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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

This issue went to press on 19 November 1981

EXAMINING THE PAST, POINTING TO THE FUTURE

These prefaces, more precisely preliminary chats, could optimistically be described as mouthwatering *apéritifs*, or less so, as compilations that will save reading, or looking through, the whole issue. Naturally they are written at the last moment, long after the rest of the paper has been put to bed. We look through the table of contents, read the galleys once again, and try to reassure each other. The paper turned out all right after all. That is how things are, I am sure, all over the world, where a small team gets out a paper, where it is produced through the interchange of opinion, the fruit of genuine team-work, of collective effort, one might say, to use an oft-mouthed word that has been somewhat devalued over the years.

Much the same was said now, I said it to my colleagues when this *NHQ* 85 was got ready for the press, *coram publico*, however, I have to admit that I am not entirely happy. God forbid that I declare this issue of lower standard than those which preceded it but I feel a certain sense of frustration not because of what the paper contains but because of those articles which had to be left out since they were not ready in time. In October and November 1981 Hungary concentrated the minds of the international public. I do not have to tell anyone why, there could not have been many dailies or broadcasting stations—sight or sound—which did not in one way or another revive the tragic scenes of October 1956, as well as drawing up a balance sheet of twenty five years' progress. For twenty-three of the past twenty-five years this paper has called the stations of progress, not forgetting the bottle-necks and hold-ups; we therefore felt that a balance sheet did not fall within our competence.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the events of October 1956 the Hungarian Academy of Sciences arranged a three day conference of historians with the principal aim of charting the course of new socialist and democratic development on which the country embarked in the Winter of

1956/57 and the Spring of 1957. The keynote address was given by Zsigmond Pál Pach, a Vice President of the Academy. It will appear in *NHQ* 86. Of the others Rezső Nyers's "The Interaction of Political and Economic Development in Hungary" is published in this issue. There is much more to it than the understatement of the heading implies. His starting point is that the far-reaching political changes of 1956/57 can only be understood at depth if two other years of change are borne in mind, 1945, the year of the start of current social development, and 1948 when socialist construction began following the age of coalitions. Nyers subtly points out that things changed in 1949 although, in his own words, progress had been initiated in a year earlier on the basis of a real popular consensus. Within a year, however, the Rákosi leadership had shaken off all political control. As Nyers points out there was really no need whatever for socialist construction to be associated with the complete elimination of political democracy.

What is novel about Rezső Nyers's train of thought is the argument that, after 1956, the leadership of the country went back to 1948 as a firm basis for the Communist policy of alliances. The 1968 economic reform then logically led on to the institutional system of contemporary Hungary which bears the seeds of further development within it. The article then discusses what character this further development should bear. The new requirements that arise in the course of democratic growth are the subject of János Széky's press survey which covers a debate in innovation and progress, and a special issue on democracy published by the monthly *Világosság*.

Politicians, scholars and journalists coming to Hungary for the anniversary showed particular interest in recent regulations and measures which provide an institutional framework for new types of small businesses, both private and cooperative, thus adding a new feature to what is described as specifically Hungarian. A paper discussing the subject in detail, including firms which have already been established, was also not ready in time. Readers will, I hope, all the more eagerly look forward to the next issue.

The third subject which heightened interest in Hungary towards the end of 1981 was the EADI conference, and Willy Brandt's presence in Budapest, the addresses he gave and the talks he took part in. It is not up to us to print the text of Willy Brandt's lectures, publishing the keynote address is, however, very much our business, particularly since Professor József Bognár is not only a member of the Editorial Board of this journal but also a frequent contributor. The address is in my hands as I dictate these lines, it is in English what is more, so it would not even have to be translated but it nevertheless arrived too late for inclusion in this issue.

It is already a well-established convention that our Spring issue should open with the yearly address given to the UN General Assembly by the Foreign Minister of Hungary. Readers abroad are sure to be interested in a contribution of documentary value, expressing as it does the ongoing objectives and methods of Hungarian foreign policy. The heading is, of course, our own, as is the practice in most journals, not to mention that addresses to the UN General Assembly do not customarily bear one. "The perils of the arms race and the countervailing power of détente" seemed to cut to the essence. The importance of this countervailing power for Hungary also finds expression in the fact that détente is not here considered a mere dictionary or thesaurus entry which can be eliminated from speech if certain parties consider it superfluous. Hungary also stresses the importance of détente, as well as feeding its continuity, by going on to show great interest in the unhindered progress of international economic cooperation. Frigyes Puja felt at the UN General Assembly as well that it was important to stress that urging the further extension of East-West economic contacts means making a contribution to the solution of the problems of the world economy.

The considerable progress made by Hungarian agriculture and the transformation of the rural population and of villages, surprised many of the journalists, broadcasters and other observers who had come to Hungary recently and arrested the attention, as well as eliciting the admiration of all. István Lázár's article not only discusses why food queues have been a thing of the past in Hungary for twenty-five years now, why there is plenty on markets, and ample quantities are available for export as well, but also the new problems, some of which are side-effects of the achievements. He points out that it is precisely the prosperity of agriculture and the satisfaction of basic needs which produces new requirements, some related to the labour force and working hours, and others concerning the application of new technologies. I am flattered to hope that some readers remember what I have repeatedly referred to in these pages, that, in the thirties, approaching the end of the first bloom of youth, I was a member of a movement both literary and political, which rediscovered rural Hungary for metropolitan Hungary by combining sociological surveys with literary modes of expression. We called ourselves sociographers. What we did, in other words, was to bring to the notice of 20th century man property relations and living conditions that had got stuck in the mud early in the 19th century. I mention this because at the time, say in 1936, in our most daring youthful dreams, or even more daring coffeehouse talks following one of our rural rides, we would not, and could not, have imagined that the

Hungarian peasantry would, in our own lifetime, rise to the high levels which it has reached and that—as István Lázár bears witness—we would not rest satisfied or become complacent.

Let me this time mention just a single interview from what we like to call the soft underbelly of the paper, which many find easier to read, though not, we hope of lesser weight. Lóránt Kabdebó, a critic, has for some time now, at greater or smaller intervals, published (and broadcast) a series of interviews under the general title: The War is Over. Men of letters, and women, sixty and over discuss how they spent the closing days of the War, and how they started a new life. We are publishing his conversation with Miklós Hubay. Hubay, recently elected President of the Hungarian Writer's Union, a playwright often performed abroad, who spent those crucial times at Geneva. Reading the text I could not help thinking that the difficulties of making Hungarian literature, and Hungarian intellectual life generally, have hardly changed in the past thirty-five years. I felt almost as if I were working on a preface like this for the (late) *Hungarian Quarterly*.

THE EDITOR

THE PERILS OF THE ARMS RACE AND THE COUNTERVAILING POWER OF DÉTENTE

by

FRIGYES PUJA

Every session of the United Nations General Assembly is a major event in international affairs. This is particularly true now when the process of détente has suffered set-backs and elements of tension in international relations are more frequent. The intensification of negative processes in recent years threatens to confront mankind with the grave consequences of a cold-war policy that it had once suffered and which had caused so much damage.

The main cause of unfavourable developments in the international situation lies in attempts to push the world back into the impasse of the policy of force by poisoning the international atmosphere as well as starting a new surge in the arms race in pursuit of military superiority. I am well aware that other factors are often mentioned as being at the root of international tension, but these are mere pretexts designed to conceal the true intentions of extremist imperialist circles.

Their policy is aimed at demolishing the achievements of détente. Systematic efforts are being made to undermine relations between the socialist and the developed capitalist countries. In front of our very eyes, military and economic power are more extensively used against countries pursuing progressive policies and against liberation movements. Efforts are being made to provoke confrontation, to exacerbate the situation, and to create new hotbeds of crisis. Cold-war propaganda campaigns have gained further momentum.

It is no exaggeration to say that all these ingredients combine to create a serious danger to peace and international security, to cooperation among states and nations which statesmen with a proper sense of responsibility

Text of an address given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 2, 1981, to the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly.

for the fate of mankind have made untiring efforts to bring about and strengthen for decades. It is in the common interest of nations to stop processes that threaten international peace and security.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic condemns attacks on détente, condemns the arms drive, as well as irresponsible attempts to poison the international climate and revive the cold war. The prime goal of Hungarian foreign policy remains promoting efforts to avert the danger of war, as well as strengthening peace and international security, the cause of disarmament and the deepening of friendship and cooperation among nations.

In the present situation we believe it to be particularly important to maintain and reinforce the threads which, in the spirit of peaceful co-existence, have been spun between countries with different social systems over the last few years. Inasmuch as possible, international cooperation should continue to be developed, efforts to solve outstanding problems should be redoubled, and any designs to impede or restrain such efforts should be resisted.

The Hungarian People's Republic is a staunch advocate of disarmament and of arms limitation. My government has actively participated in different international disarmament forums, taking the initiative where necessary while endeavouring to further the solution of such issues at bilateral talks as well.

In the present-day international situation it is in the interest of all the nations, and the duty of all, to call a halt to an arms race, which is placing increasingly heavy burdens on mankind. At disarmament talks so far many valuable and constructive proposals have been made which have already borne fruit in terms of concrete agreements. It is important that the results of past efforts should not be lost, but be drawn upon to achieve practical accords that would lead to a reduction of military confrontation. Renewed and mutual initiatives are needed to make it possible for further serious steps to be taken along the road to disarmament. Hungary therefore welcomes and supports the Soviet disarmament proposals, including the most recent new agenda item concerning a treaty on the prohibition of stationing, in outer space, weapons of any description. These proposals are based on a sober weighing up of chances, they take into account the facts and reflect an earnest desire for peace. For that very reason they coincide with the interests and aspirations of the Hungarian people.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the cause of nuclear disarmament. Bearing in mind the crucial nature of security for all mankind Hungary attaches great significance

to the continuation of talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

The failure to ratify the SALT-II Agreement, the slowing down or discontinuance of disarmament negotiations by the American side, and the implementation of the NATO decision to deploy, in certain Western European countries, American nuclear missiles which may be medium range but which have a strategic function, a decision which poses a direct threat to the security of Hungary as well, serve to increase international tension and upset the existing balance of power, as well as further escalating the arms race.

Not long ago the world was shocked to learn of the latest American decision to start manufacturing the neutron bomb. The presence of that particularly inhumane weapon of mass destruction in the military arsenal is a consequence of the fallacious doctrine that preaches the possibility of a limited nuclear war and brings ever closer the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. It starts off a new stage in nuclear armament and further reduces the chances of success of disarmament talks. There is every reason therefore to demand the outlawing of the neutron bomb.

Hungary warmly welcomes the draft declaration submitted to the General Assembly by the Soviet Union that the first use of nuclear weapons be declared a crime against mankind. It is only right that the General Assembly should adopt such a declaration aimed at preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

The Hungarian government wishes to assure the Assembly of its total support for the various proposals for the creation of nuclear-free zones. We support the idea of nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. Let me go even further and express the hope that other regions of Europe too will become such zones.

My government is convinced of the necessity of renewed efforts to prohibit new types of weapons of mass destruction, including chemical weapons, and to limit conventional weapons. It is our earnest hope that at the current session, and with the consent of all interested parties, resolutions will be passed that will help to move disarmament talks out of the present state of deadlock. It is our conviction that, given the necessary political will, progress in that direction is possible.

Hungary regrets that no positive response has been received to any of the disarmament proposals that the socialist countries have formulated bearing in mind mutual interests, and yet the arms race escalates. A grave historical responsibility is assumed by those who pay no heed to the proposals of the socialist countries.

An important task for the Assembly at the present session is the pre-

paration of the second special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament scheduled for 1982. It is to be hoped that efforts to intensify disarmament talks will be encouraged by that session and even by its preparatory phase. In the Hungarian view the second special session on disarmament should concentrate on concrete measures designed to restrain the arms race and effectively to promote the cause of disarmament, avoiding the discussion of problems of secondary significance.

The Hungarian People's Republic continues to pay particular attention to the promotion of détente. Détente is not a mere notion that can be expunged from dictionaries if one does not like it. It is a living process that expresses the will of the nations. The Hungarian position is that détente should continue to play a decisive role in maintaining peace and strengthening security, consolidating peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems and expanding mutually beneficial cooperation.

As regards the cause of security and cooperation in Europe, the Hungarian government has consistently striven to develop international cooperation in the spirit of the Final Act of Helsinki. Hungarian diplomatists are taking an active part in the Madrid meeting of representatives of signatory states to the Final Act and are tirelessly persevering in efforts to contain tendencies towards confrontation and to maintain a businesslike spirit in all deliberations. Together with a number of other countries, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty are working towards a constructive dialogue and mutually acceptable agreements on the basis of the Helsinki principles.

Hungary sincerely hopes that the Madrid meeting will conclude its work by adopting a meaningful and balanced final document imbued with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of the nations of the world. We believe it to be of extreme importance that a decision be taken to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe as that would make it possible to seek a rational compromise as regards confidence-building measures and certain disarmament issues.

One of the major reasons for the present state of international tension is that in recent years there has been no substantial progress towards dealing with crisis points in different parts of the world. The most recent international events have placed renewed emphasis on the need to eliminate local conflicts, and to prevent the emergence of new ones.

In recent years tension and the danger of armed conflict in the Middle East have become a permanent feature. Armed Israeli aggression against Lebanon, threats of war against Syria, the piratical attack on Iraq, and

provocations in the air against Libya are all evidence that the government of Israel, and the imperialist forces that line up behind it, wish to keep the Middle East crisis alive. It would appear that they want to exploit the troubled situation there to establish American military bases. All this makes it even more evident that the Camp David separate deal is totally unsuitable for the settlement of existing problems.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic stands for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis and for the creation of a lasting peace. It feels solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples and considers that complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories, respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish an independent state of Palestine, and international guarantees for the security and independence of all the states of the region are absolutely indispensable. This is in keeping with the interests of the states and nations of that area as well as of international peace and security. My government holds the view that the present session of the General Assembly should contribute towards convening an international conference capable of settling the acute crisis in the Middle East with the participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Imperialist circles have created a dangerous situation in the area of the Persian Gulf and, in a wider sense, throughout the entire Indian Ocean basin. In that region, which holds a considerable part of the world's oil resources, peace, security, and stability are of particular importance. What is needed is not a show of military force, but agreements that guarantee peace and security. Hungary regrets that the leading Western Powers reject the concrete proposals of the Soviet Union concerning a settlement and that they impede the implementation of the United Nations declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

The improvement of the international situation as a whole and the normal development of inter-state relations and cooperation is hampered by collaboration between imperialist circles, strivers for hegemony in Peking and others in artificially keeping Afghanistan and Kampuchea on the agenda. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the termination of outside interference in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan is an indepensable prerequisite to the elimination of the dangerous situation centred on that country. Hungary supports the August 24, 1981 Afghan government proposals for a settlement as providing a good basis for a political solution. Any planned settlement that seeks a decision on Afghanistan without the participation of the legitimate government of that

country and refuses to recognize the sovereign and inalienable right of the Afghan nation to settle its own affairs is unrealistic and unacceptable.

The policy of China, guided as it is by designs for hegemony, has given rise to serious complications in Indochina and South-East Asia. The position of the Hungarian Government is one of total solidarity with the countries of Indochina, it supports their constructive proposals to restore tranquillity in the region and to transform South-East Asia into a zone of peace and stability and multilateral cooperation among states. It is desirable that the conversation which is under way among the countries of South-East Asia, on the basis of peaceful political initiatives by the three countries of Indochina, should produce results. Hungary is convinced that recognition of the facts of political life is the only sound path to follow in securing peace and stability in the area.

It is a source of great satisfaction that the efforts of the Kampuchean people, which has suffered so much, have produced significant results in the reconstruction and consolidation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Keeping what some like to call the Kampuchean question on the agenda of various international bodies only serves imperialist and reactionary interests. The prestige of this world organization is not enhanced by the fact that the rightful place of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is still occupied by the Pol Pot clique, which represents nobody.

I ought to mention the long-outstanding question of Korea among factors that handicap improvement in the international situation. My government is unswerving in its solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and supports its efforts to bring about the peaceful reunification of that country.

My government shares the justified concern already voiced by several speakers over the mounting economic, political and military pressures being exerted by imperialists and international reactionaries on the developing countries and the national liberation movements. I should like to make it clear on this platform that my government supports the struggle for social progress, national independence and self-determination of the nations and the fight against colonial oppression and neo-colonialist intentions. The Hungarian position concerning the situation in southern Africa, the policy of *apartheid,* the Western Sahara, and revolutionary processes in Latin America is imbued by that same spirit.

Hungary is of the opinion that member states of the United Nations should take much more effective measures than they have done so far with a view to the final elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, allowing all the peoples to exercise their right to self-determination. A most urgent

task is to ensure Namibia's accession to independence. My government supports the Namibian people in its struggle for independence waged under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), its sole legitimate representative, against the South African occupiers. My government maintains that the United Nations should put its earlier resolutions into effect by immediately ending the illegal occupation of Namibia and ensuring genuine independence to the territory.

Hungary condemns the acts of aggression by the government of South Africa against neighbouring countries. Those acts pose a threat to international peace and security. It is particularly outrageous that the army of the racist regime has penetrated deep into Angolan territory, thus trampling underfoot international law and the principle of national sovereignty. This world organization is duty-bound to adopt and apply sanctions against the aggressor.

Much disquieting news is coming in from Central America. In Salvador the military junta with American assistance is out to crush the struggle of the patriots who represent the interests of the people. Imperialist pressures are mounting on democratic Nicaragua also. Cuba has become the target of daily propaganda attacks by the United States. We believe that the right of self-determination of the nations applies to the American continent as well and no one is entitled to intervene in the domestic affairs of other countries or to determine the course of their development.

The Hungarian People's Republic continues to be extraordinarily interested in the unhindered development of international economic cooperation. My government seeks to promote the development of international economic relations, to remove obstacles to cooperation, to eliminate unequal relations, and to establish a just and democratic international economic order. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic supports and encourages the just economic demands of developing countries. The Hungarian People's Republic looks on developing countries as important trading partners entitled to equal rights in every respect. We are ready to participate in the vigorous development of economic, commercial, scientific, and technological cooperation with them on a mutually advantageous and long-term basis. At the same time, I believe it is important to stress that Hungary also aims for the universal solutions of world economic problems, including the elimination of those factors which hinder the development of East-West economic relations.

I have here attempted to present the views of my government on certain questions relating to the current international situation and to indicate priorities in Hungarian foreign policy. Of course, present world political

processes give little ground for optimism. However, hopes are based on the conviction that the forces which are interested in maintaining peace and cooperation among states will ultimately prevail over efforts at confrontation. It is our belief that the prevailing tension will be temporary in character and that the community of nations will find itself able to return to fruitful relations and international cooperation for the benefit of all. To that end, my country, Hungary, is willing to combine efforts with those other countries which pursue realistic policies.

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

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THE INTERACTION OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN HUNGARY

by

REZSŐ NYERS

Surveying the stages that changed the fortunes of Hungarian society progressing along the socialist road in turn some telling dates spring to mind: 1945, then 1948, and finally 1956–57 mark general political changes of great consequence. The process of change that began in the summer of 1953 might have assumed similar significance had it not bogged down, the country not having done its political home work, not to mention the internal divisions of the Hungarian Working People's Party. As a result the nation was only able to show that it had learnt its lesson after 1957.

How do these stages link up? In my view 1945, for a number of reasons, can be said to be the starting-point of developments which led to contemporary Hungarian society. That was the break with past continuities, and that was when the democratic revolution opened a new path to the future. The nation has undoubtedly left behind most of the political problems of the post-liberation years, but the link between the situation then and the present is continuous on essential questions: the character and institutions of the people's power, the political role of the working class, cultural policy, and working conditions. But during the period of 1945–48, the character of the future Hungarians were to choose for themselves still appeared as a choice of alternatives in politics, midst growing excitement and increasingly acute clashes. Will it be merely political democracy within the framework of a bourgeois society, or the building of socialism under the aegis of a more complete democracy? When it comes to the decision on this question, 1945 cannot be regarded as the starting-point.

In 1948, the year of change, the Hungarian working class and its allies —the majority at the time in the political sense of the term—chose the building of socialism, and the greater part of the people, hoping for a better life, accepted and supported this endeavour. This is why 1948 can be said to be the starting-point of the building of socialism.

Therefore, 1948 is a shining year in the rise of the Hungarian people, making history as it did based on a popular consensus with a character all of its own. The programmatic declaration of the Hungarian Working People's Party was truly forward looking, the legislation passed in the year of change was progressive and stood the test of time, the nationalization of manufacturing industry asserted the public interest, the prestige of the united party of workers was extremely high, yet that party was not in a monopoly position, since the control mechanism of political democracy was still operative. The later distortions were certainly present in the bud in the political thinking of the leadership, yet political public life as a whole guaranteed a favourable start for the building of socialism.

Errors and distortions

By 1949, however, the situation had changed. The leadership of the HWPP had liberated itself of all political control by then, and carried out a new, hidden change in the party line as well as in economic policy. From then on, political leadership displayed arbitrariness in determining aims, it no longer cultivated social concord, it simply demanded it. The road led straight from there to the crisis of 1953–56. It was obvious that the political elbow-room of the opponents of the socialist line had to be restricted during the period of the implementation of revolutionary changes, since the uncertainties and difficulties that accompanied the revolutionary transition offered one-sided advantages to the opposition, to the enemies of socialism concentrating on the given period of time. But it was by no means necessary to make the complete elimination of political democracy the bedfellow of the building of socialism, and that is what happened, for the operation of even the parties of the People's Front became impossible. Perhaps an even more serious mistake was that no attempt was made to give more emphasis to the operation of the socialist system of democratic federations in order to balance the absence of party politics. The trades union lived a shadow-life, and the People's Front was allotted a role that was less than formal. The result of all of that was that the nation started on the construction of socialism using political methods and a mechanism which did not serve, but hindered the great and noble aim, for the leadership of the country was not subjected to control or criticism, nothing could save it from errors and, indeed, certain crimes.

Hindsight allows us to make a fine yet substantial distinction between 1948, the year of change, and the serious distortions that occurred from

1949 onwards. These grave errors and distortions commenced in 1949 in law enforcement as well as in economic policy and other areas. This distinction assumed particular importance during the 1956 crisis, when the question was how far to withdraw after having sailed a wrong course? Imre Nagy and those close to him were pressed to choose 1945 as a starting situation by the leaders of the former coalition parties who had been eliminated as well as by counter-revolutionary forces. The revolutionary wing led by János Kádár in essence chose 1948 as the starting-point, that is they returned to the programmatic declaration of the HWPP as a conceptual basis. Considering matters from the position of socialism, it can hardly be doubted that the latter was the sound position, the only one that was correct and feasible.

The 1956 crisis

What does the description of the tragic events of the end of 1956 as a counter-revolution mean? In its December 1956 resolution, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party took careful stock of the factors that triggered off the crisis and the political ambitions that manifested themselves in the course of the crisis, and finally traced back the events to the combined effect of four major causes. Looking back with hindsight and as free from bias as humanly possible, the presentation of the four causes side by side cannot be interpreted as a simple compromise, but rather as a realistic assessment of complicated interconnections. The position taken up on the day pointed emphatically to the outside imperialist and local Horthyite-reactionary forces, which wished to push the nation off the course of socialism, yet it did not declare such hostile manipulations to be the sole cause. Well aware of the impossibility of accounting for widespread popular disaffection merely by hostile manipulations—as dogmatic Communists did—the Party looked for the real basis, and found it in the grave errors of the politics hallmarked by the names of Rákosi and Gerő. In addition the responsibility of the inter-party opposition for the events was stressed for, even though that opposition rightly opposed the deep-rooted sectarian-dogmatic policy, it chose the wrong means, political manipulation, to fight against dogmatism. It underestimated efforts by those hostile to socialism and, in the course of events, became increasingly dependent on these hostile forces.

When all is said and done, the reason why the 1956 events became counter-revolutionary was that positive efforts directed at a renewal of

socialism were relegated to the background, and a tendency to restore conditions antedating socialism gained gradual ascendence. The vast job of renewing Hungarian socialism awaited the HSWP after the counter-revolution had been overcome.

Many writers on politics have pointed out that correct trends accompanied grave errors in the economic policy of the 1949–1956 period, and that the latter increasingly clashed with the former. Potentiated accumulation and the acceleration of industrialization were really necessary and correct, but their exaggeration did more harm than good, for the conditions of life of the masses deteriorated and as a result difficult-to-restore imbalances were caused in the economy. Even though eventually industrialization became a great achievement that benefited the nation, it still has to be admitted that, had it continued at the same exaggerated and erroneous rate after 1956, it almost certainly would have led to the downfall of socialism in Hungary.

The renewal

After 1956, the great dilemma of the Hungarian communist movement was to correctly delineate which of the earlier policies should be continued, and what changes should be carried out in the political line. Where should continuity prevail, and where should a renewal be initiated? It was obvious that socialist objectives and principles had to be maintained while erroneous interpretation as well as wrong practice had to be eliminated. Taking the dilemma by the horns a political renewal was carried out as part of which not only the name of the party was changed, but the essence of policy was also changed, not all at once, but as a gradual process. The policy was, and still is, able to keep up with the long-term requirements of the country in the long run, though there have been uncertainties and hesitations from time to time.

The nation has maintained continuity of fundamental socialist aims since 1956, and has approached them steadily, while outlining the picture of a better and clearer socialist future for itself. The nation rid itself of the illusion that this socialist society could become a single, homogeneous community, that a more just, direct exchange of products might largely do away with commodity or money relations, that scientific control of society could increasingly replace politics. Thus the renewal was a step towards realism.

The nation did and does maintain the leading role of the HSWP in order to assert the leading role of the working class; without it the national

interest and its realization would turn into a political will of the wisp. Yet, the interests of the working class are not interpreted narrowly, not as something that by definition and completely expresses the common interest, but neither as something that might deviate from the interest of other people who work in decisive questions. The working-class interest is regarded as being in the focus of an extended policy of alliances which is defined correctly if it is linked with the interests of other sections of the working people. This link is the great and exciting issue of the country's current domestic policy, and the object of the nation's dilemmas from time to time.

The nation maintains and strengthens the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, based on a shared interest concerning social engineering and foreign policy. If this alliance is made good use of it can be a real source of strength for socialism as well as for the more direct national interests. We have learned from the fifties, however, that this alliance can also be misused. Hungary no longer interprets the idea of the drawing closer of the socialist countries as meaning that economic and political models should be imported from the Soviet Union or other socialist countries. The principled implementation of community policy is now regarded as compatible with the independent determination of the politico-economic strategy and tactics of the nation. The sound determination of this is another important and exciting issue of Hungarian politics. The results of common efforts would manifest themselves more clearly to Hungarian public opinion, were there greater familiarity and understanding of the problem.

The economic reform

The renewal of economic policy had proceeded in several phases, extended in time, owing partly to the nature of the economy, partly to political reasons. A fundamental renewal has taken place in Hungarian agricultural policy since 1957. This proved all-important, since it led not only to the victory of socialist production relations but also to a long-term boom in production. A process continued successfully to this day was started. As regards investments and industrialization, the earlier exaggerations and distortions were eliminated after 1957, and the improvement of the living conditions of the masses became one of the major targets. The decisive move as regards economic efficiency and interestedness and democracy on the job was the 1968 economic reform. In my view economic policy became

really attuned to the political renewal of 1957 thanks to this reform. The renewal of the economic policy of Hungary has advanced further since 1979–80, the political import of this is partly the more complete realization of the tasks set in 1968, and partly a better adaptation to the new world economic situation.

The dominance of economic issues in politics, mainly in respect of their social effects and inter-relations, but frequently also as regards economic issues in the narrow sense, is characteristic nowadays all over the world. The favourable shaping of economic matters results in political successes, the reverse in political difficulties, in more serious instances outright failures. But not only politics depend on the economy, the reverse is also beyond doubt; numerous—even if not all—conditions of the operation of the economy are functions of political decisions, and if the latter are reasonable, they advance, and do not check economic progress. Mutual interdependence is therefore close, politics-free eeconomics do not exist, nor do politics free of economic aspects. But the two spheres nevertheless are delimited from one another both in capitalist and in socialist conditions, their relative independence survives.

In broad outline, the situation is that the state takes up a position outside the economy in capitalist societies, and exerts influence from there, while under socialism, the state is within the economy—true, only with some of its activities—and acts there as the central planner and owner. Yet politics manifest themselves not only within the framework of the bilateral state-enterprise relations, but simultaneously also in the peculiar triangular relationship system of state-enterprise-social organizations. The function of politics is in essence to relay or assert some general social interest addressed to or within the economic sphere. The question is, in fact, what the interest of society is at a given point of time, how far can that be outlined politically, and how can it be asserted.

Experience at home warns that political activity should be concentrated on problems of national scope and importance, that the activities of economic bodies should be regulated, stimulated, and controlled in the interest of such national issues—except for enterprises, since they cannot be centrally managed by way of political decisions or obligatory plans. When all is said and done it is more effective to acknowledge the relative independence of the economy using indirect means, since these can really exert political influence on the totality of enterprises in the social interest, particularly in respect of quality factors, efficiency, production structure, innovations, and market adaptability. In this context, the national plan is more than a forecast, but less than an order, since it requires independent

assessment of the situation, and independent action on the part of economic bodies. This way of looking at things relies on people, generally on the human factor, far better than the over-centralized model, and this is precisely what makes it socially reasonable.

The new norms of the system of institutions

The concerted economic interest in the critical problems of the general economic development can be clearly expressed on the political plane, but this needs a political mechanism which is closely related to the economy, which helps to explore and adjust real interests, which assists the intellectual maturation and proper manifestation of alternative possibilities. The development of a socialist political mechanism of this kind is made difficult by the fact that the political institutional system had, for a long time, been developed governed by a different concept. This hampers but cannot prevent further progress along the course chosen. One could enumerate at length the difficulties, shortcomings, occasional absurdities of Hungarian economic practice that also arise as political questions, or—calling a spade a spade—are subject to politicking. These are specific problems of various occupations, more or less of various fields, differing in this or that. When the complaints and the recommendations concerning them are passed on ever upwards in the mechanism of politics believing that they could be solved this way, their solution is not promoted, but hindered. The central or district political leadership can do no more in most of such cases than turn back the upward-driven stream of the problems in the direction of the scene of the trouble, accompanied perhaps by some thunder and lightning. Real corrections can only be carried out where the fault originated, therefore political control can also be really effective only in the vicinity of operations. I believe that not only the economic mechanism, but also this sorting out ability of the political mechanisms should be improved for two reasons: firstly in order to solve a larger proportion of the concrete problems, and secondly to ensure that political efforts should be concentrated on general subjects of great importance which, from the point of the whole of the nation, are key issues concerning a secure future.

I should like to refer to three lines of action of outstanding importance, which are such key issues from the aspect of the political present as well as the future of Hungary:

— balanced and developing external economic relations, since either devel-

opment or balance characterized recent years, the two together have not occurred yet;

— increasing economic efficiency faster, in order to obtain substantially more surplus value given the social capital, labour, and material input, thus improving the inner balance of the economy;

— increasing the intensity and effectiveness of the personal and community cooperation to ensure smoother operation of the horizontal and vertical social division of labour, thus achieving better economic results and improved political general conditions.

The reason why I call these action directions is that they do not express direct, strictly delineated tasks that can be carried out (not even on a local scale), but the thinking through and rethinking, planning and organization, and correction of many-many things to be done. Furthermore, there are action lines not only for the economy, but also for the whole of society, since success can only be realized and sweated out with the concerted labour of society, and the economic sphere by itself could not do that.

External economic relations

External economic cooperation as a general political problem, and not as a specialized issue concerning trade, must be increasingly and permanently focused upon by the whole of Hungarian society. The professional aspects must be left to economists (and they have to be trusted) since interfering with them from the outside, though not dangerous, is risky. But there is a point, where the subject becomes of public concern, and since it is impossible to define precisely where that point lies, one could say that sometimes it has to be discovered with the help of the art of politics.

Should Hungary develop her external economic relations slowly, the whole of Hungarian development would also be slow by necessity, consequently living conditions could hardly be improved, or not at all. Hungary has been in such a situation for the third year running now, and though it is hardly possible to spectacularly and quickly break out of this grip, it is possible to overcome it with a well-considered strategy, and stubborn effort, in spite of the fact that a substantial improvement of external conditions cannot as yet be forseen.

A long-term feature of the Hungarian national economy is parallel cooperation with the two spheres of the world economy, socialist as well as capitalist world markets, that is if Hungary wants to progress, she has to produce better results in both. This is already beyond debate. CMEA

will continue to be of prime importance, but not in the sense that Hungarian competitiveness on the socialist as well as on the capitalist markets has to be improved above all by reliance on CMEA.

The fundamental change in the economic circumstances of socialist countries has a profound effect on socialist economic cooperation. One of the noteworthy symptoms of the new situation is that the other socialist countries are only slowly switching to the intensive—i.e. efficiency-driven—development of their economies. Another fact, of great importance to Hungary, is that the motor of socialist cooperation, the Soviet economy, was thrown into lower gear, aiming at external cooperation of a different structure, and this all has a less stimulating effect on the development of the smaller economies. It is likely that this also signals a lasting change, to which Hungary must adjust in the appropriate way. These facts give rise to the stepped up development of the—unfortunately not sufficiently intensive—relations between the smaller socialist countries, and the vigorous improvement of competitivity in cooperation with the non-socialist world.

Democracy on the job

Hungarians accept the stress of economic policy on economic efficiency with understanding, following it mostly with sympathy, and in a number of instances actively supporting it. Nevertheless, keeping an eye on the broader spheres of public life, one may also get the impression that a simplified image of the things to be done may be dominant in political public opinion, such as: "Everybody should work better, and in a more disciplined way," "Let us produce more and better for export," "Useful innovations should not be rejected, but introduced," "He who works better should be paid more, the laggards less," "Carelessness should be punished more severely," etc. Every one of these point to correct directions to be followed, but the gist of the matter is the "how," and implementation stands or falls on that. It is precisely this "how" that creates tensions, that often upsets the accustomed rhythm of everyday life, which tests the understanding and the will of people concerning cooperation. It is not rare that the positive main effect of a decision—for instance a production structure that adjusts better to demand—is accompanied, even if only temporarily, by negative side-effects, perhaps by a certain transfer of labour. Can things be done, or should difficulties caused by side-effects mean retreat? Those who recommend the elimination of the side-effects are the same who—as Count István Széchenyi said—hide behind the cloak of doing

nothing. The whole of Hungarian public life has to seriously face the problem of efficiency, not only as an economic, but also as a political issue, just as István Széchenyi and his reformist contemporaries faced the economic problems of their own age.

From the point of the stepping up, and quality value of economic achievement, Hungary can in no way abandon the further improvement of the division of tasks between the state and enterprise spheres. The economic management activity of the state and social bodies active on the national level developing the economic environment that surrounds enterprises, and stimulates their activity, must really be made more efficient. Central plans and regulations have a dual effect: on the one hand, they prompt or force something, and on the other, they limit the utilization of the means, and their combination on the enterprise level. The sound proportion of prodding and limiting is the key problem. Without questioning the momentary possibilities in this respect, I should like to point out, as the direction of further development, that increasing the achievement-stimulating power of the economic environment, and decreasing the means-limiting role of regulations are desirable, for this is one of the conditions leading to the actual and vigorous development of enterprise on the part of those who do the actual managing. From the point of the future, this is the question of questions.

If the economic process is examined from the aspect of human activity, a multitude of work-cooperations can be observed: in the phase that is preparatory to production, during the work process in the narrow sense, and in marketing. Similar cooperations characterize the wide field of the service industries. Society has to be able to raise the level of efficiency of this multitude of cooperations in work in order to considerably improve the efficiency of management. This is also a matter of "how." There are some well-proven means, such as the socialist brigade movement, but new ones also have to be found, for a truly fundamental improvement is needed. The "how" is not simple, since the task itself is very complex: technical relationships have to be made smoother, the system of incentives has to be brought closer to smaller collectives, the direct control of the work process must be radically improved, and beyond all these, people themselves, who are in direct relation with one another by way of their activities, must be better attuned to each other. Summing up, I should say: all this requires a better organization of the economic process, and also more far-reaching democracy on the job.

I think Hungarians will have to continue the drive to develop the concrete democracy of their economic activities on clarified conceptual

ground, gradually coupling their influence on decisions with responsibility. This is possible if the functions of ownership and enterprise are distinguished in the economy, and the relationship of the two is made clearer. In the instance of cooperatives, it seems that the correct settlement of this matter should be arranged on the basis of self-government, taking that to a logical conclusion, and in the case of state enterprises by the notion that the state exercises the rights of ownership—it will be worth to examine which organization does that. As far as enterprises are concerned activities should be regarded as a joint venture of the state and the working collective, therefore both parties should share in the results, or the lack of them, in proportion to their risks. The condition of all this is that profits should increasingly and better express the social usefulness of activities.

The Hungarian working-class movement learnt from the severe political and economic crises of 1956 that a basically mistaken policy cannot be corrected piecemeal, gradually, almost imperceptibly, but a political turn, a profound renewal is necessary to achieve results. The fact that under the banner of the HSWP retreat from an erroneous course was successfully accomplished, and the 1948 programme realized parallel with the observation of the 1945 values, may be regarded as historic good fortune.

I should like to underline as a conclusion that communist policy, the policy of national unity can never consist of other than the safeguarding and renewal appropriate to the place and time.

HUNGARIAN AGRICULTURE: WHITHER AND HOW?

by

ISTVÁN LÁZÁR

The lover of figures—of information reduced to numbers—gets absorbed in statistics. On the other hand, he who prefers to find his information in the street, follows housewives out with their shopping bags, and sets out to the market.

The important agricultural index, crop yield, is high whether calculated per hectare or per person engaged in farming. And although the four tons per hectare of grain is not the highest, Hungarian per capita grain production is higher than that in the ten most developed European countries. On a per capita basis, only Denmark is ahead of us in the world in pigmeat production, and only the United States in poultry breeding. But Hungary's standing in the production of vegetables or wine is also high; in general it is for some of the most important agricultural products that the agrarian economy is among the five world leaders.

And what or who is this all for? For the averages, for the fine statistics? Or for the world market? The former are only indices of development and are not in themselves a separate goal. The latter is very important for Hungarians—but takes second place to satisfaction of basic domestic demand.

Armed with this information, let us then follow the housewife out shopping. Public opinion can of course never be satisfied with the price of food. It is not satisfied even if in 1981 fruit and vegetables were cheaper in Hungary than in the preceding year—something rare in today's world. But if the Hungarian housewife, and her husband, could see only a bit beyond making the daily expenses go round, then their reactions to the agrarian economy would be almost rapturous. They know that there are inevitably going to be further planned as well as spontaneous price increases. But they can see the pageantry of colours in the markets, the richness of the shop-windows. And when travelling they have had experience of the

steep rises in the West and of the supply difficulties in the East. They are more or less aware of the huge role agrarian produce plays in Hungarian exports and in the hoped for improvement of our balance of payments; they know that 23–25 per cent of all Hungarian exports are food products.

Our housewife, or the public she represents, may be of the opinion that the most dynamic sector of the Hungarian national economy, the one reacting fastest to internal demand and the external market, must be agriculture... And in this she is mostly right.

Nevertheless, as I write these lines towards the end of 1981, a certain division can also be sensed in the appraisal of the agrarian economy in Hungary. Hungarian experts lay stress on something else. They have little time or opportunity to pride themselves on achievements, considerable as they are; agriculture, they claim, has arrived at its feasible limits, while the demands made on it are being raised further.

The possibilities for extensive development have been almost completely exhausted, and knowing what the intensive stage of development involved, they feel each step further will be extremely difficult, or may not even be possible unless some conditions change. Their main worry is the unfavourable ratio between what is needed and what is produced by agriculture—the unfavourable terms of exchange. Furthermore, certain financial-economic regulations and leftovers from a centralized guidance of the economy act as obstacles.

When the Hungarian Academy of Sciences surveyed agriculture recently, it is true that they found no small amount of reserve potential when comparing the Hungarian situation with soil and climate elsewhere, results achieved elsewhere, and the possible exploitation of plant and livestocke But it is exactly the exploration of these reserves that the developing pricr factors, the deteriorating balance between costs and incomes and other obstacles make difficult or uneconomical. At the same time opportunities for stimulating people, for making them more interested, are also diminishing.

The opinion in the upper echelons of the Hungarian economy lies somewhere between these two extremes. On the one hand, they acknowledge the outstanding accomplishments and they are not reserved in their praise of the efforts involved—a praise voiced not only in political speeches on this or that holiday. On the other hand, they can also see future and present difficulties as clearly as farm managers do. At the same time, they are inclined to put the complaints and worries down to the traditional cautious peasant who always tried to soften up the "tax collector" while sitting securely on the reserves he had put by.

Looking at the three kinds of reaction, despite the large differences between them, they are all paradoxically justified, and even mostly true. Nevertheless, I myself am inclined more to the second. This is not only because it is appropriate to listen to those most closely affected, to whom this represents their livelihood. Nor even because the experts must be respected, since their opinion is strongly influenced by the mood of everyone working in agriculture, and the latter in turn affects their morale, and is hence an objective factor. But I am inclined mostly to their view because it is supported by some very stubborn facts.

However, in order to be able to take the middle line of the above views, that nearest to the truth, we must examine the achievements of Hungarian agriculture, considered close to miraculous by many foreign observers, and its future possibilities. To do this we must first of all survey the factors in its clear successes, to which today's standards are due.

Compulsory delivery replaced by market relations

The more remote past is a good starting-point. The break with the arbitrary, sectarian economic policy of the early fifties began, very radically in many ways, in the summer of 1957. (The earlier economic policy had particularly devastated agriculture, as can be seen in the archival research by Iván T. Berend, whose help in elaborating the following I am especially grateful for.) But as time passed and the shock effects of 1956 diminished, only two of the original decisions remained firm. One was that the standard of living could no longer be subordinated to the abstract goals of socialism. The second was that in agriculture compulsory delivery had to be abolished: agricultural produce had to be acquired through procurement.

The latter decision, however, could not be taken in isolation, but had to lead to a number of consequences. From the change from compulsion to procurement, a redistribution of national income necessarily followed; so did changes in the ratio of its recycling to the productive sphere, in favour of agriculture as against industry. With the earlier, controlled and lower rather than market prices, nothing could have been procured.

The price changes breached the pre-1956 pricing principles which had been divorced from real economic processes and interests, since produce guided primarily by procurement prices now changed hands on the market. Although this was a strongly regulated, socialist market, the new situation meant the assertion of market conditions, an entirely new appraisal of the entire problem of commodity and monetary relations. Where the com-

modity, money, and the market are given their role—they are not alien to socialism, but must necessarily be asserted in it—their interestedness and material incentives gain a new importance too. And since through this the direct interest of management and the workers in the results of their work became stronger, out of a theoretical question developed the fact of practical importance of group ownership asserting itself in the cooperatives against state or public ownership; this influenced, or ought to have done so, the selection and control of the managers, cooperative democracy, and self-administration.

The experimental terrain of economic reform

The numerous and large opportunities offered by the above are obvious from the final campaign for the organization of the Hungarian agricultural producers' cooperatives, at the turn of the decade, before and around 1960. After 1957 the political resolution was that, after the dissolution of a considerable number of existing cooperatives in 1956, collectivization was to be carried out on a voluntary basis, over a longish period, roughly until 1965. But at the lower levels the old habits, where recognition had only been due for the overfulfilment of the plans and of objectives, continued to assert themselves. Consequently, the organization of cooperatives accelerated "spontaneously" at the end of the fifties, and was practically finished by the beginning of the new decade. Again the voluntary nature of the organization in certain areas had a question mark over it. Nevertheless, the cooperatives which grew or were established then, had a much better chance of stability, and even prosperity. There were three reasons for this. First, the peasantry had tired of being caught between outside exhortation and internal resistance. Secondly, the cooperative sector did in fact receive more than ideological and political encouragement at that time, it received more substantial material assistance: it became the relative beneficiary of the redistribution, the changed investment ratios, and the narrowing gap between agricultural and industrial prices. Thirdly—and this is now most important—during the new wave of collectivization it was not only the abolition of compulsory delivery and the reduction of other financial burdens that came into play, but the cooperatives were freer in deciding what to produce, and in electing a chairman and the board of management from among their members.

The dogmatically enforced aspects of the class struggle in the villages were reduced, the middle-peasant was no longer a suspicious quasi-kulak,

no longer the bourgeoisie of the village which had to be kept well in hand, but was able to make use free of suspicion of his diligence and skill within the cooperative. The kulak disappeared as a political notion and as a social category, and soon as a figure in public consciousness too. In general, the entire agrarian sector became more democratic, more responsive to initiative, less overcontrolled and overguided; this happened primarily in the cooperatives but, to a certain extent, in the state farms too. The often touted worker-peasant alliance began to become a reality rather than a catchword.

In short we may claim that after 1957 Hungarian agriculture—more from the logic of things themselves than from any premeditation—became the laboratory for the new economic mechanism, based on theoretical preliminaries which had appeared in the mid-fifties; these began to be extended to the entire economy only in 1968. But even so this was not done with such élan and irreversibility that now, at the turn of 1981–82, there is no cause to criticize some hiatus in the meantime; more than one problem of the seventies can be attributed directly to those stops.

But all this is still too general. There is to be somewhat more concrete on the turn in the Hungarian agrarian economy after 1957. If it became a laboratory, let us look at what and how they experimented in this laboratory.

Guidance—and new technologies

Where economic policy is concerned, the principle of self-financing began to become asserted, even if not fully. Some gap between agricultural and industrial prices was left, there was still siphoning off—and still is—and through this redistribution. But the aim of this is less arbitrary and utopian. The real state and public interests (domestic supply, foreign trade and so forth) are asserted more fully, and the representation of these was entrusted increasingly to the automatisms built into the economic mechanism. At the same time, a peculiar duality was developed in the area of state supports—the granting and cancelling of credits, investment subsidies, price subsidies and so on. On the one hand, those farms which were poor through no fault of their own received assistance; these included farms where poor performance was due to bad soil and climatic conditions, but there were others where backwardness derived from personal circumstances, for instance from bad management by the chairman and board. Local political organs sometimes made unfortunate interventions in the selection process for the chairman and the board; consequently these

were responsible for mistakes which had then to be corrected at the expense of the state.

On the other hand, the supports did in fact help the good cooperatives; credits and contributions were given to those which could find the bulk of their investments out of their own resources. The social aspect in the support given to backward regions and cooperatives was obviously asserted at the same time as the aspect of prosperity in the even further improvement of the good. Greater freedom in selecting produce helped also in that, where endowments were inadequate for something, the cooperative, the collective, tried something else to raise itself from the lower or medium ranks and enter those of the flourishing.

But there was another fundamental development which appeared at the beginning of this sequence. This was the huge step taken to eliminate the technological backwardness of Hungarian agriculture, partly inherited from before 1945 and partly conserved in the fifties. New generations of machinery appeared, leading first to deeper ploughing, the breaking up of sub-soil, improving the water economy of the soil, and assisting the plants to strike deeper roots; secondly, the new equipment helped reduce tensions caused by reductions in physical and manual labour. New plants and livestock, more productive species and hybrids of maize, grain, pigs, cattle, poultry, became widespread. (At the same time, a number of traditional, popular but biologically "tired" species lost ground. For instance, a large part of arable land was given over to intensive Italian and Soviet grain species. This jolted the Hungarian agro-biologists and plant-breeders; more recently, new modern species are more frequently developed in Hungary.) Chemical protection introduced new technologies, herbicides became common, the use of fertilizers grew considerably (although the use of manure went down excessively).

This was mostly in the first half of the sixties, the more spectacular stage of the post-1957 transformation. The crop-spraying aircraft, helicopters, giant tractors, silo towers, fodder mixers, huge animal farms were so conspicuous that they contributed to the spreading of the illusion that industrialized agriculture, in its huge plant under the blue sky—independent of the weather—can be conducted with almost the same disciplined and ordered work as in the factories. And this started exactly when the feeling began to grow that agriculture performed better than numerous Hungarian industries.

Changes in the system of incentives

I have mentioned the economic, the technological, and the biological foundations for the success in agriculture. But these are far from being an adequate explanation. The new, more favourable ranking of agriculture in the value system of the economy and its conditions for moral and material improvement have set further far-reaching processes in motion. It has restored, for instance, the pride of those who live and work in rural areas. Their sense of political inferiority, which had been developed in the period of dogmatism, ceased, the feeling began to disappear that, whatever the principles claimed, in practice they were considered second-class citizens. But there was more to this new desire to increase productivity than improvement in material or moral conditions, or the regaining of citizen pride.

As soon as there was something to stimulate and to be stimulated by, financial recognition was also enriched by new forms. There is a long list of measures by which the producers' cooperatives, mainly, strove to interest their members and specialists, some of whom were not members but employees, in better results of their common work. Some experiments did not work out. One was where a members' brigade became the real beneficiary of the return on the land or other facilities entrusted to it, or even part owner, by sharing in kind in the increased return. This fell victim to jealousy or to ideological overcaution. But other experiments, for instance the introduction of novel forms of share-cropping, overcame initial resistance and were accepted to the common benefit of the community and of the individual.

Special importance should be given to the joint prosperity of common and private household farming in the cooperatives, which do not compete with but complement each other. Here one of the best examples is the keeping of animals at home. Just after the organization of the cooperatives, members' facilities were often left empty, or held only as many animals as could be fed with the fodder produced on the small household plot. Even so many cooperative members prospered through their animals, but by withdrawing their labour and interest from the common farming they remained members only in name, fulfilling only the prescribed work days. What the cooperative did was to undertake to provide for household animals from its large production of fodder, to offer consultation help, and to purchase the market-ready animals at a good price, either by dealing with the wholesalers or by direct processing in its own small plant. Thus a ring of common interest and organization has been established which has made the livelihood of the peasants more secure, improved the prosperity

of the cooperatives, and increased the production of food in the country. Of course, it was not only the members of the cooperatives who worked with increasing success on their own plots or took advantage of the valuable means of production the thousands of sheds. The great mass of people working outside agriculture also shared in the agrarian boom which financially rewarded individual diligence, the utilization of spare working time, the work of pensioners or dependents, by giving an honest profit to hard work and care. Poultry, pigeons, rabbits can obviously be reared by many households; small gardens can also provide a substantial income; not a few early vegetables can be produced under a heated or unheated foil tent of a couple of ten square metres. *

Another successful government decision should be mentioned. Numerous agricultural cooperatives also engaged in industrial activity, mainly by organizing building brigades to meet local requirements, but often to produce goods insufficiently profitable for state industry or for the urban industrial cooperatives. Yet initially there was no small opposition to and arguments against this. For one thing the less rigid regulation of agriculture meant that agricultural cooperatives were often able to pay higher wages to their skilled industrial workers, technicians, and engineers than the factories could, and this caused wage tensions and labour shortages in industry. Within a few years, however, both the situation and the attitude changed totally. Smaller industrial production units "planted" into the agrarian sector became more flexible and profitable, precisely because of the more relaxed regulation; and they mostly produced goods which were not only in great demand by the population as a whole, but also by those large factories which had, in the beginning, disproved of the auxiliary activities being developed on the farms. Village printing shops, small component workshops, packaging plants were established; auxiliaries of the cooperatives sought out inventions which were neglected by large-scale industry and so on.

Let us look at the example of Lajosmizse, not far from Budapest. Here there is no agricultural producers' cooperative, only a specialized cooperative. ** This is a loose form in which the members associate only for a single, or part of an, activity, for instance viticulture; otherwise they work individually. The poor soil makes it difficult for the people of Lajosmizse to prosper. They, in fact, discovered that the metal foil seals for expensive drinks—sparkling wine, fine wines—are imported to Hungary, although the country likes to pride itself on being a great power in aluminium. Then

* For further details, see my article in *NHQ* 63.

** See Rudolf Andorka: "A Cambridge social anthropologist in a Hungarian village", *NHQ* 84.

they designed machines and obtained a state bank credit available for production which will replace imports. Today the specialized cooperative of Lajosmizse is one of three or four seal-monopolists in Europe. It no longer meets only the full domestic demand, supplying Hungarian bottling plants, but also exports to East and West. All this was supported enthusiastically by Bács-Kiskun County, fundamentally agricultural, which has clear views on the importance of proportionate development and the problem of employing those who live in areas to which nature has been less generous.

It would be possible to examine industrial activity in agricultural cooperatives from many more angles. What is most important for our description is that agriculture can achieve certain benefits by participating in industrial activity which still, perhaps, offers the best opportunities for capital formation. Most cooperatives have used at least part of their industrial profits to develop their basic agricultural activity, thereby consolidating more quickly out of their own resources, where profits from their basic activity would not have been sufficient in themselves.

The industrialized production systems

What is novel in the appearance of the "industrialized production systems" in the Hungarian economy, and what is its significance? Here are some of the problems which preceded the systems, though not necessarily, in their order of importance.

One was the dilemma on the size of the farm. The efficient use of the most modern—and very expensive!—machines and production lines required larger areas of land and farms than those available. Administration also supported the amalgamation of cooperatives on the basis that fewer units meant fewer worries. Following amalgamations of this type, democracy deteriorated on the larger cooperative farms, members were less able to have a clear view of things, and thus the possibility of their intervention was reduced. Nor were managements which had been able to deal well with the smaller units, capable of coping with the more complicated situations. There were also the weak links that were maintained with the state farms operating side by side or complementarily, or with cooperative or state enterprises not in the agricultural sector, processing and commercial enterprises, to name but two.

The dilemma of making use of skills arose too. It is beyond doubt that a major factor in the success of agriculture has been the ample, even excessive, training of specialists. Nevertheless, little of the intellectual

talent available went to the numerous smaller units, or when it did either local conservatism or envious conflicts with local leadership often of lower education meant the talent was inadequately exploited. On the other hand, in the large units harm was sometimes caused by dictatorial specialists or by the not infrequent professional jealousy among graduate staff.

A further dilemma was presented by great variation in results. The respectable average of the whole was produced by units approaching or even surpassing the world standard, and by sectors and units lagging far behind. My introduction mentioned, for instance, the outstanding results in pigmeat and poultry production calculated per capita. At the same time, the amount of fodder used to produce one kilogram of meat—containing no little imported material—is high. A host of Hungarian wines have won gold medals at world competitions, and exports of apples or of deep-frozen raspberries are very considerable, but in the meantime some fruits—due to the deterioration of the variety or out-of-date techniques—have lost their traditional role in Hungary. It is due to new species of sunflower that Hungarian vegetable oil exports are an important factor in the European market; but rice production has been unable to resolve its lasting crisis. Hungary has carried out several FAO programmes in order to popularize pond and farm breeding of fish; experts from developing countries here on FAO scholarships have been quicker to learn modern methods than specialists from some Hungarian fisheries.

Several socialist countries have tried to solve some of these or similar dilemmas by introducing gigantic agro-industrial complexes. Hungary has begun to experiment with looser, rather than closed and rigid, forms. Farms joining voluntarily supply to the various industrialized systems part of their land and other facilities, in order to develop jointly and grow maize or wheat, or raise pigs, poultry, sheep, or fish. They surrender part of their economic and professional autonomy; in return they receive not only the benefits of common machinery, technology, servicing base, purchase of means, selling, research, and possibly product processing, but also a certain amount of direct guidance. The *gestor*, the "owner" of the system, or the joint organization over the member farms of the system—which itself also is managed as an enterprise and returns part of the profit to the members—receives a share of the product increment over the average of the preceding years. Huge or relatively huge monocultures have been developed in this way; the systems are, of course, not on adjoining lands but spread out like a mosaic over the country. One system or another, on several hundred thousand hectares, carries out its production in accordance with common principles and processes adapted to local natural conditions. It follows from

the above that an independent farm can be a member of several production systems at the same time.

The Hungarian name for these systems, industrialized, may be contested since it builds on misleading analogies. The systems themselves have undoubtedly brought a lot directly in the increase in the national return on given plants or animals, but also indirectly. Through their machines, processes, organization, their demands on and supervision of higher technological discipline, they have helped spread new qualities which, in turn, have influenced the entire activity of the participating farms. It was not only the hard sub-soil left by traditional ploughing which was then broken up by the new, deeper ploughshares. Crusts can develop in the mind too, and these need the spectacular appearance of the new if they are to be broken up.

Arguments about the systems

It has been argued that it the means accorded to industrialized systems had been allocated in another way, for instance if they had been made available to the participants from the beginning, a similar success would have been achieved. This is hardly likely. Fragmentation reduces efficiency, and ingrained habits would have been more difficult to overcome nation-wide. It must also be stressed that an irreversible sequence has taken place here. What happened was not that we had new, valuable means, which could have been applied in this way or that, but it was through the actual concept and planning of an industrialized system that higher direction were persuaded to invest in these new, expensive means. The promise was that the machinery and other means that could only be bought for hard currency would be paid for in the extra production, which could then be sold for hard currency.

Controversy among competing experts sometimes took a personal turn. It was claimed, for instance, that Róbert Burgert—managing director of the very successful Bábolna Agricultural Combine, and the creator of several production systems, an expert of international repute—was only able to achieve his successes because of his good connections and hence central support. With comparable amounts of money—his competitors claim—many farms other than Bábolna would also have flourished. However, I am not aware of proposals of equal quality which have been rejected. In other words, Burgert asked for money for well-conceived projects, and mostly in the form of loans on very strict terms rather than outright grants.

His undoubted fortune was that the region which includes Bábolna produced an excellent partner from the Hungarian engineering industry. Rába, the engineering combine from nearby Győr, was looking for new products. Rába is headed by Ede Horváth who has also always been entrepreneurial and willing to take risks and is the most successful example of worker turned manager in performance. The connection with the Rába combine became especially important when the increasing shortage of dollars made it more difficult to buy from the West the tractors and agricultural implements of a quality previously unknown in Hungary. Within the framework of well-designed joint ventures, in which it paid for components and licences bought from the West by the delivery of its own products, the Győr company became the principal supplier of machinery to the large crop systems.

Initially these systems had to import the skills, the new techniques and technologies, the research achievements. But today they no longer export only their products, but the systems themselves. Iraq, for instance, buys complete poultry production systems from Bábolna; neighbouring socialist countries adopt or buy some of our plant production systems, or the processes contained. This exported technology is not just disembodied but embodied as well in that the processes are accompanied by Hungarian equipment.

Large and small—town and country

During this time, although more slowly, the farms began to develop other contacts. The financial, legal, and organizational conditions for joint investment took shape. Various forms of cooperation for production, marketing, and processing were established, allowing for the overlap of sectors as well as farms, according to the form of ownership involved. For instance, combining state and cooperative capital no longer runs into governmental obstacles expressing ideological reservations.

It is however very important that in all this development the internal integration of Hungarian agriculture has been strengthened rather than weakened. What does this mean? Simply that large and small-scale production are more harmonious. I have mentioned that fodder is produced almost exclusively by large farms, and that some of it is distributed directly and some through an adequate network of specialized stores to those households rearing livestock, and that the farms buy the fattened animal. This procedure has been developed further. For instance, breeding

today, guided by geneticists and seeking the most productive hybrids, can be carried out on large farms. But it is more profitable to hand over the piglet or bull-calf to the small household farms for fattening, than to run enormous fattening units. In vegetable production, the delicate seedlings can be tended in the cooperative's heated foil tents, but production is often more economical in unheated tents or in the open on vegetable plots. Tobacco can be profitably produced on a large scale, but it is now almost impossible to find the labour to sort the leaves. This is done by members in their homes and the cooperative transports the semi-finished product to its customers.

All this means that the cooperative member undertaking extra work at home, the village population in general, is not faced by an alien gigantic state enterprise, which is bureaucratic or interested only in its own profit. When he produces more than he needs himself or what can be sold on the local free market, he deals with a cooperative controlled by himself, which reinvests or redistributes the profit.

Through this, agricultural workers—though not working an eight-hour day—have achieved a dual income which has closed the income gap between the industrial and agricultural sectors. This is especially true for annual rather than hourly incomes. In fact, for a while at the beginning of the seventies the growing wealth of the villages appeared to be creating social tensions. There were some who tried to make immediate political capital out of this, taking a demagogic stand in the protection of "workers' interests"; however it soon became apparent that industrial workers had also found ways to put their free time to profitable use. They are taking their share of the profit of the agricultural boom; and they are making better and better use of their own skills in the second economy.

A general experience of booms is that they strengthen each other. The purchasing power of the village population helped reduce the accumulated industrial stocks and increased demand for construction and repairs and other services which the second economy applies itself to. The purchasing power of the urban population made the higher prices for meat, vegetables, and fruit more acceptable.

Notice that in talking of purchasing power, I have not used the terms peasant or worker, but of village and town. This is intentional. Today more than half of the Hungarian workers no longer live in towns, and half of those not living in towns are workers. Further, while the regional distribution of social classes and strata has been transformed, the internal restructuring of society has reached a stage where today there is hardly a family of purely peasant or worker nature. Most characteristic is the

nuclear, or the—often still cohesive—larger extended family which contains members working in industry and agriculture and in the tertiary sector. Frequently manual and white-collar occupations are intermixed.

An imagined but not imaginary contemporary Hungarian family

Since some benefits, opportunities, privileges even are linked to every position occupied in society, in the division of labour, or according to the place of residence, a model of a very fortunate family in contemporary Hungary could be described as follows:

The parents live in the village and the father enjoys the high income of a miner, or is on a miner's pension, in this latter case he has also had the benefit of early retirement. The mother is a member or a pensioner of a cooperative, she also benefits from the household plot. One of their sons enjoys a good income and large tips as a car mechanic in the workshop of the industrial cooperative of the nearby town, and moonlights during weekends for an untaxed income. Their other son lives in the capital, and as a leading professional often travels abroad. Their daughter lives in the district or county seat, occupying a position in the HSWP or state administrative power hierarchy, or is the wife of such a person. Add to this the multiplicity of useful contacts such a family has, especially if we include cousins. Almost every member already has a car, or may have acquired one or more weekend houses, for instance, on Lake Balaton, which they rent out at a rather high rent for some part of the year. Now the outline is becoming clear of what many foreign observers and reporters do not know or misunderstand when examining the economic and social life of Hungary today. There are many signs of a boom in spite of grave economic problems, but the foreigner mostly concentrates on the surface phenomena.

All this must be understood clearly in order not to fall into those superficial judgements, such as "capitalism is returning through the back door" in Hungary, or "the boom is due exclusively to private initiative and the rehabilitation of the market." Curiously enough, for a long time it was officially believed that things like initiative or the market are capitalistic survivals. Now that this no longer so, people often suggest this from the outside. . . But I digress.

It should be stressed again that Hungarian agriculture has produced the seventies boom amidst very acute and tenuous conditions, as an interlinked whole. Because of this features of the boom cannot be isolated. To list them would be long but the list would include the narrowing of the gap between agricultural and industrial prices, the greater scope for market relations, the methods for the creation of individual interests which reject dogmatic reservations, the break-throughs brought by the "industrialized" systems, the integration of large and small-scale production, and other part phenomena. Similarly, the problems of further development can only be examined together, in their interaction. Here, however, it is more convenient to examine the forecast for Hungarian agriculture in its constituent items.

The first one is obviously how to exploit natural—soil and climatic—endowments. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in its survey, found a large reserve potential here, together with the biological potential of plant and animal species. We now know that the many troubles of the fifties and sixties were caused by rejecting old and well-tried regional experience, or the processes and production patterns adjusted to local endowments, and by imposing rigid ideas, from the centre and prolonging extensive development.

There are severe problems connected with these natural conditions. Hungary's small area prescribes mandatorily high yields calculated by area and by agrarian producer. That the country is in a transitional climatic zone suitable for a large number of plant cultures only underlines this. At the same time, in configuration, the composition of the soil, and even in regional climatic conditions this small country is divided into many thousands of sub-regions, and even within them there are further divisions. Nothing is easier than to claim that by giving rein to this variety everywhere and in everything we may achieve at least as much as by increasing investments or the use of fertilizers. However, the assertion of variety is itself investment intensive. But this reduces our ability to plan, which is important not simply because we have overcome our illusions and dogmas on this head, but because Hungary exists in such economic straits that an unexpected deficit anywhere may lead to unforeseeable consequences.

Even more important is that large quantities of certain products are definitely needed—wheat, maize, sugar; pigs, cattle, sheep, poultry, both live animals and as meat; the latter entail adequate quantities of fodder.

All these are needed to meet domestic demand, international contracts, and to cover imports.

The interest of developing a product structure, making better use of the local natural conditions and better adjusted to the place of production is countered by the basic demand for massive production of the above. To reconcile the two is very difficult, the more so since the world market for food is not so open or free from extra-economic influences that if it were found e.g. that by adjusting the cultivated areas, oil crops were more profitable than grain, one could hardly risk meeting grain requirements from abroad through an advantageous export of vegetable oil. Comparative advantages are countermanded by the way world politics influence the world market. Thus a sober head is not everything, it is not always possible to decide in accordance with abstract economic benefits.

Many kinds of flexible incentives

It cannot be repeated often enough how big the effect of the many types of incentives, flexibly introduced, has been in the results of Hungarian agriculture so far. Yet it seems that even here Hungary is slow to reach the limits of the opportunities. This is not to say that a further increase in personal and material interestedness has run up against ideological obstacles. The limits, in fact, come from the barriers to the utilization of personal incomes, the continuous change in the generations which work in agriculture, and from the different mentality, values, and way of life of the younger generations now engaged. The younger people often have less "drive," if for no other reason than that no decades of privations have developed in them either a longing for security or the instinct to accumulation and acquisition so characteristic of their parents and grandparents.

There are, of course, further experiments under way to ensure that those working in agriculture should treat the land and other means even more as their "master" enjoying the fruit of their labours directly. Various forms of crop-sharing already mean a kind of enterprise. This may be developed further if some group in effect leases a given arable or livestock farm, and works on them in this way. This leasing—in the same way as the recent method in the catering and a retail trades—can be effected by auction or through tendering; the group which promises the production of the highest income, the payment of the highest rent becomes the leasee.

Something else to be tested is how farms may mitigate their shortage of capital by using the accumulated increases of their members' incomes.

In the past, more or less illegally, cooperatives in need accepted a loan from their members; either by paying them later than when payments were due, or by temporarily using their cash. The legal, institutionalized way may be the issuing of shares or bonds which carry a somewhat higher interest than that being paid by the bank for term deposits.

However, it is not here that some of the large accumulated savings of the population are needed in the countryside. In the cities a considerable part of housing construction and the overwhelming part of utilities is the task of the state, a gift from uncle, since rents cover only a very small part of these expenses. In contrast, for decades the villages have received a very small share of the centrally allocated development funds; these are mostly siphoned off from the incomes of enterprises, collected in the state budget, and disbursed from it. In the next five-year plan the financial preference for the cities, somewhat exaggerated in the past, is being reduced to some extent—if only to reduce or to reverse the flow to the cities and the depopulation of the villages. Again in contrast, in the countryside the population will still have to accept large sacrifices, in building new homes, establishing crèches and kindergartens, or in laying on tap-water, sewerage, pavements and so on.

All this affects also the peculiar problems raised by the increasing "surpluses" of lawfully acquired incomes from work. Since savings—let us formulate it this way—can be capitalized only to a minor extent, there are people who use the money wastefully, for prestige consumption, spending their money on things superfluous to the real quality of life. The following are the most often cited and criticized expenditures of this type in the villages; the status fences, much larger and more ornate than their function as fences demands; more fashionable houses of no higher functional value than the old; cars which are then hardly used; and finally—perhaps symbolically—the widespread building of crypts and ornate tombs. Perhaps part of the same phenomenon is seen in the huge houses, built by, and half-occupied by, parents who must be well aware that their children or child, long resident in the city, will never move back to the village; in a village of diminishing population a house of such size will be almost impossible to sell when inherited. All these are side-effects of the agricultural boom, which, though not absolutes, must not be disregarded.

For others, the attraction money represented earlier, has simply ceased. Once everyday needs are satisfied, why bother to accumulate? Many others put their money in an old sock, which is of no use to the individual, the national economy or the community; or for the latter perhaps only inasmuch as it does not appear on the market as effective demand.

Consequently, there can be advantages in anything that one does to encourage entrepreneurial activity (within limits that are imaginable and acceptable in a socialist framework). Releasing among other things, some restrictions on the accumulation of capital and the movement of money, may on the one hand put into motion static money, and on the other may raise personal interesteds in increasing income and recepits at a time when these interests are diminishing for many people. Obviously in so doing some new social tensions may occur. But these are much weaker that the tensions threatened by permanently slowed-down economic growth.

Agrarian economy and environmental protection

All these diversions from the basic topic demonstrate again and again the extent to which the agrarian economy does not stand isolated; how often it intersects and links with other sectors of the economy and with areas not strictly economic. This is so also when we arrive at the intensifying conflict between agricultural production and the protection of nature and the environment.

Outsiders may well believe that if there exists any sector which understands and recognizes the threat to nature and the human environment, the necessity for safeguards, for stopping further deterioration, for ending and reversing harmful processes, then this would be the agrarian economy, tied, as it is, to nature, entirely reliant on plant and animal biology. They believe that those who work in this sector are clear on the opportunities for and limitations to intervening in natural processes; when the soil is eroded, the water soiled, the air more and more polluted by dust and gases, industrial poisons in the soil and water, they should sense this all as their own immediate damage.

Nevertheless, the vehement arguments of the recent past show that some Hungarian agriculturalists face the vital environmental issues in an incomprehending and even hostile way. And there are those who consider that voices raised on these issues are those of sentimental nature lovers who do not understand the mandatory necessities of the economic processes.

No one can doubt that the attitude of these experts is explained by the strenuous demands—issued with great vigour from above—to increase yields, and by the already pressing increase in costs. This may be an explanation, but is not an excuse. Fortunately the application of even more effective herbicides and soil-despoiling fertilizers is impeded by limits on

their economy, by their diminishing returns. And if a campaign is often started to draw nature reserves into intensive production—effectively abandoning protection—limits are set by the fact that nature reserves are mostly of limited agricultural value.

I myself am hopeful that today's arguments will not be decided by short-term production and economic interests, but by the long-term interests attached to the health and survival of the population, the nation, mankind. But it is a fact that agricultural development here too has its limits. If the voice of those calling only for higher production carried the day, then a tragic price would sooner or later have to be paid for the spoilt lands and waters. If, on the other hand, more sober heads prevail, then the generally higher price of less harmful technologies must be included in the production costs, or specific costs will increase because of the lower returns.

A much higher share of agrarian research must be devoted to developing processes which spare the environment and to mitigating the already huge damage to nature and the environment by new agricultural methods. But this offers even opportunities for indirect profits. For instance, the methods developed here to recultivate mining areas can be sold abroad, and with further development can even be used for making deserts fertile; all this may be a source for not negligible consultancy exports, and the exporting of materials or machinery that may be sold together with the processes.

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The socialist countries are showing a lively interest in Hungary's results in production, in organization, and in the development of the system of interestedness; these results were praised by Leonid Brezhnev at the last congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Countries of the Third World may especially make use of the positive lessons of the new stage of Hungarian agrarian policy; they may also make use of the negative lessons of the earlier stage of exaggerated industrialization and voluntaristic ideas which conflicted with the stage of development of local natural conditions. So too can they make use of numerous Hungarian processes and part processes in production, in the management of cooperatives, in the treatment of transitory forms, in the integration of production, processing, and marketing and so on.

More than one agricultural enterprise and manufacturer of farm machinery in the capitalist countries finds it worthwhile not only to buy agrarian products from Hungary or to organize joint ventures on third markets,

but also to share with Hungarian clients the results of development during the cooperation. In these cases the flow of expertise and experience is far from being one-directional.

In conclusion I must point out that I do not consider unfounded the fears voiced by a considerable number of Hungarian agriculturalists about the difficulties of further development. By an international yardstick, the Hungarian agriculture has always performed best when measured by specific yields compared to investment. It was able to bring out most from the lowest investment and material input. Today it is precisely here that the limits begin to become pressing. Further investments and inputs—partly indispensable—are sure to result in slower and lower returns. At the same time these experts also draw attention to the huge potential profits which lie hidden in processing raw materials and raw produce domestically into finished consumer or kitchen-ready products, the higher profits which to be so realized would not then be pocketed by foreign processors or middlemen.

Those engaged in agriculture are well aware of the limits set to economic action by the problems of the entire Hungarian national economy; how everything that can be siphoned off is needed to improve domestic supply and the international balance of payments. They are consequently aware that everybody has to walk the tightrope on the borderline of the desirable and the possible.

Agriculture here accepts this tightrope. We may even say that it is already accustomed to it. But it also accepts that recent more equitable distribution of burdens as irrevocable, since now the dynamism which is the main source of its results is even more essential, a dynamism which is subject not only to intellectual prowess or the entrepreneurial mentality but also to hard material inputs. The moral of the proverb "an empty pantry has a crazy mistress" had to be learned for the Hungarian agrarian economy to achieve today's results. This still holds if it is to progress further—even to the smallest extent.

NINE QUESTIONS ON FINANCIAL INCENTIVES

by

BÉLA CSIKÓS-NAGY

The organizing power of financial incentives emerged in different interpretations during the preparatory discussions of the Sixth Five Year Plan and the 1980 modification of the economic controls. An opposition of views was easy to observe even on occasions when there was no disagreement on the aim of the incentives. I should like to refer to those of the debated questions, whose explanation I consider particularly important in the interest of sound economic thinking, and the correct information of the public.

1. Going into the reasons why an interest in profits is the rational form of financial incentives in the production of commodities, one has to start with two indexes of enterprise performance: productivity and profitability. Productivity at enterprise level, however, distinguishes between work done within and outside the enterprise. When an enterprise is made interested in improving production value per worker, it is also interested in reducing the average labour intensity of the production structure, in preferring material-intensive products; and also in squandering products of labour outside the enterprise, if it can save labour within the enterprise. As against this, profitability links work carried out within an enterprise with such as was done earlier, without which the work within the enterprise could not even be done.

The Hungarian government showed good sense in 1957 in deciding to introduce profitsharing on the part of workers, and in opening the doors wide to voluntary activity based on individual initiative. The end of the obligatory deliveries of agricultural products, and the switch to free procurement system in 1957; the end of economic control based on compulsory plan indicators, and the economic reform of 1968; the 1980 change in financial and price controls, the introduction of competitive price determination, and the tightening the normative character of financial controls were all important stages in this process.

2. Why does profitability measure the performance of the enterprise, and not the economic viability of a product? Let us take an example Reconstruction committees operated during the fifties. A fair few of them made hasty decisions, for instance when they allowed enterprises to stop activities at a loss, i.e. those overhead-bearers which had a profitability-regulating role in the production structure. Attention should be paid to this aspect today as well.

The 1977 decision on the principles of long-term foreign trade policy, and on the development of the production structure, demands the end of uneconomic production—while bearing in mind the need to supply consumer goods. In the wake of this enterprises determined profitability priorities of their products. The assumption that by discontinuing items of low profit priority the performance of the enterprise would improve, is tempting. But what actually happens differs from such assumptions in numerous instances. The enterprise may find itself in a worse situation than at the start, if the quantity of production declines, since it may not be able to occupy the freed capacity with more profitable lines.

The law of returns throws light on the interactions of enterprise and product profitability. It would be extraordinarily profitable to study this law and apply it to enterprise fundamentals from the aspect of satisfying varied needs as well as of an economic product structure.

3. I shall go on to manifestations of the interest in growth, and to the reasons why it is irrational if extended to every unit of production. One constantly experiences that enterprises consider as government incentives in earnest only those moves which improve or at least do not harm their profit position. Let me mention two examples.

Everyone agrees that it would be rational to transfer a portion of the consumer stocks to the capital goods trade. Production could be continuous that way with smaller total stocks. However, those concerned do not agree to the necessary regrouping of credit. Thus, credits would have to grow while measures designed to reduce the demand for current assets are being prepared. Or: it is desirable to expand the main-contractor system in the interest of a rational organization of investments. Investment costs should decrease as a result. Yet, something can only be done in this area by allowing premiums, instead of regrouping costs.

It seems that not an interest in profits but in profit increments is characteristic. The basisoriented management established this concept, that peculiar feature of an economy based on plan indicators, maintained—primarily in respect of wage regulation—even by the 1968 economic reform. Particular emphasis was given to its discontinuation in the 1980 modification of the

controls. Nevertheless, some of its elements are still present unchanged.

Routine may also play a role in that enterprises regard everything, that is better than average, as their own business, but that which is worse than average, as of public concern. When this spirit prevails, everything that is likely to diminish a rate of profit already achieved is made to appear as a shortcoming of the control system, which should be corrected either by lifting the controls concerned or by granting particular preferences. The more is done to overcome the harmful practice of problem-shooting, the more chance there is to restore the lost balance of payments equilibrium.

4. An interest in profits provides satisfactory results only under an economically determined price system. Why then is it necessary to eliminate price determination on a cost basis for this reason? In a system established on the principle of prime costs, prices do not control, but serve, almost validate, the enterprise structure, production technologies, and the product structure. Such a system of prices was forced on socialist commodity production by the value. But the law of value cannot be nullified in a commodity-producing economy. Mistaken development diminishes the social efficiency of work, and missed opportunities put economic progress on worse than optimal tracks.

Prices can play an orientating role in structural policy only if the performance of the enterprise is regulated by the position fought out in international competition. The pivotal question is, under present conditions, to use costlier materials and fuel in a way which nevertheless permits exported products to be profitably sold on world markets.

5. The system of competitive prices was introduced only in selected industries. Reviewing the position of others the starting-point must be that the role of prices in enterprise attitudes must be strengthened there as well, where price determination still operates on the basis of prime costs. Attention is focused currently on food and on the building trade. In food the problem is caused by the fact that the conditions of agricultural production are less favourable in Europe than in some overseas countries, but the world market price levels are determined by those who can produce most cheaply. The conditions for the rational operation of prices must be established everywhere, giving due consideration to their specific fundamentals. In the food economy, the next step could be to bring about those conditions which permit the operation of competitive price determination.

The problem arises in a fundamentally different way in the building trade. In the event of productive investment, value is controlled by the international price of products produced by the project, and not by the input expanded on

it. If the cost of the product of the new project exceeds the world market price, then a portion of the invested cost produces no value. This happens when the size of the project, the production technology, or the product structure is uneconomic; or when the cost of the construction of the project was already uneconomic to start with, or became such owing to delays in completion.

One of the important tasks of the years ahead is to subject the financial interest of each operative economic unit to the criteria of the investment's economic performance. Widespread use of the system of public tenders and an organizational structure appropriate to that could promise a solution within the infrastructure.

6. Financial interest may be linked to profits by way of various parameters determining human action. How could economic policy consider all of them? This is the artfulness of economic policy. The point here is not only that interestedness becomes definable in the socio-economic environment concerned, but also that this environment changes as circumstances do.

Take an example. The fact that the costs of animal husbandry increased considerably with the development of large-scale socialist agriculture, although the authorities promised cheaper meat in the fifties after collectivization, surprised everybody. Two mistakes slipped into these promises. Firstly, agriculture could develop on a socialist basis only given equal incomes for workers and peasants. Therefore, the approximately 1 : 0.4 income scissors had to be eliminated. Secondly, backyard animal husbandry was a woman's job and was not considered productive work. The family obtained its money income in open-field grain production. They considered animal husbandry of interest only when the selling price of the animals was in harmony with the cost of fodder. This could not be maintained given the division of labour in large-scale production.

Or take the interaction between domestic, CMEA, and capitalist world markets. In the course of research I reached the conclusion a few years ago that enterprises—excepting in some defined cases—prefer home sales to CMEA exports, and CMEA exports to capitalist ones, even though the period investigated was characterized by higher profit rates on CMEA exports than on domestic sales, and higher ones still on capitalist exports. Several factors influenced enterprise attitudes, from lower risks to advantages arising from established connections.

7. What kind of pecularities of interestedness arise from the parallel existence of the three markets?

It was estimated that around 60 per cent of GDP were derived from

domestic markets, 22 per cent from CMEA, and 18 per cent from capitalist markets (1980 position). These markets have their own specific laws.

The CMEA market is characterized by the bilateral balance of commodity structures and their multilateral settlement. Therefore, certain tendencies can be observed towards exchanging commodity structures that are nearly indentical from the point of capital need and labour intensity. When a country is interested in obtaining commodities essential for it, it has to adapt to the needs of customers independently of whether this is the best alternative from the point of efficiency. This shows in foreign trading price determination as well. Not only the prices of exports and imports, but export and import price levels as well are reconciled from time to time in bilateral trade.

The problem of the commodity structure assumes increasing importance in relations with world markets as well. It is less difficult to sell food, materials, and typical semi-finished products in the industrially developed countries, than to market machines or consumer goods produced at a high level of processing. This does not always depend on the technical parameters of the finished products, but on the standards of marketing as well. Intertwining interests of producing and marketing organizations create a quasi-discriminative situation for outsiders in the industrially developed countries.

The evident conclusion is that economic process regulating cannot be simplified on the level of automatic price formation. A decisive government structure policy is needed, which—paying due regard to possible ways and means of developing the international division of labour—determines the ratio of industrial, agricultural, and infrastructural investments, and activates the price function where opportunities open for the resilient development of the structure according to external trading requirements.

8. Interpreting the limits to an interest in profits one must start with an understanding that one cannot explain the development process of the various national economies exclusively in terms of the profit motive. If the shortcomings of economic life could be eliminated purely on the basis of financial interests, one could not understand the great differences among countries governed by the market system, since the fact that relative prices are regulated by relative shortages, therefore that the elimination of bottle-necks is assisted by financial interests, is almost an economic law there. Obviously, this is not enough in itself.

But let us stick to the Hungarian problem. The assumption that products are all-around convertible, that consequently the direction of marketing is only a question of financial advantage, is not realistic; nor can one presume

that a structure which ensures international competitivity can be achieved exclusively by way of an economically determined price system. It would not hurt to add that stimulation will not eliminate, but rather emphasize faults, if it has to ensure financial interestedness in an unsound structural and production environment.

Physical barriers can also be partly eliminated in the short run. There are, other problems, which can be solved only in the medium, and long term, for instance those, which pertain to the standards of production. Furthermore, there are also objective differences between countries (a discussion of which would be too great a digression).

Further improvement of the management system depends primarily on the ability to harness spontaneous processes regulated by financial interestedness—within the limits of general balance—to serve orderly growth. This can be achieved only if one can improve rational incentives, and recognize the conditions and limits of regulating in this manner.

9. Finally, is every state interference with enterprise management, that is so characteristic nowadays, justifiable? When the economy struggles with disequilibria, central interference with economic processes becomes more pronounced from time to time. Even those who practice it, question the theoretical correctness of the manner. It is difficult to parade oneself in the role of the judge. Nobody could seriously claim that the 1968 economic reform intended to secure orderly development without state interference. Hungarians have always been aware that direct financial regulations were also needed beside indirect ones; just as it was known that the means of production and distribution as well as of prices and incomes regulation had to be necessarily used in defined fields and under certain conditions.

Nevertheless, it seemed obvious that control by values (price and incomes policy) was better than natural controls (production and distribution policy); that control by financial means (monetary and budgetary policy) was better than control by values; and that within the limits of financial control, indirect interference conforms more to the logic of the control system, than direct interference.

This is the reason that when too many production and distribution constraints have to be used, when prices and wages have to be centrally controlled over a too wide area, and direct means gain prominence in financial control also, the question must arise whether the economy is overburdened. It is precisely in the interest of strengthening internal equilibria that less speculative targets ought to be set.

ENERGY AND THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

by

ANDRÁS HERCEG

The rate of economic growth accelerated in the majority of socialist countries during the second half of the sixties compared to the preceding five-year period, and slowed with few exceptions in the developed capitalist countries (among the exceptions, Austria, Holland, Italy, Japan). The dynamism of energy consumption in CMEA countries is shown by average annual growth rates of 5.9 per cent in the 1961–1965 period, and 5 per cent during that of 1966–1970. In contrast, energy consumption tended to accelerate in capitalist countries; rates for the periods of 4.3 and 4.8 per cent in the EEC countries, 4.6 and 5.8 per cent in Austria, 6.1 and 7.9 per cent in Sweden, 9.8 and 13.8 per cent in Japan, and 4.2 and 4.9 per cent in the United States.

On examining the whole of the 1961–1970 period, the conclusion is that the growth of energy consumption exceeded the increment in the value added (GDP) in numerous capitalist countries—among them Austria, Denmark, Holland, Japan, Canada, Norway, Italy, Sweden, the United States—while this was true only of Bulgaria and Rumania among the CMEA countries.

The growth of the demand for energy remained very rapid during the early seventies as well, but the rate of economic growth was generally higher, therefore the specific energy consumption of the national economies showed a tendency to decrease in socialist countries as well as in capitalist ones.

The advent of the energy crisis at the end of 1973 triggered off a strong polarization:

— energy consumption fell back in the majority of capitalist countries (by 6.4–6.5 per cent in the United States and in the EEC by the end of 1975, for instance);

— the energy crisis hardly made its effects felt in the socialist countries, which is proved by the fact that total consumption in the CMEA countries in 1975 exceeded the 1973 level by almost 10 per cent.

There was a world-wide boom in energy consumption again in the second half of the decade: capitalist countries consumed 7–8 per cent more energy in 1978 than in 1975, and the socialist countries 11–12 per cent more.

A comparison of the Hungarian data for the development of energy consumption with the international data will show that energy consumption grew faster in Hungary during the seventies than in capitalist countries, but slower than in the majority of the socialist ones: Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania, or in the Soviet Union.

The international data is taken from the UN publication "World Energy Supplies." The Hungarian data taken from these volumes, for differences in methodology, concept, and

Table 1

Relationship between Energy Consumption and Growth in National Income

Country	Average annual rate of energy consumption (per cent)				Increase of energy consumption per 1 per cent of growth of national income* (per cent)			
	1971–1973	1974–1975	1976	1977	1971–1973	1974–1975	1976	1977
Austria	6.2	—4.0	8.1	—3.5	1.11	—3.85	1.40	—0.90
Belgium	4.7	—5.0	6.6	—0.4	0.87	—3.85	1.14	—0.25
Bulgaria	3.1	5.6	0.8	3.4	0.42	0.65	0.13	0.52
Canada	5.0	2.2	3.5	0.9	0.74	0.92	0.64	0.30
Czechoslovakia	2.0	3.2	4.5	4.1	0.39	0.51	1.18	0.93
Denmark	—0.5	—5.4	11.0	3.6	—0.11		1.77	2.12
Federal Republic of Germany	4.1	—3.8	8.8	—2.4	1.08		1.63	—0.92
France	5.2	—5.7	10.9	0.6	0.93	—3.35	2.66	0.19
German Democratic Republic	2.0	2.1	2.8	1.5	0.37	0.39	0.74	0.29
Holland	8.0	1.1	3.8	—6.9	1.82	0.85	0.88	—2.76
Hungary	3.8	3.9	5.5	1.8	0.60	0.62	1.83	0.21
Italy	4.2	1.4	8.0	—4.0	1.11	3.50	1.51	—2.35
Japan	7.5	—2.6	5.4	1.8	0.90	—6.50	0.86	0.35
Norway	1.4	0.7	5.7	2.1	0.29	0.016	0.89	0.55
Poland	3.4	5.7	6.9	4.4	0.34	0.60	1.00	0.83
Rumania	7.1	4.2	7.4	2.4	0.63	0.37	0.87	0.25
Soviet Union	5.6	5.1	4.8	3.3	0.89	1.05	0.91	0.66
Sweden	—1.0	—2.2	8.5	—3.0	—0.63	—0.92	9.44	
United Kingdom	1.7	—4.2	0.3	2.0	0.41		0.08	2.22
United States	3.5	—3.3	6.5	1.5	0.73		1.20	0.29

* Here and elsewhere: national income in the case of socialist countries, value added (GDP) in capitalist countries.
Source: *World Energy Supplies, 1970–73, 1973–78;* Table 2.

content, cannot be directly compared with that taken from energy statistics as gathered in Hungary. But experience indicates that they can be used for international comparisons, in particular to demonstrate tendencies and proportions.

Major Dynamic and Structural Changes in Hungarian Energy Consumption

The changes in energy consumption, varying in trend and extent from country to country, came about—naturally—as a result of numerous factors. Yet it is clear that the most important factors had similar effects in most countries, even though significant differences are observed according to level of development, social set-up, political-economic system of means, structural relations, and last but not least, according to characteristics of the quantity and quality of the energy sources at their disposal. Technical development, the progress of mechanization, and the energy demands of the advance of petrochemistry, the spread of intensive agricultural methods, the development of motor transport, the rise in living standards, and the improvement of infrastructural conditions should be mentioned among the most important factors.

The trends mentioned are reflected in the development of Hungarian energy consumption as follows:

— the primary and secondary sectors increased their consumption at a rate faster than average during the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971–75);

— in contrast, the consumption in agriculture, the service sectors, and private consumption grew particularly fast during the years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1976–80).

When the growth of energy consumption is compared with production output, a clearly positive picture develops for the period of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

The specific energy consumption of production decreased by 7.5–8 per cent on average in the primary and secondary sectors in spite of growing demands for energy from agriculture. The modifications to the internal structure had a further favourable effect, in that energy consumption per gross production value of the national economy decreased by 8.5 per cent in total.

The fact that the specific energy consumption for production in these sectors failed to decrease indicates a change in the period between 1976 and 1978. Naturally, considerable differences developed in various parts of the national economy, but the changes of opposite direction and extent cancelled out one another. Thus the 1978 energy consumption involved in all the production of the material branches corresponded to the level of 1975. Since private consumption as well as consumption in the services increased rapidly, the energy demand of the whole of the economy increased by 2.6 per cent as compared to 1975.

Following the 1979 change with its emphasis on the energy-saving principle, and on those aimed at more rational energy management, energy consumption in the Hungarian economy remained virtually on the level of the previous year. Energy demand per unit of gross production decreased in all material sectors, while private consumption increased more slowly than in previous years. Thus the total energy intensity of the national economy again decreased by 2.6 per cent.

The consumption of energy in the national economy, and changes in relative proportions that developed between 1970 and 1979 are shown in Table 2.

The increase in energy consumption has been accompanied by significant structural changes in Hungary over the past twenty years. The most important trend has been the growth in the role of hydrocarbons. The level of petrochemicals and motorization was still

Table 2

Direct Energy Consumed by Economic Sectors

Sector	Proportion of energy consumed (per cent)			
	1970	1975	1978	1979
Manufacturing industry	45.3	46.2	45.1	45.0
Construction	2.2	2.4	2.4	2.2
Agriculture, forestry, and water management	5.9	8.4	8.7	8.5
Transport and communications	9.8	7.6	6.8	6.6
Private consumption	26.8	24.4	25.3	26.0
Others	11.0	11.0	11.7	11.7
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Based on data measured in heating value.

rather low in socialist countries, including Hungary, during the first half of the sixties. This process started with a phase delay, and from a lower base compared to the developed capitalist countries; however, development accelerated in the early seventies, and proved steady even after the arrival of the oil crisis.

As in most countries, a contraction of the mining industry and the closing down of uneconomical collieries started in Hungary too during the mid-sixties (the fact that the number of underground collieries is currently 100 fewer than in 1960 demonstrates the point). The gradual decline of underground mining could not be made up for by a concurrent vigorous development of open-cut lignite production. This was partly because of the lower heating value of lignite; thus the volume of Hungarian coal production measured in heating value has gone down from year to year. This process has been accompanied by a strong increase in demand for hydrocarbons, which was met to a limited extent by domestic production but

Table 3

Composition of Energy Sources

Energy source	1960	1970	1975	1978	1979
		(per cent)			
Coal	72.4	49.8	35.9	30.0	28.9
Hydrocarbons	21.2	43.0	57.5	64.5	64.6
Oil and oil derivatives	18.6	29.4	38.2	40.0	39.0
Natural gas	2.6	13.6	19.3	24.5	25.6
Other fuels	6.4	7.2	6.6	5.5	6.5
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Based on data measured in heating value

mainly by imports. The composition structure of Hungarian energy resources, that is the quantity of energy available for consumption, clearly suggests the profound changes resulting from world economic processes and following domestic development concepts based on these processes.

The changes are brought out more clearly when we bear in mind that the Hungarian economy consumed 77 per cent more oil, almost 150 per cent more natural gas, and of hydrocarbon products 130 per cent more petrol, 117 per cent more gas and fuel oil in 1979 than in 1970; the consumption of coal fell by 6 per cent. (The extent of the fall is even greater if coal consumption is calculated in heating value rather than in tons, owing to the deterioration of the average heating value of coal.)

The changes in the volume and structure of Hungarian consumption only modified but did not fundamentally influence Hungary's position for per capita consumption. The differences vary according to the fuel: for instance, Hungarian per capita consumption of solid fuels may be thought mediocre in international comparison, that of liquid fuels low, and that of natural gas relatively favourable. Generally, the conclusion is that the level of total per capita energy consumption is still lower in Hungary than in most of the socialist and industrially developed capitalist countries: the average figure for the CMEA countries exceeded the Hungarian level by 57 per cent in 1977, that of the EEC countries by 38 per cent, of the Scandinavian countries by 60–70 per cent; indeed the Canadian consumption was almost, and that of the United States more than three times, as high as Hungary's.

A certain picture emerges on the level of energy consumption of various countries by comparing their per capita energy consumption. It must also be considered, however, that this index gives only a limited and compound expression of the effect of the factors causing differences in energy demand. It is commonly acknowledged that the energy requirements of a country are determined by its economic potential and by organically related factors; among them are the production structure, the state, the level of development, of infrastructure, the level and composition of private consumption, historically developed traditions, climatic conditions. (For instance, energy consumption increases in the Scandinavian countries because of their climatic conditions, and decreases in those of the Mediterranean; while the relation between life-style and energy consumption is demonstrated by the high per capita motor fuel consumption which has occurred in the United States.)

Besides the above, considerable differences derive from energy consumption being fundamentally divisible into two components: a proportion commensurate with the level of economic development, that is one which meets the realistic demand made by production and a similar demand made by the standard of living, as well as an unnecessary proportion of overconsumption in both. Accurate or even approximate delineation of the two proportions poses a difficult statistical problem, owing to the complexity of the components involved, since the concept of "reasonable" and "needless" consumption here necessary has not been defined either in Hungary or anywhere else.

According to the international data, per capita energy consumption exceeds the Hungarian figure by necessity in countries with a higher level of economic development and infrastructure. But at the same time, the high figure for some countries indicates that their relatively low, or at least not satisfactory, level of productivity, their material and energy-intensive product structure carries with it elements inducing increase as compared to a realistic and economically justified energy consumption. Some socialist countries, and Hungary may be classed among these, are such that the attempt to make the economy more efficient is the most important reserve in order to optimalize energy consumption. The potential is demonstrated by the fact that a further increase in energy consumption, which had previously

been growing, was successfully checked in Hungary in 1979 and 1980 by measures aimed at a more rational management of energy which had gradually been asserting themselves since 1978. It may be added that no energy shortage hindered the growth of production in 1979 or in 1980; the required energy was available both in quantity and in the appropriate composition.

Production and Consumption of Electric Power

Owing to its versatility in application, electric power occupies a special position. Its production, modes of use, its technical and economic characteristics provide a cross section of the energy economy of any country. In general, the increase in demand for electric power had been faster in most countries—apart from occasional fluctuations—than the growth of the economy. Consumption increased particularly dynamically in socialist countries, among them in Hungary, where its rate of growth proved to be greater than that in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, or in the Soviet Union. In spite of this, even at the end of the decade per capita consumption was higher by an average of 50 per cent in the CMEA countries, and by 60 per cent in the EEC countries than in Hungary; while Norway, Sweden, Canada, and the United States recorded per capita consumption four to seven times higher than Hungary.

The various sectors of the Hungarian economy relied on electric power to differing extents in the seventies. The more important dynamic relations may be outlined as follows:

— the total electric power consumption of the productive sectors diminished by 6.3 per cent during the Fourth Five-Year Plan period, yet specific consumption increased by 3.3 per cent owing to the rapid growth of the consumption of the non-material sphere;

— in the first three years of the Fifth Five-Year Plan period the specific electric power consumption of the material sectors deteriorated considerably, by a total of 4 per cent. The increase in private consumption represented yet another growth factor, thus in the end, electric power consumption per unit of gross production was 5.4 per cent higher in 1978 than in 1975;

— the intensity of consumption of electric energy moderated (by about 0.3 per cent) for the national economy as a whole as a result of favourable changes in 1979; this can be traced partly to an improvement in the specific consumption by the productive sectors, and partly to a slower increase in private consumption than earlier.

The varying rate of growth of demand is also expressed in the changing proportion of electric power used in different sectors. (See Table 4.)

The increase in electricity consumed by agriculture and by private consumers are most characteristic in the change: these together accounted for about 18 per cent of the total consumption in 1970, but almost 28 per cent in 1979. The extent of this growth is the equivalent of an 11 per cent fall in the proportion for industrial consumption. This tendency was not unique to Hungary, but took place in most countries, according to the international data. In general the proportion of the production sectors' use of electric power is usually higher in the socialist countries, and private consumption correspondingly lower than in the developed capitalist countries.

About three-quarters of the electric consumption of the Hungarian economy supplies the demands of industry and private consumers, threefore it is reasonable to examine these two sectors in more detail.

Table 4

Electric Power Consumption by National Economic Sectors

Sector	Electric power consumption*							
	Division (per cent)				Proportion in percentage of direct power use			
	1970	1975	1978	1979	1970	1975	1978	1979
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	7.2	8.2	8.4	8.5
Industry	66.2	59.1	55.6	55.4	10.6	10.5	10.3	10.5
Construction	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.5	4.0	4.5	4.7	5.8
Agriculture, forestry, water management	5.8	7.9	8.1	8.5	7.2	7.7	7.8	8.5
Transport and communications	5.2	5.8	5.7	5.4	3.9	6.3	7.0	7.0
Private consumption	12.1	15.3	17.8	19.3	3.4	5.2	6.0	6.4

* Allowing for self-consumption and line-losses based on data measured in heating values.

The availability of sufficient electric power commensurate with the rate of progress is crucial for industrial development. This problem became particularly important in the seventies, when, as a result of waning labour resources, increased production was to be achieved primarily by improved productivity, which means through technical development.

Despite outstanding increments in 1976 and 1978, electric power consumption of Hungarian industry increased during the decade observed in proportion to the growth in the economic development; the increase was generally faster than in the most developed capitalist countries, yet slower than for that in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, and the Soviet Union. The international data indicate that the electric power intensity of production increased for industry in several capitalist countries, while in the majority of the socialist countries, including Hungary, the rise in industrial production exceeded the rapidly increasing consumption of electric energy; thus the specific demand for electric energy went down during the whole of the period.

Hungarian industry uses the major part, about two-thirds, of its electric power to drive motors. The rapid growth in consumption is the result of the general need to improve technical equipment and to raise technical standards. The fundamental reason of this growth has been the huge investment in industry, and the consequent increase in the output of the electric motors used.

The consumption increase was accompanied by a production increase primarily where the power was used directly to operate production equipment—e.g. machinery to process or transform. (Naturally, how up-to-date the equipment is, and its optimal conditions for operation, are important factors from the point of specific power demand.)

Much electric power was consumed in creating more favourable production conditions: health and safety for the labour force, improvement of working conditions for heavy labour, modern forms of material handling, storing.

There was an extra demand on electric power in some cases to compensate for a deterioration in certain unfavourable production conditions, for instance, for reasons of geology in mining.

The rise in the numbers of electric machines is only one element which contributed to the increase of the total increase in the output of electric motors. The gradual modernization of this stock of equipment and the rising proportion of more recent models of higher individual output also played a role here. The fact that the number of operating electric motors increased by 11.3 per cent, and their output by 13.1 per cent in industry during the period between 1976 and 1979 also indicates this. When this tendency is considered, we have to take into account that increasing the specific capacity of electric motors is justified from a technical and economic angle only where it is a precondition for a production increase, or for modernizing technology. Higher capacity involves higher power consumption; it is also expressed in an increase of electric power consumption, and therefore in overconsumption, possibly unreasonable, when compared to the volume of production. So, it is absolutely necessary for rational power management that the capacity of electric motors should conform to the optimal technical and economic conditions of production.

Almost a quarter of the electric power consumed by industry is used for technological purposes, for smelting, electrolysis, heat treatment, warming, singeing, drying, and so on. In other words, consumption of this kind closely relates to the production process and often forms an organic part of the latter.

By far the largest part of electric power consumed for technological purposes is in metallurgic and chemical industrial processes. Exploiting the bauxite wealth of Hungary means the production of a considerable volume of aluminium, which in turn needs a great deal of electric power. For the time being, however, only a smaller part of the smelting aluminium available is produced domestically. The smelting of the alumina is handled to a very large degree under a CMEA cooperation, more particularly by a Hungarian-Soviet agreement on alumina-aluminium; the electric power needs here are not a power debit to the Hungarian economy.

Industry uses about 6 per cent of its electric power for lighting. Power consumed for this purpose has been the most rapidly increasing element in electric consumption by industry during the decade.

Parallel with the rise of the standard of living, the improvement in accommodation conditions, the increasing demand for a better life-style, and the rapid rise in consumer durables, private consumption of electric power increased rapidly. Almost all homes are supplied with electric power by now, but the level of consumption differs according to household and to region. One instance of this is the fact that electric power consumption per household increased in townships twice as fast in recent years as in the capital city; yet in spite of that, average consumption outside Budapest reached only half of that in Budapest.

The increase in private consumption of electric power has been rapid even by international comparison, but the level of per capita consumption is still rather low. (Excess energy used in some countries because of climatic conditions and because of prevailing consumption habits naturally also have to be considered in comparisons.)

The population requires electric energy for various purposes: at the end of the decade domestic use of consumption is about 29 per cent for water heating, one-quarter for lighting, 13 per cent for heating, almost 10 per cent for cooking, 23–24 per cent for miscellaneous purposes. This increase in consumption is basically due to the increasing use of household appliances, radios, and television sets. (A few well-known examples: the number of refrigerators increased from 103 to 281 per thousand people between 1970 and 1978, the number of washing machines from 179 to 290, and the number of television sets—according to licences issued—from 171 to 252.)

Naturally, the capacity of privately owned and commercially sold appliances is strongly

Table 5

Comparative Growth and Level of Per Capita Private Consumption of Electricity

Country	Per capita private consumption of electric power			
	1978		1970	1978
	as a percentage of consumption in 1970		as a percentage of Hungarian consumption	
Austria	182.7	338.1		253.8
Bulgaria	227.8	165.5		154.8
Czechoslovakia	192.2	158.7		125.3
Federal Republic of Germany	184.8		418.4	317.6
France	193.3*		239.8	190.4
GDR	156.0		237.5	152.2
Greece	225.5		128.9	119.4
Holland	151.8		378.4	236.8
Hungary	243.5		100.0	100.0
Italy	157.0**		205.7	132.7**
Poland	204.8		72.9	61.3
Rumania	200.5**		62.9	51.8**
Spain	177.9		139.0	101.6
Sweden	183.5**		752.6	567.2**
Switzerland	142.1		540.4	315.3
United Kingdom	110.3	792.9		359.3
Yugoslavia	199.9		169.9	139.5

* Based on 1976 data.
** Based on 1977 data.
Source: *Annual Bulletin of Electric Energy Statistics for Europe, 1978;* Table 3.

dependent on the model, its construction and size, and on the quality of service. Two basic trends are discernible here:

— electric power consumption of these higher-capacity models providing improved service (such as colour television sets, automatic washing machines, deep freezers) is necessarily greater than that of older appliances, and at the same time, their use value is also considerably higher;

— technical development, the drive for more rational energy management does or at least should have the effect of optimizing the specific power consumption of appliances.

The increasing demand for electric energy from the economy has brought in its train a dynamic development of electric power production. The net established capacity more than doubled between 1970 and 1978—rapid progress even by international comparison. Even so, the level of the per capita net established capacity is still relatively low in Hungary. This level is approximately half of that in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, a quarter of that in Switzerland, one-seventh of the Swedish, and one-tenth of the Norwegian level.

Considerable differences can also be observed world-wide in the methods, technology, and fuel structure of electric power production. What is particularly thought-provoking on examining international data is that essentially traditional thermal power stations provided electric power for Hungary even at the end of the decade while other sources were already being used to various degrees in numerous countries.

Countries with favourable natural geography (sea shores, fast rivers with abundant water-flow, ground configuration) which allow the utilization of hydro-electric power are in the happiest position. Unfortunately there are hardly any such opportunities in Hungary, yet it would be incorrect to assume that the country's water reserves are not suitable for the production of more energy than at the present.

A further opportunity is offered through exploiting Hungary's thermal waters. Their use for heating and therapeutical purposes could be considered first of all, but there are countries (Iceland, Italy, Japan, the United States) where electric energy is also generated by using geothermic energy.

A varying proportion of electric energy is produced today from nuclear sources in most industrially developed countries, and in some it approaches 20–25 per cent. Hungary's first nuclear power station is now under construction, and the Paks station will come on stream during the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981–85).

From the above it would appear that Hungarian electric energy is tied to traditional thermal power stations to more than a reasonable extent. Bringing other sources into stream may gradually bring an end to this conservative feature even in the present decade; at the same time it will reduce Hungary's dependence on fossile, particularly on hydrocarbon fuels.

The growing dominance of hydrocarbons in the fuel structure of power stations has been observed all over the world. During the period under examination, this growth in the use of hydrocarbons has been accompanied by an absolute reduction in coal consumption in several countries. This process slowed down between 1973 and 1975, and later, since 1975, a gradual increase in the importance of coal has been seen. The change differed from country to country in extent, form, and time, but this new development in coal exploitation is a feature generally observed. The earlier, rapid growth in hydrocarbon consumption came to an end at this same time, and a stagnation, indeed a reduction, in consumption is now seen in some countries. A cumulative result of all this is that the proportion of solid fuels rose and that of hydrocarbons fell during the second half of the decade.

This change was not felt in Hungary until 1978. Earlier development decisions, which had been based on the favourable technical and economic parameters of hydrocarbon fuels (good conversion degree, relatively low specific labour requirement, ecologic conformity, and so on), and in harmony with what had been international practice, exerted their influence on the increase in hydrocarbon consumption. This tendency proved steady, and the hydrocarbons' share in the 1978 power station fuel structure of Hungary was already in excess of 50 per cent.

In the meantime, in conformity with changes in world economic trends, thinking on energy was modified in Hungary as well. The new principles emphasized the need, among others, to increase the economical consumption of coal, and, at the same time, to rationalize the consumption of hydrocarbons. The effect of this conceptual change appeared in 1979 in the electric energy industry through a greater utilization of the capacity of coal-fuelled power stations, and through a reduction in the use of hydrocarbon-fuelled stations. Another consequence was that the proportion of hydrocarbons consumed by thermal power stations was somewhat reduced, and that of coal increased. A further favourable feature of the structural

change was the apparent shift in the proportions of the hydrocarbons used: natural gas partially replaced expensive fuel oil.

The Role of the External Economy and Reserves

Everywhere in the world where hydrocarbons are being replaced by coal, there is a preference for those fields where coal can be used economically under the appropriate technical conditions or where these conditions can be developed, in a way which is optimal for the economy. The differences that have developed in the cost of fuels today represent a very important element in economic calculations, when decisions are to be made on the basis of available alternatives. Western European coal and coke prices increased by 300–400 per cent between 1970 and 1979; oil prices increased by 900 per cent; the price of diesel oil by 1100 per cent, and the price of fuel oils by 600–750 per cent; these figures are characteristic of the extent of changes in prices which occurred during the decade under examination.

Naturally, these prices express average increases; at the same time, the specific price indices must differ from the calculated averages, according to country, quality of goods, political considerations, and other factors. Thus between 1970 and 1979, for instance.

— the price of coal from Northern French and Polish collieries increased by about 230 per cent, while that from the Ruhr region rose by almost 400 per cent;

— in oil, the price of the Algerian and Saudi Arabian product increased by 900 per cent, that of Nigerian origin by 1060 per cent, that of Libyan origin by 1170 per cent, and that of Iranian or Kuwaiti origin by 1250 per cent.

Apart from this, the price indices also include the effect of changes in the dollar exchange rate.

Hungarian energy production could not keep pace with the growing energy demand, neither in quantity nor in composition; therefore an increasing proportion had to be covered from imports during the past decade. The proportion of imports is particularly high in the case of oil and coke, but the highest rises in import were observed in natural gas and electric power. (See Table 6.)

The transmission system set up during the past twenty years greatly facilitates economic transaction in energy imports, connecting the Soviet fields with the countries, including Hungary, which joined in the building of the transmission lines; oil is transported by the Friendship I and Friendship II pipelines, natural gas by the Brotherhood pipeline, and electric power by the 750 kV transmission line.

The opening of the Orenburg natural gas pipeline, and the advent of the 750 kV transmission line between Vinnitsa and Albertirsa were also important here in 1979 (this is indicated also by the increased import proportion of the two energy sources). It should be added that these were the factors which in 1979 made for the partial replacing of oil by natural gas in power stations and, at the same time, an increase in electric consumption while domestic production was decreasing.

An increase in imports is not a special feature of the Hungarian economy, it has occurred all over the world apart from some small countries rich in natural resources. According to international data, the dependence on imported basic fuels of several capitalist countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden) was higher than that of Hungary. The position of the socialist countries is, however, more favourable: the dependence on imported basic fuels was less in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, and Rumania than in Hungary, and both Poland and the Soviet Union are net exporters.

Table 6

Imports of the Most Important Energy Sources Consumed by the National Economy

per cent

Item	1970	1975	1978	1979
Coal	13.8	13.5	12.7	14.1
Oil	68.5	79.4	80.8	82.7
Natural gas	5.5	12.6	14.5	30.6
Electric power	24.7	25.6	16.9	29.6
Coke	60.3	63.1	54.1	53.7
Petrol, Diesel oil	12.8	31.7	18.7	21.5
Fuel oil	14.7	8.6	17.4	18.1
Liquid fuel	17.1	3.9	9.2	11.1

Based on data measured in heating value.

The future energy requirements of the Hungarian economy seems to be secure. Socialist, principally Soviet, energy sources can be entirely relied upon in the future. Taking into account international price jumps and changes in world economic conditions, it becomes clear, however, that the age of cheap fuel of unlimited availability is over. Even countries richer in natural resources are re-appraising their earlier thinking; energy savings are a must in the eighties everywhere.

One of the possible courses is an increased utilization of Hungarian resources. Here, it is principally the exploitation of proven coal reserves (the Eocene brown coals of Transdanubia, the lignite fields of Northern Hungary and Szombathely offering open-cut mining, and the coking coal of the Mecsek) which may come into consideration for the actual energy needs and the material strength of the national economy. But the conditions which secure economic and technically modern consumption will also have to be established in tandem with the increase in coal production.

Beyond that the development of the product structure by encouraging those economic fields which tie up a specifically smaller share of energy also poses an important task.

Two notable prospects offer themselves, as regards appropriate industrial development:

— some Hungarian industry, embodying considerable intellectual capacity (the communication and vacuum engineering industries, the instrument and pharmaceutical industries) require low energy inputs for their production; in fact, according to the input-output balance, their cumulative energy consumption, that is the specific consumption transmitted by the prior production phases, is also lower than that of most other industry;

— following large-scale investment, and international cooperation, the amount of metallurgical and petrochemical basic materials available has increased greatly; these products involve a considerable amount of energy, yet their processing requires much less further energy. Therefore creating the as yet missing capacity is expected to have the effect of decreasing the specific consumption of energy. By preferring machinery of optimal energy demand, using waste products, the spreading of energy-saving processes, and so on, further considerable advantages in all spheres of the national economy, and thus the advance of rational energy management, will be possible.

There are numerous examples of energy-saving processes, let us therefore confine ourselves to one in industry, and to another in agriculture.

— Cement production is one of the most energy-intensive technologies in industry, but appreciable differences are observed in energy consumption according to the nature of the process. Since the energy requirement of the dry process of clinker production is less than half of that of the wet process, extending the dry process technology acts as a moderating element for the energy consumption in producing cement. The 20 per cent reduction in energy consumption in the cement industry during the seventies, to a considerable extent, came from the result this changed technology.

— Agriculture consumes much energy in desiccating various products. The fuel oil requirements for corn-drying, for instance, is well in excess of the energy input needed to produce corn. Much energy can be saved, therefore, by avoiding excess drying, or desiccation below the necessary level of cereals, and by using the natural, "prewithering" of fodder. Experimental processes which render the artificial desiccating of corn unnecessary and are of minimal energy input, also deserve attention.

Replacing the more valuable, higher priced fuels (primarily the oil derivatives and coke) by cheaper fuels is fundamental all over the world, and naturally in Hungary also. The prospects are bright in Hungary in this respect—if for nothing else than for the low level of current utilization—but the fields for optimal application have yet to be determined, and industry has yet to provide the necessary machinery and equipment.

The underexploited energy sources in Hungary are:

— Geothermic energy and the waste-heat of power stations will have to be exploited more than now by agriculture and communal establishments. Energy of this nature used in agriculture to heat glass-houses, plastic-covered hot-houses, animal breeding units has already saved several tens of thousands of tons of fuel oil; extending this utilization is not limited by the reserves.

— Exploiting solar and wind energy as renewable energy sources depends partly on geography and climate; the exploration and utilization of the opportunities available is taking place at varying speeds in different countries. Hungary now is making only the initial steps in this direction.

By retaining the sun's radiated energy, agriculture and forestry are also energy producers by transmission. Their waste and side products are huge energy reserves whose exploitation is one of the primary energy management tasks of our time. Here are some widely known examples:

— Several hundreds of thousands of tons of timber waste result from production in forestry and in the timber industry;

— corn and sunflower stalks as well as straw produce millions of tons of fuel annually;

— alcohol can be economically produced from produce good for no other purpose;

— gases can be obtained from stable manure using appropriate equipment;

— some industrial and communal wastes that cannot be used as raw materials, or regenerated, could be burnt in rubbish-disposal works. Apart from protecting the environment, these could also contribute to the energy supplies of the economy.

Numerous opportunities are thus available for progress towards rational energy management; taking advantage of them is a task for the future. The necessity and conditions are outlined in the energy management programme of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The most important condition for the programme is the continuing change in attitudes expected from producers and consumers, and their recognition of a realistic role for and the value of energy.

IN A CRISIS-RIDDEN WORLD

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

I

Let me start when talking on the future of culture by first making a declaration or, rather, though I write prose, with a lyric confession. This confession has two sides or, more precisely, one side and another with two halves.

The first: I am fond of chiromancers and of those other clairvoyants who tell the future from coffee-grounds. The second, and lower one: I am allergic to futurologists, be they recruited from social scientists and economists like Toffler, Jungk, and other secular gurus, or soutane-wearers of the Order of Computers like the experts of the Club of Rome.

However, there is also the upper half, which seems to contradict the lower one but is actually a complement of that: I feel great respect for scientists, thinkers, and writers who project their profound knowledge on to the screen of the future, men like the French physicist Alfred Kastler and the American chemist Linus Pauling. If I may be permitted to coin a term in a language that is not my own, I would call them presentologists.

Why should I not feel awe for the chiromancers remembering something that happened nearly forty years ago? One evening which I spent with friends, a young woman amused herself and us with palmistry. It was a pleasure to leave my hand in hers, so fine but energetic. A moment later she suddenly looked nervous, even frightened. After some hesitation she advised me to be very, very prudent on my thirtieth birthday: death would be lying in wait for me. I reassured her with a smile not to worry, and told her I did not believe in such foolish things. I was going to turn thirty within a few months.

Next day I was recalled to the colours and within a week I found myself

Based on a keynote address on "The Future of Culture" delivered in Lyons, France, on September 21, 1981, at the opening session of the 45th Congress of P.E.N. International, the theme of which was: "Literature—hope for a crisis-ridden world."

in the Russian theatre of war. On my birthday I was eight kilometres away from the front line. Still smiling, I thought of my charming woman-friend. In the afternoon I was ordered to take a lorry-load of munitions to the line. Along the way an aircraft flew low over us. It passed without firing at us. A little later, I heard a bomb exploding near-by.

My mission completed, I returned to quarters. The small house where I lodged was no more. A single incendiary bomb had been dropped there.

As a postscript: My chiromancer was to perish in a fire two years later in the basement of a block of flats in Budapest during the siege of the city.

It is not only because of my obsession with anecdotes that I tell this story which, to be sure, inspired me to write it up as fiction, but it will serve as a model for what I am about to relate.

2

As regards the second aspect of my metaphor, is it surprising that I feel an almost allergic aversion for professional futurologists when, twenty years ago, I read that the Gutenberg galaxy was finished, but look at this Congress of young and old Gutenbergians who make up a small milky way.

How could I help distrusting the predictions of experts without a computer when I remember reading four years ago, on May 16, 1977, in the German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, a review of a book by the famous American futurologist Herman Kahn bearing the title: *Vor uns die guten Jahre*—the good years ahead of us.

As for the futurologists with computers, it is enough for me to refer to the general collapse predicted by Professor Meadows in *Limits to Growth*. I take the liberty of clarifying and perhaps also justifying my point by an *aperçu* of the Nobel Prize laureate Professor Dennis Gabor who, when analysing the disasters foretold, said that if we presume that a hundred years ago the economic and biological conditions of the Earth were as they were, but that there existed a computer which was fed with the kind of data and codes which the Club of Rome team used, the print-out would have told us that the big cities of Europe would be covered with horse-dung up to two metres high. But, he added, man has in the meantime invented the motor vehicle which, in its turn, causes us a lot of trouble but man will invent and so on.

As for the other half of my poetic image, it will serve as a background of all that I should like to discuss. But, already on the basis of what I have just said, I hesitate to speak of the future of culture. I prefer to stick to the present tense of culture, and of literature in particular. Not only

because of the superior ways of the futurologists I dislike, but, for two other reasons as well which are much more important. One is our own very profession, for the writer's raw material is the present as well as the past. The future is reserved for the science-fictioneers.

3

My other reason is more general and more redoubtable. The mistake of predictions relating to the future of mankind is forgetting or disregarding the greatest danger threatening us, and this is certainly not a future danger but something very much of the present. Must I name it? This danger may not figure in the works of futurologists, but it is present in our minds during the day and it haunts our dreams.

For a long time I had tried to be more or less optimistic about the future of culture. Culture will be there, I thought, even if two-thirds or even nine-tenths of humanity perish in a nuclear holocaust. I said to myself that culture exists even without books, without the modern contraptions of technical civilization. Prehistoric man had his own culture in Lascaux and we still admire it. But precisely while working on this paper I read once again what Linus Pauling had to say and my optimism vanished. Linus Pauling, the only man to have been twice awarded the Nobel Prize, one for chemistry and a peace prize, has said many a time that the nuclear danger might turn fatal for the human species as such. But one of the attributes of this species is precisely the desire or instinct to forget the facts which make it feel uneasy. This is what happened to me, this is what I can see for myself every day in every country where I speak to people. These are facts which seem to be deliberately forgotten by those who build up the world's nuclear arsenal and who try to lull our anxieties speaking of a limited atomic war.

I quote a paper by Linus Pauling, "Reality and the effects of a nuclear war." He begins by referring to Alfred Nobel who wanted "to invent some stuff or a machine having so terrible a capacity of mass destruction that war would for ever be impossible." This stuff has been invented but—and this is the big *but* of our present and future—the possibility of war has not been excluded. I tremble to say that but I have to add: it has even grown in recent months. One cannot speak of the future of culture, of the problems of creation, publication and distribution of literature, without taking the risk of our forgetfulness becoming fatal.

Let me return to Pauling's figures. The explosion of the Bikini bomb,

which is already part of the past, taking place in 1946, yielded 20 megatons. The energy released by the explosion of this bomb alone was greater than that of all the explosives ever employed in all the wars of history, the last two wars included. Thousands of such H-bombs have been produced since Bikini and continue to be produced in our days. The scientists assembled at Pugwash two years ago have calculated that the aggregate yield of the explosion of all nuclear devices in existence today is about 60,000 megatons. This already is beyond our comprehension. By way of comparison and also to stimulate the imagination, the working tool of literature, here is a small sample likewise taken from Linus Pauling: only one-tenth of a thousandth of these 60,000 megatons was dropped on all fronts and on all cities during the Second World War. Now some science-fiction, but this time on the science side: If, in a nuclear war, the equivalent of these six megatons of the last war were dropped the first day, it would take 146 days to use up all the nuclear bombs which are in store. But there could be no 146 days for the human species, already on the second the human race will have ceased to exist.

These non-futurological calculations are so foul that only an electronic computer is capable of absorbing and digesting them, since the poor little organic computer of our brains cannot help throwing them up. This takes us to the threshold of what can be called literature. The writer's task—to take refuge in a metaphor again—with respect to the discovery of a reliable remedy for cancer will not be to sing the praises of those who will have discovered it, nor to glorify human progress that has delivered us of this plague. That is up to politicians and journalists. The art of literature is to present the look of the cloth by turning it over, by telling, for example, the tragedy of the last sick man who cannot be saved by the new remedy either. But there are situations in the history both of mankind and of literature itself where one ought not to shrink from the task that is much more difficult from the literary point of view: to make us see the right side up by showing it.

4

What can literature do in a crisis-ridden world? What can writers do to give a positive answer to the question posed by P.E.N. International, but also to the anxieties and hopes expressed by the readers of all countries? Or to the feelings and emotions not yet expressed but already experienced by the writers?

The writer's job is not to give answers but to ask questions: that is a

position which I approve of in normal times, I defended it in the difficult years of Hungarian literature, that is, of the Hungarian nation. But today I find it not only simplistic but also evasive. Let me remind of an already historical example from P.E.N. International's pre-war history: the 1933 Congress at Dubrovnik. A danger was suspended over the world, especially over our own Europe: Nazism, Hitler's threat of war. A peril possibly more disgusting to the soul, but far less dangerous to mankind than nuclear war. Some who took part, such as Claude Aveline, are still amongst us, and they can bear witness to the passionate, ferocious, and unequivocal will of those present at that Congress to say "no" to the horror! What would the writers of Europe have said if someone at Dubrovnik had proposed that it should be enough to ask: Does Nazism imply a danger to literature?

The future of culture therefore depends on what use the writers make of the present. Nobody can be so naive as to believe that a book or a hundred books, an article or thousands of articles, the literary programmes of radio or television, even if read, listened to, or watched, by tens of millions, can hinder, let alone stop the arms race, this dance of death of our new Dark Ages. But nobody can indulge in the luxury naively believing that anyone articulate could hold his tongue. He who nourishes such an idea mocks his own abilities and the confidence of the readers to whom he addresses himself. A Hungarian poet of the inter-war period, Mihály Babits, wrote on the eve of the Second World War, as the heavy brown clouds of Nazism were gathering: "Among those who sin the silent turns into an accomplice."

If we do not want to be, or to become, accomplices we have to accept the idea and practice of committed literature, accept what the organizers of the Congress of Lyons have expressed, in the paper of introduction to the debates, with a euphemism as cultural service. One can understand the hesitation in using the term commitment since it is loaded with ambiguity.

5

But the commitment at issue is no unilateral obligation with regard to a party or an ideology. It does not stand in the way of a writer preserving his standards and his dignity as an intellectual. I advise no one to become a *homo unius libri*, whom Thomas Aquinas already abhorred. The writer who has committed himself in opposition to nuclear danger, even though coaxed by the dangerous diminutive "limited war," should not fail in his duty to

consider, always and at all times, both the right side and the wrong side of the coin. A writer is capable of understanding an opposed and even hostile position, defending it if necessary. He does not look for a single solution but respects those who have found one. Writers therefore are followers of Voltaire, always ready to defend the opponent's right to express what he thinks, even his arguments for potentiated nuclear armament, but as followers of Voltaire they fight using a tough weapon: the word.

In Hungary the writers were, are, and will always be, committed. In past centuries other nations, more fortunate than us and better located geographically, lived, while Hungarians always had to be committed in order to survive.

This is the key-word. One is committed to survival. This is to say that we can speak of the future of culture only in the short term. As regards the future, I agree with Denis de Rougemont—a "presentologist"—who, in his masterly book *L'avenir est notre affaire*, argues that the future must not be invented or predicted, but made.

There are three ways for literature to play a role in the creation of the future.

The first role is that one has to act, speak, and write unequivocally so that those who have access to this famous button of the Apocalypse shall not for a thousandth of a second imagine that there exists a single writer worthy of the name who accepts the notion that there is someone with the right to use this button to start a nuclear conflict, even if that be called limited, either fraudulently or even by way of self-deception. For, in a limited nuclear war, the eight kilometres that saved my life 39 years ago would count for nothing.

The second role is no longer an attitude but action that is the need to contribute to the restoration of confidence between peoples, states, systems, governments. The crisis afflicting us is a crisis of confidence. Let us contribute to avoiding what separates us, and let us try to find what can unite us. To that end one should not hesitate to descend from Parnassus—which has in any event been out of operation for some time now—into the arena of ideas, pseudo-ideas, demagoguery, of the false images which countries or systems have of each other. This is a noble tradition of P.E.N. It is enough to cite the example of its international presidents: Moravia, Arthur Miller, Böll, Pierre Emmanuel, Vargas Llosa, and Per Wästberg who did not and do not hesitate to step out of the images, situations, characters, and dreams of fiction in order to express themselves in arguments and ideas.

The third role is, strictly speaking, the craft of the writer. One should, one could—I hesitate to utter such unliterary thoughts—one might

try to search for a style proper to the literature of survival. I have found a way in the works of Walter Benjamin who did not survive the earlier threat... What has to be done, he said, is the artistic transformation of past failures into present reality; that is the past imperative has to be translated into the simple future and a living presence has to be deduced from it with all the consequences for everyday life. This difficult but lofty method creates its own style. For, in literature, style is both a premise and a conclusion of culture.

6

Walter Benjamin certainly knew his Pascal who spoke a word transparent to him and to us: "L'opinion est la souveraine du monde." Writers who are committed are both the ministers and the opposition of this ruler.

This is a double responsibility, heavy but noble because it is inevitable. *Noblesse oblige?* Yes, but today, to quote one of László Németh's sayings which defined our youth and which is still valid more than ever: *Noble est qui s'oblige.*

CITY OF ANGELS

Bangkok Diary

by

ENDRE ILLÉS

Buddhas and temples

For hours I walked around the temple district in Bangkok, capital of old Siam.

Never have I seen so much splendour! Such glowing colours! The heavy ornamental roofs seem trebled and quintupled. The elongated towers, the Prangs and the Chedis, pierce through the firmament. This labyrinthine mass of temples forces you to your knees. Brilliant flashes of blue-gold, gold-green, green-blue, and yellow-crimson flame in sanctuaries, on side-walls, roofs, towers, pagodas, and altars. They blind the eyes. Wherever I look, on every plane and in every niche, I see pearls and marble with a background of shining mosaic inlays.

Whoever finds his way to Bangkok must get to know at least five large temples. First there is the Wat Phra Keo, the cathedral of the capital city, with the Emerald Buddha in its sanctuary. Second, you probably ought to see the old Wat Po, with its guilded Buddha at Rest or Sleeping Buddha, which seems to be floating over into Nirvana as 394 smaller or larger meditating Buddha statues guard its slumber. The Sleeping Buddha is 45 metres long and 15 metres tall. Then you can also visit the Temple of the Three Friends, the Wat Treimitr, where you see the Gold Buddha—five and a half tons of pure gold. Wat Arun—The Temple of the Pink, Fingered Dawn—is, with its pyramid shape, different from the other temples. Four slender Prangs stand guard at its four corners. And, of course, you should not miss Ayuthya, the old capital, today a city of ruins, for its Wat Wishara Phra Monghol Bopitr is the biggest sitting statue of Buddha.

And, of course, you also ought to get lost in the Maze at the Royal Palace in Bangkok.

Dazzling visions

I tour the temples and keep seeing magnitudes—in size and numbers—and at the same time the details, but I never manage to grasp the whole from the ground up, as the sum of its parts.

A reclining Buddha extends over 35 metres, a five-and-a-half-ton gold Buddha, and in the same temple 394 minor Buddhas. Shimmering, confusing masses and dimensions. And from this chaos of hugeness, insignificant details now and then detach themselves: the smoking and glowing head of a sandalwood stick, part of a wood-carving and a mosaic inlay, or just some of the blazing colours in themselves. At the same time I find myself totally unable to match up either the entire Royal Palace or the Wat Po with any of the ground-plans printed in the guide-books.

Why this confusion?

Because seeing is not simply perceiving. Our perception becomes vision only when it is associated with the memory of past experience. And to disentangle these perceptions of ours here in Bangkok, we cannot rely on any theory of visual perception. As I want to present an authentic report, let me call them *dazzling visions*. From the mass of the Royal Palace I most sharply recall five towers, each of them a different colour. I even noted the order: yellow, red, green, blue, and brown, from left to right, but the richness of the environment and the richness of the background fade and fuse before my eyes.

And malicious details sneak into these dazzling visions. As I am ambling through the streets and alleys, I suddenly note that I am walking in dust and clay. Just a little rain, and all this dust and clay will turn into deep mud. The Royal Palace is bright with the brilliance of gold ornaments, colourful gems and sparkling diamonds—and I have to approach all this splendour through a sea of mud. Well, of course... Those who lived here never went anywhere by foot, their feet never touched the ground, why should they have cared... They were carried in fancy chairs and coaches from one place to the next. There is no need for rain for me to see this sagging dust as mud: I still recall the metamorphosis of dust from my Hungarian hometown—that makes my vision complete. But this palace, this temple, all these Buddhas are a first experience—only a dazzling vision for the time being.

I have no wish to distract from this view or to make it appear duller. It is a magically glamorous vision, an improbable illusion of inestimable wealth. But, to be frank again, it is also a nightmare. Senseless waste.

Masterpieces that defy the natural limits of human imagination, that deaden one's sense of wonder by their sheer weight.

I retreat to my memories for relief.

The asymmetrical Cathedral of Chartres, the carefully buttressed Notre Dame of Paris, the upward thrust of Cologne Cathedral. Somehow they are simpler and more man-sized—and consequently greater. The castles in the Loire Valley do not talk back to each other; but these gold temples with their orgies of colour are ruthless rivals and pretenders, each insisting: "I am brighter, richer, more sparkling, bigger and more complex, more glamorous, I am sure you will like me best!"

I cheer up when I am called on to perceive and absorb only a single detail. There is the concentration-demanding riddle of the half-lion-half-woman figure on the main stairway of some of the temples. The uncomfortable, gilded throne in the palace; the scornful smile on the face of one of the many meditating Buddha statues that clamour for my attention.

All these details slowly add up to the total image. But once I write down the word *image*, I ought to add that the Pyramids of Egypt, with their immense size and convincing structure, are something I understand and therefore accept, whereas why Buddha need stretch over a length of 45 metres is still beyond me. And it does not have the same appeal.

Things of interest

There are a great many uniformed men with military decorations in the city. Military uniforms are distinctly in fashion. Civilians may also wear them; they can order a uniform and the tailor will make it to measure. I did not find out whether they can endow themselves with military insignia as well.

The head is the most sacred part of your body here. You should not stroke the head of a child. It is considered humiliating, an affront.

People in Thailand are not living in 1980. They are in the year of 2523, according to their calendar.

Very few people are entitled to pensions. Only civil servants. The rest? They put aside what they can for old age.

In Thai, most words are monosyllabic. And there are no intervals between words. Sentences are written all in one, with a full stop only at the end of the sentence. There is absolutely no other spacing or punctuation.

Before you enter a shrine or temple, you have to take off your shoes. But dogs can come and go freely in the temples. No one knows whose reincarnation they may be. And the dogs enter barefooted.

An Indian fig-tree grows in a courtyard of the Royal Palace. This tree is an even more wonderful and intricate structure than the palace.

Rice brandy is a national drink, although it was introduced by the enemy. The Japanese occupiers in the Second World War.

The metal cylinder suspended from the neck protects one from disease. There are many lepers in the northern part of the country. Nonetheless, leprosy is not a notifiable disease. Cholera and yellow fever have to be registered.

What stimulants are accessible to the poor? They sprinkle tea-leaves with salt, roll them up and dip them into water. Then they chew on the result.

Death is the concern of the entire community. Small gifts must be given to bereaved families. The latter are well advised to take note of each gift and return it in kind when the occasion presents itself.

Men wear a black belt for mourning; women don white skirts to indicate bereavement. The day is divided into four parts. A gong marks the end of each of these periods in the village.

Most words may have as many as five different meanings. The denotation changes according to the pronunciation.

Shadow plays are popular. Most of the plots depict the eternal struggle between Good and Evil.

The real night clubs are in the Petchburi Road district. If you walk by after dark, you are confronted by a succession of doors opening before you. For brief moments tempting insight is offered into the happenings within. Something like a disco club, the ground-floor is reserved for gentler amusement. Higher up bolder games are played.

The jungle keeps renewing its attacks against the cultivated lands. To combat this, people set fire to the edges of the forests.

A scene in one of the temples. Two young girls are performing a subtle dance in front of a side statue of Buddha. Rich people are "hiring a dance" from these girls as their sacrifice to Buddha.

Another scene in a different temple. Offerings are deposited: food in a dinner-pail, a tooth-brush, soap, and a roll of toilet paper. These items are not intended for the use of Buddha. The monks collect the presents for themselves.

Third scene. A middle-aged man is praying in front of a subsidiary Buddha. He is kneeling, holding a wooden beaker containing a bunch of sticks, each bearing some brightly coloured symbol. The kneeling man is shaking the vessel so that now and then a stick falls to the ground. He greedily looks at the fallen stick. According to the mark on it he looks

pleased or dissatisfied. I keep watching. This combination of prayer and stick-game reminds me of roulette.

The monks wear chrome-yellow cloaks. One sees a lot of them in the streets of Bangkok. They collect the donations offered at the sacrificial shrines. The yellow cloak is their only possession. In addition they have a piece of cloth which they use to handle the gifts received from women. They must not touch women, not even indirectly. Two hundred and eighty-six strict rules regulate their lives. They may eat only twice a day: in the morning and before twelve noon. The afternoon and the night are reserved for meditation. Not even the night is a time for unqualified rest. "Do not sleep in comfort!" is one of their commandments.

An ugly and neglected street in the peripheries of town. Idyll in the courtyard of a ramshackle house: a father is dancing with two small daughters in the twilight. The little one is held on his left arm, and his right hand is entwined in the elder sister's. They are singing and dancing unaware of anything around them. It is almost as if I were stealing something from them, in watching the scene.

The floating market

The broad Chao Phya is Bangkok's river. Thirty canals divide the city into larger and smaller islands. One can go anywhere by boat, just as in Venice. Many of these canals have already been filled in, and now everyday life hums and rushes along on the boulevards.

We are taking a motor-launch upriver; soon we are going to turn into a *klong*, one of the canals.

This is a different world. Watery river-bank existence.

There is a proliferation of plants on each bank of the canal. Shrubs and bushes, teak-trees, palms, fig-trees, coconut palms, and flowers. And the crumbling old wooden river-houses rest on piles, leaning over the water. They look like hen-coops.

Children, women, and old folks everywhere. One sees no men in this waterside town, they are working on the rice-fields. Those who were born here die here. The women probably never leave the river. They wash in the water, empty their bowels in the water, and bathe in the river. Between the sheds, lines are stretched, with clothes and rags drying on them. Squatted over the boards old men are sitting in the light, looking ahead with vacuous eyes.

Chained and anchored bundles of teakwood float on the water. They are kept here because a home may be built out of them next year.

Smoke curls in a dense row of spirals: dinner is being cooked in the huts. Large jugs stand in front of the houses. Drinking water is collected in them.

There is no winter here, there is only water. Water-ridden poverty. The piles protect the dwellers from the floods, and if a bigger flood breaks into the room, it is still not the end: the beds can be raised higher, all the weight is borne by the inside piles.

For the time being, the canal is full of children. Wet all the time, they jump in and out of the motor boats, and swim about like shoals of fish.

Soon shapely boats glide into sight. They are loaded with fruit—bananas, pineapples, mangoes, oranges, and alien-looking prickly oil-bearing seeds.

This is the market. Market on the water.

The temptation is not to be resisted: a few bunches of bananas find their way to the launch.

By now there is a crowd of boats. They frequently brush against each other. The noise level is rising. The children no longer look like fish; they are more like water-spiders.

The market in the boats is in full swing. There is the bleached look of straw-hats, with brown faces under their wide brims.

We have arrived. On the bank we see the huge bazaar, the real market. What is for sale here? whatever you can buy in the town of Bangkok. You are pulled in three directions as you are offered a dozen different wares. Dresses and suits, wood-carving, cheap jewellery, picture postcards, silk, kerchiefs, a variety of balsams, gold, silver, tiny white elephants made of ivory, paper snakes, brass trumpets, amulets, Buddha statues, exotic moths and butterflies pinned up in boxes, whistles, stringed instruments, balls, knives and daggers, sandalwood sticks, bamboo rods—anything and everything.

The market undulates in its full length and breadth over the bank as if it were itself on the water. There are already some twenty or thirty motor-launches waiting along the banks; there are already one or two thousand boats crowded on the water. The market has assumed the proportions of a rite. A red temple roof glimmers nearby, we can offer our sacrifices if we please. Finally, loaded up like beasts of burden, we are bent on making our escape from the milling crowds and the confusion of the floating market.

The mystery

But why is Bangkok called the City of Angels?

We found no one who could answer this question.

LABOUR SAFETY

(Short story)

by

GYÖRGY ODZE

The labour safety department—at least our company's—is like a lay-by on a long, winding road: an ideal place for dumping the incompetent, a refuge for the professionally inept. Knowledge or efficiency were never needed to manage it, just the ability to master the childish, impractical regulations and a certain degree of meanness in having them enforced. Little importance was attached to the work that went on there and to the person placed in charge; if anything happened in one of the factories, a rigorous inquiry would be set up immediately, during the course of which it would become clear that regulations had once more gone unobserved by one of the workers. The report would hint vaguely at a lack of technical discipline, and the following day the assistant manager, that is myself, would personally visit the scene of the accident, inspect the faulty equipment, and make several irresponsible promises; but whatever the cirumstances, the labour safety department always managed to stay in the clear. We can't stand guard behind every one of them, explained Bártfai, the undistinguished, impeccably polite director of the department, and I agreed with him. He never permitted himself to become unduly excited, never tried to oust his superiors and was not overfond of disciplinary procedures; he occasionally urged the procurement of a certain safety device or other new equipment, but I warded off his attempts at initiative. In our position, I told him, knowing he would never dare challenge a superior, every penny counts; it would be far more practical if you organized courses on safety instead. His sole attempt at being tough cost him his job; six months ago, in the warehouse of the soap factory, a chunk of plaster fell off the ceiling; he came rushing into my office, waving a copy of his written report in his hand.

"I asked to have that warehouse closed down two months ago," he raged, "because it's dangerous."

"And did you have it closed down?" I asked, without batting an eyelid.

"You didn't instruct me to close it down," he answered.

"I took note of the fact that the warehouse is dangerous." I knew that was how I could get round him. "Closing down warehouses has nothing to do with me. That should have been your job."

"Mine?" he said, horrified.

"Definitely," I said, "if you thought that that warehouse was dangerous, you shouldn't have been satisfied with writing reports."

That dumbfounded Bártfai and he sidled out of sight. His tragedy, I thought, is that he is a typical bureaucrat, meticulous and reliable, a stickler for formalities and instructions, devoid of excess and emotion in every form; but as the door closed behind him I realized that these qualities were my very own and what is worse, I am at times even proud of them. That chunk of plaster, however, played a greater role in his life than he would ever have thought. The boss paid a personal visit to the warehouse and when he returned he found it hard to restrain his temper.

"The workers are in an uproar," he thundered, "and no wonder. Here we are sitting in our offices while buildings are collapsing about their heads."

"You're quite right," I answered officiously. "I warned Bártfai about the state of things months ago."

"It's preposterous that they are incapable of acting on their own initiative. Bártfai is not going to get off lightly this time. You will direct inquiries yourself."

The next morning, Géza Márkus, the company's fat, beefy-necked, crew-cut party secretary, came to see me.

"The boss told me that you're in charge of the enquiries into the soap factory warehouse business."

"Yes," I said, and expected him to start defending Bártfai, who was usually one of his favourites.

"Don't spare him," said the party secretary unexpectedly. "Don't spare him. The atmosphere in the soap factory's anything but congenial. The men are demanding Bártfai's dismissal, they're saying he can't be bothered with them and that his only concern is for his own promotion up here."

"That isn't true," I lied. My God, how easy it is to get rid of a person.

"Of course it isn't true," said Márkus, rolling his eyes. "But if we stand by Bártfai now, we'll be proving them right."

"Should we kick him out?"

"Naturally I don't want to meddle," said Márkus. As is your wont, I thought.

"But we could compromise. We will transfer him to the social section of the detergent factory."

"The detergent factory doesn't have a social section," I said after some thought.

"It will have," said Márkus drily.

This was the first time Jenő Stolb's name cropped up in connection with the safety department. In the beginning I wasn't really interested in him, incorrectly judging the detailed proposals put forward by Márkus and Antal Kardos, the staff manager, to be mere officiousness; it's all the same to me, I told them, and thought, an assistant manager shouldn't trouble his head about such trivialities. The soap factory enquiry was wound up in the usual vague fashion and only one difficulty remained: Bártfai had to be told of our decision. Yes, said Márkus determinedly, Bártfai must be told, without any beating about the bush, that he's going to be transferred, not dismissed; the plaster in the soap factory in no way influenced our decision, he is simply needed elsewhere; that's the way to tell him, fair and square, in a comradely fashion. But he added, and it'll be your job to tell him, old man, not mine.

"You proposed the transfer and you're the one backing Stolb," I said.

Márkus's eyes became round with surprise and he laid a hand to his offended breast.

"I am?" he asked, all innocence.

The argument came to a deadlock. Márkus was not an easy man and I knew that once he had decided on something, he would carry it through at any price.

"Jenő Stolb will be in charge," he said stoutly.

"And if I should insist on keeping Bártfai?"

Márkus smiled at me kindly; he knew I was only joking.

A little later, Bártfai was advised of the impending changes through the secret, uncontrollable grapevines of the office.

"We're old friends," he implored me, "am I really going to be dismissed?"

"Of course not," I lied without turning a hair.

"They say Stolb is to be my successor, that unscrupulous, moustachioed pusher of a soap factory foreman."

"Stolb?" I asked, surprised, as if I'd never heard the name before.

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A week later I promoted Jenő Stolb to department head and transferred Bártfai to the social section of the detergent factory. I haven't even got a decent office, he complained when we next met in the canteen, you could have taken care of that at least.

"We have to fit up comrade Stolb's office first," said Kardos, the staff manager, angrily, when I mentioned Bártfai's grievance.

"What's wrong with his office?"

Kardos shrugged his shoulders.

"Bártfai's office was a rotten hole of a place, unworthy of the head of the safety department. Which just goes to show how modest Bártfai had been."

"You should have asked my permission," I cautioned Stolb, who was supervising the arrangement of his new furniture in a room much bigger than my own.

"We broke the walls down," he displayed proudly.

"How much did all this cost?"

"Not much. Fifty thousand."

"Who authorized it?"

Stolb was silent, only his enourmous moustache twitched.

"I want a formal report," I thundered, and left Stolb standing in the middle of his huge office.

The next day Márkus came knocking politely at my door.

"I don't want to meddle in your affairs," he said quietly, "but I feel that you haven't really taken to Jenő."

It was comrade Stolb a while ago, I thought.

"Of course he shouldn't have begun the reconstruction without your permission," he murmured, "but he's a man of action and needs encouragement."

"I should have thought him sufficiently courageous."

"I've spoken to him and he has seen the error of his ways but then none of us are perfect."

"Who the hell said we were perfect?"

"It would be unwise to turn to disciplinary measures right away."

"I don't like it when someone begins his managing career by breaking down walls and buying new furniture."

Márkus looked at me with the placid eyes of a fawn.

"This is a company," I countinued angrily, "where every penny counts, at least that's what you hear day after day, then we make special allowances for ourselves and airily dispense with the regulations."

"One has to make allowances at times," argued Márkus.

"Why don't you send for Stolb?" I suggested.

"He's at the language course," answered the party secretary.

"What language course?"

"We plan to send Comrade Stolb on a study tour abroad."

"I didn't know about that either."

"You've become a little touchy lately."

Time to nip all this nonsense in the bud, I thought.

"Let me make something clear," I said firmly. "For the time being, I am the assistant manager here, and the safety department comes under my supervision. I should like to know why the hell Jenő Stolb has to go abroad?"

"One mustn't lose touch with the world, chief," replied the party secretary meekly.

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Stolb was in truth courageous; he was churlish with his colleagues and even began disciplinary procedures against the charwoman every time she forgot to clean the ashtray on his desk. At night he went the round of the factories, catching the laggards and the slumberers in the act, as it were; by morning he had the reports typed and sent up to me for approval.

"Is this really necessary? I asked him once.

"I am convinced it is," he answered resolutely. "The purge must begin somewhere if the company is to rid itself of its decaying organs."

Two weeks later Stolb received a bonus and his wages were raised. The managing director handed over the fat envelope, embraced him and said, greatly moved, the company needs men like you.

This Stolb is a dangerous careerist, confided Vince, the head of the financial department, on our way to the canteen; I had brought him to the company and considered him my private spy. Every director has his spies and those who deny it are liars. "He's a hustler. He's already started sucking up to Márkus in the soap factory; they say Márkus is responsible for Stolb's promotion. They used to call him Moustachios in those days."

"It was Márkus then?"

"Yes. He's even got a hold on you, at least that's what everybody thinks."

"On me?" I said, stupefied, and my blood ran cold.

"Yes," countinued Vince imperturbably, "because of some shady deal of yours in the past, nobody knows the details."

"It's a bloody lie," I said, raising my voice.

"It's what they say," said Vince, shrugging his shoulders, "but I do agree with them in that if you don't show determination Stolb is going to do you out of your job."

I watched his face and couldn't decide whether to believe him or not.

Ever since I've been appointed assistant manager I've never been quite sure about the trustworthiness of people, especially that of my own employees, who are indifferent about the personality of their chief as long as he overlooks their blunders and mischief; not that I can trust my own bosses better; undue cleverness arouses only jealousy and stupidity and is even more dangerous.

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For a while Stolb disappeared from the scene. Confirming the convictions of those who doubted my abilities as manager I thought I had succesfully disciplined him. Then, barely a month later, Márkus dropped in with a list of the nominees for the party committee. A single glance was sufficient to confirm that Stolb's name was on the list.

"Puss in boots is one of them, then?" I asked.

"He did excellent work in the soap factory and since he's been with us he has applied himself with exemplary diligence to company problems. He often stays in until eight at night."

"I expect he hasn't got a family," I said scornfully, and thought of my own home, of my wife Edit, whom I no longer dared worry with my own troubles; over-anxious by nature, she yields too easily to despair and tends to lose her head, or what is even worse, lights upon the truth instinctively —you're getting old, she'd say, and perhaps that's what it boils down to, I'm getting old, giving way to foolish and unjustified terrors. Instead of becoming wiser as the years go by, I've become more and more foolish, the prospects and alternatives are gradually diminishing and I can't really expect to be discovered at forty-six. I've listened for too long to the "in your positions," the "with your pasts" spoken reassuringly at home; none of it means anything, no, nothing at all; we're satisfied with your work, they say at the company, and perhaps that's the worst of it, the acceptance without conditions, the half-hearted praise, the constant and general lies, spoken without any pretence at disguise—the kind of lies I turned to when I cut the ground from under Bártfai's feet, reassuring him about his future oh so honestly, voluntarily, under no coercion, without waiting to be told to do it. And now perhaps my turn has come. Security is an ephemeral dream.

"His family life is irreproachable," retorted Márkus.

"I still shan't recommend him."

"As you like. But I must mention the fact that he is the only manager to take part in post-graduate training, the only one to continue to educate himself—he'll be going to America shortly. There are not many among us diligent, as eager to learn as..."

"He's going to America?"

"Yes. Vocational management thought it advisable to..."

"I am in charge of vocational management."

"The managing director gave special authorization; if I remember rightly you were down in the country at the time."

I was sitting at home watching the Saturday night special, Edit was dozing beside me and Erika was at the cinema with her boyfriend; at least she said she was going to the cinema, most likely they were in bed somewhere, everything's possible. A sure sign of old age, that; I can't trust anybody anymore, the incidents that go to make up company life have taught me that at least. I tried to decide why they were pushing Stolb so energetically; a mafia seemed to have formed to protect and abet him, with Márkus at its head. Bonus, wage rise, study tour, party committee, and now they've made him Eminent Worker, though it's obvious that the title's undeserved; ever since the disciplinary procedures distributed right and left in those first few months he has done nothing to speak of and everyone is fed up with his arrogance, his conceit, his hard-to-define, flexible personality. One can only stop and stare at him climbing higher and higher, unassailable, invulnerable.

"To begin with," said the managing director in a voice that meant no good to me, "we aim to reorganize company management and in this the comrades and I have assigned you a role of great importance."

I'm to be the victim then, I thought as I looked at Kardos and Márkus sitting at the other end of the table.

"In the course of reorganization,"—said Kardos taking over, he'll be the one to pass the sentence, "we shall be creating a section destined to deal with coordination."

"Opening up new prospects," grunted the managing director.

"And you'd be taking over the section in question," summed up Márkus.

"So I'm to be dismissed," I said, making things clear.

"Of course not," smiled the managing director constrainedly, "you shouldn't take it that way."

"That's what I told Bártfai when I kicked him out. We created a whole new department for him, and now you're giving me a section to play with just as I like. I suppose you've already found me a successor."

"One must ensure continuity. I have appointed Jenő Stolb assistant manager."

I couldn't have been more surprised if Moustachios, like a genie, had suddenly popped out of the cupboard.

"That oaf?" I said vehemently.

"Anger makes a bad judge," rebuked Márkus.

"Let's look at things calmly and objectively," said the managing director.

"As comrades should," interjected Márkus.

"This boy," cut in Kardos, "made a major department out of an insignificant and worthless one, as well as strengthening labour discipline."

"He's not the one to thank for that."

"He received a bonus and his wages were raised, remember?"

"Because that's how you wanted it," I retorted desperately.

"He learned several languages, continued his studies, went abroad."

"Oh, he really deserves credit for that."

"You are unjust," said the managing director resentfully.

"When was the last time you went abroad?"

"I've never been," I answered, "because you've always told me that there is still plenty to learn at home."

"But I'd never have stopped you."

"I was always here, struggling with detergents," I answered.

"Well you see," said Márkus, bringing me to heel, "there's the difference."

"He has been elected to the party committee," wheedled the managing director.

"I could have been elected if comrade Márkus had thought it fit."

"He was elected by the members of the committee."

"Well, well," I said, shaking my head, "you've always stood behind Stolb and now you pretend to be surprised at his promotion."

"You're getting carried away," said Márkus gently.

And with that it was over. Kardos showed me my new office at the end of the corridor; it was stuffy and small. This will be the headquarters of the new section, said the staff manager, pointing round the dingy hole as if we were standing in the middle of a ballroom. Comrade Stolb may, of course, authorize extension, but I doubt if the financial situation will permit it for some time. You know how it is, every penny counts.

Translated by Christine Outram and Eszter Molnár

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SZABOLCS VÁRADY

POEMS

Translated by William Jay Smith

DEAD STILL

Lines of poetry keep going through my head:
a voice passes, moves out of the way,
but where is the way, and where is he who would pursue it?

We listened to the birds in the garden
and on the island heard the sea around us,
and then the voice—whose voice I still don't know.

Why does this come between us? Snow, and more snow,
and who knows for sure what lies beneath
when it deteriorates to slush; there, there—gently does it.

Something tugs at me again today. I stroll about
stiff-necked. The day of accounting will come soon.
This or that will work its way out—for good or ill.

But time, with its excised heart, rejoices
in blind radiance, in the calm of deathly stillness:
stands dead-still—for the moment let's leave it at that.

This poem was awarded the 1981 Robert Graves Prize for Best Poem of the Year—an award founded by Robert Graves and given annually by a committee appointed by him.—*The Editor.*

LISTENING TO THE RADIO IN *LECSÓ*-SEASON

We often listened then to the radio, if
you remember, mostly at our place, and
always to the same programme on the same
station (as time went on we believed less
and less what we had not believed earlier
either; we may have seen some vague chance); the
girls buttered the bread in the kitchen,
we had plenty of cheap paprikas
and tomatoes, just a bit withered.
We might have cooked *lecsó*, but there were
too many of us, just think of it:
more than twenty at times in that tiny room!

EPISODE

At the bubbling time
of acute pre-Christmas
shopping in the subway
three men come together,
clarify some misunderstanding,
go separate ways,
the memory of an old holiday
modestly flashed there
everything seems to be all right
two of them still walk together
fed on the conveyor belt
of the escalator
the subway car spits them out
with string bags to be filled.
A few more words in the bustle
and then the playback may start
and the Why not's—so Why not?

INTERVIEWS

FREUD IN HUNGARY

An interview with Imre Hermann, the Psychoanalyst

A brief note

Not many know that psychoanalysis, born in Vienna and now most firmly based in the US, established its first outpost in Budapest. Much that was new and original was added here to the science of depth psychology; a kind of uniformity in views allows us to speak of a "Budapest School" of psychoanalysis. This is primarily due to Sándor Ferenczi and to two of his most illustrious pupils, Mihály Bálint and Imre Hermann. Mihály Bálint emigrated to England before the Second World War, and his name became known throughout the world. Imre Hermann's importance and influence have not been less great but he is not so well-known abroad. At the age of ninety-two he is still working and teaching.

He graduated from the Medical School of Budapest University and began as a specialist in mental disorders. In his university years he had already taken an interest in psychology. He was a student of Géza Révész, who was later to achieve world fame as a master of experimental psychology and skill assessment. Around this time Imre Hermann attended one of Sándor Ferenczi's lectures on psychoanalysis. Like so many others educated in the traditions of natural science, he first looked for empirical support. Later he became convinced of the truth of the new science which he as a physician and analyst experienced in his everyday work. But he was accompanied, throughout his activity, by the spirit of impartial scientific research.

Hermann perpetually extends the scope of psychoanalysis to include newer fields. His first major works approach the psychology of thinking from the analytical angle (*Psychoanalyse und Logik*, 1924, *Das Ich und das Denken*, 1929). In a series of experiments, published in 1921, he examines the formal laws of choice making the conclusion that in the course of development when a choice is to be made from a series of uniform elements, e.g., coins, matches, a tendency to marginal choice first prevails and it is around the age of six that the tendency to median choice, characteristic of grown-ups, appears. In regressive conditions however, in dreams, in certain psychoses, and under control the tendency to marginal choice returns.

From the early 1920s onward he pays close attention to any information on the behaviour of primates, he looks for biological analogies with psychoanalytic instict theory in the life of the apes closest to man. The results of twenty years of research are summed up in 1943 in his great work, *Az ember ősi ösztönei* (The Primitive Instincts of Man). This book, long unavailable in Hungary and—owing to the inaccessibility of the Hungarian language—long unread in the world at large, was published in French and Italian a few years ago. The interest shown in it has mounted ever since. From

the beginning Hermann has been interested in the development of skills, in the psychology of scientific discovery; for this we have the evidence of his book on Fechner and Bolyai and a number of minor studies. But he includes not only new domains in the scope of psychoanalytic research. He weighs up also psychoanalysis itself in the new field and examines its validity. Whereas "The Primitive Instincts of Man" finds many Freudian theses to have been verified biologically, he still affirms that a few of Freud's important views (on, for example, adolescence or the aggressive instinct) are not verifiable.

His greatest discovery, however, is the recognition of the clinging instinct. He becomes aware of it in his study of the life of apes: their young spend the first few months of their life holding on to their mother's fur. This behaviour, characteristic of every individual of the species and satisfying a vital requirement, corresponds to what the biology of the time and, not without considerable debate, ethology today call instinct. Because of his loss of fur, this instinct cannot manifest itself in man, although its reflex bases can be found in the human infant (grasping reflex, heat orientation, Moro reflex). Imre Hermann supposes that the clinging instinct is present also in man and is the latent biological motive force of mother–child relations. Moreover, he recognizes its function in psychological phenomena, in folk customs, and in pathological conditions. It is also a biological root for social coexistence: Hermann describes how the young ape goes through a phase of clinging to the other members of the group, and so becomes a member of the social group. Frustration of clinging is one of the main sources of anxiety and aggression. Thus Hermann is one of the first to have called attention to the vital significance of the early relations between mother and child, which later became a chief subject of studies in depth psychology. At the same time he points out that social factors can modify the evolution of instinct, and that the first traces of this change have already emerged in pre-human collective formations.

The effect of Imre Hermann's life-work goes beyond his own immediate professional field. His recognition of marginal choice has, through the mediation of Ferenc Mérei,* been included in the interpretation of the Rorschach test. Lipót Szondi** has built the instinct pair of clinging and searching into his own system of depth psychology. Members of the Budapest School who ended up abroad have been shaping their work under the influence of Hermann as well as that of Ferenczi. It is mainly Hermann who has kept up the continuity of psychoanalysis in Hungary, and he is still surrounded by a host of disciples today.

GYÖRGY VIKÁR

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Imre Hermann talked to the psychiatrist György Hidas, the psychologists Margit Köcski and László Garai, and the journalist Gábor Antal, at his home in Lorántffy Zsuzsanna utca, Budapest. In the transcript, for which Gábor Antal is responsible, the four interviewers figure as one.

Q: Professor, we have already met. It was very long ago, towards the end of 1945, when you gave a lecture in a room separated off from what was then the Café Japan of the time. Freud's *Moses* had been published not long before that, and you talked about it. But at that time I also happened to find my way to your "The Primitive Instincts of Man"...

A: That was published in Italian and also in French...

Q: You are alluding to the fact that the book appeared in Budapest in 1943, but then disappeared from the shops and has never been republished in Hungarian... But there

* See the interview with Ferenc Mérei, *NHQ* 83.

** See the interview with Lipót Szondi, *NHQ* 64.

has been talk of an American edition as well. Is there any news about this?

A: No. Some of the ideas expounded in the book and an article in German dating from 1936 have been published in English, but the book itself has not.

Q: When did you start writing "The Primitive Instincts of Man"?

A: I wrote it in 1942–43 . . .

Q: . . . and it came out immediately afterwards. May I ask you, Professor, whether any of your earlier work found its way to Vienna, to Sigmund Freud?

A: Well, *Psychoanalyse und Logik* certainly got into his hands. He let me know through Sándor Ferenczi that he was reading it but nothing more. In the meantime he had published a study of logic on the subject of negation, *Die Verneinung.*

Q: Was that related to your work?

A: The two were interrelated. But Freud meant psychological attitude instead of positive affirmation, and I meant a purely logical attitude. With Freud the content and its negation are an attitude of "I don't accept it." This is to be understood in a wider context than the logical. The logical is a matter of truth or untruth.

Q: It seems the two interpretations have a mediator in Hegel, who simultaneously examines logical negation and the negating attitude in history. Did this not come up in . . .

A: No, it didn't.

Q: Freud has already been mentioned. Did you actually meet him in person?

A: I went to see him once. It was after 1933. I remember that because Hitler was already in power in Germany. I had a problem with somebody, not an academic, but a personal problem, which I had to discuss with Freud. He was extremely kind and amicable, but he dismissed my problem by saying it was up to me to solve it, he would not give his opinion, I had to know what to do. Incidentally, the meeting took place in summer, so he received me not in the famous Berggasse but in a suburb of Vienna, where he had a summer apartment in a small house; by that time he had stopped travelling.

Q: In short, he was kind to you?

A: Of course; he even offered me a cigar. That time he had long been ill, with his problems with his palate, he had the prosthesis called "the monster" in his mouth, but he was still smoking his cigar imperturbably. He had not given them up.

Q: Was there talk of Hitler during your conversation?

A: No.

Q: Is it possible that in 1933 or immediately thereafter Freud did not realize the danger to the world involved in Hitler's coming into power?

A: It is possible that he, although a pessimist, saw it more optimistically. He may have thought that now that he was in power, Hitler would calm down. He may possibly have seen things like that, I don't know.

Q: And what about you, Professor? You also thought something along those lines?

A: Yes. And I really wasn't alone in this opinion . . .

Q: But then came the concentration camps, one could not be an optimist . . .

A: To Freud's pessimism I have to add that, although his was a pessimistic view of the world, as a revolutionary in psychology he professed that unjust social systems must disappear, and that the good ones must prevail. "Evil should die!", that was his way of speaking.

Q: And, as you say, Professor, you were less pessimistic than Freud was. Does this mean that you were more confident—and not merely hopeful—that good would win?

A: I spent four years at the front in the First World War, and there I experienced much of everything, but I never witnessed horrors like those perpetrated by Hitler. In short, I felt that, with what I had gone through at the front, I was past all evils. Past the possibility of any more wars and any more killings outside war. Incidentally,

Freud too was coming round slowly to the aggressive instinct, originally this did not figure in his classification of instincts.

Q: Was it not precisely his experience of the First World War which led him to the idea that there was an aggressive instinct to be taken account of?

A: Well, Freud's view of revolutions was: All right, all right, but it is impossible to know where they will lead to. Because there are people who are men of action—*Tat*—those who carry the cause further in order to make revolution, but they do not care for doubts. At the same time Freud also said that evil should vanish from the social system, it should perish with the victory of the libido, the vital instinct, not by itself but in the struggle between the vital instinct and power.

Q: To what extent is your theory of aggression, Professor, related to Freud's, and in what does it differ from that?

A: I think there is no separate aggressive instinct. I think that what leads to aggression is the repression of an instinct. If, for example, I cannot get a good grip, I want to get a grip by force. This gripping by force is aggression. The infant's grip on its mother is not aggression but a friendly movement, the instinct of self-preservation.

Q: Is this to mean that aggression is not a separate instinct, but that it comes from an unsuccessful realization of any instinct, from the failure to realize them?

A: That's right.

Q: So there were differences between Freud's theory and yours, Professor... Nevertheless there are many who believe that the real home of Freudian analysis was Hungary.

A: Well, this is partly true. In September 1918 the fifth International Congress of Psychoanalysts was held in Budapest, and at the time Freud's view was in effect that the analysts' movement in Europe was being shifted to Budapest.

Q: Did you take part in it?

A: I was still at the front in my capacity as a doctor. But I knew of the congress. Besides, I had met Ferenczi, the main organizer, earlier.

Q: When did you make the acquaintance of Ferenczi?

A: In my student years, about 1910. He was already an analyst then.

Q: Was it through Ferenczi that you began to take an interest in Freud, or had you previously read Freud?

A: I can't really say. In any case Ferenczi had a great influence on me, I used to visit him at home and attend his seminars. But I have not actually answered your question about whether Hungary is Freud's country or whether Budapest is Freud's city. Well, Freud once dropped a remark. In a letter to Ferenczi he mentions that the Hungarians are a talented and vigorous nation, that he feels great sympathy for them. In the same letter he refers to Austria with less sympathy. Of course, Freud's views were largely shaped by Ferenczi, who acted as a medium for things Hungarian and who was, according to Freud, a great Hungarian patriot. Unfortunately their correspondence is not available. It has not been published although a great deal of information of interest from precisely this point of view could be gathered from it and made public. That correspondence is hidden in England.

Q: How did it get to England?

A: I think that the letters were taken out by Mihály Bálint and were hidden away by Bálint's third wife after his death. But Bálint was not pleased by inquiries about the letters. I had direct experience of this. Anyway, many—perhaps important—letters written to and by Ferenczi are to be found in Ernest Jones's biography of Freud—not separate letters quoted in full, but passages inserted in the text. By the way, Jones's opinion of Ferenczi was not particularly high, or at least he was jealous of Ferenczi and was glad when he, Jones, was appointed or elected, instead of Ferenczi, president of the International Association of Analysts.

Freud writes in the Ferenczi *Festschrift*

of 1933 that [Hermann reads] "... as if he was increasingly shutting himself away in his solitary work, although earlier he participated most keenly in everything that took place among analysts. We realized that he was preoccupied with a single problem. He was far too obsessed with his desire to cure and help. Probably he set himself aims which even today could not be attained using the remedies available to us now. He drew from inexhaustible emotional sources the conviction that a great deal more good could be done for patients if they were given enough of the affection for which they had longed in their childhood. He wanted to find out how it was possible to do this within the scope of the psychoanalytic situation, and as long as he could not succeed in this he withdrew. He no longer seemed to be sure that certain of his friends were in agreement with him."

Q: Can it be then that Freud concurred in Jones's opinion that Ferenczi's work had become the result of a disease, even a mental disease?

A: What Freud refers to is that Ferenczi was much too preoccupied with the improvement of analysis. Let us say that he was jealous of Ferenczi's steady efforts to improve his method. But the essence of Ferenczi's work, that which is called activity, was discussed in the lecture held at the wartime Budapest congress so belittled by Freud...

Q: Are you perhaps thinking of when Ferenczi said that the gold of psychoanalysis could be alloyed with the brass of direct suggestion?

A: This was the position Freud adopted at the Budapest congress in his lecture "A new way of psychoanalytic treatment" which first appeared in Hungarian in the periodical *Nyugat*.

Q: In any case, Hungarian psychoanalysis has produced men of genius. Did the fact that the first Hungarian analysts, especially Ferenczi, had close contact with *Nyugat* and the literary avant-garde have anything to do with this?

A: Ignotus, Kosztolányi, and Karinthy were in fact among Ferenczi's more intimate friends, but medical students also learned a lot from them when they met them round Ferenczi's table or even in the Galilei Circle.* We should add, however, that much could be learned at the university, too, from the non-analyst professors, Sándor Korányi in particular, but also from Ernő Moravcsik. These great scholars were capable of finding common ground even with those who thought differently.

Q: Were you also a Galileist, Professor?

A: Yes, and I was mentioned by Zsiga Kende in his memoirs.

Q: Let us now jump ahead a little. The eighth Congress of Psychoanalysts was held in Salzburg in 1924. Did you attend it?

A: Yes, I did, and on that occasion—by the way, I forgot to mention this before—I met Freud in Vienna. Ferenczi introduced me, and Freud, in his sick-bed, remarked: "Here is our philosopher." That was the title he gave me.

Q: And what had you done to deserve it?

A: An article of mine on John Stuart Mill and Hume had been published, in which I explained their philosophical position on the basis of psychoanalysis.

Q: This means that Freud had read this too, not only your book on logic which we have already mentioned. There is a rare book dating from 1934, containing caricatures which Olga Székely Kovács and Róbert Berény made of the participants in the 8th Congress of Psychoanalysts. There are many Hungarians among them, but it is noticeable that, for example, Alice Bálint or Franz Alexander and Teréz Benedek are given as living in Berlin and Leipzig respectively. What could be the reason for many Hungarian analysts living and working in Berlin when there was a formation in Budapest of a centre for psychoanalysis.

A: The Berlin Institute for Psychoanalysis was formed at that time. Besides the impulse or necessity to emigrate (the situation of

* See *NHQ* 47, *passim*.

analysts in Budapest became essentially more difficult after 1919), there was a brain drain too. Alexander, for example, was an instructor in the Berlin Institute.

Q: And could not such an institute have been established in Budapest?

A: That story comes from the Budapest congress, where Antal Freund offered a great amount of money for the propagation of psychoanalysis, to be used for the founding of an institute. Freud himself says that by the time Antal Freund fell ill and died in 1920, the amount had fallen greatly in value. Thus, not only Freund but also the money he had offered was dead.

Q: In the late 1920s, at No. 12, Mészáros utca in Buda, a small psychoanalytical clinic was set up, where out-patients were given treatment free of charge or for a very low, a token fee. Do you think this clinic could have been instrumental in shaping the development of organized psychoanalytical treatment?

A: At the beginning it really did. It received no funds of any significance, and had to make do on its own strength...

Q: As far as I know, it was Ferenczi who thought that only someone who had taken part in personal analysis could himself become an analyst. This was generally accepted by psychoanalysts all over the world, and is in fact another Hungarian discovery. What is the significance of this training from the point of view of psychoanalysis?

A: That it is coupled with sentimental attachment. It is not only that somebody is an analyst, but that one's circle of friends is made up of analysts. What is called "study analysis" is a fundamental part of the training of analysts, it is the shaping of the personality of the would-be analyst. This can make for friendship.

Q: Why did many refuse to undergo study analysis?

A: The reason may lie in resistance, in reluctance; people are unwilling to place their own troubles on display.

Q: And what about Freud? He used to analyse himself. Why did he not subject himself to study analysis? As, say, Ferenczi did. Or as—John the Baptist baptized Christ... (a brief silence). Have you been in analysis yourself, Professor?

A: My first analyst was called Erzsébet Révész who is not known in Budapest, because she was being analysed by Freud in Vienna; she lived there, and when later on our ranks were put in order and Radó married her, she came to Budapest. I was in analysis under her until her death... Later I was with Vilma Kovács.

Q: Did "control analysis" also exist at the time?

A: Yes. Incidentally, analysis in the spirit of Ferenczi is at the same time "control analysis" as well, for the analyst also has to talk about his first patient. That is why this is the first stage of "control analysis."

Q: To come back to the Salzburg congress, it was there that Ernest Jones announced that a Russian society of analysts had been established in 1922. This society, which came into being immediately after the revolution, gave rise to a particular revolutionary teaching in Freud's mind—and in the practice which was built upon it; so he thought it might become an integral part of the Great Revolution. Who knows whether Freud came to know that he was regarded as a revolutionary in Russia, that not only there but in Hungary and Germany such ideas existed...

A: Even if Freud, as we have said, was dubious of the *Tat* people's having no doubts, he viewed the revolution in Russia as a huge experiment and thought that drawing analysis into the social revolution was also an experiment. There was a young Russian psychologist—I am not sure whether he was a physician—who attended the Homburg congress. I even have a book by him, and I made friends with him. But Homburg, where I received a signed copy of that book, must have been the second occasion on which we met, because there he greeted me as an acquaintance... [Hermann picks out

"the booklet he has kept by chance over a long eventful period."] The author is A. R. Luriya. This book dates from 1923, and was published in Kazan. It is entitled "Psychoanalysis in the Light of the Principal Trends of modern Psychology" and subtitled "A Survey."

Q: Wilhelm Reich affirms in a later statement—in America, shortly before his imprisonment—that in the early 1920s Freud gave up the fight to achieve something revolutionarily new; and in his view it was this renouncement that resulted, psychosomatically, in the cancerous process that was to start in his system. How far do you think the first half of this statement probable, namely that he gave up fighting?...

A: Wilhelm Reich cannot be relied on for corroboration here because he was mentally ill; and his famous *Charakteranalyse* is the document of an aggressive mental case. He was not the sort of friendly analyst Freud thought him to be, but a ferocious, ambitious...

Q: And so there is such a thing as the analyst personality, the analyst character?

A: Not so much that as that there are disqualifying elements. An analyst should not be aggressive, he should not force his patient to accept things...

Q: And are there any means of achieving this? Is there any selection process?

A: A very pertinent question. At that time institutes and associations tried to form a picture of the candidate before allowing him to embark on a period of training analysis. But now, at least in this country this has come to nothing. It is now not even a question of whether the person concerned meets the requirements of analysis...

Q: You have mentioned, Professor, that there are some who refuse to display their problems, their own personality. What should be done to ensure, in Hungary for example, that only those who reflect a certain ideal image will become analysts?

A: That, for one thing—as far as I know—is already being done. Namely closer collaboration of the "trainers," let us call them, in order to select more efficiently from among the would-be analysts...

Q: But let me come back to the subject of Reich. Because apart from his having possibly been mentally ill—for Jones in turn affirmed that the "deviant" Ferenczi was mentally ill—in Freud's theoretical activity a completely new era began in the 1920s; it was at that time that he introduced the death instinct, etc. Is this an indication that he gave up something that was radical from the point of view of analysis?

A: Freud analysed his own daughter Anna with a view to training. He did it although in his view family and friendship ties were counter-indicative, that is, disqualifying factors. However, he did the world a favour in setting this idea aside and thereby promoting the accomplishment of Anna Freud's invaluable activities.

Q: The psychoanalyst's character has already been mentioned. How can we possibly reconcile this—non-rude, non-aggressive—character, with what analysis has displayed historically against even the slightest degree of deviancy? For Freud banned any disputes at congresses and when, in spite of this, disputes did arise, those involved were shut out. How does this kind of intolerance fit in with the picture?...

A: The way to answer this question, and how I myself answer it, is that these people had never undergone analysis. For example, Alfred Adler had not been analysed at the time of the quarrel. Whether he was later I do not know.

Q: But Freud himself was not analysed either.

A: True.

Q: And when Freud himself introduced an "offshoot" in the history of psychoanalysis with the death instinct, and Reich saw renouncement in it, did not others, at least among themselves, blame it on Freud? Didn't you, Professor, resent it, since you did not and do not accept the death instinct?

A: I didn't resent it. During his lifetime

Freud was fashioning one single system of ideas.

Q: Which is the one which, despite all "fashioning" and disputation, is the substance of Freudian science? The one that unites all true analysts?

A: The fact is that it is a revelatory science. Because we live and talk with one another every day, don't we? What we talk about makes sense, too, but we don't see what is hidden behind it all. But this must be found out, and it can be found out by assiduous work.

Q: How can we now sum up what makes the psychoanalyst a psychoanalyst in 1981?

A: In the same way as he was before. Behind the conscious he should look for the unconscious and for the resistances to its being rendered conscious. This has not changed.

GÁBOR ANTAL

ABROAD FOR THE DURATION

Miklós Hubay on the early forties

The monthly Kortárs *has been publishing a series of interviews, under the general title "The war is over," in which writers or artists answered Lóránt Kabdebó's questions. The one which follows, with the playwright Miklós Hubay, who spent most of the war in Geneva, appeared in* Kortárs *1981/8 and was broadcast on September 6, 1980.*

Lóránt Kabdebó: *Living through a war is tough wherever you may be. It causes pain and suffering even to those who enjoy certain privileges. Miklós Hubay lived through the most difficult years of the war enjoying such privileges; he was, nominally, a student in Switzerland. And yet he had worked for a leading Hungarian periodical for some years, what is more the National Theatre of Budapest had put on one of his plays. What was it like to live in a neutral country? We here imagined life there to have been wonderful—street lights on and peace. Calm on one shore of the Lac Léman, bombs and horrors on the other. Life was thus visibly different. What kind of life did you live over there?*

Miklós Hubay: An improbable one. How could it fail to have been that: an island at peace in the middle of war-torn Europe. Those of us who had been washed up on those shores were happily ironical about Swiss virtues and accomplishments, sitting in cafés, sipping good Valais wine. Why? Out of envy? Perhaps. "Oh! those ungrateful foreigners," the Swiss may have thought if they could have understood. They must certainly have caught on to the laughs. We laughed in an absurd way, to use a word current now. The sad absurdity was that war seemed to us—who had had a taste of it at home—a normal state of affairs. That was "man's destiny." I am not saying that as a paradox, but I say it to the pacifists who do not realize how fast one gets used to war. And yet at that time the black-out had just started in Budapest. Symbolically the first Budapest air raid happened the night Zsigmond Móricz* died on September 4, 1942. I left for Switzerland two months later, for that improbable peace, one could not get used to. Perhaps all that hap-

* Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942), one of the most prominent Hungarian novelists of the inter-war period.

pened was that my heart stayed here, on this side of the Alps. I do not just mean Hungary but Yugoslavia and Italy as well through which the blacked-out train carried me in blacked-out Europe. Towards another option. As far as Venice two Hungarian seminarists were fellow travellers. They were heading for Rome. When we parted company—and later, too—the idea kept recurring to me that surely they had chosen the better part. That was when I too needed Rome, when I was twenty-four, and Switzerland at sixty, and not vice versa.

I had known Italy only from books. It was for Italy's sake, and Greece's that I had gone to art-history lectures at the university. If thirst for knowledge also counts beside my meagre book knowledge, I can say I had a right to Italy. But I grew to love it for a life-time right there, on the blacked-out workmen's train which practically inched its way from signal-box to signal-box, from Venice to Verona. There the workmen got off, and so did the girl who had sat close to me on the train. But I was not left alone, a man in plain clothes came in who told me he was a policeman and that his business was to keep an eye on me while I was travelling through the country. The local police read my mind and feared that I would stay there. If I promised not to skip off in Milan he did not mind if I looked around and saw what could be seen in the black-out. Miraculously I found the gates of the Duomo open at night: people moved in as a dense crowd, I also let myself be carried along, through the nave suggestive of boundless spaces, down to a fantastic crypt illuminated by thousands of candles, to the tomb of St. Charles Borromeo (it was the eve of November 4, his feast day); I also saw him in episcopal vestments under glass, everybody prayed to him, as far as I remember, to save the city from air raids. Indeed, that night there was none, though the moon shone, making things easy for bombers. In the morning of the following day my plainclothes escort was waiting for me at the reception desk of the little Eden Hotel. He allowed me to hurry once again to the nearby Duomo, there under an archway I bought an engraving of Milan. Then out to the railway station in ruins (I only saw then how much damage there was), from whence the train left as scheduled: "Domodossola, Losanna, Ginevra..." There were hardly any travellers and the plainclothes man had gone too. Passing through the Simplon tunnel I was alone in the carriage, perhaps even on the whole train. It was not an elevating experience. I was the camel going through the eye of a needle.

Thus far I had read very little about Switzerland. That night I got out of a taxi at a pitch-dark street corner in Geneva. Feeling my way I looked for the Rue Colladon which turned out to be a single house long. The Swiss had perfected the black-out to a greater degree than any of the belligerent parties. "But why?" "Out of solidarity with suffering Europe," said Mlle Balmer, the directrice of the students' home, a jet-black-haired old maid, with the radiant pride of those who knew that Calvin's God had predestined them, members of the best families of Geneva, for salvation. Then she explained that the black-out was not necessarily a merely moral gesture. The lights of Switzerland would guide British aeroplanes towards German and Italian cities. This careful black-out plus the rationing of worldly goods (in the spirit of Calvinistic puritanism?), then the doors shaking as bombs blew up on the other side of the frontier, and gunfire from the remote end of the city bordering on occupied France—was all that reached us of the war. This courtyard of security was overgrown with the weeds of guilty conscience. After three years of war I served in Switzerland for three more years of peace. Thus I could see that the country differed from belligerent Europe not only in its permanent neutrality but was qualitatively different from our world in times of peace, too. Dürrenmatt has made this common knowledge. Safety! A safety shored up

by banks is so precious that the security itself ends that makes you uneasy.

And yet spending the afternoon at the journal *Nyugat*—rechristened *Magyar Csillag**—meant more than gazing, from the shore of Lac Léman at the Mont Blanc bathing in the twilight. Babits** and Móricz were dead. Bartók had left for America to die there. I had left a great country behind. "The country of the brave"—as Eötvös*** put it in his poem "Farewell," contrary to sententious jeremiads.

Q: You left an editorial job when going to Switzerland.

A: My trip to Switzerland was a direct consequence of my job. On graduation, I became the editor's secretary in the shared office of two foreign-language Budapest periodicals, *La Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* and *The Hungarian Quarterly*. A third sister of these two was *Magyar Szemle*—but by that time we had already become estranged from it (for personal reasons and not for reasons of principle), and *Magyar Szemle* moved out of our office in Vilmos császár út. The three journals and the firm which published them had been founded with the political and financial assistance of a former Prime Minister, Count István Bethlen, and the banker Baron Móric Kornfeld: all three were liberal conservative, anti-German, and of high standard. These respectable genteel and boring papers turned interesting and places where one lived dangerously as bases for a policy opposed to the German line when German influence grew strong in Hungary. The editorial committees gathered in a splendid hierarchy all those who—from the angle of the National Casino—could be counted in Hungary, in the event of Hungary's withdrawal from the war. The organizer, the editor József Balogh, was to pay with his life for this masterly house of cards. He was as versatile as an István Széchenyi had to be who wanted to overcome every kind of backwardness all at once.* He too was a soul burdened with the same kind of tectonic tension. He was steeped in the Old Testament, a parental heritage (his father, Ármin Balogh, translated Spinoza into Hungarian), and grew into an influential pivot of Greco-Latin humanism, he founded the Parthenon Society of the Friends of Classic Culture, as well as being a patristic scholar. His principal work was a Hungarian translation of St. Augustine's *Confessions*. The review *Magyar Szemle*—together with a series of books named after it—vested him with the powers of a senior board of examiners. A *Magyar Szemle* book was an instrument of promotion to senior academic posts. By means of the *Revue* and the *Quarterly* he personally covered Western Europe, too. Of his 36 calling cards (the collection was laid out on a small table beside his writing desk) one bore the simple inscription: "Athenaeum London." He was a member, but not only of the clubs of the establishment. Before starting the *Quarterly* he spent half a year as a journeyman-printer in England. Old Kentonian Face, the matrixes of which he brought home with him was the most beautiful since the time of the great Hungarian typographer Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu (1650–1702). Not even the most fussy English printer could detect a foreign smell turning the pages of *The Hungarian Quarterly*. The thirty-six calling cards were really the display—or the concealment?—of thirty-six personalities. We were already well and truly in the middle of the war when he was called up one day. (Who permitted this joke to be played on him? It could easily have turned sour, meaning:

* "Hungarian Star," edited by Gyula Illyés, 1941–1944, a monthly literary magazine, the successor to *Nyugat* ("West").

** Mihály Babits (1883–1941), poet, novelist, critic and translator of great influence.

*** Baron József Eötvös (1813–1871), novelist, journalist, politician.

* Count István Széchenyi (1791–1860). Reform-minded, liberal statesman. Dubbed the "greatest Hungarian" by Kossuth.

forced labour service.) He left the offices for the barracks in the uniform of a captain of the air force tailored after the latest military fashion, with a row of ribbons on his breast. "The Signum Laudis?" "In the last war I engaged in an aerial skirmish with D'Annunzio over Pola. That is why I was awarded it." Humour was not his strong point, so he was certainly not joking. Balogh employed careful tactics following Széchenyi's example in gathering prominent intellectuals and politicians at his table (he employed a famous chef and entertained daily) and at soirées he gave twice a year, where we young writers were in borrowed formal clothes, and made fun of the host's snobbish mimicry. The historian Gyula Szekfű could have demonstrated the Hungarian neobaroque's pompous hierarchy and respect for authority most vividly through the manners of József Balogh. Neobaroque? Yes, because there was a master of ceremonies concealed inside this new István Széchenyi. He did everything right. (At his soirées a Baroness Weiss acted as hostess, lest the female guests be embarrassed by the idea of being entertained in a bachelor's chambers.) But beside the counts and industrial baronesses and superiors of religious orders (for he knew that the Jesuit provincial or the Cistercian abbot of Zirc counted for more than a pious diocesan bishop) he eagerly gathered around himself all kinds of intellectual notabilities. He searched high and low for even the smallest ones. When I was recommended as an editorial secretary to him, at a ceremonial tea party in his Várfok utca villa (the last time I had read about things like that was in *Little Ford Fauntleroy*) he did not confine himself to conversing about timely subjects like Kant's *Perennial Peace*. (I think he had read as little of it as I, but the war was on, and the title sounded like a magic spell.) Then there came phone calls to the students' hostel where I was staying. He had me screened by prominent friends. They warned me that it would not be easy for me to follow in my predecessor's footsteps. The editorial offices—and Parthenon which was likewise run by them—would allow me to get acquainted with one half of Hungarian intellectual life. Albert Gyergyai, later professor of French, was practically a daily visitor. And so was François Gachot.* Gyula Illyés dropped in once or twice a week, he was linked to the *Revue* by a sort of informal contract. Eminent scholars called as well as the best essayists such as Gábor Halász and István Sőtér. The French-language Hungarian press review was written by the novelist László Passuth, whose montages exhibited the image of a more ideal Hungary every month. (I think this work of his underlay his last book, which contains no more than the daily chronicle of the war years, yet he could in good conscience inscribe the word "novel" on the title page.) The journalist Károly Rajcsányi was also a member of the staff, unfortunately for a short time only. "This is not the safest hiding-place for a Communist," I think this was how Balogh suggested that he leave the *Revue*, and Rajcsányi understood this as a wise and not unfriendly gesture. Politicians, foreign diplomats, and the best-informed journalists specializing in foreign affairs did not frequent the editorial offices, they called on Balogh at home, first in Várfok utca and later the Benczúr utca. The guest list and the menu were planned with circumspection for each occasion. I do not think any of the guests could guess what fine protocol and gastronomic considerations preceded their lunches. Rank mattered, of course, but a marshal's baton in a briefcase (or a loaded pistol kept in reserve for the last decisive moment) also mattered. In plain English: the most frequent guests were those who prepared the highly unconcealed plan (why so unconcealed?) for getting out of the war. The most frequent even among them was the future hero of András Kovács's film, *October*

* François Gachot (b. 1901). For many years before, and also during part of the war, French cultural attaché in Budapest, a translator of numerous Hungarian writers and author on Hungarian literature and art.

Sunday, Gyula Tost, the Regent's adjutant... Anxiety, danger, many illusions, fatalism, the torment of throwing the dice, and the hopes of course—all this (plus the chef's art) were helpful to the buoyant atmosphere of those dinners. Not that this best-intentioned company was unaware of the shame of its own impotence. All the social commotions were ineffective against a war machine operated from outside. To give just one example: at Balogh's request the poet and classical scholar Gábor Devecseri translated Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus* which was published in the series of Parthenon's bilingual classics. To make publication more of an event, it was planned that Andor Pünkösti would produce the play, in his own Madách Theatre. However, the censors would not permit this, arguing that the Hungarian soldier was no braggart. Not being able either to bear fools or to acknowledge defeat, Balogh did not leave it at that, he gave a dinner for eighty at the Gellért Hotel. The whole neobaroque scene was among the guests—Plautus, had he been alive, would have been left out, I think, just as Devecseri was. The President of the High Court (Gábor Vladár) was given the job of broaching the subject with his neighbour, the Chief of the General Staff (Ferenc Szombathelyi*), who—as Balogh found out—had had a classical education. The dinner was a brilliant success, in the end all the guests tried their best to speak Latin as cardinals would at a conclave electing a Pope. Szombathelyi had a good laugh over the blunder of the military censor. The President of the National Bank of Hungary (Lipót Baranyai) offered the censors' office a diplomatic way out involving no loss of face. Let *Hetvenkedő katona* (Bragging soldier) be renamed *Hetvenkedő zsoldos* (Bragging mercenary) so it would be clear to everybody that it was not the Hungarian *honvéd* who was bragging at the Don. ...It was a posthumous feast of the Hungary of classical education—the world of the *táblabíró*, the county magistrates; Plautus was not authorized by the censors thereafter either... At the time there were many who used—following Tibor Kardos—the expression "virtual Hungary." Balogh also had such a virtual Hungary of his own the illusion of which he tried to maintain with feverish activity, chiefly through correspondence. To render the voice of a "tongue-tied nation" (this is also Balogh's expression) intelligible to Europe and humanity, to the whole wide world, he made all this appear to be living reality in his daily correspondence. Was his zeal exaggerated? At that time I felt it was. Although in Hungarian public life, of which the worse half should be left unmentioned, but which, in its better half, was inclined to fatalism, this undaunted activity meant something like the pike chasing the lazy carp in a fish-pond. Not only did his jornals carry news—the better news—from Hungary to the countries of the Western Allies and to neutral countries, but news from there also reached us. Balogh cast messages in bottles onto the waves every day, and not all of them were left unanswered. It was then that it became clear what connections he had built up for his journals—for he always found people to write to in war-scarred Europe. Survivors. That was the time when Gyula Illyés brought out in Hungarian his *Treasure-house* of the literature of a humiliated great nation, the French, and when it was made possible for young refugees from an extinct country, Poland, to pass the school-leaving examination in their own native language... The *Revue* and the *Quarterly* were also something like that. So the letters came. First in the normal way and later, as the country drifted into the war, through neutral channels. The news which, of course, were then becoming rarer (and more valuable) were copied by Miss Veréb, and only the more interesting items reached the owners of the *Revue* and the *Quarterly*. *Videant consules!* Sometimes I also carried mail, taking the No. 44 tram, to Count István Bethlen.

* He was tried and executed by the Yugoslavs after the War.

Until he had come out, I could gaze in wonder at his hunting trophies in the lobby, the wonderful antlers of capital stags bagged during his ten-year tenure of the Prime Minister's office. And I could, then for the first time, meditate upon the coincidence in Hungary of success with a sporting gun and political position.

This was one of the options of my youth. I was a well-groomed secretary, as can be seen in photographs taken at that time. I will not even say that I did not enjoy myself in the role, or that it was not comfortable. It was excessively so, that was the trouble. Maybe the ambivalence of "satisfied" and "satiated" can best express my contradictory feeling of the time, coming from the same roots, about this world. I knew this world better than Balogh did—not only from the inside (from home and college) but then already from the outside. At that time I was already a playwright moving in the depths of this society of which he admired the unattainable heights. "Outside" and "inside" are not mutually exclusive. (If they were, there would be no literature.) Moreover, the passion of social criticism really soars high where a reckoning begins. Balogh was terribly disappointed in me. Overcoming at last his irrational hostility to his secretary having written a play, he went to see one of the last performances of my *Hősök nélkül* (Without Heroes). After the really understanding and appreciative notice in *Népszava*, the Social Democratic party paper (Rajcsányi had written it), the number of performances was limited from higher up, whereupon Antal Németh, the manager of the National Theatre—just out of spite—staged the remaining scheduled performances in the Municipal Theatre, where ten times as many spectators could see it every night than in the National Chamber Theatre. It was there that also Balogh watched as Somlay,* before a packed audience, performed the metamorphosis of baroque Hungary—from idyll to inferno. "Well, you clearly do not believe in anything, do you?" Balogh asked me after the performance, as if it were not his idols but he himself that I, an ungrateful Brutus, had struck down. I soon surrendered my desk to my successor, and urgent unread proofs, on which the printer's ink was drying.

I left with a light heart. I did not know then that if, while young, you shouldered a burden you would have to carry it to your dying day, every swag would grow into a hump. I had in my pocket a Vígszínház contract for my play *The Millennium* and a passport for Switzerland. My compensation for dismissal from the *Revue* was not a manager's job somewhere but a scholarship in Switzerland. (Foreign Ministry officials close to the *Revue* had thought up the idea that as many young intellectuals as possible should establish themselves in neutral countries.) When saying good-bye to me, Balogh made me promise to call on Carl Burckhardt (he did not fail to recite the impressive genealogy of the Burckhardts of Basle), who was then President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, and to tell him that he (Balogh) would broadcast on him (Burckhardt) from Budapest and would have Burckhardt's Rilke essay *Vormittag beim Buchhändler* translated into French (in Budapest!)... It happened by chance that someone in Geneva introduced me to the Burckhardts, so I often called on their villa at Cologny to pay my respects to the host on Balogh's behalf. Burckhardt looked a highly cultured and pleasant man, a little soft perhaps. In Danzig he ought to have prevented the outbreak of a world war (he was League of Nations Commissioner there in August 1939). He did not manage. It was beyond me why Balogh courted his favour from afar though they had not met. When, early in May 1944, I again went out in a hurry to Cologny with the news received from home that József Balogh had been arrested in Szeged, then, yes, then I realized that Balogh

* Artur Somlay (1883–1951). A leading actor who appeared in both classical and modern plays and who was frequently seen on the screen.

needed the President of the Red Cross to be within hearing distance precisely for this contingency, when he was in trouble. And the trouble had come. The Jesuits of Szeged had sheltered József Balogh since the end of March.* István Borbély was the superior, Balogh's fellow companion in patristic studies. He put a cassock on Balogh and assigned him to the library. No one but members of the order were there. And those kept silent. Later I heard several variants of the story of his arrest. The most romantic appears to be the most authentic one. (Romantic—in the style of novels by Montherlant or Gide.) A boy preparing for his school-leaving examination was sent by his teacher to fetch a Latin author's work from the library. The new Reverend Father librarian whom the boy found there was an omniscient genius who spoke seven languages and translated Tacitus off the cuff—Balogh's educational *eros* surviving from the paternal home had shown itself. The boy about to fail kept visiting him for cramming in the library and then got top marks. A lay teacher became suspicious, he was a fascist... The story still worries me. I should have liked to find out more to fill in missing chapters. I managed to discover through a Roman Jesuit friend that István Borbély was still alive in Canada. I wrote to him but he did not reply. I heard that his mind was clouded. The missing answer seemed to warn off my curiosity. Balogh's private life and personal fate remained invisible behind his bustling activity. Even we who knew him did not really know him. He never talked about himself, unless through the cryptic phrase he had coined and had engraved on his stationery. It was also a warning: *Ama nesciri*. You should love not to know! (Budapest did not miss the chance to turn this slogan inside out: "You should not know how to love," they used to say of Balogh.) Of all the stories ending in tragedy during spring and summer 1944 this is nevertheless what worries me most. Is it because of the taboo? or the mystery surrounding it?

Burckhardt also felt, when I showed him the Hungarian newspaper with the report from Szeged, that Providence had picked him to rescue his Hungarian humanist spiritual kin. The Red Cross was a big power at that time, especially in the eyes of the belligerents. But the Vatican got moving, too. Baron Apor, the Hungarian Minister at the Holy See (he had already defected by then), asked the Pope to intercede for the life of St. Augustine's Hungarian translator. The word of Pius XII (already from his time as nuncio in Munich) carried weight with the Germans. Did he speak it? Later I heard that, here at home, Gyula Tost, the Regent's adjutant, had used the Regent's car, bearing a coat of arms but no number-plate, to go from detention camp to detention camp, Gestapo centre to Gestapo centre, in Budapest and the provinces to find his friend... Then summer came. The same information reached Geneva from three places: József Balogh was moved from Szeged to Sárvár, and from there to an unknown destination. At that time I already worked hard on the Swiss sequel of Balogh's *Nouvelle Revue* in Geneva, and had done so since early March. I carried on this part of his heritage. It was a quixotic undertaking. Where did I summon the courage for it? Probably it was because I did not think it mere chance that, as a young man just out of university and fired with ambitions to become a dramatist and equipped with a defective knowledge of languages, I had been guided by fate to the editorial offices of the *Revue* and the *Quarterly*, and from there to neutral Switzerland in the middle of the war. I accepted that I had hit upon a second mission. With his tragic disappearance József Balogh's role still grew further in my eyes. It was from him that I inherited the passion of making Hungarian culture known abroad and to communicate what I knew. Wanted or unwanted, this has since accompanied my life and maybe has perhaps become part of my character. Beside

* On 19 March, 1944, German troops occupied Hungary.

the *hybris* of the playwright (or rather of the play constructer)—which is not less than the pride of those who wanted to build cathedrals or philosophical systems—this second activity continues in the spirit of humility and service. Transmitting the literature of a nation. Yes, of Balogh's "tongue-tied nation."

Q: *With the German occupation* La Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie *ceased to be published in Hungary. But the last issue appeared, on roneod form, in Switzerland. How was this second edition born?*

A: On March 19, 1944, the day of the German occupation, one of the first things the Germans did was to ransack the editorial office of the *Revue*. They looked for Balogh, too, in his home. The last issue was confiscated in the Athenaeum Printing Office. A few copies were left, however, just as of the last issue of *Magyar Csillag*, which met the same fate; somebody brought me a copy to Geneva. I had it roneo-ed still in March and posted copies to subscribers in Switzerland. (I did not know why I had taken with me the Swiss mailing list of the *Revue*. Well, this was why, or so it seems.) Here was this elegant Central European periodical stencilled in a miserable manner. I wrote to subscribers (subscribers is, of course, an exaggeration, complimentary copies were sent to most prominent newspaper editors and writers) to accept as a souvenir the last issue of the *Revue* made up in Hungary still before the occupation.

Q: *But then you published a few more numbers?*

A: My action intended to be a tribute produced two unexpected results. One was that the group of Hungarian diplomats who had chosen to defect, persons with whom we scholarship-holders were keeping in touch, expelled me from their ranks for this partisan action. I had carried it out without them. Their haste was indicative of no great diplomatic sense. For during the following weeks I received so many letters of congratulation and encouragement from subscribers—I mean to say: from the most important personalities of Switzerland (perhaps I still have the letter from Ramuz today)—that the head of the defecting diplomats (Bakách-Bessenyey, who then lived in Montreux), having seen and heard this friendly response the like of which they were unable to elicit by ever so much bustle, started alluding to the Order of Maria Theresa. (This decoration was in the past conferred, instead of execution, on soldiers disobeying orders—if their action turned out successful.) They realized even with their diplomatic brains that, from a neutral country, I had started a free Hungarian periodical edited in a world language. Now I was asked by the diplomatic defectors to carry on. And I carried on. But with an anxious heart. Would I receive the Order of Maria Theresa from József Balogh, the editor of the *Revue*, who was hiding somewhere in Hungary, or be morally executed? For Hungary would withdraw from the war in two or three months (of this we were sure), the editor would come out of a monastery (we were sure also that he was harboured by the clergy), and his ex-secretary had in the meantime published his periodical. Therefore I had to compose my pirate publication so as to make it stand this test as well. Two French poets' unconditional friendship became the best support. One was Gilbert Trolliet, a prominent modern Swiss poet, who gave a home for the editor's office in his house; this was needed also as a cover, for ours was an illegal publication. He was a permanent founder of magazines himself; linked with his name were the old *Revue de Genève*, then *Présence*, and, during the war, *La Semaine Littéraire*. After the war he again started *Présence*, "the international review of literature." In return for what he did for our Hungarian *Revue*, I was to help him edit this periodical... Our other "guardian soul" was André Prudhommeaux, a Parisian poet

in exile in Switzerland, an anarchist. He let himself be introduced into Hungarian poetry with the happy feeling that French lyric poetry suffering a century-old crisis might find the "poets' stone" with Attila József. He even wrote about this hope in a fine essay published in Trolliet's *Présence*, accompanied by his skilful translations of Attila József. The point was no longer that a "tongue-tied nation" asked to have a voice in Europe, but that the direct word expressing again the fullness of the world might be heard from the lips of Hungarian poets... This was to me a "Copernican turn." Reviewing Hungarian literature should not serve our national exhibitionism, I would not lift a finger for that. It should serve—even though just a bit—the salvation of the world in the midst of ever more serious crises. Thereupon, of course, the imitators of the West at home, in Hungary, would only purse their lips. When will those panting along trying to keep up with fashions become aware that the movers of fashions are driven by a constant yearning for authenticity? And the rare bird of authenticity has started speaking Hungarian not only in music but also in poetry.

Q: *I think the first step taken in making Attila József known to the public abroad was by this periodical. You published the Attila József memorial issue of* Szép Szó, *the magazine edited by Attila József, or at least a great part of it, in that periodical which you brought out there, together with photographs.*

A: It is touching that you know of it. Now that you mention it, yes, it comes to mind also that in every issue I wrote obituaries of the periodicals suppressed in Hungary. Or I got others to write them. The prohibited *Revue* mourned for its sisters. This was how I rendered homage to Jenő Katona's courageous Catholic journal, *Jelenkor*. In another issue, in which Bertalan Hatvany commemorated *Szép Szó*, I published much of the Attila József memorial issue. I took over the photographs, too. I have mentioned André Prudhommeaux. He had come to Switzerland after the Spanish Civil War (the French threw into camps not only Hungarians but also their own nationals who had fought in Spain), and was charmed for life by a quatrain of Attila József, "Epitaph for a Spanish peasant." He even translated it into French. (The poem appeared in the *Revue* with some changes: Franco's name had to be left out. A foreign head of state. He could be only "the General." The censors of a neutral country were more rigorous than those of grim Hungary entangled in the German alliance...) Afterwards he still translated a good deal. Actually—a rather rare occurrence in French—by retaining the original form; or when he did not retain it, he borrowed an adequate-looking rhymed form from French verse. I published a few of his poems also in original in the *Revue*, and I was familiar with his perfect sonnet translations of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. He was a highly talented poet, but some inner weariness held him back from any independent initiative. His encounter with Attila József's poems served as a deliverance for him. A sovereign creator who was close to him in his spiritual sufferings as well as in his revolutionary attitude. He was therefore glad to serve him as a translator. All the more so since this translator's service not only redeemed him from the inert passivity which oppressed him during his exile in Switzerland, but promised redemption—so he believed—also for French poetry. Prudhommeaux said aloud that Attila József was what modern poetry needed if it was to evade the two equally deadly traps of Intelligence and Unintelligence. He said that much in his essay, accompanying the Attila József translations. I felt that my meeting with Prudhommeaux (like so many things in the year 1942) was an act of fate. On the day of my arrival it was he whom I asked to show me the way to the Rue Colladon where I had reserved accommodation in an international students' hostel when the taxi

carrying me came to a stop in blacked-out Geneva. He took me to the door and went in with me: he also lived there. We were right from the first moment of my stay in Geneva friends and he remained a friend and devoted translator of Hungarian poetry to the very last. When, ten years ago, I was in Versailles, his widow showed me his later translations of Petőfi, Radnóti, and Illyés. The representatives of official Hungary had steered clear of him in the 1950s, probably because he was an anarchist. He really was that always and everywhere: a gentle and rigorous rebel. As a translator he was a kind of mill which could be set turning neither by money nor by commission, but a single word was enough to drive him on, and he always produced pearls.

Q: *Thus, after all, your stay in Geneva during the last years of war was already a prelude to the new post-war age of which you became one of the promoters and participants, likewise at Geneva, for a couple of years.*

A: The immediate post-war period was the time of survivors' finding one another. For me it began, to continue the previous line of thought, in the spirit of Attila József. It was a time when Attila József's poetry, so I felt, could be the most timely message, a revelation to the whole world. The harmony in which he could combine in a single poem his own suffering, the most personal experience of history ranging from the primordial cell up to the cultivable stars and the scientific discoveries of the age; usually in the direct form of song, that is without any visible effort. I felt this harmony could signify, or—regrettably I already have to say—could have signified, that new synthesis which was so much desired by mankind in those days.

Q: *The great enthusiasm of the early years of peace is reflected in your eyes as you speak these words practically in a state of ecstasy. I beg your pardon for treacherously watching your face while you talked. The springtime of nations repeated itself at that time, and that atmosphere flowed from your remembrance of those years, of your activity then.*

A: It gives great pleasure just to recall the intensive intellectual life of the period between 1945 and 1948. This intellectual life was the sequel and fulfilment of pre-war hopes. (The caesura would be brought only by the Cold War everywhere.) What I say may be heresy to some or contrary to received opinion.

Those for whom history means more than military or political events will notice that the development of the nation's consciousness towards a kind of liberation began long before 1945. Of course, one is hypnotized by the mere memory of the fate of Hungary with its steadily increasing entanglement in Germany's war down to the final catastrophe. But, in that same decade, the idea of independent public thinking matured persistently and steadfastly, producing continuous intellectual enrichment. And this was not just the private business of some intellectual élite. In March 1944 the Germans invaded this country not because the situation in Hungary had ripened but because it had started to become hopeless. They were in trouble not only on the front line, but in the way Hungarians thought as well. After Stalingrad this was quite natural. The anti-German and anti-war current in Hungary did not spring from a panic provoked by the losing war but had started much earlier. In September 1939, I remember, there was hardly anybody in Hungary who was not shocked to the bottom of his soul by the destruction of Poland. Assistance for the refugees, also help in continuing their escape, was a popular concern of the nation, one might say: an open referendum for Hungarian independence as well. True, traditional friendship with Poland was instrumental. But soon after them came the French refugees who had escaped from German camps to take shelter in Hungary, and not in neutral Switzerland. At that time, twenty

years after the heart-breaking Peace of Trianon, there could be no question of friendly feelings toward the French, at most possibly among the aristocracy, among poets and the friends of modern painting. Those hundreds (or thousands) of French prisoners of war were nevertheless received in Hungary with the respect due to heroes. When Hungarian political history was so tragic, we could have the satisfaction—a measure of satisfaction—of the intellect's independent search for a way out. The influence of *Magyar Nemzet*, the daily paper of Sándor Pethő, steadily grew. Let me remind of the unambiguous slogan at its masthead: "Fighting for a Hungary that remains the country of Hungarians." When, in the mid-1930s, as a provincial freshman I reached Budapest from Nagyvárad, a good number of the young people at the university and in the Catholic college watched the advance of the extreme Right with undisguised interest. Three years later in the former institution's twin college—the structure of which was not even neobaroque but old baroque—the winner of the student president election was a friend who every Sunday morning ostentatiously read the Social Democratic daily *Népszava*. By the time war broke out it had become proper for university students to read papers positioned to the left of *Magyar Nemzet*. What can be the explanation of this paradoxical "Hungarian road"? Perhaps the fact that, with Ady and in Ady's wake, poetry and music in the post-1919 painful general consciousness of this country could implant in the guts of people the idea of independence inseparable from the need for a land reform that had not taken place. And in the 1930s this gave birth to a new, artistically forceful and fascinatingly popular expression as unparalleled in the European intellectual life of that time as the Bartók–Kodály "model" had been which was then called—to use Gyula Szekfű's words—the "great Hungarian road." The appearance of this music with words and ideology based on the peasant traditions quickened also the revival of Hungarian middle-class radicalism.

Q: *A most remarkable poem that was born in post-war Geneva, Illyés's "In front of the Geneva Monument of the Reformation", also rings familiarly in our ears. It was at that time and here, at one of those visits which you had helped to arrange.*

A: One could do much more in Geneva than elsewhere. The city was unaffected by the war, everything was in its place, and there was plenty of money. I unplugged one of those pecuniary resources to make it possible for writers, poets, painters, and musicians, isolated in Hungary from western culture over long years of war, to go there in large numbers, then occasionally to go further to Rome or Paris, places to which they still felt more attracted nostalgically than to Geneva. I let Hungarian writers and artists be invited there by groups. The invitation was usually for three months. The first group included Gyula Illyés, Albert Gyergyai, Sándor Márai, László Cs. Szabó, Béni Ferenczy, Noémi Ferenczy, István Szőnyi, the physicist Pál Gombás, and László Szűcs, a literary adviser at the National Theatre, an old friend of mine already a that time. Later others came in new and new waves. This succession of visitors and guests in Geneva lasted about a year and a half to two years. About fifty to sixty called at my place. It may be that my zeal was stimulated also by personal interest: I was intensely craving for meetings with Hungarian culture, but my manifold engagements did not allow me to return home right away. Let them come out at least, I thought, those old friends and objects of my admiration. This was how, already in Geneva, I made friends with Jenő Heltai, Lajos Nagy, Márk Vedres, Béla Czóbel of the older generation, and with Ottlik, Toldalagi, Anna Hajnal, András Beck...

Q: *To complete this picture, let me note that at that time you were in Geneva in an official*

capacity, as an emissary of the Hungarian government.

A: When, in 1942, I went out as the editorial secretary of *La Nouvelle Revue*, it was on a Hungarian scholarship...

Q: *But you renounced it when the Germans had marched into Hungary, and this terminated your authorized stay abroad.*

A: In March 1944 we who were abroad as Hungarian students, or who pretended to be students (I was of a student age but I already regarded myself as a writer), renounced our claim to any money from German-occupied Hungary, from the Hungary of the Sztójay government. All of us did so, so to speak without exception.

Q: *At the end of the war, after the new government had been formed at home, you undertook a mission, you were appointed to be an official delegate in Geneva.*

A: You could put it that way, though actually I was not sent, because I had not been at home in the meantime, the appointment reached me abroad. The Minister of Education appointed me. Essentially it meant that I was to concern myself with the propagation of Hungarian culture in French Switzerland. There was a lot to do and more still could be done in that post-war atmosphere full of enthusiasm and free of prejudice—or so I at least felt. In Hungary excellent men were in charge of propagating Hungarian culture abroad. But my immediate superior was, believe it or not, Gyula Illyés: he had been appointed curator of the Hungarian institutes abroad. He was provided with money to support any good cause he might consider worthy. That he took home this money, to the last centime, from the Swiss bank, when he resigned his post, was indicative not so much of the lack of good causes as rather of Illyés's sense of responsibility that was so scrupulous in this respect, too. István Sőtér, head of the responsible ministerial department, appointed good men to head the Hungarian institutes abroad. The Paris Institute was haded by István Lelkes, the Hungarian Academy in Rome was directed by Tibor Kardos, and in Stockholm János Lotz was put in charge. In Geneva there was a small institute called the Hungarian Library. For want of anyone better, or because I happened to be available locally, I was appointed to run it. In addition I discharged the functions of Hungary's permanent delegate to the International Commission on Education which was the predecessor of Unesco. I there arranged a display of drawings by children of Kunszentmiklós —a miracle produced by Balázs Vargha's bold method of teaching drawing. I think this was the first ever exhibition of naïve painters. Visitors poured in as if to an art show. This also gave rise to a friendship to last a lifetime.

Q: *Could you mention any memorable function that proved to be an event not only for Hungarian literature?*

A: I asked the Végh Quartet, who had come to the first of the Geneva International Musical Competitions, to play all of Bartók's six quartets in the Hungarian Library. Such an integral first performance of Bartók's chamber music had perhaps never before been given anywhere. Instrumental in its success was also that the Véghs' performance at the musical competition was a revelation. Their obtaining the first prize was something of the sort that must have happened when King Matthias Corvinus was chosen by acclamation. The audience gave such a thunderous ovation that the jury was left nothing to do.

Q: *That drawing on the wall is a reminder of the event, is it not?*

A: Yes, that is the Végh Quartet, a drawing by Béni Ferenczy. Sanyi Végh, Janzer, Szabó, Zöldy—how their faces and movements come alive! A wonderful sort of intellectual life it was, you may imagine the

Végh Quartet making music to Ernest Ansermet there in my library and Béni Ferenczy drawing a picture of them, while Gyula Illyés stood in front of the Monument of the Reformation, drawing inspiration for his great poem... On an excursion to neighbouring Coppet, Cs. Szabó explained to a receptive Swiss audience the financial genius of Necker as expertly as the role his daughter, Mme de Staël, had played in the romantic movement.

Q: *And philosophers discussed...*

A: Ernest Ansermet, whom I have mentioned before, had proposed the annual (later biennial) international meetings called "Rencontres internationales de Genève." Attending the first of those were two world-famous philosophers: György Lukács, whose coming made me feel very happy, and Karl Jaspers. The discussion in which those two took part, which was joined by the French Merleau-Ponty, is a much-mentioned event in the history of the twentieth-century philosophy.

Q: *...and of your activity as well.*

A: Yes, for early in 1957, in January, when I felt that in the form of a play I would find the spiritual bonds which could keep up our nation, I wrote *Egyik Európa* (One of the Europes), one act of which was a remembrance of those "Rencontres Internationales." The fact is that at the time Lukács and Jaspers discussed what the notion of Europe meant... Plays are never apologetic, not in my view. Disputing philosophers are therefore grotesque figures in my play, contrasting with the Debrecen secondary-school teacher who, following his roving nephew through the wrecked half of Europe, walked out to Geneva. (Why, yes, a little apology crept in here.) In reality, however, the first occasion of the "Rencontres" was a grand beautiful festival. The German Jaspers was introduced by Jean Wahl, who was still mere skin and bones as he had emerged from a German concentration camp. This fine crop produced by humanity, solidarity, and an independent spirit was frozen by the cold war. Sometimes I am inclined to think the cold war came because the crop was too good...

Q: *And now, to speak of your own works, this conversation allows us to say a few words about the dramatist Miklós Hubay's view of the war, for you are co-author of one of the most successful Hungarian musicals,* Egy szerelem három éjszakája (*Three Nights of a Love*) *which is revived practically every theatrical season and has been popular for generations. You have also written* C'est la guerre *which, in its operatic variant by Emil Petrovics, can safely be described as a success and not only in Hungary.*

A: More important to me than plays written on the subject of war, are those dramatic experiments of mine in which I try to clarify, with dramatic logic, the "world war phenomenon" of the twentieth century. Let us not forget that the Hungarian national tragedies had world wars looming in the background. Although it is of vital importance to save a village, a town, a capital city, an army from destruction, beyond that there is in this human destiny at this *fin de siècle* (or of a millennium) an enigma of universal interest, which affects us in our capacity as earthlings. And this enigma is to me just as dramatic (fit for a play) as the Trojan War was to the Greek tragedians. What sort of mechanism brings about the "world war phenomenon" that promises to be a serial story? That is the question. The peculiar paradox of this phenomenon is that it is based on civilized diplomacy and a maximum of technical knowledge and at the same time contradicts the most elementary common sense. Ady's war-time poems also throw light on this infernal-irrational mechanism through images more dazzling than a flash of lightning. In this way a philosopher ought to reveal the causes of world wars

beyond diplomacy as Ady did in his poem "Memory of a Summer Night." Do you remember? "Abiding in every man are the secret destinies of all his ancestors..." Where was Jung's collective unconscious at that time? Or did Ady, when writing about the "trial war" of Mezőhegyes already before the war, point to "the sigh of death" of a man pointlessly killed? Where then was the Freudian death wish? (Freud started to work on it in 1916.) The fact that war means the sweeping away of civilization, of the moral dilemmas afflicting us, was also noticed by him: "...The never-mind dreamt about has come, (Let's swear that everything goes,) Our skin is the devils' anyway..." That he sees it as a philosopher does? One may say: as a god sees it when he has regrets about creating man. Not only mass drowning and Ararat, with Noah's dove carrying the olive-branch, are part of the Flood theme, but also the question "Why the deluge?" Of course, there are prefabricated answers and they are the most dangerous ones, more often than not they are those of humbugs who let loose the flood.

My plays of this kind, for example that which deals with the subject in the situation of a fictitious meeting between Freud and Francis Joseph, are in demand by theatre managers even less than the rest. But I feel it is my duty to write them, again and again, to the last. World-end-games. I try to leave them behind in the purest form possible. Who knows whether they will be performed —as cathartic agents—before World War IV.

Q: *Then, six years later, you returned home. What was the balance sheet of your stay in Switzerland? What did you gain by it? What did you lose?*

A: In my career as a playwright it was certainly a setback. On the other hand, it was there that I learnt about the propagation of Hungarian literature. It was there that I came to know a great many Hungarian poems. (Instead of learning French.) But it may well be that the playwright can turn that knowledge to advantage today. From the Végh Quartet, when they rehearsed at my place for weeks on end, I learned what a cathedral a Bartók quartet is—let me put it that way, thereby placing emphasis on their architecture, and knowing that they are buildings: the conversion of our image of the world or of man into another system... When translating poems together with Prudhommeaux I reached a similar conclusion: Attila József describes in his "great" poems (and in his "Medals" and in his fragments!) the place of man in society (in the Universe) more completely than all the plays taken together which were produced in Attila József's lifetime. This is how, while in Geneva, I was confirmed in my realization that we should either raise the intellectual level of Hungarian drama so as to bring it near the universality of Bartók and Attila József, or Hungarian dramatic literature as a whole is not worth a farthing. I came home with this knowledge. I knew what my job was.

LÓRÁNT KABDEBÓ

FROM THE PRESS

INNOVATION—FROM WORDS TO REFORMS

Some time ago János Fekete, first deputy chairman of the National Bank of Hungary, was interviewed on the occasion of establishing the Innovation Fund.* The Fund's objectives and operations will be described below. In the interview the banker pointed out that Hungary spends the same proportion of its Gross National Product on research and development as do the Unites States or Federal Germany. However, in exploiting research results, Hungary figures at the bottom of the list in Europe. There seems to be nothing wrong with the talent or mental energy of Hungary's 30,000 odd scientific researchers; the problem lies in the interface between research and the economy. Somewhere in between enormous amounts of energy and money ooze away. When talking of innovation, János Fekete quoted a Western banker with a "penchant for philosophy:" "if somebody's chief concern is how to avoid risk, he will soon be in a position where he has no opportunity to risk." Many think that this could be applied to the Hungarian economy as a whole. "Risk" was a key word in Hungary after the introduction of the new system of economic management in 1968; nowadays the key word tends to be "innovation." Some think that it is as yet only a *word* and not practice. Nevertheless, of late, several government measures have been adopted to promote economic innovation. The words "risk" and "innovation" tend to appear with increasing frequency both in the press and in economic and politological studies.

Sociologist Kálmán Kulcsár explained the ultimate reason for this in an issue of *Magyar Tudomány*, the monthly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. "Society started the building of socialism at the end of the 40s, the socialist reorganization of agriculture emerged in the late 50s. The new economic mechanism started functioning in the late 60s. The social and economic problems which had accumulated by the end of the 70s constitute a challenge which, in turn, demands social innovation. This challenge manifests itself in the exhaustion of the possible means for solving the accumulated problems inherent in the former structure." This means that Hungarian society needs overall reforms every ten years or so. Industrialization was accomplished in some 30 years, and has produced a vast, although rather clumsy and, in some places disproportionate, structure. Its dimensions can hardly be modified but *qualitatively* (through intensification) major changes can be brought about.

Agriculture has proved to be the most successful economic sector: with its coordination of group and individual activity and its flexible organization it has served as an example to the industrial and the service sectors. The "new economic mechanism,"

* *Élet és Irodalom*, 1979, No. 50.

based on the principles of greater independence to enterprises, competition, profitability, and so on, made the acceleration of industrial growth possible but, for domestic and outside reasons, this growth came to a standstill in the mid-70s. Since 1979–80 the need for renewal for "innovation" in the broadest sense of the term has again become obvious,* and many people have come to the conclusion that in an age of explosive technological development the driving force can only be *innovation itself* (in the narrower sense)—if we do not want to definitely fall behind the "vanguard" of the world.

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That issue of *Magyar Tudomány* was devoted entirely to the topic of innovation. In the introduction Lénárd Pál, Secretary General of the Academy, defines the subject in these words: "By innovation in the narrower sense we mean the qualitative improvement of product and production (goods and technology) leading to the creation of new products with their economic benefits. This qualitative development has penetrated at the same time the fields of research, development, production, and consumption. So innovation emerges as a connecting process transmitting reciprocal effects [...] Innovation, however, does not consist only of technical innovation for economic purposes, it includes also social innovation in the broader sense. The ability of society to innovate decisively influences the success of economic innovations. It is a general experience that politics, the way of life and life styles, interest relations, the general and vocational education of individuals, the educational system, all these exert a strong influence on the entrepreneurial attitudes and innovative ability of society."

"It cannot be stressed too much that a major prerequisite for the development of innovation is constant modernization of the planning, regulatory, decision-making, managing, training, institutional, and organizational systems, and of the interest relations of society. At the same time it should be borne in mind that innovation may offend the stability of the productive and institutional system more than once. The will to renew organizations is in conflict with the inertia of existing structures and self-movement; consequently realizing innovation must necessarily arouse opposition." We should note here that this type of conflict has been, since the early 60s, one of the central themes of documentary films, good journalism, and politically engaged literature in Hungary. The conclusion of Lénárd Pál: "If society's conflict toleration is low, or if the producing-marketing organization and management are more interested in conflict-avoidance than in the realization of innovation, the transformation of structure will slow down, and fixed, obsolete, inefficient activity will stabilize itself."

There is a simple and widely held belief that the main obstacle to innovation is that "Hungarians are averse to everything new." This has been strikingly refuted by an analysis carried out by a working group called the INNTEAM Project composed of sociologists, economists, and technical experts whose findings are summarized in this issue of *Magyar Tudomány*. In April 1980, 75 people took part in a conference on the factors hampering innovation. They enumerated 700 such factors: the largest proportion (195) were the consequences "of the system and methods of macro-management." Examples: the dysfunctions, structural and functional problems of the national system of institutions called upon to promote innovation; the conflict between the central economic management and the structure of enterprises; economic and political leadership are not separated in economic management; society does not appreciate innovation; the permanent changes in the system of economic regulators; the distorted pricing and price-calculation system; the absence of a free flow

* See also the article by Rezső Nyers on page 15 of this issue.

of capital. The second largest problem-group (162) concerned: "the disturbances in innovation activity and its organizations." There is a lack of complex organization in the "innovation chain" of research, development, production, and marketing. Another obstruction is the absence of flexible models for the cooperation between sectors which can be set up fast to carry out an innovation: the present structure of most economic units makes them unsuitable for receiving innovation; the limitations on entrepreneurial activity, on establishing a new undertaking. In autumn 1981, six months after the publication of this study, measures were adopted permitting several new forms of individual and group undertakings in industry, agriculture, services, and intellectual activity; it is hoped that they will also affect innovation.

"Randomly chosen objectives of development in the absence of knowledge about the market" also belong to the above group. Kálmán Kádas, a retired professor of engineering, has this to say in the same issue: "An innovation programme is generally started by information coming from the market. Its realization is accompanied by an up-to-date knowledge of the market on which basis it is modified. Marketing activity includes also "working on" the market. The development of a product in the traditional spirit, however, is linked with problems raised by research and development or production. Very often the question whether the market demands the thus developed, higher-standard product is not even raised.

Next on the list of the INNTEAM Project comes interest (or, to be precise, the *absence* of material and moral interest), followed by the functional disturbances of enterprises, the shortage of resources (money, material, machinery, manpower), the troubles of cadre policy and training—a crude but probably true statement to the effect that "not the best brains occupy themselves with innovation," then come market conditions, namely the lack of competition on the domestic market. The "human factors," the fear of novelty, envy, jealousy, and indolence, are only last on the list.

Economist Aladár Nagy's paper analyses the conditions of innovation in enterprises. Apart from the factors listed above he pointed out that because of the general limitation of resources, management primarily looks for innovations which make possible savings in means. These innovations are in general brought in from outside, often from other countries. This, however, is conducive only to a policy of being "led;" the enterprise does not control the pace. It may try to follow the tempo of foreign innovators in technology, even this, however, leads inevitably to lagging behind. Since this would diminish their prestige management chooses to take over the outside results only as a last resort, under market pressure. Afterwards it often happens that management was not circumspect enough. All this slows down growth in output and upsets the organization of work frequently. Thus enterprises are attracted chiefly to innovation from within. But the success of innovation is never sure. The enterprises cannot spend much, state support is also limited. In these conditions the subjective risk of innovations is greater. Aladár Nagy has this to say: "professional public opinion still distinguishes between irresponsible gambling and bold risk-taking only on the basis of subsequent results." (The 8th International Conference on Decision Theory held recently in Budapest has attracted attention to the theory of decision-making and its practical aspect, the analysis of decisions. As yet only a few attempts have been made here to apply these methods in the decision-making process of enterprises. But some developments are expected also in this field.)

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To return to the Innovation Fund. The purpose of establishing the Fund has been

to support innovative activity in enterprises. According to János Fekete, the Fund itself is new, an "innovation" which owes its emergence to a great part to a long-running discussion on innovation in the weekly *Élet és Irodalom*. In *Magyar Tudomány*, Erzsébet Birman, the Fund's director says: "The Fund finances the costs of technical development in connection with developing Hungarian intellectual products. This, however, does not involve either support or credit [...] If, for any reason, the developing activity financed does not bring success, the Fund does not get its money back. If, however, marketing does follow development, the Fund receives a share of the income until it has recovered a certain sum set at above the costs of financing." Erzsébet Birman also pointed out that "even if the venture does not bring the expected results, it will serve as an important lesson."

Cultural undertakings

I had to overcome a temptation in the first part of this survey: the many opportunities to meditate about the relationship of economy and culture, or how people with a classical education interested in the "humanities" have contributed to social innovation. Of course a number of writers have also started in some "practical" career. One is Gyula Hernádi, the controversial author of the 60s, who had worked for many years as an economist and sociologist. His experimental prose even today produces a sensation; his plays smell faintly of scandal, at least to the critics. Outside Hungary he is chiefly known as Miklós Jancsó's scriptwriter.

A new programme, a weekly cultural magazine started on Hungarian Television in 1980: Studio '80, now called Studio '81. The second in the series happened to be directed by Miklós Jancsó: it included a conversation with Gyula Hernádi and others. Nor did it fail to produce a minor scandal, especially through a few statements of Hernádi's. He suggested that economic undertakings should be introduced into culture. It is well known that, mainly for political considerations, most cultural products in Hungary are heavily subsidized by the state before being presented to the consumer. The other side of the medal is that economic changes have not much affected remuneration for creative work: authors' royalties and translators' fees have remained on the same level for dozens of years.

Kritika, a cultural-political monthly, tried to throw some light on the existing contradictions, and its 6/1981 issue asked "Is Culture a Commodity?" Three answers arrived. Gyula Hernádi simply said yes. His article followed up the sequence of ideas begun on Studio '80. "First: the results, the products of cultural activity are commodities. Second: I am convinced that the future way-out from the crisis for a socialist economy is socialist enterprise, namely enterpreneurial socialism, and this economic pattern can also be operated very successfully in the field of culture."

First of all he had to clarify the notions ot culture, commodity, and socialist enterprise. He adopted the philosopher József Barna's definition of culture (I quote here only the definition in the narrower sense which Hernádi used): "... culture comprises also the forms of society's intellectual life, the sciences, the arts, morality, creative activity in the above fields, the institutional distribution and appropriation of intellectual goods, public and general education, and eventually even public health." For Hernádi "any activity intended for exchange (whether objectified or not) is called a commodity." This applies also to cultural activity. It follows from Hernádi's definition that a theatrical performance can be a commodity just as much as a kidney operation or a rock record.

Hernádi found his definition of socialist enterprise in the work of economist Tibor Liska, an advocate for many years of the

"contractual system" now being introduced. "The substance of socialist enterprise is that the utilization right of the land or of any social property should not necessarily go to the person who happens to cultivate or manage it, but whoever takes it upon himself to manage it more successfully than any other competitor should be able to cultivate, manage, or develop it if he subsequently proves by financial results that he will be able to increase this social property most effectively also in the future."

"In the socialist entrepreneurial system privately owned means of production cannot be inherited, the person who commits himself to produce better results for society in competitive bidding gets them for utilization." This means that the means of production (shop, workshop, restaurant, and so on) will go to whoever offers the highest bid for them in the hope that he will be able to recover his money from future income.

How does this apply to culture? Today, according to Hernádi, the cultural commodity "is purchased by the budget (via its institutions or enterprises) and half or a quarter of it is presented as a gift to the buyer-user." The counter-argument advanced by many is that if this were not so, people with smaller incomes could "buy" culture even less than they can now. In addition there is the danger that with market laws prevailing, people would buy only worthless culture.

Hernádi argues that people should not be given cheap books, cheap theatre tickets, and so on, but their income should be increased to enable them to buy expensive books, theatre tickets, and so on. "By selling tickets cheap we also exempt the arts from the constraint to win their public, to produce something which interests and attracts people."

A professor of philosophy, István Hermann, answered *Kritika*'s question with a straight *no*. However, his article does start with the words: "If we take into consideration the exterior signs, culture seems really to have become a commodity. People have always had to give money for books, theatre, cinema, and concert tickets." But price does not correspond to *value*. According to Marxist theory, value is determined by the socially necessary worktime required to produce a commodity, and it is "obvious that whatever the price of a theatre or movie ticket or of a painting, we never pay the socially necessary worktime which the artist has spent on creating his work." But (another but!), it is equally obvious that works of art have something to do with the conditions of commodity production. (A novel is printed on paper with a printing machine.) So works of art acquire some commodity-qualities.

Hermann introduced a new concept: the imaginary sphere. He defines this as the sphere of human existence whose necessity cannot be directly postulated economically. To this sphere belong religion, ritual state ceremonies, and the arts. "The entire outlook of modern capitalism suggests the reduction and narrowing of the imaginary sphere. This attitude, which also exists in our country, has it that scientific research should satisfy the imminent needs of the economy, while art is only a third-rate accompanying phenomenon, a luxury article." But capitalism has already corrected this system of views in different forms; in capitalist countries with major cultural traditions, culture is not left to the mercy of the laws of the market. And socialism has "the interest of transmitting culture to the masses, therefore, whenever possible, it does not apply its rating by property qualifications. In other words: in the socialist system the average price of cultural products should be determined in such a way as to make them accessible to the masses." Hermann's final conclusion opposes Hernádi's: "Thus it is the fundamental interest of the socialist system not to risk the success of the cultural revolution by exposing cultural goods to the fluctuations of the free market."

The truth possibly lies somewhere between these two extremes. István Csibra, an

aesthetician, says that culture both is, and is not, a commodity. Following logically along the line of Hermann's reasoning, he demonstrates that culture is not a commodity "because for reasons of ideology and cultural policy we cannot allow cultural products to be exposed to the mercy of offer and demand."

"In society, economy and culture should not exist one beside the other, but within each other in the strict sense of the word," wrote Csibra. "The active man, the doer, 'imprints' his personality on the products of economy just as on the creations of culture in the narrower sense. A culture which elegantly turns its back to economy and production will certainly remain barren and lifeless. In the final analysis every commodity is the concentrate, the symbiosis both in the positive and negative sense of economy and culture [. . .] Hence culture is a commodity to the extent to which economy is culture." This is the other side of the coin.

Hence an intellectual product is a commodity as is its "material medium," paper, film, or tape. On the low fees of artists Csibra points out that: "The present remuneration of the intellectual component of products does seem to indicate that they are not commodities (and hence must not be paid for so well)." The disproportion between the "material" and "intellectual" cost-component has, however, repercussions on the "production" of culture. According to Csibra this is because we have not yet recognized fully that cultural products appear in the *form* of commodities also in socialism. Political and ideological considerations do not justify that "from this sphere we banish rentability, market research, the mapping of requirements, and the satisfying of cultural demands, by no means "low" or insignificant, reconciliable with our ideals and aims through commercial services that is, through economic channels." If this were to happen, culture would recover its confidence and self-respect, and the belief that culture "only takes money out of the state's purse" would disappear. To be more blunt, it is necessary to increase fees and, in some cases, also prices.

JÁNOS SZÉKY

SURVEYS

ANDRÁS KLINGER

POPULATION POLICY IN HUNGARY: SCOPE AND LIMITS

The acceleration of socio-economic progress in the early nineteenth century led to the slow and gradual decline of mortality, first in north-west Europe, which pioneered capitalist growth. The decline in mortality was followed, after some delays, by a decline in fertility. The two demographic processes, fundamentally declining mortality and fertility, are present in economically developed countries to this day.

Hungarian demographers use the terms demographic transition or change of demographic eras to describe this process, a revolutionary transition from a state of high mortality and fertility to another of low mortality and fertility.

Population trends until the fifties

Reliable data for the population of Hungary have been available since the eighteen-seventies. These show that here the demographic transition started later, and progressed faster, than in north-west Europe.

During the second half of the eighteen-eighties, an average of 46 live births and 37 deaths were recorded per 1,000 people. Natural population increase was 9 per thousand. Both the live birth and death ratios were among the highest in Europe. In the wake of the parallel reduction in the proportion of live births and deaths, this 9 per thousand rate of natural increase was maintained into the second half of the twenties. Between 1876 and 1930, the ratio of live births and deaths decreased by about 20 per thousand. This means that the fertility as well as the mortality of the population in Hungary had radically changed in little more than half a century. The proportion of live births during the period between 1926 and 1930 fell to 57 per cent of the value of the 1976–1980 period, and the death ratio fell to little more than 47 per cent of that of half a century earlier. The Great War interrupted this trend: natural decreases were recorded between 1915 and 1918, mainly caused by the absence of births.

But the real turning-point was the first half of the thirties: the decrease in live births considerably exceeded the decrease in the death rate, thus the natural rate of increase began a relatively rapid decline.

There was still room for reducing the fertility rate in the thirties, but none for reducing the mortality rate under the prevailing public health conditions. As a result, the number of live births per 1,000 people fell below 20 from the second half of the thirties. This means birth rate reached its present proportions—though tending toward further reduction, no doubt —40–50 years ago.

This also meant that with a faster fertility decline than the international average, Hungary moved from the group of

most fertile countries to those in the middle, and stayed there till the end of the fifties.

After the end of the Second World War, the usual baby boom that follows wars lasted about four years. Then, after 1951, the birth rate began to decline, and fell below 20 again in 1952. The indirect effect of the war had diminished by then, and the birth rate returned to the prevailing trend of the peace years.

This fundamental characteristic of the change in fertility was unrecognized. The population policy in the first half of the fifties attempted to force people to do something impossible to achieve, namely to bring more children into this world than they intend to. The regulations which put a practical ban on surgical abortions were really effective for only one year: 1954. In that year 23 live births were recorded per 1,000 people. How natural this was can be seen from the fall in this value of 1.6 per thousand already in the next year, a considerable drop, given the nature and the size of the phenomenon. This proves beyond doubt that population policy must not use coercive measures.

A new decision was taken in June 1956, permitting the termination of pregnancies practically unconditionally until the 12th week of the pregnancy. Considering that no other means were available, this was a humane decision 25 years ago.

The birth rate fell below 20 per thousand again in 1956: thus the pervasive decreasing trend in fertility, starting from the end of the last century, and accelerated during the thirties, continued.

The extraordinary thing during the decade after 1956 was the rate of the decrease. The ratio of live births fell below 13 per thousand within a few years, a world record low level in the first half of the sixties. There could be many reasons for this. It is likely that a reaction to the policies of the fifties played a part—the effect of births advanced by necessity, and of those delayed in the hope of improving circumstances. The institutionalized chance of "free abortions" for the first time may also have played a part. But these were only secondary factors; they merely accelerated a process of several decades.

What did happen, in essence, was that the ideal of the small—usually two-child—family spread generally in Hungarian society by the early sixties; and the means to realize this, above all "free abortion," were available.

Industrialization and urbanization led to a decrease in the size of the more fertile peasant families, and the two-generation—often two-child—small family became dominant in formerly more fertile groups of society as education increased and social-economic differences were reduced. The effect of schooling was twofold: partly it rendered people more open to the ideal of the small family as a concomitant of progress, and partly it lessened the earlier practice of children taking part in work, particularly among the peasants; indeed, the pecuniary burden of having the children educated stepped into the place of the advantages of this former practice. Decreasing the size of the family as a consumer unit became just as rational in our age, as it was earlier to increase it as a production unit.

The actual level of fertility is vividly demonstrated by the "complete ratio of fertility," which indicates the number of children a woman would bear if she lived throughout her fertile period, and the fertility rate specific to her age in a given year would affect her.

The story of the complete fertility ratio illustrates the predominant decrease in fertility in Hungary from the turn of the century to the sixties, and also provides a vivid indication of the fifties.

Demographic changes in twenty years

The strong decline in the birth rate that began in the second half of the

fifties reached its nadir during the early sixties, but even later it became so stabilized, at such a low level that it threatened the simple reproduction of the population in the future.

The decreasing fertility rate of the sixties, and the consequent smaller families, have drawn attention to Hungary's demographic state, and made the working out of a long-term population policy organically linked with the general social and economic policy very urgent. The outlines of this already began to develop in the late sixties, but comprehensive population policies were introduced only in 1973. Partly as a reaction to these, the number of live births did rapidly increase between 1974 and 1976, and approached or exceeded 190 thousand; thus the demographic wave of 1953–1955 was repeated, though at a lower level, and a "mirror image" of the earlier demographic peak was created. The temporary large increase in the number of live births, accompanied by a limited increase in the fertility rate, can be attributed mainly to the earlier birth of "previously planned for" children and the rise of the number of women of child-bearing age. (The large age-groups born between 1953 and 1956 reached child-bearing age during these years.)

The ratios of complete fertility changed during the seventies as follows:

Thus the number of live births has fast decreased since 1977. This phenomenon can be traced back principally to a decrease in the number of women of child-bearing age, and to "missing" babies—those already born in the preceding years. The number of live births was recorded at 160 thousand in 1979, and the tendency has been steadily decreasing.

A total of 149 thousand children were born in 1980 which corresponds to the live birth ratio of 13.9 per thousand. This is lower than the 1973 ratio, but is also below that of the years between 1967–1969, when the ratio increased to the 15 per thousand level affected by the introduction of the child-care allowance.

The Hungarian birth rates of the sixties were the lowest in Europe, and therefore among the lowest in the world, but this changed during the seventies. The 15.3 per thousand average rate of live births in the first half of the decade was still below the average level for Europe, but the frequency of births was considerably above that in the

Year	Complete fertility ratio	Year	Complete fertility ratio
1900	5.32	1950	2.57
1910	4.86	1952	2.47
1920	3.80	1954	2.97
1930	2.85	1960	2.02
1940	2.45	1962	1.80

Year	Complete fertility ratio	Year	Complete fertility ratio
1973	1.95	1977	2.17
1974	2.30	1978	2.08
1975	2.38	1979	2.02
1976	2.26	1980	1.90

Federal Republic of Germany and the GDR (11.6 and 12.1 per thousand respectively), Finland and Sweden (13.1 and 13.7 per thousand respectively); Austria, Belgium, and Denmark also recorded lower ratios than the Hungarian one.

The live birth ratios fell back strongly during the second half of the seventies in the majority of developed capitalist countries. Owing to this, the incidence of live births in most countries fell considerably below the ratios predicted for 1980. According to data for 1978–79 the ratio of live births was below 10 per thousand inhabitants in West Germany, 11 in Austria, 12 in Denmark, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and Switzerland, and equalled the present Hungarian level in France, Finland, and Japan. We find higher rates than the Hungarian one only in southern Europe (Greece, Spain, Portugal). But the birth rate is higher in the socialist countries, and generally increasing, and is equal to the Hungarian one only in the GDR. In 1979, 15 births were recorded in Bulgaria per 1,000 inhabitants, 17 in Yugoslavia, 18 in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, 20 in Rumania and Poland.

The decrease of the birth rate during the second half of the seventies indicates the prospective decline in populations not only in the great majority of European capitalist countries, but also in the United States, Australia, and Japan. The situation is similar in Hungary and the GDR among European socialist countries. Stagnating population levels are indicated in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, and long-term growths in the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania in the past decade.

Concerning the current Hungarian demographic structure, the prevalence of population processes begun in the last third of the seventies, this was caused by the cumulative effect of several factors, some foreseen, some unexpected. The forecasts predicted decreases in the number of new marriages as well as of live births, since the number of young, marriageable women, or those who bear their first child, was gradually decreasing. Generations, born during the peak of 1953–55, were already married and have had their first child; indeed, a growing proportion of them have two children. The small age-groups of the early sixties are marrying now. The number of women in the 20–24 years age-group, which most influences the number of births, is already only 400 000, about 60 000 less than a few years ago. This tendency will further increase, and by the end of the eighties the age-groups mentioned will fall back to about 300 000.

The 1979 data indicated that the decrease in the number of births was steeper than expected. The major population indicators further deteriorated in 1980. The ratio of live births fell by a further 7 per cent, and that of deaths—progressively worse since the mid-sixties—reached an all-time peak some 6 per cent higher than in 1979. Under these effects, population growth came to a virtual halt. The number of marriages also fell further in 1980. Only 7.5 marriages were contracted per 1,000 people in 1980, more than 20 per cent less than in 1975–1976. There are several reasons underlying this gradual decrease:

1. Age-groups in which marriages are most frequent have in recent years been smaller;

2. a proportion of marriages is delayed;

3. the rate of re-marrying is also diminishing.

The fact that the proportion of divorces is increasing among women of child-bearing age may give added impetus to this process. Data of a 2 per cent representative sample from the 1980 census show that the number of women of child-bearing age (between 15 and 49) decreased during the last ten years by hardly more than 1 per cent, but that the number of divorcees from the same age-group increased by about 50 per cent—from 139 per thousand to 207. It also become unambiguously clear from the data

that divorced women—independently of age—have less children on average than married ones. It is also a fact that divorced women had a higher average number of children in 1980 than women of similar status in 1970. But this proves only that the children's role in holding failing marriages together is not as strong now as it used to be.

The latest census data also demonstrate that the average family size of married women is also decreasing. If we approach the problem of population reproduction from the angle of the average number of children necessary per families, then we can say that an average of 2.3 children should be born in order to ensure the simple reproduction of the population.

Yet all the investigations proved that most young people marry with the idea of having two children. As many as 64 out of 100 people marrying wanted this size of family in 1958. But in 1977, 77 of them planned that same number. On the other hand, the number of couples marrying with the intention of living together without having children is extraordinarily low, only 1–2 couples out of 100. The proportion of people planning one child has displayed significant fluctuations over the past twenty years; it rose from 13 to 20 per cent until 1966, then receded to 6 per cent by 1974, and has been increasing again since then. The number of those planning to have three or more children changed in the opposite direction to those wanting only one child, it decreased considerably, from 22 to 9 per cent until 1966; increased significantly in 1974, mainly under the effect of population policies, to 21 per cent, and has again been decreasing since then.

Initial plans for families cannot, however, always be realized. The chances are best for the establishment of the two-child family, yet by far not as good as couples may hope when they marry. Most couples who unwillingly remain childless or have only one child, come from the rank of the planners of two children, while others consciously change down to the one-child family from the originally planned two children. The downward modification of planned family sizes is also more frequent among couples who planned three or more children, than instances of a larger family size consciously or unwillingly among others who planned only two.

The under- and overfulfilments of original family plans have until now generally balanced each other out, and have not therefore affected average family size. Investigations into family plans correctly indicated trends in family size during the past twenty years as a whole, albeit not correctly in respect of individual families.

When we attempt to look into the future on this basis, then we have to take into account the ideas on family size of marrying or married young couples, and the chances of their realization. Two things must be seen clearly. The first is that young married women under 25 have more children today than the similar age-group ten or twenty years ago, and that therefore there is an opportunity in principle to predict that they will have more children. It is to be feared, however, that this is the temporary effect of the result of the last birth-wave, since—and this is the other thing—young people do not plan or want more children now than they did twenty years ago. It should be added that if today's older generation could realize their family plans (and this is evident from the level of their finished fertility), it can be even less expected from the younger people of today that they will bring more children into the world against their will.

It is worth pointing out, however, that considerably more couples see the end of their fertility with one child, than originally planned. This means, in other words, that future population policies—while maintaining support of the advance of the three-children family model—will have to be directed, unlike from past measures, towards providing effective incentive for the birth

of the second child. This is reasonable because generalizing the three-children ideal was proved unrealistic and the aim for the future years should therefore be to stop further deterioration in the fertility level in the first place, instead of raising the level of fertility.

The future development of the population

Two estimates are available which purport to predict future fertility levels.

(1) According to one, the strong decrease in fertility that began in 1976 will continue at an unchanged rate until 1988, after which the estimated fertility of the age-groups will not change.

(b) The other predicts the end of the rapid decrease in fertility in 1980, and a change to a much slower rate of decrease until 1986, with the development of a balanced situation in 1990. In this event, fertility would become stabilized at the 1978 level.

Based on 1980 trends and various more recent studies, it seems likelier that the more pessimistic (a) version will be realized during the next five-year period. It is more difficult to predict the post-1986 period, the trends of which will be determined by the possibility of further opportunities for encouraging people to have children.

Reviewing the likely future development of the population would not be complete without outlining the expected trends in overall mortality. Just as in basic trends in fertility, we also have two certain bases in respect of mortality: the knowledge of the present and future division of the population by age, and of the mortality figures of the late seventies. If the adverse change in mortality ratios characteristic to various ages—the so-called age-specific ratios—continues until 1985, and the extent of higher incidents of mortality reduces by half thereafter, then—taking the "aging" of the population into account—the incidence of deaths will increase right up to the end of the century. Accordingly, the raw mortality ratio is likely to be 14.3 per thousand in the year 2000 as opposed to the present ratio of 13.6 per thousand.

Since the balance of the ratios of live births and deaths is likely to be negative, whichever version of fertility changes is realized, the incidence of deaths will continuously exceed the incidence of live births, and the dwindling of the population until the turn of the century appears inevitable. The loss may be between 20 thousand and 400 thousand, depending on whether the favourable (b), or the adverse (a) variant is realized. Consequently, the population can be expected to total between 10,690,000 and 10,310,000 by the year 2000, as against the present level of 10,710,000.

Population policy

Population policy can take a number of forms. The view that none of these is adequate to influence the demographic attitudes of every family in itself is widely accepted. Therefore comprehensive population policies were evolved in the seventies in most of the countries where population policy became an important part of national politics. The essence of these are to make certain combinations of funds available to families. This is particularly characteristic of socialist countries, where population policies have become a part of overall social-economic planning during the last ten years, and its measures uniformly serve to increase or stabilize family size levels.

The Hungarian population policy introduced in 1973 shows many similarities to that of countries whose demographic situation—like Hungary's—is characterized by a low level of fertility. What makes this policy unique is that, alone in Europe, it views the tasks in a comprehensive way. The fundamental aim was the same as that defined in a good number of countries

around the world: to bring about a fertility situation which can ensure simple reproduction. But an auxiliary—by no means secondary—aim was also outlined: to achieve a population situation, in which the size of the generations to be born does not show extensive yearly fluctuations. This was a unique aim, since Hungary's birth rate has produced unique peaks and troughs during recent decades. It was not possible to aim at their complete elimination, since differences manifest in the parent generations do necessarily duplicate themselves in the generations of their progenies, but extensive spreads can perhaps be eliminated with appropriate measures.

1. Financial assistance

The most general instrument of financial assistance is the family allowance.

As affected by the population policy measures of 1973, the total of nationally paid family allowances increased by more than 100 per cent between 1974 and 1980. This was caused partly by the increase in the number of families, and partly by rises in the amount payable: the allowance has increased four times since 1974 (for two-children families in 1974, in respect of every recipient—partly because of price rises—in 1975, 1976, and 1979, and in 1980 especially for three-children families).

The considerably higher family allowance paid to families with three or more children is a very important factor in the current Hungarian system. The allowance paid for the third child is nearly twice as much as that paid for the second child, in accordance with the set policy aims of increasing the frequency of third children.

The other characteristic of the Hungarian system is that no family allowance is paid in respect of the first child.

Whether it is enough to start supporting families only after the arrival of the second child is arguable. The fact is that the parents' child-rearing problems begin with the first child, indeed, material problems appear the most acute after the birth of the first child, owing to age, income, and accommodation. The question than arises: is not the practice of countries where families are given assistance for the first child more appropriate? For the birth of the planned second child is omitted less frequently owing to difficulties with the first in such countries. The solution where family allowance would be paid after the first child only for a certain period and then stopped, unless the second child arrives, is also a possibility.

The actual value of the family allowance is well indicated by its growing proportion compared to the average monthly earnings. The total of the family allowance paid in Hungary in respect of three children relative to the average monthly earnings increased from 38 per cent in 1973 to 50 per cent in 1980.

Family assistance is manifest also in non-recurring material allowances. The most important of these is the maternity allowance paid on the birth of the child. The current amount of this—2,500 forints—can only be described as modest (relative to the average monthly earning) by international comparison. Apart from that, it has no population political content, that is that the amount of the allowance does not change in respect of the second or subsequent children.

2. Extra time off

The allowances given to working mothers for giving birth and child-rearing are important. There are several kinds of these.

Maternity leave. Twenty weeks in Hungary, during which mothers receive full pay.

Child-care allowance. This advantage is a special instrument of Hungarian population policy. It was introduced in 1967, in Hungary, the first of its scale in the world. The child-care allowance enables the working mother to rear her child at home until

it is 3 years old. The social insurance organization pays about 25–40 per cent of the national average monthly earnings to the mother. The amount of the allowance differs according to the number of children in the family (800 forints for the first, 900 forints for the second, and 1,000 forints for the third and subsequent children).

This is the most generally used measure in population policy today: about 90 per cent of working mothers take advantage of it, albeit not for the total period allowed. Only 195 thousand women were receiving child-care allowance at the end of 1973, as against 264 thousand at the end of 1979; the total sum of the allowances paid increased in the meantime by nearly 150 per cent. The popularity of the benefit creates certain contradictions in the tight labour situation. This is indicated by the fact that 5.5 per cent of the total work-force was on child-care leave in 1979 (only 4 per cent in 1973). This ratio is even higher in some sections, where the proportion of women is higher (e.g. 18 per cent in the clothing industry, 14 per cent in the textile industry, 13 per cent in the leather, fur, and footwear industries). Yet the principle of trying to solve today's labour problems by trying to decrease the problems of tomorrow should prevail, that is that population policy enjoys priority over labour policy.

Child-care allowance systems similar to but by no means as considerable as the Hungarian system, have been introduced in certain other socialist countries in recent years.

As far as advantages relating to working time and sick benefits are concerned, further measures, providing benefits during pregnancy and child rearing (particularly when small children are sick), were implemented in 1974. One of these was the extension of the eligibility for sick pay for the nursing of a sick child (up to 60 days maximum in respect of children under 3 years, and 30 days in respect of those aged between 3 and 6 years). Apart from the already operating one day per month leave without pay, two paid days of additional leave have to be given to mothers of one child under 14, and 5 or 9 days to mothers of 2 or 3 or more children under 14 years of age respectively, in order to improve the condition of the working women. Reliance on sick pay for nursing children increased: the daily average number of women on sick pay for this reason increased from 13 to 21,000 between 1973 and 1979, which means that about 0.5 per cent of the workers were absent on an average day, using this benefit.

3. Benefits in kind

It is generally acknowledged that benefits in kind provided by society to young married couples and families with small children constitute even greater assistance than money subsidies. The building up of the network of crèches and nursery schools, free education and health services, and various schemes for assistance with accommodation form the principal group of benefits in kind.

Child-care establishments. Resulting from the 1973 measures, the most important-development was in the field of developing child-care establishments in Hungary. The network of these establishments has considerably grown through the use of central state funds, council investments, enterprise measures, as well as a result of community work.

The capacity of crèches increased by 16,000 and exceeded 61,000 by the end of 1979. In spite of this, crèche overcrowding is a perennial problem: an average of 127 children are enrolled to fill each 100 vacancies, but the average utilization of the capacity is still only 86 per cent, owing mainly to absenteeism due to illness; about 15 per cent of the children of appropriate age were enrolled in crèches at the end of 1979 (the ratio was 12 per cent in 1973). This appears rather low, therefore many

people want more extensive development of crèches (the establishment of further crèche places for 9–10 thousand children is projected during the Sixth Five Year Plan). However, when it is considered that a sizeable proportion of children under 3 years can be reared by their mothers at home, relying on social allowances, maternity and child-care assistance, then more than half of the children under 3 years of mothers not taking advantage of these schemes are enrolled in crèches.

The most obvious development in the past period took place in the field of nursery schools. Capacity was 364 thousand at the end of 1979, about 110,000 more than in 1973. In spite of this heavy increase, several tens of thousands of applying children could still not be accepted, owing to the increase in the number of children of nursery age. The nurseries are also overcrowded: an average of 126 children are enrolled for each 100 of the vacancies. But progress is still manifest: already as many as 85 per cent of children of nursery school age were able to enrol in 1979 (only 66 per cent of a smaller age-group could enrol in 1973). The present ratio is high even by international comparison. Capacity for a further 30–35,000 places is laid down for the Sixth Five Year Plan, thus—considering the expected decrease in this age-group—every applicant will be able to enrol.

Improving the quality and quantity of day-time care provisions for primary school children is a particularly important task. Although the number of children benefiting from the day-time care provided by the schools increased considerably (from 25 per cent in 1973 to 37 per cent), this is still not enough, and the quality and refinement of the meals provided still leaves much to be desired. Thus the development of this service is an important task of the coming period.

Accommodation preferences. In the interests of population policy aims, improving the accommodation situation to secure homes for young maried couples and appropriately sized homes for families is an important—and perhaps the most difficult—task.

Preference to young couples and large families was promoted by the accommodation measures passed at the end of 1980. The fact that young people are given help with home-purchase loans, social political allowances, and in the allocation of council homes, is seen as an important step forward. Assisting the quality exchange of the homes of families with three or more children was yet another considerable result of the past period; more than 25 thousand large families moved into such homes between 1974 and 1979, but the 12,000 families still on the waiting list for more appropriate accommodation demonstrates the growth of the needs.

The direct link between the home situation and the number of children cannot be proven. Indeed, certain advantages bring social results rather than results in terms of population policy. Thus a significant proportion of couples who received social advantages prefer to pay back the portion of the loan received for the purpose rather than giving life to a second child. Therefore this advantage contributes nothing to the increase in the number of children (fertility of families given it is lower than the average); yet it should be maintained, and if possible extended, since this many help young married people in obtaining a home, and thus considerably improves their living circumstances. The importance of this is demonstrated by a few details from a representative survey. According to this, only 19 per cent of young married couples start their married life in their own home (the majority of them live with their parents), and most of them (70 per cent) acquire their own home only by the sixth year of their marriage. True, the number of children is not much higher in families living in their own home than in others who share theirs with others. But those who

acquire homes later are less likely to realize their original intentions regarding the size of families: even if they wanted two children, they stop at one, and quite definitely at two. And affecting the growth of families even more is the fact that the divorce rate is twice as high with those who have no home of their own.

4. Health policy measures

Although they do not realize directly to the expressed aims of population policy, the health policy measures aimed at assisting more up-to-date family planning or contributing indirectly to the improvement of the population's quality is still connected with these.

It is a general rule that family size is determined mostly by the conscious ideas of the parents, and that the level of fertility does not depend on countries' laws on contraception or abortion. It is also an empiric fact that fertility can be influenced through laws (by legalizing, limiting, or prohibiting certain methods, mainly the surgical abortion) only temporarily, but not in the long run.

The concept underlying Hungarian population policy is that the parents decide the number and timing of their children, yet everything must be done to avoid unwanted pregnancies without possible risks. Therefore the health information service as well as medical practice on family planning are trying to establish modern and effective contraception as the means of family planning, and not surgical abortion. The 1973 measures, which made permission to have an abortion subject to certain conditions, while furthering the general use of modern contraceptives (principally oral ones of hormonal effect) were also aimed at this.

The bi-directional measures introduced proved very effective. The number of surgical abortions has gradually diminished since 1974: while the number of surgical abortions and live births used to be about even (in 1964 the number of surgical abortions even exceeded that of live births by 40 per cent), there have been two live births recorded for each abortion during the past few years. Parallel with this, the number of women using oral contraceptives has strongly increased: as many as 680 thousand women used this method of contraception in 1980, two and a half times as many as in 1973. This equals a growth from 11 to 27 per cent in the proportion of women aged between 17 and 49 relying on oral contraceptives.

Hungarian achievements are notable at international level as well. Some 60 per cent of married women under 40 rely on modern contraceptive methods. This ratio corresponds with that of the capitalist countries most advanced in this field (United States, Norway), but is higher than in France, Britain (or Denmark, where it is about 50 per cent). Modern contraceptive methods are considerably less general in Czechoslovakia (only about 30 per cent), hardly known in Bulgaria and Poland (around 5 per cent), and unknown—and legally prohibited—in Rumania.

The situation is considerably better in Hungary in respect of the ratio of abortions, than it was in the sixties when the Hungarian indicators were the highest in Europe. Surgical abortion has since been legalized in almost every country, although in a few European socialist countries (in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, apart from Hungary) old, completely liberal practices were tightened up. On the other hand, surgical abortion was completely banned in Rumania in 1966. Under the effect of legal changes, the number of surgical abortions increased heavily in most northern and western European countries; and considerable decreases were recorded mostly in the socialist countries, even though the abortion rate is generally still higher in the latter. Among them, however, the Hungarian rate

is already among the lowest. The number of surgical abortions exceeds that of live births, and the numbers of each are even in Rumania—in spite of the legal ban. Nearly 80 abortions are recorded in Czechoslovakia for each 100 live births, and this rate is about 60 in the GDR too. The rate is below the Hungarian level (50 per cent) only in Poland (about 30 per cent).

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When talking about population policy, we have to touch upon the consciousness-forming power of various laws and types of assistance. Putting it another way: what can we expect from a complex population policy generally, independent of its system of means, how can it change the demographic situation?

There may be various answers to this question, and the effectiveness of population policies is also judged in various ways in international literature. The general opinion is that it is very difficult to modify the ideas that society has developed about its families. If, for instance, in a given era the "family idea" becomes embodied in the idea of families with two children, then society can hardly change this "idea" through laws. Comprehensive modification of the way of life, the environment, the social consciousness would, for instance, be necessary in order to change the "family ideal" crystallized in society in the course of decades to a family size of three children.

A far more realistic aim is for population policy to assist families in the realization of their own family plans. Therefore, the system should enable every married couple to realize their original concepts. Cases of couples who had planned three children giving birth to only one or two, or—even more frequent in Hungarian society—where those who wanted two stop at the first child, must be avoided. This approach could form the basis of a feasible population policy, which could also aim at raising the effectively planned number of children at a later stage, as part of a continuous development; indeed, even at changing the generally accepted family ideal, with the increase in family size.

EDIT S. MOLNÁR

BIRTH CONTROL, ABORTION AND PUBLIC OPINION

A hundred years ago the ratio of births was still very high in Hungary, with about 40 live births per 1000 population. The fall in the number of births, which was noticeable earlier in Western European countries, reached Hungary already before the Second World War: only 20 live births were then recorded per thousand. The ratio climbed to 21 per thousand in the post-war years, only to fall back to 20 per thousand by 1952. From then on, the decrease was continuous until 1962, when the Hungarian ratio of live births reached its lowest level at 12.9 per thousand. After stagnating for three years, a considerable increase began from 1966–67, and the ratio of live births reached the 15 per thousand level by 1968–69. This higher level was maintained for only two years, and a new drop occurred in the early seventies.

Partly under the effect of population policy measures introduced in 1974, and partly owing to the fact that the greater number of girls born in the early fifties reached child bearing age in the first half of the seventies, the ratio of live births began to grow considerably in the mid-seventies, and reached 18.4 per cent in 1974. However,

the trend was reversed then, and the figure fell to 15 per thousand in 1979, the same as in 1973.[1]

The decline is certainly not the consequence of changes in biology or natural circumstances, but shows the increasing influence of socio-economic factors on fluctuations in fertility. The spread of the diverse methods of birth control made it increasingly possible for men and women to ensure that social and economic factors, and not natural fertility determine the birth rate. Thus the individual decisions of people directly influence fertility.[2]

The systematic study of fertility and family planning got off the ground in Hungary during the sixties, mainly at the Central Statistical Office. Surveys showed that family planning was not really new to Hungary: the proportion of women who could be said to be engaged in systematic family planning hardly exceeded 30 per cent in the thirties, but was already around 40 per cent in the forties, and exceeded 50 and 60 per cent by the second half of the fifties and in the sixties respectively.[3] Nearly 85 per cent of women between 15 and 39 years who married in 1966 made decisions before their marriage on the number of the children they wished to have.[4]

Fertility and family planning surveys are generally carried out among women. Consequently, even though they offer important information concerning fertility and birth control practice, as well as of the fluctuation of related attitudes over a certain period of time, and in specific sections of society, they provide relatively less information on the relation between fertility and birth control attitudes, and public opinion. We know very little about ways in which relevant norms held by public opinion influence the attitude of women, or of families to childbearing and birth control, and if they do, to what degree. Little has been published on the subject in other countries. Since communications research now studies family planning it has begun to appear likely that there is a relationship between individual attitudes and the opinion of the environment. It was demonstrated that negative attitudes to birth control could be changed under the influence of a peer group of high prestige which preferred family planning, even though it is generally recognized that sexual conflicts arising from this negative attitude can only be solved with clinical methods.[5]

There is no research into these problems in Hungary. Population policy has aimed to change public opinion in the interests of popularizing methods of birth control less harmful to health, as well as of encouraging a desire to have more children. In order to realize this aim, it seems reasonable to study the role, intensity, and efficiency of public opinion apart from the attitudes of the women involved, with respect to the desire for children or birth control.

The Role of Public Opinion

Public opinion polls relating to population growth conducted since 1970 do not throw light on whether the decisions of married couples on the size of their family are influenced by the judgement of their environment. We know, however, thanks to the sociological research of the interwar period, that the differential fertility expressed in regional and status differences has always been a factor influencing public

[1] See András Klinger's article on p. 115 of this issue.

[2] Bevezetés a demográfiába (Introduction to Demography) (ed. Egon Szabady), 1964.

[3] Family planning in Hungary. The more important data of the 1966 survey of fertility and family planning. *KSH Népességtudományi Kutató Intézet Közleményei*, 1970/1.

[4] Family planning, fertility, and birth control attitudes between 1966–72 of people married in 1966. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, June 1974.

[5] Fawcett, J. T.: *Psychology and Population. Behavioural Issues in Fertility and Family Planning.* Population Council, New York, 1970.

opinion in Hungary, even before 1945. The practice of *egyke* (one child per family) developed in certain regions to avoid carving up the family acres; and old women who used rough quack methods to terminate unwanted pregnancies, filled a special social function. Everyone felt sorry for large families, since few children meant almost the only prospect of material and social advance for most. The circumstance that encouragement to have more children came mostly from official ideologues, who appealed primarily to piety and patriotism, meant a peculiar conflict. The limitation of the number of children, as an attitude, therefore somehow became illicit, and suggested resistance to the official position.

This situation was strengthened later, after the Liberation, when the considerable decline in fertility of the early fifties, and the ensuing, extraordinarily unfavourable demographic situation produced severe population policy measures. The complete ban on induced abortion restricted freedom in an unpardonable manner. Although the political leadership as a whole was responsible, the public blamed the then minister of health, Anna Ratkó. The period, still remembered as the Ratkó era, made a powerful and lasting impression on public opinion, and the ban on induced abortions was combined with the other hard-to-endure burdens of the years of what is euphemistically called the personality cult.

Permitting Abortions

Repeal followed in 1956. Under the new provisions, committees set up for the purpose could permit termination of pregnancies in case of ill health, or certain personal and family circumstances. Informing the applicant of the harmful effects of termination on health, and persuading her to withdraw the application when it seemed unreasonable, also became the duty of the committees. If the applicant insisted on having her pregnancy terminated in spite of such appeals, the committee granted permission.

As a result, the number of induced abortions increased rapidly. While only 2,000–3,000 induced abortions a year took place between 1950–53, they soon became the most general method of birth control. Their number rose to a yearly 160,000–180,000 by the early sixties, and exceeded 200,000 in 1968. New regulations were introduced in January 1974 in order to limit induced abortions. These were more tight than the 1958 regulations, and itemized the cases where the committees were obliged to permit termination of pregnancies, and those where individual exceptions could be made. The fee for induced abortion was also raised high enough to cover costs. Later I shall return to the fact that public opinion was divided by the various measures related to abortions even before this tightening up, and groups of specific social composition crystallized later as well for or against the stricter measures. One must not lose sight, however, of the fact that it may also be the consequence of these traditions in the fluctuation of public opinion (that is that there has always been a publicized, legal, official standpoint, and those for or against) that public opinion was not agreed on what was a normal, healthy, adequate family size, and yet most people believe they have a competent opinion. It seems that this public opinion follows the actual behaviour of the population of fertile age and that it forms it is respect of the ideal family size, as well as the acceptance and popularity of birth control. This manifests itself partly in that the index of the ideal number of children according to public opinion invariably exceeds the average of the number of children wanted, or planned, by young couples for themselves, and therefore there always exists a smaller or bigger difference between the preferences of public opinion and of individuals. The public opinion index is much more mobile: the values of the preferences (the number of children held to be ideal)

declines when it also considers, for example, finances or housing;[6] and in that public opinion, being more conservative, relaxes more slowly towards the declared acceptance of methods of birth control than those personally involved.

The latter can be shown particularly if investigations are not limited to the abortion problem, which anyhow occupies public opinion most intensively, and even had political undertones, but embrace the broader field of birth control attitudes.

Family Planning

The spread of family planning is increasingly accompanied by the considerable loosening of rather strict, conservative traditions alive in public opinion, and the acceptance of the outlook that the planned, wanted number of children can be ensured only by the application of adequate means of protection.

According to the 1974 public opinion poll carried out by the Central Statistical Office,[7] relating to the whole of the adult population (thus males too), 71 per cent had a modern way of thinking, while according to a similar poll by the Research Centre for Mass Communications,[8] this was 75 per cent. (Putting it in another way: the proportion of people agreeing with the statement: "The reason why it pays to use contraceptive methods is that women can then become pregnant when they plan to do so.") The public opinion poll of the Central Statistical Office referred to—relating to the whole of the population—estimated the proportion of people who either unambiguously accepted the conservative position (that is that they agreed with the statement: "Artificial regulation of the number of children is not right," or gave contradictory answers, e.g. agreed with both views) at 29 per cent. According to the Research Centre for Mass Communications, this proportion may be higher, and while two-thirds of the people interviewed accepted the modern concept, only 43 per cent of them indicated disagreement with the conservative view.

The further analysis of these latter data indicated the preponderance of conservative attitudes, even under present conditions, with respect to family planning among manual workers, pensioners, particularly inhabitants of villages, people over 40, but especially those above 50 years of age, and people with only a primary education or less.

A strong connection was manifest between the acceptors of the conservative or modern views, and their religious attitudes. The proportion of conservative and modern views was 72 to 28 per cent among religious people, while this was the reverse in the other groups, with 38 per cent favouring the conservative, and 62 per cent the modern view (correlation with piety: +0.62 conservative, –0.21 modern).

Acceptance of the more modern view, of family planning, the use of its methods, means, currently acts in the direction of wanting fewer children. It is worthy of notice that a steadily growing proportion of young women would like to change methods more damaging to health (*coitus interruptus*, or surgical termination of pregnancy) to more adequate ones, but this may be limited by an unwilling conforming to conservative traditions, or the possibility of stress.

[6] S. Molnár, Edit: "A családonként ideálisnak tartott gyermekszám interpretálásának néhány problémája" (Some Problems of Interpretation of the Number of Children Held Ideal by Families). *Demográfia*, 1976. Nos. 2–3, pp. 212–227.

[7] Pongrácz, Tiborné and S. Molnár, Edit: A népesedési kérdéssel kapcsolatos közvélemény-kutatás néhány előzetes eredménye (Some Preliminary Results of the Public Opinion Poll relating to The Population Problem). *Demográfia*, 1975, No. 4.; Népesedési kérdésekkel kapcsolatos közvélemény-kutatás (Public Opinion Poll on Population Problems). *KSH Népességtudományi Kutató Intézet Közleményei*, 1976/1. No. 43.

[8] Pongrácz, Tiborné and S. Molnár, Edit: Közvélemény-kutatások a gyermekvállalásról és a népesedéspolitikáról (Public Opinion Research on the Acceptance of Children and on Population Policy). Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, Tanulmányok, 1979. 1.

Opinions on Abortion

Since it is part of the relevant problems, I should like to briefly touch on the shaping of opinions relating to the regulation of induced abortions, since a number of public opinion questionnaires contained questions relating to this.

I pointed out already that the number of induced abortions is not only an important socio-political and public health issue, but has also attracted strong interest on the part of Hungarian public opinion. As an issue of public interest it was present already in the years before the Liberation. The regulation of induced abortions alternated between stricter and more lenient measures in recent decades.

According to the results of public opinion research in the early seventies, some 25 per cent of the population already stood for permitting induced terminations of pregnancies without limitations for everybody who insisted on them, while 69 per cent either favoured a complete ban, or would have permitted interference only within strict limits. The public opinion polls conducted in 1974, essentially independently of one another, produced similar results, with somewhat different questionnaires.

According to the public opinion research of the Research Centre for Mass Communications, almost half of the adult population, 47 per cent, considered the new measures restricting the induced termination of pregnancies to be adequate. The proportion of those who would have thought milder or stricter measures more to the point was about equal (17–18 per cent), and 18 per cent did not want to take sides. The public opinion poll of the Central Statistical Office returned 16 per cent "no opinion" answers. As many as 92 per cent of those who gave positive answers regarded the measures as necessary, and 8 per cent as unnecessary. Two-thirds of the former also thought the measures adequate, but the other one-third (approximately 23 per cent) considered the measures necessary, but too strict. They based their reservations on the following: charges for induced abortions were too high; it was not right to insist on three children under any circumstances, and the age limit was too high.

The reasoning of the great majority of those who agreed with the restrictions is not identical, since the group includes all those who considered the measures important from the point of view of protecting the health of the women and of children to be born later; who condemn termination of pregnancies as such because of their religious convictions, just as they condemn almost any other methods of birth control; and finally, also those with whom every public opinion poll has to reckon, that is those who declare their agreement inspired by some answering strategy. It is rather difficult to separate these sections and groups, which find themselves on the same platform for very different reasons. Yet one may conclude that the views were heterogeneous from the way the subjects interpreted the reasons for a stricter regulation of induced abortions.

The poll of the Research Centre for Mass Communications made it evident that public opinion was strongly divided over the question why it was at all necessary to introduce the restrictive measures. This could be attributed to the fact that while publicity put the emphasis unambiguously on health aspects, the timing of the restrictions still coincided with an adverse demographic situation, low birth rate, and a preference for three children per family. This coincidence strengthened the view of many people that the restrictions were necessary in order to increase the number of births. Opinions were divided this way:

The new measures:	per cent
— serve primarily the protection of the health of pregnant women and their children to be born later	34
— serve the increase of births in the first place	27

— both together	24
— no opinion	15
	100

It could be clearly seen that those favouring milder regulation were less inclined to accept health protection as the reason for the measures, and that they were inclined to believe that the restrictions were introduced simply with the purpose of increasing the number of births.

Each of the public opinion polls demonstrated that a higher proportion of the better educated or professional people regarded the measures as too strict or unnecessary, and the group which insisted on a complete ban consisted overwhelmingly of older, less educated, people mainly from the country.

Those agreeing with the restrictions, as I already mentioned, do not always have rational considerations. The group also includes people with initially conservative attitudes. And the majority of those who demand the ban on induced abortion also oppose the use of modern contraceptives. This section also rejects deliberate family planning, as a rule, and the view: "it is not right to artificially influence the number of children" is also rife among them. One should not neglect this attitude, which is still quite intensive these days, when reviewing divisions of public opinion, the less so because this expressly opposed the population policy aspect, according to which the desirable state would be that each child born should be planned.

Some data of the effect of the 1974 measures should be mentioned here. The number of induced abortions gradually decreased after 1974. While the number of induced abortions was 40 per cent higher in 1964 than the number of live births, there were two live births to each abortion in recent years. Simultaneously, the number of women using oral contraceptives has also increased considerably.

Marketing and use of the first oral contraceptives was authorized in 1964. The sale of contraceptives has continued to increase ever since. The rate of increase was, understandably, highest in 1968–69. Two and a half times as many contraceptives were dispensed in 1969 as in the preceding year. The rate of increase slowed down somewhat later.

While only six women between 14-49 out of every thousand used oral contraceptives at the end of 1967, 109 did so five years later, and 160 at the end of the following year. Several types of oral contraceptives are marketed now, and two and a half times as many women used this method in 1980 than in 1973. This means that the proportion of 17–49 years old women using contraceptives increased from 11 to 27 per cent.

Considering all this, it is pretty true today that attitudes according to which the use of the means of family planning and birth control are indispensable to a normal, healthy, or adequate family size have begun to spread not only among the women effected, but in public opinion as such. This points to the gradual loosening of older traditions, often of a religious origin, although these are still strong enough to hinder the spread of deliberate family planning, and to preserve older conventions.

Be it as it may, it has to be expected that with the development, advance, and increase of the range of the modern means of birth control, with the improvement of the availability of healt and sex advisory services, a fall in the number of induced abortions will occur not only because of stricter regulations, but also as a result of the acceptance and apprecnation of the fact that it is the most harmful method of brith control. True, this appreciation does not in itself serve the purpose of having more children. The latter may be achieved by making the position of women easier, alleviating the conflict between their family and job roles, improving the housing situation, and several other factors, taken together.

ZOLTÁN ZSEBŐK

FAMOUS HUNGARIAN DOCTORS

In order to judge the role Hungarian physicians have played in the medical practice of this continent, the spotlight must first of all be focused on one or two prominent figures from the sixteenth century. One of these was the Nagylak castellan's son, János Vitus of Balsarét, born at Dombegyháza in 1529, who, though a Protestant, was invited by Pope Paul V to be his court physician.

Tamás Jordán of Kolozsvár (1539–1595) who became chief medical officer of Moravia, was the first to describe epidemic typhus, and he also discovered the ways which syphilis was spread.

János Jeszeni, who was born in 1566, was a pioneer in modern surgery. He achieved European fame with his *Institutiones chirurgicae*, which was used as a textbook until the end of the eighteenth century. He was three times elected rector of Prague University. An opponent of the Habsburgs, he was captured after the Battle of White Mountain, sentenced to death, had his tongue cut out, and was quartered and nailed on the castle gate. The remains of his body nailed to the bridge tower were interred by Swedish soldiers who occupied Prague during the Thirty Years' War.

Evidence of his political views is contained in his doctoral lecture at Padua University "On the rights effective against tyrants".

In referring to these names I intend merely to indicate that medical training was nonexistent in Hungary under Habsburg rule, a state of affairs which left its mark on conditions in Hungary; and yet the fame and achievements of several great men extended far beyond the frontiers of the country.

Another eminent doctor was András Dudith (1533–1598), who as a cleric stood up against the pope at the Tridentine Council, resigned from the Church and worked in general medicine in Breslau. The findings published in his works were well in advance of his time.

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After the one and a half centuries of Turkish occupation, medical care in Hungary was so poor that in the eighteenth century in Southern Hungary, for instance, there were only two doctors for 600,000 inhabitants and in numerous counties there were no doctors at all.

After the repeated failures to found a university, young Hungarians were obliged to seek their medical training in Vienna. Although a Hungarian section headed by a Hungarian dean existed there, instruction was in German or in Latin. Only after a long struggle, twenty years after János Perliczi of Késmárk (1705–1777) had presented his plan to Maria Theresa in 1751, was a small medical faculty set up at the University of Nagyszombat, which was moved to Pest in 1780. Instruction was also in Latin and German there.

It was at this faculty that Hungarian medical training really began when, in 1780, Sámuel Rácz, the first professor of medicine of Hungarian nationality, was appointed professor of anatomy. Contravening the university charter, he introduced a course of lectures in Hungarian, instead of Latin or German.

Even after that, Hungarian medical practitioners continued for a long time to get their medical training for the most part in Vienna, Prague and also in Italy. It is thus understandable that a considerable number of talented people remained abroad. Hungarian medicine did not begin to develop until the second half of the nineteenth century. Since then Hungarian medicine has

held an increasingly significant place in Europe.

Whilst not claining to be comprehensive, I wish to write about those Hungarian physicians no longer alive, who rose to great fame between 1850 and the present.

The first to be mentioned is *Ignác Semmelweis*, born in Buda in 1818, who really opened an epoch in universal medicine, although owing to unfortunate circumstances recognition was long in coming. When he died in 1865, only few realized his greatness. The number of objective and romantic publications, films and stage plays written about him is so great that it would be futile to attempt to enumerate them. I quote here a single sentence from his work: "Puerperal fever is nothing other than a form of pyaemia, which in all cases gets into the system through exogenous infection, and for the prevention of which the hands should be washed before entering the delivery room."

Taking the celebrated doctors from the post-Semmelweis generation in alphabetical order, I come first to Béla Alexander (1857–1916). He was one of the pioneers of medical X-raying in Europe; in 1897, immediately following Röntgen's discovery, he was engaged like one possessed in X-ray examination of the kidneys and likewise published in Germany.

I could easily be misunderstood if I spoke of him in more detail, for I am an X-ray specialist myself. So I shall go on to give a sketch of the work of István Apáthy (1863–1922). His motto for life was as follows: "Great nations raise their sons, and small nations must be raised by their sons." He was one of the great recluses. He was the founder of the continuity doctrine concerning the nervous system, and was appointed a professor at Kolozsvár University when he was 27 years old. Although past years have not verified all of his conclusions, his name can still be found today in works on the subject of histological examinations, since he devised methods of examination which remain indispensable today.

The mark made by József Árkövy (1851–1922) on dentistry is ineradicable. His parents intended him to become a priest and sent him to the boys' boarding school of the Nagyszombat Archbishopric. Eventually he became a doctor. He studied at Budapest University and then acquired an up-to-date level of professional knowledge at institutes in London. His work *Dental Diagnostics* was published in 1896 in Russian in Moscow and in German in Stuttgart. Within ten years his teachings were adopted virtually all over Europe and were used even in America. After a hard struggle Árkövy succeeded in having the Stomatological Clinic of Budapest built up and inaugurated in 1909. This was to serve as a model for many associated institutes in Europe.

Outstanding figures in Hungarian ophthalmology were *László Blaskovits* (1869–1938) and *József Imre* (1884–1945). The fame and achievements of both reached far beyond the frontier of the country. What is known as Imre Blaskovits arched plastics has found its way into international specialized literature as "Hungarian opthalmoplasty", and their results and methods are put to use practically all over the world. Imre's world-wide reputation was enhanced by his monograph on blepharoplasty, published in French and German, while *Operative Eye Surgery*, which appeared in German in 1938, added to the reputation of Blaskovits.

János Bókay, Jr. (1858–1937) was trained at Budapest University. He performed considerable feats in the field of childhood infectious diseases. His findings on chickenpox accompanied by shingles met with an international response. Between 1892 and 1909, with regard to the connection between these two diseases, he described new findings of theoretical and practical importance which were later confirmed by examinations conducted by international bodies. That the pathogens of the two diseases are closely interrelated has been widely accepted in paediatrics.

Ernő Jendrassik (1858–1921), was en-

grossed in the neurological subjects, and his findings concerning hereditary nervous diseases have proved of lasting value.

Sándor Korányi (1866–1944) suffered great misfortunes and humiliation, but this did not break his will to work. He was not called the "kidney pope", for nothing, because his investigations of the renal functions remains an outstanding feat in world medicine. His discoveries led to diagnostic methods still employed today.

Basal cell carcinoma was named after Ödön Krompacher (1870–1926) and is recorded in this way in international medical literature. At the age of 33 he presented the world with his *Der Basalzellenkrebs*, brought out by a German publishing house, which won him a place in the history of histopathology. Of no lesser value is another of his monographs, published in Germany in 1907, which deals with the analogy between living and lifeless substances, but the international recognition he won was for the results of his research on precancerous conditions.

Mihály Lenhossék (1863–1937), one of the most prominent figures of the Hungarian school of anatomy, had been professor of anatomy at one Swiss and two German universities before he was invited to accept a professorship at the University of Budapest in 1900.

His publication on the anatomy and structure of the nervous system was completed by his internationally renowned work in the field of neuro-morphology.

Jenő Pólya (1876–1944), like Aladár Petz and Hümér Hültl, was a surgeon of international fame. All three of them studied at Budapest University.

Petz and Hültl had the great merit of constructing a stomach-stitching instrument which has since been put to use all over the world, and which renders gastric resection safe in cancer and ulcer operations. Jenő Pólya, after his appointment as head surgeon of the St. Stephen Hospital in 1910, holds lasting credit for having emerged, as early as 1911, with his publication of a method of gastric resection which is still used by all surgeons today. An identical solution was arrived at, independently, by a fellow German physician, Reichel. Thus their achievement appears in the world's surgery textbooks as the Pólya–Reichel method.

Of the Hungarian morphologists Károly Schaffer's (1864–1939) research into the structure of the nervous system produced results which made his work well known by histologists of the nervous system. As head of the Histological Institute of Budapest he acquired European fame with his discovery of what is now called Schaffer's knoll. Also later, as a university professor he did an excellent job with his *Histopathologie des Neurons*, published in 1936. He is one of those whose names and biographies can be found in *The Founders of Neurology* which appeared in 1970.

The test named after Béla Schick is applied everywhere in the world; László Meduna inscribed his name in medical history with the Cardiasol shock therapy; urologist *Endre Hőgyes* (1870–1951) was an advocate of methods which have now been generally adopted in Europe.

Mention should be made also of Hungarian public health experts who created the conditions for and produced the necessary vaccine antidiphtheria inoculations, which Hungary was the first country to make compulsory.

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The results achieved in international medicine have effectively become part of Hungarian medicine. Anything that could usefully be applied in Hungary has usually been successfully adopted in good time. The knowledge taken over in this way has proved effective both in the training of doctors and in medical practice, demonstrating that internationalism sets few such splendid examples as it does in medicine. It is characteristic that, medical discoveries and methods cannot be patented. Even in the very difficult years of my service in the Ministry of

Education between 1946 and 1948, I did my best to ensure that practitioners and researchers at universities in Hungary participated in the international circular flow. The scientific life of a small nation is bound to degenerate and perish through inbreeding. As it was once remarked, the Entente countries won in the Great War because they knew the theory and practice of blood transfusion, whereas the Central Powers obtained knowledge of it only after the conclusion of peace. Good specialists, scientists and researchers draw not only on their own resources; they need the stimulus of international connections. The curtailment of international contacts, therefore, on whatever grounds, leads to irreparable damage, and is fundamentally wrong.

THE FIRST COMPLETE BIBLE IN HUNGARIAN REPRINTED

Gönc and Vizsoly

Gönc, a small town in the north-eastern wine-growing area of Hungary, is noted for many things.

A ballad, sung in many variants, and known all over the country, tells the story of the outlaw László Fehér, his young sister, Anna Fehér, and a perfidious judge, which happened in Gönc. The judge promised freedom to the outlaw if his sister would lie abed with him. In the judge's bed, Anna hears the creaking of the gate and the rattling of the chains as her brother, at dawn, is taken to the gallows to be hanged by the neck. The ballad ends with the girl's curses.

The Gönc cask of 136 litres is an ancient measure of capacity precisely suited for the storage and shipping of fine and expensive wines.

The medieval German town of Gönc was Magyarized in the course of time. Its viticulture and auxiliary crafts and its trade with foreign countries added to its fame which far exceeded its size. No more than 2,000 people lived there.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the Geneva version of the Reformation was victorious all over Eastern Hungary, Gönc included. Squires and preachers combined to propagate the new faith, fighting on two fronts, against the Roman Church, and against radical trends like Unitarianism (Socianism) and Anabaptism.

This is how Gönc acquired its greatest renown lasting to this very day: it was there that the Calvinist Gáspár Károli translated the Bible into Hungarian. The first complete Bible in Hungarian, printed in 1590, however, was not named after Gönc, but after a neighbouring small village, Vizsoly. A printing shop, equipped as befitted the great undertaking, was established there under the patronage and with the financial support of Zsigmond Rákóczi, the local squire who was later elected Prince of Transylvania.

The Vizsoly Bible of legendary fame was published in about 800 copies. The first edition was, in 1609, followed by a second, printed in a greater number of copies, in a handier format and with a revised text. New and new editions have since followed until our days, but they still display the name of Gáspár Károli on their title-page. Extant copies of the first edition are carefully guarded in public and private collections. The Vizsoly Bible is oft mentioned, but read almost only by scholars—theologians, linguists, and literary men.

At last a facsimile edition of Gáspár Károli's work has now appeared, in 28,000 copies. The publishers have been proved too timid: every copy was sold to subscribers and those who thought of it too late, or who live abroad, can only get a copy with difficulty, if at all. And yet the Vizsoly Bible is a work of international status, though it may not be valued as highly by the trade as the Gutenberg Bible or the first edition of Martin Luther's German translation.

There is no need to entertain illusions: the greater part of the 28,000 copies will remain unread, dead volumes or ornaments on bookshelves, or never taken out or down copies in libraries somewhere in the wide world. And yet, a new age of study of Károli's work starts with the facsimile edition. In general, it will mark the beginning of the study of old Hungarian Bible translations, of the analysis of their language, theology and literary influence. Hungarian and foreign scholars may thus properly prepare themselves for 1990, the 400th anniversary of the Vizsoly Bible.

Gáspár Károli's predecessors

The first Hungarian translators of the Bible were Hussites. Defying an interdict by the Church and persecution by the State after John Hus's death at the stake, Hussites got down to work and translated almost the entire Bible into Hungarian between 1415 and 1440. Only the Christian names of the two chief Hussite translators are known for certain: the priests Bálint and Tamás. No accurate facts are available as to where and when they did the job. That their names were widely known and their movement was persecuted is evidenced by a fragment miraculously left intact of a copy of the Hussite Bible, a passage written by György Németi in the Moldavian town of Tatros in 1466. The underground of the Hungarian Bible was forced by those in power to flee hundreds of miles from home.

The subsequent Hungarian Bible translations were also inspired by resistance, by dissidence, though there was no movement like the Hussites ready to take up arms.

Bálint and Tamás undertook as a sacred duty to translate the Bible in order to support the radical aims of the Hussites with the authority of Holy Scripture. Hussite literature in a national language opposed to the Latin internationalism of the papacy threatened to become a new kind of internationalism. Persecution on the part of Church and State made homeless—dispersed or even killed—those who read in the Bible something that differed from the dogma of the Church backed by authority. In the next century, however, it was already impossible to defeat this national-language internationalism of the Reformation.

Major efforts to render the Bible into Hungarian already date from the years of the Reformation, yet they served to endorse the ideas not of the reformers but of Erasmianism. Benedek Komjáti's work published at Cracow in 1533, St. Paul's epistles in Hungarian, was the fourth book ever printed in the Hungarian language. Gábor Pesti's rendering of the four Gospels appeared in 1536, the year of Erasmus's death. The complete New Testament in Hungarian, a work by János Sylvester, was printed in 1541.

This series of parts of the Bible in the national language published within eight years not only directed attention to the scriptural texts but served to develop consciousness of the Hungarian language and spelling. Bible translators counting on being printed were aware of the significance and moral weight of the fact that they no longer prepared manuscripts for use by their own community, but that they published hundreds of copies of their works to the world. Their experience may have been like what one feels today who first answers questions put to him in a live television broadcast.

Melanchton, admired by many Hungarian humanists and reformers, said that

a good theologian first has to be a good grammarian.

An interesting mixture of grammar and theology is the postscript in which Gábor Pesti explains a single passage of the Bible: he contests the interpretation of Matthew 1 : 25, notably the meaning of a single Latin *donec*. He thinks it his duty as theologian to prove that Joseph not only "knew not" Mary until she had given birth to Jesus, but he did not do so later either. He involves even Noah's dove in his argumentation.

János Sylvester did not bother with the theological interpretation of parts of the Bible. As a humanist and Erasmian (and maybe also as a professor of Vienna University) he concerned himself with the question whether it was possible to understand a text accurately. A very "modern" problem of his was that words are used now in the literal sense and now figuratively, but there is no distinctive sign in writing to show which of two (or more) meanings are appropriate. Finally, after explaining a couple of biblical examples, he appeals to the Hungarian linguistic instinct, saying: "Holy Scriptures are full of such (figurative) speech to which he who reads them must get accustomed. And it is easy for our people to get accustomed to such figures of speech because this way of expression is not alien to us. We cultivate figurative speech in everyday usage. We make use of it in songs, specially in flower songs, in which all peoples can admire the sharpness of the Hungarian wit, and this precisely is Hungarian poesy." This passage is often quoted as the first appreciation of folk poetry in Hungarian. But there is much more at issue here. The Catholic Church endowed with sanctity the three languages which, according to Luke 23 : 38, were on the cross: Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. It was on this ground that Pilate's language was added as the third to the two original languages of Divine revelation. Sylvester, on the other hand, without doubting revelation, found analogous metaphorical expressions in the original text of the Scriptures and in ribald folk-songs. Thus he rightly enjoins the reader of the national-language Bible to seek the meaning of figures of speech through the flower songs.

Sylvester, a learned analyst of the secrets of language and poetics, produced ponderous and circuitous translations. Gábor Pesti was a more imaginative and more fluent stylist than Sylvester. It was he who translated Aesop's fables into Hungarian.

In the second half of the century, spiritual (and largely also secular) power passed into the hands of those whom Sylvester had branded as heretics. But the Reformation had by then become divided in Hungary as in many other countries. Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Unitarians alike declared one another heretics. Splitting was facilitated by the division of the country into three parts. Much of the west and northwest remained the Kingdom of Hungary (under Habsburg kings from 1526 onward), the central area was occupied by the Ottoman empire for over a century and a half, and Transylvania became a separate principality—under the "protective" shadow of the Turks.

Gáspár Heltai, a minister of religion and the owner of a printing plant as well as a writer and Bible translator, lived at Kolozsvár in Transylvania. He went through different stations in search of the true faith: he was born a Catholic, a member of the still undivided Church, became converted to Lutheranism, then turned a Calvinist, and finally a Unitarian. He changed not only religion but language. His daily language remained the Transylvanian Saxon German patois, he preached in German, and learnt Hungarian only as an adult, but so well that the books in Hungarian were in an idiomatic down-to-earth language.

He shared the translation of the Bible with his learned fellow clerks in holy orders. He then had the finished translations printed. The larger part of the Old Testament and the complete New Testament appeared in

his edition, but they could not be bound as complete Bibles because the various parts were printed in different formats.

Is the end of the world near?

Gáspár Károli, a young theologian who had studied at Wittenberg, was installed in the parish of Gönc in 1563. That same year he published a small volume *Két könyv* (Two books). One could call it an inaugural address, which shows in two essays how well the new preacher had studied in the Zion of the Reformation.

The title of the first already refers to Melanchton's philosophy, or rather theology of history: "The causes of the good and ill fortunes of all lands and kings (which makes clear what has caused the ruin of Hungary and the misfortune of their prince)." That the ill fortune of the Hungarian people was a punishment inflicted on them by the Deity was over the centuries reiterated by preachers in ever new forms and in their wake by writers and poets. The text of the National Anthem written by Ferenc Kölcsey in 1824 says as much as Endre Ady's verse in our century.

The second of the "Two books" is an inevitable sequel: the mortal national and universal sins are soon followed by the final punishment—the Day of Judgement. This treatise bears the title "What signs make us aware that the judgement of God is imminent?"

The young preacher introduced himself with shocking effect: I bring you the end of the world. He undertook to prepare his Gönc parishioners for Judgement Day, thinking he still had time enough to see this day (as Christ promised. Matthew 16 : 28). A race in reverse: what if the judgement of God comes sooner than the decline of his own bodily strength. Twenty-five years after, however, when his confidence in the unquestionable signs of the imminent Millennium had been shaken, he undertook another race against time: the publication of a complete Bible in Hungarian.

Gáspár Károli assumed the heavy burden of preparing the text of the Bible ready for the printers as well as correcting the proofs not in order to see his work in print with his own eyes nor to be able to present if festively to his benefactors and patrons, but to allow Hungarians to prepare themselves for the Day of Judgement, already adjourned according to his faith.

He surely did not believe that this "time of grace" would last over four hundred years, and that Hungarians would read his translation throughout this time. In his lifetime, new parts of the Bible in Hungarian came out at intervals of twenty, ten, or even fewer years. He continued to expect the Millennium even after he had finished his work for the centuries to come. On the last page of the Vizsoly Bible he wrote with saintly impatience, even reproachfully: "Lord Jesus, come soon! And Lord, how long art thou in coming?"

Nothing much authentic is available on the birth of the text of the Vizsoly Bible. For that very reason it is of interest what agreement there is, if any, between the biblical passages in "Two books" and the Bible translation made a quarter of a century later. Close parallels of expression are rare, the supposition that Károli had kept certain biblical passages ready in Hungarian, ready for later insertion, therefore has to be rejected. The references in "Two books" cannot, however, be considered translations, for they sum up the message of a biblical passage only by and large. The vivacity and good Hungarian idiom of these paraphrases are in striking contrast to the convulsive accuracy and Latinity of the Vizsoly text.

Károli was less able than some of his translator predecessors to free himself from the paralysing feeling that he was rendering a holy text, and that it was a biblical command neither to leave out nor add anything. And this holy text was mostly in Latin: Károli and his associates had recourse to

Hebrew and Greek only for passages that were theologically touchy.

Numbers and dates

Printing was started on February 18, 1589, and finished on July 20, 1590.

If, for the sake of simplicity, we reckon 480 workdays—and there could not have been as many since the Sabbath and holidays were certainly observed—the setting, correcting, and printing of five pages must have taken one day. The setting of a page required the moving of 2,500 types, meaning six million for the whole work. All this had to be counted twice since, after the printing of each sheet, the lead had to be taken apart, and the type put back in the composing-case. I have not even counted the setting of the summaries of chapters and of the marginal glosses, or the making up of the pages.

The approximately eight hundred copies required the printing of nearly a million sheets, and this also has to be counted twice, since a sheet has two sides.

In summer printers can work from dawn to dusk. But how could they manage in winter? By candle-light?

And all this was done in a remote village, and it was not even free of risk, since the making of the heretical Bible had been reported to Vienna already in the first months of printing.

A no lesser miracle than the printing was what preceded it the work of translation. In the prolegomena dated January 1, 1589, Károli writes: "...I made a start on it... together with a few devout learned companions who were of great help to me in translating; I did not stop until I had finished translating the complete Bible at which I was busy for nearly three years sparing neither trouble nor physical effort, but with such fervent love that I did not for a moment get tired of this great work but I busied myself assiduously and lovingly until I had finished it."

He must have finished by the time printing started, for from that time on he and his associates had to take care of the correcting of the proofs. If we count backwards the nearly three years he mentioned, he must have started early in 1586. Who were the devout learned companions helping him, and how much of the work of translating, glossing, and correcting did they undertake to do? One cannot tell. In any event, Károli was the leading spirit of the undertaking.

For the translators to tackle their job, the plan of publishing had to be ready, together with the financial, technical, and personal guarantees, as early as 1585. However much Károli may have relied on divine providence, he and his associates had to take the facts into account.

From the moment the plan was agreed on they had to translate two or three pages every day.

Károli on his Bible

In the prolegomena to the Vizsoly Bible Károli said it was a national disgrace that a complete Hungarian Bible had not been printed up to that time, "whereas the Book of God exists in the languages of all nations." He claimed that responsibility was shared between the preachers (the potential translators) and the magnates (the potential patrons). But the fault of the laymen was the greater since numerous translators had already presented themselves.

The words of reproach for the non-existence of a Hungarian Bible indirectly praise those who helped equip the workshop, recruited printers, lay in a store of paper and undertook patronage but did not want to have their own names inscribed on the Bible. Here the introduction interrupts the saintly train of thought and blames the magnates for another omission: "They did not even ensure that the story of the great deeds and feats of the Hungarian nation be recorded..." The censure is connected with the Bible, since the Hungarians of the time had

a better chance to learn the story of the Jews than their own.

Reading of the words of the Bible that "...you must not take away from them or depart from them to the right or left, but they must be kept whole as a strong and immutable precept of our faith and our religion...", one cannot help placing the Roman Catholics on the right and the Unitarians and Anabaptists on the extreme left. Altough this is an anachronistic inference since this sort of interpretation of the order of seating in parliament is not even two hundred years old, it nevertheless points to the two-front struggle which Károli waged in defence of orthodox Calvinist doctrine.

It is natural for the adherents of all Christian denominations, factions, and sects to be convinced that theirs was the true faith and that Holy Scripture was correctly interpreted by them alone. The Roman Catholic Church, which insisted on the Latin text of the Vulgate as the only authentic version, was put into a disadvantageous situation by the national-language Bibles of the Protestants, because the preachers relying on such texts could speak to a larger public when explaining the biblical foundations of their doctrines. The Protestant challenge was taken up by György Káldi, a member of the Society of Jesus, with his Hungarian Bible published a generation later, in 1626. (The printing of this Bible was helped by Gábor Bethlen, the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania.)

The translations into national languages gave an impulse to biblical studies, and this brought to light contradictions in the holy text and often even unintelligibility. Károli complains that the ancients were "careless" in preserving the authentic text of the true Bible. He too maintained that there were errors in the biblical text, but those were made by men, by those who copied and distorted the once perfect divine enunciation. He cites a verse (Judges 11 :3) where the Latin text *de altera matre* ("from another mother") was corrupted to *de adultera matre* ("from an adulterous mother"), which is a somewhat painful misspelling.

Károli does not, of course, engage in radical biblical criticism. He speaks in holy wrath about the godless who "talk of Moses in filthy language and query whether Moses ever existed and, if he did, who taught him the story of creation." Spinoza may have had naive precursors already at the time—perhaps amongst Károli's fellow students at Wittenberg—and they could have been the people who asked him such "filthy" questions.

He regarded the restoration of the text, the most perfect interpretation possible of the divine word, as his duty. He quoted the master of Gábor Pesti and János Sylvester in support: "Doctor Erasmus says: I believe this old Bible [the Vulgate] gained dignity and strength only from the length of time."

Although he used also the Latin text of the Vulgate, for the interpretation of doubtful and controversial parts he kept an eye on the originals in Hebrew and Greek in the wake of Tremellius, Munsterus, and other contemporary scholars. "Who can forbid us," he asks, "to drink from the sources, to search the Jewish and Greek text. ... For it is an undeniable fact that much of the old Bible [the Vulgate] was translated poorly and inaptly, much of it was distorted, much of it was mangled, much was added to it in many places."

The truth or untruth of a fundamental doctrine may hinge upon the interpretation of one or another biblical verse. Károli emphasized typographically Genesis 3 :15 as a cardinal, controversial passage, and he refers to it in the prolegomena: "...the old Bible was made to fit the papal science, as [in] Genesis 3, in order to justify praying for Mary's intercession and the invocation of her help, the letters were corrupted in this way: *Ipsa conteret Caput serpentis*, (albeit) it is not *ipsa* but *ipsum* in the genuine text." (The odd thing about this explanation is that the Hungarian language does not distinguish between masculine and feminine, thus in

the translation itself Károli was unable to display this correction of the text.)

The search for the best possible version in the course of translation inevitably makes interpretation uncertain and relativizes the absolute authenticity of the Scriptures. Earlier Hungarian translators, if they were free to opt for any one of several solutions, included both variants, putting the second as an explanation in parentheses.

In his translation proper Károli gave no variants, except for the verses where the original text also used synonyms. He considered it important to follow the original word for word. He put in parentheses those words which he was compelled to insert in order to make the text meaningful in Hungarian.

He therefore had to decide at each and every place (by taking into consideration the earlier Hungarian renderings) what the translation should impart. He used glosses to show readers the way of interpretation he supposed to be right. These comments, however, are not always as firm as could be expected from an orthodox Bible translator. They tend to reflect indecision and hesitancy, which were virtues of Unitarians and Baptists in those times. His comment on Isaiah 41 : 1 is as follows: "This verse may have a variety of meanings," and he forthwith gives four possible interpretations.

He also wrote down options which exclude each other on an "either-or" basis. In his rendering of Isaiah 43 : 10 God says: "...nothing before me was formed by God..." And in the commentary: "Or: Before me there was no God formed." Neither alternative fits in well with the delicate dogma of creation, but the two contradict each other as well.

Later publishers of the Károli Bible, whether they took over his marginal explanations or dropped them, included only a few of them in the principal text. Even so his interpretations achieved their aim as props of the readers either in individual Bible reading or in the preachers' preparations.

Symbols and signs

He writes in the prolegomena that two mutually explanatory parts of the Bible, the prophets and the gospels and epistles, "are like the two eyes or two breasts of Mother Church which one could suck and thereby grow up." However toughened one may be by the images of modern poetry, we are a little averse to this materialization of spiritual food. Albeit the phrase is indicative of no stylistic extravagance, it only points to the total acceptance of biblical imagery. In Isaiah (the third according to biblical criticism) there are passages like: "Thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings..." (60 : 16).

Károli faithfully takes over into his translation the metaphors, similes, and allegories of the language of the Bible which János Sylvester also discussed. But with his glosses he prompts the reader's imagination to further associations.

Isaiah 34 : 6 prophesies: "The sword of the Lord is filled with blood, it is made fat with fatness, and with the blood of lambs and goats, with fat of the kidneys of rams..." Károli's commentary is intended to resolve the contradiction that the sacrificial animals are struck down by the sword of God: "By lambs is meant the community [the common people], by goats and rams are meant the princes."

A prophecy of Isaiah (27 : 13) refers to the trumpets known from other biblical texts that will be blown to announce the Last Judgement. Károli's commentary, however, says that the "great trumpet" is the Gospel.

Tension between the principal text and the glosses is practically constant. Károli's explanations of a theological character also display some rationalism; he pays attention to the context and refrains from overstraining grammatical concord.

Bálint Mantskovit's stock of type included a pair of signs: a hand pointing to the right and one pointing to the left. Károli only made use of this device at fifty places

in the entire Bible to indicate particularly important passages. The procedure is paradoxical, that is singling out the essential in Holy Scripture which is regarded as inspired throughout. Perhaps subjective motives are involved in this selection. The placing of each pointing hand is as good as a declaration.

The distribution of the fifty signs is already interesting in itself. More than thirty figure in the first five books, the majority of them in Genesis. None is to be found in the histories, three are in the Psalms, five in Isaiah, and altogether five in the New Testament.

Verses marked with the sign in the Mosaic books contain almost maniacally repeated phrases like these: I proliferate my chosen people, I bring them out of captivity. It almost looks that they are meant to encourage preachers: spread these words among the Hungarian nation decimated and brought to ruin by war.

He must have marked Isaiah 46 : 4 with reference to himself, to the undertaking of his old age: "And even to your old age I am he; and even to hoar hairs will I carry you..." Glancing over the hand signs, I suspect a serious family feud in the pointing hand in Exodus 21 : 17 which says: "And he that curseth his father, or his mother, shall surely be put to death."

Am I imagining things? The fact remains that he emphasized some of the marked passages also by inverted commas making them so to speak texts for sermons.

The first reviser of Károli

Gönc is thirteen kilometres from Vizsoly. When the Bible was printed, the road was travelled many times by a sixteen-year-old boy, Albert Molnár of Szenc who carried Károli's "short letters" to the printer. It is probable that those were not proofs but notes asking for the rectification of one or another word or sentence.

Albert Molnár of Szenc wrote later that when listening to Károli and his pastor friends discussing grammar he had first paid attention to the origin of words and to the rules of sentence construction.

Eighteen years later this young man undertook to bring out Károli's Bible translation with a revised text. Károli's Hungarian Bible with the text revised by Molnár was published twice in Germany: at Hanau in 1608 and at Oppenheim in 1612. Molnár's poetic talent and scholarly erudition is better exemplified in other works: his Latin-Hungarian and Hungarian-Latin dictionaries, his Hungarian grammar written in Latin, and his metric translation of the Geneva psalms which is still used as a hymn book.

I mentioned Károli's judgement on those who talk of the Bible in "filthy language." Molnár of Szenc uses the same word for the revision of the Bible, affirming that he laid "no filthy hands" on the text of the Bible. This means not only that he set about his work with scholarly care, but also that he did not revise the whole text to his own taste and liking. As he said: "I have kept the earlier translation with great effort [!] and I have cleansed it only of the unvarnished ways of speech due to a proof-reader of foreign origin."

Bálint Mantskovit, the master printer of Vizsoly, really made many errors since he knew only a little Hungarian. He even found it necessary to add to Károli's introduction an apology requesting the reader "to amend the small wrongs with his pen, if necessary, out of his quiet mind... excusing me for being of a foreign nation." But the typographers of the Hanau Bible were also foreigners, they understood still less Hungarian than Mantskovit did, this is why Molnár of Szenc wrote in the foreword to the Oppenheim Bible: "Having again perused and compared it with the Vizsoly edition, I have now corrected the shortcomings which I could not earlier set my mind upon, and I have rectified the errors due to the ignorance of the printers."

Albert Molnár of Szenc does not argue with the Roman Church as vehemently as his master. As if he wished purposely to allay the conflict, he quotes in the foreword to the Oppenheim Bible the version of Genesis 3 : 15 which Károli disapproved of in his prolegomena. And *horribile dictu:* he checked the text of the Vizsoly Bible even against the German Catholic Bible. He already considered it unnecessary to argue concerning the national-language Bible, he contented himself with stating that the Roman Church had also arranged for Bible translations.

Protestants and Romans may both be proud since "there is in this world no book that was rendered into more languages than this Holy Bible and printed with so many brilliant comments in so many exquisite forms."

The stubborn printer

The transylvanian schoolmaster Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu went to Holland in 1680 when he was thirty years of age, in order to superwise the printing of the Hungarian Bible. He was so fascinated by the printer's craft that he learned the trade of letter-cutting and went into business as a master craftsman. He spent his earnings from the engraver's shop on the publication of a Hungarian Bible and Psalter, in more perfect form than any earlier edition. In 1689, unfortunately for him, he returned to Transylvania. There he became entangled in a bitter controversy with Calvinist church leaders whose objections, characteristically, were not theological but concerned matters of language, spelling, and typography, although in this respect they were less experienced than the despised craftsman. Kis's polemical essays are not only touching human documents but illuminating summations of the principles of Hungarian spelling.

The amount of work he did in typographical correction did not dull him but made him sensitive to the slightest differences. He even found it correct—with the proviso that the basic principles of spelling were observed—to use forms which reflected the agitated mind of the speaker, for example, by doubling consonants against the rules.

After the lapse of a century Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu was able, by relying on the Vizsoly Bible itself and on Molnár's recollections, to reconstruct the tense atmosphere around the making of the Vizsoly Bible as the chief cause of the errors. He writes about Károli: "This man did his best to hasten the work of translation and its publication in the interest of the most successful propagation possible of the true religion. And since he was burdened by many other tasks, including ordinary pastoral functions and different kinds of routine business, he could not take care of recasting every sentence as precisely and elaborately as he himself would have liked to... Actually, at more than one place he could not choose but give a provisional wording with the firm intention of replacing it with a better one if, in the course of his work, practical experience might lead him to an improved variant."

He was also tempted by the idea of making a radical improvement in the text which had in many parts been improvised but had been in use for a century at the time. By then, however, tradition had sanctioned Károli's Bible (like the Vulgate earlier).

He therefore abided by what every previous publisher of the Károli Bible has asserted: "We certainly do not wish to make a new translation."

In editing, on the other hand, he was a stubborn maximalist: he indignantly mentions the "correctors' criminal attempt," the distortion of spelling and the inconsistencies. There is one point in which he shows no reverence for the text of the Vizsoly Bible either: he insists that one and the same Hungarian word should be used as the equivalent of a foreign word in the Bible from beginning to end.

Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu planned to print the Hungarian Bible in tens of thou-

sands of copies. As an enterprising citizen he certainly could have succeeded in this endeavour. But as a clergyman he could do only what his superiors permitted him to do. And this was against his convictions. He fell ill with his hopeless exertions and died as a result.

Ever farther from Károli

While the verses of the Károli Bible infiltrated more and more into literature, into everyday language and popular speech, the Protestant Churches departed step by step from the text of the first Hungarian Bible.

A new translation, the work of György Csipkés of Komárom, with a more or less independent text was available already in the seventeenth century, but it proved ineffective because most of the copies, printed in Holland, were confiscated and destroyed, as heretical books, by the authorities of the Habsburg empire.

The revision of the Károli Bible was completed by a Protestant commission towards the end of the seventeenth century. The overwhelming part of the earlier modifications had concerned only spelling and at most style. This version, of which several editions were printed this century, was intended to achieve theological precision on the one hand and clarity on the other. The new text still bears the name of Károli, yet with this addition: "Revised edition compared with the original text."

Modernization has in many cases resulted in platitude and dullness. The revisers have taken care not to change the best-known passages, so the reader who thinks he reads Károli's translation all along can really find some verses in the original.

A definitive break was made after the Second World War. The new Protestant translation certainly satisfies theological requirements, but its style is colourless and insipid. Unlike Károli's Bible—it is no literary work.

The new facsimile edition

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences published the Bibles of Gáspár Károli's two most notable translator predecessors: the work of Pesti in 1895, that of Sylvester in 1960. The typography of the two volumes are worth comparing. Gábor Pesti's Bible was reset with perfect accuracy: the new edition agrees with the original completely, being identical with it letter for letter, mark for mark, line for line, page for page. Illustrations and text are seen as clearly as possible on its white rag paper.

Sylvester's Bible printed in black letter characters, the original of which is difficult to read, was reproduced in facsimile photographically, and this in itself impaired the quality of printing. In addition it was printed on spotted yellow paper in order to impress snobs with artificial aging. (One cannot speak of readers: the text of this Bible is practically illegible, it strains the eyes even of experts.) This type of facsimile editions has fortunately gone out of fashion since then.

When plans were made for the new edition of the Vizsoly Bible, the basic principle was to retain the general typographical presentation. Within this, however, there were three solutions to choose from: photographic facsimile, resetting a letter-perfect edition, and a text with up-to-date spelling reflecting as far as possible original pronounciation.

Európa Publishing House decided, not too fortunately, for the first. It is true that the spaced-out roman setting of the main text of the Vizsoly Bible printed in large characters is easily legible in the facsimile, too, but the italics of the marginal notes are more tangled and even illegible in places. Although the photography used the best pages of two available copies in very good condition and they were given a special face-lift, the retouchers seem to have ventured only between the lines of the main text.

Bálint Mantskovit's stock of types became rather blunt in the course of the great

work. The rugged state of the types is already distinctly conspicuous on the last sheets. Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu, the fastidious printer, had spoken disparagingly of such types: they are like the crawl of crabs. Thus, they reproduced crab-crawling instead of striving to make printing as clear as possible.

But it would probably have been more difficult to secure facilities for a letter-perfect resetting of the text.

The second edition of Gáspár Károli's translation, the Hanau Bible under the care of Albert Molnár of Szenc, was printed from May 1 to September 15, 1608. In our days it has taken a multiple of this time as compared to this admirably short period of four months and a half for even agreement to be reached about the modalities of the new edition. The printing of a reset text or even of one with modernized orthography would have lasted a number of years.

Since no new facsimile edition of the Vizsoly Bible will come out within the foreseeable future we have to put up with the fact that more copies of these two attractive volumes, bound in Japanese imitation leather with smartly archaizing covers, will serve as ornaments in people's homes, or as objects for those turning the pages to admire the initials rather than for reading.

Even if one deducts from those 28,000 copies the number which will never be opened, one can still say that the success of the facsimile edition is indicative of the demand for acquaintance with a translation which inspired literature, everyday language, popular speech, and people's way of thinking for four centuries, without a knowledge of which many a Hungarian literary work is barely intelligible or even incomprehensible.

BALÁZS VARGHA

KENT BALES

BUDAPEST IMPRESSIONS OF A GUEST PROFESSOR

During the fall term of 1980, I was guest professor in American literature at ELTE. My readers might well ask "where?," certainly most Americans will. But for a Hungarian, to whom ELTE is as familiar as is MIT or UCLA to an American, my statement could scarcely be clearer. Like the other two coinages, ELTE reduces too many long words to a comfortable mouthful: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, or, in English, Loránd Eötvös University of (Arts and) Sciences, becomes the acronym ELTE, pronounced (EL-teh) and inflectable, like any other noun. As almost any Hungarian can tell you, ELTE is in Budapest which is a lively and interesting city; and as I am happy to tell you, being a guest professor at ELTE is pleasantly stimulating because of the city, one's students, and one's colleagues.

Briefly, then, my background. I teach at the University of Minnesota, the Twin Cities campus, an enormous and complex institution enrolling students from all over the world, although most are natives of Minnesota and even of Minneapolis or its "twin" city, Saint Paul. Nearly all these students commute from their parents' homes or their rented rooms; as at ELTE, the university is largely a place for classes and casual social contact, little more. It forms only a part of the students' lives,

even though preparing for classes occupies much of their time. I "went to college," as we say in the United States, in quite different circumstances. I lived right at the university, along with my fellow students, and our lives were almost totally bound up with it during the four years we were there. My students at Minnesota sometimes remark that I expect too much of them, while I, looking back at my own college days, tell them I really expect too little. We are both right, but I think they and their situation should be changed. My opinion may also have cast a distorting light when I considered the lives of my students at ELTE.

I remain convinced that good universities can exist on a large scale, probably only on a large scale, but that they must make special arrangements so that the younger students in particular are encouraged to throw themselves wholeheartedly into their education. My own university fails to do so, in company with many other public, urban universities in the United States, and although ELTE requires its students to spend more time together in classes than do American universities, it too seems to me to fail, for the most part, at making its students give themselves wholeheartedly to their educations. I have more to say about this later. For the moment, it is enough to observe that ELTE shares with mass universities, probably everywhere, the problem of creating circumstances that will make education a matter of vital, personal interest, not simply the means for getting a diploma certifying that one can hold a job requiring a briefcase rather than a toolbox.

ELTE and other Hungarian universities exist, to prepare students for taking a diploma, the terminal degree for most, as the bachelor's degree is in American and British universities. (There is no graduate study as such in ELTE—its most remarkable difference from American universities.) The course of studies is five years in length, but as most of the fifth year is spent in practice teaching and writing a short thesis, the difference does not at first glance seem great between it and the five-year courses of study often required of prospective secondary-school teachers in the United States. Nor is the resemblance accidental, for it is the primary purpose of ELTE, unlike the technical university or the economics university, to prepare teachers. Most graduates do not in fact become teachers: the rigid laws governing demographic change have reduced the number of teaching jobs available in Hungary just as elsewhere in the western world. ELTE's curriculum, however, along with other structural characteristics of the institution, continues to be directed at producing teachers.

There is nothing unusual about institutions designed for one purpose adapting themselves to serve other purposes as well. Many, perhaps even most of ELTE's graduates always have gone on to doing something other than teaching. The faculties of arts and sciences in Hungarian universities educate many of the journalists, editors, translators, interpreters, bureaucrats, even poets and novelists and filmmakers, on occasion. A relatively small part of the curriculum is devoted directly to pedagogy, and students may even petition to drop the pedagogical hours from their course of studies. Yet nearly all students have two major subjects, a structural characteristic apparently designed to provide the same useful mixtures of teaching competencies favored by American schools and boards of education: English (here Hungarian) and History, French and Spanish, English and German, Mathematics and Physics, Library Science and any of the above or any of the omitted subjects, etc. A very few students concentrate on a single subject, thus abandoning, it seems, any chance to teach except in higher education. A larger number, who are released part-time from their jobs in order to attend the university, also take only one major subject. Most, however, are still held to taking two major subjects and courses in pedagogy, apparently as a direct consequence of what

is supposed to be ELTE's primary purpose. This practice, it seems to me, has some unfortunate results.

English and American Studies: a popular programme

Before turning to these, however, I would rather look for a while at my colleagues and students, for both gave me a great deal of pleasure. In obedience to the decorum governing hosts and guests, I will say little about the building where I met them regularly. Urban universities generally are crowded. Besides, as I was leaving, the English department had just inherited some rooms left vacant when a more frequently smiled-upon department moved on to better things. The pecking order is a familiar one, obtaining at Minnesota as well, but the shortage of classroom space is less familiar. As a guest, I was provided with rooms right away, but for the first week or so of the term my colleagues and their charges reminded me of flocks of blackbirds that have found themselves in a place with too few trees and telephone wires. Eventually, and by pressing offices into service as classrooms, all classes found a roost. This situation, incidentally, can also be seen to be an abvious structural result of the students' carrying two maior subjects—for the practice multiplies the number of classrooms needed.

My colleagues, comparisons aside, were neither leaders of blackbirds nor hens in a line but urbane, intelligent, friendly, and often personally generous scholars, who did what was in their power to help me in my work. Many are young, for the department is expanding. Because it teaches both language and literature, British and American, as well as those blends of social and cultural history known as British or American Studies, the special interests represented within the department are numerous and various, sometimes within the same persons.

All the "Americanists" but one have been visiting scholars in the United States, and that one omission will be corrected by a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies this next academic year. The hosts in the United States have been Yale, Harvard, Berkeley, Virginia, Tulane, and Minnesota, and the Hungarian visitors could have taught quite well at any of them. They have not done so, at least until this year, when one is teaching at Minnesota, but my point is that they are excellent teachers and scholars. Since I could not get to know all my colleagues, I cannot say definitively whether the specialists in American Studies are typically good or unusually good, but, judging by the specialists outside American Studies whom I did get to know, I am convinced that the general level of ELTE's English faculty is very high indeed.

That is true of the students as well. Competition is keen for admission, especially to the English program. My students, consequently, were among the best available—as friends outside the university kept reminding me. Not all, however, spoke English easily or correctly, much less wrote it well, and the range of competence was quite wide. Students who spoke haltingly or with many mistakes nearly always were those who consider English to be their *second* subject in interest and importance—or so their fellow students would tell me. Yet even they were usually quick to follow what I had to say. The best were also full of ideas of their own. One third-year student wrote a paper so original and incisive that it deserves to be published. (The department is able to publish annually a collection of essays and belles lettres written by students—all of good to high quality.) Several others rank among the best students I have taught, while yet a few more showed at times that they too might have done brilliantly—had they not chosen to put their extra effort into other courses.

One day discussion took an illuminating turn. I was being unreasonable, some students told me, in asking that they be better

prepared for my classes. My questions evoked more information, so that I soon was made to see that my students were spending between thirty and forty hours a week *in class*. (The average, for students carrying two major subjects, is about thirty-five.) Now, I pride myself on making reasonable assignments; yet I had never considered that my Hungarian students might be taking many more courses than my American students. I realized immediately that if my students were asked to prepare as much material for their other class sessions as I was asking for mine, another sixty hours a week would be added to their work loads: they would be spending ninety or one hundred hours a week either in class or preparing for class.

This I knew to be impossible. A few dedicated students might work that hard out of love, but it could not be what is expected. I was clearly unreasonable in my expectations. But were my colleagues also unreasonable? When I talked with them about seminars, we seemed to agree; when I asked about the amount of work that I assigned in my other course, I was reassured that I was not so very far out of line—perhaps just a little more demanding than usual. I relaxed the pace a bit and considered the circumstances.

Curriculum or shortcuts

Students everywhere take shortcuts on occasion; at times they study selectively; and even the most dedicated give themselves holidays, indulge in the satisfaction of throwing down books they find not worth their time. Sometimes whole courses seem so. In American universities some are so notoriously easy and so frequently boring that few students study for them; therefore, I concluded, there may be such courses in Hungary as well, slack places in the curriculum, ready-made shortcuts. I try not to teach such courses, of course, my colleagues in ELTE's English department seemed not to be teaching them, and I simply refused to think that other departments offer them in profusion. Besides, my students were quite high on some other departments. Predictable, they were less enthusiastic about the compulsory courses outside the major fields, and as these amount to about ten class hours a week, they may well be the courses most often slighted. Some, such as physical education and military science, require little or no preparation anyway, but others have full reading lists. Some, too, are well-liked, especially the seminars offered during the fourth year by the department of Philosophy and Aesthetics. Furthermore, as students are examined in most of these subjects, they cannot ignore them completely. Nor can they ignore their major subjects. I was finally compelled to conclude what I least wanted to: that most students take shortcuts in most courses most of the time. They steal time from nearly all courses to make their work load reasonable, while some also do so to buy time for studying the courses that most interest them.

This situation clearly results from the structure of the curriculum as a whole. Because students are scheduled to do so much more than they can reasonably be expected to do well, teachers face two bleak alternatives. One can either make the course simple and keep assignments as short as possible, or one can define the best course possible and hope that many students will do most of the work asked of them. Because students who want to get the better education with the latter alternative, most teachers take it—or so I inferred after talking with my colleagues about their courses. I know that I would. I did.

The typical American student majoring in English spends about one-third as much time in class as does a Hungarian student. At least in theory, an American student studies a few subjects intensively each term. Of course not all are diligent, and some are able to pass through their university educ-

ation hardly ever having opened a book. But most work fairly hard, especially in their major fields.

Yet even the hard-working often leave with an imperfect idea of that field, for their intensive study of particular subjects within it has not been accompanied by extensive study of the whole. The curriculum must be carefully devised if it is to provide "survey" courses at just the right times, and American curricula are rarely that well planned—they are instead a crazy quilt of compromises. Such is the case at Minnesota, at least, where proposals to reform the English curriculum are a perennial topic at departmental faculty meetings, and where "reforms" generally make the mess crazier. The same problem plagues the curriculum of the whole, for compulsory subjects within it have been defined over the years by a series of compromises that defies historical description.

Yet more courses?

The English curriculum at ELTE seems coherent and well-designed. It mixes well surveys of periods and genres with intensive seminar study. I might arrange it a little differently, teach less of this and more of that, but differences of opinion of this kind will always exist and help keep life interesting in the humanistic studies. The problem is that the curriculum of the whole keeps students from getting the most out of the curriculum of the English department—or of any department. The parts add up to too much whole. Students at Minnesota, on the other hand, have und usually take the time to read deeply in several subjects within their major field, but these parts do not add up to a whole. To put the matter another way, students at Minnesota are not guided by a true *curriculum:* there is no one clear "course" for them to "run" through, unless they lay it out for themselves and set their own strategy for the race. Something like ELTE's English curriculum would be a welcome improvement at Minnesota, and at most large American universities. The same is doubtless true for, say, the Italian curriculum at ELTE and for many others. It is also true, I am convinced, that ELTE's students would learn more from their excellent curricula if they could devote the time to their courses that American students can give to theirs. ELTE's students simply cannot run the entire course of the race laid out for them but must take many shortcuts in order to finish. Some, it seems to me, take more than necessary, for once it is taken for granted that nobody will cover the whole course and due allowances are made, it becomes impossible to distinguish clearly between what a student *cannot* do and what a student *will not* do.

The English departments of Budapest, Debrecen, and Szeged (to refer to these universities in the most commonly used manner) were recently asked by the Ministry of Education to revise the curriculum. The results were more order, or a different order, and yet more courses to fill out that order. Consequently, English students will spend a few more hours in class. In a way, this makes sense. The departments were asked to improve the English curriculum, and they did. They did not consider the university's curriculum. They were not asked to. The same kind of "reform" takes place in American universities: the parts get rearranged from time to time, for it is important to those within disciplines that their discipline be well taught. To be sure, I don't think the English curriculum at Minnesota is very good, but we certainly keep trying to make it better. We rarely look beyond it, however, to the larger context of the university's curriculum, and when we do it is with despair at ever effecting any change in it.

It should be clear by now that I do not think Hungarian universities should become like American universities. But if students are to be able to study most courses as most

courses deserve to be studied, some modification of the current total curriculum does seem called for.

Shortly after concluding my term as guest professor, I was emboldened to write this report as I have by the appearance of a front-page editorial in *Népszava* (5 January 1981), the newspaper of the trade-union council. Examinations had just begun, and it took them as its point of departure. Why, it asked, should one month of each term be devoted to examinations; how, it also wondered, can an oral examination of twenty or thirty minutes' duration measure accurately a student's knowledge? I won't attempt to answer the second question, for, as my courses were not included in the examinations, I had nothing to do with them. But the first question has a complex answer, one part of which goes as follows: the examination period lasts a month so that students will have the time to read what they hadn't time to read until then. Consider the students of English faced with an extensive reading list in the survey of American literature (as my third-year students were). Consider the two seminars they also had to take, as well as the courses in English language and conversation and in medieval literature. Work for seminars has to be done before the end of classes, for grades are assigned then in courses without examinations. Most students will do as much as they can for the seminars, consequently, and put off reading for the lecture-survey course—for it can be postponed, since grades for it are assigned by examination. A second part of the answer to the question is this: there must be time for the students to repeat the examinations in which they do not do well enough. This practice is unusual in the United States, but there are two good reasons for it, the first of which is applicable anywhere: pedagogically, it affords additional opportunity to learn the material. Furthermore, the practice seems a tacit acknowledgement that the system of instruction is such that broad latitude in administering the examinations is necessary if justice is to be served.

The trade unionists in a sense apticipated these arguments. They asked for better instruction and harder work by the students over a longer time: more classes and shorter examination periods. The reform that they suggest, however, doesn't touch the main problem, which is that most students already lack the time to do the work asked of them; what *Népszava* proposes would make matters even worse, encouraging greater cynicism, perhaps even on the part of their teachers.

If *Népszava* was mistaken in its analysis, that does not mean there is no problem to analyze. The most basic point of the editorial was that graduates of the university can no longer be counted on to be of good quality, and since there is no reason to suspect *Népszava* of bad faith, and good reason to assume that its concern is real, I take that complaint to be in some measure true. But as my students at ELTE were generally of excellent quality, and so too my colleagues, the problem would seem to be institutional, as *Népszava*'s proposal for institutional reform suggests, and consequently hard to resolve. After having spent many years in universities, I think it unlikely that change will be quick in coming. Institutions are generally conservative in nature, universities and ministries not excepted.

When I had tentatively reached these conclusions, I tried them on a few students and colleagues, only to discover that my analysis had been anticipated by others. Indeed, these very questions have been raised several times at the annual Youth Parliament in recent years. It is always gratifying to have one's opinions or conclusions confirmed, but it was especially so this time: it saved me from feeling that perhaps, in voicing them, I might seem a poor guest. In reality I am a grateful guest.

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Earlier I spoke of the common failure by large, urban universities to provide their students with the chance to devote themselves fully to their studies. It might seem that Hungarian universities, by bringing their students together so often in classes, have solved that problem, but I meant something a good deal less Draconian. ELTE's English students prepare and read papers to each other; they ask teachers to give special evening seminars on subjects not adequately covered by the curriculum; they meet socially at least once a month; and they know each other as a consequence, so can exchange books and ideas. Their teachers help them in much of this. They are indeed not so far from achieving that sense of individual dedication and common spirit that I meant to identify as missing from most urban, commuter universities. They are closer to it than are my students at Minnesota. I wish them and my former colleagues at ELTE well, wish especially that my students will soon find it possible to immerse themselves in their subjects, in company with their fellows. The old graduates of ELTE whom I have met, those who were students there before it was ELTE and who remember their university days with affection, remember most of all the shared excitement of study, the feeling that their lives were being changed by what they were doing. It is a good feeling. If it were a gift to be given, it would be the present I would give to my students, wherever I happened to be teaching. Insofar as this description of my term as guest lecturer at ELTE might help bring it about, it too is a gift to my students, from their grateful guest.

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THE END GAME—REASSESSED

András Simonffy: *Komország katonái* (Soldiers of Ferry-Land) Magvető, 1981, 529 pp. János Bárczy: *Zuhanóugrás* (Free Dive) Magvető, 1981, 640 pp.

The recent years have seen many scholarly, popular, and literary works which try to fill out the picture of Hungary's attitudes during the Second World War; these have been based on events and personal experience. Their intention has by no means been to whitewash the short-sighted and irresponsible politicians of the Horthy regime or to dispute the central judgements of Hungarian and international historiography. There can be no question of claiming events or organizations for Hungary such as the uprising in Warsaw, the partisan movement in Yugoslavia or the resistance in France because these simply did not occur. On the other hand, it would be a violation of the facts and of our historical responsibility, if for some or other political consideration we passed over of falsified what actually happened.

András Simonffy's historical collage novel, *Komország katonái* (Soldiers of Ferry-Land), tries, among other things, to tell the complete, discoverable historical truth about those attitudes which have been misunderstood or which a conspiracy of silence has concealed. The 40-year-old author did not have to go far for motive and starting-point: he wanted to do justice to his father. Ernő Simonffy-Tóth had been a major on the general staff of the pre-war Hungarian army, but by upbringing, moral and political sense he found himself opposed to that army's narrow and outdated spirit and to the policy which it had been called upon to serve. On March 19, 1944, when Hungary was on the verge of disengaging from the war, the Germans invaded the country and had Horthy appoint the former Hungarian ambassador to Berlin, Döme Sztójay, as Prime Minister. The young officer and like-minded companions speculated on how major Hungarian forces in the as yet unoccupied east could be turned against the Germans.

"My father starts talking" is the subtitle of a chapter. After much bitterness and a protracted silence, close questioning by his son moves him to tell what happened to him, and around him, in 1944 as he knows and remembers it. The son starts to ask questions and to investigate. "I didn't know anything," he can say in the name of all his generation. But some people cannot escape their fathers and thus must learn their history. Simonffy has confronted the narrative of his father with published and unpublished documents, has pumped other witnesses and survivors; of all this, he has made a montage, organizing the whole sometimes by chronology, or by theme, or sometimes by counter-point. The resulting text is dynamic and throbbing, and while it does not lack artistic quality, its true fascination comes from the history itself.

By mid-October 1944 Horthy and his small circle, after putting out feelers towards, and after waiting in vain for, the English were forced to realize that they had to seek

an armistice with the Russians if they did not want the country to become a theatre of war and end up on the losing side. Horthy's representatives had signed the preliminary armistice agreement in Moscow; Horthy announced this over the radio on the 15th of October. The Germans responded swiftly in Hungary: they took the Regent prisoner after making the fearful and broken old man retract his proclamation of the previous day; they next brought the Hungarian Arrow Cross party to power. The Arrow Cross proclaimed resistance to the end and commenced to hunt down any resistance to the Germans. Meanwhile the still relatively intact and combat-worthy Hungarian First Army was concentrated near the Ukrainian front. As a result of Rumania changing sides the southern flank of this front lay open, and the First Army was threatened by envelopment by the onrushing Soviet forces. The chief German concern here was to escape this trap and, just as they had done in the Ukraine, they intended to use Hungarian troops as the screen to cover their retreat. Thus a unique opportunity offered itself to the best part of the Hungarian armed forces: to go over to the Russian side as an entity, open the front for them and ensure the country the status of "fellow-fighter." But in the chaos of October 15 and 16 in Budapest they either did not manage to inform and instruct the army commander in due time and unambiguously, or the informations and orders sent to the staff were delayed and falsified. In any event, the army stood idle and perplexed for several days not knowing what to do. Finally the army commander, Béla Miklós, and his chief of staff, Kálmán Kéri, crossed the Soviet lines on their own initiative and with the intention of acting in the spirit of Horthy's proclamation. By then, however, the Soviets had learned of the Hungarian Arrow Cross coup, of Horthy's capture, and, in particular, of the new order from Budapest which called on the Hungarian army to continue fighting. They were thus able to receive the two Hungarian officers only in an unofficial capacity, did not allow them to return to their lines, and only permitted the proclamation calling on the army to change sides to be carried by captured Hungarian officers who volunteered for the job. These latter were to carry it to the appropriate army units. But the new pro-German officers appointed to replace the two "deserters" captured and executed these P.O.W.s and the army thus did not go over to the Soviets.

Simonffy interviewed Kálmán Kéri, one of the "deserters" who has now made his version public for the first time in his eighties. He had never made a secret of it, but had never been asked about the events and had been dismissed as a Horthyist officer, a category which swallows every nuance.

Kéri reproached his superior Béla Miklós for leaving his post of army commander at a most critical moment and in a most critical situation, so that there was nobody to put the replacement commanders under arrest, and implement the agreement achieved in Moscow. Personal contacts, according to Kéri, were the responsibility of Miklós who had initiated them. Béla Miklós's version is not available as he has been long dead. (He was never a man of many words and his taciturnity had made cooperation with him very difficult.)

This botched attempt to change sides was scarcely a glorious exploit of resistance, but it does demonstrate that something could still have been done even in that desperate and defenceless state, and that there were people aware of this. (This October Sunday has been the subject of a feature film by András Kovács—*Októberi vasárnap.*)

One of those aware was the author's father who, after the lost opportunity at the front, began with several others to organize the military in Budapest, in much more hopeless conditions under the nazi terror. This movement, another survivor of which is interviewed by the author, was betrayed and crushed by the Arrow Cross quite soon after coming into operations and making

contact with illegal political groups. Major Simonffy, however, as a delegate of the movement, managed to fly over the front under adventurous circumstances, with the purpose of restoring and continuing the relationship with the Soviets. The politicians who were to accompany him as delegates failed to turn up on time at the stolen airplane—the reasons for their delay have still not been made quite clear. Thus Simonffy arrived in Moscow with no written mandate. The two commanders and the delegation which had signed the preliminary armistice were also stuck there caught by events. So these three groups, the soldiers and diplomats, the exiled communists in Moscow, and the forerunners of parliamentary democracy in Budapest, living under the pressure of nazi terror and the siege of the capital, were segregated from each other both by conditions and mutual prejudice. This was the situation the trustees of post-war Hungarian democratic development found themselves in by the end of 1944. Rapprochement and cooperation started only after the liberation of Debrecen in East Hungary: a new government and a provisional National Assembly were established in this town. In the name of the latter the army chief of staff, who had also gone over to the Soviets and wanted his share in the new administration, signed an armistice in January 1945 in Moscow. It was entirely characteristic of the situation that this man, János Vörös, enjoyed the trust of the Soviets for some time because they had confused him with General Lajos Veress, a member of Horthy's inner circle whom they had expected in Moscow as plenipotentiary at the time of Horthy's breakaway from the Germans. It was not discovered that their partner in negotiation was that same Vörös who had remained in office for some days after the Szálasi coup and so had been a party to the order to continue the war.

A reviewer can hardly refrain from recapitulating history, the subject of the book, instead of coolly discussing the work itself. Every Hungarian reader will feel the same whether or not he experienced the events. The author's personal motive, the evocation of his father's mission is in fact only a vehicle which leads him to reassess once more Hungary's chances in the end game of the war. The twentieth century, the recent period of Hungarian history, is full of "what would have happened if"s—if then or then, there had been no fatal omission, if this person or that had not been so fatally helpless. One chapter heading, "Always we?", alludes to the lines from Endre Ady, the great poet of the early years of this century: "Always we are too late for everything / We have surely come from far." The title of the book also comes from Ady who called Hungary "ferry-land" which even "in its talented dreams only drifted back and forth between two banks from East to West but preferably back." The many forfeited chances were perhaps lost through historical necessity, but there always have been Hungarians who have opposed necessity—acting on themselves too—and who have tried to steer their ferry-land to the bank. Major Simonffy was one of these people, shelved along with many others, who became the victim of his own best intentions. In March 1945 he was tried on a trumped-up charge, demobilized one year later, and dismissed from the army. His son wanted to rip "the yellow star of his fate," from his heart, but Simonffy, the father, has not lived to see the appearance of the book.

Free Dive

The Second World War memoirs of another former officer, János Bárczy, appeared for the 1981 Book Week. The fate of the hero of "Free Dive" is far from commonplace, he too has been marked for life though not in the same way as Simonffy. Bárczy had been severely wounded on the Russian front and after what seemed to be a complete recovery he returned to active service. How-

ever, the splinter lodging in his forehead did not encyst satisfactorily and some years later a sudden movement caused it to injure the visual nerve track. Bárczy went blind and has been living in darkness for the last thirty years. He started to review the first thirty years of his life, its decisive turning-points, and began to see their meaning with increasing clarity, and finally dictated them as a book.

On first sight Bárczy's book seems to be a straightforward memoir, but closer reading reveals that it as a mixture of literature, memoirs, and historiography, not unlike Simonffy's collage novel. The fictional element exists primarily because Bárczy evokes tiny and seemingly insignificant details which, however, do not always correspond to the facts: the effect they produce is that of a fictional world. It is possible that the many elements describing characters, scenes, and moods, and the near fictional rounding-off of some events and situations are sometimes imaginary, but this makes them all the more the work of a writer because they create the impression of authentic experience. It is very likely, however, that in course of those long years withdrawn into himself, all these minute details did emerge in Bárczy's memory: he occasionally evokes these critical years with the precision of a diary. Moreover, his rank and role in the army meant that he had to report in writing to his superiors so that —as he says himself—he has only had to reformulate what he had already written and said to others and himself.

Bárczy aspires to being a writer as can be seen from his attempts to pick his words carefully and to use a polished style. Adjectives, synonyms, and metaphors are heaped upon one other. He can write, but most of these frills seem to have been taken from primers on style: they do not serve his work neither as memoirs nor as a documentary novel. "Free Dive" is fascinating where the author loses himself in the flow of the narrative, and the objective details prevent the "style" from getting the upper hand. Nor are his historical and sociological meditations and detours on history and society always fortunate; repetitive, explanatory, argumentative, they are embedded in the text to create the impression that the author saw everything clearly and lucidly at the time. However, he himself admits that they are the result of later speculation which was lengthy and soul-searching.

Bárczy was a paratrooper and takes his symbolic title from the jargon of his military arm. Free dive is that type of parachute jump where one jumps and drops freely most of the way towards the earth, opening the parachute only in the last phase of the fall. The meaning of the title is close to the lessons to be learnt from "Ferry-Land:" Hungary fell headlong into a suicidal alliance with Germany yet pulling the rip-cord of the symbolic parachute could have stopped its fall on several occasions. But the parachute was not opened and Hungary, like many of Bárczy's luckless companions, plummeted, killed by its impact with reality.

János Bárczy comes from a distinguished family, an uncle was Permanent Under Secretary of the Prime Minister's office for almost the whole of the Horthy period. On his father's death the family were able to educate him only by obtaining a free place in an officers' academy. The military career did not attract the youngster who had been educated up to then in the quite different atmosphere of a Piarist College. Bárczy excelled in various sports and finally opted for service in the paratroops, which were just beginning to be formed in Hungary. They soon became notorious in military circles. The Hungarian parachute troops remained on the periphery throughout the war because their equipment was inadequate and their training had prepared them more for spectacular and bold acrobatic stunts than to act as a disciplined military unit. Bárczy's expert and mockingly emotional description offers a frightening picture of the unpreparedness, negligence, and feudal mannerisms of the high command and offi-

cers. Bárczy himself was soon transferred from his battalion to Budapest as staff officer in charge of the paratroopers at the Air Force Command, and as such was sent to the front to "gain experience." After recovering from his wounds Bárczy and his paratroopers were deployed only in Hungary to cover the German retreat. (This was the major function of Hungarian units also in the Ukraine.)

The last third of the book is really exciting: it gives an account of how he and some others tried to sabotage the order to fight it out to the end. At this time the Germans did not deploy entire Hungarian battalions let alone divisions for the obvious reason that united and independently operating army units could turn against them. The paratroopers were also broken up and fought as infantry under German command, company by company. In these conditions it was risky to execute orders reluctantly, but his memoirs show Bárczy as a courageous and quick-thinking soldier who, by stratagems worthy of the parachutists' notoriety, managed to direct his troop until its secret dissolution. He himself went to meet the Russians disguised as a civilian, but they did not believe his story and made him prisoner. Bárczy escaped also from there: he slipped off unnoticed from a lorry transporting prisoners, hid on a freight train going to Budapest, and in the heavily guarded railway station he mingled with Jews returning from a concentration camp. He joined the new Hungarian Army in 1945 and served as an officer until going blind. His adventurous life and contradictory character gained its real sense after he had gone blind—cruel though this may seem. Presumably blindness helped him to declinethe paradigm of his career with lucidity, and clarify it both for himself and his contemporaries.

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

NEW POETRY

Amy Károlyi: *Vers és napló.* (Poem and Diary), Szépirodalmi, 1981. 116 pp.; Ottö Orbán: *Az alvó vulkán.* (The Sleeping Volcano), Magvető, 1980, 107 pp.; Éva Nádasdi: *Maroknyi fény.* (A Handful of Light), Szépirodalmi, 1981, 148 pp.; Péter Zirkuli: *A kép ketrecéből.* (From the Cage of the Image), Szépirodalmi, 1981, 84 pp.

Amy Károlyi published *Kulcslyuk-líra* (Keyhole Lyrics) in 1977, crowning her thirty years as a poet. It marked the birth of a new form in Hungarian poetry, the collection of montage pieces. The volume included a sequence of verse and prose quotations, notes, fragmentary reminiscences, and aphorisms, arranged into 11 cycles. Amy Károlyi collected written and verbal accounts by poets and others, adding her own observations to them. It's form was perhaps closest to Eluard's *Poésie involontaire et poésie intentionnelle,* in which the French poet commented on the observations on art made by his masters and friends. But Károlyi's volume also echos Novalis when he wrote, "there may be moments when the alphabet and the cash book seem to be poetic to us."

Her latest book, *Vers és napló* (Poem and Diary) obviously follows *Keyhole Lyrics,* but the new volume includes considerably fewer quotations and more text by the poet herself. The title defines the form exactly: it is in fact a diary as well, particularly where she describes her travels in America and Transylvania.

The fourth cycle is entitled *I Converse with America.* Amy Károlyi is an impartial, open-minded European, responsive to impressions, who can feel grateful delight and

is not afraid of being moved. She writes about New York:

"I seem to walk in a stone forest. Or rather among breath-takingly high, black-and-white gravestones. And yet one does not have the feeling of the stone blocks crashing down on one. Up to some eight to ten storeys some buildings rise step-wise, to allow the stone-flame of the sky-scraper to shoot up sizzling from the middle there. I do not know who the town planner for New York is, but he is certainly well up in his job. There are green plants at the projecting or set-back corners, a lonely tree redresses proportions near the cloud-palaces reminding us that we have come from nature."

Much has been written on the informality of Americans, though often with fastidious mistrust, as by Simone de Beauvoir. Amy Károlyi repays informality with informality, sympathy with sympathy:

"I am conversing with America. With professors, with writers, with deep-eyed student girls, with taxi drivers, buffet attendants, check girls, and with all the black personnel in all the hotels. At a distance of 10,000 kilometres from my homeland, they tell me in unison, 'we like you.' "

The cycle that follows is *In the Wake of Emily Dickinson*. The Hungarian translator of the American poet writes, "For years I have been living in a small town in America. In spirit that is. I have aunts sprung from out of nothing, I am surrounded by younger brothers in shorts, it's enough for me to manage to keep all their names in mind." Amy Károlyi is an experienced and active translator. She has interpreted English, Chinese, French, and Russian poets, but for her Emily Dickinson is not just another one out of many. "I have developed a parallel life, with a slight time-lag. My father there died when my father here was born, and my mother there was also left with house cleaning as her way of self-revelation."

Elsewhere in this volume Amy Károlyi speaks of her mother, who opted for marriage instead of art, and who on her death-bed confessed, "the abandoned vocation has taken revenge."

The subjects in *Poem and Diary* are varied: she writes on Schumann, on the lady cashier of the Citybank Corporation, and a pansy in the ditch. She writes a miniature essay on the youthful poems of her husband Sándor Weöres, and one on the contemporary Hungarian painter Jenő Barcsay. She writes on Blake and René Char, and on the Hungarian poets of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. She tells us about the babe-in-arms, who would start playing with grown-ups on a bus, and about the 70 year old woman whose friend is just being buried. She talks of a stray cat, and the two stone lions of a Hungarian church in Transylvania. These notes, mostly of a few lines, are about loneliness, passion, identification, love, and death.

"I owe much to acquaintances and to unknown people, to the living and the dead. And I owe perhaps most to Eliot. And not merely to his poems which have taught me to see things with a European eye, but to one of his gentle messages addressed to writers. We should not be Sunday writers, who only work when inspiration comes. Because it might happen that inspiration arrives but the pen has become rusty."

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Ottó Orbán uses the cover to write a miniature essay to his volume *Az alvó vulkán* (The Sleeping Volcano).

"In adulthood one must get accustomed to the thought that all of us are living on top of a volcano. Our own body might explode under us at any minute, to start with the most obvious possibility, and we might find ourselves in the glowing heap of a hospital bed with an abruptness previously inconceivable. But our broader world can also explode around us, and not only by exploding in the literal sense of the word but also by becoming changed past recognition."

Orbán's first volume appeared in 1961. War, persecution and orphanhood were, and have remained, the recurring motifs of his poetry. The new experiences, impressions and attainments in his poems of the last two decades are interpreted through childhood memories and experience. "The danger situation also means a strict test of our ideas," he writes on the sleeve, and then goes on to say, "After practicing poetry for twenty years, I seem to begin speaking its language"—the language of poetry, that is.

The intention of *The Sleeping Volcano* is to mark a turn in his oeuvre, or rather an intensification, an ideation of the trend that started in his 1979 *A visszacsavart láng* (The Turned Down Wick). Most pieces in *The Sleeping Volcano* are in effect versified essays. The prolific, complex metaphors, virtually independent, which to such a high degree characterized his earlier work, are now almost completely ousted. Imagery has been reduced to acting as illustration to rational resoning. Nowadays Orbán builds his poems instead of metaphors, on the confrontation and conflict of facts with concrete instances. In *The Turned Down Wick* one could observe what in *The Sleeping Volcano* has become obvious: in his poems the poet draws on two, distinctly separate, layers of experience: that of the 1940s and that of the '60s: the war years and the years of the first volumes of the then young poet. With a surprising consistency, Orbán considers the 1960s as past perfect. He recalls his former self, the young poet who lived and breathed together with his fellow poets, from an ironic yet sympathetic distance:

I often think of him
and envy him like a dog in the manger

(*The Landing of Icarus*—prose translation).

In a recent poem, he contrasts the 1960s with the current seventies—decades of two essentially differing ways of attitude and outlooks:

the poet in the Sixties
wrote in flame on the wall of that time
EVERYONE BUT ME IS A IDYOT
others expected nothing less from the Beatles than
a new world religion in a total peace future

in the Seventies
the Beatles became pine-smelling evergreen hits
poets switched to type scripts
not to mention punctuation as intervention
to alienate

(*Poet of the Seventies*,
translated by Eric Mottram)

Orbán continues to attribute basic significance to poetry. "Our life depends on it," he writes in his sleeve essay. But at the same time he views his faith ironically. This is how he sees himself:

"A true Central European. His *yes* always goes hand in hand with *but*. He is rich for being poor and poor for being rich... he is none of them that is or, more precisely, he is both—you just wait while he ravels out that he is the expressive compromise between the striking contrasts, the child of the age, inclined to comprehension. But do not be taken in by him when he smiles at you, because he carries under his shirt the burning fire that he smuggles through the customs of the days, among the police-dogs and clever instruments searching for incendiaries."

Orbán's poems are marked out by restlessness, irony, despair and a demand for the future. All that is bad "we soon forget, and bask in the sun on top of a volcano." He is characterized by the same anguish, anxiety, irony, and self-irony whether he recalls episodes from an American cocktail party or a San Francisco street, or some events from Hungarian history. Or when he paints portraits of poets: of Auden, Dylan Thomas, and one or two Hungarian poets who died recently, László Nagy and István Kormos.

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Éva Nádasdi was born in 1942. She studied at a special secondary school for music, and graduated in Hungarian and Russian from Budapest University. Her first book was *Centrum és cella* (Centre and Cell). *Maroknyi fény* (A Handful of Light) is her second. In the blurb she writes, "We could not understand the acts of Robinson Crusoe were we not to know that he lived on an uninhabited island. The poet's island, his sovereignty, in which the poems take place as acts, should be considered in the same manner."

Éva Nádasdi's world is a sovereign realm. Her key theme is love, in virtually all its possible varieties: erotic, Platonic and sacral alike. Her poems are now naturalistic, and now apparently modern versions of medieval Latin hymns. Love as a state, love as desire, love as need, and love as creation are all present in her poetry. "You see, I have chosen you as my homeland," she writes in *Invitation*. And somewhere else, "You are a twofold power: existence and non-existence." Or else she writes: "I have shaken off my body." *(In the Gateway of Words)*.

What distinguishes Éva Nádasdi from her contemporaries is a voice hardly distinguishable from everyday speech though formally composed. She uses a persuasive, evocative, cantabile tone, mostly writing in the sonnet form. This volume closes with a sequence of sonnets. The contrast between the traditional discipline and strict logic of the sonnet on the one hand, and a permanently intensified state of mind and the dreams she calls forth and wishes for on the other, creates real tension. Nádasdi exploits the potential in her favourite, chosen form to the utmost, namely, that the sonnet calls for an utterly rationalized technique. This is particularly true of the sonnet sequence. It is this cold technique that shapes and disciplines the heated experience of dream and reality. Light, dark, bridge, lack, fatherland, and infinite are words constantly recurring in her poetry. Words have a gateway, conversation has a church.

Nádasdi also differs from her contemporaries—and not merely from them—in her subject. In most modern volumes of Hungarian poetry, a third, or even half of the space is devoted to poets and artists. The theme is embodied in essays, interpretations, identifications, or possibly concealments, or sometimes in attempts at metamorphoses. Nádasdi only wrote a single, and extremely personal poem to a fellow poet, and even that is not a tribute but a confession. Nádasdi, who creates a world out of love, displays her erudition not in her subjects, but rather in her technique.

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Péter Zirkuli was born in 1948 in Szatmárnémeti. He studied at the Universities of Kolozsvár and Budapest. Between 1972 and 1974 he taught Hungarian literature at Bucharest University; since then he has been living in Hungary, where he teaches Rumanian literature at Budapest University. He is a literary translator, mainly of Rumanian works into Hungarian. *A kép ketrecéből* (From the Cage of the Image) is his first volume of poetry.

He writes on the sleeve: "I tried to arrange this volume of poems, mainly written between 1975 and 1979, so that the order of the poems, their falling into cycles should not be fortuitous, but so that they may be read like a novel." The volume is a "search for inter-personality, as nothing else really counts other than the people you have met."

It is not easy to read *From the Cage of the Image* as a novel. What strikes one first about it is that this slim volume presents a small poetical anthology. It includes sonnets, haikus, ballads, elegies, songs, poems based on ancient scansion, aphorisms, gnomes, essays, free verse, and prose poem alike. A few pieces are given the collective title "Style Nostalgia," in which he writes imitations in the manner of old masters such as Villon. For much of the book his sentences

are fragmentary, unfinished. In other places the structure of his sentences is marked by Latinized inversion. Sometimes he draws attention, or indeed distracts attention, by his strict rhyming. He employs allusion a great deal, principally to the Bible, to folk poetry and to modern French and Hungarian poets. The two-line *And It's Conceivable,* which closes the volume, associates with Chamisso's classical work of a search for personality and identity, *Peter Schlemihl:*

I sit on a chair, it is a long evening,
and only my shadow grows above me.

He is not interested in the story itself, but in the essence and lesson of the story. He wants to sum up in "concentrated lines" that

which is still
Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday.

Shelley and Kierkegaard, Martin Buber and Paul Eluard have all written about that relationship between individuals which in Hungarian was formulated by Attila József, perhaps more concisely than any other writer: "you can only wash your face in others."

The first two pieces in *Variations* conjure up interesting associations, which perhaps are not totally arbitrary if one considers that God defines himself through himself ("I am what I am"), while man always defines himself through another. Let me quote here the fifth piece of *Variations* (again in a prose translation):

why don't you answer
if I put a question
where am I
if I am here
and if I am here
where is There?

Ultimately, the volume can really be read continuously. Like a novel? Or like a diary which is not compiled in chronological order? Definitions need not be worried over. It is a connected text, an avowal, an account: "let me just tell you..."

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

THE CHANGING LAWRENCE-IMAGE

László Kéry: *A sötét láng prófétája* (The Prophet of the Dark Flame). Gondolat, 1978, 420 pp.

Self-sufficiency in literature creates a linguistic barrier. Small nations, especially if their language is not widely spoken, are practically incapable of creating literature of a size capable of satisfying, either completely or partly, the demand for reading material; their literary imports therefore are relatively higher than those of nations who speak the world languages. Moreover, the nature and role of their literary imports are different: certain literary works, originally written in another language and read in translation, will form an organic part of their national literature, to influence, transform and become transformed. But it is almost impossible to predict which works, and works by which author, will fall into that category. This is dependent on many factors, including the quality of the translation—although that appears to be the least significant factor. Much more important is the degree to which the translated work and the recipient literature coincide: or, to be more accurate, how the work fits in with

the aspirations of the receiving society. To what extent the work is eventually assimilated can be judged by its stylistic, thematic, and ideological impact, and by how long the author's popularity in the recipient literature lasts. A work translated some time after its original publication may culturally speaking be of an age with the literature receiving it, and in this case it will be easily assimilated; at the same time, an *up-to-date* translation may come too early or too late. The impact that the work actually has provides some indication of whether this has happened or not.

Bearing this in mind, it is interesting to examine the reception given to D. H. Lawrence's œuvre in Hungary. All of the author's major works have been published in Hungarian; two of the great novels of his later period, *The Plumed Serpent* only three years and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* five years after their publication in the original. True, the latter is but an abridged edition of the third version of the novel; this may in part —but only in part— explain why the novel did not cause in Hungary, a society known to contemporary critics as "neo-Baroque," the excitement that might have been expected and it caused in England. (The first *Lady Chatterley's Lover* has never been published in Hungarian, an omission that has prevented it from performing the function it has fulfilled in English literature.) The early novels, *Sons and Lovers*, *Rainbow*, and *Women in Love*, appeared in large editions in the early seventies. So works by D. H. Lawrence have been read widely in Hungarian: the response to them is proportionate to his significance. Not so their reception, judged on the basis of their impact and presence: the relatively early Hungarian editions of *The Plumed Serpent* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* were not immediately followed by translations of Lawrence's earlier works. It was thirty years before Lawrence's Hungarian reader could gain a picture of the outlines of the author's work. And inevitably, this occurred in a society of entirely different structure from the one that was introduced to the first Lawrence works to be translated into Hungarian, some of them in the author's lifetime.

The explanation for this timelag, which occured despite unanimous appreciation by the critics, and why Lawrence apparently had so little influence on the normally receptive Hungarian public and literature, should be sought in the lack of that cultural coincidence mentioned earlier. The Hungarian reader of the twenties and thirties was not yet in a position to respond to Lawrence's liberating passions, only a narrow section of intellectuals could do that. And in the sixties and seventies, a radically re-stratified Hungarian society was by then too advanced to see any revolutionary novelty in the author's message. In Hungary of the thirties, Lawrence's voice was like that of any prophet crying out in the wilderness; in the sixties and seventies it became literary history. That his works were published in Hungarian was in fact little more than a noble gesture on the part of the publishers in Hungary, as part of a wider effort to fill what were regarded as the remaining gaps in translatable world literature.

The translator is himself a reader; in fact, he is a reader *par excellence*, and as such, can use his own reactions as a yardstick—with varying degrees of objectivity—to measure the work's potential impact on other readers. I also translated Lawrence once, the short-story *Love among the Haystacks*. Although it was one of my favourites as a teenager, I have since found myself bristling against its pan-sexual prose, imbued with nature mythology. The sentences, which contain too many epithets and are perhaps too abundant and in many ways inaccurate in their use, reflected a stubborn effort on the part of the author to force his world outlook on me, the translator and reader of his work. It was perhaps this prophetic zeal that for me made the work akin to characters from early films boldly photographed from below: their hair streams up to the sky and

clouds above them, but their feet, planted firmly on the ground, are rather bigger and their heads pointing to the sky somewhat smaller than they should be.

This experience irritated me; and so it was with a certain expectation that I set about reading the bulky study on Lawrence by László Kéry, hoping for an answer to my own rather shameful doubts.

And my expectations were justified. Kéry offers the reader a key to understanding not only D. H. Lawrence, but also his complete œuvre, and the recipient mind that since the shaping of that œuvre has been undergoing a continuous process of stormy change. Professor Kéry has also told me why I, and so many others, loved D. H. Lawrence's works at the time, yet feel aversion for them today. Why I felt he was a modern writer when I was young and why my adult mind finds him so hopelessly old-fashioned today. What it was that he was the first writer to say but has no effect today because it has since become a commonplace; what it is that he failed to say, the absence of which is annoying, because it has since become so widely known. Why man is Man in his novels. And why this Man, mythologized (or degraded) into a formula, is less than if he were just a man. And why our relationship—the relationship between D. H. Lawrence and myself, and probably many others—is not a static one; its transformation is to be blamed on the transformation of the age, the rapid accumulation of historical and social experiences and a growing awareness of those experiences.

There are two seemingly conflicting requirements for an authentic presentation of a writer and his work. First, the need for the author to identify himself with the object of his study. And second, to view him from a distance, to see, and make his readers see, the personality and work of the writer in its full complexity. If the theme of the study is work originally written in a different language, one that emerged in a society different from that which determines or at least influences the author's own approach, the second requirement is inevitably met: the author cannot help but see both writer and his work in a different light than the writer's compatriots. A sidelight. He will notice and perceive things never noticed by critics of the same nationality because they are so obvious for them. And if he knows the linguistic and social medium in which the work is set as thoroughly as Kéry does, he will also be aware of those points that the writer's compatriots would not, and cannot, notice and therefore would not express; and because he is viewing all this from the outside, he will also know what will add to or detract from the general validity of the work in question.

Obviously Kéry knows and uses the latest findings of research on Lawrence; but I would suggest that it is the originality of his assessment and analyses that in fact lend them their special value. The book was written for non-Anglo-Saxon readers in a non-Anglo-Saxon environment: between the more distant poles of identification and distance, Kéry's conclusions and critical remarks must sparkle at a higher voltage than those of an author sharing a common social background and experience with D. H. Lawrence. And so they are more polarized.

Nevertheless, Kéry, conscientious scholar that he is, has made a very unostentatious job of untying the threads of the Lawrence phenomenon. Taking the author's major novels in chronological order, he adopts a structure well-suited for a consistent and methodical study of the interrelationship between the development of Lawrence the writer and Lawrence the human being, considering the social and individual components of that development as well as the stratification of his works. True, this method, which is natural and didactically the most efficient, demands a certain sacrifice from the essay writer: the *chronological structure* replacing the slender backbone of *ideas* is inevitably less elegant; given even the highest standard of literary and scholarly dis-

cipline, it will to some extent cut up and trifle away the important message and the ideological unity of assessment.

Kéry was obviously aware of all this when his choice fell on the more didactic of the two methods; an assumption borne out by the fact that, though a born teacher, he takes the reader hand in hand through the changing world of Lawrence as expressed in his novels, and pacifies the writer in his heart with a genuine essay, the final chapter of the book. Of course, it is all done in a way that should give the teacher the least grievance, and the essay is therefore a sweeping summary of the thoughts behind the ten detailed chapters.

Just as the underside of a carpet is revealing, footnotes will tell you a lot about a study that may not be apparent otherwise. The mere size of the carefully selected bibliography to Kéry's book includes only those sources that he actually used, and inspires therefore a greater respect and is another proof of the reliability of the work and its author. Another proof, contained in what I believe to be a particularly remarkable feature of the book, is that Kéry uses every excerpt in his own translation, and in the case of those of stylistically decisive importance, he also gives us the English original in his footnotes. This considerable amount of extra work enables him to do away with the inevitable secondary nature of the analyses of content and style that rely on somebody else's translation, which is after all another applied textual analysis. Thus he avoids the danger that threatens the literary scholar writing about works written in a foreign language for readers who speak his own native language.

To give an idea of Kéry's work, I quote here an excerpt from his study: the two closing paragraphs of "Ideas, Ideals, Mistakes," in which he assesses Lawrence and his work with an unpretentious objectivity:

"The work of Lawrence the novelist has its merits in its objective depiction of life. But its limitations are equally striking. However, the same limitations have proved to be adequate and effective in an original way, in expressing an extremist subjectivist attitude. The final outcome is an unresolvable contradiction. I tend simply to wish that the object of my study had produced a more valid and more even set of works. On the other hand, I am also fully aware that D. H. Lawrence stripped of his mistakes, his extreme irrationality and artistic imbalances—would no longer be D. H. Lawrence.

"So we must accept Lawrence for what he was: one of the great writers of the twentieth century who rose from the people without being able to return to the people, and who tried to give mankind happiness by running away from it all the time."

There, I think, you have the key to a general evaluation of Lawrence's work.

ÁRPÁD GÖNCZ

TRANSYLVANIAN GASTRONOMY

Pál Kövi: *Erdélyi lakoma* (Transylvanian banquet). Kriterion, Bucharest, 1980. 328 pp.

The deeper one delves into the history of eat'n swill the clearer it becomes that everything is connected spatially and temporarily alike. Lucullus brought the cherry to Europe from Persia; Chanca, Columbus' doctor brought the paprika back from Central America on the good ship Santa Maria and the Wiener Schnitzel travelled from the Middle East to Lombardy from whence Field Marshal Radetzky's cook took it to

the presently eponymous Imperial City. It is part of these gastronomic migrations that the great cooking of little Transylvania should be presented to the world by Pál Kövi, an Hungarian who runs the Four Seasons Restaurant in New York in what is, at the same time, a cookery book, a social history and also a nostalgic memorial to men and ages who are long gone, of whose rich heritage a refined and specific way of preparing food, and eating it, also formed part. Pál Kövi, and a number of collaborators resident in Transylvania searched small villages and the archives of towns for the documents of a gastronomic past and recipes of days of old and the result of their labours is a mosaic made up of the culinary habits of the nations which inhabit Transylvania.

István Szőcs, who contributes the section on the Hungarians of Transylvania, argues that, oddly enough, that half-way position which they occupied between Vienna and Constantinople particularly in the century and a half of the Turkish occupation, is not reflected in theil culinary habits. The Hungarians of Transylvania unlike most of the nations of Eastern Europe, were barely influenced by Turkish customs. Thus, though they cultivate *papaver somniferum* and poppy seeds have been, and still are, much favoured as a condiment, they never acquired the habit of opium smoking so popular amongst the Ottoman Turks. There are other differences too between Transylvanian cooking and that of other Eastern Europeans particularly in the use of spices. Milder breeds of paprika are preferred, and used in moderation, but herbs are generously employed, all the way from dill to carraway seed, anisseed to coriander, majoran, pine kernel and thyme and fine fruit vinegars are much favoured as well mustards that are occasionally stirred into quince-pulp. Kövi does not refer to the subject but not much detective work would probably be needed to establish to whom this French influence that goes back to the 16th to 17th centuries is due: the princes and magnates of Transylvania, István Báthori and Gábor Bethlen, to mention only the two greatest amongst them, liked to employ French chefs. In the course of the centuries French and local ways were welded into one in the kitchens of Transylvania.

Varied and original ways of making use of the ample store of fruit provided by the blessed orchards and forests of Transylvania were also typical. There were a thousand ways of preserving and drying fruit, and fresh or preserved fruit formed the base of some magnificient soups, or sauces, some made with smoked meats: cherry and sour cherry, gooseberry of blackberry, red currant or peach and apple, or plum soup. In Transylvania teas are brewed not only out of medicinal herbs but out of rosehips and cranberries, and other fruits and berries as well. Hungarians of Transylvania like to freshen up smoked meats or dry beans by using the first greens of spring. The Székely add chopped green hops and lettuce to dried bean soup, and there is *zakotás* as described János Kriza, the collector of ballads: "it is eaten in summer and includes cooked pork extended by much lettuce, tarragon, parsley, onion stalk and a little savoury, sour cream and egg."

It is, therefore, not surprising that Transylvania has given Hungarian cooking as such many a fine dish, such as lamb soup made with tarragon, or *Kolozsvári káposzta* which includes sour cabbage, minced pork and lashings of sour cream, not to mention layered cream cheese cake which I dare not even describe, it is so tempting, and fattening.

Long years of coexistence meant mutual influence as far as Rumanian and Hungarian cooking are concerned though the difference between them survives to this day. Hungarians use a roux for both soups and vegetables, Rumanians boil meat and vegetables together without prior frying. Hungarians use lard, Rumanians oil; *mămăligă*, a sort of corn-pone or polenta serves Rumanians instead of bread or potatoes as the "chips"

that go with everything, though Rumanians of course eat plenty of bread, and potatoes as well, and Hungarians also favour *puliszka*, based on maize meal, occasionally. Mircea Zacin, one of the contributors to Kövi's volume, suggests that Transylvanian Rumanian cooking is far from sybaritic. He argues that Rumanians "chose their diet carefully, with moderation, bread and wine is what they need, milk and honey, smoked sowbelly and onions, in other words basic foods. They are not interested in gourmet dishes described in involved recipes." Perhaps; as far as this reader is concerned some of the recipes included in the book contradict any talk of gastronomie asceticism. Take veal soup, or braised mutton—to mention only two of many—they certainly suggest that the Rumanians of Transylvania are not unfamiliar with dishes to delight a gourmet palate.

Of all the nations inhabiting Transylvania it was perhaps the Saxons (Transylvanian Germans) who were settled there by Hungarian kings of the House of Árpád who came closest to asceticism though they too were notorious for their occasional eating and drinking. The chronicles describe them as *prudentes et circumspecti* and those qualities were manifest in their everyday eating habits as well. The village fortified churches used to contain rows of larders, one for each family, where reserves of grain, flitches of bacon, and various preserves had to be kept for sieges and other times of dearth. They were under double lock and key, and the village headman had to be present with his whenever a householder wished to remove anything—or add to his stores. But, as I said, Saxons could eat and drink all right when the occasion arose, or the mood seized them, and Pál Kövi's collection of recipes exemplifies both aspects of their character. Some are of *Eintopfgerichte*, like *Kächen*, a thick soup whose purpose was to make sure that those who had done a hard day's work could eat their fill, but there are gourmet dishes as well like wild boarham, or pig's trotters cooked with onions, garlic, paprika, carraway seed and dill, and eaten with sour cabbage, prepared at home by all good housewives.

No description of Transylvanian cooking would be complete without mentioning Jews and Armenians—though both have all but disappeared, and the Saxons themselves have been reduced to a handful. Many Jews of Transylvania were actually the descendants of Sabbatarians, an offshoot of Antitrinitarian Socinians who, forced to choose one of the established or tolerated denominations preferred to become Jews rather than Unitarians, accepting the Mosaic dietary laws as well. The Sabbatarians added much to Jewish cooking, particularily mushrooms which abounded in the huge forests of Transylvania, and Kövi includes many of their recipes and traditional Jewish ones as well. May I make good one of Kövi's omissions? He mentions *cholent* accepted as a traditional Jewish dish in America as well, and also by Hungarians who have transformed it into something far from *kosher*, basing it on pork. But the ancient home of this glorious combination of meat and beans is not Galicia or Podolia, but the south of France, where it is known as *cassoulet*. There are of course many different ways of cooking it, in the Languedoc, where I had occasion to taste a number of local varieties, the white wine in which the beans are cooked provides the characteristic flavour, and the bay leaves of course. Garlic, pepper, different kinds of greens, sausages, perhaps goose as well, are added and then it is all baked in the eponymous earthenware dish together with mutton or lamb prefried with onions.

Transylvania has, in the course of the centuries, offered refuge to many peoples and faiths. The Armenians, fleeing from the Turks, settled there in the 16th and 17th centuries. The major migration took place in 1672 when Prince Michael Apafi settled three thousand Armenian families chiefly in Szamosújvár, Gyergyószentmiklós and Erzsébetváros. Many of them put down roots

in Transylvania, establishing merchant and craft dynasties.

It was probably due to Indian and Persian influence that the Armenians tended to couple things which are a bit odd at first to a Hungarian palate, though the unfamiliar taste is soon accepted as pleasant. *Pilaf* (meat and rice) e.g. is sweetened using currants and as Kövi mentions the sweet liver sausage of the Marosvásárhely Hungarians, which includes rice and currants, is probably due to Armenian influence.

Many of the great Transylvanian confectioners were Armenians and the multitude of eastern sweets is due to them and not the Turks, Even the most popular Christmas and Easter cakes, based on poppy-seeds or walnuts, are of Armenian origin, though the manner of their preparation has changed somewhat in the course of migrations.

Those who will use Pál Kövi's work as a cookery book will be particularly grateful to him for rescuing *dalaûzi* from the oblivion of the centuries. This is a superb sweetmeat made up of honey, walnuts, poppyseed and oranges.

The story itself of how Kövi became acquainted with Armenian cookery deserves a volume of its own. He started to collect recipes in Kolozsvár and continued in Budapest where he met an historian of Transylvanian birth, Domonkos Korbuly. When he heard that Korbuly's nephew was a Mechitarist monk on the Isola San Lazzaro he travelled to Venice. There, in the library, helped by Luke Fogolyán, an Armenian-Transylvanian-Hungarian monk, he found the most valuable items concerning Armenian cooking. This going back to the sources, collecting and reviving what was almost forgotten, is a major merit of Pál Kövi's work.

ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ

POTENTIALS AND BOTTLENECKS OF MODERNIZATION

Kálmán Kulcsár: *A mai magyar társadalom* (Contemporary Hungarian Society). Kossuth, 1980. 329 pp.

Since the end of the 1970s, new social realities have been emerging in several respects in Hungary. Processes on the world market and the epoch-making changes that have begun internationally have obviously played a significant role in the 'premature' arrival of the 1980s, but the demands arising from the dynamic internal development of Hungarian society has been at least of equal importance.

Kálmán Kulcsár's book deserves special attention if only for the fact that for some considerable time there has been no comprehensive report of a historical nature on the position of Hungarian society based on the results of modern, empirical, academic research. Thus the book reflects the specific conditions and opportunities of the late 1970s not merely in the context of Hungarian society but in that of the development of sociology in Hungary as well.

The author chooses as the central subject of his work "the problem of Hungarian society" as defined by the challenges of external and internal conditions. Kulcsár provides a historical and sociological answer to the question on which his study is centred, and frames that answer around the concept of modernization: he analyses the past 100 to 150 years of the development of Hungarian society from the point of view of the progress, standstills, and recessions

experienced in the modernization process, and, equally, considers the current situation from the perspective of spurring modernization.

In the author's approach, modernization is "actually a concept 'parallel' with 'backwardness', 'lateness', and a social development linked with these and differing from the Western capitalist road, which can be properly interpreted only in that context, and consequently—even in the broadest interpretation—only over the last hundred years." The content of the concept is formulated in the first chapter, on three levels:

1. On the level of society as a whole, where it appears to be marked, in the economic field, by the development of the energy basis, an economic structure that corresponds to the conditions and interests of society, the technological level of production, the efficiency and adaptability of structures, and a well-developed infrastructure; in the social field it means a structure which, far from obstructing modernization, is capable of promoting it; while in the political field it means a political system that is capable of utilizing the achievements of science.

2. On the level of organizations, where it refers primarily to the existence of functionally based organizations, and to a readiness for professional adaptation.

3. Finally on an individual level, where modernization "not only means the acquisition of knowledge and expertise, but that of trained (or trainable) abilities, specific motivating factors, and attitudes, all of which to no small extent are... functions of the way of life."

At the same time, the study emphasizes, the various levels of the modernization process are also linked.

After outlining the concept of modernization, the first part of the book discusses the historical path Hungarian society has taken since the second half of the nineteenth century, up to the late 1970s. With consideration of the progressive elements of Hungarian sociology and the results achieved in the fields of history, economics and law in Hungary, particularly in the recent decades, as well as of a broad field of statistical sources, the author first reconstructs the early phase of the modernization process prior to the First World War. He pays particular attention to the structure of the landed estates, the territorial, sectoral and social inequalities evident in industrial development, comprehensive social stratification, and the functions of the state.

As to social development between the two world wars, the author gives the following account seen from the point of view of his central issue: "The tendency to 'come abreast' that had been developing in the preceding fifty years, broke off, and for the next twenty-five years the country was unable to live down the shocks caused by the [Trianon] peace treaty. Not only did the earlier, basic economic and social problems survive hand in hand with the old backwardness factors, but the conditions for adapting Hungarian society to the new circumstances of the twentieth century became even more problematic." The following statement sums up the main features of economic development between the two wars: "The country belonged to the averagely developed countries of Europe, but nearer the lower end of that list. Industry's share in the national income grew to 36 per cent at a time when in the highly developed European countries this figure exceeded 50 per cent, and in the most highly developed surpassed even 60 to 70 per cent, while in the Balkan states it was a mere 20 to 25 per cent.

The functioning of the state organization —in accordance with the intersts of the social forces directing the political system— acted in the direction of conservatism and the obstruction of modernization; the system failed to respond adequately to the deepening crisis in agriculture and peasant society in the 1930s, to the lingering problems of industrial workers and production, the postponement of urbanization, the accumulation of increasingly tense social prob-

lems, and the challenge of the changes that took place in international context."

Speaking of the background to the social structure, which was responsible for the task of modernization and also the driving forces behind it (which in the inter-war situation were throttled into unproductivity), the book states, adapting from Ferenc Erdei: "In sum, a certain duality can be found at every level of the hierarchy of Hungarian social stratification. At the peak we have the dual ruling class of the big landowners and plutocracy, which while becoming increasingly intertwined, still maintained the different structure of their interests and their ideological and habitual characteristics. At the foot of the social pyramid are the industrial proletariat and the agrarian proletariat, in many respects also in different positions and divided in their place of residence, with different aspirations and modes of life. In the middle are found the 'historical middle class' and the bourgeois intelligentsia, members of the liberal professions, again divided in many respects, and the petty bourgeoisie, some of them connected with agriculture, and some with small-scale industry and retail trade."

After the Second World War, the development of Hungarian society in a number of respects abandoned the retrograde "determinisms" of its historical antecedents. As one of the most pregnant changes of the period before 1956, the study analyses the introduction of the land reform in 1945, its consequences, and the reasons for and effects of the failure to utilize the opportunities inherent within it.

Hungarian society's gravest inherited structural problem lay in the outdated structure of landed estate, and for the promotion of modernization the distribution of land was an unavoidable step. At the same time, the fact that although the radical land reform cleared the path for modernization in agriculture, yet under the given conditions could not be continued, became a major element in the social tensions.

Although "at the end of the Second World War, the radical change in the country's political conditions and the ensuing land reform" made it possible for the development to get out of the deadlock, that still did not solve all the problems of modernization. Other shortcomings that had accumulated in the course of history in economic and social guidance raised similarly important questions, primarily in the fields of industrial development, the modernization of the political mechanism, and the raising of the general cultural level.

Simultaneously with the difficulties of solving inherited problems, new elements, infiltrated the system of conditions for progress in different fields; and these elements were later to become the source of problems that hindered modernization. The circumstances of the period increased "the danger of 'raising' the approach and solution to economic and social problems to a consciously political level, that is the danger of reducing the manifold contexts to one or a few factors, and following from that, the overestimation of education and the shaping of consciousness, as well as a wanton use of administrative and legal measures." The book quotes as examples the problem of the "transfer of workers' behaviour into the moral field" (a phenomenon of which Tibor Huszár* has given a comprehensive definition), the neglect of the social conditions of the mass of workers who as a consequence of extensive industrailization were taken into the factories, with account taken of only one resultant of that fact: the phenomena of work discipline and labour drift—in general, an "ethical" and indeed penal approach to the phenomena of work discipline and labour drift.

The conclusions drawn in the chapter on economic policy throw light on some significant points of the logic in the events leading to the social catastrophe of 1956: "In the final analysis, the economic policy concept,

* See *NHQ* 64 and 65.

which in most of its essential contexts was not elaborated for Hungarian conditions, led to political results which to a considerable extent consumed the political 'capital' collected after the liberation, by the land reform, the successful three-year-plan, nationalizations, a state of practically full employment, etc."

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The discussion of the historical period that followed 1957, is introduced by a review of the corrections carried out in economic policy, followed by a portrayal of the changes the organization of large-scale farming brought in the conditions of the peasantry, and the shaping of the working class; and it is concluded by an analysis of the emergence of new strata of managers and intellectuals.

Kulcsár analyses at length the achievements of the post-1956 development, but also points to several phenomena of a surviving backwardness in modernization. Based on an analysis of economic history, he states, for example, that "in the field of industrial productivity, there was an increase in the country's relative backwardness, despite a considerable volume of growth"; considerable incongruities emerged, or at least did not decrease at an adequate rate, in industrial structure, professional training, higher education, and occupational selection, etc.

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The second part of the book deals with the features of the Hungarian society of the 1970s. It offers a broad tableau of the social structure, which the author supplements with a view of contemporary Hungary's social problems.

Although available statistical data usually enable the description of the social structure only in terms of occupational distribution, and the author is obliged to describe it thus for lack of anything better, he emphasizes that occupational structure forms merely one element of social structure, and he counterbalances the one-sidedness of occupational statistics primarily by considering the effects of the conditions of settlement and proprietorship in the shaping of social structure. In discussing structural issues he tackles a number of unsettled questions in contemporary society and sociology: to what extent is it appropriate to speak of a "peasantry" in Hungary today; what place does agricultural small-scale production occupy within the economic system, and within the system of social reproduction; what is responsible for the critical differences among the villages; what future does agriculture have in the perpective of modernization; what are the social and economic advantages of the extremely high level of commuting, and what are the drawbacks it produces or perpetuates; what are the changes in the composition of the working class, and the retrogressive and progressive features of such changes; what are the decisive features of the social and cultural "transitoriness" which is still typical of a major section of the Hungarian working class, and what are the tendencies that act towards the perpetuation of these transitory characteristics; what are the discontinuities that the stratification of the population according to way of life introduce into the social structure; what defines the professional strata in general, and intellectuals and managers in particular, in present-day Hungary; is the proportion of some 30 per cent of non-manual workers low or high compared with the country's level of development; over the past decades which fields have seen an approach in the relationship between professional and power elements within the political mechanism, and which are the fields where the rate of that process still leaves much to be desired; what type of politicians do the changing conditions call for, and what are the characteristics of the rising generation in politics; what regularities affect—and how—the selection or counter-selection of the future generation in the

various intellectual professions—to mention just some of the most important aspects of the rich enumeration of problems tackled in the first chapter of Part II.

Although the author did not primarily aim at mapping out social problems, preferring to analyse the problem of the overall development of Hungarian society and the central components of that problem, the forty-odd pages dealing with that same problem also provide a comprehensive picture of the social problems of the 1970s: the concept of deviancy, the relationships between the socio-political systems of means and goals, and the factors instrumental in the changes of the social approach to the problems. The chapter highlights the grave housing situation and all that follows from it, questions often featuring on the agenda of social debates.

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The third and closing section of the book examines the opportunities for promoting modernization, in connection with the adaptation and innovation potential of present-day Hungarian society, and some of the "bottlenecks" involved in these.

Starting out from some encouraging initiatives taken in the sixties, primarily the new system of economic management launched in 1968, the author discusses in detail the general features of the phenomena of a structural opening and closing, linked to social interests, and changes in these within the medium of social guidance; he also deals into the complex regulatory role of ideologies and value systems, and touches upon the specific "transforming" function of the political system.

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The chapter dealing with current issues of social change throws light on features of public administration and the political system from the point of view of different versions of rationality, discussing the phenomena of bureaucracy, the social roots and functions of conflicts and compromises, and analysing the opportunities for increased social participation. One of the emphatic statements of the study is linked with this: "Just as the expansion of participation in decision-making processes is not a solution, and certainly not the only solution, it is also not a question that can be decided; it is socially and historically determined. It is therefore absolutely necessary to take other factors into consideration, the most important of these in modern Hungarian society seems to be—as a lesson of the analyses in the study—the strengthening of the professional element, and an organizational "channelling" of scientific knowledge into the decision-making process."

The last chapter concentrates on questions of continuity and discontinuity in the context of modernization, and also provides a recapitulation of the ideas set forth in the volume, but this time with a greater emphasis on the past and future prospects of ideological debates, which are linked with modernization and yet raise traditional questions, and on the often analogous phenomena in the developing countries. The lessons of recent ideological debates are also summarized here. To quote an example, the author points to one of the contradictions of modernization, when "we preserve a traditional element as an asset, although it hinders modernization; and also, *vice versa*, when we consider features which in fact form part of our national identity as impeding factors." The study closes with a reference to the fundamental relationship in the process of modernization, where it is usually not only a question of "lateness," but "a different road of development" as well, and the dialectics of that relationship can be grasped only within the dynamics of the social system as a whole, in the historically concerted reciprocity of its external and internal environment. It is in this context Kálmán Kulcsár provides ideas and data concerning Hungarian society in the 1970s.

ATTILA GERGELY

ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

THE JOURNEY OF PIERRE SZÉKELY, THE SCULPTOR

From a distance, seen with the perspective afforded by time, apparently divergent movements in art assume a certain pattern, giving rise to that surprising turn of events whereby a profoundly individual activity —individual because based entirely on the play of the imagination—eventually emerges as a virtually anonymous phenomenon: the style of the epoch. Thus the artist is not alone, as he himself often believes and as we happily picture him.

The art historian is engaged in a continuous search for those little facts which act as landmarks and on which histories begin: dates. One of these, the summer of 1977, I recall to begin with. For it was then that Pierre Székely had an exhibition of his works in the museum of medieval Esztergom Castle in his native Hungary. In the introduction to the exhibition catalogue, in terms familiar to the Hungarian public for whom the catalogue was specifically intended, the sculptor defined his view of art as signification. It was his opinion that the dispute between the abstract and the figurative was a thing of the past and that it was time it was abandoned in favour of the evidence that art is a sign and that: "the sign does not resemble anything. The sign signifies something."

To illustrate this, he produced for the exhibition four five-metre long banners demonstrating in an emblematic way the different aspects of the contents of the presentation.

The few sculptures exhibited were mostly borrowed from the National Museum of Fine Arts and private collections in Budapest (in particular *Grey Matter*, the spiritual portrait of the Hungarian writer Frigyes Karinthy). There were, on the other hand, a great number of prints. The artist's idea was that the castle should not be simply used as a place to hang paintings, but rather that the exhibition should imprint itself on its environment, presenting a harmonious picture. In the courtyard a large collection of photographs gave a view of the monumental scale of the sculptor's work.

The Esztergom exhibition marks an important date in the life of Pierre Székely, for it was in that same year that Corvina Press, the Budapest publishing house, brought out a book on him.* He moved into a flat in Paris from a village in the Ile de France and also to a new studio. Having been one of the first artists to leave Paris in the post-war period, he is also perhaps one of the first to have returned. In his movements he perceives a stage in the development of his sensitivity to society around him: he chooses to live nearer to densely populated areas, realizing that silence and solitude have become sufficiently deeply engrained within him for him no longer to fear losing them.

In the same year in Athens, where the French Institute was showing his work, he opened a workshop devoted to engraving techniques. When it was over, one of his students told him that the experience had

* Pierre Joly: Pierre Székely, Budapest, 1977, Corvina, 60 pp.

taught her to face her daily work in a happier frame of mind. For his part, Székely noted after a few days that the participants showed a renewed interest in his own exhibition. On the 20th May, after the Municipal Council of Granvil, Normandy, had rejected his third plan for a monument for the Lycée Juliot de la Marandière, he proposed involving the public in the drawing up of a fourth plan, which he would then sculpt. A working group was set up under the Municipal Council. A method had to be devised for the kind of group work Székely envisaged; he described it, with a touch of humour, as "improved democracy," since the minority's view was never excluded whatever the decision taken. In fact most of the decisions were taken unanimously with the sculptor never taking part in the successive votes.

"Not only did differences of opinion not constitute obstacles in any way, they also proved to be productive," wrote one of the participants, adding, "For you no suggestion was insignificant, and it is to that respect for other people's opinions, whoever the people were and wherever they came from, that I should like to pay tribute."

After agreeing in principle on a certain option, each member of the group attempted to demonstrate his view of what had been agreed in a three-dimensional model. The sculptor then synthesized these works, expressing only one request: that the final object be a sculpture he himself could accept as his own. The result, entitled *Variation sur les Armes*, was unveiled the following summer. At the ceremony the sculptor had fixed to the wall of the Town Hall a plaque paying tribute to the active participation of the local population in the project.

Pierre Székely had been the founder of the European Institute of Granite Technology, in the conviction that technology can draw together traditionally unconnected professions. In the summer of 1978 he organized a practical workshop for the Institute in a granite quarry in Lanhélin, in Brittany. Some ten young artists from various countries (Holland, Japan, Australia, Italy, and France) took part in the work, which included notably the preparation of the elements of a large polychrome granite sculpture, *L'homme libre*, which was exhibited at the end of the summer on the concrete stand in the Défense district of Paris. In the same year, 1978, the sculptor was invited to The Hague by Joop Beljon, director of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. He there received the title of doctor *honoris causa*. Shortly afterwards he was to receive the second, from the French Minister of Culture: the *grand prix* of the *Biennale Internationale des Arts de la Rue*, awarded in recognition of his public works—the dozens of sculptures erected by him in the streets and squares of so many cities.

In autumn, heading a cultural mission to Asia for the French government, he made the trip he had long hoped for, to the Far East and held a series of talks in Japan, Hong Kong, India, and Turkey. The subject of these talks had been set by the University of Kanasawa in Japan: "Sculpture, architecture, and nature. The presence of contemporary technologies in the city." While he was in Japan he made for the town of Rikuzen Takada a large, granite sculpture entitled *Le Regard* and dedicated to André Malraux, "the visionary of a peaceful world civilisation."

On the third day of a university seminar organized on the occasion of his visit to the Buddhist Centre of Unto An, at Shiozawa, he offered to leave a memento of his visit in the form of a calligram, traced with the traditional materials but in his own particular style. In response to his offer an immense sheet of paper was placed in front of him and he was brought a large brush, while the students prepared the ink. Kneeling on the white paper, and with the help of a sketch which he made during his visit to the Malraux exhibition in Tokyo—of a wrinkled brow which had seemed to him to be particularly expressive—he outlined a large cal-

ligram. Then, "having made the sign," he said, "I remembered one of Hanna Dallos's* lessons: I outlined a large circle on the paper using pure water and I tore the paper in the shape of that circle." It was the first round calligram, which the monks placed in the centre of a modern chapel, itself circular in form. In the same room an hour later, the old master of the centre, who had dressed in white, produced a calligram covering the entire surface of a sheet of paper of the same size and offered it to the traveller as a gesture of goodwill.

After a few days in this society, the sculptor was able to establish the same pattern of relationships to which he was accustomed in Europe, completely outside the paths normally followed by travellers. He spoke with quarry workers, engineers, peasants, students, and university teachers. During all these exchanges, Székely continually sensed the richness of the discovery he had made: this discovery of the sign, which represents in a way the corner-stone of his œuvre.

The metaphor of writing helps in understanding the scope of his discovery. Of the peoples who achieve a high level of civilisation, some have begun to write, not by representing the sounds they pronounce, but their ideas. Their writing is said to be ideographic, and the word "hieroglyphs" —sacred signs—has been preserved to denote the Ancient Egyptians' ideograms. This form of written expression did indeed possess very unique characters which combined the evidence of the image and the secret of the thought. It was at the same time extremely accessible and extremely inaccessible.

Now imagine a language possessing signs invented as the need arises—not completely at random but according to certain principles of what would be termed style—and displaying a continuity of research: you will then obtain, I think, a fairly exact picture of Pierre Székely's work. But we should not allow ourselves to be deceived by the analogy: we are not talking about symbols the sense of which is clear and which reveal only ancient truths. Meant here are signs which denote new and unexplored truths. Their evidence is therefore not to be sought in the force of habit or convention but in the force of the truth they proclaim.

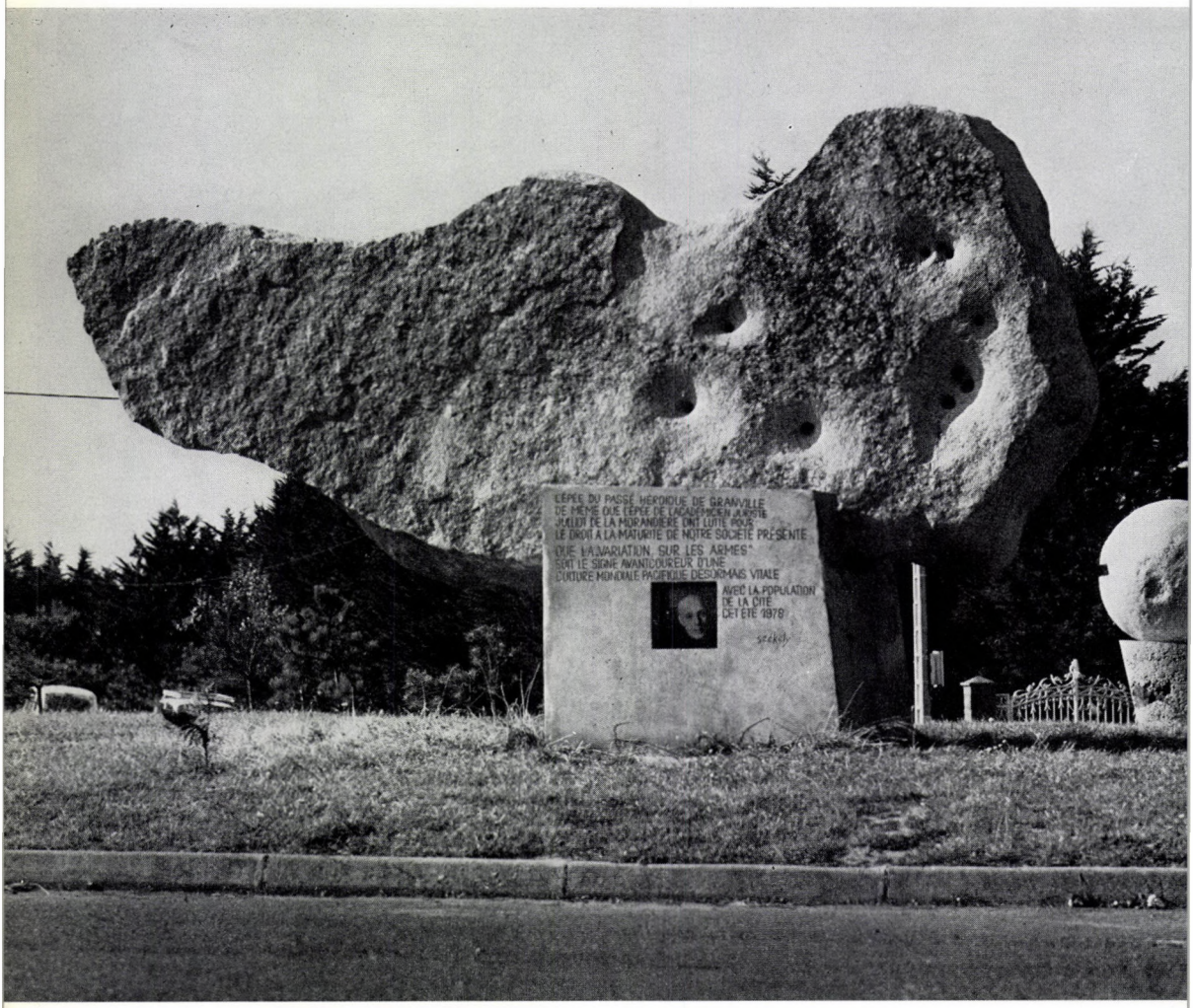
The trip to the East, that old dream of artists, could hardly fail to be echoed in this language, which is both unique to one man and yet accessible for everyone. Pierre Székely made 1979 a year of work, bound up inextricably with his reflections on this journey: for the first time for a long time an entire year devoted to working in his studio. During the course of it he produced almost a hundred sculptures and sketches: the type of souvenirs that sculptors can bring back from their own vision of things. "Asia was for me like the Spanish inn," he explained. "It didn't influence me." Is it necessary to add that what we call development in an artist is rarely a question of influence and far more a matter of land conquered, unknown territory further explored? Such is the change which has taken place in Pierre Székely's art and which is demonstrated fairly well by these new, mostly small sculptures, often coloured and sometimes composite. The sculptor brings together different materials in which he seems to discover unique textures, veins, and transparencies, their accidents like as many meanings already written into the matter; and it remains for him to find them their place, in a more complex sense. A different kind of sculpture—and yet the same!

How can the path that Pierre Székely has trod be traced? When more than a quarter of a century ago I met him for the first time I remember that he had a strange way of dividing his work between two studios: the two rather dilapidated lodges of an abandoned country house near Paris. In one of

* Székely studied with Hanna Dallos, the Hungarian graphic artist, who was killed by the Nazis in 1944.

Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY: VARIATION ON ARMS (DETAIL, GRANITE)
Lycée Juliot de la Morandière, Granvil, France



PIERRE SZÉKELY: VARIATION ON ARMS

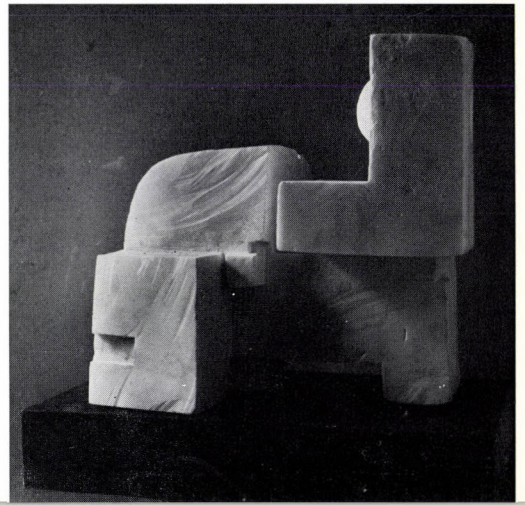
Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY: FREE MAN (POLYCHROME GRANITE)
Exhibited at the 1st Biennale Internationale des Arts de la Rue,
Paris—La Défense, 1979

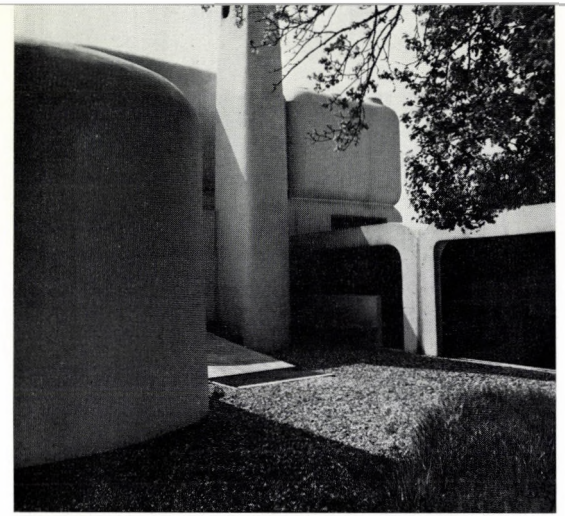
Pierre Székely:
Foremother
(pyrenean
red marble,
33 cm, 1980)
Vera Cardot

Pierre Székely:
Forefather
(pyrenean
red marble,
33 cm, 1980)

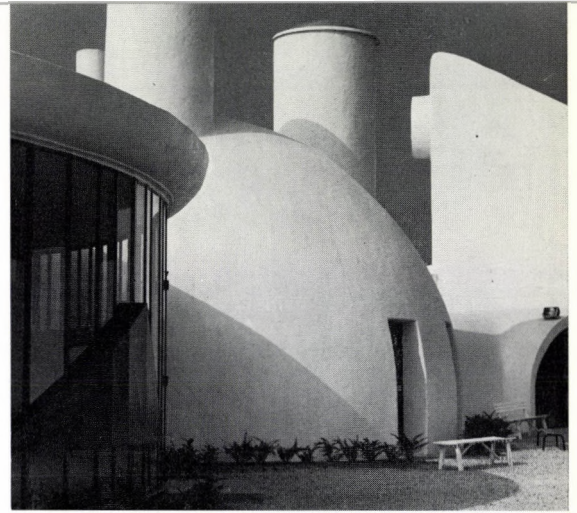
Pierre Székely:
Bird lady
(portuguese
pink marble,
large 37 cm, 1980)



Pierre Székely:
Basic movement
(white marble,
32 cm, 1961)
Private collection,
New York
Vera Cardot



PIERRE SZÉKELY:
MAISON D'ART
(for Mrs. Mulleron, Essonne,
1972–1974)
Vera Cardot



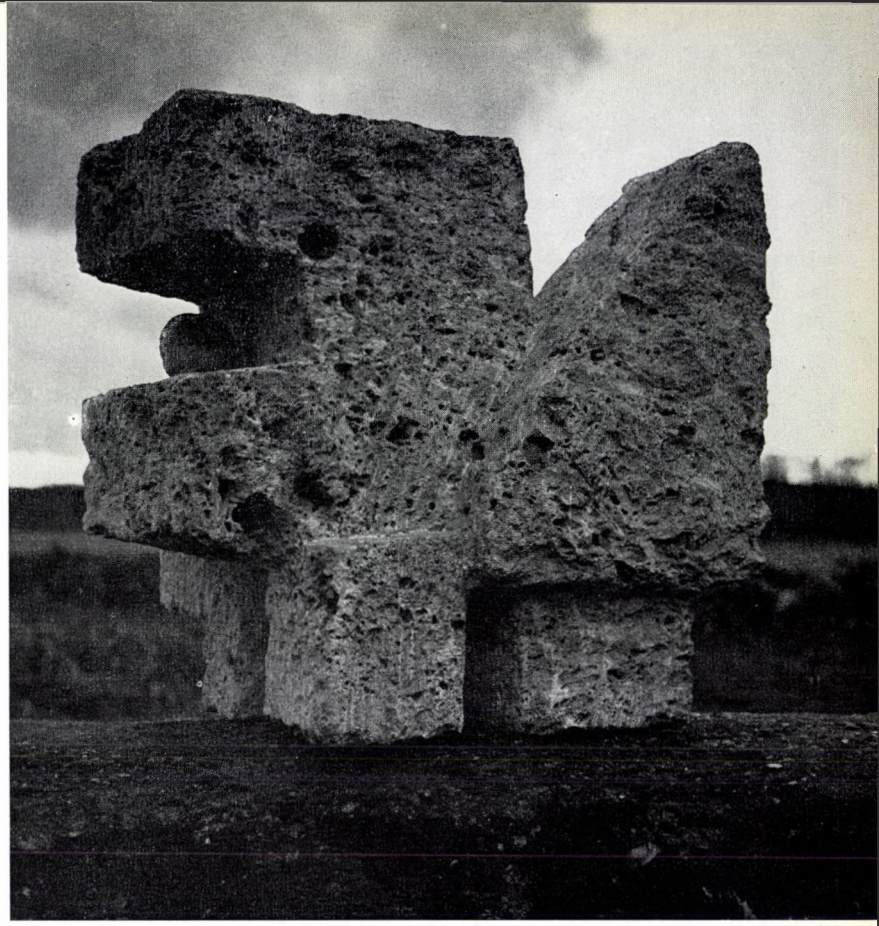
PIERRE SZÉKELY:
HOLIDAY RESORT
IN BEG MEIL (Finistère)
(In collaboration with
Henri Mouette and
François Lilivier, 1965–1969)
Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY:
THE CARMELITE
CHURCH AT VALENCIENNES
(In collaboration with
Claude Guislain, 1963–1966)
Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY:
THE LADY OF THE LAKE
(CONVERTE, 170 CM 1975, Evry)
Vera Cardot

Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY: SIGN OF THE CITY (GRANITE, 600 CM, 1968)
Cité Scolaire de Vernon, Eure, France

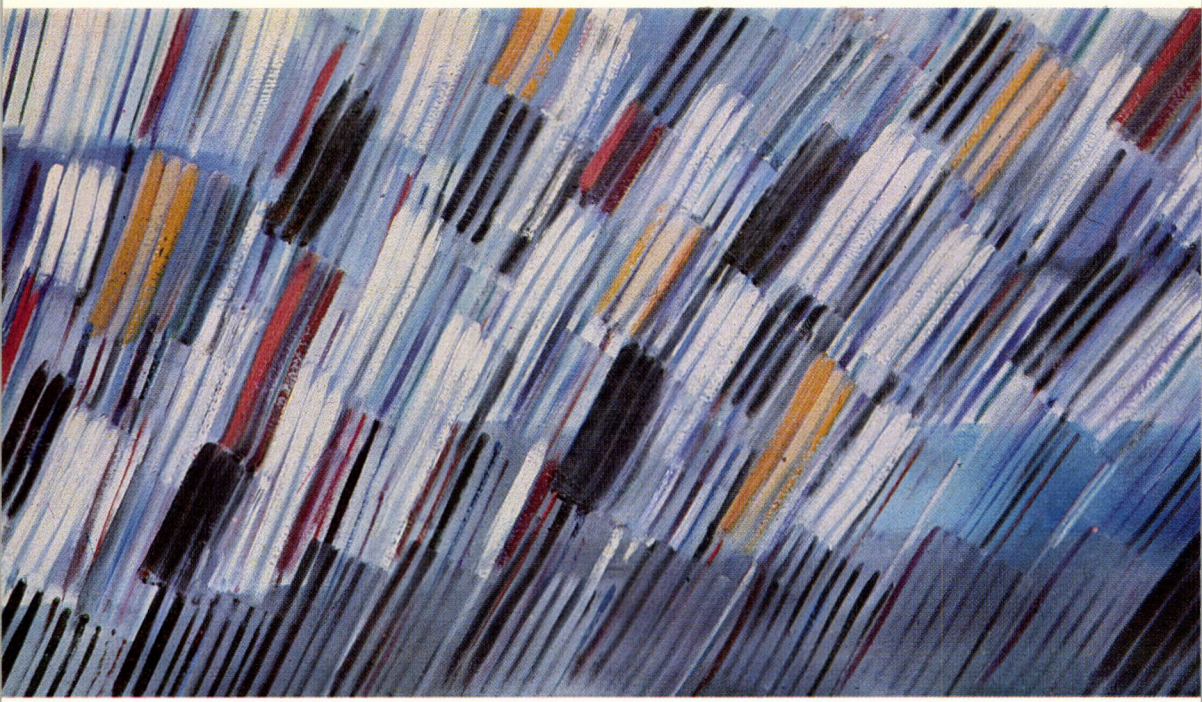


Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY: VERB (TUFF, 49 CM, 1960)
Collection Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris

Vera Cardot

PIERRE SZÉKELY: SPEECH (GRANITE, 1971) Université des Sciences Sociales, Grenoble, France

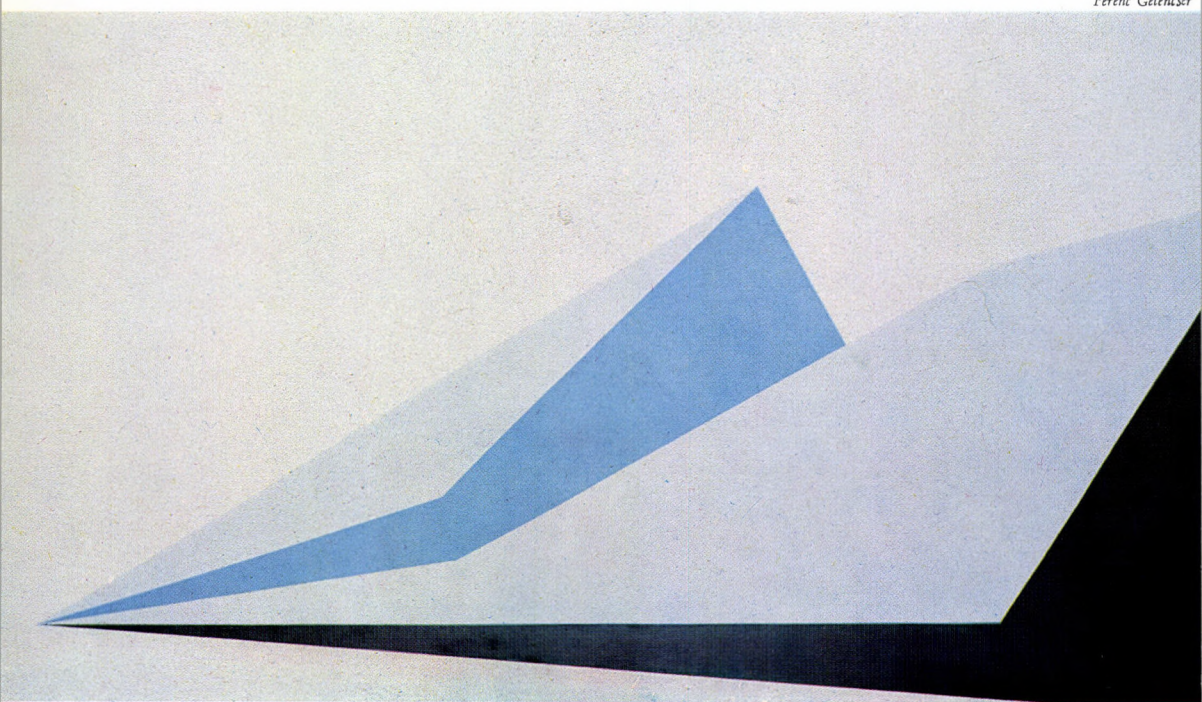


Ferenc Gelencsér

István Nádler: Xenaxis — Diamorphoses (oil, canvas, 1981)

István Nádler: In white space II. (oil, canvas, 1981)

Ferenc Gelencsér



these he sculpted from stone, in the other he composed surprising assemblages from *objets trouvés*. This was his own way of exploring simultaneously the two apparently contradictory trends in the Paris avant-garde: the legacy of surrealism and the completely new abstraction. The way he chose was not a middle course. Art does not accommodate compromise: he prefers to invent. But there is a possible risk of sacrificing something of the past on the way. In the end, though, his art will not lose: in some of his recent works I have the feeling that Pierre Székely has managed to solve the contradiction for himself. He has drawn together his heritage.

"My new studio, in the Défense," he wrote to me, "has turned into the harmonious home of two opposites."

These words could serve as a conclusion to these biographical notes. Other events, however, deserve mention: for example, two Japanese students from the University of Kanasawa joined the master of their choice in his Défense stuido for a time before becoming masters themselves, as their country's tradition goes. They assisted Pierre Székely in his preparations in Paris for his first personal exhibition there for many years. Then there is the fact that the sculptor received several orders for monuments, for which he first prepared the models and which, at the time of writing this article, he is engaged in producing in a granite quarry in the north of Britanny. The University of Liège in Belgium invited him to report on his trip to the Far East. Two bronze medals, *Europa* and *Au Japon*, were founded.

Finally it was announced that in autumn Székely would have the opportunity of bringing together the main part of his considerable œuvre in the Hôtel de la Monnaie in the attractive left-bank quarter of Paris. It will then be possible to assess the contribution to the history of contemporary art of works that escape the traditional categories in which artistic practices have been classified in recent years. "My sculptures are neither abstract nor naturalistic," wrote the sculptor, "they are significative."

PIERRE JOLY

MOTION, SPACE, KINETICS

Tamás Hencze, Mária Lugossy, István Haraszty

"Painting in black and white has always attracted me, as has that kind of borderline work which is in fact no longer painting and yet which has to be classified as such. After all my 'lovely colourful pictures' (which fall within the broader groups of impressionism, Fauvism, lyrical abstraction, etc.) the door leading back to that no-man's land has perhaps remained open," wrote Tamás Hencze* in the catalogue to his exhibition at Budapest's Dorottya utca Gallery. Hencze uses traditional oil on canvas (but he does not frame his pictures, this, as we shall see, is part of his style of expression), though he uses a rubber roller instead of a brush to apply paint, and one notices at the exhibition the larger than usual size of his panel pictures (usually 245 × 120 cm). He has broken with the oblong form; all his canvases, without exception, are now in the shape of a symmetrical trapezium or triangle, most of the latter set on their vertex; this position, however, is typical not of the picture, merely of this one exhibition.

Hencze has always inclined to colour reduction; he made his name with his black-and-white panels, and only later made space for pink, red, and yellow. For this exhibition he has returned to the black, white, and grey trio: although not wishing to become

* See also *NHQ* 68.

dogmatic, he painted a golden yellow stripe, 40 centimetres long, in one of his works *(Triangular Space II)*.

In his oblong pictures he liked to paint in pseudo-frames. He has not abandoned this now: in most cases he surrounds the white, the void, with what deceptively appears to be a convex frame of pseudo-plasticity. While colour and form are both reduced, Hencze's principles of construction have remained the same; there is no pleonasm. Because his selected paraphernalia do not act as décor; instead they are the structural coefficients of his message. In the trapezium, for example, he leaves a slanting oblong black *(Black Trapezium)*, or provides it with thick stripes, the elements of which are identical with the pseudo-frame *(White Trapezium)*. Other works reveal reminiscences of the exhibition *(Fire Images)* he held a few years ago, where he paints a narrow, amorphous, black trail along the border of the picture, as if it had once been caught at by a flame, a mere hint of burning, as in some of his other works which suggest a golden yellow stripe. The series of pictures entitled *Black Space* are placed upside down, and Hencze has in addition to that given them yet another turn; the painted pseudo-frame is now the white, while the white of the canvas has become black. Former works by Hencze were characterized by a certain, sometimes concealed, dynamism; this collection is one of "imaginary spaces of dampened down motion," as the artist himself described it. At the exhibition a television reporter chaffed him: "Why is space triangular?" "Have you any idea how many angles it has?" Hencze retorted.

This "conservative" exhibition is also an Environment. Before even starting to paint the pictures, Tamás Hencze went, like a tailor, to the Gallery to take its measurements. The exhibition forms a unity with the hall it is held in, the pictures in a sense form the fittings; and the eight paintings actually comprise a single work, though the order of pictures in Hencze's exhibition could not be determined in advance. These triangles and trapezia are complete in themselves; a reshuffling of the pictures would yield a different, yet complete exhibition of Hencze's work.

It is not only in colour that this collection is reduced: it also displays a minimum of form and action, with sparing gestures. The main characteristics of Hencze's work are extreme purity, a discipline carried to the very limit, and a fundamental reserve, though it includes lyricism and indeed emotion. His pictures demonstrate a kind of geometry, the constituents of which include a certain impressionism, but without any of its eventuality.

These in their overstrung yet cold way are distinguished pictures.

*

Mária Lugossy's* very first works, a mere four or five years ago, even then displayed great maturity. It would be difficult to talk about the development of this young artist: one should perhaps merely say that she is different from time to time. And this not only because she continually changes her materials: from stainless steel to silver, to glass, to plexi, etc. Her exhibition in the Dorottya utca Gallery, entitled *Accelerated Space*, occupied 65 cubic metres, taking up some two-thirds of the room. One room – one artist – one work. A sculptor certainly needs a good deal of courage to embark on such a task, success being his only possible justification. Such was the case for Lugossy. In *Accelerated Space* she tackled the tremendous task of harnessing a fourth horse—time—alongside the three classical dimensions, to her symbolic chariot.

Accelerated Time is a construction of rhombic prisms, and later triangular ground-plan, ranged beside each other and rising like a ramp. They are of ascending tendency, with a common peak. There are three little streets left within and among them for the

* See also *NHQ* 70, 77.

visitor to walk along. To go into greater detail: the plywood polyhedra, painted black, start out clumsily from the floor, to be followed by the next section, consisting of equally dark-coloured iron plates, then by shining aluminium plating, and finally the pointed top of the complex is bordered by triangles cut out of sand-blast glass panes. These glass sheets are illuminated from within by bright lamps. From its clumsy beginnings, the various phases of the structure become more and more graceful and subtle. This gradation could be likened to that of a creeper: starting out from the plant's crusted stem grow weary, dusty dark-green tendrils, higher up come the bottle-greens, until finally the fierce green young shoots appear freshly sprouting at the top.

The triangular prisms run upwards, always upwards, tapering convergently with their edges towards the left-hand corner of the room, indicating acceleration by this self-inflicted enclosed space and according to the laws of physics. The broad-bodied plastic elements spread on the ground are still punctilious, while higher up motion becomes increasingly fast. At the bottom is the compressed crushed wood, painted black, to be replaced at the top by almost incorporeal, brightly-lit lit glass prisms. In a way, the room can be seen as a box for the exhibition, into which the artist has crammed her protagonists. Or this whole tectonic work may be viewed as the cut surface of a slice of cake viewed from an adequate viewpoint (because Lugossy has left free another narrow street along the inside wall from where one can also study the cross-section).

Wherever one stands, whether looking at the *total* (as did the photographer of the reproduction shown here) or entering one of the streets, one immediately feels oneself to be inside this fascinating *Accelerated Space*. One has the impression of having become a character in, and indeed a co-author of, this Lugossy mystery.

A goldsmith by profession, Mária Lugossy first became known for her jewels and figurines. Yet *Accelerated Space* is not an enlarged small sculpture, but a monumental work; and this not merely because of its dimensions, but because of its order of magnitude.

The cycle of small sculptures also on display do not seem superfluous, as they are the prototypes for *Accelerated Space*. The concept behind them is the same, as is the form and even the artistic attitude. Only the elaboration of the small forms is completely different from that of the large-scale pieces. Lugossy has developed these handfuls of objects (dating from 1980) more precisely than any jewels or surgical instruments: *Silence I* of quartz crystal, chromium steel and plexiglass, *Silence II* of chromium steel and plexi, and *Reflections* of glass and chrome steel.

*

I reviewed István Haraszty's exhibition of mobiles at Székesfehérvár in this column in 1977,* and now, four years later, I am not going to repeat that analysis of his earlier works which are now on show at his one-man show in the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, especially as there are plenty of new works to talk about.

Haraszty differs basically from the other representatives of kinetic art. He does not want to use technical means in his presentation of a painting or sculpture, and he has not sought a mechanical formal idiom to express his own aesthetics; instead he has started out, in an autochthonous way, from the technical side. "I had started to construct mobile structures," he recalls, "long before I knew about the word 'art'." His inborn technical flair is so highly developed that he is easily capable of realizing his ideas and demands by instinctive improvisation, naturally coupled with a vast professional knowledge. Unlike other kinetic artists, Haraszty prepares everything himself, without the aid of any commercial enterprise or

* See also *NHQ* 69, 73.

craftsman. He considers that action and beauty of form are inseparable; and, for example, he applies paint to his mobiles not so as to make them beautiful but "so that they do not corrode."

The gala hall of the museum houses works which are just as typical of Haraszty as his retrospective four years ago; and yet the message of the two exhibitions is decisively different. This is demonstrated well by drawing a parallel between the following two works. *Fig-stoner*, the principal work of the first exhibition (now in the possession of the Lehmbruck Museum in Duisburg) was a structure, nearly 3 metres high, slashed into acts and functioning according to a complex choreography.

The central piece of the current exhibition, *Brain Cannon*, is an envolved descendant of *Fig-stoner*. However playful, *Brain Cannon* already has a moral parabole concealed within it, with open irony as one of its coefficients. This iron construction is not so much a machine as a section of a factory. It is 240×270×70 centimetres in size, weighing half a ton, with 40 receiver relays, moving 200 glittering steel balls out of ball bearings, according to an adequate system of programming. It took the artist 3,135 working hours to complete *Brain Cannon*, the programme of which lasts for 20 minutes 40 seconds. Visitors to the museum can watch the performance from comfortable chairs. The plot consists of the course of the balls, their roll, trundle, assembling, closing up, lift and fall. There are moments when the balls run excitedly helter-skelter, at other times they stop short or knock against each other, and quite often they fall out of the machine: this is not a fault of the structure, as the machine possesses free will. The course of the balls is followed by lifts, and the movements of the arms are accompanied by light, clatter and bell-effects. As I myself witnessed, the performance always holds the audience spellbound, and it is not difficult to associate the balls with human ambitions, jostling, fights, rise and downfall, the motion of society as a whole. *Brain Cannon* is the realization of Parkinson's Law in mechanics, electricity, and electronics.

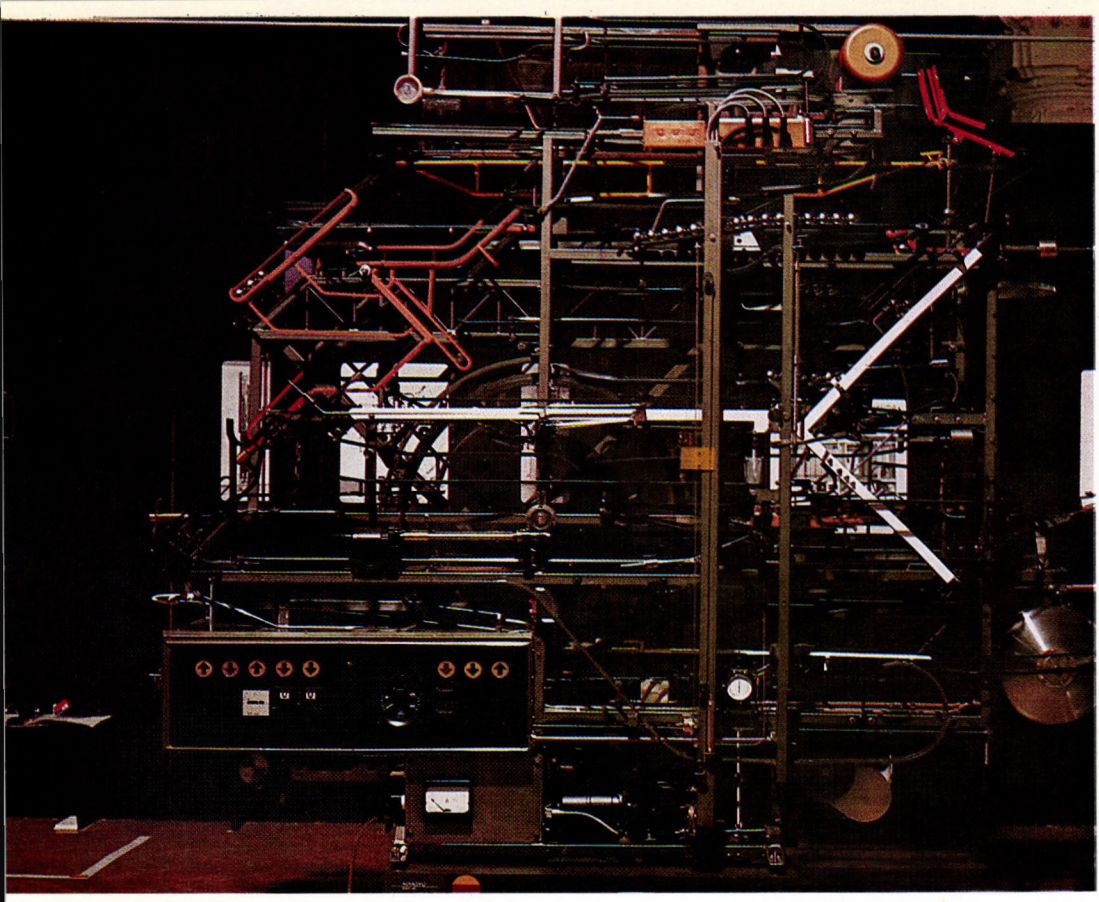
The smaller pieces, although related to *Brain Cannon*, are of smaller momentum; I would call them rather technical gags. *Anemoscope* is a regular naval brass compass, but it is connected to the *Weather-Cock* at the opposite end of the hall. Whatever direction the wind blows from—or rather whichever direction one tips the weather-cock—it at once indicates *North*. It always appears at a different direction, according to "whichever way the wind is blowing"; *Pink Thread-Cross* enmeshes the screen of a closed circuit television. You can watch yourself on it, through the transmission of two hidden cameras, and if your face comes to the centre of the thread-cross, you hear machine-gun fire, you can even take fright if you so wish. The forbidding factory check-in clock on the other hands is a dream come true. The visitor himself can give a try at the timecards, the more so as Haraszty's check-in clock will print on everyone's timecard: "You are not late yet".

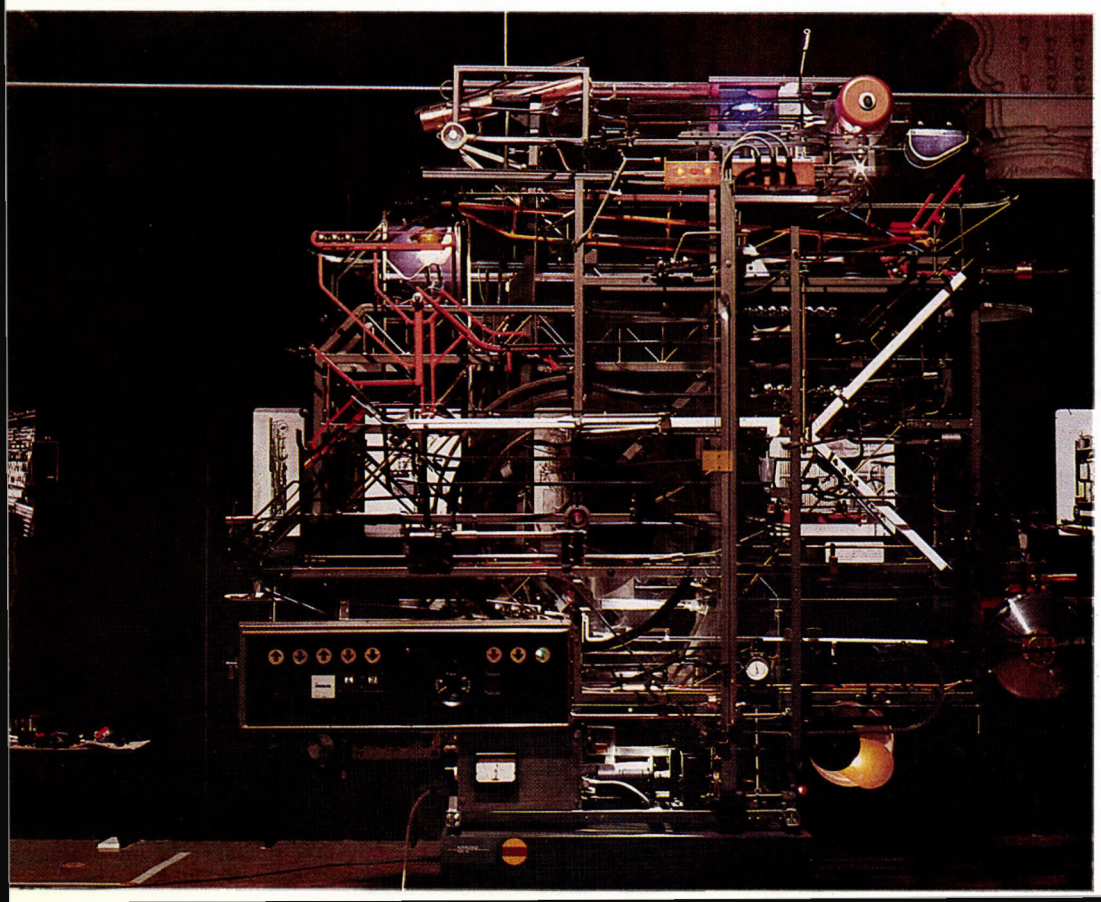
The series of medals form a special section of the exhibition. For the most part they are unusually large (16.5 cm in diameter and 5 cm thick) polished brass discs. The two cogged bands of the medal *In Memory of Being Free of Rats* close from the warmth of one's hand; the brass body of *Computer* has six copper push-buttons which are moved electronically, without being touched; *Relation (Lukewarm Water)* displays a technical bravura: its copper disc keeps rotating but the ball placed on it remains immobile, obviously with the help of magnets. Earlier I wrote that Haraszty's mobiles are never aesthetized: the medals are an exception to this rule. In their noble material, masterly elaboration, forms and proportions they are constructive plastic art *par excellence*. And yet these treasures carry the same content as the plebeian machines.

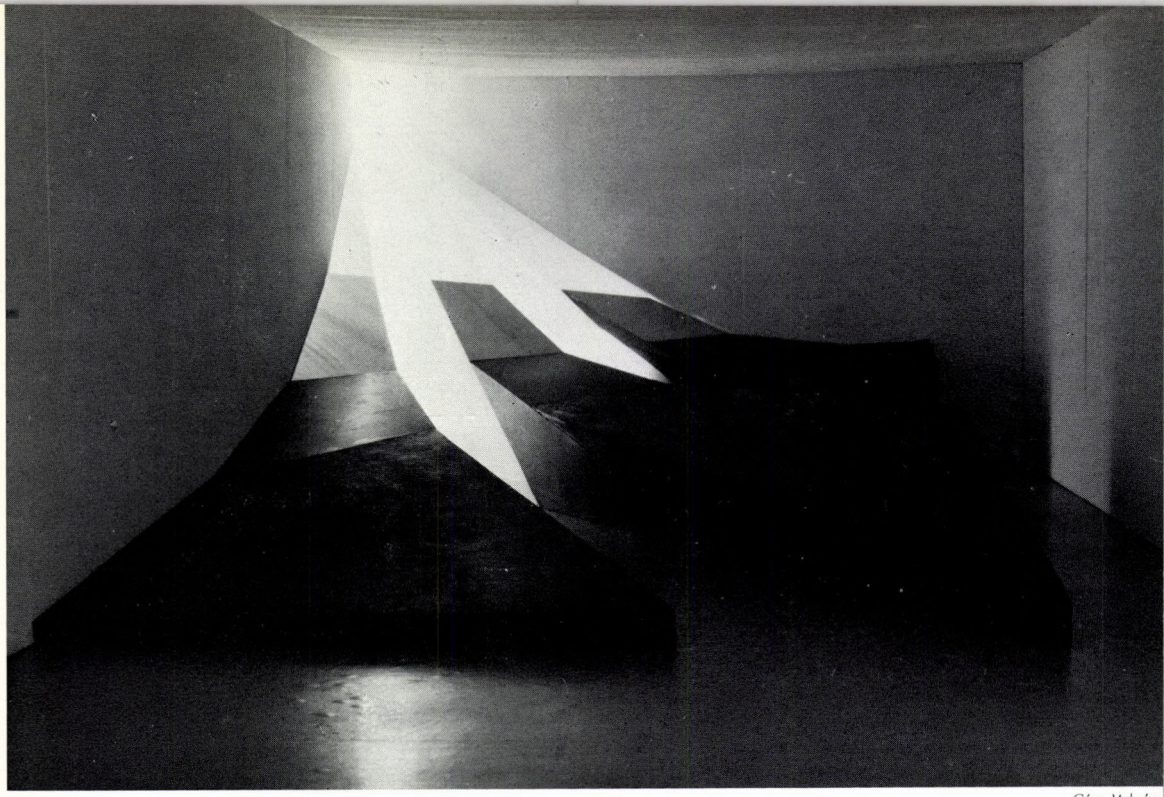
JÁNOS FRANK

ISTVÁN HARASZTY: BRAIN CANON (MOBILE, IRON, STEEL, NON-FERROUS METALS, 240×270×70 CM, 1981) ►

The author's photos





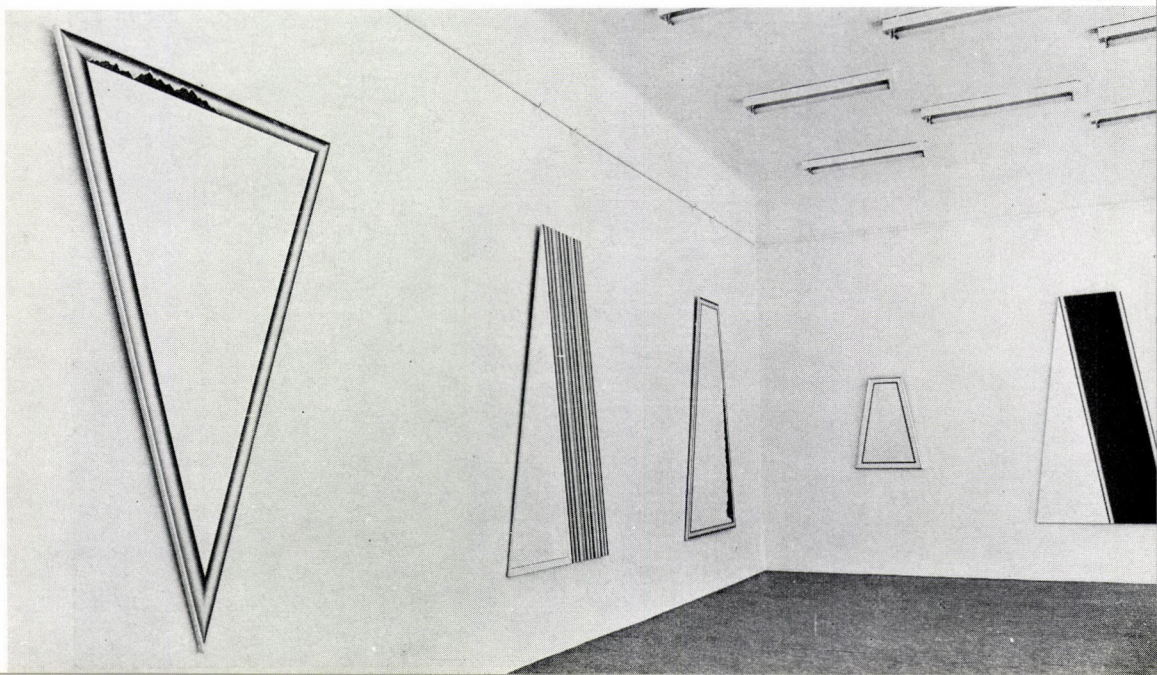


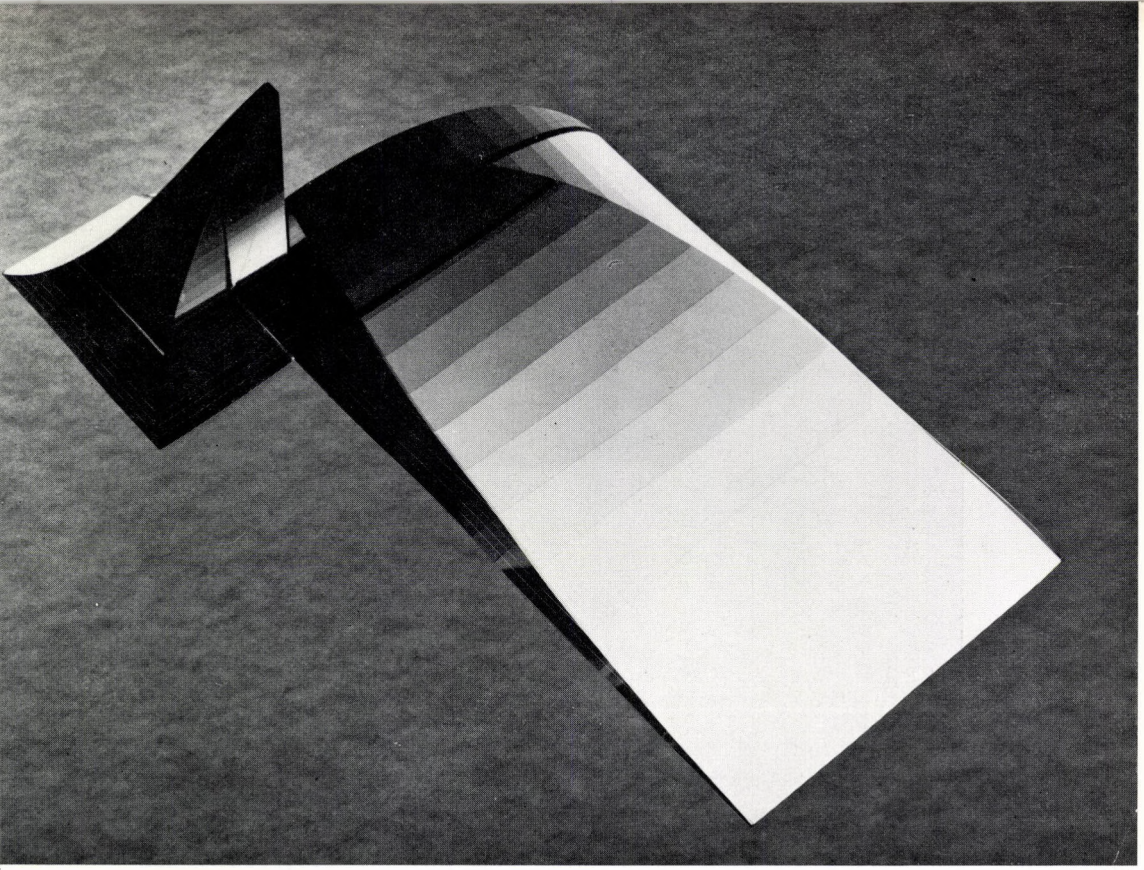
Géza Molnár

Mária Lugossy: Accelerated time (painted fibre board, iron plate, aluminium plate, sand-blasted glass, bulb, 270 × 400 × 600 cm, 1981)

Tamás Hencze: Black trapezoid (oil, canvas, 245 × 150 cm, 1981); Frame I. (offset paint. paper, 102 × 73 cm, 1981); Dark space (oil, canvas, 245 × 120 cm, 1981); White trapezoid (oil, canvas, 245 × 150 cm, 1981); Triangle I. coil, canvas, 245 × 150 cm, 1981)

Margit Bakos



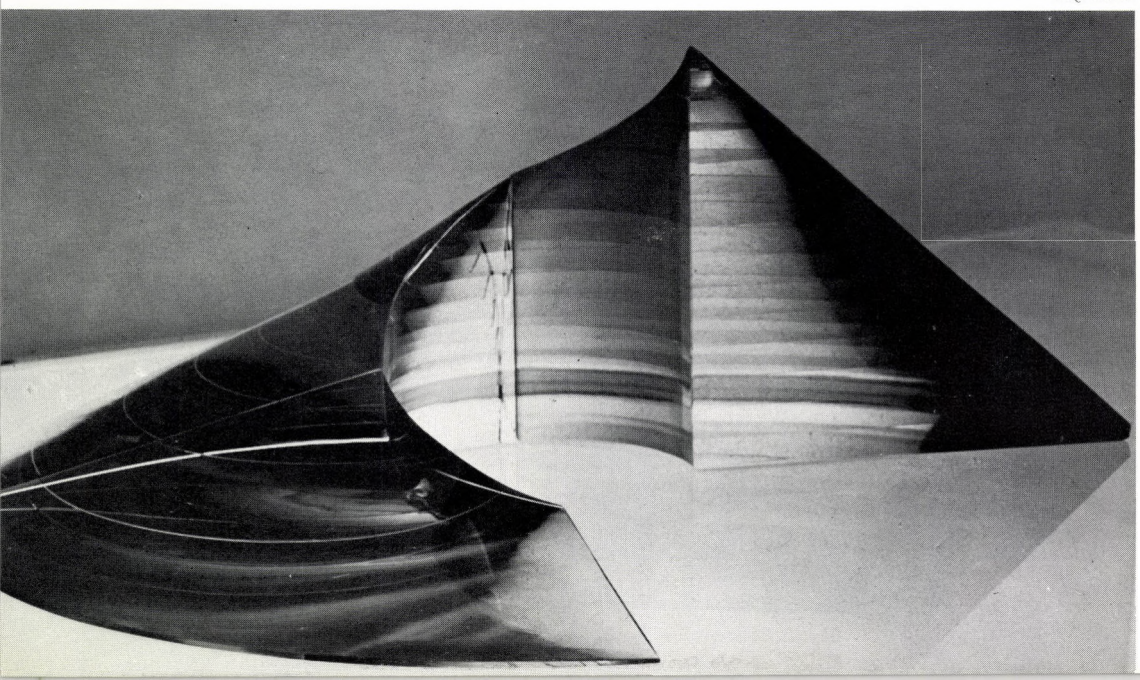


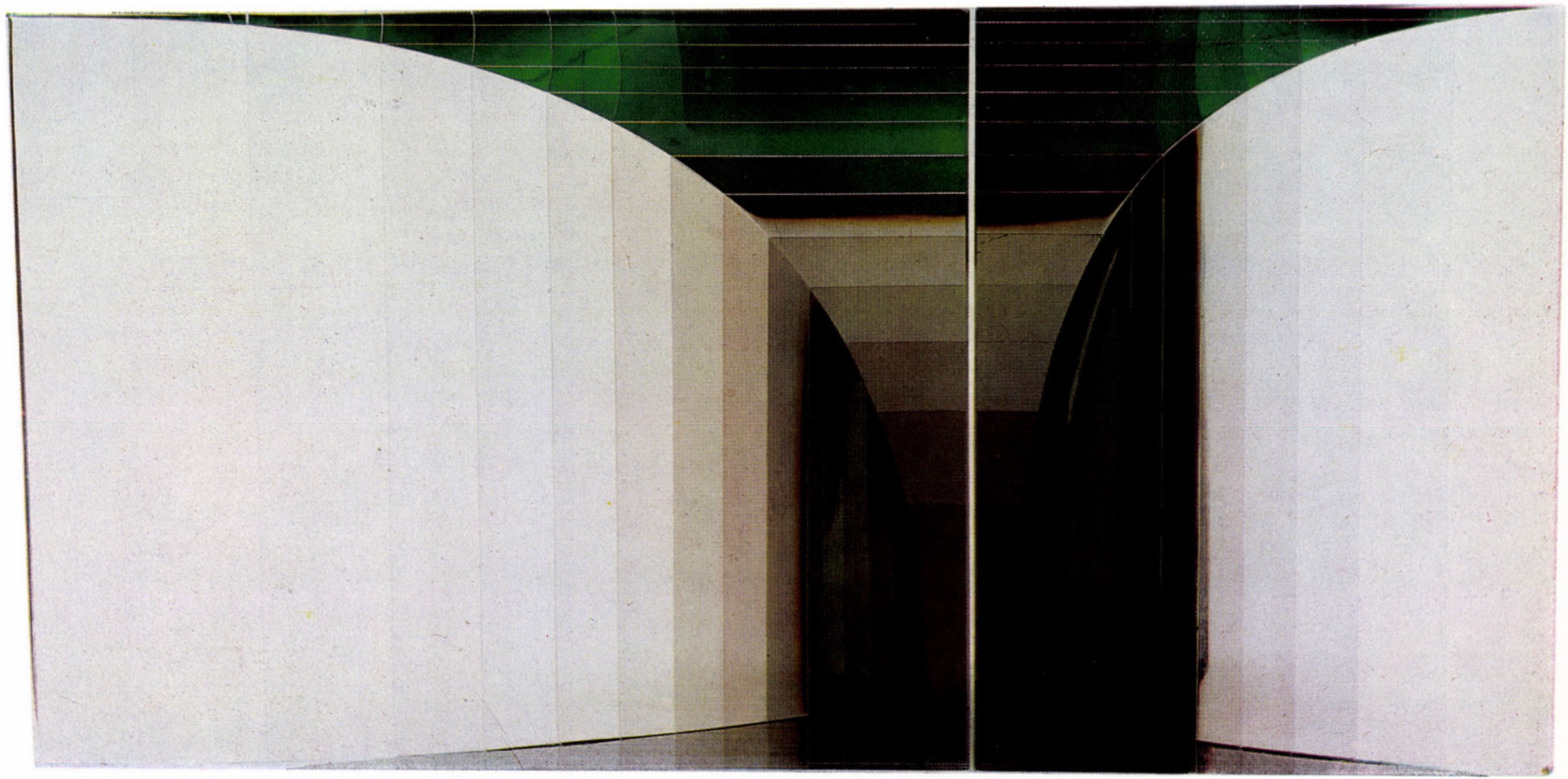
Géza Molnár

ZOLTÁN BOHUS: HELICAL FORM IN SPACE II.
(CEMENTED GLASS, 15 × 39 × 39 CM, 1978)

ZOLTÁN BOHUS: FORMULA I. (GLASS, 21 × 48 × 34 CM, 1980)

Géza Molnár





Géza Molnár

ZOLTÁN BOHUS: FORMULA IV. (CEMENTED GLASS, 40 × 20 × 15, 1981)

FROM CONCEPT ART TO CALLIGRAPHY

Zoltán Bohus, István Nádler, El Kazovsky

"Glass Spaces," the recent exhibition by Zoltán Bohus is one of the "Spatial Arrangement, Object Modelling" series of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts*. The works of Bohus can be divided into three parts: the first of these are the works dating from 1978 and given the title "Imaginary Space"; the artist's intention was to exemplify in them the nature of internal and external space and their inter-relationship. The model on show, reduced to one-tenth of the original size, demonstrates the extent to which this intention was realized in that the gaps between the glass plates, which are placed on a square surface, allow the circumscribed and the external media to flow freely into each other. This series, consisting of five works, will appear to the spectator to be a play of forms, dominated by the straightened, upwards-progressing, spiral line.

Beside this conceptual "space series," the glass compositions represent a completely different world. These are composed of layers of glass, stuck together, with a deliberate utilization of the colourfulness of the material. New, and renewed, combinations demonstrate the relationship existing between external form and "internal" space.

In the earliest item of the "Space Spiral" series, made in 1977, greenish glass plates are placed in layers on a three-quarter-circle segment base; the interior of the configuration has been carved out along a spiral line and in its interior constitutes an empty form. The horizontal layer-lines form an arch and thus repeat the spiralled cuttings, rhytmically enhancing their effect. The lighting produces vertical strips of light going in inverse direction. The same essential structural concept materializes, in different forms, in his further two pieces (1978 and 1981); these are variations of a tent-shaped form ending in a towering conical peak and spreading out the glass layers along an ascending spiral line.

The set of works "Formula" embodies a different concept: the spiral structure has been replaced by rhythmical layer-lines disposed horizontally or vertically. In the bronze-toned composition "Formula VI" (1981) the layers rise above each other like stairs and the curved cut of the external form also serves this stratified effect i.e. the ensuing rhythm of forms and lines, the gradual darkening and lightening of the glass layers. "Formula V" contains a new element apart from the play of the darkening and lightening layers; within the compact material an illusory space emerges; this embryonic concept comes into full architectonic bloom in "Formula IV" (1981).

*

István Nádler** has exhibited his works several times in the last fifteen years; he is now in his third period of creation. This in itself is neither an advantage nor a disadvantage but, to those who know his work, it demonstrates his unquestionable artistic vitality which manifests itself in a ceaseless re-evaluation of the past and the forceful transformation of his established artistic personality. In his first period he created geometrical organic figures from vivid, exuberantly coloured plane forms; the inspiration for these was found in Hungarian folk art and the attempts being made in contemporary West European art to use elementary forms and unrelieved colour surfaces. In the second period he checked his expressive colourfulness and focused his attention on the plane geometrical form, producing the effect of space, and also on unfolding a progression of artistic logic. Towards the end

* See also *NHQ* 71.

** See also *NHQ* 71.

of this period this progression became action, the colours recovered their expressive resonance and the geometrical form itself became a vehicle for mental, intellectual content. The public witnessed this artistic transformation at the exhibition in Székesfehérvár where the last results of the geometrical, form-reducing and serial period were on display, together with the proof that Nádler had definitely broken with that period, and the beginnings of the new, third period.

Here, on the ground floor of the István Csók Gallery the figures in his pictures float, appearing to fly against a white background (e.g. "In White Space" and "Sand Bird"). As in his earlier period, Nádler builds up his paintings from geometric figures placed in the picture-plane; but these thin, winding, sharp-angled form-clusters do not only produce their own stereometric effect and perspectivic illusion, but also become a starting-point for the evocation of a wider content. The use of colours also enhances this impression because Nádler creates extraordinarily sophisticated, ethereal colour ensembles which match his floating forms. The dark reds, blues, and blacks against the white background and among accompanying greys offer a full-blooded and vital impression. The painter, however, pays careful attention to the contrast effect and the balance of colour dynamics, and complements the minute cells of the stronger and more emphatic colours with masses of light, neutral colour fields.

The first pieces of Nádler's new period of activity are calligraphies, with coloured or black brush traces on white paper; the paint is thicker around certain points of impact, and the receding brush motions surround the crater of paint with a rarer, and dimmer, network of lines. Elsewhere the brush traces and patches disintegrate into bundles of lines which bow hither and thither, become crossed and entangled, and thus evoke an imaginary writing.

The simple, almost unrelieved calligraphic compositions are followed by stratified pictures where the calligraphic brush traces horizontal or vertical forms. The horizontal structure appears in an infinitely varied and yet seemingly permanent system of punch-card points. The tiny points can be regarded as a mechanical type of background, but also as the basic motifs of a variation system of smudged patches, fields of different colours, calligraphic brush traces and other layered Tachist or impressionistic configurations. In the carpet-like pattern the fixed rhythm of the material organization is linked with the playful and impulsive form of realization, gesture is linked with system, as is hinted at by one of Nádler's titles; from the various motif-fractions emerges a multi-layered picturesque structure, the elements of which preserve their original face and yet coexist in that particular conglomerate.

*

"Blood" flows freely in the exhibition by El (Elena) Kazovsky * in the Ferencváros Basement Gallery; of course the blood is, as in the cinema, merely artificial. The running red paint emerges here and there on the objects and puppets of the furnishings. This is a red, white, and black world peopled by the alabaster figures of woman idols and dog silhouettes. The tall, slender, long-robed stereotype figure appears on chairs and in crates, free or behind bars; it has dropped in from somewhere around the turn of the century, with its faithful companion the dog whose feather-broom wings indicate that here the elements of reality are utilized with utter freedom within the framework of a system which today's fashion likes to call individual mythology. Strings and bars, nets and other ties interlace this world, objectifying the brutal necessity of the relationship of the figures and their surrounding environment. In the revelation of this hidden level of existence the artist does not economize on crude and obscene effects, al-

* *NHQ* 60.

ways remaining on a general level. Real, human action is missing here, and the term still-life recurring in the titles indicates both the specific quality of that particular life-material and the awareness and deliberate utilization of the limits of this special system of rendering.

The "Dual-Level Still Life" replaces the human figures on the surface with the "blood shedding society" of reptiles living in sewers. The relationships depicted in the pictures are gentler, the dissected, disjointed puppets, the ladies dressed in the lingerie of the turn of the century, regard themselves in the surface of the water. Apart from the fencing, struggling figures of the "Duel", there is not much action in these pictures. Artificial poses, stage-like scenery signal the fictitiousness of the scenes while the vehicle for the figures is the ensemble of dissonant, strident colours, pinks and greens, blues and yellows, which, although repugnant, is full of inner tension. The quest for crude, non-aesthetic, anti-conventional effects evokes the revolt, dissonance, and deformations of expressionism; but El Kazovsky, a determined personality both as artist and thinker, identifies with the attitude of the early years of the century not through formal epigonism but with her similar attitude to life.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

MÁTÉ MAJOR

MARCEL BREUER AND HUNGARY

Lajos Marcel Breuer was born on May 21, 1902 in Pécs, and died on July 1, 1981, in New York. His birthplace is in Southern Hungary, in that beautiful, almost Mediterranean city which has produced many important scholars and artists including three architects who started their careers in the Weimar Bauhaus and became pioneers of the "new architecture." One of them was Farkas Molnár (1897–1945), the first to spread and realize the Bauhaus principles and methods in Hungary; the second was Alfréd Forbát (1897–1971), who worked in many parts of Europe, then in his native town, and finally, until his death, in Sweden. The third was Marcel Breuer, the first Hungarian architect to become world-famous.

Breuer had his elementary and secondary schooling in Pécs. The political reaction after the fall of the Hungarian Republic of Councils and the *numerus clausus* applied at the university were the main reasons for his leaving the country. He followed his inclinations and went to Weimar, in Germany, where he was among the first disciples who studied with Walter Gropius, the founder of the Bauhaus and under the guidance of the initiators of the avant-garde in art and architecture. By 1924 he was a teacher in that excellent workshop-school, and a collaborator of Gropius.

His work as teacher and creative artist unfolded in Dessau. What first brought the young man recognition were his steel tube chairs and especially the simple chair formed from a single tube, with a textile or cane seat. The perfect use of the natural elasticity of the bent tube in the console of the seats is even today admirable.

Breuer left the Bauhaus in 1928, at the same time as Gropius, and like him, settled in Berlin. However, on Hitler's rise to power he too had to leave Germany.

After some years spent wandering around Europe he came back to Hungary in autumn 1934 with the intention of settling here and contributing to Hungarian culture through

his building design. He did not succeed in his aim. The Hungarian Chamber of Engineers, the controlling body of the profession, was shifting increasingly to the right and refused to admit Breuer among its members. He was thus not allowed to engage in design work, and had to take up his travels again.

Between 1934 and 1936 he completed an early example of his work in Switzerland: two villas in the Doldertal near Zurich. Their functionalism, graceful elegance, and integration into the landscape make them pure examples of Breuer's architecture. He collaborated with two Swiss colleagues, Emil and Alfred Roth.

From Switzerland Breuer moved to England; between 1935 and 1937 he designed several buildings with F. R. S. Yorke. Then, together with Gropius, he was invited to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to take up the professorship of architecture at Harvard University. Breuer and Gropius taught and designed there until 1946 when they went their separate ways. Breuer went to New York and opened at contractor's office; he engaged younger architects and directed the office for the 35 years up to his death. His mature works were created there.

There is only space to mention a few works of this period to reminds us of his art as an architect. His family houses were all masterpieces, among them what is sometimes called the first Breuer house in New Canaan, Connecticut, built in 1947. Among his public buildings we should mention the UNESCO residence in Paris (1953–1958) designed in collaboration with Nervi, Zehrfuss, and others, or the de Bijenkorf department store in Rotterdam (1953–1957), in association with Elzar. In front of the simple, smooth block stands the 25 metres high Naum Gabo sculpture. At the same time as the above he started on a group of buildings for St. John's Abbey and University for the Benedictine order (1953–1961) in Collegeville, Minnesota. They include the church, the chapter hall, and the two-storey monastery with its emphatic motif of the giant reinforced concrete belfry rising before the front entrance of the church. Breuer also designed a student hostel, student centre, and lecture hall for the New York University in the Bronx (1956–1961), as well as the equally typical IBM Research Centre in La Gaude, France, set into the wonderful Côte d'Azur landscape (1960–1961). Another masterpiece is the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York (1963–1966). In 1964 he opened an office in Paris to deal with important commissions in France and other European countries. This was his period of large-scale projects such as the Flaine winter resort in Haute Savoie (1960–1969) with accommodation for 6,000 guests, and a new residential quarter in Bayonne (1963–1970), for 15,000 people. To close what is a meagre list, let us mention one luxury mansion, the Koerfer mansion in Moscia, Switzerland (1963–1967).

These are really random examples because there are over a hundred works of similar quality not to mention those which did not go past the design stage. Some of his works were credited also to one or two outstanding architects in his office, who identified themselves with the architectural attitude of their master. Thus we may presume that the firm "Marcel Breuer and Associates, Architects" will continue to operate under this name, at least until they complete those works started on during Breuer's life.

As Breuer's greatness as an architect was recognized and appreciated from the middle of the century onwards, it would take too long to enumerate all his distinctions. To take but one: the joint declaration of the American Federation of Arts and *Time* magazine in the second half of the sixties, according to which Breuer was a "creator of form" and thirteenth in the list of architects whose works are considered most significant in contemporary architecture.

*

Breuer's native Hungary was a little late in paying him his due tribute.

I first met Breuer in 1934 when he came home, rented an apartment in Budapest, and opened an office filled with Breuer furniture. Together with Farkas Molnár and József Fischer he participated in a competition for the lay-out of the Budapest International Fair and won first prize. The final designs were then commissioned jointly from the first and second-prize winners (Breuer, Béla Fekete, and myself). However, because of the intrigues of the professional organizers of the Fair very little was actually done and that only for the brief life-span of the Fair itself. During this joint work we came into personal contact but my friendship with Breuer started much later, as documented by our letters.

I wrote the first on February 7, 1947, his last was probably written in May 1980 (it is undated). During these 33 years I sent 29 letters in Hungarian to New York and received 30, of which 20 were in English. Although the average was one letter a year, in fact our correspondence sometimes became quite regular. When he dictated his letters they were naturally in English but when he wrote them himself in his own fine handwriting they were in Hungarian. Again and again I marvelled that somebody who had lived abroad since 1920 still used such splendid Hungarian.

In my first letter I informed him briefly on the situation after the Second World War but I told him that my chief reason for writing was that I wished to introduce him and his work in a book. I had wanted to write this book from 1943 onwards and was now asking for his assistance. Our subsequent letters discussed this at length until, 27 years after my intention was formed, the book materialized in 1970 from Akadémiai Kiadó (the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy).

In 1947 Breuer came home for a few days to see his aged mother; we did not then meet. Seven years later his sister wrote to me with a request to help her brother come home for another visit—at that time this was probably even more complicated than it had been in 1947. Madame Mimi wrote on November 19, 1954 but I could only give her a positive answer as a result of my intercessions on August 22, 1955. In spite of this—perhaps because the events of 1956 in Hungary—Breuer was not able to return for a long time; he came in 1966 when we met for a few hours in the offices of the Federation of Hungarian Architects.

In December of the same year, with the knowledge and approval of László Gábor, then sub-rector of our university, I proposed that we confer a honorary doctorate on Marcel Breuer. The proposal started its "official" course immediately and finally, on February 21, 1968, the then Rector of the university informed Breuer that the Budapest Technical University had elected him honorary doctor. The only thing left to do now was to arrange a date for the formal conference. This took place on the morning of May 11, 1970; the ceremony was held in the presence of a large audience. Breuer, myself and everybody were greatly moved. Our emotions, if possible, increased when he stood up and delivered his short address of thanks in simple Hungarian with a flawless accent and with the effect of those little hesitancies which sincere improvisation arouses in the listener. He was greeted with stormy applause and we all felt the satisfaction of having at last discharged some of those debts which had been weighing heavily on us since his Hungarian colleagues had refused him membership in the Chamber and thus deprived him of the means of livelihood in Hungary.

Naturally we also thought that we could discharge more of this debt if at least one work of his were to be built in his native country. We wanted to give him a commission worthy of his talent and status in world architecture. However petty wrangling prevented us from realizing this.

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MARCEL BREUER AND ASSOCIATES, ARCHITECTS

MARCEL BREUER, FAIA
HERBERT BECKHARD, AIA
ROBERT F. GATJE, AIA
HAMILTON P. SMITH, AIA

TICIAN PAPACHRISTOU, AIA

Kedves Máté, most hogy elvégeztem
emlékeid olvasását, ismét mondhatom,
hogy élveztem nagyon. Nemcsak a jó
tevéseket is. Nem csodálkozom, hogy kifogyott
a könyv, életben lehetnek jó párban még
a mi generációnkból és tényleg, Te nagyon
széles frontot birkózol a régi kisvárosi
emlékekkel, igen eredményesen és humorosan
és meghatóan. Csak egy dolgot nem találtam
az emlékeid között, pedig kerestem: a tenyér-
sütést; nagy fazékyagokban, (cigányok faragták
azokat) vittük a pékhez. És a "lángos" ami maradt.
Ismét köszönöm hogy küldted és minden jót,
a második kötethez is. Meleg üdvözlettel

Lajkó

1974, nov. 8.

EUROPEAN OFFICE 46 RUE CHAPON PARIS 3 TELEPHONE TURBIGO 14-58

A letter by Marcel Breuer to the author, dated November 8th 1974.

His native Pécs, for the last quarter of a century, has been working to establish a collection of contemporary Hungarian art of national importance. To this end Pécs has created museums for the work of some such artists—Victor Vasarely among others—and the town started to organize a Breuer collection. The idea was that Breuer himself should design the building which would accommodate his work and that this would be his only work in Hungary, in that beautiful region of the country. The house would act as a memorial to this great son of Pécs by means of object and documentation: furniture, photos, drawings, books; it would also house for a scholarship holder.

Breuer liked the idea: he wrote in that undated letter of May 1980:

Dear Máté,

. . .I am moved by the interest of the people of Pécs!

Now that they speak of a new building the idea is much more interesting for me and I would do my best to carry it through. Before going deeper into this some basics should be made clear:

1. The task of building a museum partly for my own works and partly for general purposes would suit me well.

2. The building site: somewhere between Széchenyi Square and the promenades. I believe the other museum type buildings are also in that part of Pécs. I do not know what size of building you have in mind, this of course depends also on point 3. However, the building and the site would use open space.

3. Who finances this venture? The furnished building, the exhibition material, photographic enlargements, perhaps models, two or three journeys New York–Pécs–Budapest with my wife, competent supervision, etc. would cost a small fortune. Where would the money come from, with what restrictions? Is there anybody in Pécs or Budapest who could administer the whole thing? The staff of the Museum? Are they not too busy?. . .

My health is improving but I must take my illness into account—I hope to be able to travel in the summer. . .

Best regards and, hopefully, see you soon,

Lajkó

But we expected his coming in vain in the summer of 1980, this was his last letter to me. He lived another year with the help of a clever little device planted beside his heart but it finally proved insufficient to keep him alive. I think of him with great respect and friendship.

In him a great figure of Hungarian and world architecture has passed on—his spirit will continue to live in his works and the memory of his friendship in me as long as I live.

PHOTO BALLA

Hungary has given numerous great photographers to the world, Robert Capa, André Kertész, Moholy-Nagy, Lucien Hervé, and Brassai are only the best known amongst them. But great talents flourished not only abroad and between the two wars, but also in the country and in recent decades. Demeter Balla, now enjoying an international reputation, is perhaps one of them.

Balla was born in 1931 on a homestead near Szentes, in a poor and backward part of the country. As a child, he covered many kilometres every day walking to school to the town of Szentes. He came to Budapest in 1950 after finishing secondary school, and became an electrician in the Ikarus Bus Works. He worked there till 1957, the year of his first successes as a photographer.

In the spirit of his best Hungarian predecessors, the sociophotographers active between the wars, who were in fact artists of the left producing sociological documentaries (such as Kata Kádár, Kata Sugár, Károly Escher), he turned a critical eye to Hungarian reality. Some of his pictures taken at that time already appeared in the international press. *Ferkó* (a boy's name) shows a bright faced village lad in a fur hat, *Young woman* catches the moment when a pregnant woman strokes the head of her little boy beside her as if she were touching her future baby. *Gypsy family* was also often published: it shows the family assembled under the portrait of Prince Ferenc II. Rákóczi which hangs there like a sacred picture.

Maternity, soil and the fate of a working man—these three subjects return again and again. The resulting photographs were published by many illustrated magazines.[1] His first exhibition was held in 1960 when he was still a talented beginner. His 1964 *Maternity* received international acclaim, the subject was the wife of László Gyémánt[2], a painter. It was shown at the Hamburg *Weltausstellung der Photographie*, *Stern* published it, and numerous other papers did so later. Mihail Romm, the Soviet film director, got to know of the photograph and made use of it in the closing sequences of *Everyday Fascism*, where the camera rests for almost half a minute on the picture which serves as a symbol of hope in a better future.

An article in *The British Journal of Photography* followed. It includes some of his photographs, and an outline of his career, as well as quoting the artist himself: "Photography for me is an 'inner must', air without which I cannot live. I am not interested in the outward beauty of things, but look for the people and through them I try to mirror my inner world. This is my way."

This inner drive concentrated Balla's attention on the human personality. The portraits he took with increasing frequency, starting with the middle 60s, made his name well-known in Hungary. The best known Hungarian writers, including Tibor Déry, Gyula Illyés, László Nagy, and László Németh faced his camera. These portraits were on display in 1971 at the Petőfi Museum of Literature. Balla showed similar interest and talents in his portraits of actors, artists, scholars, and politicians. Meanwhile, as numerous books bear witness, he travelled the country. (*Fiatal Magyarország*, 1970, "Young Hungary"; *A mai Magyarország*, 1974, "Hungary Today"; and *Miskolc*, 1976, portrait of a city.) By the time of his 1978 restrospective in Székesfehérvár, he could look back to a wealth of work. He called his selection *Útközben* ("On the way"); the word has many meanings in Hungarian, he himself defined it in a interview as follows: "I want to be a chronicler who uses his photographs to give news of us to those who follow us. I must attempt to achieve a certain degree of objectivity. I have to be on the way all the time..."

This programme not only makes attention and interest a duty but also means that Balla himself also changes. His 1981 show at the Budapest Vigadó Gallery includes not only old works but also a new cycle. The known excellent portraits, the exciting press photographs, and the beautiful pictures of nature are there, but also, under the title, *The Anatomy of Movement*, an inspired series evoking the human body and what goes with it: love and beauty.

JÓZSEF VADAS

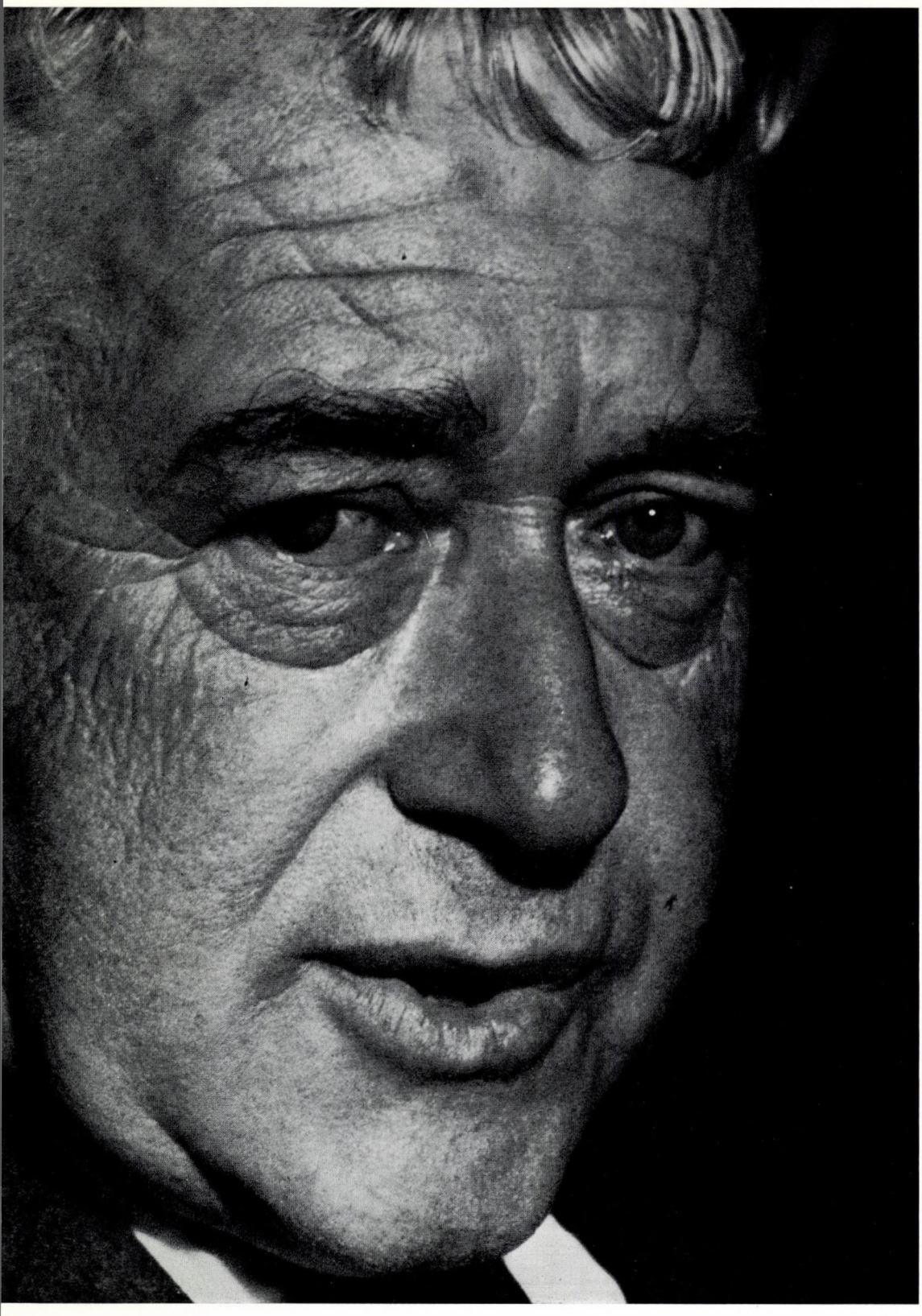
[1] *NHQ* 59.
[2] *NHQ* 22.

István Somfai

EL KAZOVSZKY: SAINT GEORGE AND THE POOR BEAST
(OIL, WOOD-FIBRE, 100 × 70 CM, 1978)

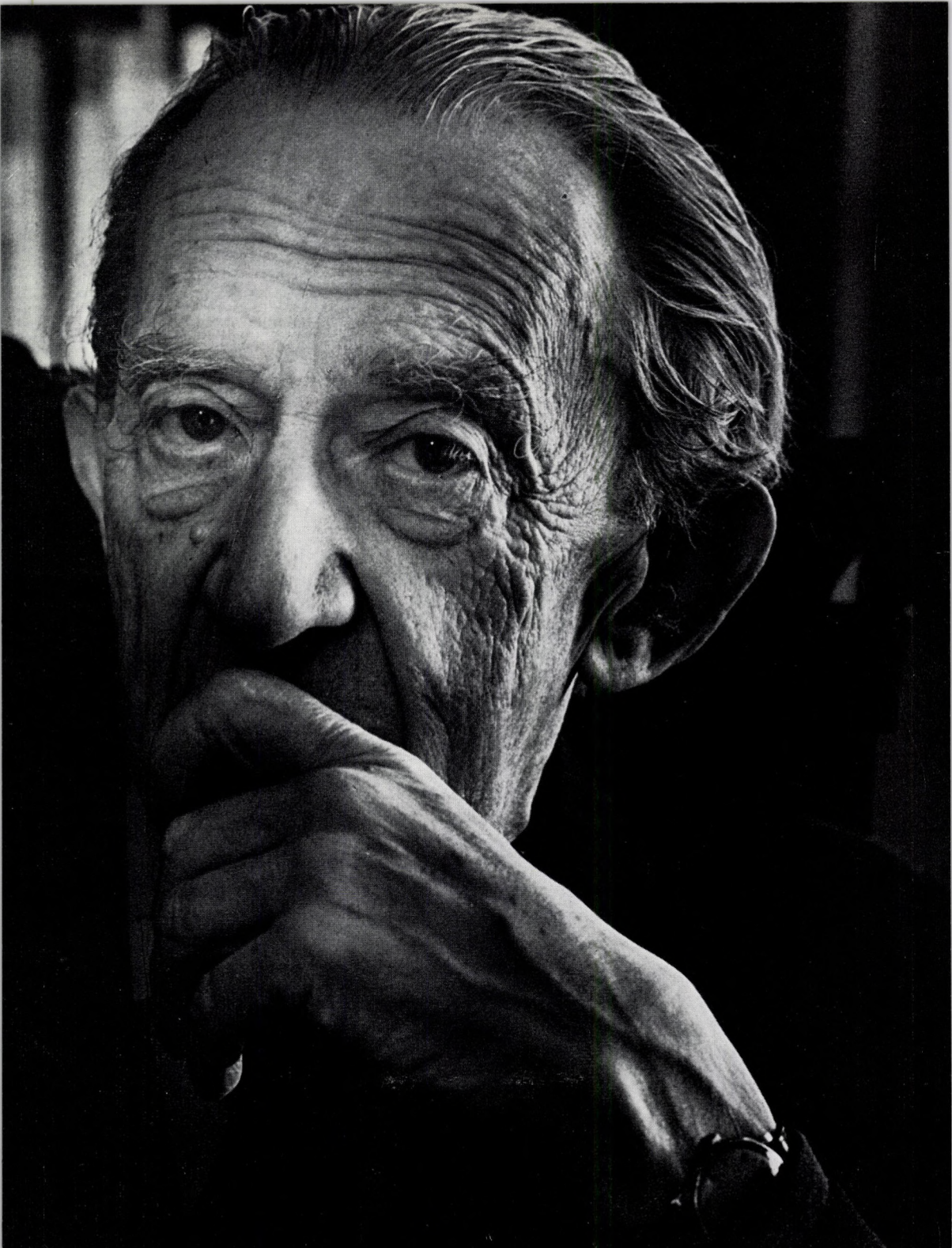
István Somfai

EL KAZOVSZKY: BLACK STILL LIFE (WOOD, PLASTIC, 90×70 CM, 1980)

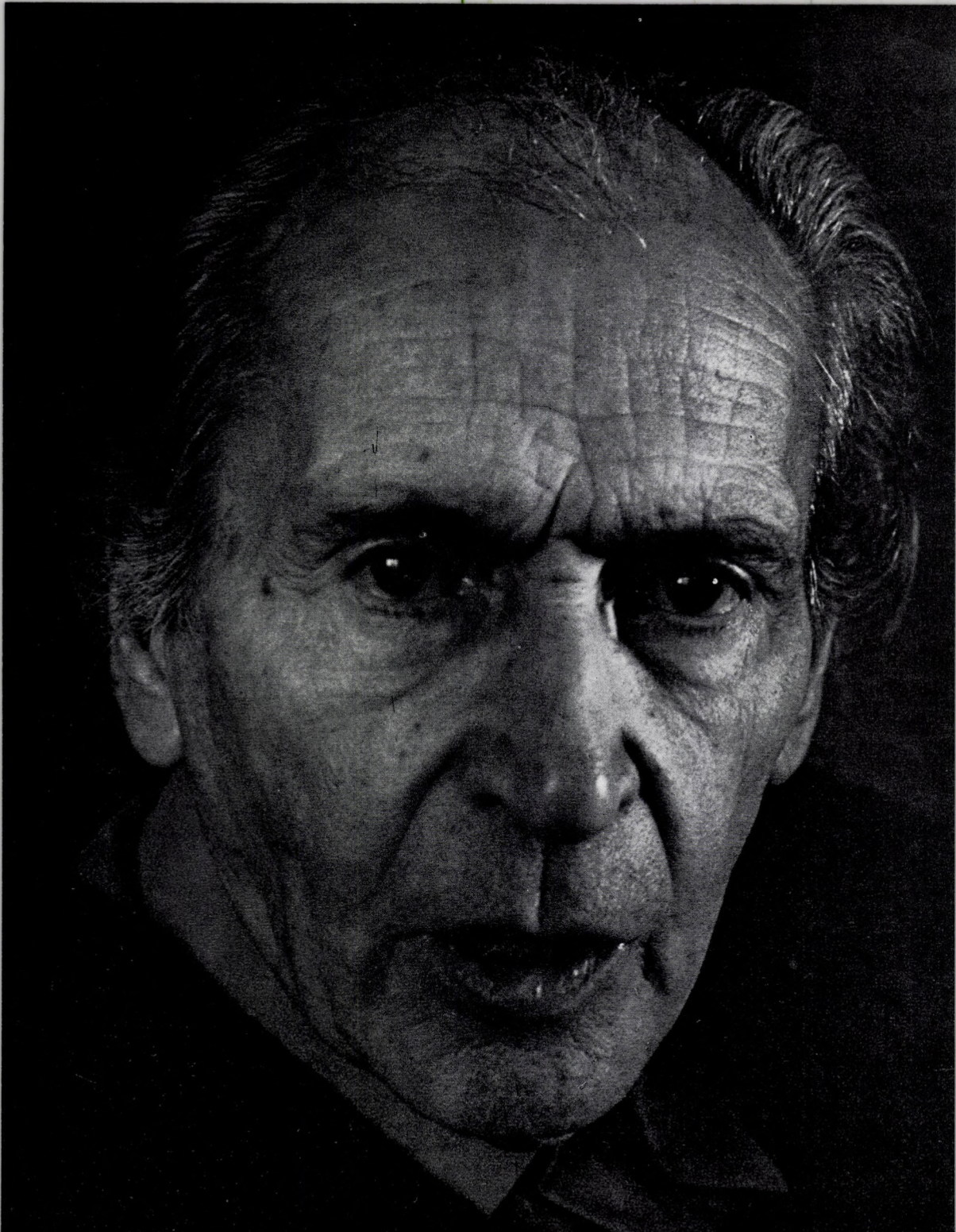


MARCEL BREUER IN BUDAPEST, 1970 (Photo Elemér Vattay)

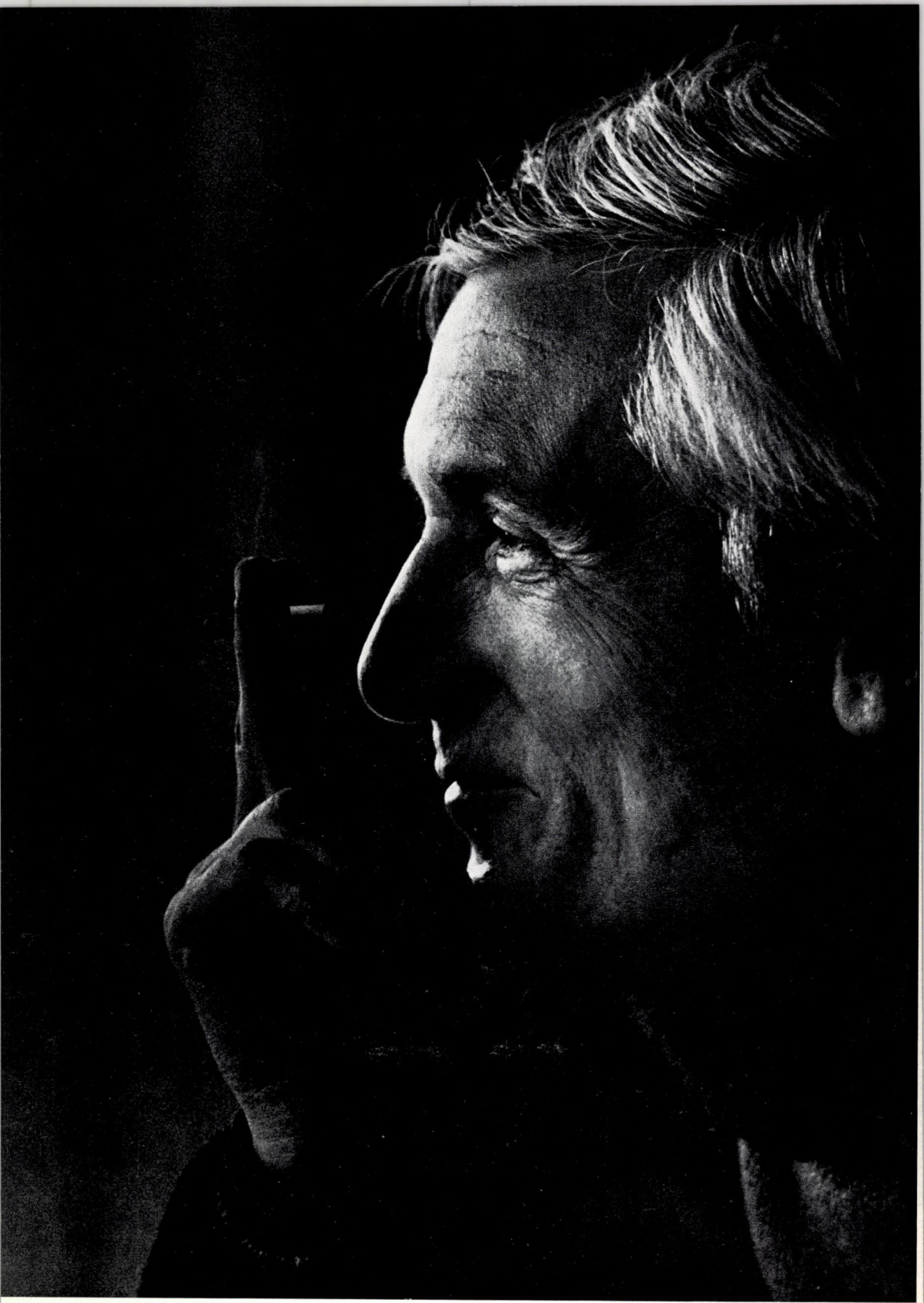
Demeter Balla: Erzsébet Schaár, 1964



Demeter Balla: György Lukács, 1971



Demeter Balla: Tibor Déry, 1970



Demeter Balla: János Pilinszky, 1979

THEATRE AND FILM

THEATRE — FROM SUMMER TO AUTUMN

I. EURIPIDES AND THE HOSTAGES OR THE SUMMER SEASON

Miklós Hubay: *A túsz-szedők* (The Hostage Takers); Voltaire–Dugonics: *A magyarok cselekedetei avagy a végzet* (The Deeds of the Hungarians or Destiny); Molière: *L'école des femmes*

Never before had there been so many theatre performances in the dead season as in July and August 1981. The traditional summer auditoria, such as the open-air theatres, squares, the temporary stages in courtyards and ramparts in Budapest, Szeged, Gyula, Eger, or Szentendre ran their traditional summer seasons. In those smaller places where the lack of a permanent theatre meant no activity in the winter, touring troupes appeared: a theatre fever seemed to have broken out this summer. Companies consisting of a mere handful of actors, under actor-director stage managers, put on foreign or Hungarian comedies to make up for some failures in the season proper. This summer saw almost 500 open air performances all over Hungary instead of the usual 250 to 300.

Heartening though this enterprising spirit and love of the theatre may be, the superficiality of much of what went on somewhat dampened the pleasure. Trappings and extremities played the principal role. It would not be totally untrue to say that theatre-goers braved mosquitoes, torrential rain and the stampede at the bar to see rather more bicycles and ponies than stimulating directing, inventive acting or good plays. Directors drove on all the quadrupeds and vehicles which, by their very nature, do not appear on stage in the permanent theatres. One young and otherwise talented company chose the picturesque shores of a small lake for their venue and used that improvised "camp theatre" to perform *Csongor és Tünde*, one of the classics of Hungarian drama, written by Mihály Vörösmarty in 1831. The play is rich in philosophical and lyrical details and has a certain distant kinship with *A Midsummernight's Dream;* they performed it as a rock-opera, with music. This in itself would not have mattered if the music, dance, acting, and direction had justified the idea. However, from the entire jerky cavalcade the only memorable thing was a harmless obstinate donkey who, with the full sympathy of the audience, persistently refused to pull the cart he had been harnessed to. Another effective gimmick were the three red scooters which the devils whizzed around on, signalling that hell itself has been motorized by now.

It would be boring to carry on with these lists: suffice to say that we had the opportunity to applaud the appearance on stage of horses, poultry, lambs, trains, motorcycles, cars and other vehicles. Sometimes, of course, their presence was justified (as in a performance of *Wilhelm Tell*, remarkable in parts, and where should the governor sit if not on a horse?) but in most cases they remained just gimmicks.

The Gyula open-air Castle Theatre, the town's summer theatre, took its well-tried practice into its 18th season. Inspired by the place, it has always been the belief that this theatre should give priority to plays on

Hungarian history; music and dance were connected with the Bartók centenary. Miklós Hubay's play and the *In Memoriam Bartók* brought spectators to the courtyard of the brick castle and the stage on the moat. Universitas, one of the most popular of the amateur theatre groups, were again invited to perform in the special atmosphere of the courtyard of the Council House. Various visitors performed and literary programmes complemented the standard repertoire. This summer theatre has its own, distinctive character; the season ran continously for two months and, despite a few hitches, everything ran smoothly.

Of the two plays, Hubay's *A túsz-szedők* (The Hostage Takers), a play "following Euripides' ideas" should be first mentioned for its value, and not only because it was the first to be performed. Like many other Hubay plays, this was inspired by antiquity; it is a version of the fate of Orestes and Electra after they have killed their mother—but it takes only eternal symbol and the well-tested form from the greek original. The work is shatteringly topical in the last part of the 20th century. The story of the two siblings does not become a "Baader-Meinhof blitz pamphlet" in the style of a patched up crib; the eternal validity of catharsis ensures the play's modernity. There are only one or two hints which connect the inevitable turn of youth revolt to terrorism with our present days, otherwise the plot has no concrete time or place. "We are in Argos in front of the gate of the Acropolis after the end of the Troyan war. But we could also be in Rome in the very year of the play's performance; in Rome, West-Berlin, Santiago de Chile, or wherever terrorism was, is, or will be present at the end of the millenium." The author is concerned with European culture, with universal civilization, and in his demonstration of the generation conflict the spectator can feel both the personal and the universal.

The story—even with Hubay's additional twist—remains simple: Orestes and Electra, in revenge for the murder of their father, kill their mother, the murderess, and their aunt, the "beautiful" Helena. Together with a cousin they kidnap their other cousin, the daughter of Menelaos—and although the king, "the absolute victor of the Trojan war," exerts pressure on them, he is ultimately convinced of the necessity of compromise by the castle being fired, the murdered wife and kidnapped child. A generation which has lost its moral force and ability to act during the tragic and ridiculous Trojan war, and another generation able to rise only to violence and anarchy, before killing each other, are inclined to a compromise which will certainly not solve everything but is most probably the only one possible. The hostage and the hostage-taker marry and the relatives, as is proper, grin and bear it. (The precise and ironic utilisation of kinship terminology emphasizes the idea of interdependence and mutual relationships). Of course the reconciliation of generations, one which has lost, the other lacking values, is no idyllic day of joy for Hubay. It cannot be because the day of the wedding is also the day of burial: the group of young people who wanted to reach the "city of youth" dreamed of and promised by Orestes, stand mortally wounded, struck on the neck by the execution machine, and support each other in death. The compromise: nuptials and mourning. Only what is created by art is indestructible: Electra, as in the beginning of the play, murmurs the lines of Euripides—"there is no torment on earth unable to be borne by man"...

Hubay's plays generally start on a near climax—and this one is no exception. "In one corner of the stage glows a metal structure burnt to its stumps. It could be the iron throne of Dózsa* but it looks rather

* György Dózsa, Hungarian peasant leader, who after the failure of a peasant revolt in 1514 was condemned to being burnt alive on an iron throne. — *The Editor.*

like the frame of a burnt out Rolls Royce. In this structure sits, propped up so that she is almost standing, the carbonized queen, Clytemnestra. The corpse is a live mass of coal glowing from within. The golden crown has already melted away from her head and trickles down her face..." Orestes and Electra, standing for the seventh day beside this mother on the stake, await judgement and their fate, but not for one moment do they feel that "the dead one is our mother." They see only guilt and darkness in the generation before, they have not the slightest inclination to understand them, even to a minimal degree. They believe that everything non-radical is cowardly. People like Menelaos and Helena, on the contrary, believe, want to believe, and want others to believe, that giving in is an act of radicalism.

The play is so condensed and burnt into its opening scene that the later events—until the burning of ancient Argos—are of lesser intensity in comparison. If the play has any structural fault it is that it can preserve but not step up on its first twenty minutes. Rewriting of the second half and removing of certain "light" sections could help here.

Mátyás Giricz has directed with sensitivity and ambition but (and in this the production matches the play) the virtues of the production are also its shortcomings. The play is broken into small units, it is too much divided and too consciously artistic. Both dangers are in the text: the prompting of Euripides puts the artistic beside the lived experience, and Hubay's analytic and meditative penchant indents the play with small scenes. Ágnes Gyarmathy's set with the thick candles rising towards the sky is very beautiful but it should be hideous; Clytemnestra is also a beautiful corpse instead of a terrible heap of coals. Both director and stage-designer conceived the play's message as being mainly artistic and aesthetic; here their work was successful. But they lack empathy and intuition: they did not feel that the conflict is also theirs personally and historically, although the text is clear that it is a matter of life and death for Hubay.

Although the productions in Gyula are not coordinated, that of the Universitas ensemble had certain links with the Hubay-play. *The Deeds of the Hungarians or Destiny*, an old Hungarian version of Voltaire's *Zadig*, the adaptation of András Dugonics (1740–1818) took its definitive form from the work of Imre Katona as writer and director. Or did it? Far from it. The group claims that its series of performances itself constitutes a continous interpretation, changing as the performances do from evening to evening and from place to place. There may be artistic truth in this principle but it would have been better if they had improvised on the basis of something that had already attained the stage of relative completeness. This performance, however, is not like this. The director should have collected the ideas of an intelligent, mature and talented group as a magnet does particles of iron, and left out the dross. It seems, however, that Imre Katona, in the process of permanent experimenting and testing, was loathe to leave out a single piece of business or production idea, whether it had come from himself or somebody else. Thus the performance became cluttered and eclectic. Indeed, it seems to flaunt its knowingness: Brecht, Grotowski, Barba—it is easy to see what comes from which school. And in the process the play itself becomes textbookish. Originally it was a didactic work and it still is a parable. Everything the Hungarians do is both bad and ridiculous; the handsome, wise, honest, gifted, and naive Zadig, unknowingly, always rushes into a mess. Somehow, more by accident, he wriggles out and, (let us believe), at the end everything turns out for the best. If only Zadig had a little of Orestes' lack of restraint and prowess—if only Orestes had a little of Zadig's smiling calm...

The cast worked with discipline and

enthusiasm for their cause on a set whose components contradict each other in form, colour and meaning. The actors offer real pleasure in their lighter, more humorous or informal moments; when, that is, they do not concentrate so visibly on observing the ten commandments of modern acting.

The Kaposvár company performed Molière's *L'école des femmes* on the shores of Lake Balaton at Boglárlelle, in front of a small chapel with red brick walls. Onto the broad stage the designer had built a red, box-like summer house which fitted well into the picturesque environment. Its shutters, pulled up and down, cut windows and doors into the opening and closing box, and this somewhat circus-ring set was most suitable for the brisk, summery, buoyant performance. The ageing Arnolphe of the play personified here the petty monarch, the bossy bureaucrat who purposefully keeps the people in his power immature and stupid. Arnolphe wants to educate his bride-to-be, Agnes, into becoming a silly goose so as to avoid trouble after marriage. A good wife and partner does not ask questions, does not answer back and does not understand anything. The ageing man, who feels that he has much to lose, trains and keeps a true heavy squad to keep the young Agnes in captivity. This pathetic couple, run wild, would do anything for money if told to, they would strangle not only Agnes but also each other: they would, indeed, kill their bread-giver. Hence the first failure in Arnolphe's plan: he is unable to be absolute master over his hirelings. In the second instance he is helpless against the innocent naiveté of Agnes and her lover Horace: their purity always comes out victorious over Arnolphe's sinister calculations. The director has painted darker and gloomier shades on the canvas of a production fresh and amusing throughout. The love of Agnes and Horace is so unclouded that this exaggeration suggests that the time will come when they will fall victim to another, more cunning Arnolphe. This ridiculous and horrific bachelor is also a complex character, his distorted soul is partly the result of the torments of loneliness. The bloodthirsty wrangling of the couple hired to watch over Agnes is an accurate and frightening observation of mercenary service. The entire production is imbued with the sureness and courage of the director's analysis.

The Hubay in Gyula and this production of Molière were the two events of the summer season which merited reviewing in some depth. These apart, one or two encouraging initiatives emerged but only the coming summers will show whether they have a future in the long run.

II. PLAYING IT SAFE TO OPEN THE SEASON

Brecht: *The Three-penny Opera*, Shakespeare: *Hamlet;* Stephen Poliakoff: *Sugar City;* Turgenev: *A Month in the Country;* Imre Sarkadi: *Elveszett paradicsom* (Paradise Lost)

So the summer season was unusually large in quantity but, with some exceptions, very modest in quality. The 1981–82 season started at the end of September and the standing companies wanted to open with remarkable production, chiefly under guest directors. Two theatres chose Brecht's *The Three-penny Opera* as their first play. Inthe National Theatre of Budapest Yuri Lyubimov, art director of the Moscow Taganka Theatre, and in Szolnok Pál Sándor, the eminent Hungarian film director, have staged versions very different in concept and mood.

The performance in the National has preserved Brecht's original title: *Dreigroschenoper* (Three-penny Opera). Lyubimov interprets the subject of the piece as the poor and feeble of this world. Those, who, compelled to dissemble simulate hypocrisy and play their everyday role for bare subsistence; their roles are those of the pickpocket, the prostitute, the jobless, the beggar, the swindler, the tyrant.

The set is a London double-decker without wheels. This weather-worn nest is where everyone lives: the actors and the "civilians", people from the crowd who have probably joined them accidentally and now they too play their part. The sides of the bus are inscribed in Russian, English, French, German and Hungarian, slogans with mostly *yes* and *no*. Beside one window they have fixed Brecht's picture. The musicians sit on the roof of the double-decker, they are just as cramped, disorderly and noisy as the others inside the bus. Throughout the three acts almost every actor remains in the bus, that is, on stage: the impression conveyed is of the ever-present crowd. Outside the bus the size and shape of the stage is controlled by the familiar red and white traffic barriers. With the help of these 50–60 people can be crammed into a tiny area; one of the finales is sung and danced in this stampeding crush. This poignant image suggests that the formless passions of the those who live "underneath," driven into poverty, abject humiliation and crime, always threaten an explosion. The inscriptions on the barriers and on the bus—which looks like a political poster—leave one in no doubt that the multilingualism of the play is deliberate. Indeed the text too is multilingual: Lyubimov has made a number of major changes: he has cut and added much but preserved its structure. Piccadilly Circus, the Taganka and Budapest's Hevesi Square (the site of the National Theatre) merge: the scene of Lyubimov's *The Three-penny Opera* is the entire world.

The overall unified character and validity of the production is strengthened by the finales to each act when very old women and men drift into the front of the crowd and with tremulous voices chant Biblical quotations also selected by Lyubimov. The "eternally human" speaks from Holy Scripture, the unexpected and unusual scene recalls death, the defencelessness of man. Seen from this angle Lyubimov's figures suddenly arouse our sympathy: from Peachum to Tiger Brown, from Mack the Knife to Polly and Lucy they all try to make their life more tolerable and less defenceless. And if this can succeed only if others are more defenceless and their life is more intolerable? The world is to blame because it is what it is.

The chief merit of Lyubimov's interpretation is its unity and originality. The permanent set, the rhytm of the repetitions, the simply constructed situations, the fast changes of make-up onstage at certain points make for a most coherent performance. Within this the director "puts into play" various pieces of business, some extreme, and points arising from the actors' moods. The majority of the cast are willing to play it in this style, the interpretation of the songs is most effective, the entire production has a forceful impact. The critics generally found this *Three-penny Opera* the best performance of the play in true Brechtian spirit seen on the Hungarian stage because it remained essentially faithful to his form of didactic story. The few minor mistakes and shortcomings—especially where Lyubimov gave in to his actors who do not always speak his theatre language and sometimes shy back from the more difficult and drastic expressions on stage—did not mar the success of the performance with either public or critics. Lyubimov's earlier productions as guest here, such as *Crime and Punishment* in the Budapest Vígszínház and the excellent production of Trifonov's mediocre *Change* in Szolnok won over only a narrower section of theatre-goers. But

with *The Three-penny Opera* he has scored a major victory.

As it happens there is a horse on stage here too: it is ridden by a messenger arriving unexpectedly at the end of the play to bring the king's pardon to Mack the Knife. (On the opening night there was a truly alienating and Brechtian happening: in one of the intervals the assistant director came on stage and read car numbers into the microphone. These cars were blocking the horse-box so the performance was in danger of having no horse). The brave quadruped had a real function in Lyubimov's production. The actor playing Peachum had to read aloud Brecht's remark that it was extremely stupid to leave out the royal messenger's horse from a performance of *The Three-penny Opera* whether for the sake of economy or out of sheer incomprehension. This is very true: the horse caused amazed murmurs in the house, and this unusual moment had the specific purpose of unmasking the happy endings fabricated for didactic reasons: "royal messengers come very rarely indeed..." The poor, the guilty and the innocent of the big cities forced behind bars and barriers can hope for redemption and release from anybody rather than from the king's messengers.

Lyubimov put many topical and modern allusions into his production but Pál Sándor in Szolnok inserted even more, without substantial changes to the text. text. His *Three-penny Opera* is performed by a street theatre made up of a wildly painted punk group of our times. The basic idea of his production is captivity, confinement. The set consists of huge elastic metal bands fixed together which gives strident emphasis to the main idea that man's destiny is captivity. On this stage everybody has his or her personal Mack the Knife—he himself has one in his increasingly bolder new wife Polly. So the personal relationships gain significance, the characters are worked out in detail, and the parabola of the story broken into episodes and songs thus becomes a logical sequence. In this respect Pál Sándor's production is the very opposite of Lyubimov's: he concerns himself more with the partial elements than with the comprehensive whole. The film director revealed himself in this production: his forte is film language: the pantomimes accelerated as in a silent film were the most successful moments of his production.

The production in the National Theatre, thanks to Lyubimov's conception and some great actors, could hold its own on any European stage. The production in Szolnok—Sándor's second for the stage—is, despite its inconsistencies, a high-standard season-opener.

The famous Lyubimov did not get more advance publicity from press and television than the young film director, Gábor Bódy, whom the theatre of Győr, embarking on new paths, had invited. Bódy's *Psyche*, a film in two parts, came out last year, and shown in some of the larger film festivals, had provoked the most conflicting reactions. In the Hungarian press they fluctuated between genius and charlatan. In Győr he directed *Hamlet*. According to the many previews, statements, photos, columns, and interviews, he saw in *Hamlet*, as many others before him, the drama of intellectual struggle. So the set he had designed was the interior of the human brain. This was staggeringly expensive by Hungarian standards, and was certainly breath-taking. From the outside it reminded one of a castle wall, from the inside it seemed like a crater on the moon. Divided by tunnels and basements it smoked, crackled, turned, gleamed, tinkled, and glided. The actors had to stoop and leap in it. It did not, however, fulfil even its basic function: it was ridiculous, infantile and absurd.

This monster determined the whole shape of the performance and the wildest misunderstandings followed one other in *Hamlet*. Without sound guidance from the director, the actors did not understand the

intellectual mystery and wandered forlornly in the lanes of the monster.

The Győr *Hamlet* was so chaotic that nobody managed even to *read into it* anything. In this case the critics were unanimous.

Pál Sándor in Szolnok had spirited away not only the horse of the king's messenger but the messenger himself; he emphasized the absurdity of the dénouement by making Tiger Brown announce the good news. Bódy decided to pass over a royal arrival at the end of his production: Fortinbras vanished although he had arrived and conquered the country.—At the end of this hollow, ringing performance even the last scene died away.

Stephen Poliakoff's *Sugar City* has been popular on the Hungarian stage. In Miskolc another guest director—this time a tv-editor and journalist—was called on to try his hand. He brought in one of the, for the moment, most popular Hungarian pop-singers to play the leading role—and this was enough to ruin the production. The clever, talented and popular young man known as Hobo has no acting ability whatever and so his clumsy and, for himself, painful efforts only achieve one thing: to emphasize the superficialities and theatricality of Poliakoff's play. In addition this was the director's first theatrical venture. In trying to prove himself and be original, he only succeeded in muddling up the plot and structure of the play. The play was luckier at the Radnóti in Budapest where the analysis and acting were satisfactory. At least the Radnóti production conveyed the lesson that fallible man on his climb to the top at each successive stage sheds sone of his moral and intellectual integrity. We sell ourselves, we must sell ourselves... We are aware of our mental, intellectual and moral detorioration but lack the strength to pronounce judgement upon ourselves. In part this production in Budapest brings Poliakoff close in tone to Brecht, and *Sugar City* close to *The Three-penny Opera*. Indeed, where Jonathan Jeremiah Peachum, the beggar king, contents himself with the threat of the poor demonstrating in the streets, here these demonstrations become real. The director has film footage on the Liverpool Toxteth Riots projected onto the shutters of the grocery shop in the play. Perhaps a little forced, but it is an interpretation not alien to Poliakoff.

The version of Turgenev's *A Month in the Country* is excellent. The Kaposvár company has a policy directed against the negativeness of small-town life, which often crushes people's plans, will and morality. The director has brought Turgenev's world close to that of Chekov with occasionally glances to the Gorky of *The Barbarians*.

The story—if one can call it that—is no more than what the title says. The figures drift together during the "holidays", start on various, mostly unfulfilled, relationships, they are the objects of both love and pity. In the Kaposvár production this genre-painting shows, not its lyrical, but its harsher, more bizarre aspects. The company admires the absurd without fully accepting it.

The absurd is represented by the rarely performed *Waiting for Godot* which has been in their repertory for years. What the company enjoys is to elicit the absurd element in plays where its presence is unsuspected. Many plays written in the late 19th and early 20th century have been found suitable for such experiments. They have discovered new elements in Turgenev too, though black humour could never gain the upper hand since his resigned and tolerant attitude, his gentle judgement would resist such interpretation. This beautifully worked out production deserves credit for blending the traditional and the new.

Finally we come to the only important new Hungarian production so far. Imre Sarkadi, the short-story writer and playwright, is one of the most striking figures in post-war Hungarian literature. He was born 60 years ago, in 1921, and committed suicide in the spring of 1961. The Kecske-

mét company commemorated him with his *Elveszett paradicsom* (Paradise Lost). He wrote it together with works of a very different nature in the last months of his life. To this day this play is considered his best. The plot is that a young and talented 33 year-old doctor, who has not seen a gynaecological operation since his student years, performs an abortion on his married mistress. She dies as the consequence of his illegal operation. The doctor, Zoltán Sebők, decides to commit suicide; to calm himself a little and to make his farewells, he goes home to visit his father in the country. The old professor, a still working natural scientist is celebrating his 65 th birthday. There is a family gathering which includes the vivacious young Mira, a 19 year-old cousin whom Zoltán has not seen for a long time. The father and the girl learn what has happened to the prodigal son; they want to help him, he through his experience and knowledge of life, she through a joyful élan which sees no obstacles. Sebők again finds love and respect for his father and falls in love with Mira. Their mutual attraction may lead him to reject sucide, to take his punishment and start a new life: this is suggested by the dénouement.

Sarkadi decided to portray Zoltán Sebők as a hero of our times, one who rejects the role. Extremely talented, and young though he is, he lacks ambitions and desires. He has neither faith nor passion. In an apparently hopeless situation the author manages to convince his hero that not even the exceptionally gifted man can live without faith or passion, without purpose or policy. The play has many Biblical symbols—it takes place on the 9th of September, the feast of Adam in the calendar, recalling the Fall of Man; the leading characters are related to each other almost as in the Trinity. The old Sebők is the Father, Zoltán the Son, aged 33, as Christ was but unable to become his own redeemer, and Mira—whose name means miracle—stands for the Holy Ghost. The Kecskemét production asserts this important motif in a restrained way; it also emphasizes the life that the father surrounds himself with, plants and animals; Mira as a sudent of architecture, breathes life into dead material, stones, metal, and glass. Zoltán, the healing physician, stands at the intersection between the "natural" and the "material." He who could have been the greatest, has sinned the most.

This is a disciplined and clean production. The three leading actors are temperamentally not quite suited to their roles but they succeed nevertheless, especially in the third act. Zoltán is unable to pronounce himself unambigously for life or death. Sobs are not sufficient and there are no angels to descend with forgiveness. The aid and solution he seeks reside in the very characters of his father and Mira. He must find them in himself.

TAMÁS TARJÁN

LET DOWN BY MASTERS

András Kovács: *Ideiglenes paradicsom* (Temporary Paradise); Miklós Jancsó: *A zsarnok szíve (avagy Boccaccio Magyarországon)* (The Tyrant's Heart [or Boccaccio in Hungary])

Hungary's role in the Second World War and the rather one-sided picture which has been formed about it in Hungarian—and not only in Hungarian—public opinion, has recently again taken up the attention of scholars and artists alike. Historians have been asking how Hitler's most reluctant ally came to become the last ally of Nazi Germany and why only the memory of this latter fact has survived. For this memory overshadows on the one hand "official" Hungary's gestures, if not of resistance, at least of isolation within the fascist block, and its later attempts to back out of the war, and on the other the antifascist movements and actions in Hungarian society and the Hungarian opposition to Horthy's successive governments, which later culminated in the underground resistance movement. The demand for a more objective, more complex depiction and analysis of the historical past has emerged both in Hungarian literature and cinema. A manifestation of this is the recent volume, edited by Endre Bajomi Lázár, *Ego sum gallicus captivus*, which deals with the so far bashfully hushed-up fact that alongside tens of thousands of Polish soldiers who fled to the country, Hungary offered refuge and a humane life to French prisoners of war who had escaped from Germany—something not done, for example, by neutral Switzerland. András Kovács made a successful television film from the book with the French soldiers and officers who in the darkest years of the war found a home in Hungary, and who, even after several decades, still felt moved and grateful when recalling the hospitality with which the people of Hungary received them and sheltered them later, after the German occupation of the country on March 19 1944, and the Hungarian Arrow-Cross Party take-over of October 15.

From his TV documentary, András Kovács has written and directed a feature film, *Ideiglenes paradicsom* (Temporary Paradise), which, unfortunately, is by no means as unambiguously successful as the documentary. As script-writer, Kovács has taken over and moulded with a documentary fidelity the experience of the interviewees, but he has also rounded this off with the romantic clichés of resistance novels and light films plots: the result is to fictionalize and keep the story within the bounds of banality throughout. The fact that one of the doomed lovers in the love story is a French P.O.W. who has fled to Hungary (and whose name and occupation the author borrows from a real person) does not in itself lend authenticity and originality to the story. Not even if all that happens to him might have happened—and did actually happen in a number of films with similar subjects, the Czechoslovak *Romeo and Juliet and Darkness*, for instance—to any decent man who fell in love with a Jewess during the years of fascist genocide. In the film the status of the escaped PoWs remains a mere externality, and their portrayal is almost completely lacking in any specifics. One instance: the "controlling" body of the French PoWs, representing their interests in Budapest, was the Pétainist embassy; more than one of them was a professed antifascist, who would like to establish contacts with the Hungarian and international resistance movement.

All of this breaks the story into two levels with only an arbitrary connection between them—into two messages, two "films." One "film" is about how humanely the Hungarians treat the escaped PoWs,

putting them up in a luxury hotel at Lake Balaton, where they enjoy complete freedom of movement, and it becomes the done thing to invite them, to nurse social relations with them. The other "film" is a regular, one might say standard story of love in wartime, spiced with adventures, which—as it is a French boy who falls in love with a divorced Jewish woman—naturally ends in the tragedy of deportation. But these events spring much more from the requisites of war adventure films rather than from the opportunities provided by a real situation. The protagonist first wants to go over to Tito's partisans, and when he fails he joins the Slovak uprising in Besztercebánya, and after its suppression he returns home to meet his lover once more.

Yet it is not in this romanticizing where I feel the main problem of the film. After all, this is the daily bread and butter of the cinema, and it occurs in more than one film that has proved highly successful with audiences. The problem much rather stems from the fact that romance, sentimental melodrama is not András Kovács's own forte realm. The artistic qualities and values which are specifically his are precisely those that protest against the requirements of the "genre." I understand and can appreciate the director's intention to make an attractive film out of this important subject, one that would draw large audiences; but, to use an example on a higher level, just as it would be absurd to expect an operetta from Bartók, András Kovács has gone astray when trying to emulate craftsmen more competent than himself in the genre of sentimental melodrama and romance.

Hungarian critics saw the main reason for this wartime love story remaining on the surface of the surface, both in emotion and in the portrayal of the period, in the lifeless performance of the heroine by Edit Frajt. I think that Hungarian critics have been too polite to the writer-director by attributing the odium of a half-success on the young actress who made her debut in this film. The shortcomings of the film arise not from the actress but the role itself, which, rather than presenting a character capable of being brought to life, remains a cliché. Kovács's momentous feature films—his unforgettable *Cold Days*, adapted from Tibor Cseres's novel, or *The Stud Farm*, based on a novel by István Gáll—used important literary sources. Here, as with his previous film, *Sunday, October*, Kovács waived a literary original, and it shows. The lack of "literary" shaping, the failure to realize the protagonists by seeing them from within, has made the film coldly illustrative and conventional, giving rise to a sense of *déjà vu*. And the more emotional the author wishes to be, the greater the clash between the genre and the features of his artistry becomes. The features that he now sorrily surrenders in the hope of a commercial success film are considered special assets in András Kovács.

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The new work by another renowned film director presents a harder nut to crack, a more complicated formula. In *A zsarnok szíve* (The Tyrant's Heart), subtitled *Boccaccio Magyarországon* (Boccaccio in Hungary), Miklós Jancsó leaves behind his usual setting and environment. In place of his favoured Hungarian Plain (and which here only appears at the end of the film), the plot (if in Jancsó's case one should or even can use the word) takes place in the interior of a mysterious, symbolic palace. Botticelli's *Primavera* forms the background to a basin full of hot water for those who intend to rip open their veins or who have been condemned to drowning. Ferociously armoured figures stand guard among the Roman couches, goblets filled with poison are raised high, swords and daggers sparkle, thousands of candles illuminate the various rooms and courts, through whose colums mimes and dancers in obscene costumes perform and mimic closely or loosely the movement and deeds of the protagonists. Jancsó, a lover (and a poet) of outdoor scenes, has shot this

almost completely in closed and constructed scenes (halls). Here too one luxuriates in fascinating images, in the fantastic choreography and wonders of the camera, but the director takes the elements of this rich Baroque fabric not from life or myths but from the sumptuousness of Renaissance culture. And I doubt if I am mistaken if I identify this with the change in the message of the film compared to Jancsó's previous work.

In a sequence of his films, Jancsó almost fanatically placed the natural history of power, the mechanism of oppression under the microscope of his own parables. But however daring abstractions the director went to, the two sides of the parable—oppressors and oppressed—were concretely present in his films even if in a symbolic form; the films were precisely about the system of relations of these two factors, presented in its denuded structure. Now Jancsó and his regular writer, Gyula Hernádi, have amputated one of the "sides," that of the oppressed, from the usual parable formula, and have tried to depict power by itself, power *an sich*, to use the philosophical term. But is there such a thing as power in itself? Can oppression exist without the oppressed? And without this, does the abstraction not become abstracted to such a degree that instead of generalization it gives rise to the notion of emptiness?

The film itself unfortunately reinforces the misgivings formulated in these questions. Because not only do we gain no insight into the heart of the tyrant but we do not even come to know the tyrant himself. It remains unclear, unelucidated all through who this tyrant is: and as all those who could offer themselves as candidates for this role perish in the course of the film, tyranny itself hovers over the actors of this peculiar marionette play like a disembodied, metaphysical principle. Everybody rises from the dead, and for everyone it turns out, sometimes more than once, that he is not identical with himself. What remains unsolved is who or what moves the strings of these puppets. Because the universal destruction that unfolds from the series of ritual murders leaves no survivor, at least not among the characters in the film.

But let us take a look at the story itself. The film begins with the heir to the Hungarian crown, who after his birth had been secretly taken to Bologne and brought up there to hide him from the Turks, being called home by the lords, including Károly Guthy, who pretends to be his uncle (a reference to the historic figure of Mihály Szilágyi, the uncle of the 15th century King Matthias Corvinus of the Hunyadi family). The young prince who had grown up in sunny Italy in the atmosphere of the nascent Renaissance, returns home, accompanied by his beloved actor friends and his court jester, to his backward native land of inclement Pannonia where, like his elder literary cousin Hamlet, returning from a German university to Denmark, he encounters a cesspool of iniquity and mysteries which are incomprehensible both to him and to us. His uncle Károly, the cardinal with ambitions to the papacy (a reference to Thomas Bakócz, the cardinal of Esztergom in real history), a mysterious Monk and the Turk, who is staying in the manorhouse in the capacity of some kind of a regent or envoy, all the lords wish to convince the prince of their being his only true supporters and that they have called him home in order to make him king so that the country should once again have a Hungarian monarch; furthermore, he must beware of all the others, who are traitors and seeking his life. But Prince Caspar is a dreamy humanist intellectual, who does not want to become king; he feels at ease in the company of his actors and he himself enjoys acting, he has only returned to the country to meet his parents. But his father is dead: according to a version intended for the people, he died a hero's death in a battle against the Turks; according to a second version he was killed by a

bear (as once the poet statesman and general Miklós Zrínyi, who fought both against the Habsburgs and the Turks, was allegedly killed by a boar); according to the third version, which our protagonist is being told in confidence by several people, his uncle Károly, aspiring to power, killed him or had him killed. (Historic rumour has it about Zrínyi too that the role of the "boar" was played by an assassin hired by the Austrian Camarilla). Moreover—shades of Hamlet—the uncle is in love with the suspiciously young queen dowager, and wants to marry her, but she suffers from a deep melancholy, refuses to speak, and her survival requires a maiden's life day by day (see the legend of Erzsébet Báthory).

Later it turns out—or, rather, it does not turn out, as every statement and turn in the films only brings another hypothesis and fiction replacing the previous one, which in the next minute also turns out to be a mere hypothesis and fiction—that the girls are not really killed, the murders are merely make-believe (although it is not certain whether this is not merely a reassuring lie intended for the prince), and that the mother is not really the prince's mother, and that his father has not even died, he is alive and is actually the Turkish pasha, and that Károly and the Queen are not even members of the family, they are actors themselves, who have been hired by someone to act their parts. Yet one cannot be certain whether this is the ultimate truth or merely another manipulation in this agglomeration of manipulations and lies. Because when the prince, accompanied by his Italian actors, flees in great haste from this bedlam, and they reach Jancsó's customary plain, the whole company is shot dead by a volley fired (by whom? and why?) from the empty palace emptied of all its masters.

To use the well-known analogy, the film is like an onion, and after peeling a layer of its skin, one comes upon another layer, but one can never reach its core. And although it cannot be denied that these skins are often of a captivating and lovely shape and venation, and that the film flashes more than one witty idea, in its entirety it is still wearying to encounter further question marks, and to be left with unsolved and unsolvable enigmas. It is a dramaturgy of solipsisms in which everything is the notion of the creators, who, however, reveal that they themselves do not believe their own notions in this solipsism, as the over-crowded and arbitrary historical references end by invalidating the effect and message of each another. One feels that the various turns only follow for the sake of disconcerting, of shocking. This might be adequate for a cabaret or a farce but certainly not for a director of Jancsó's stature.

The structure of power is always a social structure. This cannot be symbolized and generalized, and it also cannot be abstracted from its social essence mysticizing it into some kind of enigmatic, unearthly metaphysics. And that is precisely what Jancsó attempts in this film. It might be countered that Jancsó's film should be considered not by itself but in "collation" with Hungarian history. But while a wink or a hint can be literary devices, over and above that the film also requires depiction. An artistic work has to form an entity which in itself is understandable and can be solved. Here, however, this entity does not form. The hints speak to each other eclectically, and at times do not even strike home. The Italian Renaissance, the Renaissance of the Borgias, as a counter-pole of political morals set against the world of the cruel and unrestrained bravos of the Hungarian Renaissance thirsting for power is, to say the least, debatable.

The only thing the film has in common with Boccaccio is that a lute-player sings the fourth story of the tenth day (about Gentile Garisendi's love). However, the Hungarian lords do not let him finish and they also drastically prevent the obscene performance, and treat in a particularly hostile manner Caspar's confident, the

jester, who has a keen scent for mysteries and lies. And perhaps another association with Boccaccio—although in Jancsó's case there is really no need for such a derivation—is that the film is permeated by an artistic eroticism, with its naked girls blatantly offering voluptuousness, and constantly appearing among the shadows of the palace in the same way as do the mysterious hired assassins, the servants who alternately serve and kill off the various lords: Károly, the cardinal, the Monk, and the Turk.

'All the world's a stage,' Jancsó also holds. But while we believe this when coming from Shakespeare (because he also proves it), with Jancsó even that statement becomes questionable, as his stage presents no roles. Because even this stage is not "real." It is a stage that has no play of its own, it has been shaken together out of scenes from various plays.

It goes without saying that Jancsó is one of the most original stylists of today's cinema. His is a unique, unmistakably pictorial realm, one irreproducable by others. In this context *The Tyrant's Heart* also has its revelation: Jancsó's encounter with the aesthetic quality and artistic formal realm of the Renaissance testifies to new, so far concealed opportunities for his evocative force and sense of form. If the film were an art for the eye alone, his work might even be termed a masterpiece. But we cannot forego the illusion that a film also has to apply to the intellect, and through it to the heart. And the message it conveys to them is merely an agglomeration of confused platitudes and half-truths.

ERVIN GYERTYÁN

KAREN JAEHNE

THE LONELINESS OF THE LONG-DISTANCE WORKER

László Lugossy: "*Thanks, We're O.K.*"

With his second feature, *Köszönöm, megvagyunk* ("Thanks, we're O.K."), László Lugossy has shown a work worth waiting for—five years, if need be. His new film is about a man looking for some*thing* and a woman looking for some*one*, and how fruitless their struggle, for although Éva is about to give birth to József's child at the end, the mood is such that we cannot help but feel that the product of their union will be as lonely as they.

Grounded in the misbegotten and obstinate reality of industrious—as well as industrial:—stolidity, the camera tells the story of a foundry worker's murderous demands on himself and everyone around him in his attempt to improve his life style. Caught in these machinations is a young woman, Éva, who little by little succumbs to his round-the-clock work ethic. As work initially brings them together, and mutual need brings them to want to work together, so it is also work that kills her will to live, that warps him into a slave-driver and that brings them to wreck what little they have.

The title indicates József B.'s fierce, if not ferocious, independence: "Thanks, it's O.K." said in a certain tone can mean, "Thanks, but no thanks." The hero is imbued with a determination that would be admirable, if it were not musclebound by selfishness and even selfdestruction. In order

to reduce Éva to the stature of an indentured servant, he takes advantage of her failure to rise at 4:00 in the morn to feed the chicks. In the subsequent scene he asphyxiates half of them himself and then blames it on her, demanding that she repay the loss in labor. The film cannot be understood, unless the character of József is seen caught between his desire to be self-sufficient and the patent impossibility of that kind of isolated individualism in a socialist society.

But József is determined to make it on his own. In his spare time from the foundry, he has, after all, built a house and established his little dominion. As he oversees the forming and shaping of the molten metal at work, where he is foreman, he thinks he has a similar control over his destiny at home, especaially his "workforce" Éva. The low-level-management mentality has provided cinematic subject matter for a variety of films ranging from *Blue collar and norma rae* through Wertmüller's *The seduction of mimi (mimi metalurgico)* and Fassbinder's the *Marriage of Maria Braun*. What all these films have in common is their astute look at someone attempting to escape the ranks of the worker into the arms of leadership, otherwise known as management, to further one's own ends at the expense of others'.

What marks Lugossy's film in the Hungarian cinema is that he has refrained from portraying a classical working hero. He is not a tragic figure, because he is not smart enough to understand the limits of his destiny or even of his social circumstances. He would appear to have been totally brutalized by the system in which he has certainly done his share and yet been denied any appreciation of the subtler things in life or even a sensibility of fairness. Sandwiched between his responsibility for other laborers' work and his own work-horse mentality, he is at once the oppressor and the oppressed. The character seems to believe that to bend other people's energies to his own purposes is the same thing as bending their will.

Lugossy permits us to believe this is happening for the first half of the film, letting it culminate in a rather happy sequence of celebration in the rude yard next to József's house. Amidst the drinking and eating and more drinking, a friend contributes a few remarks about Éva who has been sitting on József's lap: "That's a goldmine... that was a good buy." This bit of dialogue is a rather pointed signal that this brief interlude bodes ill: Both anti- and pro-feminists would hesitate to designate a woman as a goldmine.

Can it fairly be said that József "bought" Éva? Fairly enough, if "to sell out" is the correlative for Éva's active and emotional changes. Lugossy constructs the story at first around their mutual physical needs': he needs a housekeeper, she needs a place to live away from the workers' barracks. From this simple and comprehensible basis, their relationship develops into one of an intricate sadomasochistic propulsion. Beneath this story of the struggling worker in his lonely laboring desperation, the psychological motivation of both characters rival those of Nicholas Roeg's ill-met lovers in BAD TIMING. It is the psychological tangle which Lugossy handles with raw, illogical deftness that makes each decision seem self-evident, and only in retrospect do we perceive the traps.

The first time Éva agrees to clean his house, she discovers how exploitative and insulting József can be; when she refuses to be paid for his insults—and the camera seems to dolly around the money she burns on a factory fire—József must recognize the price of respecting such a woman. As proof he makes a deal with her, offering his house as a home. We have seen the workers' barracks in the opening sequence as spartan, efficient camps, not the sort of place to provide friendship and the emotional life Éva is seeking. József's offer of a room in the house he is finishing seems to be a gesture of good-will which it would be rude and inappreciative of her to reject. But gratitude implies hacking out a relationship with

József as a roommate, when he sees himself as an authority figure. József may be a hard task-master, initially, but hardly a cruel person.

The only approval and emotional reinforcement József can offer is his response to Eva's work, but that is apparently more than anything she has had before, so she works and works and works and... In a sequence when she is required to work overtime at the foundry, he perceives it as a threat to the labor she owes him and convinces her to quit her job and stay home. His magnanimous claim that they can both live on his earnings has the ring of a commitment about it, and since they are by now lovers, it is apparently neither masochistic on her part nor sadistic on his to "play house."

Later we perceive his motives somewhat differently: by relieving her of eight hours at the foundry, she can work non-stop at home. The telling sequence is the seduction scene when József enters Eva's room assuming that his role as landlord includes some variation on the *ius primae noctis*. It is not clear why she submits to this after her initial fear and refusal, but in light of her limited experience, perhaps this meager display of desire is enough to make her appreciate the rather wellhidden qualities of this man.

When asked to comment on this mismatch, Lugossy told a Berlin interviewer, "A complex emotional mechanism is in operation, and to hell with life and with the film, if all secrets in the relationship of man and woman can be satisfactorily explained on the basis of simple formal logic. It is difficult to speak about this, because perhaps I succeeded in building these secrets into the nervous system of the actors József Madaras and Juli Nyakó, in such a way that they should not be recoverable, with one single sentence." It is understandable that Lugossy is unwilling to hand out diagrammed critiques of his film; he has done his job in making the film, and the critic has the right and the job to exercise his not infallible judgement about the results. And because the love of József and Éva is not starcrossed passion so much as it is a necessary evil to survive their minimal existence, a critique of that aspect of the film is all too likely to begin with the negative, "Why doesn't she leave him earlier?" as did the Berlin interviewer.

True enough, József is not an attractive personality, nor is his attempt to get ahead very glamorous, and this is certainly not the Hungary of the socialist dream, but Éva's search seems legitimate. She is one of society's orphans—noble enough as a worker, but altogether minimal in her expectations and ambition. Lugossy, or rather Juli Nyakó, portrays her as all too human to triumph in József's Orwellian "animal farm" where some pigs are more equal than others.

The camera constantly records the unfinished aspect of their surroundings, the raw material remaining to be worked on. What should bind them is their shared labor and their pride in building something together. But the house József is building has already buried one woman, and by implication, to share in this house is to commit oneself to a torture unto death. An interesting double-edged twist in the plot is József's decision to bring his young daughter from his first marriage to live with them. We see the girl so briefly that the impression of her is one of docility and fear of her father, and her fragile appearance and fluttering movements lend the fatal air of a ghost haunting the house. By this time, Éva is heavily pregant and, in contrast, creates an awkward lumbering shadow in scenes cutting back and forth between her and the girl; the earthiness of Éva is thus emphasized, on the one hand, but on the other, the promise of birth she ought to symbolize has long since been over-shadowed by József's destructive "building."

Why does a woman as sensible as Éva then remain in this situation? A sheer materialistic answer would point to the roof over her head rather than to the heaven where

marriages are seldom made anyway. But the minor tragedy of Lugossy's character is that she is not only a willing victim, but a forgiving one. Juli Nyakó brings a simplicity to the role, portraying her submissive nature in an acting style that has come to be associated in the international cinema with Márta Mészáros' particular brand of Hungarian film. Remarkable as well is that József Madaras combines his physiognomy and acting skill in one of his most "natural" but complex roles, unaided by elaborate dialogue or virtuoso camera work.

Lugossy dares to portray the worker in *Köszönöm, megvagyunk* as a frustrated neurotic who must seek personal satisfaction in his individualistic endeavors, albeit both characters fail. Lugossy is more interested in the reality of socialism: "We can build our houses and roads," he says, "while we ourselves fall to pieces. A country, a community, or even a man cannot be preserved by economic regulators or incentives if human relations lose their value."

Some will remember warnings of this in his first film, *Azonosítás (Identification)*, whose opening sequence promises just another one of those soldier-returning-home melodramas as the train full of expectant faces passes by. But as these men prove to be prisoners-of-war being processed for their return, we meet the hero, András Ambrus, who is about to be given another man's identity. His refusal to accept the only name and papers available for him, even though it is patently wrong, appeals to our sense of injustice; but as it appears that nothing can be done about it, András' struggle seems more and more absurd, his behavior as confusing and alienating as that of József or Éva.

So, in *Köszönöm megvagyunk*, Éva's submission seems absurd and her behavior unable to elicit our sympathy, unless we recognize the psychological symptoms of her victimization. For the alternative approach, via the feminist position, one is forced into an automatic response of pity toward Éva and condemnation of József, although he is the more interesting character by virtue of his truly perverse opposition to cooperation and commitment. While Éva's need for some*body* is a commonplace of feminist cinema, it can be generalized to represent the human condition, once it is set in opposition to József's need for some*thing*.

Lugossy's film is a tragedy not of men, but of materialism. József's ability to handle a hammer, a saw, and to work with building material, which is shown in detail in the film, is likewise his failure to relate to other human beings. In an ironic twist of imagery, Lugossy adapts the forging flames at the foundry for the first explicit rejection of József, when Éva throws his money in the fire. Because his identity is so closely allied with the work ethic, we are confronted with the gap between his work and his ethics. As an individual he is seeking happiness along the lines of the promises of the modern state, which inevitably claims to improve life and to regulate social relations by improving material advantages, to which the citizen, it is understood, dedicates his life. Éva trapped in her relationship to József, and seemingly doomed to procreate more such life, does what her psyche dictates and attempts to take her own life—and, needless to say, that of her child. The dictates of the system reveal the utter absurdity and bankruptcy of human relations, as Éva is made to sign a contract promising never again to attempt suicide. There is no one else to exact such a promise but the state, for as she explains, "I have nobody." Éva, surrounded by the sterile but safe atmosphere of the hospital, does indeed appear to have nobody to care for, or to care for her. The final scene informs us that not even her own life is hers—to live or to take.

Lugossy, has joined a movement in Hungarian cinema concerned about the loneliness of the long-distance worker. Mészáros' films are the best known of this genre but revolve around the woman's attempt to affirm her own life, usually through a child. Lugossy's film could be easily categorized as feminist

cinema in the realist vein. The film historrian Ulrich Gregor has described this Hungarian genre as "cool, intelligently constructed, imbued with a humanity that produces few words and needs even fewer solemn gestures; there emerges an attitude of solidarity with the main character, although just as often scepticism and bitterness. The protagonist has usually become taciturn out of a fundamental experience of the world's indifference." (Gregor, "*Geschichte des Films*", C. Bertelsmann Verlag, p. 314) The twist in Lugossy's characters is the way we perforce admire József for trying to carve out a territory in the Brave New World, while admiring Éva considerably more for her spirit of cooperation and likewise resistence to József's excesses. However interesting the charaters, Lugossy does not paint a world into which we would want Éva to bring a child. So much for the Brave New World which then punishes her by staking its claims on her life, compelling her into a contract that she cannot end it, should she wish.

Éva also provides a counter-example to József's illusion about the control one has over one's own life. He throws her out, but the police return her, insuring that she has right to stay there. When Éva becomes pregnant, he is dumbfounded that this "uncontrolled" addition to his responsibility could come into being. When he submits to domesticity and family life, he becomes "house-broken" in the worst sense of that pun. At that point, he abdicates any control over his life, as we see happen in the sequence of his visiting colleagues from the foundry discovering his drunkenness. Lugossy is typical of the committed socialist filmmaker in refusing to put human suffering in the service of a higher optimistic social and world view. He portrays lives definitely devalued by the thankless job of living them.

MUSICAL LIFE

A NIETZSCHE SYMBOL IN THE MUSIC OF RICHARD STRAUSS AND BÉLA BARTÓK

Nowadays it is easier to explain why Béla Bartók turned away from Richard Strauss than to understand what he gained from the German composer's music, and why his youthful remarks on Strauss were imbued with appreciation and even enthusiasm.

There is a wealth of information on Bartók's experience of Strauss. The composer's letters, his legacy of musical scores and concert programmes from the first ten years of the century every now and then suggest the spiritual proximity of Richard Strauss and the compositions written around that time, and even certain later ones, also indicate how much Bartók learned from him. Not only did he learn from him; he virtually fell under his spell. No other contemporary composer was described by him in the curious, almost novelistic, romantic style he adopted when speaking about Strauss. The Budapest première of *Also sprach Zarathustra* in 1902, struck him, in his own words, like a "thunderbolt" and pulled him out of his creative crisis. The Strauss music exerted a force of "magic" on him; years later he was to compare his disenchantment with Strauss to a liberation from "fetters."[1]

Strauss's influence around the turn of the century was certainly unparalleled. After the deaths of Wagner, Liszt, Brahms, and Bruckner, according to Hans Mersmann, a contemporary writing later, "Richard Strauss alone was acknowledged practically without reservation by musical opinion."[2] "Amongst our contemporaries we felt no one to be so close, for no one did we struggle, or show such enthusiasm, of no one did we dream so much as we did of him, and of no one did we expect so much as we did of him," Paul Bekker recalled in 1924.[3] The news chroniclers of 1907 described Strauss as the hero of the times and fashion, and considered him the most interesting composer living.[4] "He blinded me," Alois Hába confessed,[5] an avowal which sums up the opinion of the contemporaries.

Richard Strauss's work represented the musical camera-flashlight of the turn of the century. One of his critics underscored the "decorativeness," the appearance of beauty *(der schöne Schein)* as the most important feature of his music. In 1929 Adorno cited a strange, though illuminating recollection from his childhood. He always believed that the word Elektra was connected in some way with the electric power works operating close to his birthplace. The adult Adorno, referring to his childhood association of ideas,

[1] In: *Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai* (B. Bartók's Collected Works), ed. by András Szőllősy, Budapest, 1967.

[2] Hans Mersmann: *Die Musik des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts*. 1926.

[3] Paul Bekker: "Richard Strauss." *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Wien Jg. 6 (1924).

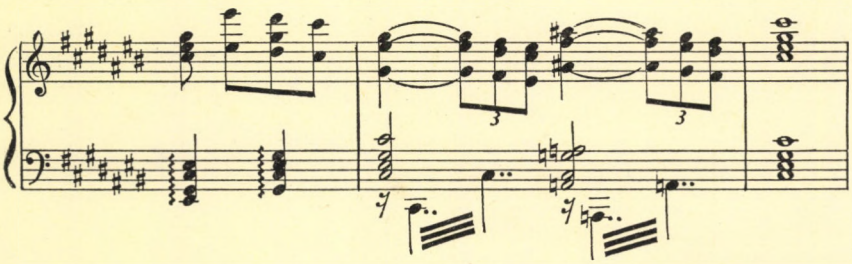
[4] Karl Storck: "Wo steht Richard Strauss?" *Der Türmer*, Stuttgart Jg. 5 (1907).

[5] "Richard Strauss. Eine Umfrage." *Musikblätter des Anbruch*, Wien Jg. 6 (1924).

formulated the same feeling as follows: "No art is more genuine in the aura surrounding it, and more illusory in its true form than that of Strauss, and it is no bold exaggeration to assert that he who forms a concept of it from description, and not on the basis of an auditory experience, learns to know it truly. We have a similar feeling on a train, when a sequence of towns appears logical and familiar yet we have never seen them before."[6] Alongside the decorativeness of Strauss's music this *déjà vu* experience, expressed so visually, is the other important ingredient of the Strauss myth, the "magic."

It is surprising, however, that in the years at the beginning of the century, amongst the notable musical talents of Budapest, Béla Bartók alone experienced this kind of *déjà vu*. That admirer of Brahms, János Koessler, the professor of composition at the Academy of Music, echoed Eduard Hanslick's scathing opinion; Zoltán Kodály was left unmoved; nor did Ernő Dohnányi (as it is very evident in Bartók's letters) become a staunch adherent of Richard Strauss. In fact, among the Hungarians Bartók was the first to respond so sensitively to European avant-garde music, and at the same time it is conjecturable that beneath this enthusiasm for Strauss, aside from the admiration due to the master, lay a more general, almost ideological affinity.

"Yes indeed, I tell you: not since Wagner have we had such a great master as Strauss," Bartók wrote to Lajos Dietl from Berlin in 1904,[7] where he was hoping in vain for a personal meeting with Strauss. A frequent commonplace in Bartók literature is that Bartók learnt much from Strauss in the fields of orchestration, melody, and harmony. Aside from a dissertation[8] by Günther Weiss in 1970, researchers have hardly produced any concrete examples to bear out their assertion. Yet it is obvious that Bartók was able to find antecedents for his use of bitonality in several places in the works of his ideal. The composer of the famous first piece of the *14 Bagatelles*, who wrote melodies with tonalities divergent in the lower and upper staves, no doubt took notice of the final cadence of Strauss's *Zarathustra*, the simultaneous sounding of the *c* and *b* tonalities. The parts in the quintet in *Salome*, where the Jews are disputing religious faiths, in accordance with the stage figures who do not even listen to each other's words but only voice their own claims, these parts are often in tonalities alien to each other, and it is this which must have captured Bartók's attention. One of the well-known and otherwise very romantic sounding cadences of *Salome* is the original of the type of chord favoured by Bartók which embodies both a major and minor third related to a common root:[9]



[6] Wiesengrund–Adorno: "Glosse zu Richard Strauss." *Musikblätter des Anbruchs* Wien Jg. 11 (1929).

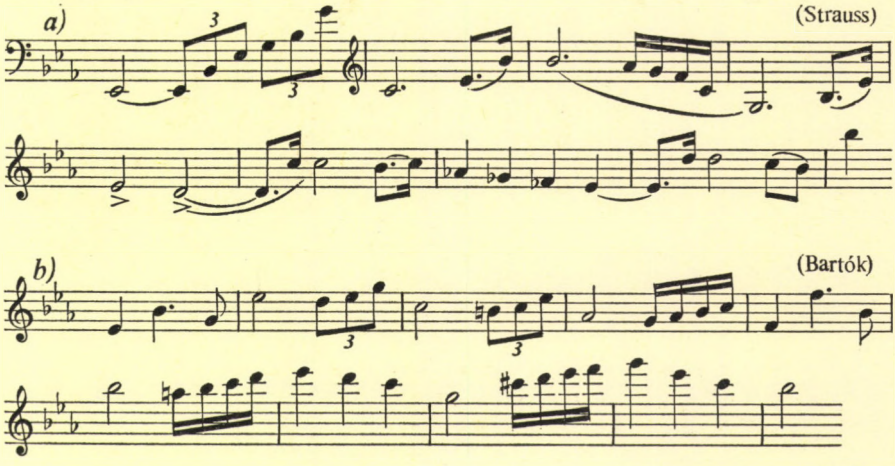
[7] In: *Bartók Béla levelei*, ed. by János Demény, Budapest, 1976.

[8] Günther Weiss: *Die frühe Schaffensentwicklung Béla Bartóks im Lichte westlicher und östlicher Traditionen*. Erlangen–Nürnberg, Friedrich Alexander Universität (Diss.), 1970.

[9] E. von der Nüll also drew attention to the modernness of the chord—not in connection with Bartók's music (*Melos*, Mainz, Jg. 13. [1934]).

The most important device of the decorativeness of Strauss's music, its famed orchestration, also left an enduring imprint on the orchestral works of Bartók's youth. One of the never failing devices of the Straussian orchestra is that a large number of instruments sound simultaneously. The performing apparatus is larger than the most populous Wagnerian or Brucknerian orchestras. In his scores Strauss generally made use of far more instruments than the number strictly required by the melodic and harmonic ideas. The principal melodies which interweave contrapuntally are, as a rule, surrounded by numerous "appearance" voices (fragments of motives, short, rapid runs, trills), with which Strauss completely fills the orchestral sound and renders it scintillating. Continuity of form also owes much to these "appearance" voices. Günther Weiss sees in this very composing technique (which he calls *erbitzte Klangbewegung*) the most essential Straussian heritage in Bartók's orchestral works originating between 1902 and 1905 (particularly in the *Kossuth Symphony*).

Strauss's melodic idiom in his orchestral applications had a far smaller influence on Bartók. Rarely does one find direct similarities. Reminiscences of Strauss occur rather in isolated details of the *Suite No 1* (for example, a melodic phrase from *Till Eulenspiegel* in the first movement). However, once, in the initial enthusiasm generated by his experience of Strauss, Bartók wrote music that could more or less pass for a study in style. In 1902 he astounded musicians from Budapest and Vienna with his concert-like, brilliant piano performance of *Ein Heldenleben*. Both the interpreter and the composer in Bartók responded passionately to this key composition. He embarked on a symphony on the pattern of *Ein Heldenleben* which was similarly in E flat major. In the first movement one particularly feels that the younger Bartók must have played *Ein Heldenleben* without a score. Here are the beginnings of the two principal subjects:



Both subjects have an exceptionally wide compass: in the Strauss theme there is a gap of four octaves between the starting note and the highest note of the melody, and in Bartók's the gap is of three octaves. The stopping points amidst this enormous space are bridged by short runs and quick motifs. Bartók seems to have grasped an essential aspect of Strauss's restless, expressive melodies, and he eloquently reproduced this experience, although in a study of style rather than in his own individual style.

And when Bartók struck his more individual note, did he remember what he had learnt from Strauss? From the evidence of his *Suite No 1*, composed only two years later, though his melodic idiom gradually changed towards a *verbunkos* style, his manner of composing still adhered strongly to the alien pattern. Bartók utilized the Straussian orchestra and Strauss's buoyant, spectacular melodic structure in order to render his melodic ideas of the *verbunkos* type, which of themselves are more suggestive of a divertimento intonation or atmosphere, more monumental. The contradiction of thematic material and sound in the *Suite No 1* is its oddest characteristic. This effect is even sharper with the tremendous and triumphant, ostentatiously unambiguous tonal cadence (in E major), with which the composer closes the 52-bar opening formal section as though he were putting a double bar at the end of a complete movement, or even a whole work.

In the closing chord every instrument is heard, and Bartók makes maximum use of the sound energy at his disposal. This chord could be the "pristine chord" of the *Suite No 1*, the "universe" of sound which the composer created for the work. If Bartók chose a loud, culminating conclusion for the composition, then he could finish it only with this chord and only in this manner, because in the given framework this apotheosis cannot be intensified any further. It is no accident, therefore, that the first movement, in fact the whole piece, ends with a repeat of the opening formal section. But did Bartók retain this arrangement solely to fulfil a concluding function? Did this uncommon, contradictory occurrence perhaps serve some kind of poetic expression?

When Bartók described the composition (more correctly, its four movements) in the programme notes for its première in Vienna, although he did not rule out this idea, he still did not provide an unambiguous answer. Basically, he introduced the more important themes of the work in the manner of a concert guide, accompanied by musical examples, each with an attributive description. In the description, written in German, he characterizes the principal subject as "ardent-energetic," which develops into an image that is "proud" and (in German) *üppig*, that is, opulent, full and rich "in character." He speaks of the section returning at the end of the work as the first "scene" of the first movement, which leads to the "solemn" close of the *Suite*.[10] Bartók, therefore, thought in terms of scenes and pictures when composing it, and it is possible that he was writing a kind of freely interpreted programme music.

A letter from Mrs Gruber (née Emma Sándor) to Bartók in 1905 in connection with the *Rhapsody* for solo piano, a work written at the same time as the *Suite*, indicates that around this time Bartók obviously and openly composed according to a programme. "Write to me... what the programme was," wrote Emma Sándor, Zoltán Kodály's future wife, with curiosity, "I would very much like to know: where, in what, and in whom my guess went wrong."[11] And Bartók, the Richard Strauss fan, the composer of the *Kossuth Symphony*, why should he not have concealed a programme, or at least some kind of symbol of decisive personal importance to him behind some of the many other works he was writing at the time?

Unfortunately, aside from the attributes "proud," "opulent," and "festive" to the puzzling apotheosis of the *Suite No 1*, we know of no other reference made by Bartók. In Strauss's symphonic poems there however is a detail which, owing to its strong musical similarity and concrete meaning, takes us closer to the conceptual source of the Bartók

[10] In the original "[...] freudig-energisches Thema [...] welches sich zu einem Bilde stolzen und üppigen Charakters entwickelt.", "Zum Schlusse wird das erste Bild wiederholt", "[...] die erste Scene des ersten Satzes führt die Suite zum feierlichen Schlusse."

[11] In: *Documenta Bartókiana*, Heft 4.

example. This detail belongs to the work which at its first Budapest hearing in 1902 struck Bartók like a "thunderbolt": the famous and unforgettable beginning of *Also sprach Zarathustra*, which re-echoes at the beginning of the *Suite No 1*.

The great chord (for the sake of which Strauss enlisted even the organ), the saturation of the sound sphere, a maximum volume of sound, and the fact that all this is heard immediately, in the 19th bar of *Zarathustra* in the manner of a motto, suggests the direct model of the opening arrangement of the *Suite No 1*. The adjectives which Bartók used in connection with his own works are valid for the opening of *Zarathustra*, which is solemn and proud and truly *üppig* in character. Of the symbols of the work "composed freely after Nietzsche," however, we learn a great deal more. It is no secret, for example, that Strauss begins his symphonic poem with the opening scene of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, with the symbolic appearance of the sun-disc, the cosmic light which permeates and vitalizes the universe. The first scene, therefore, is the entire cosmos: the lonely Zarathustra embarks from here on his disillusioning earthly journey, and this is where he seeks refuge; he returns to this realizing that the only purpose of life is aimlessness, an indifferent hovering over the universe. In this manner Strauss's peculiar formal nonsense, the enormous cadence heard at the beginning of the work is perfectly justified by the programme: the universe also exists outside of the piece, and is an unshakeable truth, a "pristine fact." Just as Nietzsche relates every one of his symbolic images to his opening scene, so Strauss relates each of his notes to this chord.

An emphasized C major chord of this kind, reinforced by the organ, occurs only once in Bartók's work; this is when the fifth door of *Bluebeard's Castle* opens on the entire realm, "the dwindling vistas", the universe itself. At that moment Bartók reveals that Zarathustra and Bluebeard have a very close kinship. And if we associate what lies behind the fifth door with the brilliance of Nietzsche's sun-disc it also becomes clear why there is no salvation for Bluebeard, why he cannot be redeemed, why he carries eternally his curse of loneliness. Bluebeard, like Zarathustra, can only be a self-redeemer (in Nietzsche's words *Selbsterlöser*), because he guards the secret of the universe, the secret of Nietzschean eternal existence.

Eternal existence, infinite repetition, is the only law which Nietzsche held to be unconditionally and fundamentally true. Since the law is valid even independently of the human will, Nietzsche's idea of eternal existence demands an ethically indifferent state, liberation from human emotions, and thus according to Nietzsche, from human weaknesses (up to the fifth door—in the spirit of Nietzsche—love makes the arrogant Bluebeard temporarily weak). This stage of dehumanization (to use Nietzsche's term, of becoming an *Übermensch*) is furthered by rapture. Rapture makes it possible for human consciousness to submit, not to a moral order founded on custom, but to the order of nature.

In Béla Balázs and Bartók's dramatic concept, it stems from this theory that at the revelation of Bluebeard's realm, the compassion-filled woman who wishes to redeem through love is dwarfed beside the Bluebeard *Übermensch*, even if this *Übermensch* spreads his arms with longing in a moment of human tenderness. The relationship between the two is decisively settled, not at the seventh door, but at the fifth.

The same idea arises in *The Wooden Prince*, and there too attention is drawn to it by Bartók's almost quotation-like Straussian solution. This is the moment of the great apotheosis, when the fairy lays the whole of nature at the feet of the lonely, deserted Prince: "Now behold my spacious kingdom." To quote *Bluebeard's Castle* again the scene resembles in many essential aspects the chapter of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* entitled "Der Genesende," in which Zarathustra

sickens of his own, innermost self (just as the Prince does of the sight of the wooden dummy he himself created), and when Nietzsche's hero is convalescing from his illness, with his favourite beasts, the serpent and the eagle console him as the lord of nature, of the universe. Bartók builds up and intensifies the nature kingdom's hymn of triumph all the way to the big chord, just as Strauss did in *Zarathustra*, and he himself did in the *Suite No 1*, and in the apotheosis of *Bluebeard's Castle*.

It is worth noting, however, that *The Wooden Prince* does not end with an apotheosis. In accordance with Zarathustra's or, more correctly, Nietzsche's teaching, man, by giving things a name, by no means rules them, because they live and exist independently of us. "Everything dies and everything blooms anew, the year of existence lasts eternally," writes Nietzsche. The fact that the Prince and the Princess apparently find each other does not change this disillusioning truth in any way; Bartók's music, rather than Béla Balázs's libretto, sides with this view.

Nietzsche's ideas reached Bartók almost parallel with the musical impact of Richard Strauss. Numerous details in his letters, as well as his list[12] of Nietzsche readings annotated in pencil and published by Denijs Dille, bear witness to a very intense experience of Nietzsche. Nietzsche was the same kind of *déjà vu* of German, Austro-Hungarian philosophical thinking at the turn of the century as Richards Strauss was of its music. Bartók, when he recommended Nietzsche's *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches* to his sister in 1905, wrote that he too had been occupied with similar thoughts for the past couple of years, but up to then had not encountered anything of this nature anywhere. Somewhat earlier, in 1902, Endre Ady also confessed this feeling in connection with Nietzsche: "I felt that I was somebody's shadow. Foolishly I ran after somebody."[13]

But it is not only in this that the influences of Strauss and Nietzsche are linked together in the mind of Bartók when young. The examples drawn from the stage works cast light on how Nietzschean symbols appear in Bartók along with Strauss's music. The music student and recent graduate from the academy quite probably also travelled the road in reverse, and he saw a Nietzschean hero in the figure of Richard Strauss: a "free spirit," who created in a free form, the symphonic poem, who set everything to music, even at the risk of offending the morals, and rejecting the taboos of the times. And not least of all Bartók's youthful ambition willingly responded to Strauss, the successful, triumphant artist, a man who had already come somewhat closer to the Nietzschean *Übermensch*.

Bartók's youthful enchantment with Richard Strauss, therefore, is reinforced by Nietzschean rapture. What is more, Bartók's dramatic concept did preserve this dual experience beyond his period of unconditional enthusiasm for Strauss and Nietzsche, in an enduring and recognizable form. The magic is thus complete and enduring.

ANDRÁS BATTA

[12] Denijs Dille: "Bartók, lecteur de Nietzsche et de la Rochefoucauld." *Studia Musicologica* 10, 1968.

[13] Endre Ady: "Nietzsche és Zarathustra". (*Budapesti Napló*, August 3, 1902.)

TWO MAJOR WORKS FROM GYÖRGY KURTÁG

In the summer of 1976 I reported on the oeuvre of the then 50-year-old György Kurtág* embracing 16 years but containing 11 opus numbers. The occasion for the review was an evening in Budapest when two of Kurtág's compositions were introduced (*Games for piano*, without an opus number, and *Four Songs Composed to János Pilinszky's Poems*, Op 11). The rhythm of his creative work, the hitherto slow process of composing, or rather maturing of each work has quickened since then. In the five years since, besides some forty further miniatures enriching the *Games* and a transcription of the album's thirteen pieces for two cimbaloms, he has composed a cycle of songs (*S.K.—Remembrance Noise*, Seven Songs to Dezső Tandori's Poems, Op 12), a garland of twelve "microludiums" for string quartet (*Hommage à András Mihály*, Op 13), and an opus for the *Leier* (the new German instrument), for which he has prepared a piccolo, trombone, and guitar transcription (Op 15 a, b,). He has also been working on a Lermontov song cycle, a few choral pieces and eighteen unaccompained songs to texts of Attila József which are finished and ready, or almost ready for publication and performance. Meanwhile, in January and February, 1981 Kurtág presented to the public two new cycles, this time not in Budapest, but in Paris and London. The choral cycle (*Omaggio à Luigi Nono, Op 16*) was first performed by the BBC Singers, and his song cycle (*Messages of the Late R.V. Troussova*, Op 17) was commissioned by Ircam. As the composer of one of the most significant works in the quarter century after the Webern-Bartók era, the four-movement soprano-piano concerto *The Sayings of Peter Bornemisza, Op 7*, the setting to music of the text of the 16th century Hungarian preacher and poet, Kurtág had clearly emerged as the most important living Hungarian composer; the significance of the Paris and London performances is that he has now been discovered also by Europe. Critics in France and England praised the *Omaggio* and the *Messages*, and since then the song cycle has been heard by audiences in La Rochelle, Venice and Milan. The score of the two works was recently issued by Editio Musica in Budapest, and at the Budapest Music of our Times festival in October 1981, they were given their first Hungarian performance. This time the Hungarian Radio and Television Choir, conducted by László Dobszay performed the *Omaggio*, while Adrienne Csengery, as in every previous performance, carried the song cycle to triumph. The Budapest Chamber Ensemble was conducted by András Mihály.

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We could describe these two Kurtág compositions as twin works: the poet whose work is set to music is in both instances Rimma Dalos, who lives in Hungary but writes in Russian. In both the three-line form is dominant, and the inter-relationships in the process of composition are informative: Kurtág wrote the choruses of the *Omaggio* after interrupting work on the *Messages*, and then continued and finished the song cycle. Their function in Kurtág's oeuvre is also similar: they advance to a new realm of sound. The *Omaggio* is his first choral work since Op 1 ("Some day you ought to write something for chorus as well," Nono remarked to Kurtág; this is Nono's only connection with the composition), and his first a *capella* work as well. The score of the *Messages* also expands the chamber orchestra to dimensions never yet tested by the composer, to the violin, the viola, the double bass, the oboe, the clarinet, horn, mandolin, cimbalom, harp, piano, vibraphone, celesta and a whole regi-

* *NHQ* 62.

ment of percussion instruments, which all are brand new to Kurtág. (It is, after all, probably justifiable to regard the *Capriccio*, with its single performance, as a withdrawn experiment.) With this the composer, who until then had been so parsimonious in his means, set out in at least three directions: towards a large volume of sound (he conceived his *Omaggio* explicitly for a large chorus), towards a multicoloured compositional style, and towards the polyphonic musical ideal, a texture of more then 3–4–5 voices, yet held within strict control. This much is sufficient for us to see in these two works an opening, and a new direction. Janus-like in their cycle and formal conceptions, in their organization of sound, in their characteristic intonations, their melodic and dynamic gestures, and their psychology both still unmistakably bear Kurtág's old and familiar hallmark. In which is the new element more forceful? Perhaps the *Omaggio* more decidedly exploits the possibilities offered by the Russian language. The first movement inflects the pronoun "whose" and plays with the sound possibilities of the language; the second movement, a setting of the Ahmatova fragment, seems to give prominence to the cadence of Russian speech; the last movement in the cycle appears to allow old Russian choral music to filter through. The substantially more monumental song cycle is richer, more complete and satisfying. Through its inspiration, its ability to depict a full lyrical universe, it is the very same type of summarizing masterpiece—typically this one was also five years in preparation—as *The Sayings of Péter Bornemisza*, ten years earlier.

For Kurtág Russian is a secret, virtually a sacred language, in a sense similar to what Latin was for Stravinsky when composing *Oedipus Rex*. It is worth quoting here a few lines from Joergensen's monograph on Saint Francis of Assisi, to which Stravinsky referred: "To Francis French was the language of poetry, the language of religion, the language of the most beautiful memories and the most solemn hours, the language to which he escaped when his heart became too full for him to find expression in the Italian language (...) French was in essence the language of his soul." Eric White, Stravinsky's monographer adds that Latin, for Stravinsky, quite likely "bore a magic element which could be exploited in his music." All this is completely valid for Kurtág and his relationship with the Russian language. However, what Stravinsky says about Latin and its appropriateness for the Oedipus theme and the oratorio genre ("It provided me with a medium which is not dead, but petrified, and thus became monumentalized, safe from every risk of vulgarization"), cannot be said of Kurtág's use of Russian. Kurtág adheres to these Russian words with the glowing expressivity found in his setting of the texts of Bornemisza, Pál Gulyás, János Pilinszky and Dezső Tandori.

The text of the choral work divides into three sections of three movements each, the second three cycles within the cycle are from "The Writings of the Apostle Paul to Me" by Rimma Dalos. The verse structure also provides a further separation of the cycle into two parts: the setting to music of the three-line verses of the last four movements. The musical symmetry is again different; two lengthier compositions, of several stages each, flank two miniatures of chamber music character, even in their number of voices. One *(Love—for Months)* quotes the opening notes of the Prelude to Wagner's *Tristan* as a two-voice hommage, the other is a four-voice canon. They represent a main variation of the three-phase forms corresponding to the three-line verses that frequently occur in Kurtág's works: one of them is repetitive, rhymelike, expanding to a final materialization; the other is an asymmetrical variant unexpectedly coming to a pointe-like conclusion. The first movement inflecting a pronoun is a Russian variant of one of the characteristic soundgames, attitudes *(There Will be Solace)* of the

Tandori cycle. Still the new sound departs here from the personal, and the Lermontov quotation attached to the movement ("And life, if you gaze around with cold attention— Is such an empty and foolish jest!") suggests a philosophy behind the jesting and the bravura. The tragic awareness of the Ahmatova fragment is set in a veiled waltz rhythm and a concealed melody of thirds which the pointe-music (pizzicato-like vocal chords accompliment to the solo voice) and the closing 12-tone dolcissimo harmony in fifths suggestively, easingly resolve. Among Rimma Dalos's Biblical paraphrases (the poet complements two lines of quotations from Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians with a third line as her personal reply), again the closing line in the fifth movement ("for everyone it is given and from everything forgotten...") evokes Kurtág's most sensitive reaction, the aleatory chant tone never before heard in his works. The great movement of the *Omaggio* is the finale. It is dedicated to Lili Ország* in whose pictures the gate symbol recurs: "And a gate opened for me broad and mighty, but I dare not step through it...". Here Kurtág returns to the naively communicative, visionary, symbolic style, the Schütz-type concerto style of the Bornemisza Cantata. The male and the female quintets set before us the wings of the gate, which—as if we were approaching them—seem to grow ever mightier... The threefold, fourfold piano dynamics and the sighing motif, for centuries port of European music, conveys (middle section) the anguished, panting, almost broken frame of mind, before the confession escapes: I do not dare. The music, as a camera, records this moment for eternity, the gate, the gate of death opens on to infinity but the melody hesitates as if enchanted, there is no continuation: hope, as a receding, fading constellation (a prolonged E) gradually vanishes on the horizon. We feel the Russian-like choral sound, which imbues the music, to be authoritative, and when we do, Kurtág in actual fact has dared to step through the outer gate of his own style, and arrived at an even wider world. The inner spheres of this world are to be traversed by the musician-poet of the *Messages of the Late R. V. Troussova.*

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The number of verses (21) of the Rimma Dalos song cycle, the fundamental idea of the instrumentation (a soprano accompanied by a chamber orchestra of varying composition and a characteristic technique (speech at fixed pitches occurring here and there within the solo vocal part) may already recall for many listeners Schönberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* cycle of 1912. But the rearrangement of the verse by the composer himself is enough to make this questionable. The first part (with Ahmatova's *Loneliness* as motto) comprises two, relatively longer songs; the second part (with a motto taken from Ahmatova's *A Little Erotic*) consists of four songs of medium length, and the third (with a motto from Blok's *Bitter Experience—Delight and Grief*) is a short song based on fifteen three-line verses (with an epilogue from Blok's *Grey Morning*). The order of movements too, is entirely different from Schönberg's. After the drama of the first part and the songs of *scherzo* character in the second, the third movement, however composite and contrasting, is purely lyrical. More significant, and acknowledged by the composer himself, is the spiritual kinship that links Kurtág's Op 17 with Schumann's Chamisso cycle of eight songs *(Frauenliebe und Leben)*. In both a woman looks back on her life, her happy and unhappy love but there is a deeper affinity in the shades and intensity of feeling, in the identification with the moment evoked, the co-existence of present and past, even in the openly Schumanesque atmosphere of each song: "Love me, Forgive Me—My wishes are so

* *NHQ* 30, 51, 75.

simple". Yes, Schumann! But here the celebration of the interlaced bodies replaces the discovery of the beloved, the positive poles of wedding and childbirth; the tragedy of the unexpected, early death, and the recollection of a dream (piano postlude), are here replaced by lyrical-emotional images of unrequited love, doubt and suffering in love. Kurtág's cycle is complemented by Russian articulation and joined by a vocal compass capable of serving even a Schönbergian monodrama. From the singer Kurtág makes large demands on intonation, dramatic, lyrical and coloratura technique, operatic and song styles, declamation and speech aptitude, and even *bel canto* if the singer is to survive the extremes of the vocal part. These demands on the singer were already present in the Bornemisza Cantata. Now, however, the singing style is more pliant, more fusible, the melodic contours are emotionally more shaded; at the same time their configurations, even in the moments of passion, are not so extreme, they are larger in scope, simpler, pared down. Up to now Kurtág has obliterated the difference between instrumental and vocal parts mainly by an instrumentation of the singing style. Now the singing part feels more vocal and is wrapped in the many strands of the instrumental texture. These strands—so many shades—continue and pattern the vocal motif like coloured yarn, anticipate it, twist around it, stitch it, whenever and however the imagination desires.

In the very first song there is an overwhelming impression of colour. It is as if after twenty years the sun is finally shining over a landscape that has always been rather overcast. This dazzling light may scintillate metallically because of the frequent use of cimbalom and mandolin, some well-known harmonic, or *sul ponticello* and similar effects of the strings. But this time in Kurtág it is capable of an impressionist readiness and almost sensous enchantment. These new colours give a new dimension to Kurtág's music. They compel a resolution of unbearable emotional stresses; they complement the stark simplicity and intensity of expression with a new richness in the music. Consider only the rapid, wild alternations of pitch and vibrant Sprachgesang of the movement entitled *Heat*, or the aleatory culmination of the postlude of the dialogue *(Two Interlaced Bodies)* which follows, and the entrancing instrumental coda reminiscent of Indian *raga* preludes and postludes. The shrieking and grunting of the solo part in the scherzo *(Why Should I not Squeal Like a Pig)* which follows directly recalls the demonic, grotesque scherzo in the Bornemisza Cantata. The movement *Chastushka* is a kind of echo of the tavern scene in Wozzeck. Again we may see a continuation of Kurtág's own method of forming visual and auditive images, such as for example the *giusto* creating the effect of a clock ticking in the song *Your Disappearances*. Some at least of these effects, in which the 3rd movement is the richest, should be noted. There are the colours of the clarinet, cimbalom, harp, vibraphone, bell, gong and viola ensemble in *You Took My Heart;* there is the *dolcissimo* sound of joy turning into warmth in the *poco sostenuto* sections of *Pebbles;* there is the elusive atmosphere around the soprano-oboe canon of *A Slender Needle;* the incantations in the *Autumn Flowers Fading* enchantingly refined from a scale, from mewing, from aleatory, and there is the marvellous, exalted cheer from the clarinet, horn, viola, soprano imitations in *A Plaything*. And finally there is the peculiar colouring of the summary, the 21st song, orchestrated for an ensemble of soprano, horn and double bass: "For everything we did together at some time I pay". With tears, the music says. Kurtág is just as resourceful in the invention of newer variants of miniature musical forms. It is not only a question of the construing of strict forms as in the two two-voice canons, and within this the splendid changes of position of the cimbalom-voice duet, the dance of the

embellishing and principal notes; it also concerns the inexhaustible invention in the small song forms, and refrains or echoes. There are also a few staggeringly original forms among these traditional variants, for example, the caesura in *Payment*, or the technique of superimposing verse and music on each other twice, on one occasion with a shift in *Pebbles*.

Even more important than the diversity of small forms, because it is indispensable in a *chef d'œuvre*, is the fact that the 21 songs interweave in a single whole, a full, complete work of art. The unity is achieved through the momentum of expressivity, the homogeneity of the "cells" of this music, the mutually related variatons or contrasts of the individual songs and through who knows what kind of hidden compositional lines of force. But then what is the cohesive force of such cycles as Schumann's *Papillons*, we might ask, since we are referring so often to Schumann here? All this continues to occur within the frame of thematic composing and Kurtág's music is still without any adhesive material. In this sense the form is bare, communication is as concentrated as possible though in this piece the composer—virtually in the spell of liberation and relief—fleshes out the bones of his music by the sheer dimensions of colour and sound. The fundamental of the whole cycle, as in every Kurtág work, remains unchanged: truth and substance. Rarely has it shined with such simplicity and warmth, with such candour: it recalls the most confessional moments of the Bornemisza cantata: "Flowers we are, frail flowers."

GYÖRGY KROÓ

ECONOMIC LIFE

HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC POLICY AND THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY

The starting-point of Hungarian policy on technology transfer is that technological innovation is indispensable in order to adapt economic structures to scientific-technical progress; since technology is systematic and formalized knowledge, cooperation—in the widest sense—is an essential part of technology. The macroeconomic consideration is the general usefulness of the transfer (active or passive) to the national economy, but decisions have to be made primarily at the enterprise level with company objectives in mind.

It is being realized that no single country can possibly maintain the necessary level of scientific progress in all areas and must rely on the experience and technology of other countries as part of its technological strategy. This is particularly true for a small country like Hungary, where the national policy on technology necessarily includes both setting priorities in development objectives and taking part in the international division of scientific work both by acquiring technologies abroad and by transferring technologies to other countries.

It is part of this policy to close the technological gap in areas where Hungarian industry has to learn, and to assist the learning process of others where Hungarian industry has something to teach. The closing of the gap can also contribute—apart from levelling living standards—to a more even flow of goods and a more balanced structure in world trade. Naturally this is to be achieved not by ignoring or eliminating elements of the economy but my making use of those which are complementary and advantageous. Our experience does not confirm the conclusions of some research, according to which industrial cooperation has done little to narrow the technological gap. However, we will admit that not all cooperation agreements equally serve this end, particularly as this is far from being the exclusive motive for cooperation agreements. But where technology transfer is involved, it must by its very definition strengthen the growth of the scientific and technological capabilities of the recipient. Whether this fosters independence or dependence may vary from case to case; it mostly leads to interdependence, which is not something to be shunned, as international specialization and cooperation are factors which tend to reduce the capital intensity of development. Of course, it must be recognized that the transferred technology can be less or more advanced, as the case may be, and require a varying amount of scientific and technical effort from the parties concerned. The firm Hungarian policy is not to foster less advanced practices, on whichever side of the transfer process the Hungarian party should be. Hungarian policy is thus in agreement with the popular view which considers industrial cooperation an instrument for accelerating technical development and for modernizing technologies.

The objectives of the Hungarian policy

on technology transfer are identical with the agreed objectives of UNCTAD's "Draft international code of conduct on the transfer of technology," namely, to facilitate and increase the flow of technological information and to promote mutual confidence. As far as the further agreed objective—to avoid abusing a stronger position—is concerned, it is felt that Hungary's economic system guarantees both that Hungarian enterprises will not fall victim to such practices and that they will not themselves commit such abuses. They will only enter into contracts which are perceived to carry mutual benefits.

The above principles, including that of "mutual benefits," also apply fully to Hungary's economic policy towards the developing countries. Hungary's recognition of her international duties towards the less developed countries exactly coincides with her own development objectives on structural change. In the transfer of technology active participation by the recipient is welcomed, leading to cooperation which has a beneficial effect on the recipient country's economy. Equity participation is accepted for a limited period if it is desired by the recipient, but the Hungarian objective is obviously not to export capital, but to assist the developing country's industrial development and to foster mutually beneficial economic relations. This makes it desirable to use locally available resources.

In assessing the relative advantages and disadvantages of "turnkey" deliveries as against discrete packages, the Hungarian party—as recipient—may prefer the former, even though it is aware of the fact that if a single component is neglected or poorly executed the whole programme, no matter how well conceived, may fail. When offering technologies, Hungarian enterprises may also offer complete packages, but they are ready to cooperate with local suppliers and/or of soft- or hardware suppliers from other countries, and this inevitably leads to a certain degree of "unpackaging."

A further important principle in Hungarian policy is respect for the protection of industrial property, in accordance with the relevant conventions.

Hungarian enterprises as the acquiring party

Hungarian enterprises will, of course, acquire technology from abroad where this is more economical or expedient than developing it themselves or obtaining it from another Hungarian enterprise or research institute. It is equally obvious that technology is acquired from industrialized countries.

A survey made by the Hungarian Institute for Economic and Market Research in 1978 confirmed that Hungarian enterprises viewed the most important aims of industrial cooperation as the acceleration of technical development and the learning and application of new technologies; the survey found that in the vast majority of cases the Hungarian enterprises had not wasted efforts on first trying to develop the technology in question themselves.

At the enterprise level the benefits of acquiring technology manifest themselves in an increase in productivity, where the new technology is introduced into an existing manufacturing process. Here, too, costs may be cut and quality improved. Often, however, the aim is the introduction of an entirely new product. In both cases, acquiring the technology is not, of course, a final aim, but a means of improving marketability on domestic and/or export markets.

Hungarian enterprises as the supplying party

Hungarian enterprises supply technologies to industrialized and to developing countries. The transfer of technology is for them an alternative strategy to supplying goods

manufactured by themselves, and is motivated by the desire of obtaining the maximum profit in the given market circumstances, and by the government and social pressure to assist developing countries.

A further consideration is to export software. There are two reasons: the relative abundance of highly qualified manpower, and the relative shortage of capital to meet all demand from their own production.

When supplying technology, Hungarian enterprises are motivated by the expectation of income; this expectation is weighed against the risks that every supplier of technology must face.

Transfer mechanisms

At the present stage in technical and scientific progress, a number of things are necessary—besides knowledge—to transfer technology in practice: machinery, materials, skilled engineers, technicians, and workers. A great number of technologies demand production on a scale where access to markets and marketing ability become of prime importance. Since the means and knowledge must be paid for out of the proceeds of production in a similar or different area, or the purchase price must be advanced, financing has thus become a very important factor.

It follows that the objects to be transferred may include new or improved production processes, or new components, finished products, technological lines, and complete industrial projects (with their incorporated technologies), or management and work methods and organization.

The major mechanisms through which the transfer of technology may occur are: importation of machinery, licensing and know-how agreements, leasing, hire-purchase, turnkey projects, company purchase, joint ventures, or industrial cooperation.

The traditional form of technology transfer in East-West relations—simple licensing—is sometimes regarded as insufficiently effective, because it need not commit the supplier to the successful application of the transferred technology. This is one of the main reasons why additional clauses have been built into transfer contracts providing for payment in goods produced by the transferred technology. In Hungary, priority is usually given to technology imports under such arrangements, and the same demand is often made when a Hungarian enterprise supplies technology to a developing country. Nevertheless, not all East-West licensing agreements provide for payment in the licensed product. On the other hand, the supplier may sometimes be the main beneficiary of such an arrangement since it bars competition from the licensee, limiting his exports to deliveries to the licensor.

Industrial cooperation as the transfer mechanism

It is generally assumed that the transfer of technology is positively influenced by East-West industrial cooperation, by scientific and technical cooperation between governments, and by the use of common technical norms and standards. In cooperation agreements made by Hungarian enterprises some transfer of technology is almost invariably present, and the vast majority of enterprises would claim that the acquisition of foreign technology is much safer within the frame of cooperation than through simple import channels.

Cooperation is superior to other transfer mechanisms, although its results should not be overestimated as far as the modernization of the industrial structure of the acquiring country is concerned. Cooperation, neither of necessity, nor in all cases, reduces the technological gap.

Statistics kept in Hungary of imports and exports under cooperation contracts show without the shade of a doubt that cooperation agreements overall benefit Hungary's balance of trade.

It is, of course, true that although one of

the reasons for often preferring cooperation to other transfer mechanisms is the consideration of the effect on the balance of payments, in buyback agreements a debt is first incurred by the acquiring party, and it becomes difficult to pay off this debt if the supplying party later does not fulfil its obligation and declines to buy back the product.

Only when the supplying party has a genuine interest in receiving the products of the technology delivered is there a real guarantee to the acquiring party that buyback commitments will be met, full documentation and training will be provided, and the technology continually updated.

As far as the "costliness" of technology transfer through cooperation is concerned, other factors may, of course, add to the costs. These could be differences in the habits, laws, and in the internal organizations of different countries, as well as different levels of economic development and the influence of the socio-economic system. These must be taken into consideration no matter which direction the transfer is made. In the last resort this cost is borne by the acquiring party, unless the supplying party has some reason for generosity.

Technology transfer as an essential substance of industrial cooperation

In Hungary, priority is usually given to licence agreements combined with economic cooperation, and cooperation is considered a suitable instrument for technology transfer. It may be true that Hungarian enterprises do not practise only the most advanced form of cooperation, where high technology is involved. This type of cooperation is all the same favoured, nor need it necessarily buy back; it may, however, provide for coproduction, since Hungarian enterprises are quite often capable of contributing to the joint development of a technology.

The coproduction and specialization forms of cooperation often incorporate either transfers of disembodied technology through licensing or embodied technology through the delivery of machinery and equipment; the latter may also be accompanied by "disembodied" software.

For the supplying party the steady receipt of royalties is, of course, also an important motive for cooperation. Incidentally, while the interests of the supplying and of the acquiring party may be in conflict in the negotiating stage, a compromise agreement with conditions acceptable to both, and harmonious cooperation thereafter, are in the common interest.

The scope of the transferred technology is quite often a mute question. It can be acknowledged that in Hungary, where decisions on cooperation are being made at the enterprise level, the technologies transferred under cooperation agreements do not usually involve structural changes at the level of the national economy, but are more likely to be of an innovative nature. Nor does innovation stop with the acquisition of a novel technology; many enterprises, after entering into agreements for cooperation in production and marketing, extend their cooperation to the process of innovation as a result of discovering a demand for a newer or modified product or process. Attention is then directed towards the possibilities of joint research and development. Joint research and development is a means of accelerating the diffusion of technology at a lower cost, through sharing innovative capacity, to the benefit of both parties.

It is nevertheless a fact that the flow of technology has been more often from West to East, and this may indicate a technological gap in some areas, at least. However the shortcomings of the East are more often in the commercial application of research results than in the research itself. This experience supports Hungarian endeavours for forms of cooperation where the application of Hungarian or joint research results is speed through the contributions of the Western partner.

The stimulation of trade

Industrial cooperation contributes to increased international specialization and thereby stimulates visible and invisible trade deriving from this newly created specialization. To the view that the ambition of both partners to use cooperation as a marketing instrument cancels itself out, the counter-argument is that cooperation undoubtedly leads to deliveries in both directions which would not occur if other technology transfer mechanisms had been chosen. This proves that cooperation both facilitates the transfer of technology and creates additional trade. In the Hungarian experience it has fulfilled the expectation of increasing exports in marketable products. It has also made a modest contribution to redressing the imbalance of trade.

Yet it is necessary to voice here some fears. This function of imported technology —inducing new exports—is seriously jeopardized by Western protectionism intended to hinder the export of East European (including Hungarian) finished products. This may endanger the entire outward-looking, technology importing, external economic strategy.

The forms of technology transfer

Transfer is always a learning process. Hence it almost invariably includes the training of management and personnel and specifically provides for the rendering of technical services in the introduction and operation of the technology to be transferred. The training may occur on either the premises of the licensor or the licensee, or both, and also include advice on procurement from third parties. Hungarian enterprises usually specify in the cooperation agreement the amount of training (number of trainees, length of time) and the apportionment of the costs. The amount required depends on the efficiency of the written documentation, the complexity of the technology, and the level of technical education and experience of the acquiring party.

Some documentation is usually presented in the negotiating stage to facilitate evaluation of the technology. This may include preliminary technical information and feasibility studies. The final documentation is specified in the technology description and listed in the agreement, together with secrecy clauses and payment conditions. Supplying parties have learned to supply full documentation and not to underrate documentation costs. Hungarian practice usually requires the supplier's guarantee that the technology meets the description contained in the transfer agreement—accepting as a guarantee that the supplying party will purchase finished products or parts produced by the transferred technology in the framework of a cooperation agreement; this is the practice whether the Hungarian enterprise is the supplying or the acquiring party.

Embodied technology entails the delivery of machinery and/or equipment or their mediation by the supplying party. This may represent anything from a special tool through a single machine or production line to a complete factory or a turnkey project, as long as it embodies technology which is novel to the acquiring party. A technology transfer through the supply of machinery differs from a simple sale of machinery inasmuch as the transaction is only completed when the recipient is in a position to apply the machinery effectively.

It is not unusual in Hungarian practice to include in the forms of the transfer—as apart from training—a demonstration of the technology in action.

Payment for know-how and licenses may be made either in the form of flat fees or royalties or both. Hungarian law permits the parties to reach their own agreement, but the payment conditions must be regulated in the cooperation agreement. "Payment in goods" may occur in an arrangement whereby the licence fee is credited to the supplying

party, who can then only use this credit to purchase goods manufactured through the technology acquired.

Any transfer mechanism is likely to include several forms of transfer, and this applies even more to cooperation agreements in which the entire transfer is just one element; the complexity (or the number of forms applied) varies, of course, from contact to contract. The complexity of the contract (the transactions) is not the same as the complexity of the technology, but they are related.

Technology may also be transferred through a joint venture.

Responsibilities and obligations of the supplying party

Whether the Hungarian enterprise is the supplying or the acquiring party, it is aware that the international flow of technology can only be maintained if the legitimate interests of both parties are observed. The Hungarian supplying party is generally responsive to the requirements presented by the socio-economic system and culture in which the acquiring party operates. Hungarian enterprises prefer to use locally available resources if they can be used economically. Hungarian enterprises are generally aware of the advantage offered by turnkey projects if fairly priced. While cooperation does not usually lend itself to "unpackaging"—lest the deal falls apart—it provides a frame in which the various performances and counter-performances can be easily priced separately.

The provision of information is one of the key questions in any technology transfer. Since the transfer is an act—or rather a series of acts—of communication, it is necessary for the supplying party to overcome all obstacles that impede effective communication. In the narrowest sense, the supplying party must guarantee that the technical information is complete and correct the purposes specified in the cooperation agreement. For cooperation to be successful the flow of information must be an ongoing process. The decisive factors are not only access to information but also the proper organization of information at the receiving end.

It is often considered the supplying party's responsibility that the technology should be appropriate to the receiver's conditions, but obviously the best that can be expected from the supplier is his guarantee that if the technology is properly used it is suited to the requirements set forth in the agreement. The usual Hungarian practice is to spell out quite clearly the responsibilities of the supplier and the limits of these responsibilities. In this respect the superiority of cooperation agreements over other transfer mechanisms is obvious. The obligation of the supplying party to accept or purchase products produced by the acquired technology for his own use or distribution provides the acquiring party with a much more easily enforceable warranty than any other legal obligation or guarantee. This is because it makes the supplying party directly interested in the success of the transfer, and in case of failure places on him the onus of proving that the cause for such failure lies with the acquiring party.

Where access to improvements is concerned, in Hungarian practice any licence agreement must usually contain a provision for including all improvements to the product made by the licensor during the term of the licence. The improvements may have to be made available free of charge, or they can be offered. The alternatives and conditions are up to the contracting parties. Here the essence is that the licensee cannot be left in ignorance about improvements in the product. This obligation is often reciprocal. There is a reciprocal exchange of information on improvements or improved techniques between the cooperation partners even though it sometimes takes place outside the formalized channels though it may not be formalized.

Responsibilities and obligations of the acquiring party

It is not a general requirement that imported technology must be patented in Hungary; the existence of a patent, however, increases the market value of the technology. Hungarian courts give full protection to patents and to the contract rights of any licensor whether or not the technology is patented or patentable; this protection extends to stipulations binding the licensee to secrecy. Secrecy clauses must, however, have a time limit. Confidential information received for the purpose of evaluating a potential partner's technology also enjoys protection.

There are three sets of circumstances in which the observation of proper quality standards by the acquiring party are important to the supplying party. The first is the case where the agreement includes the use of the supplier's trade marks or trade names, and where the lowering of the standards may injure the supplying party's goodwill or reputation. The second case is where supplying party receives part of the cooperation product. The third case is where the observance of instructions to be followed in the manufacturing process, as laid down in the contract, is a condition of the warranty given by the supplying party.

Conclusions

Industrial cooperation which includes technology transfer has brought practical results to the Hungarian economy and to the countries whose firms have engaged in this cooperation with Hungarian enterprises, even if these results are difficult to quantify.

Although the number of agreements testify to some flow of information on the availability of technologies and on the conditions of their transfer, improving the storage and flow of such information demands further development of appropriate structures of communication.

During periods of slow market growth and other less favourable economic conditions Western firms may be less willing to sell technologies to the East due to a reluctance to create new competitors; however, the simultaneous increase in competence of industries in the East (including those in Hungary) may give rise to new forms of cooperation requiring more equal technological inputs from the two sids.

Technology transfer in all directions will be furthered by a Code of Conduct, if this code leads to an increase in the amount of technology transferred, and to technology being transferred in a more efficient and equitable way.

Technology transfer within industrial cooperation does not necessarily involve cooperation between different sectors or which is two-phase (sell-back arrangements); it may, and preferably does, involve cooperation within one sector or a functional differentiation (coproduction), a true division of work.

Two-phase cooperations necessarily lead to a temporary debt on the part of the acquiring party, and their prevalance has thus contributed to the reported debt of East to West and South to North; nevertheless, industrial cooperation has on the whole fostered the expansion of trade, and in the case of Hungary at least, it has demonstrably improved the balance of payments.

East-West cooperation has increased economic interdependence. Whether one welcomes or regrets this fact is a matter of political approach but it is nonetheless a fact.

It has become clear that there is no incompatibility or contradiction between regional integration and intersystem cooperation; both are established practices of the Hungarian economy and of the enterprises developing their own production strategy and product pattern within this economy.

KÁROLY RAVASZ

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

As a Hungarophile who has long admired the *NHQ* I'm delighted to see, in No. 82, some of my poems on Attila and the Huns. It seems fitting too, since those poems started from Hungarian legends. Knowing how rarely you publish the work of non-Hungarian poets I'm proud to be one of four such poets in that issue.

But may I correct an impression given by your note on me? It was not in Hungary in 1980 that I was first told 'there is no kinship whatsoever between the Huns and the Hungarians.' I was aware of this view six years earlier, when I was writing the poems, and I referred to it later in my radio feature on the Huns.

I call it a 'view' for this reason: According to Pamlényi's *History of Hungary* (1975), the Magyars reached the Carpathian Basin after a long sojourn in regions where they had been 'subjects of the successive empires of the Huns, the Avars, the Tu-kines, the Onogur-Bulgars and the Khazars' (p. 17). It seems to me entirely probable that the Magyars had mixed and intermarried with descendants of the Attilanic Huns who had retreated into the steppes after Attila's death.

So when Árpád, according to legend, claimed Hungary in the name of his 'great forefather, Attila,' the claim may not have been quite groundless. Most likely we'll never know, but there just could be a drop of Hunnish blood in Hungarian veins. I hope so: Attila was a man of spirit who 'took on' the Roman Empire as he found it, and to some effect.

Philip Martin
Monash University
Clayton, Victoria
Australia

Sir,

Allow me to draw attention to a minor piece of misinformation in *NHQ* 83. Happy as the reprinting of Bartók's 1937 "Collecting Folksongs in Anatolia" made me, I must nevertheless express my disappointment at the editorial note. "...The scores are facsimiles of Bartók autographs."

These alleged Bartók autographs are in the hand of Jenő Deutsch, Bartók's piano student and chief copyist in the 1930s, a keen-eared folksong recorder in his own right. In those years Deutsch, commissioned and supervised by Bartók, copied so to speak every collected folksong which appeared in facsimile, and on occasion also the Indian ink originals of the occasional lithographed scores (e.g. of the original *Magyar Kórus* edition of the 27 pieces for children's and women's choir). On this occasion as well Deutsch provided the clean copy, only the numbering and the two place-names above the score are in Bartók's hand—(Kelköy-Adana, etc.).

You are not the first to identify Deutsch's hand as Bartók's—indeed there are great similarities. But it is after all the job of those of us who specialize in the subject readily to offer information.

Assuming that these comments will be welcome and wishing you continued success in your Bartók publications,

László Somfai
Director of the Bartók Archives
Budapest

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ANTAL, Gábor (b. 1922). Journalist, on the staff of *Magyar Nemzet*, a national daily, since 1945. Has published collections of articles, including *Egy szál gyertya* (A single candle), 1968. Also a broadcaster.

BALES, Kent (b. 1931). Professor of English at the University of Minnesota. A Fulbright Lecturer at the University of Budapest in 1980–81. He is helping to plan and conduct a study of the reception of American literature and theatre in Hungary. See also "Hungarian Theatre through American Eyes," *NHQ* 58, and "An American 'Catsplay,'" 69.

BATTA, András (b. 1953). Musicologist. Studied the cello and musicology at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest, and spent a year at the University of Vienna. Wrote his thesis on the symphonic poems of Liszt. His main field of research is 19th century music. At present Assistant Professor of Musicology at the Liszt Academy.

CSIKÓS-NAGY, Béla (b. 1915). Secretary of State, Head of the National Materials and Prices Office. Has published and lectured on price policy and other economic questions in Hungary and abroad. See "Socialist Economic Theory and the New Mechanism," *NHQ* 28, "The Monetary Framework of the Socialist Economy," 33, "Anti-Inflationary Policies," 55, "Hungarian Price Policy," 59, "Ten Years of the Hungarian Economic Reform," 70, "The Hungarian Price Reform," 75, "New Features of Hungarian Economic Policy," 77, and "The Competitiveness of the Hungarian Economy," 81.

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.

GERGELY, Attila (b. 1950). Sociologist, a graduate of the University of Budapest. A research fellow at the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His fields are the way of life of industrial workers, the relationship between cultural and social structures, and study and information processes in society. He has published papers on these subjects.

GÖNCZ, Árpád (b. 1922). Writer, translator. Studied law and agricultural engineering, was employed on various menial and clerical jobs. After 1956 served a prison sentence. His huge oeuvre as translator include fiction by Faulkner, Hemingway, Updike, Lowry, and Golding. Has published a novel, a volume of short stories, and a collection of plays.

GYERTYÁN, Ervin (b. 1925). Our regular film critic.

GYÖRFFY, Miklós (b. 1942). Our regular reviewer of prose fiction.

HALÁSZ, Zoltán (b. 1914). Writer and journalist. Deputy Editor of *NHQ* since its foundation. A graduate of Pázmány Péter University in Budapest, on the staff of a daily in the 30s, became an editor and later Rome correspondent of the Hungarian News Agency; a free-lance translator between 1949–55, reader at Corvina Press 1955–60. Published a number of books on social history (among them on the renaissance chronicler Antonio Bonfini, on Louis Pasteur, on Sir Aurel Stein), as well as novels, the latest one on Chancellor Metternich.

HERCEG, András (b. 1943). Economist and engineer, head of the industrial statistics section at the Central Bureau of Statistics in Budapest. His work concerns the statistical and technical-economic problems of mining, the construction and chemical industries, and energy supply.

ILLÉS, Endre (b. 1902). Author. General Manager of Szépirodalmi Kiadó, a publishing house of literature in Budapest. Has published numerous volumes of short stories, novels, literary essays, criticism, written plays for the stage and television. His translations include fiction by Stendhal, Maupassant, Mauriac, etc. Both as a critic and a publisher he has played an important part in the shaping of literature for the last forty years. See his short stories in *NHQ* 3, 11, 18, 48, 54, and 67.

JAEHNE, Karen. American film critic who lived in Berlin for many years, working at the Berlin Film Festival, writing for film journals; *Film Quarterly* published her long article on István Szabó in 1978 and other criticism on the Hungarian cinema. See "Love in a Cage," in *NHQ* 84.

JOLY, Pierre (b. 1925). Art critic and writer living in Paris. Teaches history of architecture at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts. Frequent contributor to *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, *l'Oeil*, *Domus*, and other magazines and papers in France and abroad. Correspondent of *Magyar Építőművészet*, the monthly review of the Union of Hungarian Architects. Author of a book on the sculptor Pierre Székely, Corvina Press, 1977. With Véra Cardot, a journalist of Hungarian birth, he founded a small agency of art and architecture photography. The article on Székely is illustrated with their photographs.

KABDEBÓ, Lóránt (b. 1936). Literary historian, at present heads the Oral History section of the Petőfi Museum of Literature in Budapest. Studied Hungarian and History at the University of Budapest, taught at secondary school and was on the staff of a literary magazine before joining the Petőfi Museum. Published a study in three volumes on the poet Lőrinc Szabó and a collection of essays on poetry.

KLINGER, András (b. 1930). A graduate in law of the University of Budapest. Heads the vital statistics section at the Central Bureau of Statistics in Budapest. In charge of the national census. His publications, in Hungary and abroad, deal with human fertility, family planning, birth control, and demographic policy. Editor of the monthly *Demográfia*. Member of the International Union for Scientific Population Studies, the International Statistical Institute, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the International Social Sciences Council.

KROÓ, György (b. 1926). Professor of Musicology at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest. Member of the Editorial Board of *NHQ*. Heads a section in the music department of Hungarian Radio which prepares programmes popularizing serious music. Author of books on Bartók, and on contemporary Hungarian music. See "Sándor Balassa: Requiem for Kassák," *NHQ* 50. "The Hungarian Cimbalom," 59, "One Hundred Minutes of Kurtág," 62, "Zsolt Durkó's Moses Opera," 68, "Outside the Door," 71, and "Bartók's Guiding Principles," 81.

LÁZÁR, István (b. 1933). Author, journalist, since 1964 on the editorial staff of *Valóság*, a Budapest monthly of sociology and philosophy. Has written volumes of descriptive sociology and a biography of István Örkény, the novelist and playwright, as well as scripts of a number of documentary films and television programmes. See "Tête-à-tête with Deputy Premier István Huszár," *NHQ* 61, "An Hour with Emil Schultheisz,

Minister of Health," 62, and "The Collective Farm and the Private Plot," 63.

MAJOR, Máté (b. 1904). Architect, Professor, (ret.) of the School of Architectural Engineering at the Budapest Technical University, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Among his recent contributions see "Theory and Practice in Architecture," *NHQ* 42, "Thirty Years of Hungarian Agriculture," 57, "Károly Kós, an Uomo Universale," 61, "The New Buda Castle," 62, and "One-man Show of György Kepes in Budapest," 64.

MOLNÁR, S. Edit (b. 1934). Sociologist, an advisor to the Central Bureau of Statistics in Budapest. Her research concerns housing, demographic trends and family planning on which she has published several papers.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). One of our regular art critics.

NYERS, Rezső (b. 1923). Economist, M.P., a former Secretary to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' 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, "Balancing Aims and Objectives," 51, and "Patriotism and Economic Growth," 82.

ODZE, György (b. 1949). Novelist. Graduated in 1970 from the School of Commerce and Catering. A volume of short stories appeared in 1978, *Tőled függ* (It depends on you), a novel, in 1980. He works in the Department of International Relations of the Ministry of Culture. See his story "The House," *NHQ* 72.

PUJA, Frigyes (b. 1921). Minister of Foreign Affairs. Held various posts before becoming Minister Plenipotentary to Sweden (1953–55), and later to Austria (1955–59). Between 1968 and 1973 first Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. His works include: *A békés egymás mellett élés problémái* ("The problems of peaceful coexistence") 1967, *Szocialista külpolitika* ("Socialist foreign policy") 1973, *A magyar külpolitika* ("Hungarian foreign policy"). 1980. His most recent contribution is "Maintaining and Improving the Results of Détente," *NHQ* 81.

RAVASZ, Károly (b. 1921). Economist. Executive of MAHIR, Hungarian Advertising Agency, and Marketing Manager of Intercooperation, Ltd. A lawyer by training who spent several years as a member of the Press Section of the Foreign Office and in the diplomatic service. 1962–66 Director General of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. See "The East-West Trade Situation," *NHQ* 66.

SZÉKY, János (b. 1954). Journalist and critic. A graduate in English and Hungarian of the University of Budapest. On the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary and political weekly. See "The Sixties and the Seventies," *NHQ* 83.

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. See "The Classics and their Shadows," *NHQ* 81, "Actors, Dramatists, Studio Theatres," 82, "Masked Plays," 83, and "The Whole Theatre is a Theatre," 84.

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, "Art Nouveau from the 1900 Paris World Exhibition," 77, and "An Art Course for Children in Budapest," 82.

VARGHA, Balázs (b. 1921). Literary historian and broadcaster. Editor of *Budapest*, an illustrated monthly. Has written extensively on 18th and 19th century Hungarian poetry and published a number of volumes of language games for the young. Wrote and conducted an educational television programme of games for children. See "Arts Education of the Young," *NHQ* 40, "The Psalm Translator," (Albert Szenczi Molnár), 57.

VÁRADY, Szabolcs (b. 1943). Poet, translator. Graduated in English from the University of Budapest. Reader at *Európa* Publishing House in Budapest. Translations include essays by Susan Sontag, a volume of selected poems by Archibald MacLeish (with István Vas), and a volume of selected poems by William Jay Smith. See his poems in *NHQ* 63. Hungarian titles of his poems in this issue: *Holtpont derűje; Rádióhallgatás lecsószezonban; Epizód.*

VIKÁR, György (b. 1926). M. D., neurologist and psychiatrist, who received his training in psychoanalysis from Imre Hermann. For many years worked in neurological and psychiatric wards; since 1968 has been active in child and adolescent psychiatry and psychotherapy. Has published papers in these fields, as well as *Az ifjúkor válságai* ("The crises of youth"), and was co-author of *A szexuális élet zavarai* ("Disturbances in sexual life").

ZSEBŐK, Zoltán (b. 1909). Professor of Radiology, University of Budapest (ret.) After front-line service as a medical officer, Undersecretary (1945) in the Ministry of Public Welfare, later Head of the Universities and Sciences Department of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs. Has taught at Budapest University since 1946. Appointed Professor and Head of the Radiological Clinic in 1963. Author of numerous scientific books and articles which have appeared not only in Hungarian but also in English, French, German, Polish, and Russian. Lay President of the Synod of the Hungarian Calvinist Church.

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