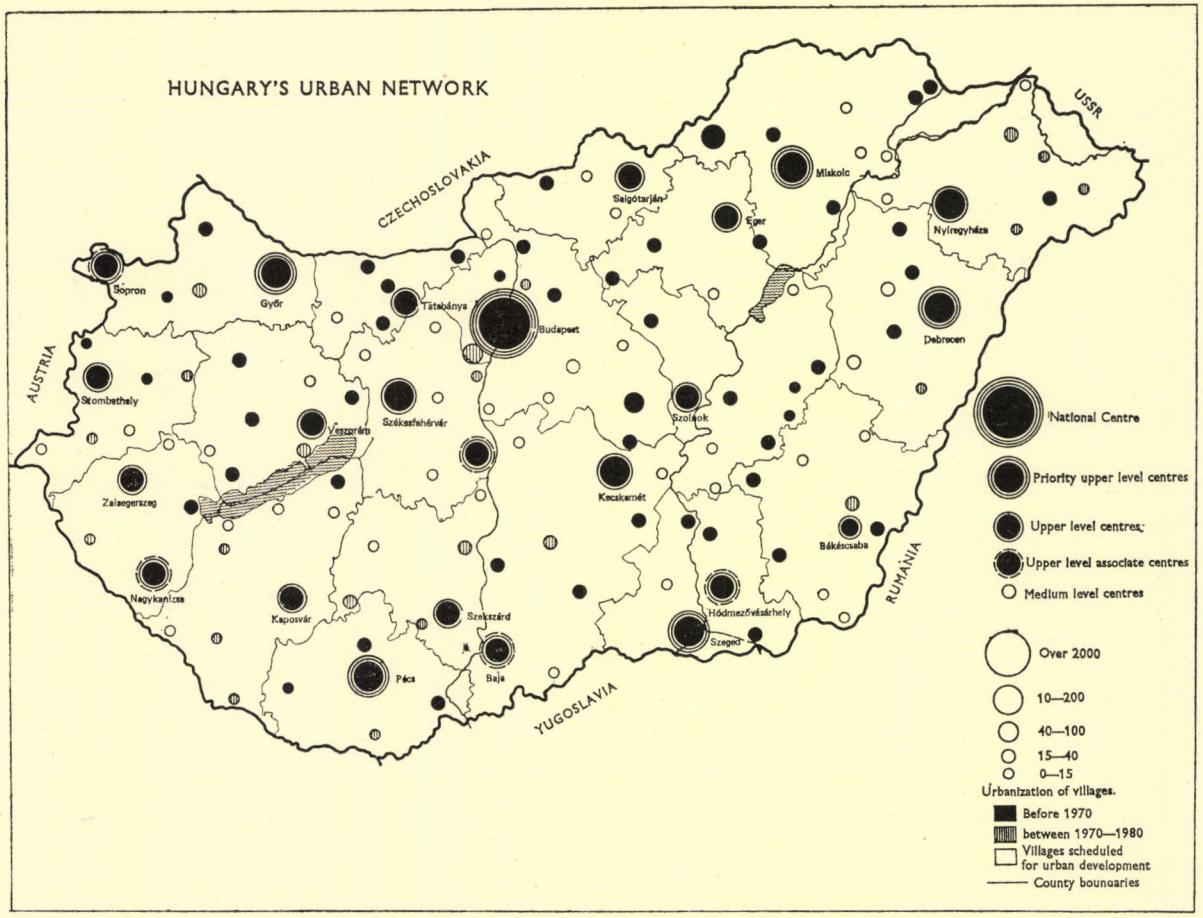
The decentralization of culture did not flow to the five large towns appointed for the purpose, and the almost equal growth of all 19 county seats did not move any closer to the elimination of the unfavourable differences which exist between the capital and the provinces.

Owing partly for the above reasons small and middling towns have not developed as dynamically as necessary if they were not county seats. Sometimes the difference between the development of towns on the Great Plain and elsewhere was also considerable. This category, however, plays a key role in services for all those who live within their catchment area. In some low-level centres of the village network indices improved only because the population declined although village development was greater than ever before.

The relatively slower growth of low-level centres and small towns had as a consequence that the redundant agricultural labour force and a considerable proportion of the population of homestead clusters, small villages, and hamlets did not move to the growing large villages and small towns but to county seats where their numbers put a considerable strain on the infrastructure.

All these facts may make the higher-than-planned growth rate of town populations very unfavourable for many people. Data show that in 1980, 60 per cent of the country's population lived in 130 towns and in the Budapest agglomeration. This proportion was only 53 per cent in 1965, and 56 per cent in 1970. Some have argued that urbanization should be slowed down in Hungary. Such views are probably the result of the criticisms of spontaneous urbanization processes under capitalism, the increasingly complicated problems of large cities, and the costliness of coping with them. But suitably controlled urbanization—the increase of town populations, the urbanization of villages, the growth in their communal services—is not opposed to the declared social and economic objectives of Hungary. It is the concomitant, result, and further condition of growth.

Areas where homestead clusters and hamlets are prevalent certainly cause special


HUNGARY'S URBAN NETWORK
USSR
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AUSTRIA
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Sopron
Győr
Tatabánya
Budapest
Salgótarján
Miskolc
Eger
Nyíregyháza
Debrecen
Szombathely
Veszprém
Székesfehérvár
Szolnok
Kecskemét
Zalaegerszeg
Békéscsaba
Nagykanizsa
Kaposvár
Szekszárd
Hódmezővásárhely
Szeged
Pécs
Baja
National Centre
Priority upper level centres
Upper level centres
Upper level associate centres
Medium level centres
Over 2000
10—200
40—100
15—40
0—15
Urbanization of villages.
Before 1970
between 1970—1980
Villages scheduled for urban development
County boundaries

problems. It was not possible to work out any nationally applicable practical measures with regard to their future. County policies and practices in keeping with geographical conditions and the production and servicing potential of the places concerned produced favourable results. The totality of fringe dwellers decreased speedily—to half in the course of ten years—but where the conditions of production are favourable and living circumstances improved (especially with electrification), one must reckon with the survival of homesteads for many a long year.

There is no unity in the appraisal of the situation of hamlets, i.e. villages with fewer than 500 inhabitants.

Depopulated villages have given rise to some extremist views. It is certain that in several such villages there was no proportionate improvement in services, on the contrary, services deteriorated and even, in some cases, ceased. But one cannot accept the views of those who wish to preserve all the 3,156 Hungarian villages, nor of those who foresee the successive decline of all those without a special sphere of activity. As in the case of homestead cluster areas, the counties must work out their own, balanced development policies and practices which take into consideration local conditions. Some hamlets which have the necessary conditions may acquire functions in production, or as summer resorts, others may unite with towns, or larger villages, in the process of development, or even combine forces. It is certain, however, that many homestead clusters which have lost their economic base will cease to exist; this has been the fate of many thousand in course of the centuries. It may be very important in future to realize and promote these different processes and possibilities.

The extension of urbanization to entire areas, the agglomeration process on the urban fringe is growing in Hungary as well. The development scheme stressed the need for the coordinated growth of towns and villages and their development in harmony with the agglomerations of their area. This coordination of growth is still in its initial stage. It is expected that substantial changes will be needed in planning and implementation if one wishes to avoid in Hungary some of the damage which has appeared in other countries.

The Development of Small Towns and Villages

It appears that small and middling towns and large villages, i.e. medium- and low-level centres, must be developed more intensively in the future. It would be good if they became the targets of internal migration. Instead of a further dynamic growth in the population of large cities priority should be given to them, improving their services and those of their environment. Experience warns those responsible to pay more attention to coordinate the development of towns and agglomerations, and to improve the services available in homestead cluster areas.

The ability of towns and villages to hang on to their populations will, in the future, increasingly depend on their infrastructure standards. Hence more consideration should be given to their ecology and architecture, to nature around them, and the architectural heritage of the past which helps to give them their image.

Greater public participation in planning, implementation, and control of urban and rural development will certainly improve things, resulting in better living conditions all around.

LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH

"ANGLOMANIA" IN HUNGARY, 1780–1900

I

It has almost become a commonplace in Hungarian literary studies that the second quarter of the nineteenth century was characterized in this country by a sudden burst of what has often been called Anglomania. Beyond this general statement relatively little has been done to investigate in depth and detail how and why this remarkable social phenomenon had arisen, or how it had grown and spread in our land. Its shifts and changes need tracing, its various manifestations should be described and put into perspective.

In this attempt to give at least a bird's-eye view of Anglomania in Hungary I think it expedient to go back to the beginnings, i.e. the Hungary of the 1780s and link them up—necessarily very sketchily here—with how Anglomania was sparked off in continental Western Europe, and then continue the story in Hungary down to the end of the nineteenth century.

As Logan Pearsall Smith has put it in another context, towards the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth century "a great historical event took place which has been called the discovery of England. First by means of Protestant refugees from France and then, mainly through the writings of Voltaire and Montesquieu, a whole new world was discovered, a civilization, a language, a literature, a science, a philosophy, a system of government, hitherto unknown. England was now seen looming in the West—a great and prosperous country towards which all eyes were turned. English institutions and concepts began to be studied, English literary works translated, English patterns of behaviour imitated, and English words borrowed. Around 1750 a curious word, *Anglomania*, appeared and became current.[1] This continental Anglomania, this enthusiasm for English ways, began in France and spread from there to the rest of Europe. The French nation, exhausted by the wars and the dismal years in which the reign of Louis XIV ended, and subject still to political and religious despotism, saw in England a striking contrast to its sorry condition—a prosperous country in which the principles of religious toleration and constitutional government had been established, and in which also a new philosophy, a new science, and a new literature had come into existence."[2] The growing wealth and increasing political might of England enhanced admiration of all things English on the continent, although Britain at the time was, of course, not a global power yet, scarcely even a colonial one.[3]

France was the first but by no means the only continental country to be subject to this Anglomania. Indeed practically all over Europe a century and half or two centuries ago people became conscious of Britain having outstripped even the most advanced countries in her social, economic, and intellectual development and there was very much to learn from her. The efforts to imitate English attitudes and transplant English achievements, varied greatly in scope and intensity, so much indeed that one is more than once tempted to question whether the French-made term *anglomanie* is their aptest overall denotator. The usual and traditional dictionary definition of that word (conflated here from several French

[1] *Trésor de la langue française*. Paris, 1974. Vol. III, pp. 20–21, records *anglomanie* first in 1757.

[2] L. Pearsall Smith, "The English Element in Foreign Languages", pp. 44–46. (In: *Words and Idioms*. London, 1928.)

[3] J. Brüch, *Die Anglomanie in Frankreich*. Stuttgart, 1941. p. 26.

and English dictionaries) runs like this: "a mania for what is English: an excessive interest in, and exaggerated admiration for, ostentatious imitation of, certain customs, features of life in England, especially the life of the English upper classes, generally on the part of foreigners." Dwelling as this definition does on the posterior constituent of the compound ("mania", i.e. craze), the word is given a strongly pejorative connotation that proves, at least to the present author, that the compound was coined by the French in the atmosphere of old-fashioned xenophobia, i.e. in a spirit of aggressive chauvinism. Give the dog a bad name and hang him.

The term Anglomania in the above sense is a misnomer when it is applied (as it very frequently is, or rather was) to attitudes relating to things English that do not reflect a mere craze, or undue partiality, about them. However time-hallowed this term Anglomania has become and may still be useful in bird's-eye view sketches, on closer examination one finds it necessary to distinguish between various shades of human attitudes to English civilization, between fairly passive liking or admiration, then unostentatious refined *Anglophily* this side idolatry (a good neutral term), and finally Anglomania proper, that was generally very active and more often than not snobbish and vulgar. It has to be noted that it is only the social historian who distinguishes in this way (depending on the circumstances of a given stretch of time, and on the primary subject of the England-directed attitude), while the public at large is permitted to use the cover-all misnomer Anglomania to denote all the various coexisting, often overlapping, attitudes and their expressions.

2

I wish to deal with all the various manifestations of "Anglomania" in Hungary (as defined in the previous paragraph) in historical order, starting with the by no means maniac beginnings towards the end of the eighteenth century and follow it through the diversification of this line of interest in the nineteenth. To understand the relatively late arrival of the first symptoms it has to be borne in mind that two hundred years ago Hungary, a part of the vast Austrian empire, was a somewhat backward, insufficiently civilized country, under an oppressive, arch-conservative foreign (i.e. Habsburg) government upholding an antiquated feudal social order. Rigorous censorship was maintained, especially in the decades after the outbreak of the French Revolution, to seal the Habsburg dominions off from new-fangled concepts flourishing in the advanced Western countries.

Under these conditions the scope given to interest in things English was rather limited in Hungary and in the last decades of the eighteenth century was restricted to the relatively innocuous aspects of life. The number of English, or rather British, belletristic works translated into Hungarian grew significantly, as traced in the late Prof. Fest's exhaustive and carefully documented study of English literary influence in Hungary up to 1825.[4] It needs stressing here and now that the reading of novels and poems does not fall within the confines of the present paper as translations from other European languages also increased in approximately the same proportions. It is not without interest, however, that in 1790 several pamphlets appeared (by Gy. Aranka and A. Barits) comparing the British and Hungarian constitutions and rather naïvely stressing their similarities.[5] This seems to have been a favourite topic of debate even as late as the first half of the nineteenth cen-

[4] Fest, S., "Angol irodalmi hatások hazánkban Széchenyi István fellépéséig." Budapest, 1917. (In: *Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből.* XXIII. 7.)

[5] Concha, Gy., "Az angolos irány politikai irodalmunkban a múlt század végén." *Erdélyi Múzeum* 1880/VII, pp. 33–34.

tury, as noticed by Richard Bright and other travellers from Great Britain.[6]

At about the same time, especially in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the few then existing Hungarian-language newspapers and periodicals started printing short news items about the inhabitants, poets, scholars of England (that was frequently termed "that happy, free country"), occasionally even snippets of British parliamentary debates, with London coming to be spoken of as "the wonder of the world"—so called first by M. Csokonai Vitéz (died 1805), the greatest Hungarian poet of the age.

A considerable boost was given to interest in England by those Hungarian aristocrats who were in touch with some of the Austrian Anglomaniacs at the Imperial Court in Vienna. In those times, i.e. the turn of the centuries, it was unavoidably necessary for a Hungarian to be well-connected in the top Viennese circles to be able to get a passport for trips to the West. That is how the head of the Hungarian princely family Esterházy, Prince Miklós, then the counts Grassalkovich, Brunswick, the three Teleki brothers, György Festetich, Ferenc Széchényi, the Barons Miklós Vay and András Forray, then Gergely and Aladár Berzeviczy, and even a remarkable member of the lower nobility, István Sándor, compiler of the first Hungarian national bibliography, managed to visit England for various purposes. On their return they became discreet propagandists of British civilization, at least in the narrow circles of their families and friends, one of them, Sándor publishing his random observations in two little volumes in 1791 and 1793. Although he published nothing (his extensive travel-diary is still in manuscript) the four months' stay of Count Ferenc Széchényi in 1787 exerted the greatest pro-English influence in Hungary, albeit indirectly, owing to Széchényi's and his son's exceptionally great weight and role in Hungarian public life. Széchényi went to England, like most members of his class, to study agriculture, industry, trade, and political economy.

That it was by no means necessary to have ever set foot on English soil to be knowledgeable about British civilization is well demonstrated by Count József Dessewffy.[7]

The most conspicuous result of the Hungarian aristocrats' journey was the sudden appearance of English gardens. To indulge in this variety of Anglomania was not an inexpensive occupation, it was the hobby of the rich, indeed the very rich. As the painstaking investigations of Prof. A. Zádor have shown,[8] the first English gardens were established in this country in the late 1770s and the years following in the centres of the big estates of the great landowners, mostly aristocrats and prominent county families. In some instances earlier formal gardens were transformed into English ones, helped with pattern books containing English designs and once or twice by professional gardeners who had studied in England. Of the earliest ones the gardens at Hédervár, Tata, Csákvár, Martonvásár, and Kismarton (now Eisenstadt in Austria) have become famous in their day. A great number were established after 1800, favouring the "open landscape," mostly without architectural structures, stressing picturesqueness.[9] We have data on nearly 200 English gardens in Hungary up till the second half of the nineteenth century. Three large ones were established in the capital, two public ones, Baron József Orczy's and the Városliget

[6] R. Bright, *Travels from Vienna through Lower Hungary*. Edinburgh, 1818. p. 302.

[7] Makay, A., "Gróf Dessewffy József angol irodalmi műveltsége." *Debreceni angol dolgozatok*. Debrecen, 1941.

[8] Zádor, A., "Az angolkert Magyarországon." *Építés- és Építészettudomány*, 1973/V, pp. 3–53. Shorter English version, "The English Garden in Hungary." (In: *The Picturesque Garden and its Influence outside the British Isles*. Ed. N. Pevsner. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D. C., 1974, pp. 77–96.)

[9] A Benedictine monk, Fabian Szeder, had even published a theoretical treatise on them in 1825.

(City Park) (1817), and the Palatine's privately owned Margaret Island, the latter two still existing.

Compared with the wildfire-like success of the English garden in Hungary, another soil-bound English innovation, experiments with precepts and practice of the "new agriculture," turned out here to be a mere flash in the pan, as demonstrated by J. Bartha.[10] Agriculture was in a bad way in Hungary, for many reasons, and improvements were urgently needed. Three eminent Hungarian agriculturists, authors of basic textbooks, the ex-Jesuit Lajos Mitterspacher, a strong theoretician (1777–1794), János Nagyváthy, a conservative man of practice and commonsense (1791), and Ferenc Pethe, an enthusiastic advocate of English methods (1805–1814) met with considerable difficulties in their attempts to adjust Jethro Tull's and Arthur Young's theories and methods to Hungarian climatic and soil conditions. Before the emancipation of the serfs in Hungary (1848) modernization of agriculture in the English way was for the greater part foredoomed to failure.

The reception of overall English cultural influence as well as the particular aspects and compartments of daily life in which this influence manifested itself can be fairly accurately traced by examining those English words that entered the Hungarian vocabulary and got embedded there before 1820. Their existence in Hungarian cannot and must not be regarded as one more instance of incipient Anglomania or even Anglophily but of that slow and involuntary fertilizing process that British civilization began to exert indirectly on Eastern Europe. The number of these English loan-words was not very large, slightly more than fifty, and in most instances did not come straight from English, but at one remove through French or German mediation. Most of these words denote concepts or things that were unknown in Hungary in the early eighteenth century and even a hundred years later, in 1820 were understood and used only by a very thin layer of the population.[11]

Among these English loan-words a relatively large number denote textile goods as *flannel, calico, cashmere, tartan, frock-coat, spencer*, food and drinks: *beefsteak, pudding, rum punch, whisky, grog*, slightly fewer various means and forms of transport; *packet-boat, dock, tourist*, or of habitation: *cottage, hall, park, ventilator*, sports and games, *tennis, jockey*, the art of war, *shrapnel, torpedo, ultimatum*, or literary products, *magazine, pamphlet, humour, utopia, bombast*. Owing to a demonstrable rise of interest in the British form of government quite a few English words of this field were naturalized, mostly as alien words, like *cabinet, committee, civil, list, budget, jury, verdict*. Words denoting some aspect of social organization as *gentry, gentleman, farmer, club* were none too numerous before 1820 and occurred even then only in Hungarian publications descriptive of life in Great Britain. The once so fashionable word *spleen*, thought to be so characteristic of all the English, had a very short trajectory in Hungarian. English words denoting machines, commerce, communication, transport, philosophy, religion, entertainment, plants, and animals began to appear in Hungarian in greater numbers only in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

3

So far, up till about 1815–1820, there is practically no evidence of the country having been gripped by a raging fever of Anglomania. We can discover, indeed, only faint stirrings of interest in things English, mainly in some fields of material advance-

[10] J. Barta, "The English 'New Agriculture' in Contemporary Hungarian Agricultural Literature." HStE 1974/VIII, pp. 77–88.

[11] This subject was dealt with in some detail in Országh, L., "Angol eredetű elemek szókészletünkben." Budapest, 1977. *Nyelvtudományi értekezések* 93. sz.

ment, scarcely even a gentle breeze of Anglophily, and even that restricted to the socially privileged. It was quite in the nature of their class interests that members of this very thin but very powerful layer admired most the rule of the English aristocracy and the landed gentry. However in the 1820s with the appearance on the Hungarian scene of a new generation, the relaxation of the rigours of Austrian censorship alongside the publication of a few new newspapers and periodicals, with the debates of the newly convened diets (parliaments) in Hungary the Reform Era had begun. That was a new historical period that at the same time brought with it among other events the first and protracted flowering of Hungarian Anglophily, indeed not very seldom of Anglomania, with a new, a politically liberal, slant. It was then that a slow-moving but in its effects ultimately very considerable change-over began in Hungary, a change from a rigid, deeply entrenched, increasingly obsolete feudal order to a definitely middle-class (or, if you prefer, bourgeois) world of civil liberties and capitalist economy. Those who had some reason to fear the advent of modern times were not entirely mistaken when they considered incipient Anglomania in Hungary to be the thin edge of the wedge.

The Anglomaniac symptoms of life were noticed even by those English travellers who visited post–1820 Hungary for some weeks or months and left printed travelogues of their experiences.[12] Practically all of them, Mrs. Gore (1829), John Paget (1839, who actually settled down for good in Transylvania to run his wife's estate), George Gleig (1839), Julia Pardoe (1840), John P. Simpson (1847) mention in passing —occasionally with an ironic twinkle in their eyes—"that there is scarcely a European country in which the Anglomania rages more fiercely than in that slighted country [i.e. Hungary]... There is scarcely an event of English life—a folly of London fashion—or an invention of British industry—which does not find admirers and commentators among the Hungarians of respectable degree."[13] English books and periodicals kept coming in noticeable quantities, sometimes quite expensive British manufactured goods were on sale in the shops of Pest, reproductions of portraits of eminent English politicians and of Sir Walter Scott as well as of Lord Byron adorned the parlours of some residences and even of a restaurant or two. The travellers even noticed here and there engravings after Sir David Wilkie, Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Henry Harlow and Francis Wheatley. English sports (like riding to hounds) were being introduced and even learning English was on the upswing. A fair number of people could be encountered with a tolerable knowledge of English, with English governesses in the homes of some distinguished families where heretofore only German and French misses and tutors could be found.[14]

Much of this was still on the surface, as the travelogue-writers themselves admitted. Outside Pest and Buda, the twin capital cities, and two or three larger towns "the provinces still remain in the lowest state of mental and moral degradation,"[15] at least as regards interest in England. While Miss Julia Pardoe found in the National Casino in Pest, the club of the social elite, a rich selection of English periodicals available for the members, she recommended "to all book-lovers M M. Heckenast and Hartleben, in the Waitzner Gasse... [whose] shops are a delightful lounge to the English traveller who will find there works of every calibre in his own language, from Gibbon's Rome

[12] Fest, S., *Angolok Magyarországon a reformkorszakban*, 1825–48. Budapest, n. d.

[13] J. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania*. London, 1839, in 2 vols. Cf. Gál, I., "Paget János angol asszimiláns." (In: Gál, I., *Magyarország, Anglia és Amerika*. Budapest, n. d., pp. 126–131.)

[14] Catherine Grace Frances, Mrs Gore: Hungarian Tales, London 1829. 3 Vols; Preface page V.

[15] Mrs. Gore: ibid. p. V.

to the Book of Beauty,"[16]—at about the same time the greatest Hungarian poet of the mid-century, János Arany, a village notary in distant Nagyszalonta, teaching himself English and wishing to buy just any play by Shakespeare, had to wait for the half-yearly Debrecen fair to pick up a *Richard II* and *King John* (the only works available then and there), in the open-air market at the makeshift stall of an itinerant book-vendor, there being no bookshop in Debrecen yet in 1842.

There can be no doubt about two things as regards the Hungarian attitude to England and the English in the Reform Era. One is that England had become the most admired Western country (and remained so long after 1849, the collapse of the Hungarian War if Independence), the second is that the social base of Anglophily, of eager openness to receive English influence, had considerably broadened, not being restricted any more to the Hungarian aristocracy. This hitherto rather inactive Hungarian Anglophily was given impetus, meaning, and direction by one of the greatest figures of Hungarian history, Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860), the illustrious son of the great philanthropist, Count Ferenc Széchényi (who had founded and endowed the National Museum and the National Library, in Pest). The younger count is still regarded in this country (as he was called in his lifetime by no less a personality than Lajos Kossuth) as "the greatest of Hungarians" on account of his moral integrity and his unselfish, indeed self-immolating, fanatic zeal to lift his native country out of stagnant backwardness. Through his public speeches, numerous books and pamphlets, and even more his organizational activity in the building of bridges and railways, the introduction of river steamers, of various kinds of modern machinery, drainage systems and river control, the foundation of the first Hungarian club, and the establishment of horse-racing, etc., making use of and pointing always to the mechanical and technical superiority of Great Britain, he did more than anybody else in twenty years to bring his country to the threshold of modern times.

Yet Széchenyi was not a one-sidedly progress-minded practicalist, but was well aware of the basic moral necessities, too. He visited England four times between 1815 and 1833 and continually stressed that the English must not be imitated in a servile fashion. "Nothing is easier nowadays than to accuse somebody of Anglomania. Yet in my opinion there are quite a few things in England one comes to like if one is given an opportunity to stay there and see for oneself. It will produce an inexplicably sweet emotion to experience there the operation of the principle of equality before the law, the wonderfully developed state of public spirit, freedom of the press, and the uplifting atmosphere of national spirit".[17] "Can we deny," he asked a good ten years later, "that the governance of Europe has become a little more reasonable... only since the English spirit had come to exercise its influence, or—to use its detestable but commonly accepted name—since Anglomania, with its numerous and by no means always praiseworthy aberrations, has become fashionable."[18]

István Széchenyi was not a starry-eyed dreamer. As we have already seen he did not indulge merely in the praise of British institutions and the spirit behind them but took the lion's share in transplanting to Hungary a variety of institutions and enterprises from steam-operated flour mills to a central bank and an entirely new credit system. Nothing, even seemingly insignificant things, escaped his attention. It is characteristic that, returning from his first trip to England, at the age of 24, this young captain of the hussars jotted down in his diary a hurried list of four or five small but useful gadgets and tricks that had impressed

[16] J. Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar*. London, 1840, 2 vols. II. p. 176.

[17] In his 1830 book *Hitel*, pp. 115–116.

[18] In his 1841 book *Kelet népe*, p. 156.

him in Britain (among a number of far weightier things) and that he considered should be introduced in his home country. These were "1) rotary caps on chimneys, 2) double doors swinging in both directions and closing automatically, 3) rectangular oven-pans into which bread-dough is squeezed before baking to give bread a uniformly square shape, 4) coal-gas lighting of streets and homes, 5) water closets."[19]

It was in the early thirties that the embattled conservatives fastened the derisory term "Anglomaniac" on István Széchenyi and his ever growing band of mostly young enthusiasts of political liberalism. Outside pamphleteering where the world was bandied about in a pejorative sense it made its first appearance in Hungarian belles lettres in a highly ironical line of the 1831 "Ode to István Széchenyi" ("a lófuttatás is csak anglomaniád vak szüleménye") written, a few months before his death, by the father-figure of early nineteenth-century Hungarian literature, Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), a man in and out of prisons in his thirties and forties for over seven years on account of his interest in the doctrines of the French Revolution.[20]

Under the influence of Széchenyi many Hungarians came to look on Great Britain as the perfect country. Anglophily had ousted the prestige of other countries. The younger generations of liberal politicians, literati, and moral reformers felt an almost compulsive need to study English legal, social, and economic development, dreaming of adapting English institutions to Hungarian needs, some time in the not too distant future. The younger members of the educated class were seized by a mild form of Anglomania which manifested itself not so much in the externals of dress or wear and speech, behaviour, etc. but in an earnest endeavour to transplant something of that spirit which had made England great. As the poet Vörösmarty put it in his 1840 "Lines for Miss Pardoe's Album" "in its fight for survival and its efforts to live this small country that is about to be born looks to mighty England for precept and example how to further the good of mankind both at home and abroad."

Making use of the relatively relaxed Austrian attitude to granting passports for travels to the West (as compared with the rigidity of the earlier decades of the Metternich era) a considerable number of Hungarians started on grand tours to Western Europe that in most instances included a visit to Great Britain. Occasionally assuming the character of a pilgrimage a prolonged stay in England became a hallmark or the assurance of a promising career in Hungarian public life. In the thirties and forties of the nineteenth century these England-goers went to look for impulses and inspiration on the spot, bent on learning whatever was likely to be useful in the future reshaping of Hungary. Here we mention the names of those travellers who in the course of their later lives rose to eminence or important positions in their native country, such as Baron Miklós Wesselényi (next to Széchenyi the most energetic leader of the liberal reformist party, in Britain in 1822 in the company of Széchenyi), Baron József Eötvös (novelist, later minister of education), Count Aurél Dessewffy (son of the József D., mentioned earlier, together with his father a widely known adversary of Széchenyi, leader of the "moderate progressives"), Ferenc Pulszky (politician, later director of the National Museum), József Irinyi (politician), Ágoston Trefort (later minister of education and president of the Academy of Sciences), Count György Andrássy (later a transport specialist), Count Manó Andrássy (developer of Hungarian heavy industry), László Szalay (politician, author), Antal Vállas (later university professor), Sándor Bölöni Farkas (author), János Erdélyi (later editor, critic, professor), Bertalan Szemere

[19] *Összes művek*, X. 782 (year 1815).

[20] The first Hungarian dictionary to register it was the *Gyalulat*, by Endre Kunoss in 1835. "Anglomania: mindent angolosan cselekedni törekvés; angolosság dühe," p. 6.

(politician, prime minister in 1849), János Ranolder (later Roman Catholic bishop), István Gorove (later minister of agriculture and industry), Lőrinc Tóth (later justice of the Supreme Court), György Mailáth (Lord Chief Justice), Péter Vajda (later editor, teacher), Ferenc Toldy (later university professor), Count Domokos Teleki (politician), etc.

It is worthy of note that these travellers were, for the most part, in their early twenties, an impressionable age, and apart from the aristocrats among them they were of middle-class (occasionally of lower middle-class) origin, of modest means, and all of them bent on a career in public service.[21] Their goals of study were not as all-embracing as Széchenyi's, most of them having their own priorities because the time available for their studies abroad was limited.[22] Some of these travellers have left written and published reminiscences of their stay in England, highly readable travelogues that were of considerable influence on their contemporaries. Pulszky's elegantly written *Aus dem Tagebuche eines in Grossbritannien reisenden Ungarn* (1837), Szemere's bulky, two-volume *Utazás külföldön* (Travels abroad) (1840, second edition 1845), by far the most penetrating, scholarly, and well-balanced study, Tóth's well-written, slightly journalistic *Úti tárca* (Travel notes) (1844), Gorove's relatively short *Nyugat* (West) (1844) of which the censors refused to pass the French section in the author's lifetime,[23] Erdélyi's *Úti levelek* (Letters on the road) (1844–1845), and Irinyi's powerful and highly critical *Német-, francia- és angolországi úti jegyzetek* (German, French and English travel notes) which the censor did not release at all for publication and which had to be printed in Germany (Halle, 1846) and smuggled into Hungary. These travelogues, with their careful listing and weighing of what the authors liked, but also what they disliked in Britain and elsewhere, are perhaps the most tell-tale testimonials to the highly qualified and by no means uncritical Anglophily of the advance guard of the younger Hungarian intellectuals of the eighteen-thirties and forties. A detailed study of where these travellers drew the line, what they refused to admire, would demonstrate the extent and limits of their selective Anglophily. It would be easy to prove that instances of one hundred per cent Anglo*mania* (in the sense of a "craze") did not characterize these sober reform-age young persons with whom we are acquainted through the records they had left.

And yet full-bodied Anglo*mania* did exist in Hungary, if not in real life then at least in literary caricature, in the form of a figure or two created for the purpose of poking fun at his behaviour. It was Baron Joseph Eötvös, one of the leading intellectuals, author, and philosopher, himself a noted Anglophile, an advocate of learning from abroad whatever may be useful for his country, and magyarizing it "by sticking on it a little Hungarian moustache,"[24] who marched forth to protest against some vulgar excesses of Anglomania. A few years after his return from Great Britain he published a novel, *A falu jegyzője* (*The Village Notary*, 1845), a satire on all the many deficiencies of Hungarian provincial administration. One of the minor characters of the novel talks glibly about the similarities of the British and Hungarian constitutions—a ridiculous propensity of Hungarian conservative Anglomaniacs, noted by most English travellers to Hungary—and moreover a gross exaggeration because of the very

[21] Fenyő, I., "A polgárosodás eszmevilága útirajzainkban 1848 előtt." ItK 1964/68, pp. 603–612.

[22] Cf. Halász, G., "Magyar viktoriánusok." 1942. (In: *Halász Gábor válogatott írásai*. Budapest, 1977.)

[23] Országh, L., *Magyar utazók Angliában 1842-ben*. AFT 1938/III. pp. 112–132. Cf. Gál, I., "Reformkori magyarok Angliában." (In. Gál I., *Magyarország, Anglia és Amerika*. Budapest, n. d. pp. 84–96.)

[24] S. Ullmann, " 'Anglomaniacs' in Hungary a Century Ago." *Hung. Quart.* 1940. pp. 367–369.

obsolete nature of the Hungarian constitution. Another character, the principal Anglomaniac of the novel, the landowner Jakab Bántornyi Anglicizes his first name to James after his return from a stay in Britain, rebuilds his country house on the English pattern, following J. C. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Architecture*. His efforts to introduce English "comfort" achieves some discomfort. James Bántornyi is a servile imitator of irrevelant externals observed in England. He interrupts every conversation with short impromptu lectures showing off his versatility in matters British. A prig and a bore, he intersperses his Hungarian conversation with English tags: "yes, indeed," "most true," "you are right, my friend," and is irritatingly anxious to correct the slips of others in English pronunciation.

James Bántornyi's reliance on Loudon's Encyclopaedia directs our attention to the expensive hobby of some artistocratic Anglomaniacs in Hungary of having their château rebuilt or redecorated in an English-oriented Gothic-revival style.[25] The earliest instances were the château of Oroszvár, rebuilt in the early 1840s when it was owned by Count Manó Zichy-Ferraris, who had an English wife; followed by the castle of Nagyugróc, rebuilt by the Viennese architect Alois Pichl in the second half of the forties when owned by Count János Keglevich; then Vép, its owner a Count Erdődy, who had it rebuilt at approximately the same time. (Almost exactly a hundred years later it was stripped of this sham-English, mostly external elements. Symbolically this latter event may be regarded as the dying gasp of architectural Anglomania in Hungary.)

In the 1850s the castle of the Counts Bánffy was Anglicized at the opposite, easternmost corner of Hungary, in Bonchida, Transylvania. English influence in the field of architecture remained powerful throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated, among many more instances, by the Martonvásár château of the Counts Brunswick (late 1860s) and the Csopak villa on Lake Balaton of Bishop Ranolder (about the same time), culminating, and indeed terminating, in architect Imre Steindl's Houses of Parliament in Budapest (1882–1902), in all probability inspired by Sir George Gilbert Scott's 1872 design for the Berlin Reichstag.[26] It is worthy of note that some of the designs submitted to the international competition announced in 1844 for the erection of an earlier Hungarian Parliament building were also in Gothic-revival style.[27] Specialized research will undoubtedly uncover yet many more instances of English neo-Gothic influence on Hungarian public, ecclesiastical, and private buildings.

While having a house built for you in a style of which you are particularly fond is an emotionally motivated act, the increase of linguistic borrowing in a given period is generally not the result of an emotional contact between two communities speaking different languages but merely the result of a less developed civilization accepting, sometimes without knowing it, the influence of a more developed foreign one. The Reform Age having been the high-water mark of a massive English influence being digested in Hungary it must be obvious that the number of English loan-words increased in those three decades and also in the subsequent ones. Three reservations have, however, to be stated relating to these linguistic loans. Firstly, they were (and still are), all of them, cultural borrowings, i.e. came with the help of the printing press, never through direct physical contact (e.g. long-lasting military occupation). Secondly, private or organized learning or teaching of English played

[25] Cf. Komárik, D., "A romantikus kastélyépítészet kezdetei Magyarországon." *Építés- és Építészettudomány*, 1975/VII. pp. 431–451.

[26] N. Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*. London, 1976, p. 42.

[27] D. Komárik, "Die Entwurfskonskurrenz für das Pester Ständehaus vom Jahre 1844." *Acta Technica Ac. Sc. Hung.* 1974/LXXVII, pp. 251–288.

practically no part in disseminating English words in Hungarian. Thirdly, from the number of English loans one should deduct those that occurred only in Hungarian texts that described things, conditions, etc. that existed only in England (like cricket, sheriff etc.), i.e. those that were never used in Hungarian sentences referring to Hungarian life and thus could not get permanently embedded in everyday Hungarian vocabulary.

Here I list only those English loan-words of the Reform Era (*c.* 1820–1849) that had the greatest frequency of occurrence, are more or less still in use, although some of them developed native Hungarian equivalents, replacements of calques. Significantly the greater number denotes concepts of statecraft and politics, as *coalition, conservative, to colonize, international, liberalism, meeting, radicalism, reformer, republicanism,* then sports and games, *sport, to box, training, derby, pedigree, match,* also words of transport, *waggon, locomotive, tunnel, viaduct, macadam,* then words in the food and drink category, *lunch, roast beef, gin, toast, bar,* and literary as well as philosophical concepts, *romantic, sentimentalism, objective, subjective, pantheistic.* Other areas represented were and are agriculture, with *farm, prairie,* commerce, with *manager, patent,* textiles, *worsted, plaid,* physics and mathematics, with *centrifugal, centripetal, logarithm,* journalism with *reporter, to stenograph,* home and social life, *comfort, coke, veranda, to modernize, partner, yankee,* entertainment, *panorama, kaleidoscope,* and finally one single English proverb: *Time is money.*

4

The Reform Age came to an end with a tremendous bang in 1849, with the suppression, by Czarist Russian and Imperial Austrian armies, of the Hungarian fight for independence, and was followed by revengeful Austrian absolutist suppression lasting well over a decade that burnt an indelible scar across Hungarian national, social, and intellectual life. When in the eighteen-sixties the country began to pick up its consciousness and strivings from the ruins, the former interest in things British was reawakened. But the Anglophily of the sixties and seventies was different in character and direction when compared with the thirties and forties—it had a broader social basis and was far more subdued in force and vigour.

In the field of government and politics the young liberals of the Reform Age, grown older, sadder, and wiser, came to occupy important posts without needing to compromise strikingly their earlier Anglophile leanings. England still remained the lodestar for them, but interestingly enough the same can be said of their political opposites, the conservative aristocrats as well. To take an extreme example, Count Antal Szécsen, who stayed in England in 1846, and became much later a noted politician, minister, marshal of the royal household, a true-blue Habsburg loyalist, an arch conservative, the representative of the landed interest, and did not cease throughout his long life to admire the English Tories. (It seems that you always found in England what you went there to find.) And the same characterized not a few top-class Hungarian politicians in the second half of the nineteenth century, e.g. the ultra-conservative circle around Baron Pál Sennyei. England was still regarded as a quasi-arbiter in Hungarian constitutional matters, with the resolution of the 1861 Pest Diet translated into English and a copy sent to every single member of both Houses in Westminster. Thomas Erskine May's *Treatise on the ... Proceedings and Usage of Parliament* was translated into Hungarian in the same year, as well as John Stuart Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* in 1867, with Count Antal Zichy writing a history of England (in Hungarian) in two volumes (1867), and András György publishing profiles in the early 1870s of contemporary English politicians.

We have no room to go into details here and can only call attention to the extensive fertilization of Hungarian intellectual life that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century through the translation of some seminal works of leading English contemporary scholars and scientists. It was great English intellects now who stood in the limelight in Hungary, not only British institutions, as before. It suffices to point to such facts as the great esteem in which Macaulay stood in this country both as an author and as a man (translation of his works after 1849, imitation of his character sketches by A. Csengery,[28] election to membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1858), the great prestige J. S. Mill enjoyed here (three translations of his *On Liberty* printed in Hungarian, the first one in 1867, elected member of the Academy in 1868[29]), the translation of Th. H. Buckle's *History of Civilization in England* (in 10 volumes in 1878–1881), of H. W. Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (published in 1872), not to mention Charles Darwin (elected member of the Academy in 1872), and other men of science.

The names and events discussed in the present chapter cannot be said to be genuine representatives of Anglophily, much less of Anglomania. Anglophily as displayed in the Reform Age was in a sense on the wane in post-1850 or 1860 Hungary. Yet there was more than a glimmer of it here and there, particularly in *belles-lettres*. A striking literary product was a short "unheroic heroic epic" in verse, entitled *A délibábok hőse* (The Rainbow Chaser), published in 1873, written by László Arany, a capable literary critic and a banker, who had studied life in England a year before his novel was written. The hero of the story Hübele Balázs is a naïve dreamy youth of average gifts and vague ambitions who visits England to get acquainted with modern purposeful life. Though he sees only the surface there he turns into something of an Anglomaniac, and when in Hungary again tries to put into practice the ideas he has learnt in Britain. Unaware of the unbridgeable gulf between the two countries he is doomed to disappointment. L. Arany's hero is meant to represent the disillusioned political realism, the compromise-seeking liberalism of the 1870s, the third and last generation of Hungarian Anglophiles.[30]

With the 1880s our little sketch completes the span of a century of Hungarian Anglophily. To round off the story the chronicler of past events wishes to offer a few general observations.

The Anglophily of the reform-age leading lights and of the post-1850 years was a conscious and definitely highbrow phenomenon with a necessarily very restricted but fairly active social base. But its quite indirect follow-up, in the decades around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, was a mass affair of tens of thousands of Hungarians, most of them lowbrow, who did not care a straw for England. They never strove for, never sought but simply accepted some external features (or even products) of British civilization because they saw some of their betters indulging in it. That was not genuine Anglophily any more, only a pale and passive reflex of its earlier hey-day.

The chronicler desires to survey here very briefly four of the characteristic areas in which English influence of a sort could be detected at the end of the nineteenth century. One was the ever growing influx of English loan-words. We need not go into details here as the subject has recently been dealt with in a special study.[31] Another was

[28] Kovács, K., "A magyar liberalizmus második hulláma és az angol–amerikai esszéisták." *Helikon* 1972/XVIII. pp. 185–196.

[29] R. Várkonyi, Á., *A pozitivista történetszemlélet a magyar történetírásban*. Budapest, 1973, I. p. 141.

[30] Németh, G. B., *Bevezetés Arany László válogatott műveihez*. Magyar Klasszikusok, Budapest, 1960, p. 44.

[31] Cf. footnote 11.

the much more ephemeral matter of English names. These were of two kinds, names given to Hungarian persons and names given to certain types of buildings in Hungary. Boy's names, like Arthur, Algernon, Edgar, Oscar (the latter a result of the cult of Ossian,[32]) and the girl's ones, like Malvin (the earliest Ossianic name in Hungary), Victoria, and Edith were all rare, except the last two, and mostly restricted to the educated classes. (Many bearers as well as givers of these names never had an inkling of their British origin.) One of them, Algernon, has died out, at least as far as the present chronicler is aware. English-sounding names for hotels, coffee-houses, and cinemas were fairly common in the larger Hungarian towns (as in other countries of the continent as well), but all the Britannia, Bristol, Carlton, Lloyd, London, New York, Westend, etc. names were extirpated around 1950 with one fell swoop for obvious reasons. The oldest of these names, *Angol királynő* (i.e. Queen of England, the smartest hotel in Pest, opened in 1839, a mere two years after Queen Victoria's accession), died what looked like a natural death in 1916 when the old building bearing the name had to be pulled down.

Two more instances of widespread yet unconscious English influence may be noted toward the end of the nineteenth century. One was the fashion of sailor suits for middle-class schoolboys and schoolgirls, as a kind of festive uniform. The middy blouse revived ten years ago, worn by grammar-school girls on speech-days and similar occasions. The fashion was probably set by Victorian royal children and grandchildren wearing it at a time when Jack Tar was a national hero, the symbol of the formidable power of the Royal Navy.[33]

The last item to wind up this varicoloured chronicle is the massive and still growing popularity, in all social strata, of English sports and games. The chronicler thinks it quite an appropriate note to end this little disquisition on by quoting a dictum of Aldous Huxley who when asked what he regarded as the principal and lasting contributions of Great Britain to human history declared that one of them is that it was the British who had invented all the best ball-games.

[32] Maller, S., "Ossian Magyarországon, 1788–1849." *Debreceni angol dolgozatok*, Debrecen, 1940.

[33] J. Winton, *Hurrah for the Life of a Sailor!* London, 1977.

NEVILLE C. MASTERMAN

GLADSTONE'S MEETING WITH KOSSUTH

It has long been known that Kossuth and Gladstone met each other. An account of what took place can be found in *The Personal Papers of Lord Rendel*, edited by F. E. Hamer (1931). Rendel, who was a close friend of Gladstone during the final phase of his life and kept a diary recording a number of conversations with him, wrote (2 February 1895) 'Mr. G. said he had once met Kossuth who called on him during, I think, his first premiership. Mr. G. assured Kossuth of English sympathy with Hungarian autonomy but pointed out the difficulty England would be under in favouring, for the Austrian Empire, a legislative disruption which she did not accept herself in somewhat parallel

circumstances. To this Kossuth rejoined, how would the English system work if the House of Commons sat in Edinburgh, not London? Yet, that was now the case in Austria, Hungary being about the same proportion, larger in population than Austria.'[1]

This remark is somewhat puzzling and not very diplomatic on Kossuth's part considering Gladstone's family background and allegiance to Scotland. In fact the meeting took place considerably earlier, not during Gladstone's first ministry of 1868–74 but on 15 March 1861. This was not so very long after Gladstone had left the Tories and joined the Whig-Liberals because of his enthusiasm for Italian nationalism, an enthusiasm fully shared by Kossuth. At that time the Hungarian was working out his plan for Danubian federation and for the overthrow of the Habsburgs. The explanation for his emphasis on the smallness of Austria may be due to the fact that he excluded the kingdom of Bohemia, now the Czech portion of Czechoslovakia, from the Austrian lands. In a recent book published in Hungary, *The British Image of Hungary 1865–70* (Budapest 1976) Tibor Frank reveals that a number of British commentators of the time believed, before it became apparent that Bismarck would seek to preserve Habsburg rule after the Austro–Prussian war of 1866, that the Hungarians would make common cause with the Czechs as well as the Italians in the break up of the Habsburg Empire.[2] At any rate, Gladstone appears to have accepted Kossuth's view as to Austria's size; for in his speech introducing his first Irish Home Rule Bill (8 April 1886), in seeking to justify his own proposed measure of Irish devolution, he contrasted what he then regarded as 'the solidity and safety' Austria–Hungary then enjoyed under the Dualist system inaugurated in 1867, with 'an Austria where the seat of Empire in the Archduchy was associated, not with the majority, but with a minority, of the population and where she had to face Hungary with numbers far greater than her own.'

However, it must be admitted that the conversation recorded by Rendel took place when Kossuth and Gladstone had drawn apart and long after their only meeting. No-one can deny that they subsequently held differing views, not only about Austria–Hungary, but also about the Ottoman Empire during the Bulgarian rising of 1877–8 and over plans for Irish Home Rule. Kossuth, too, compared the latter measure with the Austro–Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and he, therefore, criticized it as being insufficient as far as Ireland was concerned. He prophesied, indeed, that Ireland would eventually become one of the states of the United States of America.[3] None of these differences, however, applied to Kossuth and Gladstone prior to 1867 and I have often wondered what was the impression made by the two men on each other when they met at this earlier date. After all, Kossuth had made a great impression on other peace-loving Liberals like Richard Cobden and John Bright when he landed at Southampton (23 October 1851) after two years of exile in Turkey, following the subjection of Hungary in 1849. Cobden had met and talked with Kossuth and heard him speak the next day at Winchester. He had been less impressed by Kossuth the rebel and man of war than by Kossuth the potentially pacific statesman. 'Amiability, earnestness and disinterestedness,' he wrote to John Bright, 'were the most striking characteristics of the man and his speech at Winchester, delivered forty eight hours after his arrival in England, in a language with which he could have had but little practical acquaintance, was the most extraordinary exploit I have ever witnessed. I have no doubt that within forty-eight

[1] Hamer p. 115.
[2] Frank p. 227.
[3] See Louis Kossuth, Review of Reviews vol. IX April 1894 p. 355.

hours preparation and a supply of the necessary materials, he could make as good a financial statement as any man amongst us.'[4] Cobden's Welsh wife wrote to a friend of how her husband had admired 'the elevated tone' about everything Kossuth did or said, 'which cannot fail to impress you with his goodness,' and that he stood confessed 'a genius.'[5] Surely such characteristics, I thought, were likely to have made a very favourable impression on Gladstone as well. Admittedly the latter, still a Peelite Conservative in 1851, had little use for Kossuth at that time. 'You will not be afraid, I think,' he wrote to Lord Aberdeen (1 December 1851) 'of Mazzinism from me, still less of Kossuth-ism which means the other *plus* imposture.'[6] But Gladstone became much more Liberal with the years. This early critical attitude towards the Hungarian leader might well, I thought, have changed.

The publication of Gladstone's unabridged diaries now reveals that my intuition was correct. On 15 March 1861 Gladstone wrote, 'Saw L. Kossuth $10^1/_2$–$11^3/_4$ for the first time.' (In fact they were never to meet again); 'a man of mark and of wonderful eloquence.'[7] This sentence is not the only reference to Kossuth. Indeed, the meeting had a certain piquancy because Kossuth is again mentioned by Gladstone after a subsequent, equally significant, interview. Gladstone had had no contact with the former Anglican Archdeacon, the future Cardinal Manning since the latter had joined the Roman Catholic Church in 1851. Such a change of allegiance then produced a much stronger reaction than is usually the case in our more ecumenically minded age and, again, we learn from Stuart Rendel, that Gladstone regarded this change of faith not as a mere difference of opinion, but as 'a death' of their friendship as far as he was concerned; their previous intimate friendship, Gladstone informed Rendel, was founded on their common interest in Church (of England) matters and this intimacy had been killed by Manning's secession. Manning had, of course, become an extreme Ultramontane, a viewpoint which aroused Gladstone's most intense hostility. At the time of the Cardinal's death he would not even acknowledge that his former friend had been a great Englishman. He was 'a great Roman ecclesiastic.'[8]

It was five days after his meeting with Kossuth 21 March 1861) that Gladstone met Manning for the first time since the latter had left the Church of England ten years earlier. 'Saw Manning,' he wrote again in his diary, 'a great event. All was smooth but quantum mutatus.[9] Under the external conscientious kindness there lay a chill indescribable. I hope I, on my side, did not affect him so. He sat where Kossuth sat on Friday; how different.'[10]

This enthusiasm for Kossuth is all the more remarkable as, according to an editorial footnote in the diaries, Kossuth had come to see Gladstone to discuss a plan to print Hungarian banknotes to be used in a future rebellion. Gladstone would hardly have approved of this. Yet, though he never met Kossuth again, the impression left on both men as a result of this interview was evidently a strong one. By 1861 Kossuth had become less continually associated with Richard Cobden because the latter in 1858–59 had had to spend some time in the

[4] J. Morley *Life of Cobden* vol. ii (1881) pp. 102–4.

[5] Mrs. Salis Schwabe. *Reminiscences of Richard Cobden* (1895) p. 161.

[6] J. Morley. *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (1908 edition) vol. i p. 299.

[7] H. C. G. Matthew. *The Gladstone Diaries* vol. vi 1861–8, 15 March 1861

[8] Hamer p. 89.

[9] From Virgil *Aeneid* ii, lines 274–5. Aeneas sees the dead Hector in a dream "changed from that Hector" who had once been the leading Trojan warrior. This is a somewhat far fetched comparison with an Anglican Archdeacon changed into a Roman Catholic Monsignor.

[10] Matthew vi. p. 18. For a vivid but unjust picture of Manning, see Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918).

U.S.A. trying to salvage what he could from a disastrous financial investment he had made in the Illinois Railway Company. As a result the Hungarian, who was soon to leave England and migrate to Turin in Italy, had turned to a friend of Cobden's, Charles Gilpin, a Quaker bookseller and Liberal M.P. for Northampton, to help him influence British policy. Dr. Frank informs us in *The British Image of Hungary* that Gilpin, who deplored Kossuth's decreasing concern with his English friends, wrote to the latter (11 March 1865) that he had received many enquiries about him since the opening of parliament. Gladstone and Cobden headed the list of those who had made these enquiries.[11] At the time of the outbreak of the Austro-Prussian war Kossuth was anxious that Britain should remain neutral and not support Austria. To achieve this aim he ordered Sebő Vukovics, his representative in England, 'to consult Gilpin, through him contact Bright and Gladstone.' (1 July 1866).[12] Cobden by this time had died (12 April 1865). Kossuth had written to Gilpin a long, undated letter, a draft of which is in the Széchényi Library in Budapest, extolling Cobden's virtues and again alluding to Gladstone. He described Cobden as, not just a cosmopolitan, but as an English patriot, giving expression, Kossuth believed, to the English characteristic of individual exertion, freeing his country from 'the lulling influence of artificial protection.' To this characteristic, Kossuth asserted, was due 'the marvellous development of the public prosperity of the country, with regard to which it did my heart good to see the transcendent merits of our departed friend publicly acknowledged in the both splendid and highly instructive financial statement of Mr. Gladstone, that phoenix amongst financial commissioners of our expensive age.'

Kossuth and Gladstone, therefore, from 1861 to 1867, at any rate, regarded each other with respect as allies and kindred spirits. If, subsequently, their views diverged, this divergence should not be exaggerated. Gladstone had not much more faith in the future of the Habsburg monarchy than had Kossuth. Neither was impressed by the post-1870 imperialism of any of the great powers, including that of Great Britain, whose vast empire, together with the apparent strength that went with it, they both regarded as transitory. Though they would both have been dismayed by many of the changes that have occured since their deaths, they would not have been unduly surprised. Because of these changes, it is now easier for posterity to dwell on the period of their mutual admiration rather than on the times when they differed from one another.

[11] Frank p. 138.
[12] ibid p. 139.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE EIGHTIES

Frigyes Puja: *Magyar külpolitika* (Hungarian Foreign Policy), Kossuth Kiadó, Budapest, 1980. 325 pp.

In his latest book, Frigyes Puja, the Foreign Minister sums up the most important principles governing Hungarian foreign policy and expounds his views on many international problems which have been current issues of recent years and even decades. The volume may be also looked on as a reference book, full of useful information for anyone interested in Hungarian foreign policy.

The author draws attention in the first place to the connection between domestic and foreign policy, the primary task of the foreign policy of the socialist countries being to ensure international conditions most favourable for the realization of domestic policy aims. The building of socialism needs lasting peace and international security and stability. For the socialist countries, the author stresses, it is particularly important these days to avert the danger of war, to consolidate peace and security, to eliminate the trouble-spots involving the risk of armed conflicts, and to promote international cooperation.

Frigyes Puja goes on to deal in detail with the coordination of national and international interests, pointing out that the leaders and leading authorities of the socialist countries should make efforts always to coordinate the national interests of their countries and nations with the shared interests of the socialist countries and the international working class. That is the only possible way to lay durable and solid foundations upon which the international cooperation of the socialist countries can be built. Frigyes Puja quotes János Kádár: "In our judgement the confrontation of the universal principles of socialist construction and national characteristics is anti-Marxist. The neglect or omission of either troubles and ultimately makes impossible the building of socialist society. Historical experience shows that national and international interests can and should be coordinated."

The harmony of interests does not come about automatically but is the result of persistent effort. Frigyes Puja mentions the possible objective contradictions between socialist countries, which may be due to the fact that these countries have not started from an identical base, that there are differences in their socio-economic development, that their foreign trade needs and, their international position differ, so do their traditions, and so forth. Subjective contradictions can arise if the leaders of certain socialist countries do not recognize their real national interests or the shared, international interests, and if they omit to harmonize them. Frigyes Puja draws attention to a frequent occurrence, that is that pseudo-national interests are reckoned among national interests. The shared, international interests, as well as the national interests, are then damaged in the long-term view, if decisions that tempt because of short-term

advantages, are motivated by supposed national interests.

Frigyes Puja judges the nationalistic, great-power policy of today's Chinese leaders as one which virtually absolutizes pseudo-national interests. What the Chinese leaders proclaim to be the national interest, he writes, has nothing to do with the genuine national interests of a socialist country.

The author remarks at the same time that neglect or violation of genuine national interests can do great damage to the people of a socialist country, it hampers the building of socialism, and the growth of industry, agriculture, and culture, it offends national sensitivities, and, in the last analysis, is detrimental also to the common, international interests of socialist countries. One-sided overemphasis of narrowly interpreted or pseudo-national interests torn out of their context on the other hand is also one of the major causes of disagreements arising between certain socialist countries.

Frigyes Puja emphasizes: "If there occur cases when the national interests of a socialist country concerning this or that question do not for a time coincide precisely with the international interests of the working class, or the shared interests of the socialist countries, or when such momentary interests happen to clash with long-term international interests, then the leaders and leading organs of the socialist countries should not decide solely on the basis of the interests of their own nation but—by properly representing also the long-term and genuine interests of their people—they have to carefully consider the need and possibility of respecting international interests, to consider whether or not what they propose violates the interests of other socialist countries or progressive movements. It is their duty to harmonize the interests of their country with the interests of the community of socialist countries, in this way strengthening the international forces of socialism in their own country as well. Thus the Communist parties and leaders of the socialist countries have a double responsibility: they are accountable to their own working class and people and, at the same time, to the international working class, and to the community of socialist countries."

Frigyes Puja stresses that the Communist parties and governments of socialist countries frame their foreign policies independently. He rejects imperialist propaganda which claims that the foreign policy of the socialist countries does not enjoy mass support since it is forced on the people, is alien to them, and serves outside interests.

To this he opposes the Hungarian example: on the one hand, the party and state leadership in Hungary charts the country's foreign policy with full knowledge of the mood and opinions of the people, and consequently the majority of the population is in agreement with that policy; on the other hand, it always keeps the people informed on foreign policy action, so that public opinion can understand and properly interpret it.

The author mentions that interest in foreign politics and knowledge of international affairs are extensive in Hungary. The same can be observed by foreign politicians and journalists who have visited Hungary, and the same conclusion can be drawn from the various foreign policy programmes on Hungarian television. (Programmes like "Forum" where viewers' questions are answered, "Panorama" where current subjects of foreign politics are discussed, or "International Studio," a talking session held with the participation of journalists from the West as well, furthermore thorough on-the-spot reports all elicit a nation-wide response.)

*

Frigyes Puja goes on to analyse the basic principles and main lines of Hungarian foreign policy. He refers to the resolution of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: "In pursuing its

international activities the Hungarian People's Republic relies on the principles of proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence." The HSWP regards the following as fundamental criteria of proletarian internationalism: Harmony between national and international interests, striving for unity, mutual assistance and comradely cooperation as well as—on the most important political issues—joint positions and actions, based on the independence, equality, and voluntary cooperation of the fraternal parties. Peaceful coexistence is an interstate relationship of definable quality between socialist and capitalist countries. It is certainly of fundamental importance to all of them to live together in peace, that is: not to wage war against one another: but this does not yet exhaust the gist of peaceful coexistence which indispensably implies that the imperialist powers—as the capitalist countries in general—should undertake to practise at least a minimum of cooperation with the socialist countries. Frigyes Puja argues against the oft-repeated view of some bourgeois politicians who claim that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a matter of short-term tactics for the socialist countries. He unambiguously declares that peaceful coexistence is valid for the entire period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

Further on, Frigyes Puja takes issue with those politicians, journalists, and propaganda organs in the West who narrow down the scope of Hungarian foreign policy to agreement with Soviet foreign policy. He stresses that Hungary formulates its home and foreign policies independently, that no outsider has a say or can have a say. The fact that Hungarian foreign policy tallies in its main lines with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the socialist community is explained by reasons of principle and policy. They are part of the socialist system; their fundamental national and international interests coincide; their strategic and most important tactical objectives are likewise identical; their foreign policies are dictated by the same essential principles; moreover, they coordinate their foreign policies consciously and systematically.

After these preliminaries Frigyes Puja points to the specific aims, and outlines the original features of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. It may happen that, for different objective or subjective reasons, one or another socialist country has greater possibilities of acting with good results on a certain point than the others. At such times it is necessary to use the specific options open to Hungary. In this manner both national and international interests can be served. Although the fundamental interests of the Hungarian people tally with those of the other socialist countries, they have specific interests as well. Furthering these is a national duty as long as this does not damage the interests of the socialist community and of the international working class. The specific traits of Hungarian foreign policy follow also from the fact that Hungary is a small country, that it cannot devote equal attention to all questions, to all areas of the world, but has to concentrate foreign policy activity on certain countries and regions, and certain problems. The economic situation, such as the fact that the country is relatively poor in raw materials, also influences the specific traits of Hungarian foreign policy. When nearly half of the national income is realized in foreign trade, it becomes obvious that the foreign policy of the country has to pay extraordinary attention to trade.

Frigyes Puja includes national traditions and historical ties among the specific features of Hungarian foreign policy. He points out, for example, that Hungary and Austria were members of one and the same empire for almost four centuries, and that the Hungarian labour movement has always kept in close touch with Western European Social Democrats. The sound aspects of such traditions can and must be put to use.

*

Hereafter Frigyes Puja sets forth in detail the principal tasks of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and the main trends of building foreign relations. First he underlines that, for reasons of principle and for conventional and practical reasons, foreign policy devotes particular attention to relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. The friendship and alliance of the two countries are of paramount importance. After highlighting the close connections with the socialist neighbour countries, Frigyes Puja points to the activity of Hungary in the multilateral organizations of the socialist countries. In discussing the Warsaw Treaty he emphasizes how important a role it plays in shielding the peaceful work of construction and in securing favourable outside conditions for such work. Hungary fully supports efforts to improve the mechanism and functioning of the organization. One of the latest initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty was a proposal, advanced at the Budapest meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers in May 1979, for the convening, with the participation of representatives of the signatories to the Helsinki Final Act, of a political conference on military détente and disarmament. The document drawn up in Budapest, together with the first responses to it, was forwarded by Hungarian diplomatic missions to the governments of European and North American countries.

In commenting on the connections between the Hungary and the developing countries, Frigyes Puja adduces a number of interesting figures. Before 1947 no diplomatic relations had been established with any of the developing countries, but such relations already existed with 37 such countries in 1965, and with 83 in 1980. The volume of foreign trade between Hungary and the developing countries grew fivefold between 1950 and 1970, and was again doubled between 1970 and 1975. At the end of the 1970s the exchange of goods with developing countries made up 8–9 per cent of Hungarian foreign trade. An ever growing part is played by the Arab countries in the international relations of Hungary. Economic relations with them are advantageous, thus e.g. the sales figures for Hungarian machinery and industrial equipment on the capitalist market are highest for the Arab world. It has been proposed by Hungary that part of the capital accumulated in cash in the oil-producing Arab countries should be recycled in various spheres of the Hungarian economy and cooperation in third countries. In Black Africa the definitely sound political links have not yet been accompanied by well-established cooperation in economic, cultural, and other fields. Frigyes Puja does not fail to review the relationships of Hungary with the developing countries of Asia and Latin America either.

Hungary considers relations with the developed capitalist countries to be highly important. In Budapest it is held that international peace and security largely depend on the political course followed by those running the developed capitalist countries. Since the developed capitalist countries possess huge economic potentials, extensive relations with them can speed up the Hungarian economic development and raise technological standards.

In the late 1970s important high-level contacts were established in the course of mutual visits. János Kádár visited Austria in 1976; Italy, the Vatican, and Federal Germany in 1977, and France in 1978. In 1979 Helmut Schmidt, Federal Chancellor, came to Budapest at the invitation of János Kádár. Pál Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council, and Prime Minister György Lázár also paid visits to a number of capitalist countries in Europe and received in Budapest a number of their opposite numbers from the West.

Frigyes Puja argues that, in relations between the Hungary and the developed capitalist countries, there are no problems acting as obstacles to their further growth.

On the other hand, Common Market countries continue economic discrimination directed against Hungary. The best way to end it might be an agreement between the CMEA and the Common Market.

For a long time there were a number of unsettled problems between Hungary and the U.S.A. ranging from commercial discrimination to the retention of the Crown and coronation regalia of Hungary which had been taken to the West at the end of the Second World War. In 1978 at long last, following U.S.–Hungarian diplomatic negotiations, the Washington administration returned them, and on this occasion the U.S. Secretary of State visited Budapest. It became possible to settle outstanding problems of Hungarian–U.S. trade, and the Senate in Washington voted most-favoured-nation treatment for Hungary.

The Federal Republic of Germany and Italy, followed by Austria, are the most important partners of Hungary among the developed capitalist countries. These three countries take approximately 55 per cent of Hungary's exports to developed capitalist countries.

In cultural and scientific contacts Hungary finds herself in a disadvantageous position in a number of aspects and the necessity of changing this state of affairs is given expression in proposals by Hungary for the further implementation of the Helsinki Final Act.

Frigyes Puja defines the main directions in the improvement of bilateral relations with the developing capitalist countries, stressing that the order of listing does not imply an order of importance. The main directions can thus be determined as follows: Austria and Finland; the Federal Republic of Germany; Italy, France, and Great Britain; the United States and Canada; Spain; Turkey and Greece; other neutral countries; minor NATO countries; Japan and Australia.

He goes on to survey activity within international organizations by giving lively description of the diplomatic struggle Hungary had to wage against the imperialist intrigues which blocked the admission of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Nations. Membership came true as late as December 14, 1955; and for some years, starting with the autumn of 1956, the placing of what was called the Hungarian question on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly, and the suspension of the acceptance of Hungary's credentials, did not allow Hungarian representatives to work untrammelled. Relations between Hungary and the United Nations were only definitively normalized after Secretary-General U Thant's 1963 visit to Hungary. In 1968, Hungary first became a member of the Security Council, for a two-year term. When visiting Hungary in 1979, Dr. Kurt Waldheim had good reason to emphasize the positive role played by the Hungarian People's Republic in the world organization and its specialized agencies. Frigyes Puja stresses that the Hungarian socialist state resolutely supports the U.N., and strives to contribute to its strengthening.

*

In the third part of his book the Hungarian Foreign Minister explains Hungary's position regarding a few current international questions, such as the German problem, the integration of Western Europe, Soviet–U.S. relations, the Middle East crisis, the new international economic order, the movement of non-aligned countries. A recurrent issue is the safeguarding of the future of détente and its relation with military détente. Frigyes Puja points out emphatically that the preservation of political détente and its continued development demand that military détente should make considerable progress. The more numerous and more effective the disarmament measures agreed upon are, the more secure will be the foundation on which political détente can be built. And con-

versely, political détente is all the more exposed to danger as the armaments race is becoming more acute. This is precisely why the curbing of the arms build-up is the most important political task of our days. Hungarian representatives oppose the escalation of the armaments drive, and the effort on the part of reactionaries to upset the military balance of power.

Frigyes Puja analyses the recent aggravation of the international situation and the attacks made on détente. He establishes the essence of the manœuvres of American or Western European anti-détente forces as the fact that imperialism again tries to spread its influence and consolidate its positions.

There is no denying, of course, that other factors have also contributed to the slackening of the process of détente, for instance that questions that were relatively easy to settle became exhausted. It is more difficult to cope with complicated problems such as one or another question of detail concerning disarmament. Frigyes Puja takes the view that certain internal political reasons also play a role in the reassessment of U.S. foreign policy, including the far from satisfactory development of the economic situation, the decline of the Carter Administration, the electoral campaign of 1980, and others. He nevertheless identifies the basic issue as the renewal of endeavours to contain and force back socialism and progress, to extend the sphere of power of imperialism, ensuring its superior strength at any price. In this ongoing situation it is still more important to continue, in firm unity and active collaboration with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world, the political struggle for the preservation of what has been already attained in détente, and for the prevention of a new round of the arms race.

JÓZSEF PÁLFY

THE ORIGIN OF THE HUNGARIAN CROWN

Éva Kovács and Zsuzsa Lovag: The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia, Corvina, Budapest 1981. 100 pp. 58 colour plates, 29 drawings, cloth binding. In English.

On January 6th 1978 the U.S. Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, came to Budapest and handed over in the Parliament Building* to the Hungarian people the crown traditionally attributed to Saint Stephen, the founder of the Hungarian state, who reigned from 997 as prince and from 1001 to 1038 as king. Since then a number of publications have appeared in connection with this national relic. Unlike the insignia of various other European countries the Hungarian crown was not merely a royal coronet, but also an object of special respect often referred to as the Holy Crown. Its unique significance is illustrated by the idea, generally accepted during the Middle Ages, that the lawful king of Hungary could only be a man whose head had been touched by it;

* See *NHQ* 70, Iván Boldizsár: The Crown's Day; Dezső Dercsényi: The Hungarian Crown, *NHQ* 71, György Györffy–Kálmán Benda: The History of the Hungarian Crown, *ibid.*

as a result, several coronation ceremonies had to be performed if the victor of a struggle acquired control over all or part of the country but the crown was in his opponent's possession—in such cases a different crown was used for the first coronation ceremony, and a further ceremony was performed once the crown was recovered.

The fact that until the end of the Second World War the crown was kept under lock and key and that neither the public nor even scholars had access to it increased the mystery. The few scholars who had something to say on the subject based their ideas solely on earlier investigations by others which could not of course be sufficiently detailed.

After the war when the crown was in American hands a number of experts were offered the opportunity to see and examine it in detail: this resulted in some important publications in the fifties, sixties and seventies. But when the crown was transferred to Fort Knox it once again became inaccessible. The regalia were analysed in detail only after they were returned to Hungary, and this is the first book to consider them from the viewpoint of art history. The regalia, in particular the crown itself, have been discussed in many Hungarian publications which have, however, usually tended to discuss their history rather than their artistic aspects. There is even one work which, probably inspired by the megalithic monument of Stonehenge, presents them as the bearers of astral symbols.

The first chapter of the book by Zsuzsa Lovag is also a historical survey. It is a sound description of generally-accepted facts. The second chapter, written by Éva Kovács, discusses the individual components of the regalia. Before beginning her description the author points out that the work is based on studies carried out by the authors themselves; but it was written before the materials of the regalia were examined, an examination which was however both possible and necessary. The purpose of the present work was above all to acquaint—partly by publishing new photographic material—interested readers with the real objects, with these in many respects unique and precious relics of Hungarian history. This implies that the author wishes to forestall the suspicion that she is trying to put an end to the protracted debates. One thing is certain: the thoroughness of her investigations and the well-foundedness of her opinions make her descriptions important for every subsequent student of the subject.

According to Éva Kovács the lower crown is Byzantine work and the upper crown, made up of two bands bent in a semicircular arch, was made in Hungary. Her arguments are based mainly on considerations of style, i.e. on the limitations and possibilities of enamel-filigree and other goldsmiths' techniques she has studied. Her scrupulousness and accuracy are remarkable: she is never satisfied with one or two analogies, and in such cases considers the question still open even though it could reinforce her hypothesis; she always states to what extent she believes her own propositions to be convincing. A good example of this caution is her hypothesis concerning the two cross-bands.

This upper part, sometimes called *corona latina*, or rather its fastening to the lower part, has provoked the most heated of arguments. Traditionally this was the crown, or a remnant of it, sent by Pope Sylvester II. to St. Stephen, but Kelleher, one of the American scholars mentioned above, refers to enamel plates removed from a book cover and then fastened together, and György Győrffy—reviving Ödön Polner's earlier theory—sees in it a part of a reliquiary of St. Stephen's skull, which he believes was mounted on the royal head-dress later.

Éva Kovács contributes a new idea to the newer and more popular theories: according to her the crown is an Orthodox liturgical object. She writes that in the liturgy of the Orthodox Church, an object called an "as-

terisk" is used even today. It is placed over the pieces of Eucharistic bread prepared for consecration and put on the paten, and its purpose is to prevent the covering veil from touching the sacrificial food.

But in view of the meagre evidence she herself does not regard the question as settled. She states only that if this reconstruction passes the test of further examinations it will be an important contribution to the argument that the object originated in Hungary; the enamel technique and style, and the Latin letters on it, are evidence in any case that Hungary was the very place where a Western artist might have created an object serving the needs of Eastern liturgy. It is indeed true that Byzantine Church institutions existed in Hungary until the end of the 13th century, and whenever a king from the Árpád dynasty contracted a Byzantine or Russian marriage, this benefited the Byzantine Church.

The coronation robe

Éva Kovács has studied the coronation robe for decades and writes with excusable bias that "it is perhaps the most beautiful of all medieval embroideries". Analysing the pattern of that splendid masterpiece she persists in her view that it represents the "Te Deum" but this is no more convincing than the theory of Endre Tóth who believes it to represent the All Saints' Litany. In view of the fact that the figures in both solemn prayers are identical it is not easy to judge one way or the other. The robe's state of repair increases the difficulties: because the silk broke under the weight of the masses of spun gold it was sewn on to a new foundation in the 16th century; and then, since it was always in use, it became a tradition that the queen and her maids of honour repair it before a coronation. Owing to the large folds at the neck it was not possible to observe some of the figures thoroughly until now. Further examination may lead to new conclusions although in the case of the robe consensus is much stronger than in the case of the crown. The date of its origin, 1031, is embroidered on the robe itself but the place where it was made is open to dispute. German experts generally believe that it was made in a Bavarian workshop, probably in Ratisbon. Éva Kovács argues that it was made in Hungary but she also acknowledges that the originally Byzantine impulses were transmitted by German artists although she rather emphasizes the role of Reichenau.

The formation of the closed crown

In describing the present form of the closed crown and the coronation robe Éva Kovács writes that the principle of alteration was the same: finished objects of different origin were joined to each other. She does not give a definitive answer to the question of "when" but in view of the fact that under the influence of the knights' costumes collars on robes became common in the 13th century she presumes that the alterations stem from this period.

The explanation of the formation of the closed crown has fired the imagination of all scholars studying the crown. The authors of this book refer to an expert on heraldry, Szabolcs Vajay, and attempt to solve the problem with the help of a 16th-century Polish chronicler. (We should mention here, however, that Kálmán Benda believes that this is a misunderstanding and that the Polish author did not in fact write about the crown of Saint Stephen.)

According to this much-debated source when, in 1551, Queen Isabel could not get her son—János Zsigmond—crowned and was compelled to surrender the crown to Ferdinand of Habsburg, she broke off the cross from the top of the crown and her son wore it on his breast all his life. She did this, the story went, so that he who possessed this cross would come to repossess the

missing parts which had belonged to it and had been subjected to its power. And this cross was so important because it contained a small part of Christ's real cross, the *vera crux* which Saint Stephen had got from Byzantium. So the bands were fastened to the open crown in the 12th century with a view to the attachment of that much-respected fragment which was considered to be Saint Stephen's heritage. This would account for the appellation "Holy Crown," or "Saint Stephen's crown." (The authors reinforce this idea by mentioning several times the cult of the relic of the cross under the Árpád kings and the two-barred cross in the arms of Hungary which is also an allusion to it.)

Thus we learn of a new theory of origin which is quite plausible; it is impossible, however, to know in advance whether further research will prove or refute it. It is at any rate a point in her favour that she has not only presented these questions, often and thoroughly studied by experts on history and art, neither has she contented herself with an eclectic formulation of her opinions based on those studies; she has been able to make her own creative contribution and present a theory which merits detailed academic examination.

The other regalia

The closing chapters written by Zsuzsa Lovag present the other regalia. The most important of these is the sceptre, particularly since its mace form, evoking a weapon, makes it unique among the regalia of medieval Europe. Its head is of Arabic, or perhaps Egyptian, rock-crystal but its filigree setting and the tiny pendants suspended on a short chain, together with the additional filigree works which even cover the wooden handle, are Hungarian and contrary to the hypothesis of earlier students, Zsuzsa Lovag thinks that they were made at the end of the 12th century. The most interesting feature of the orb is the double cross at the top; this type has been known on coins since the beginning of the 13th century but this particular piece which is now in our possession stems from the beginning of the 14th century, as shown by the arms with the Anjou-lily on the side. The least pretentious piece of the ensemble is the sword made in Venice in the 16th century: its shabbiness shows that it had been used, probably as a weapon, before it came here. A sword was used in the coronation ceremony as far back as Saint Stephen's time but we do not know when this particular piece became part of the regalia. In the 18th century it was already part of the ensemble considered to be a national treasure.

The book aims at being both academic and popular, and although the former feature is dominant, it admirably fulfils this by no means easy dual task. Its utilisation as an academic work is rendered more difficult by the fact that the authors—probably in their fear of discouraging the general public—have renounced the use of annotations. Footnotes might have made the book heavier but they would not have been so disturbing as to justify their total omission.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words about the reproductions which are a most important aspect of the publication. The 45 full-page illustrations—some spread over two pages—enhance the work's significance because these important works of art had not so far been presented in colour prints, and photographs of their details were particularly uncommon. In the book the details are shown many times enlarged to make thorough examination possible. And what is important for the non-expert reader: these enlargements are fascinatingly beautiful. The prints are sharp, their colours are true and their black backgrounds effectively enhance the yellow-golden radiance of the objects.

JÁNOS VÉGH

ECONOMIC HISTORY: ART OR SCIENCE?

Iván T. Berend and György Ránki: *Underdevelopment and Economic Growth. Studies in Hungarian Economic and Social History*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1979. 299 pp. In English

There are two ways in which Hungary is a world "economics laboratory." The term is often applied in the West because of the distinctiveness of the Hungarian "economic mechanism." Within an avowedly socialist framework and objectives, the state has replaced a number of the economic instruments employed by other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance by practices which are adapted to Hungarian conditions from a market system. It has been subsequently copied in a few of the arrangements of its own making, but there has been enough individuality and rethinking to have merited since 1968 an appellation of continuous experimentation.

If experiments are one, the other characteristic of a laboratory is a greater density of the relevant scientists: one expects more engineers in a trial workshop than on the factory floor, more chemists in the research department than in the pharmacy. So indeed with Hungarian economics. No one seems to have carried out a statistical survey, but it is the common view that Hungary has given birth to more economists per head of population than any other nation.

In August 1980 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences celebrated the 150th Anniversary of István Széchenyi, the first great Hungarian economist, by inviting hundred economists from the Magyar Diaspora to a colloquium with their home-based fellows. One has only to list Balogh, Barna, Gábor, Káldor, Nötel, Ray, and Szabó to see how every main university centre in England has, or has until recently had, a distinguished economist of Hungarian origin. In turn —and keeping the count to my own country—a number of university teachers of English mother tongue have made valiant efforts to penetrate the Magyar *arcana* to read Hungarian economics for themselves —Hare, Portes, Radice and the present reviewer may well not be the only ones. Last year the International Economic Association elected a Hungarian to an Honorary Presidency: Béla Csikós-Nagy, the first Hungarian to be so honoured, took his place among a small group which from its first days in 1950 singles out those of professional distinction who had made a significant contribution to the advancement of international economic understanding through the Association: Einaudi, Hecksher, Pigou, and Robertson were of that earliest number. One can but express the hope that the time will soon come when a Nobel Prize for Economics comes to Budapest.

One may also justly extrapolate from a world standing in economics that modern economic history, too, would have its giants from the same small country. In Iván T. Berend and György Ránki there can be no doubt but that they are the Gog and Magog of the discipline applied to East-Central Europe since the late nineteenth century. Mostly in tandem, they had published fourteen books before the one under present review and, mostly separately, over one hundred scholarly papers. Since both are on the lower side of sixty, there is patently still more to come. In one respect, at least, the present reviewer knows there is more to come since there is now in press the first two volumes of his edited *Economic History of Eastern Europe since 1919*, each of which contains a chapter by one of them.

Underdevelopment and Economic Growth is wrongly constrained by its sub-title, for although the bulk of papers—all previously published, but mostly in Hungarian alone—are "Studies in Hungarian Social and Eco-

nomic History," others treat of wider issues. The three essays which transcend the regional application are rightly placed first in the work: one from each author and one jointly.

The paper which inspired the title of this review is by Ránki, "Economics and History—the Alternatives of Economic History," in which he asks, "is there, in fact, a real difference between the historian's and the economist's approach? Has not economic history itself provided the great synthesis? Has not the Marxist approach made it a debate that has lost its relevance, a debate peculiar to those who do not consider history a science, and completely separate theory from history? We might regard Sir Isaiah Berlin's comment typical at least in this respect: 'Science must concentrate on the similarities, history on the differences' " (p. 19).

There is careful consideration of the Austrian and German schools of the last century, which were at one in seeing history as descriptive (above all of institutions and their evolution and replacement) and economics as (in Menger's words) "an analytic, theoretical science which investigates the relations between laws and manifestations" (p. 20) and a presentation of Marx, who, while deducing "the capitalist economy's laws of motion from economic theory... could not provide more... than certain principles of the dialectical treatment of development as a whole" *(ibid.)*. But the centre-piece is his discussion of today's "new economic history." With those characteristics which flow from a much greater facility to manipulate statistics—the historical facet of quantitative economics—Ránki is only welcoming: "quantification facilitates comparison and consideration on the more important issues: it gives an exact picture of interrelationships while highlighting differentiation, and permits a better testing of hypotheses" (p. 29). He rightly emphasizes that economic phenomena cannot be explained without reference to the non-economic and cannot present "the history of the whole," in the sense of the *Annales* conception that "economic history is meant to link every human science from geography to psychology, from sociology to economics," (p. 32) and that the data to be analysed are often inadequate (he might have added misleading) for the analysis placed upon them.

At a first level Ránki's literary sympathies are flouted: "for the new economic historians making history scientific amounts to making history unenjoyable; in its language, in its technique it becomes an entirely esoteric science in which mathematical formulae dominate" (p. 38). At a more fundamental level, "unhistorically, it posits the omnipresence of the market economy and approaches it through the reified fetishism of capital and profit" (p. 40).

One would not perhaps be wrong in taking Ránki to declare that economic history is an art which employs scientific tools, but Berend to claim that it is a science whose findings must be interpreted as an art.

The basis for attributing such a view to Berend lies principally in his paper, "Economy, Education, and the Social Sciences," which sets out—explicitly in simplified form—the chain of interdependence from "economic development, changes in the economic structure, changes in the structure of the labour force, changes in the structure of education and training" (p. 46). He is a proponent of the "causality school" although he widens the usual connection from education as a necessary factor in economic growth ("workday skills," as he termed them) to social determinants of industrialization (including "luxury knowledge" again, his term). This expansion might be judged enough to qualify his ranking in the "demand school," namely that education should be seen as "chosen among many possible forms of consumer outlay." He draws extensively on the literature—singling out the work of Zsuzsa Ferge as of particular merit in perceiving the historical and contemporary "duality" of education under both capitalism

and socialism—whereby general educational enrichment for economic purposes is accompanied by "a latent elitism" in social determinants which allows discrimination between mass provision and access to better facilities. The present reviewer could draw attention in this connection to his own regression analysis of indicators of education provision* against measures of economic performance from which he suggested an "economic" (or "supply") causality at lower levels of per capita income, no clear causality at middle levels and a "social" or "demand" causality at higher levels. He took a dozen capitalist states over the past century in an analysis whereby each level of income is compared irrespective of the date at which it was attained (a scheme later more widely used by Hollis Chenery for the World Bank) for the investigation of the structural pattern of economic development.

It is such a theme of development and its constituents that unifies the book. The two authors' joint opening paper is a cogent exposition of the reasons why East-Central Europe was retarded in comparison with West Europe: the paragraph on p. 15 summarizing their conclusions is a model of fundamental historical explanation. It also argues the case for more regional comparisons which, by demonstrating similarities or differentiation among similar countries, may show more patently the regularities of the development process.

They devote the rest of the book to the exact plotting of the Hungarian economy in the second half of the nineteenth and throughout most of the present century. The detailed definition of the national income of pre–1918 Hungary is a masterpiece of detection, but not only the national accountant but the business economist will have much to learn from this and other papers.

Their wide command of literature in virtually every European language has allowed them to effect comparisons closed to the linguistically less-gifted, but the purist might call it macaronic to quote Hicks in French, Lenin in German, and Myrdal in Hungarian!

MICHAEL KASER

* In J. Vaizey and E.A.G. Robinson (eds.): *The Economics of Education*. London, Macmillan, 1966.

BEARING WITNESS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

György Moldova: *A szent tehén* (Holy Cow). Magvető 1980, 682 pp.; István Gáll: *Vaskor* (Iron Age). Szépirodalmi, 1980, 313 pp.; Vilmos Csaplár: *A kék szem és a rózsaszínű mellbimbó históriája* (The History of the Blue Eyes and the Pink Nipples). Magvető, 1980, 225 pp.; Péter Lengyel: *Mellékszereplők* (Minor Characters). Szépirodalmi, 1980, 224 pp.

In Hungary today the pressing need for modernization, the transformation of the product structure, export efficiency, and better quality work fill the media and private conversation alike. That this concern is well founded is amply proven by fitful and uneconomic production in many industries. György Moldova's new book deals with one of them, the textile industry, and presents a shocking and thought-provoking picture.

The almost 700 pages long *A szent tehén* (Holy Cow), which appeared in around 100,000 copies, was sold out within days. One of the reviewers recognized in the fate

of the book itself an economic anomaly which equals the absurdities it describes in the textile industry. The publishing business loses money, perhaps because it shows no interest in exploiting such a success, following it up with a second edition, which it cannot do to start with, lacking the means, including free printing facilities.

At the same time it is also characteristic of present-day Hungary that Moldova was officially commissioned to do this job. After his important and successful book on the Hungarian railways* the then Minister of Light Industry herself asked him to inquire into the past and present of the textile industry, including the working and living conditions of those employed. The official letter, signed and sealed by the Minister asked all those concerned to give Moldova every possible assistance. The Minister of Light Industry certainly did not imagine that Moldova would go into raptures. Indeed she was surely aware that her letter would start a mechanism which would obey only its own logic and not take into consideration the conflicting interests and compromises within the industry itself.

Moldova made his name and attained popularity in the first half of the sixties with short stories and satires. He soon became one of the most widely-read of contemporary Hungarian writers and his highly original work ranged all the way from grotesque pictures of fringe existence to wildly nonsensical timely satires and investigative journalism.** Then he started to write book-length investigative journalism: about Komló, a new mining town, the Őrség, a backward region on the south-western border, and about the Hungarian railways, the most successful of the three. According to *The Trains Must Run*, the Hungarian railways in conditions of unmeasurable technical poverty can fulfil their vital role only at the price of superhuman efforts.

Holy Cow carries on with the methods of the railway book. For two years Moldova buried himself in the past and present of the Hungarian textile industry, and lived its everyday life. He picked a few important and typical mills and studied the lives of their workers, almost took on their roles to get to know everything about them. While acting the part of textile worker he really learnt the trade and transmitted this knowledge to readers. It is quite true that without this knowledge it is impossible to tell the truth about an industry. Although Moldova's unflagging zeal in describing the working processes and explaining the tasks and functioning of the machines is sometimes wearying and difficult to follow, this persistence does him credit. He abhors short cuts and generalizations which may blunt sharp edges and softpedal problems. As a true journalist he wants to discover the raw facts, the authentic, concrete facts. He even quotes statistics and indexes with perceptible reserve because he knows well that they can easily become smoke-screens like lifeless official phrases. Moldova is primarily interested in what the workers know, see, and experience even if their experiences are subjective and limited, since this makes them all the more authentic. The explanations and justifications of the managers and executives, or illustrations of the broader context, follow.

With masses of observations and accounts of experience and many thousand facts *Holy Cow* is, in the final analysis, a documentation swollen to gigantic proportions. The punctilious technicalities and the fascinating abundance of information make it to a certain degree the internal affair of the textile industry. However—and this is the magic and, one may say, aesthetic lesson of this book monster—what is fascinatingly lifelike and of public interest in it, everything anecdotic or novellistic in itself or by virtue of artistic formulation, and every

* *Akit a mozdony füstje megcsapott* (The Trains Must Run). Excerpts in *NHQ* 74.

** See a satirical short story by Moldova in *NHQ* 24, and investigative journalism in 21, 33, 74.

personal experience touching the mind or the heart, stem ultimately from the narrow context of the textile industry from which they draw their force and credibility. The book with its torrents of facts, its technical descriptions, and the shocking dosage of absurdities makes heavy reading in the same sense as a modern novel is, which tries to adequately render the hair-raising absurdities of our world. The Hungarian textile industry, with its patched-up, antediluvian technology, its problems of organization and self-esteem, its worn-out workers, is present in the book in a way in which some everyday objects of use are present in modern works of art where they are alienated to the point of becoming exhibits.

Of course Moldova never intended *Holy Cow* to be a work of art, with a social role as such: it is a journalistic performance by a writer. This type of work has a long history in Hungary; after the damage done to the genre in the fifties it is slowly reviving. The critics reproached Moldova for the absence of a unified idea of what the Hungarian textile industry ought to be, that he did not indicate any way out of the crisis and contented himself with piling on one another exasperating and outrageous facts in an unsystematic way. True, Moldova took care not to utter any personal opinion or suggest anything if only by a grouping of facts—though some try to read such intentions into the very title. That Moldova could write this book does not prove or disprove that the Hungarian textile industry is a holy cow. He did not sum up the special conditions of the textile industry or the general economic problems which it reflects in an oracular way, neither did he indicate a remedy, but it would be foolish to expect anything like this from a writer-journalist. The book makes it clear that there are troubles and even tells what they are with the help of numerous outrageous cases so that *Holy Cow* does not only go beyond being a narrow documentary of the textile industry; it treats its subject as a model which is a suitable medium for describing many economic and social problems of contemporary Hungary.

*

In *Vaskor* (Iron Age) István Gáll describes a Hungary of three decades ago. The model is a closed, isolated world with its own characteristics, that of the frontier guards. In the early fifties when the iron curtain came down the western and southern borderline region, the frontier with Austria and Yugoslavia was, practically, a zone of military operations. At the time being a border guard there meant more than doing the same job elsewhere, especially if one happened to be an explosions expert into the bargain. There was a minefield along the border and laying and lifting mines, and restoring the mine field after explosions here and there, were not only tasks in military training but the daily mortally dangerous job of minelayers.

István Gáll had been a frontier guard himself in the early fifties, and this collection of short stories is based on his experiences. The same experience inspired also his best work so far, the novel *A ménesgazda* (The Stud Farm, a film by András Kovács was based on it), although the author, then a young soldier with a green collar-patch, was not present among the characters of the novel, and the frontier guards appear only in the background. The scene of the story is, however, the frontier region with Yugoslavia, and although for a long time this fact does not play any role in the plot, it remains a latent source of tension all along. When, in the end, the rebellious ex-officers of the stud farm kill their new boss, the incompetent but well-intentioned communist peasant youth, and try to escape to Yugoslavia, the tension explodes in a gun-fight. All the stories in *Iron Age* are about similar greater or lesser explosions.

The best stories are tense, well-turned, snappy, and have documentary value. Here too, as in Moldova's book, we learn some-

thing about the trade: this time it is about expertise with explosives and bomb disposal. We look into the world of frontier guards who live permanently at the ready, and get to know a few accurately observed and concisely characterized figures. All these, however, would amount to no more than a few sketches and situational descriptions, or tense and brisk dramatic scenes—the stories of lesser quality are indeed no more than anecdotes of local interest. But the good stories are successful because in them the frontier zone and the things which happen there represent the absurdities of a despotic age with agonizing suggestivity. *Rohanók* (Runners) tells the story of an alert extended over a border zone of several hundred kilometres in pursuit of some high-ranking officers of the political police who escaped; but only the big shots know of this, and they also know that the escapees had already crossed the frontier when they raised the alarm, but the game had to be staged because they did not dare tell comrade Rákosi the truth "because of his weak heart"... Another story tells how, in this frontier world of utter dependence, which was only an extreme form of nationwide conditions at the time, it could happen that, in the prevailing anarchy and chaos, officers stole lorries full of uncounted quantities of pine-rafters sent for fortification work on the frontier, while you could not get one single mouldy board in the whole country.

István Gáll neither judges nor explains. In his laconic, ascetic, and tense style every character stands for himself and shows himself as such, in most cases a frail victim. The characters in "The Stud Farm" are also victims; Gáll manages to convince us of the truth of this viewpoint, but the reader may well observe that somebody must have been responsible for all these victims.

Apart from these dissonances one may have also formal reservations in connection with these stories. Owing to the similarity of their subjects they appear not so much as the pieces of a short-story cycle but as the detached fragments of a never-written novel. Gáll admitted that in the past twenty-five years he had rewritten and changed the stories many times. "And the reason that they were never integrated into a novel may be that personal memories are too painful and unsystematic. As a sensitive youngster I felt my life threatened and did not see the connection between the events—so I tried to render my experiences in separate stories." The completed stories, however, do not reflect the lack of perspective of youth but the present outlook of their writer and so they seem like promising interrupted run-ups. Despite such short-comings *Iron Age* must be regarded as an important literary document of an era in which the golden age of youth was distorted into an iron age for an entire, unsuspecting generation.

*

The now 34-year-old Vilmos Csaplár started along with many others as cartographers of the mental maps of their generation. When he presented himself as the sixties turned into the seventies, he had more common features with his peer group than individual characteristics of his own. At the time these young writers had, almost exclusively, one hero only: their vague, loitering, purposeless self. Csaplár's literary alterego recurring in many stories, also loafed about idly, picked quarrels, looked disgustedly at his environment, and did not find his place in society. Only a kind of lyrical-philosophical reflection and wry intellectualism distinguished his prose from the writings of others of his age. In his new book, *A kék szem és a rózsaszínű mellbimbó históriája* (The History of the Blue Eyes and the Pink Nipples) this tendency to reflection is stronger, and has found a new breeding ground.

It seems that Csaplár realized that he had no choice but to live here and now, and this has awakened his curiosity in his origins and environment. He set out to trace the components which led to his being. One of his

writings, although of lesser literary merit, offers much information and formulates this wish more clearly: *Egy kelet-európai értelmiségi Amerikai Egyesült Államokban írt feljegyzései* (Notes by an Eastern European Intellectual Written in the United States of America).* The writer stayed in Iowa City on a grant, clinging to the America of his youthful fancies, wishing to experience it in real life. He swam across the ice-cold Iowa river and speeded in a Ford Mustang. "At the same time I hate in myself this romantic longing for imagined adventures, but I need it because it helps me to make the America of my fancy the reality of my life. The reason for wishing ourselves away is that we have never been anywhere." Can one take possession of America (one's ego), this reality-cum-fantasy, if the fact of one's suddenly turning up there does absolutely not follow from one's previous life? Csaplár examines his life (and the lives of others) which does not entail anything like that. His childhood and adolescent personality was formed in a small, damp house on the outskirts of an East Central European small town, and he describes those who lived next door and unwittingly left their indelible marks on his personality. The closing *Függelék* (Appendix) in openly autobiographical. In a more epical framework than the American reflections it narrates how the writer and his mother went to visit their old room-and-kitchen home on the urban fringe, now doomed to demolition. Here Csaplár blends past and present. Although his set of motifs is not original, his individual interest and emotions lend authenticity to their interplay.

He looks for certain points in a mass "which does not advance like a monolithic block towards an apparently close happy future; the proportion of this mass who can be made to fit different plan targets is moving now in Eastern Europe, in the last quarter of the century, from old homes without running water and with outdoor privies, into the compartments of the modern prefabricated concrete housing estates with all mod. cons. The upwardly mobile come from their ranks and those who sink, sink there. And there is always replacement."

Csaplár does not only look back into the recent past within the range of his experiences, the host of servants, cottars, proletarians, and tradesmen, who gave him life, he tries to probe deeper. In the title-giving story Andor Kánya, a serf lad in 1827 climbs a hillside near his village, and jumps off with an umbrella, hoping to fly. Several generations later another Andor Kánya, a mechanic, shows off on a table drinking in a restaurant and, after a kissed session in the park, he marries Aranka Krizsik, who spends her life looking for her unmarried mother. The story creates a strange, Chagallian mixture by using a medley of the shrill tones of a spruiker, impressionistic affectedness and a deliberately dry official manner—at the end the reader thinks he recognizes the writer's ancestors in the stylized characters. The story *Hajcsik Imréné tulajdonát képező iratok* (Documents Belonging to Mrs. Imre Hajcsik) is a fictitious (real?) documentary-montage on the life of a poor working woman, of changing occupations, who, all her life, writes poems of an awkward beauty. The story unfolds from the documents as they are taken from the drawer of a shabby kitchen table where they are kept held together by a thin rubber band of the kind they used on jars.

*

Péter Lengyel is eight years older than Csaplár. In the mid-sixties he published a mature collection of short stories, then two novels in the last two years, after a ten-year gap: *Cseréptörés* (Back to Base*) in 1978 and now *Mellékszereplők* (Minor Characters). These facts are, however, deceptive. The end of *Minor Characters* shows the date: Budapest

* See an excerpt in *NHQ* 67.

* See an excerpt in *NHQ* 73.

University Library, 1969–70. This is important, especially if we know the autobiographical Back to Base which was written in the early years of the seventies. It strikes the eye that the two books did not appear in the order in which they were written, and that the former was published only ten years after its completion.

Could it be that with *Minor Characters* Lengyel published an outdated youthful experiment after having set himself high standards with *Back to Base?* Certain signs indicate that *Minor Characters* is a typical first novel. It narrates the crisis of growing into adulthood, including the rebellions and disillusionments, based on the author's own life. None the less it is a better book than *Back to Base*, not being overwritten.

The first person narrator recounts his university years between 1957 and 1961 with some flashbacks going back to years spent at secondary school, as well as anticipating the future here and there. The writer by and large uses the same technique of recollection as in his other novel, but while there it often appears as overcomplicated jugglery here it functions with natural ease. One of the remarkable characteristics of this technique is that on the one hand Lengyel devotes great attention to the time of events and their chronological order, on the other this exaggerated and perhaps ironical pedantry is perhaps responsible for their losing importance beyond a point where the reader begins to feel that simultaneous presence of events which is their subjective way of being. One of the main virtues of *Minor Characters* is that this experience of time suggested by the narrative style harmonizes with the mechanism of evoking the past that exists in ourselves.

Another virtue is that the conscientiously evoked recent past, as the fifties turn into the sixties, proves to be a crucial time not only in the lives of the student characters, owing to their age. In a wider context it marks the beginning of a new era. The changes which have shaped the outlook and way of life of our days in those years began. They marked the beginning of the radical transformation in the life-style of the young. *Back to Base* and Lengyel's early short stories had already shown that he considered the experience of these changes, and the confrontation with their antecedents and consequences, as one of his important messages. *Minor Characters* is a first-hand account of the rites and feelings of this early heroic age which has become the object of our present nostalgia. The liberalization of the boy-girl and teacher-pupil relationship, and travel, the discovery of foreign countries which had been closed for a long time, later party-going and independence, it all contained something dazzlingly and agonizingly new. That Péter Lengyel's highly promising students became only minor characters in the end is signalled here and there in a few epilogue-like forecasts, but their ultimate failure is already latently present in the vacillations of their early years, in the detours of the fates of his Erics and Ursulas. They are the representatives of a kind of East Central European "beat generation."

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

MANTIS AND DANDELION

Márton Kalász: *Az imádkozó sáska* (The Praying Mantis). Magvető, 1980, 77 pp.; István Csukás: *Az üres papír elégiája* (Elegy of the Empty Writing Pad). Szépirodalmi, 1980, 95 pp.; Attila Szepesi: *Pitypang királyfi* (Prince Dandelion). Magvető, 1980, 99 pp.

"The Praying Mantis" consists of 64 unrhymed fourteen-line poems, mostly in blank verse. Kalász always preferred cycles of short poems; so in 1969 he published a book entitled *Viola d'Amour*. In these one hundred octets with rhyming couplets he told the intimate story of a love-affair.

Cyclical composition helps him avoid garrulousness; on the other hand it allows him to use every possible approach and expressive variation. The identical form of the verses demonstrates unity of passion, their brevity its animation and internal diversity. Narrative loquaciousness and aphoristic disjunction are two extreme characteristics of contemporary Hungarian poetry. Here, Kalász has sought the golden mean. And his consistency of form throughout 64 or 100 poems lends a dignity to the technique and even to the poet using it. To improvise Valéry's words, the self-assumption of a formal yoke, the pressing of emotion and passion into a pre-determined form, gives the poet his freedom.

The hero of "The Praying Mantis" is an adult city-dweller well-versed in the languages of the world; but the traditions of his rural relatives and forbears are betrayed by their survival in his expressions and metaphors. This hero passionately examines reality, both inside and outside himself, and meditates about the relationship of knowledge and understanding:

"I can carry all my times here / all in myself; although I doubt / that they are all mine; / what have I seen for instance from the Babylonian / time

what good does it then do that I can carry / in myself as my own the time of many others..." (Prose translation.)

These poems reveal a stubborn will attempting to render the unconscious fully conscious.

"it hurts that I feel that I know and then still don't know / what ultimately makes a few happy birds sing and fly / over the upturned landscape-stream of our expectation."

These verses are about fear of death, the dead, and a passionate clinging to life. The disciplined technique heightens the flow of free associations. The book is Kalász's monologue to himself, to people, and to God.

*

István Csukás was born in 1936. His first book of poetry appeared in 1962. In 1977 he published a selection, *A felidézett toronyszoba* (The Tower Room Evoked). At the time I wrote in a review: "Csukás is a poet, not a philosopher —consequently he has not formulated any system. Yet his poetry is the work of a complete moralist who may sometimes seem flippant but is really very severe when he takes stock of the facts and opportunities of his life and confidently discards easy solutions."

The new book, *Az üres papír elégiája* (Elegy of the Empty Writing Pad) is a variation on a single theme: art. Csukás discusses the technical problems of writing along with the psychology of creation, and the works and personalities of his fellow writers both living and dead. There is nothing routine or academic about Csukás. Like painters who convey their idea of the world in a single still-life, he reveals his world by describing artists and their works. "Elegy" is a thematic selection of his older and newer

poems and a kind of fragmented autobiography, a confession of a way of life.

Csukás discusses personality problems: "and yet if at last I were to meet myself / if in no other way then on empty paper / my paper heart cuckooing in a paper voice / the poem far from me, still I would write it down / because while I write I feel as if touched by ozone / Then, from the worn window of the snapshot aeroplane / in the Gardens, I withdraw wryly: / and I was beaten and ran from woman to woman / and cast my skin as it is written, / but my every movement is unmasked / as it comes down on the empty paper..." (Prose translation.)

We witness the course of an adventure in which the objective and spiritual facts of a life organize themselves into a poem, into a creation on paper. And we witness how Csukás, on the basis of his concrete experiences, distances himself from the claims and concepts of well-liked poets—and how the confrontation with their works helps learn what is concrete for himself; they symbolize his future fate.

Technically these poems are traditional. Their tone is direct, ironical, often self-mocking, and even intimate. Csukás, too, likes sonnets; two of them perhaps characterize him most faithfully. One is entitled *Az égi kártyaparti* (The Game of Cards in Heaven), the other *Átsakkozni egy nyári délutánt* (Play Chess Throughout a Summer Afternoon). The technical jargon associated with cards and chess are used with a natural ease in both poems, whose basic themes are death; one is also a funeral speech, a colleague's epitaph. The game of cards—as a game and passion—itself becomes poetry as something which can be used to thwart death.

*

Pitypang királyfi (Prince Dandelion) is the fourth volume of poems by Attila Szepesi, who was born in 1942 in Ungvár, which is now part of the Soviet Union. "I guard few memories of my birthplace: the phantoms of dead horses, falling houses, and fleeing people projected upon each other," he wrote in the introduction of his first book in 1970. And he added: "I studied in Beregszász, Budapest, Pécs, and Szeged." His childhood years in Beregszász must have influenced him deeply, as shown in his essay on Lajos Gulácsy, which closes "Prince Dandelion." Gulácsy was one of the strangest Hungarian painters of the early part of this century: his surrealistic pictures have been inspiring poets since the twenties.

Szepesi wrote: "I think I saw a picture by the artist for the first time about 20 years ago and I remember it for two things: I remember the bridge across the Vérke brook (I don't know whether it still exists) —our garden stretched as far as its banks and from there I used to watch the cabs, the bullock-carts and later the tanks and armoured cars cross the crescent-shaped bridge; and I remember the picture's night-time parade: the illuminated costumed procession marching unforgettably through the snowfall with their masks; subtle bird-men and ardent clowns."

These few lines from an essay on Gulácsy, interspersed with autobiographical elements, are characteristic of Szepesi. His poems are the combination of autobiographical elements, works of art, childhood experiences, music, and the fine arts—this is especially true of "Prince Dandelion." Poetry, music, and landscapes blend in these poems—their memories mutually modified. "I never cared whether memory faithfully preserves the things of the world... for me remembering is reality itself."

Exquisite antique stanzas, light anacreontic verses, and variations on psalms and medieval vagrant songs make up Szepesi's book. One text is based on a melody by a sixteenth-century Hungarian poet; elsewhere he refers to "Dürer's nags." In the "autumnal housing estate" (the title of one of his cycles) "among the housing blocks" he notices the nightingale and glimpses the miracle: "... suddenly / the window frames and closed doors / sprout leafs."

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

ARTS

THE SCULPTURAL ART OF LÁSZLÓ MÉSZÁROS

Exhibition in the Budapest National Gallery

The Hungarian National Gallery in Budapest arranged a commemorative exhibition in honour of the sculptor László Mészáros on the seventy-fifth anniversary of his birth. Despite the best intentions of its organisers, the exhibition, which was mounted along a roped-off section of the ground-floor corridor leading from the reception hall to the counters where postcards are sold, was not worthy of one of the best Hungarian sculptors. While the permanent exhibitions in the museum's main halls displayed mostly the work of considerably less talented artists, his sculptures were humbly sheltered in a narrow little corridor. But in spite of the overcrowding and the indignity of it all, nothing could spoil that deep intrinsic radiance which captivates the spectator every time he finds himself in front of a Mészáros sculpture. We are made continually aware that he was "a born artist blessed with a real talent", an artist capable of using the primary expressive devices of sculpture, the planes and the angles, the alternating convex and concave surfaces with a tension that convinces us of the perfection and uniqueness of the resulting forms.

László Mészáros was born in Budapest in 1905. His father was an iron-worker at Csepel, a soldier in the Hungarian Red Army of 1919, who was sacked after the defeat of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. Between 1921 and 1924 Mészáros worked as an apprentice goldsmith. From 1924 to 1926 he was a student at the School of Applied Arts, specialising in sculpture. There he made friends with Tibor Vilt, with whom he set up a joint studio in 1927. This was the beginning of his artistic career. His works first appeared in a collective exhibition in 1928; by 1929 he made his debut with an independent collection at three exhibitions, one of them a joint exhibition with the painter *Gyula Derkovits*.

His reception by the critics was unanimously favourable: he was praised by the best reviewers of the period. In 1930 he won the Budapest Scholarship, and also married. In the same year he entered four statues for the "Sezession Graz" exhibition in Graz and Berlin. His *Mongolian Spring* won a silver medal, two of the other statues found buyers, and he was elected a corresponding member of the Graz group of artists. Several German dailies expressed their admiration for his art, emphasising his "strong sense of character" and the "tremendous tension of his closed forms", and recognised that characteristic trait "reminiscent of his Eastern ancestors, but nevertheless individual, particular, spiritual in the modern sense of the word" which Mészáros endeavoured to express in his early works. In 1931 he won a scholarship to the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome, where he began his studies in January 1932.

His daughter was born in September 1931 (Márta Mészáros, the film director). In 1932, he held a joint exhibition in Budapest with the painter Aurél Bernáth. His family followed him to Italy in 1933, and they returned home in July 1934. In the same year he took part in the Venice Biennale. It was probably during his holiday in Hungary in 1932 that he joined the organisation of the Hungarian socialist intellectuals. Between 1933 and 1934 he made statuettes and plaquettes in aid of the Red Aid and the illegal Hungarian Communist Party. He emigrated to the Soviet Union in 1935, beginning his journey to Moscow on May 9th from Vienna as a member of a conducted tour organised by Intourist. His family followed him at a later date. In 1936, at the invitation of Béla Uitz, he travelled from Moscow to Frunze, the capital of Kirgizia, where he made portraits and took part in the decoration of the Parliament building. In 1937 he started a school of sculpture. On March 19th 1938 he was arrested on trumped-up charges. He died in exile in 1945 without seeing his name cleared. There is no information concerning the last seven years of his life.

The majority of his statues are to be found in private collections and museums in Hungary, and in the Museum of Fine Arts in Frunze, where a street has been named after him. There has been no retrospective or collective exhibition which has art would deserve. His works are continually being shown at exhibitions of antifascist or socialist art, but so far here has only been one exhibition which attempted to set his life-work in the context of Hungarian sculpture i.e. Hungarian Sculpture between 1920–1945 at the King Stephen Museum in Székesfehérvár in 1966. Sándor Kontha's book (*László Mészáros*, Budapest 1966) examines his art in isolation and evaluates his life-work chiefly from the angle of its connections with the communist movement, referring almost apologetically to those which cannot be linked with it.

Mészáros's creative period in Hungary lasted eight years (1927–35). During these years he completed a surprising amount of sculptures—among these a number of major works in Hungarian sculpture as a whole. If we compare his activity to that of his contemporaries (Tibor Vilt, b. 1905; Miklós Borsos, b. 1906; Jenő Kerényi, b. 1908) we find that Mészáros had completed an entire œuvre while the others were still beginning their careers.

His period of study at the School of Applied Arts provided a basis for his craft, but there is no other trace of its influence. He did not follow the dominant trend of historical naturalism, nor that of geometric surface stylisation which was judged so very "modern" at the turn of the twenties. He was never interested in surface—from the very beginning it was mass and form that created a unity in his work—a unity that characterises only the greatest periods of sculpture.

Little is known about his intellectual connections. He took part in gatherings of young architects and was among those who used to visit the literary circles centred on the *Nyugat* magazine. In 1930 he often went to sketch at Valéria Dienes' famous Eurhythmic School and it is quite possible that he attended some of the philosophy lectures there as well. He was a good friend of Ferenc Medgyessy, the sculptor, and Edit Hoffmann, the art historian. His illegal plaquettes were duplicated by the ceramist, István Gádor. He was a member of most of the progressive intellectual groups. His name often appears in the memories of his contemporaries but always fleetingly, in memory of a few infrequent meetings. It is probable that in the formation of his art and destiny two leading personalities—Pál Ligeti the architect, and the communist doctor and publicist, József Madzsar, played a decisive role. Ligeti's lectures and book (*Towards a New Pantheon*, Budapest 1926; German title *Weg Aus dem Chaos* Munich 1931) greatly excited young artists.

His theories were based on Spenglerian principles: he preached the cyclical reiteration of cultures and attested to the analogies between ancient and modern periods of art. With this doctrine, he partially laid the foundations of that particular eclecticism which was characteristic of the figurative art of the period. Those Egyptianising tendencies which are retraceable in the work of the young artists then beginning their career (Vilt, Mészáros, Goldman) as well as in the work of older painters can be attributed to his theories.

All this coincided with the figurative aims of contemporary European sculpture. The art of the twenties was primarily opposed to the artistic aims that had prevailed at the turn of the century. The Art Nouveau portrait was a recorded gesture, an arrested moment—the expression of some sort of inexplicable, elusive, disillusioned awareness of life, which was conveyed by an affected carriage of the head or gesture of the hands. The young sculptors were looking for stability; they did not succumb to the moment and gesture found no place in their art. The portraits of the period are serious, governed by a rigorous symmetry (the head does not move out of its axis); everything is expressed by the face, which is no longer a conveyor of a particular awareness of life, but of a certain human ideal. The character of the face is itself asserted only as the condensation of a belief in an idea. If the naked human body was the incarnation of "all the dreams of the spirit" at the turn of the century, it now become the incarnation of unshakeable, eternal sculptural and aesthetic truths; every subjective feature was avoided. Sculpture strove to be timeless and chose as its model the imperturbability and calm of ancient times. Finally, for the socially inspired genre sculpture of the turn of the century to remain in the realms of art, a change of tone was necessary. It no longer evoked compassion for the poor—it declared its faith in the masses. A whole generation striving to recover its awareness from the trauma of a bloody, meaningless war yearned for that belief—a belief that avant-garde art could only project into a faraway and Utopian future—and tried for the sake of stability to cling to the art of ancient times. But the omens of the approaching war did not take long to appear—and once they materialised, they shattered every illusion of stability there right have been. At the end of the thirties the growing expressive tendencies presented a picture of suffering, defenceless, tortured Man. But this is a period missing from Mészáros's activity.

His early portraits are in a way mask-like: a great many of his works bear the word "mask" in their title. It seems that when making portraits, this most subjective of genres, he wished to stay as impersonal as possible; as if the mask of a face, detached from temporary features, was able to portray more purely the essence of a person. Each study emerges from the stone in such a way that the birth of the form itself is visible. *Self-portrait (1929)* however is extremely individualised. It in no way reminds us of an artistic pose; it radiates faith, strength, confidence and gravity. The same gravity characterises his portraits of children. The gentle sorrow of the child portraits at the turn of the century disappears: his modelling unifies hair and clothing which serve as a frame for the intelligent faces of an almost adult-like awareness. Pre-eminent among these is the portrait of his daughter *(Pötyi 1934)* which, with its chubby pertness, glows with love and playfulness.

The ideal expressed by mask-like timelessness reaches its peak with the bust and full-length statue of Beethoven *(A Walk in the Country 1929–1930)*. His figure is encased in an enormous coat, and this closed composition makes the coated and trousered, walking figure almost like an idol. The head, the characteristic, forbidding face is a painful and majestic mixture of integrity and solitude.

From the 1930s on this closed, unified

style of composition is relaxed in many portraits. Emotion is admitted *(Endre Nagy, Miklós Rózsa)*, and as a new feature, the grotesque makes an appearance *(József Klinkó, Emil Szalai)*. It is likely that by this time Mészáros was influenced by the portrait art of Rome, which he was able to study at first hand during the years of his scholarship. But the closedness and the mysteriousness of the Egyptians must have charmed him, for he often returned to this style: *Head of a Girl (1934)* could be the portrait of an Egyptian queen. His last Hungarian portrait, *József Madzsar*, was completed in 1935. The undisguised veracity characteristic of the late era of the Roman Republic dominates this sculpture. It is a beautiful example of a character sketch condensed into physical features, a convergence of the individual and the ideal.

The title of his first nude, *Mongolian Spring (1927–29)* is not the only indication of his attachment to Eastern art. The column-like composition is suggestive of Eastern idols—a trait missing from his later nudes. This statue is the embodiment of stability, of timeless, ideal beauty. The slenderness of *Female Torso (1928)*, the severance of the body, its proportions, and its composition are closely related to the *Small Nude (1929)* by Mario Marini. The parallel is all the more interesting as several of Mészáros's nudes—especially *Venus in Shoes (1930)*—display the same penchant for the grotesque that were to characterise Marini's *Pomonas* and *Dancers* from the forties. There is some wryness in Mészáros's later nudes—the female body is not the conveyor of *joie de vivre*, nor of sensuous feminity. The angular gesture of *Woman with a Jar (1932)*, its decorative pose, the single view it presents from all its angles, and its arrangement according to the law of the widest surface are all reminiscent of Egyptian sculpture. Thus Mészáros does not follow Maillol (as Medgyessy or Béni Ferenczy did)—for him the human body is not the expression of an internal spiritual harmony, of a delight in life, but of the restraint of unknown origins, often of sorrow *(Eve 1930)*. How far this wryness came close to expressiveness is shown by the male nude *Acrobat* completed in 1934. There is something grotesque in the walking figure, in its tensed muscles that provokes nothing more than a smile in this instance, but characterises the change in Mészáros's representation of the human figure.

In his statues of labourers and peasants he wanted to convey individual ideological and sculptural values, detached from genre-like representation. He achieved this with unparallelled force in his principal work, *Prodigal Son (1930)*. This life-size statue is rigorously symmetrical when viewed from the front, and yet the figure of the bare-breasted, baggy-trousered peasant boy is full of tension. A stifled cry seems to issue from his half-open mouth, his arms are ready to swing upwards, yet he stands stock still. There is no external sign of his stifled intense emotion: whichever separate part we view, we see nothing but serenity. The head itself is more plaintive than passionate, the hands are weary and limp. But as these forms follow one another, within the rigorous symmetry of the composition, hidden, invisible currents run deep beneath the surface, ancient, thousand-year old desires and grievances, emotions, passions and dreams are all condensed into this single peasant boy. There is no other sculpture in Hungarian art as apt to provoke an awareness of Hungarian history as this.

Mészáros left Hungary when he felt that the conflict between the ideals alive within him and the opportunities offered to him had reached its peak. József Madzsar's teaching, as well as the interest and faith in the Soviet Union which progressive Hungarian intellectuals felt at the time, obviously played a part in his decision. When he arrived in Kirgizia, a country where until 1917 there had been no representational art to speak of, his work from that time was influenced by the artistic battles fought in

that country—just as his fate was decided by Stalinist atrocities. In this he shared the fate of many of the Hungarian emigrants, József Madzsar among them.

Mészáros was a characteristically Central-Eastern European artist, who could not accept that the twentieth century artist is no longer a master spirit, nor a prophet but an observer and interpreter of his age. He could not live without faith and ideals and this is the reason why he felt out of place in a Europe which was drifting nearer and nearer to fascism. His decision was fated and inevitable.

ILDIKÓ NAGY

PORTRAITS AND ORGANIC ABSTRACTS

Tibor Vilt's portraits; Árpád Illés retrospective

Tibor Vilt is a dynamic personality—he is an intuitive artist who always anticipates new trends and then proceeds to shape them to his own image. Today he moulds almost geometric though still man-like objects; his glass sculptures of a few years ago attracted great attention; and five years ago, at his last exhibition, he produced authoritative sculptures constructed of purely geometric figures—made of ferro-concrete building materials—if only on a model scale. We waited, expectantly, for what he had to offer next. And Tibor Vilt lived up to his reputation: this time, he surprised us with traditionally executed portraits, the work of half a century, exhibited at the Műcsarnok without any ceremony on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday.

Vilt's creative technique is dynamic; each of his sculptures radiates energy, mobility, a dynamism without tension. His first work, conceived in the *novecento* manner, the wood-carving *Self-portrait (1926)*, has become the symbol of the Vilt-phenomenon. Closed composition, rounded forms, accentuated nose, eyebrows, mouth: it is an evocative bust, a real *trouvaille*. The *Portrait of Erzsébet Schadr (1943)* who was his wife, is classic, noble, impressionistic, full of subtlety, of nuanced, minute portraiture. Following the order of the exhibition, *Self-portrait (1940)* opens the series of elongated heads—one might say Vilt's Gothic period. Here we find the bronze *Berry-eyed Head (1943)* and, closely related to it, the plaster-cast *Head moulded with a brush (1949)*.

Lajos Kassák wrote about Tibor Vilt three and a half decades ago; "With his portraits, the important thing is not how far they resemble the mirror-image of the model despite their objective motivation; it is how far they are identical with themselves; with what freshness and to what extent their creator has managed to achieve a unity of form that encompasses his individual aesthetic and psychological impulses and ideas. This unity of form is composed of asymmetrical planes, of broken parts of contrasted motion." An important point in his content-oriented, abstract portraiture is the bronze *Child's Head After the War (1946)* with its angular shapes and cubistic aspirations; this leads directly to the even more angular, more wildly disordered traits of the plaster-cast *Study (1948)* and then to the bronze portrait *Indifference (1952)* the shape of which resembles a diamond more than a square. Last in the series though of earlier date

comes *Anatomy (1950)* with its painted plaster head and tangled wire brains.

An unexpected interlude from the early fifties is the plaster-cast *Portrait of a dog (1952)* painted in grey. Sculptures of animals are so very rare in Hungarian art—and once moulded, are often comic or mawkish. Vilt is never mawkish, not even when modelling his favourite pet Hungarian *puli* sheepdog. He is a realist at all times.

If we look at the dates on the labels at the exhibition—or the dates of the sculptures themselves—it is noticeable that for three decades Vilt stopped making portraits: he was occupied with other things, activated by other themes. Then the tide turned again, and Marisol came, and Segal, and though not directly influenced, Vilt suddenly remembered that he could—and to all intents and purposes liked to—make portraits. To this we owe the closing section of the exhibition. The quotation from Kassák loses its validity here—it is true that these heads disclose the hidden, inner characteristics of their models, and the empathy is absolute—but, God forgive, these portraits resemble their originals. For the bronze *Portrait of a woman (1979)* the sculptor returned to colouring: he nickelised the hair, gilded the face; the rouge of the lips and the mauve of the lids is clearly visible on this work which has been executed with a realism worthy of the Etruscans. It was a handsome gesture of Vilt's to include the portraits of two young artists: *Gyula Gulyás (1977)* and *Tamás Hencze (1979)* in his portrait gallery. I would not place these portraits—probably moulded at one sitting, rustic, but not sketchy sketches—in the realm of Pop Art. To describe them elegantly, I can find no adjectives other than realistic, characterising, daring, brilliant: real Vilt sculptures, whose frontal setting does not preclude other viewing angles. The Vilt gallery is the best proof of the fact that each of these portraits says something different and means something different from every angle.

Vilt's most ingenious sculpture, *Penthouse*, was exhibited at the Műcsarnok a few years ago. This composition was a steel box, open for the spectator to peep into: the sculptor repeated himself by tossing into it, at random, the miniatures of his most significant works. As a whole it was a curriculum vitae of explicit symbolism; a biography told in portraits and, at the same time, a text-book capable of teaching a mastery of style which was acquired over fifty years of creative work.

*

The commemorative exhibition of the painter Árpád Illés (1908–1980), showing in three halls of the Műcsarnok was originally intended to be a retrospective for which the artist himself drew up the catalogue. Unfortunately he did not live to see its opening. He was an indisputable, though in his lifetime insufficiently appreciated, master of Hungarian painting: the date of his debut is unknown even to his best friends. After almost half a century of creative work the image of Árpád Illés known in the world of Hungarian art today was determined by the work of little more than one and a half decades. His appearance as an artist was delayed by external factors—he earned his living by organising exhibitions, designing and teaching—but the time spent outside the realms of painting was not spent wholly in vain: the work of this period, executed with a different artistic approach, lays the foundations, or to be more precise, forms a background for newer cycles of pictures, which take their place beside his earlier masterpieces. Illés never tried to conceal the fact that he destroyed most of his earlier work—who knows why, perhaps because of strong, and certainly unfair, self-criticism. Let me borrow one of his own mysterious titles—though to express a completely different thought from the one he intended; only two decades ago, when Árpád Illés burst into the world of Hun-

garian art, he was himself the *Visitor from the unknown*.

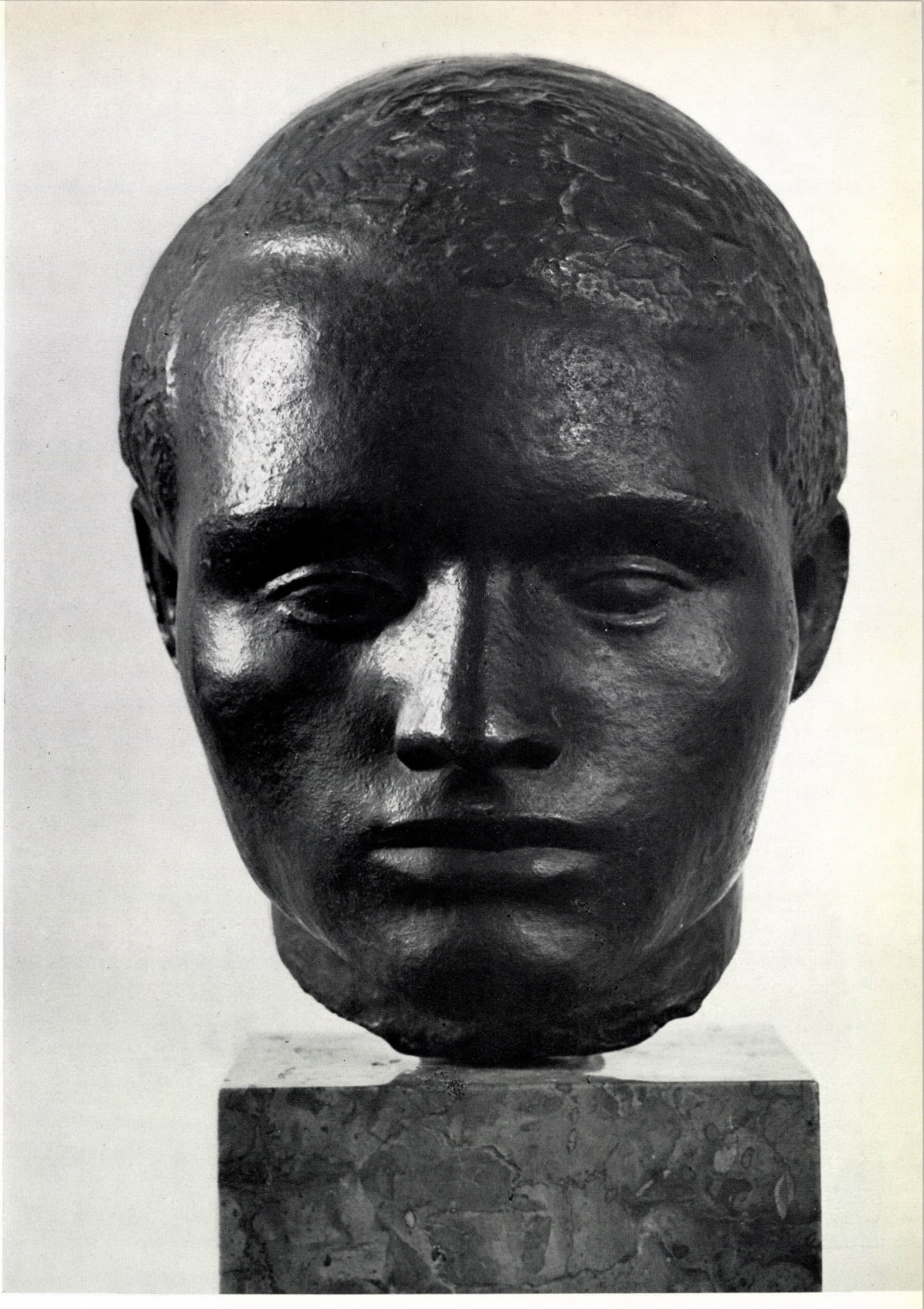
Illés welcomed his classification as a lyrical surrealist painter—but I would prefer to describe him as an organic abstract artist. Keeping the surface of his paintings matt and smooth, he consciously left out the atmosphere factor: he was aided in this by his interest in texture. Almost all of his paintings are executed in the 15th century manner: using tempera mixed with egg (the distemper of frescoes) he achieves a hard, never malleable, almost brittle material which—and this is the most important—is permanent. It is quite likely that an Illés painting will not yellow or blacken or go grey with age, it will not crack or flake. Its radiance seems eternal.

The most exciting thing about the Illés-phenomenon is that to look for his artistic or ideological ascendants, to look for any painter similar to him, would be to no avail. There is nothing like him in Hungarian art, and I know no artist in the world to whom he could owe any linear inheritance. At all events, whichever way we see it, the achievement of Árpád Illés has filled a gap—and continues to fill a gap—in the history of Hungarian art. The organisers of the retrospective were able to procure, as an overture, some of Illés' early paintings, which have fortunately been preserved; townscapes from 1928 and 1930, executed in the post-Cézanne manner, unmistakeable signs of the then very young artist's talent. Then this line breaks and there is no continuation.

The early to middle sixties were the years which marked the beginning of Árpád Illés's rediscovery of himself. It is clear that he was looking for a new direction to follow; he was possibly inspired by Miró. Compared to his later abstracts he remained, in his own way, representational, though his representation is smooth, his colours bright, the bulk of his patches even and uniform. A characteristic element of his painting is his humour—but irony has always been alien to him—and he seems to hide behind his jokes as if only out of modesty *(The Lumnitzer Sisters 1965, Acrobats 1970)*. The *Triptichon (1973)* is a narrative work containing a piece of newspaper. *Mother and daughter (1974)* is in point of fact a caricature, a satirical, distorted image, with very intense colours, orange and red dominating beside the mauve and blue. *Because it's a flowering, a life and eternal (1974)* is also conspicuous because of its force and parade of colour: from yellow to orange to the different browns he uses blue and green to complete the whole.

More animated, more agitated is the *Visitor from the unknown (1978)*, the pair of the previous *Guest in full dress from the unknown (1976)*. Triangular composition dominates the latter, its colours are bright; as almost always, orange appears together with two shades of golden yellow. On a smaller scale, but nevertheless monumental, is *Appearance (1976)* which belongs in the more sombre regions of Illés's colour scale. There is a lot of white in this picture: both the inner core of the painting and the frame-within-the-frame of the forms held together by the internal contours are white.

The probable centre-point of the exhibition is a series of horizontally-placed oblong-shaped paintings. They form a series, even if this was not the artist's original intention. It is a series where everything is presented in summarized form; however colourful, all is calm, even reassuring. All the paintings are closed, block-compositions. The *Composition with crimson colours (1976)* with its beautiful crimsons, browns, many-nuanced blues is a return to the theme of *Because it's a flowering...* Dominating the grey background of *Origin (1978)* is—I think—a crest-shaped, undulating line; you can hear the silence of the colours in *Domestication (1978)* where the yellow eye flashing from the centre is accentuated. Closely related to this is the magnificent *Giant Serpent (1978)*; of course it is hard to spot the reptile itself. Those who wish



István Petrás

László Mészáros: Self-Portrait (bronze, 26 cm, 1929)

István Pervás

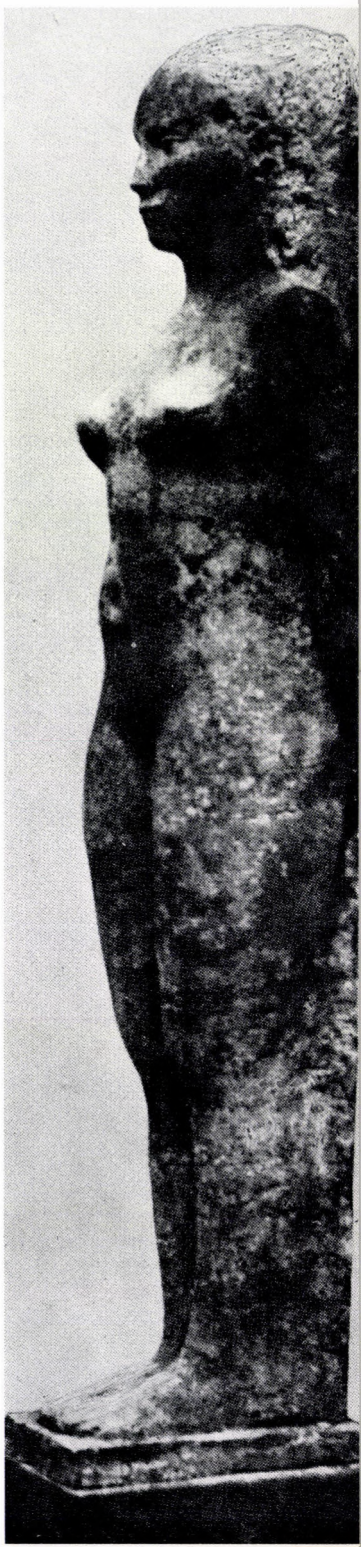
László Mészáros: Woman Sitting (artificial stone, 36 cm, 1932)

István Petrás

László Mészáros: Beethoven (a walk in the country)
(terracotta, 28 cm, 1934)

László Mészáros: Female Torso (plaster, 111 cm, 1928)

István Petrás



László Mészáros: Mongolian Spring
(artificial stone, 167 cm, 1927–29)

István Somfai

Tibor Vilt: Head (bronze, 45 cm, 1948)

István Somfai

Tibor Vilt: Portrait of a Dog (plaster, 1952)

Tibor Vilt: Portrait of Tamás Hencze (plaster, 35 cm, 1979)

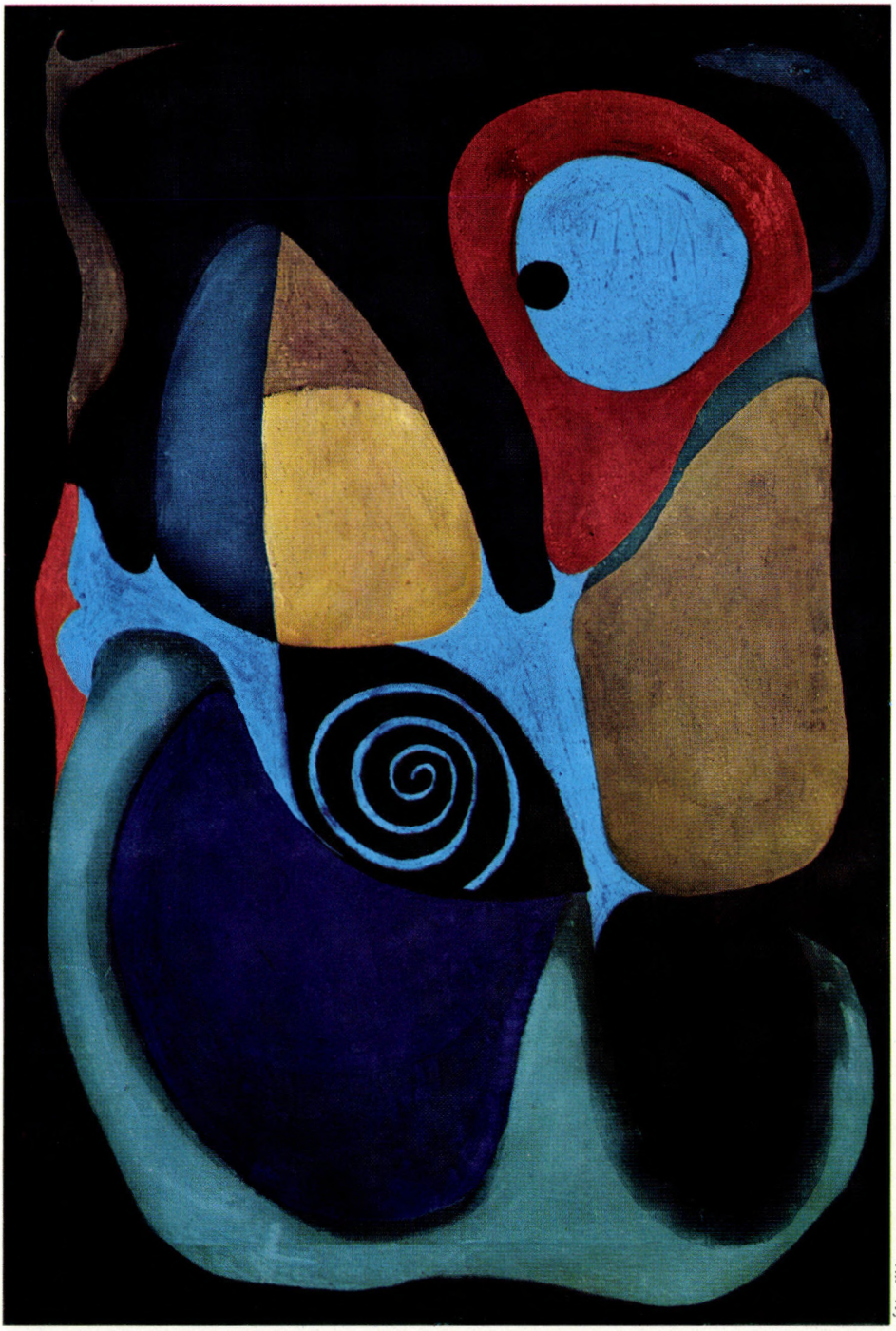
TIBOR VILT: SELF-PORTRAIT (BRONZE, 60 CM, 1940)

István Somfai

TIBOR VILT: SELF-PORTRAIT (WOOD, 40 CM, 1926)

István Somfai

TIBOR VILT: ANATOMY (PLASTER AND WIRE, 1950)



Árpád Illés: The Last Painting (egg and tempera, 52 × 35 cm, 1980)

Ádám Illés

ÁRPÁD ILLÉS: VISITOR FROM THE UNKNOWN IN HIS SUNDAY BEST (EGG AND TEMPERA, 80×60 CM, 1976)

Ádám Illés

ÁRPÁD ILLÉS: GIANT SERPENT (EGG AND TEMPERA, 60×80 CM, 1978)

Ádám Illés

ÁRPÁD ILLÉS: NEAR IS THE END (EGG AND TEMPERA, 50×70 CM, 1979)

to may project it into the painting—but it is not important. Here too, yellow is the dominant colour and—a snake will be a snake—the spiral is the dominant shape: the hidden snake-head appears as an associative symbol.

The last hall of the exhibition brings together the work of the artist's final years. It seems to me that Illés returned in these years nostalgically to the more detailed, livelier forms of his early, if not his initial, period. *Decoration for a building (1979)* with its darker coloured fresco design on a chrome-yellow background proves how far murals as a genre must have appealed to him; the messages become more characteristic in this larger dimension. *The end is near (1979)*, more sombre coloured, but not without bright crimson, was given its title by the gravely ill painter; *Last Picture (1980)* is a posthumous establishment of fact. The dominating colours this time are blue, green and russet; frosty colours prevail, there is no vividness. It is perhaps of interest to note that this farewell painting is almost tinted, the boundaries of the colour patches are shadowy, and atmosphere enters as a factor. He painted this in 1980, he died in the spring, and by autumn the picture hung with the others in the halls of the exhibition.

JÁNOS FRANK

AN ART COURSE FOR CHILDREN IN BUDAPEST

Art teaching in Hungary was somewhat behind the times until the recent past although certain of László Moholy Nagy's, writings, based on his work in the Bauhaus, had pointed the way towards a renewal. This style of modern pedagogy did not, however, find any place in Hungarian teaching practice. In the inter-war period both the School of Applied Arts and the Academy of Fine Arts were institutions dominated by a purely academic spirit, the few exceptions being the classes of outstanding masters such as István Csók, the painter, or Gyula Kaesz, the interior designer.

Nevertheless, the training of artists, especially in the School of Applied Arts, has changed considerably over the past decades. Many of Moholy Nagy's ideas have been put into practice although art teaching in schools continues to face many difficulties because there are insufficient leassons and, more seriously, because teaching aims are not clearly defined. There are sad cases of children who used to be eager and happy to draw and paint becoming indifferent to art during their school-years. The blame lies with methods of instruction which insist on the imitation of reality and compel pupils to produce perspective drawings of matchboxes and draw dull still-lifes in the genre style. Instead of which the aim should be to activate the children's imagination and let them discover the world in and for themselves.

This is the general situation although there are a few exceptions worthy of mention, such as the experimental classes in the adult education centres, where young professional artists treat children as fellow-creators. One of the most interesting of these is the course directed by László Morvay.

*

Morvay, a graphic artist in his early thirties, graduated as an art teacher in 1974 at the Eger Teacher Training College. He

wrote his thesis on Béla Kondor, the greatest Hungarian graphic artist of recent years; and although he had himself exhibited several remarkable works he chose teaching as his profession. The winner of a national art competition, he became an art master at a school in Csepel, an industrial area to the south of Budapest.

In school he soon realised that methods of instruction were dominated by the past. Art classes suffered from all sorts of diseases inherited from the past, and teaching aims continued to be misguided: to encourage practicality pupils were taught technical drawing and to encourage idealism they were asked to produce renderings of reality.

László Morvay's purpose, on the other hand, is merely to contribute, using his own methods, to the children's maturing into individual adults. Morvay sees art classes not as a supply of directly utilisable knowledge but as one of the most effective means of developing the individual personality. So alongside the compulsory curriculum he decided to organise a study group which provides scope for self-fulfilment.

The group has now been functioning for six years. Its work began with ten-year olds and teenagers; they are adults now, and are to be found working in all walks of life from nursery school teaching to lathe turning. Morvay's work was based on something we all know—that children like drawing, painting and working with plasticine—and his main ambition was to prolong their pleasure. Psychologists and even supporters of traditional art teaching methods know that small children have an astonishing imagination, but they always add that this sensitivity disappears in adolescence; with growing realism of vision children's drawings become dull because they produce clumsy imitiations of the reality of which they want to make authentic copies.

Morvay is a good pedagogue: he can prove that this shrivelling of the imagination in adolescence is not an inevitable phenomenon. Teenagers too are capable of expressing themselves: their imagination is not necessarily completely bleak. Their works show that they are capable of producing many interesting formal ideas and motifs.

How does their teacher achieve this result? László Morvay has no secrets and he speaks openly about his work; but the few sentences which follow are only examples of this work and are not intended as pedagogical maxims. The members of the group meet twice a week: on each occasion they deal with a different theme. Morvay says the key-word, e.g. locomotive, and uses this as a starting point. The locomotive evokes the machine, and the machine reminds him of poems and paintings. The moving machine reminds him of futurism and he shows colour slides of the most significant works of this movement in art and analyses them. After a good discussion about the locomotive, the machine in general, and the relationship of machine and art, the children start to work. They draw and paint what occurs to them on the basis of the discussion; the teacher makes only the minimum of corrections.

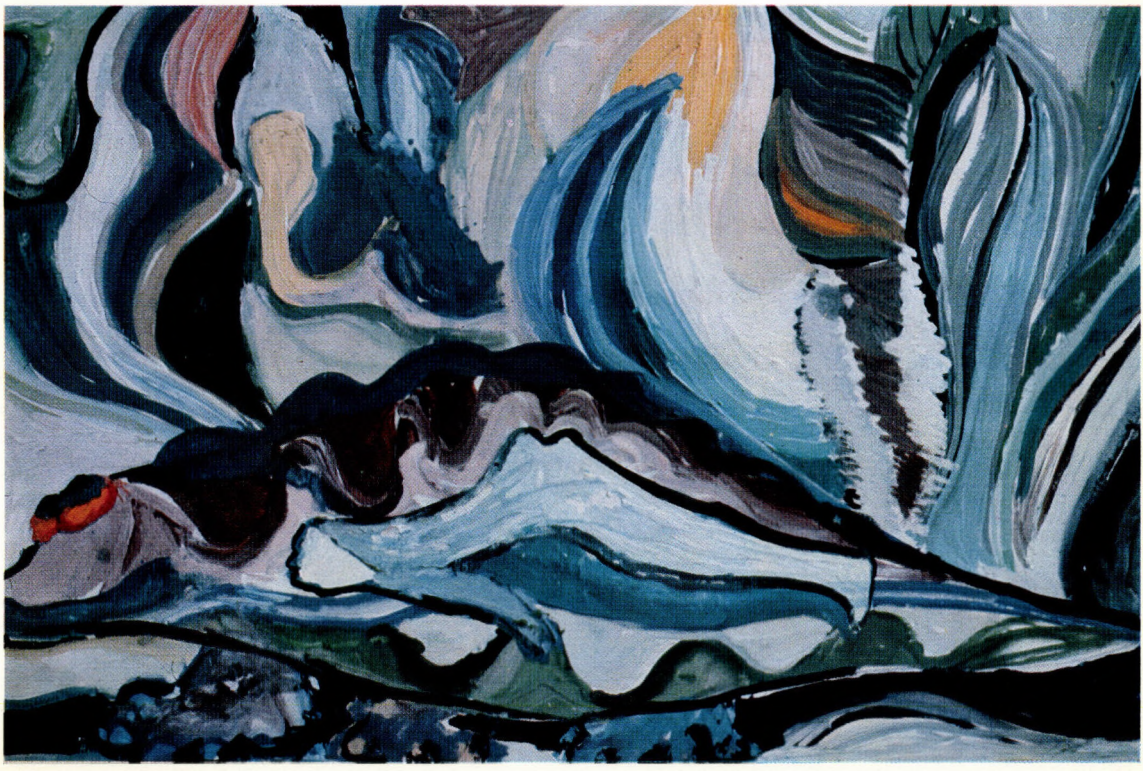
One of the major problems of education is that the child is often told different things at home and at school. This may paralyse the teacher's work, lead to conflicts in the child's personality and alienate child and parent. Morvay has also tried to remedy this evil: he has organised a course for parents where he advises them how to furnish and decorate their homes with a view to improving their taste.

JÓZSEF VADAS

László Morway

Ágí Szabics, 12 years (tempera)

Ildikó Brauer, 13 years (tempera)



Imre Galsai, 14 years (paper cut, mixed technique)

Bence Czeglédy, 11 years (white ink)

László Morvay

Gabriella Godány, 13 years (ink)

Jutka Tóth, 13 years (tempera)

Csilla Farkas, 13 years (terracotta)

Ottilia Somkai, 13 years (tempera)

László Moravy

Erika Faragó, 12 years (painted plaster)

THEATRE AND FILM

ACTORS, DRAMATISTS, STUDIO THEATRES

William Shakespeare: *Henry IV;* Mikhail Bulgakov: *Molière;* Gábor Görgey: *A Box-Office Hit;* Per Olov Enquist: *The Night of the Tribades;* Tadeusz Różewicz: *A White Wedding;* Harold Pinter: *The Birthday Party;* Franz Xaver Kroetz: *The Meiers;* Péter Nádas: *The Cleaning*

After the first autumn premières, chiefly those of classical plays, which set the mood and tone of the 1980/81 theatre season in Hungary, the second, equally typical stage of the season began in mid-November. The period of studio work. One has the impression that the companies, or, to be more precise, those groups of three or four artists who have decided to undertake the task of presenting plays so far unperformed and therefore regarded as new on the Hungarian stage, have with the approach of winter withdrawn into the warm cosiness of the studio theatres. This phenomenon can be explained by theatre practice in Hungary, where most theatres have two buildings—usually one too big and one too small: the more intimate studio performance can follow once the first première in the big theatre, which consumes most of the company's energies, is over. This season the performances played nightly to 800–900 strong audiences have offered little by way of lasting value, the most notable exception being *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, reviewed in the previous issue; but valuable performances have been played to audiences of 80 or 90 in the studios.

Let us begin with the large-scale opening performances which, despite their later dates, belong in the first phase of the theatre season. The two oldest and most important Budapest theatres, the Nemzeti (National) and Víg Theatres had first performances as late as November and December. The National with a venture which from the very outset was accompanied by doubts. In line with the playwright's original intention, the theatre decided to play Shakespeare's two-part history on consecutive nights.

Henry IV

The performance failed to provide an acceptable answer to the question of what justifies this decision, apart from the respectable aim of preserving traditions. Details of the plot evolving round the figure of the title hero have caught hardly any of the director's attention who seems to be more interested in the single thread reeling around Falstaff's ball of a figure. Neither words nor action hold the spectator's attention as a grey-clad king staggers around a grey stage which appears to have been set up to resemble a prison or greenhouse. But when an elaborately attired Sir John is pacing the stage, surprisingly more briskly than his figure would suggest, accompanied by a racy young prince Henry alive with youthful temperament, the dynamism of the performance is simply sweeping. The setting and the performance equally suggest that power and politics tie one's hands and result in captivity, whilst the full acceptance of life, freedom, good humour, and zeal will enrich life. The aristocrats of the court are uninteresting indoor plants by comparison

with the flora and fauna that surround young Henry among the people in the taverns. The contrast of the two worlds is overemphasized in the performance, which paints too bleak a picture of the world of power devoid of value or character, a background against which the lower world, that of the people, is all the more colourful and attractive and, despite its vices, all the more beautiful.

The two-night performance has drawn a mixed response from the critics, who agree that in line with more general tradition, the play should have been abridged into a one-night event by an expert hand. While this may be a valid argument from a practical point of view, the basic conflict present in the performance lies not between the two nights but between the two worlds mentioned above: and that is a conflict no abridged version could have solved. There remains the inner contradiction that despite all their political strifes, King Henry IV and his entourage provide but a colourless background to the lively frolickings of the man who is to become King Henry V and all those around him.

The real importance of this mixed performance clearly lies in the representation of Falstaff. The director has found an ideal artist for the role in the person of Ferenc Kállai, one of the best Hungarian actors today. Things seem to be working out well for Kállai; he has given valuable performances in a whole range of roles and was this year the winner of a new critics' prize. This performance enhances his rising career. Kállai is of corpulent body, though as he was once eager to point out, he "is not overweight in his spirit," an actor who constructs the figure he is playing from inner motives, giving hardly any emphasis to the superficial elements. Life in all its variety is more valuable for this portly man than anything else in the world: it is attractive and repulsive all at once as he defies common sense, morals, and emotions in an effort to get a grip on it, never to let it go.

Other actors in the play also emerge with above-average performances. Once again, the performance proves that Hungarian acting, particularly of the male variety, is very strong, and occasionally compares favourably with the most outstanding actors elsewhere in Europe. Although the performance failed to realize its own objectives, it is certainly a point in its favour that it offered scope for this enjoyable acting.

Although with even more reservations, I had the same thoughts about the Bulgakov *première* in the Vígszínház of

Molière

This is the play's third performance on the Hungarian stage for ten years, once again with a new title *(His Majesty's Comedian)*; it has not once been played with the title the author originally gave its play *(Molière)*, which indicates that the play has so far failed to reveal its real face.

The eventful story takes place in an impressive set which consists of huge boxes. The smoothly running mechanism consisting of enormous crates rolling around are symbolic of the power mechanism at the court of the Sun King. A moment ago, there was a man somewhere—and then he has already been swallowed up by these rolling prison cells, by these stage-size coffins. A moment ago, the place was empty, but now a man is standing there, dressed in black, his face forbidding.

The stage setting is the best part of the performance; it expresses clearly the age and surroundings in which Molière and his company had to play for the king, who was a patron of the arts. But the power struggle, all the backbiting prevailing at court, and the clergy finally force the king to divest the author of comedies of the rights he has enjoyed, on account of his exceptional talents, because he has involuntarily compromised himself in his private life. Molière suffers a defeat both as a man and as a writer—and the defeat kills him.

Both Bulgakov's notes from the time and academic research have left no doubt about the fact that, in an indirect way, the play is about the conflict between Stalin and Bulgakov way back in the nineteen-thirties. Stalin knew the writer and even respected him for some of his earlier works, but failed to give permission for the performance of the play Bulgakov wrote in 1932 until 1936, and even then the permission covered only seven nights. The confrontation of the highly talented artist with absolute power, a recurring theme in Bulgakov's work, received such a radical expression in *Molière* that the play did not get past the censorship at the time.

The Vígszínház performance is graced by a most imposing stage setting, the impact of which is further enhanced by red carpets that cover the stage and from there run through the auditorium, uniting the whole building from the foyer to the backstage. This arrangement might lead one to draw all kinds of interesting conclusions, as it is impossible not to see that the public is meant to be a part of the show, in fact is actually sitting there at a court performance staged in honour of Louis XIV. But the actors do not exploit the relationship between the historical, the symbolic, and the contemporary planes, which are all mixed up together in a vague medley.

Just as *Henry IV* has been billed for the sake of the actor playing Falstaff, Bulgakov's play is also a benefit performance more than anything else for the actor in the title role. This great actor is Iván Darvas; a contemporary of Kállai, but an actor of an entirely different make-up who has arrived at a significant point in his career with his interpretation of the dry, sarcastic figure of Molière, who lives in a constant panic of persecution. But neither Darvas nor his partners can achieve the heights they should, being prevented from doing so by the huge boxes of the setting that leave them no room for movement.

The chief character of a new Hungarian play that had its first performance at Kecskemét is also a dramatist. Gábor Görgey's

A Box Office Hit

(Bulvár) a new Hungarian play, is using the time-tested but still entertaining means of theatre within the theatre. Its chief character, the 40-year-old dramatist Géza Bakonyi, is setting to the task of writing the great work of his life, in an attempt to retrieve "from under the forest-floor, rubble, dirt, and cinders" the tragic beauty of our age. An unexpected love-affair prevents the accomplishment of this worthy plan. In the grip of the need to break up his former marriage and establish a new life, in the financial sense as well, the writer is forced to write pop song lyrics for his lover, the increasingly successful actress Auróra Stella. His life which he has preserved thus far for genuine art is swallowed up by trash: the dramatist who once planned his play with the verve of a Shakespeare ends up writing a box-office hit of no value. The conflict appears in the increasingly ridiculous and funny struggle as the writer tries to get out of the tight corner in which he finds himself. But life tends to follow the pattern even of trashy literature: what Bakonyi dreams up in his worthless play really happens in his own life. And so he only has himself to blame when his best friend, the noted physician, contracts leprosy soon after he is awarded the Nobel Prize for inventing a serum against leprosy.

The unambitious and, of course, musical play did not realize all its inherent possibilities. In the same way as Witold Gombrowicz, the Polish-born playwright, believes that the "monumental idiocy" of the operetta may hold a mirror to twentieth-century attitudes to history, and as proved by Bob Fosse, the cabaret can reflect a whole period, the box-office hit is also a genre pointing beyond itself. Unfortunately, Gábor Görgey's play misses a good opportunity by

failing to exploit this "monumental idiocy" and the performance contents itself with offering a few jokes and remaining superficial, although it could easily pass a verdict on the survival of trash itself.

Turning to the studio performances, the one that deserves our attention first is

The Night of the Tribades

a play for four characters by Per Olov Enquist of Sweden. Audiences in the eastern Hungarian town of Miskolc watched a cruel drama about the process of debasement. August Strindberg for decades poured out with unabated fury works which for him were means of self-torment: we know from his diaries, letters, and plays that the source of his unending torment was the confrontation of the sexes. On the surface, we have here the unhealthy suffering of an over-sensitive soul, but the cause of his suffering was closely related to the age, the *fin de siècle*. Under the conditions of that mendaciously over-refined world, growing importance was attached to the question of the equality of the sexes, feminism was born and sexuality demanded newer and freer forms. In Enquist's play, degradation involves the personality as a whole, but it is expressed solely in sexuality.

The Night of the Tribades is set in 1899. The Dagmar Theatre in Copenhagen is preparing for the opening performance of a Strindberg play, which is of course another one about its author. The main role is played by Siri von Essen-Strindberg, the wife of the author who is just about to divorce him. The play is about her, about them: the estrangement of the woman, her love for a lesbian Danish woman, Marie Caroline David, and finally her return to her husband. The play within a play is naturally directed by Strindberg. And the role of the other woman—the "silent woman"—is, of course, played by Marie Caroline David.

Enquist follows the "play within a play" method, but his drama brings infernal emotions to the surface. The conflict the three people have in their private lives appears as an artistic conflict and their relationship assumes an increasingly aesthetic character. That is why it is more and more impossible to solve—in real life. The Strindberg of the piece suffers degradation as a man and a helpless hater of women. Siri is debased in the tormenting choice she faces between loving a man or a woman. Marie Caroline, who makes no secret about her inclinations, suffers degradation in drinking: it is only in the daze brought on by drinking a vast amount of beer that she can tolerate the feeling of being a social outcast.

This is a kind of *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf* for three; it also resembles Albee's play in that there appears in it a fourth character, a dumb dandy of an actor, who does not understand anything of what is going on. Set against the disgusting and pedantic faultlessness of Viggo Schiwe, the repulsive inferno surrounding Strindberg appears attractive, animated, and full of life.

The simple stage setting of the performance is reminiscent of Strindberg's one-time studio theatre, the Intima Teatern. Copper bed, beer crates. That's all that matters: the symbols of sex and drink. A papier mâché cannibal with a spear raised high in his hand and a tiger are probably left-overs of a previous play on the stage of this theatre which is in fact converted into a beer depot. A symbol of the fact that what is going on here is probably worse than cannibalism.

This blunt, naturalistic play becomes authentic through truly outstanding acting. The actor in the role of Strindberg carries away the audience with a performance unprecedented in Hungary in past years. The Strindberg of the play traverses his hell as a man and as an artist in such a way that in one's mind's eye one can see him holding a pen in his constantly gesticulating hands. August Strindberg, we know, will also commit this terrible night to paper.

Plays by the noted Polish author, Ta-

deusz Różewicz, have as yet been billed surprisingly rarely in Hungary. The Kecskemét theatre has now staged his vision,

A White Wedding

This is also a play set in the years around the turn of the century and although far from being blunt or naturalistic—on the contrary, it creates a floating, poetic effect—it displays a certain similarity with *The Night of the Tribades*, in that it is also centred on sex. Two young cousins suddenly awake to the idea that they are women and realize in different ways that sex is for everyone as much of a social issue as a private affair. On the basis of this, they choose two different courses in line with their different dispositions: one trying to protest against social inequality, the oppression of women with over-emphasized physiology, while the other resigns herself to her lot and chooses virginity, leading to a white wedding. The hypocrisy of the age and disintegrating religious morals sweep them both in wrong directions: Paulina's anarchy and Bianka's pathological withdrawal and isolation are both the wrong answers to the questions of life.

The performance in Kecskemét brings out the poetic merits of the play, presenting with moderation and good taste the varied symbols of nudity, whilst on the other hand it does not accept the political and social nature of the play. True, the social message appears to be hidden deeper than in any other Różewicz play, but the presentation of that message could have said something important about the age of "infantilism." As it is, the main merit of the performance is its pioneering character. In a friendly letter, the Polish playwright informed the theatre that so far his play had been performed in 5–6 European theatres, in a total of one thousand performances, including those in Poland. It is to be hoped that the Kecskemét performance will help bring that number to a considerably higher level.

Up till now Hungarian theatres had only toyed with the idea of staging plays by Harold Pinter and Różewicz. And the rapid failure of *The Caretaker* after two different performances did nothing to interest theatres in the billing of other Pinter plays.

Pinter's reputation in Hungary will probably not be enhanced by the new first performance in Szolnok of

The Birthday Party

The anti-intellectual attitude of the play leaves one with a feeling of deficiency, with the dark, artificially constructed world of the author. The trouble is that István Paál could not get his actors break away from a purely naturalistic style of acting. And what was acceptable in the English film version of *The Birthday Party* shown on television the very night its first performance was billed, is unacceptable in a Hungarian theatre the size of a room. Not so much because of the offensive stridency of the acting, but rather because this unequivocally naturalistic approach detracts from the play's richness. In this style, the text is of very little interest, as the "secrets" the actors should open up for us are just not there behind the words. Typically enough, the only actor who failed to impress the audience favourably was the one who tried this approach. He had the necessary experience from his past performance of a role in *Waiting for Godot*, while the director had proved his attraction to the world of the absurd by putting on stage works by Jarry, Beckett, Mrożek and others —yet, he could not persuade all his actors to accept his attitude. The kitchen is only a subsidiary, background setting to the plot of *The Birthday Party*, yet in Szolnok the play is performed as if it were Wesker's *The Kitchen*. And although there is some kinship between the two authors, the message of Pinter's play is not at all that the whole world is a kitchen.

The one-room and kitchen flat inhabited by the Meiers of the play by Franz Xaver

Kroetz, the West German playwright who became popular as a young man, differs from the setting of the Pinter play only in that it is equipped with modern household appliances and has a German character. Kroetz's neo-naturalism is more concrete and more objective than Pinter's abstract, parabolic absurd, but his basic theme is also that of a materialistic, mediocre way of life devoid of intellectual values. The three characters of

The Meiers

husband, wife, and teenager boy, fight out their family struggle on the stage of the Budapest Játékszín. Since this community never had any intellectual content and meaningful love and affection have worn thin, the story of the play cannot be anything other the disintegration of the family. One of the first scenes shows us the Meiers nestling up on a narrow couch, their eyes glued to the television screen; in the last scene, they are wide apart, the three starting out in three different directions. The didactic series of "subject-pictures" tell us some striking things about the dreariness of a petty-bourgeois (or petty-proletarian) way of life, but the play as a whole does not come up to the outstanding qualities of the prolific writer. The performance is above average and it is again the chief male role that creates the best effect. The young director has resolved some of the details without much heart and others without much consistency.

Another room-and-kitchen can be seen in Győr at the recently opened studio theatre, which, after long preparations, has staged its first play by one of the better-known of the younger generation of Hungarian writers, novelist Péter Nádas, who was born in 1942. In *Takarítás*,

The Cleaning

the rectangular stage is divided into two sections of unequal size by a very realistic, thick, wide, brick wall. The two "wings" of the wall are two almost constantly swinging glass doors (cut away into zigzag shapes, reminiscent of the way in which architects indicate doors in their blueprints). The heavy brick wall beats its wings as if it was about to fly away. But, just as the three characters cleaning up the flat, the old woman, the young woman, and the boy, cannot shake off their burdens, the wall also collapses in the end.

The larger of the two sections of the stage is the old woman's room. As the performance begins, old dark-brown period furniture is being carried from here to the other, smaller space, the kitchen. The shorter sides of the stage are lined by mirrors so that some of what is happening is seen by the audience in the mirrors. In this way, the plot becomes indirect and symbolic to produce a combination of the concrete, the abstract, and the unreal.

The play—according to the author, a text organized like music—is about the conflicts of the three characters brought about by their differences in age, sex, social and existential conditions. The title, *The Cleaning*, is markedly symbolic, but at the same time it also refers to a form of real activity. A kind of activity that might be tiring and even sweltering, yet has something festive about it. As the old flat becomes clean to breath fresh air once again, the three cleaners are also becoming clean in the process. They find themselves at one another's sides in the most varied forms of relationship on the wet floor of the empty room. Although they cannot get satisfaction, they find understanding and acquiescence. They make peace with one another, finally to tramp over the immaculately clean room together, until it is littered with breadcrumbs and garbage. They drink—and make a mess.

The director was led by a purposeful consistency in staging this play without an interval. He always has two figures clashing with each other in the neutral empty space, while the third character is usually hidden temporarily in the kitchen, in the dark of

the pile of furniture. He also establishes a situation in which stage and auditorium "unconsciously breath together," a phenomenon regarded by the writer as the only criterion of good theatre. In his work, the director also uses his experiences gained from previous directing (Kafka, Ibsen, Vian). He does not spare his actors, who have to work hard for two hours without a moment's break—yet, cleaning as they do, it is aesthetic with even a musical character about it. The actors play with perceptible devotion but with an inner resistance that cannot be disguised: the unusual style is a problem for them all. Their team-work, however, has made the first performance a success.

It is, however, a defect that there is no historical meaning, no symbolic message, behind the well-presented private lives of the characters. For the inner structure of the play is such that it leaves no doubt about the author's intention to include in the symbolic play the relationship between three generations, and through this, the history of the thirty years following the Second World War. All things considered, the water splashed on the floor should have the shape of Hungary, or even of Europe. The performance has failed to bring out this complex, symbolic aspect of the play. So it remains extreme but not entirely understandable that the brick wall tumbles down in the last minute and that a young man from thirty years ago, the one-time love of the old woman, appears behind it. At this point these two young men should find each other almost as friends: the picture come to life of the young man who died in the war, and the young man of today, the boy cleaning the room in his jeans. Because of this unclarified symbolic level of the play, this episode, by itself of problematic meaning, has remained a part of the performance which is alien. But on the whole, the play reveals that Péter Nádas is the young Hungarian playwright who is best able to synthesize the various achievements of contemporary European theatre, and we may look forward to the first performance of the two works that, together with *The Cleaning*, constitute a complete trilogy. These plays are no longer set in a room-and-kitchen. Not that it matters: a room-and-kitchen on the stage can contain as much as a palace. Sometimes even more.

TAMÁS TARJÁN

PROMISES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Gábor Bódy: *Psyche and Narcissus* (Part 1), *Narcissus and Psyche* (Part 2); Márta Mészáros: *The Heiress*

Gábor Bódy is one of the most promising members of the younger generation of film directors. He was awarded his first diploma at the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Budapest University, but the project he undertook as part of the work for this diploma, entitled "The Attribution of Cinematic Meaning," indicated his early attraction to the film as an art form, and to semiotics as a science. Then, before embarking on his film directing course of study, he participated in the work of the Béla Balázs Studio of young film artists, where he was founding member of the K-3 experimental workshop. It was here that he produced his short experimental films

—which were never shown in public—on the possibilities of film-language (he also published studies on semiotics), and his full-length feature film *American Torso*, which won him the main prize at the Mannheim Festival in 1976 and also the Hungarian Film Critics' prize. This was followed by a few well received TV films; and then came the news that caused a true sensation in the film business: Gábor Bódy was planning to adapt Sándor Weöres's *Psyché* for the screen.

This sensation was the result of both excited curiosity and well-founded doubts. Sándor Weöres, along with Gyula Illyés and István Vas, is one of the greatest lyrical poets living in Hungary. He is an unrivalled magician, an alchemist of language, naïve and modern, simple and refined, popular and urbane; he is an elfin and impish vizard, who combines the philosophy of ancient Greece with the teachings of the East—all in one. He appeared as a wonder-child at the age of fourteen, at the age of seventeen was awarded the most coveted literary prize of his day, the Baumgarten Prize, was a favourite of the great writers of the periodical *Nyugat*—and has lived his life as a wonder-child, pouring poems from his incomparably rich store which have in a variety of ways enriched and influenced generations of succeeding poets. Sándor Weöres's cycle of poems, *Psyché* (1972), is one of his most interesting and original accomplishments. His unique virtuosity lies in the artistic empathy which enabled him to create apocryphal eighteenth-century Hungarian poetry, which could not have been better and more eigteenth-century if it had been genuine. For it he invented a poetess, Erzsébet Lónyai, born of Gipsy blood into a family of nobility—her third name is Psyché—and created her whole life and poetry; the work has a timeless quality precisely because of his strict adherence to a certain epoch. Using the life of Psyché, a pioneer of feminism and the sexual revolution, as a framework, Weöres wrote a story presented in prose, which—and this apparent defect is the work's greatest merit—was modelled on deliberately trivial, almost trashy tales from libertine literature, and with which he interwove the lives of well-known figures from the Hungarian age of Enlightenment. He embroidered his historical canvas with wondrous patterns of "contemporary" poetry, and his poems, which displayed a true classical perfection, elevated the book to the level of a masterpiece. It is quite exquisite in several aspects: in the creation of the main figure and the full-blooded presentation of her life and amorous adventures against the background of the contemporary world and its literature; as an example of linguistic persiflage it is unsurpassable and—unfortunately—untranslatable; in its creation of the inner world of a woman's soul it is a masterpiece of empathy; and all of this is interwoven with irresistible, sophisticated humour.

However, cinematic art did not exist in the eighteenth century. And the most exciting aspect of Bódy's undertaking was the question of exactly what kind of cinematic language he could find to equal the specific type of lyrical language resurrected by Weöres. This is the reason that this encounter between Weöres, the indefatigable experimenter in lyrical expression, and Bódy, with his passionate interest in cinema language semiotics, promised to be of unusual interest. This encounter, however, never took place. Bódy did not even attempt it. Perhaps this kind of encounter is not even possible, because the film is quite uncompromisingly a twentieth-century art form. Yet it would have given his project real meaning.

*

As it happened, I first saw the two-part film with two noted colleagues from abroad who were in Budapest for a FIPRESCI (International Federation of Film Critics) seminar: Lino Micciche, President of the Federation, and Marcel Martin, its General Secretary. Rising to his feet after the four-

hour film Micciche remarked: it is possible that the director is quite ingenious, but this film is completely useless. Martin added that this was far less an experiment in cinematic language, than a collection of optical tricks. Moreover, we had already seen so much of it in the work of Buñuel, Fellini, Jancsó, and Huszárik. And I myself felt that if Andersen's famous scullion—who, according to the tale, loudly declared that the king was naked—came to life and sat in the auditorium, he too would be stunned by the magnificent creations of dress and would not shout out that the king was unclothed (this is out of the question anyway), but—although this is somewhat surrealistic—where is the king? Where is Gábor Bódy in this anthology of quotations which have admittedly been compiled with an extraordinary sensitivity of style and a predisposition for the spectacular? And what is Sándor Weöres's name doing here?

Bódy (and his co-author of the script, Vilmos Csaplár) in fact adopted only a few episodes from the prose section of the book for the first part of the film, then span them out, rendered them timeless, extended the story of the lovers in the book, Psyché and Narcissus (the model for the latter was the poet living at that time, László Ungvárnémeti Tóth) to one hundred and thirty years; he perfected it as a sort of surrealistic narrative. They created with this a smorgasbord of Weöres, Buñuel, and Fellini, which in my opinion is an impossible venture, because the individuals involved are each too weighty to merge together, and in which the original Psyché becomes only a pretext, an alibi. A director naturally has the right to resort to this kind of technique —if his results justify it. But in this case, I feel that Bódy has merely attested to the fact of his talent.

There are in my view two reasons for this. One is that Weöres's novel in verse has two points of reference in time: the turn fo the eighteenth century, and the poet of the twentieth century (and his receptive readers). If these two points of reference are lost, then the real supra-epochal character of the story turns into abstract, exaggerated timelessness, which empties Weöres's thoughts —exciting in their own concreteness—and makes them mere platitudes. The other, more significant, reason, is that, as I have already said, Weöres's poetry uses a certain deliberate coarseness to breathe life into its characters; and it is this that establishes the unique originality and charm of the entire work. Without this only the triviality of the prose would remain for us—and for the film. All that would remain of Narcissus (Ungvárnémeti Tóth) would be the supremely pedantic and ambitious narcissism of the private individual (and his syphilis), and of Psyché (the invented Erzsébet Lónyai) only her hysterical nymphomania (and later cured malady). The interesting characters of the epoch would turn into eccentrics, and we could search in vain for the abortive or unrecognized genius in them. And with this struggle for the emancipation of woman —born of a recognized social problem— would be degraded to a pathological deformation.

*

For the sake of being truthful, I should point out that although my critical standpoint coincides with that of the majority of Hungarian critics, the film has in fact attracted an enthusiastic and fanatical camp of supporters, who see in it a kind of eternal picture of the relationship between man and woman, embedded in this historical parable of the last century and a half. I do not dispute that this view might have some validity. The relationship between man and woman—in a tempestuous satire or an atmosphere of irony at least—may also be viewed from the angle of a duel between narcissism and nymphomania. However, these two deformations, depicted in an idealistic way, not only characterize the film's heroes; a certain narcissism and self-centred nymphomania also make their mark on its whole style. At times this is truly exciting and

fascinating because, as I have said, Bódy is a talented man, despite the extraordinary rubbish he is occasionally led to produce in his youthful *Sturm und Drang*.

Thanks to the work of the set designer (Gábor Bachman) and its electronic effects specialist (Sándor Szalay), the film—let us not be unjust—is truly lovely and memorable at times, breath-taking even, particularly in its poetic depiction of eroticism. But it appears to lack some kind of expert responsible for the "planning of ideas." It is in this that Gábor Bódy, who in his previous film, *American Torso*, excelled in his artistic discipline and punctiliousness, now falls a victim to a sad lack of moderation. He has tried to create a Faust of love, but this Faust does not become Goethean or even Marlowesque; all that remains is a Faust created of the literary trash of the Middle Ages and placed in a twentieth-century melodrama. Or—to put it more modestly—Ungvárnémeti Tóth's Narcissus (created in a poem dating from the beginning of the last century) presented in a modern variety show. It is quite likely, of course, that the director was merely over-ambitious in what is only his second film; unfortunately film directors are not given the opportunity of improving and polishing their works throughout their lifetime.

As regards the acting, the choice of the Spanish actress, Patricia Adriani, for the role of Psyché—was tremendously fortuitous. Not even Weöres could have dreamed up a more suitably beautiful and womanly Psyché. Udo Kier—although in his instance I do not understand the absolute necessity of importing an actor—portrayed an evocatively obnoxious figure as Ungvárnémeti Tóth. One can raise no objections to his rendition (although it is unlikely that Weöres would be pleased to see him as his beloved poet). And one can only sing the praises of the other principal male actor, György Cserhalmi, in his role as Baron Zedlitz, subsequently Psyché's husband. But I shall probably never understand why it was necessary to dub Udo Kier's dialogue using György Cserhalmi's voice, whilst we hear György Cserhalmi speaking with the voice of another Hungarian actor, Dezső Garas. Of course, this too is a director's prerogative. But what reason could he have had for it?

One point emerges from the film very clearly: Gábor Bódy showed great promise before it, but now still does no more than that. Or perhaps he now promises to produce even greater things. With his indisputably visual imagination and his creative force he has renewed his credit card for the future, but this film has not helped him to pay off his debts.

*

If the wax on Gábor Bódy's Icarian wings melted as he soared into the skies, the failing of Márta Mészáros's new film, *The Heiress*, can be traced to much more trivial causes. Márta Mészáros is today the most played and the most highly acclaimed Hungarian film director in the West. She is seen there as Hungarian film art's resident genius. This peculiar status she enjoys is not understood and is much debated by the critics and public at home. Not because they do not recognize Márta Mészáros's merits, her "readability," her easy-going mode of presentation, or because they do not like those of her films (for example, *Adoption*, or *Nine Months*) in which she illustrates the problems of women's repression—rather more in keeping with the demands of Western than Hungarian feminism, and in this respect in accordance with our more backward and at the same time more advanced circumstances. But for us Márta Mészáros is a talented Hungarian film director; the ambivalence in our attitude to her is shown in our delight at the international success of a Hungarian artist but also in our feeling that her pre-eminence abroad is symptomatic of the inequitable position of Hungarian film art in international film distribution.

The leading Hungarian film magazine, *Filmvilág*, interviewed Márta Mészáros, asking her straight out whether her outstanding successes were not being won at the price of producing rather Barbara Cartland-ish works? Márta Mészáros took issue with this "thesis;" indeed, I also feel that the problem is more complex than this, although the question is not entirely absurd and unfounded. And particularly not in connection with her latest film, *The Heiress*—co-produced with Gaumont and enjoying great box-office success—which brought Hungarian critical opinion into concurrence with the judgement of our Western colleagues, or at least some of them. "The Hungarian director has again contrived a script similar to the passionate novels of Georges Ohnet, in which the absurd alternates with the ridiculous at every step; but without any desire on our part to offend her, we feel that the popularity she enjoys has, and will undoubtedly continue to ensure her, those prizes that are awarded by certain women's magazines... The whole thing is submerged in an Ohnet-like melodrama," a Swiss colleague writes in the pages of *La Suisse*. In her pursuit of international popularity, casting aside everything which until now had given her her originality—her films made in close proximity with reality—Márta Mészáros has paid the price of emerging from obscurity. In my opinion she has lost out with this change. Perhaps she has become a star; yet it is hard to forget the caustic observer of the women's world who was perhaps known and esteemed by fewer people. A dubbed version of *The Heiress* did the rounds in Canada. Everyone perceived Márta Mészáros's talent. "As far as her genius is concerned, however, that is a thing of the past," a Canadian reviewer remarked in the columns of *La Presse Montréal*. Although, I hope indeed that time will refute this statement, essentially he is right. And though different reviews expressed different opinions, the Hungarian press agreed with the two standpoints quoted above.

Márta Mészáros "borrowed" her basic idea—it is a wonder the French did not notice this—from one of Maupassant's famous short stories. A child is the condition for obtaining an inheritance, and, as the man is sterile, the woman allows herself to be seduced by a dandy, who in the end is cheated out of the material rewards of the "transaction." The film "feminized" and —we must admit—cheapened this harsh and credible story, which was wrought into a masterpiece by Maupassant. In the film the woman (played by Lili Monori, as in so many other Márta Mészáros films) is infertile, and with stubborn persistence she persuades her best girlfriend (Isabelle Huppert)—with whom her relations are marked by mild lesbianism—to bear "her child" by her husband. But here the "venture" jumps out of its planned framework. The man—a dashing army officer played by the Polish actor, Nowiczki—falls in love with his child's mother, who later gives birth to another child which she now keeps as her own. The war and the Fascist take-over put an end to this peculiar triangle, which exploits all the sentimental capital inherent in the yearning for a child, personal dignity, honour, and love. The "real" mother is a Jewess. Her one-time friend, the "mother" of her first child, is in a position to save her life. But to exact satisfaction for her self-evoked injury, she chooses revenge and denounces her rival. In the last scene we see the woman with a group being led away to be shot. With a yellow star on her breast she is taken to the Danube embankment, as the man—arrested and stripped of his rank for protecting a Jew—watches from a car.

Perhaps it is no accident then that it was not Maupassant, but Georges Ohnet who came to our Swiss colleague's mind. If I were asked the antecedence of Márta Mészáros's new film I could not mention Maupassant either, nor even Márta Mészáros's best films to date.

ERVIN GYERTYÁN

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BEREND, T. Iván (b. 1930). Professor of Economic History at Karl Marx University, Budapest. Specializes in Hungarian and East-European economic history, he has published many books on these subjects, some of them also in English. Main works include *Magyarország gazdasága az első világháború után* (The Hungarian Economy after the Great War), with György Ránki, 1966; *A tőkés gazdaság története Magyarországon 1848–1944* (The Capitalist Economy in Hungary, 1848–1944), with Miklós Szuhay, 1973; *A szocialista gazdaság története Magyarországon 1945–68* (A History of the Socialist Economy in Hungary, 1945–68), 1976; *Közép-Keleteurópa gazdasági fejlődése a 19–20. században* (Economic Development in East-Central Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries), 1976. See "The Present in Historical Perspective," *NHQ* 64.

BÍRÓ, Gerd (b. 1926). Economist, heads the press section of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, editor of the journal "Marketing in Hungary," author of a book on the Common Market. See "The Fourth Five-Year Plan and Hungarian Foreign Trade," *NHQ* 44, "Company Strategy and Joint Projects," 73, and "An Economic Policy for the Eighties," 75.

CSEH-SZOMBATHY, László (b. 1925). Sociologist, a graduate of the universities of Budapest, Basle and Geneva. 1957–74 worked for the Central Bureau of Statistics, at present Deputy Director of the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and chairman of the editorial board of the journal *Szociológia*. Has done research on suicide, alcoholism, the social implications of aging, changes in living standards, and the sociology of the family.

FERENCZI, László (b. 1937). Our regular poetry reviewer. See also his essays on Endre Ady, *NHQ* 66, on Gyula Illyés, 68, and on Ferenc Juhász, 74.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art critic, one of our regular art reviewers.

GYERTYÁN, Ervin (b. 1925). Our regular film critic.

GYÖRFFY, Miklós (b. 1942). Our regular reviewer of prose fiction.

KARDOS, István (b. 1921). Senior editor, producer and reporter for Hungarian Television since 1960. Has done TV interviews with 65 scientists and scholars, fifteen Nobel laureates among them, published in 3 volumes. A selection, *Scientists Face to Face*, Corvina Press, Budapest, 1978, has appeared in English translation. See his interviews with Eugene Wigner, *NHQ* 51, Albert Szent-Györgyi 57, József Újfalussy 73, and János Szentágothai 74.

KASER, Michael (b. 1926). Reader in Economics and Professorial Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford. A graduate of Cambridge University, he was a member of the British Foreign Service and the United Nations Secretariat before joining the staff of Oxford University in 1963. His books include *Comecon: Integration Problems of the Planned Economies* (2nd edn. 1965), *Soviet Economics* (1970), and *Health Care in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (1976). He is Deputy Treasurer of the International Economic Association. He is currently directing a collaborative project to compile the *Economic History of Eastern Europe since 1919* (in press, Oxford University Press), to which the authors of the book he reviews in this issue have contributed chapters.

LENDVAI, Ernő (b. 1925). Musicologist, a graduate of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Budapest, where he is now a professor. 1960–65 headed the Music Division of Hungarian Radio and Television. His books on Bartók, Kodály, Beethoven, Verdi, and Toscanini, appeared in German, French, Italian, Polish, and Japanese editions. He is married to the pianist Erzsébet Tusa who gave the posthumous first performance of Bartók's *Scherzo for Piano and Orchestra*. See "Duality and Synthesis in the Music of Béla Bartók," *NHQ* 7.

MAKKAI, László (b. 1914). Historian. Educated at the universities of Kolozsvár, Budapest and Basle. Appointed fellow of the Pál Teleki Institute in 1940 and of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1949 (Senior Fellow since 1961). Specializes in medieval economic and social history. Has published numerous articles, papers and books in Hungary and abroad.

MARJAI, József (b. 1923). Deputy premier since 1978. Joined the foreign ministry, was ambassador to Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. Became Deputy Foreign Minister in 1970, Secretary of State in 1973. He is permanent Hungarian representative in CMEA, and President of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

MASTERMAN, Neville C., (b. 1905). Historian, senior lecturer at the University of Wales at Swansea, now retired. Among his recent publications in *NHQ* see "Aspects of Hungarian Heritage," 54, "A New History of Hungary in English," 59, "Széchenyi in 1848, The Agonies of a Reformer," 60, and "Ady as Political Thinker," 72.

NAGY, Ildikó (b. 1944). Art historian, on the staff of Corvina Press. Her main field is 20th century Hungarian art. Published a book on András Kiss Nagy in 1975. See her article on same in *NHQ* 64, as well as "The Museum of Naive Art in Kecskemét," 66, a review of a book by János Frank, 65, "Hungarian Postimpressionism," 71, "László Mednyánszky—a Hungarian *peintre maudit*," 76, and "Contemporary Hungarian Art in Székesfehérvár and Florence," 77.

NYERS, Rezső (b. 1923). Economist, M.P., a former secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party. Was Minister of Food Production (1956–57), also Minister of Finance (1960–62). At present heads the Economics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Has written on the cooperative movement and the economic reform in Hungary. See "Social and Political Effects of the New Economic Mechanism," *NHQ* 34, "Hungary—the Economic Situation and Development," 47, and "Balancing Aims and Objectives," 51.

ORSZÁGH, László (b. 1907). Professor (ret.) of English at the University of Debrecen. A member of *NHQ*'s Editorial Board. Author of a book on Shakespeare, and a history of American literature, editor of the major Hungarian–English, English–Hungarian dictionary (1963). See "The Life and Death of English Words in the Hungarian Language," *NHQ* 31, "Ups and Downs in the Teaching of English," 48, "The Difficult Birth of 'U.S.A.' in Hungarian," 62, "English Literature in the Eyes of Hungarians," 64, "Xántus Revisited," 65.

PAKSY, Gábor (b. 1933). Architect and town planner, a graduate of the Budapest University of Technology. Has been head of a division in the Ministry of Building and Urban Development since 1974, supervising and directing regional and town planning and development as well as the environmental problems involved. Has

published studies and articles on those subjects.

PÁLFY, József (b. 1922). Journalist, editor of *Magyarország*, a Budapest weekly, president of the Hungarian Journalists' Association. 1956–61 on the staff of MTI, the Hungarian News Agency, in Budapest and in Paris.

SÁNDOR, György (b. 1912). Concert pianist. Studied at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music under Bartók and Kodály. In 1939 settled in the US where he has been living ever since, frequently touring. He gave the first performance of Bartók's *Third Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* in 1946.

SOMFAI, László (b. 1934). Musicologist. Heads the Bartók Archives of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Teaches history of music at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music. Publications include *Joseph Haydn: His Life in Contemporary Pictures* (1977) (in English), and *Joseph Haydn zongoraszonátái* ("Joseph Haydn's Piano Sonatas"), 1979. See "Haydn Autograph Scores Reconsidered," *NHQ* 77.

SÜKÖSD, Mihály (b. 1933). Writer, critic and journalist, on the staff of *Valóság*, a Budapest monthly. His short stories, reports, essays, and criticism have been appearing since 1955; translations include works of modern American fiction. Has also written for the stage. See "Twenty-Year-Olds," *NHQ* 7; "The Plough and the Pen," 12; "Girls up from the Country," 17. His story in this issue is based on his experiences as a member, in 1977, of the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa in Iowa City.

TARJÁN, Tamás (b. 1949). Critic, journalist, a lecturer in modern Hungarian literature at the University of Budapest. Author of a book of literary parodies, a study of the novelist Lajos Nagy, and a collection of essays on literature.

VADAS, József (b. 1946). Art critic. On the staff of Corvina Press. Writes regularly on art in various periodicals. See "Nature, Vision and Creation," *NHQ* 67, "Painting '77," 71, "István Farkas, Painter of Destiny," 74, and "Art Nouveau from the 1900 Paris World Exhibition," 77.

VÉGH, János (b. 1936). Art historian, heads the Department of Art History at the Academy of Applied Arts in Budapest. Works include: *Sixteenth Century German Paintings in Hungarian Museums* (1972), *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1977), both from Corvina Press, Budapest, and also in English. See "Renaissance North of the Alps," a review of a book by Rózsa Feuer Tóth, *NHQ* 73, and '*The Art of Master M. S.*' by Miklós Mojzer," 75.

ZÖLDI, László (b. 1945). Journalist and critic, on the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a Budapest literary weekly. Writes regular film reviews for *Népszabadság*, a Budapest daily. See his interview with Edgár Balogh, *NHQ* 58.

Articles appearing in this journal are indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS; AMERICA, HISTORY AND LIFF; ARTS & HUMANITIES CITATIONS INDEX

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

may be obtained from the following distributors:

AUSTRALIA: C. B. D. Library and Subscription Service Box 4886, G. P. O., Sydney, N. S. W. 2001
AUSTRIA: LIBRO–DISCO Ungarische Bücher und Schallplatten aus Wien, Domgasse 8. A—1010 Wien
BELGIUM: Du Monde Entier S. A. Rue du Midi 162, 1000-Bruxelles
BRASIL: Livraria D. Landy Ltda. Rua 7 de Abril, Caixa Postal 7943. 01000 Sao Paulo
CANADA: Pannonia Books. P. O. Box 1017. Postal Station "B", 164 Spadina Avenue, Toronto M5T 2T8
CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Madarská Kultura, Václavské Nám 2. Praha I.,
P. N. S.—dovoz tisku, Vinohradska 46, Praha II.,
P. N. S.—dovoz tlace, Leningradska 14, Bratislava
DENMARK: Munksgaard's Boghandel, Norregade 6. DK-1165 Kobenhavn K.
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY: Kubon und Sanger.
8000 München 34, Schliessfach 68, Kunst und Wissen,
7000 Stuttgart 1, Postfach 46, Wilhelmstr. 4.
W. E. Saarbach GmbH P.O.B. 101610. Follerstrasse 2, 5 Köln 1.
FINLAND: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 2, SF-00100 Helsinki 10.
FRANCE: Agence Littéraire et Artistique Parisienne, 23, rue Royale, Paris 8.
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Zeitungsvertriebsamt, 1004 Berlin, Strasse der Pariser Kommune 3–4.
GREAT BRITAIN: Central Books Ltd. 37, Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8PS
Collet's Holdings Ltd., Denington Estate, Wellingborough NN8 2QT
Wm. Dawson and Sons Ltd., Cannon House, 10/14 Macklin Street. London WC2B 5NG
INDIA: National Book Agency Privat Ltd. 12. Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.
ITALY: Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni, Via Lamarmora 45.
Casella Postale 552, 50121 Firenze
SO. CO. LIB. RI. Export-Import, Piazza Margana 33. 00186 Roma
JAPAN: Maruzen Co., Ltd., P.O.Box 5050, Tokyo International 100-31
Nauka Ltd., 2-30-19 Minami-Ikebukuro, Toshima-ku, Tokyo 171
NETHERLANDS: N. V. Martinus Nijhoff, Postfach 269. 9 Lange Voorhout, Den Haag
Swets & Zeitlinger, Keizersgracht 487. Amsterdam C.
NORWAY: A/S Narvesens Litteratur Tjeneste, P.O.Box 6140 Etterstad, Oslo
POLAND: B. K. W. Z. Ruch, Warszawa, ul. Wronia 23.
RUMANIA: DEP, Bucuresti
DEP, Arad
SOVIET UNION: Soyuzpechaty, Moscow, Prospect Mira 112-a,
Pochtamt-Import, Moscow
Pochtamt-Import, Leningrad
SWEDEN: AB Nordiska Bokhandeln, Altrömergatan 22, 101–10 Stockholm
SWITZERLAND: AZED AG. Dornacherstrasse 60/62. Basel 4002.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: Center of Hungarian Literature, 4418–16th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11204
FAM Book Service, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003
Hungarian Books and Records, 11802 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44120
Stechert-Hafner Inc., 31 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003
VENEZUELA: Luis Tarcsay, Caracas, Apartado 50.892
YUGOSLAVIA: Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27. Beograd
Prosveta Export-Import, P.O.B. 555. Terazije 16/1. 11001 Beograd

or

Kultura Hungarian Trading Company for Books and Newspapers,

H–1389 Budapest P.O.B. 149.