NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

The Basis of Consensus — *János Kádár*

Hungary in an Uneasy World — *János Berecz*

Survival, Development, Economic Cooperation — *József Bognár*

Small Businesses in a Socialist Economy — *András Tábori*

Main Trends in Social Policy — *Zsuzsa Ferge*

Prose, Poems — *Endre Illés, György Somlyó,*
Tamás Bárány, Ottó Orbán

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The New Hungarian Quarterly

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METAPHOR AND REALITY

The texts by János Kádár which open this issue differ from the earlier two published by *The New Hungarian Quarterly* in its twenty-two years. The first two, in *NHQ* 50 and 75, were written specially for this paper, the present ones are translated from a recently published volume of his collected writings and speeches. The first is part of a speech at the autumn session of the National Assembly in September 1980, the second is part of one at the March 1981 meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which was only reported but not published by the press at the time. The attentive reader will soon discover that these are not prepared addresses but impromptu contributions to the discussion. They are a good example of the directness, of the vivid way in which Kádár argues, and as such highly characteristic of his manner. We felt ourselves to be in keeping with this style and manner in choosing these two texts to publish on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Those who have been to Hungary are well aware that in this country respect felt is not shown by a plethora of displayed photographs or by a searchlight trained on his person. A seventieth birthday does not change the way of honouring a man *à la hongroise*. It is in keeping with this style that we publish a review of the book from which János Kádár's two speeches are taken (by István Nemeskürty). I might add also, as it were, in parenthesis, that the volume also contains the Hungarian version of János Kádár's contribution to the seventy-fifth issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. I went to his office to fetch this article. That very night — in a journal entry — I recorded our conversation. The present occasion appears appropriate to publish, under the title "Thirty-five Minutes with János Kádár" thus adding to our readers' knowledge of his personality.

*

"Hungary in an Uneasy World" is the heading of János Berecz's survey of the world situation. It expresses what we Hungarians have felt in recent months, in a world of unemployment, two-figure inflation, serious economic conditions, under the threat of the return of a Cold War, and even a new war: that our country is Prospero's isle in Europe. Like every metaphor this owes its appeal to not being perfect. We are an island that is not cut off from the surrounding world, on the contrary, calm in the midst of unease is due to the live links with all of Europe and the other continents as well. That is why maintaining détente—though it is no longer done to mention the name at international meetings—is so important to us, directly affecting as it does the peace of every family, every man's career, every child's future. In the present difficult situation I should really speak of saving détente, and not just maintaining it. János Berecz presents the hard facts at the back of these feelings, discussing all the factors involved.

"Survival, Development, Economic Cooperation: a Draft for the Year 2000"—the heading itself of József Bognár's article indicates the extent to which this small country forms part of the wide world. The article is, in fact, the text of an address which Professor Bognár, as head of the Research Institute of World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, gave to the annual general meeting of the European Development Institute which was held in Budapest. In a certain sense Professor Bognár responded to the keynote address given by Willy Brandt as an invited guest. Both were principally concerned with ways of maintaining and even developing international economic cooperation in this unquiet world. József Bognár provides ample evidence that this is not only in the vital interest of small, foreign-trade dependent, countries but also of the economic great powers, and even the world powers.

Hungary has itself taken new steps to further economic growth and stimulate the spirit of enterprise. It has amused us here at *NHQ* to read in many a foreign newspaper that capitalism is about to be restored in Hungary. What really happened, how and why, is expounded by András Tábori in his "Small Businesses in a Socialist Economy."

I hope not a single reader will imagine that I mean to suggest, by speaking of Prospero's isle, that there are no worries, problems or incomplete tasks in this country. Nothing succeeds like success and nothing gives rise to as many new worries. Zsuzsa Ferge's "Main Trends in Hungarian Social Policy" points to one of them and certainly not the least. Towards the end of the sixties the recognition became general that the structure of socialist society in itself does not do away with social problems. A clearly defined and well worked out socialist social policy is needed. This is an article that contains a wealth of facts and figures and which has much to say that should not be of interest merely to those seeking information of Hungary but to all concerned with social problems anywhere.

Tamás Szecskő's "The Grammar of Global Communications" deals with a subject that is new for *NHQ*, and also of more than Hungarian interest. Starting out from the latest developments in communications Szecskő suggests that a new word should be invented to describe sending an electronic message from A to B. The new word ought to cover television and the radio as well as the hardware of communications, wires, cables and optical fibres. Tamás Szecskő does not propose a new word but points out that the world as a whole is really on the threshold of a new stage of development, that few have recognised this, and that we Hungarians as well unfortunately find ourselves one step in arrears.

*

At this point, when writing a preface, I usually feel keen to draw attention to every article in the paper. After all if I did not think something worth while and even liked it, it would not appear. But I needs must be brief. Let me refer to Béla Köpeczi's "The European Context to Hungarian Wars of Independence in the 17th and 18th Centuries" for instance, or to György Somlyó's "The Wound of Philoctetes," parts of the first chapter of his book on modern verse, which rings the changes on the word modern, tearing out the history of its connotation, showing great familiarily with the literature of many languages and the empathy one expects from a poet.

Miklós Vajda, as one of the artist's close friends, writes movingly of the death in 1967 of Béni Ferenczy, the great sculptor.

*

Finally may I draw attention to a new section, In Focus. It makes me particularly happy that we are at last able to satisfy the desire of many to see shorter articles in the paper. The From the Press section shows that *NHQ* has always felt it a duty to survey the press. The many periodicals published in the country which show, like a seismograph, Hungarian life and letters, as well as what goes on in the way of scientific research, deserve more than the summary of an article or press debate. It would be impossible to be truly comprehensive, so we thought of a real mixed bag which covers as wide as possible a field, including the natural sciences which have in the past often been left out in the cold by *NHQ*. History nevertheless served as the starting point, not least owing to the interest of the general public. Péter Hanák, a Senior Fellow of the Institute of Historical Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in an interview given to *Alföld*, a monthly published in Debrecen, argues that this is so since the nation needs to have both knowledge and respect for itself. Another article discussed, Jenő Szücs's sketch on the three historical regions of Europe extends from the early middle ages to the present in over fifty pages. Articles, on economic subjects, also show that decisions on economic policy can no longer be made neglecting world economic conditions. Far be it from *NHQ* to provide dry abstracts on highly specialized subjects. Contributors, who are themselves active in the disciplines, only inform to draw attention, and on occasion even argue with the articles they write on. What we hope to get—at least on occasion—are little gems of essays in a nutshell.

THE EDITOR

THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS

From two speeches by

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

1. At the autumn session of the National Assembly, September 1980

I should like to stress that the situation within the Hungarian People's Republic is firm and in a state of equilibrium, and this is how it will continue to stay. I agree with everything that Prime Minister Lázár said about domestic policy and our aims there, and should like to touch on a number of questions of a different nature, including much that is familiar. What is familiar often maintains its timeliness. One of the things I have in mind is that it is worth the trouble to compare promises made to the people a quarter of a century ago—when we were in a difficult position indeed—with what we have managed to carry out.

I should like to discuss the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party first. It is common knowledge that the Hungarian Constitution lays it down as well that the Marxist–Leninist Party of the Hungarian working class is the leading force of our society. We interpret leadership as guidance in matters of principle and policy which has the function of mobilising the masses for constructive work. This is what we mean by leadership, adding that the role which, according to the Constitution, devolves on the HSWP is a most honourable, but also a very difficult and responsible, service. It does not mean domination but honest service of the people's cause. That is the essence of the leading role of the HSWP.

Our most important method is persuasion, and not ordering people about. In extraordinary historical situations the revolutionary forces of the nation must be ready to defend the cause of progress by force. But this is limited to rare points in history. Other things are needed in the age of consolidated constructive work. We proclaim—and we proclaimed this at the time of the struggle against the capitalist system and the power of the financiers as well—that our numbers are equal to that of men and women whom we are able to persuade of the justness of our cause and of what needs to be done. It is this that will guide us in the future as well.

It is this policy and such methods that lend strength to our party. What we once undertook is now experienced in practice by the whole of the people. The resolutions we pass are obligatory only for party members and for the Communist Youth Alliance, which is, after all, the youth organization of the HSWP. Whenever we discuss major and basic points of policy in governing bodies of the HSWP, or debate any other subject, we always bear in mind, and respect the independence and responsibility of state bodies, and of every non-government organization and mass movement in the country. This is what we have endeavoured to do in the past, and it will continue to be our aim.

The state, much studied, with scientific thoroughness, by the theoreticians of Marxist-Leninism, is an important element of the political system of our society. They have shown the state to have been born of a class society which will wither away under defined conditions. It is important, however, to define the role of the state precisely at the present stage of historical development as well. The functions and activities of the state are transformed in a socialist system. There are no antagonistic or irreconcilable class-conflicts, or exploiting classes, in Hungary at the present stage of socialist development. The oppressive functions of the state—in the domestic policy sense—have faded, and are about to disappear. What is growing, however, and will, in my opinion, continue to grow and strengthen throughout the socialist stage of development, is the organizing function of the state in the key areas of economic and cultural life. That is our view of the role of the state, which also defends the country's freedom, sovereignity and national independence, something that needs attention in the present world situation.

Mass organizations and mass movements are essential in our political system. Party members participate in their work at every level. These organizations are independent and operate in terms of their intended purpose. The trades unions for instance operate independently, carrying out their duties which are multifarious under our conditions. They are fundamental, shoring up the power of the people, helping to produce material goods. On the other hand they defend and represent the everyday interests of their membership. This is not empty chatter but a true demand and need.

The system of management is highly decentralised in the economy, and not only there. Considerable independence is assured to particular economic bodies, plants and enterprises. The independence and responsibility of not only state officials and managers is thus potentiated, but also that of the party, trades union and youth movement organizations on the spot. Institutions are needed at the side of the right manager, who has his eye on productivity and enterprise profits in the first place, which control the correctness of policy, and make it possible to defend and represent the elementary everyday interests of those who work there. That is how our political system works, and we propose to carry on along the same road.

Are there any faults in the operation of the political institutions? I should say there are, and the Party Congress has established this as well. Neither the HSWP, nor the trades unions, nor the youth movement are exceptions in this respect. What kinds of faults are these? Faults of practice, weaknesses in implementing resolutions, and others as well. Disorders that derive from the consolidated state of the country are also present in party organizations, mass organizations and mass movements. We neglected certain lessons and over-organized ourselves and the country as well. These days one can only attend a meeting—be it a party, trades union, or youth movement meeting—if one has done one's homework with scientific thoroughness. So many papers and statistical data have to be read that one's head swims with them. I often think in what a difficult position a young citizen finds himself or herself, say for instance a girl who is a party member, member of a trades union, a member of the Communist Youth Alliance, and perhaps active in the Patriotic People's Front as well. How often, I wonder, is the situation explained to her, and the tasks ahead, and unfortunately mostly using the same words.

Bureaucracy which keeps on growing in places, also makes things more difficult. It seems this is not specific to the capitalist system, but also to some degree an outcrop of the socialist system as well. This is much as the sediments one gets where water flows freely. Let us always keep a wire brush handy and remove them.

I should like to refer specially to national unity and the Patriotic People's Front. We declare that the socialist national unity of the Hungarian people has been born, is growing, and is strengthening. It is an alliance of classes, classes and sections after all still exist in our society, though their interests are not antagonistic. Some are members of the HSWP, others are not, people differ in their view of the world or their ethnic allegiance, and their joining together within the Patriotic People's Front is an important element of national unity. This is a good thing.

The adjective socialist is often linked to national unity. This is only right and proper since it defines the aim of national unity, and its novel features. What kind of lasting national unity could possibly exist which included, say, an exploiting capitalist and an exploited proletarian, a landowner and a serf? The national joining together of forces now has new and firm foundations, we are all closer to each other in the new socialist system. We wish to strengthen and develop this process of socialist national union, and socialist democracy. The socialist system is not a completed building, or a statue carved in stone, which will stay like that to the end of time. The socialist social system is a living society which must develop incessantly.

The main direction of developments is the further evolution of socialist democracy, in other words the continuation of our policy of alliances. Socialist national unity, and the one-ness of the party and the masses —which are so important for us—were not born on a single day. It must therefore be guarded and strengthened.The Reverend Bíró in a speech referred to a most important agreement that arranged relations between the state and the Roman Catholic church. A sound relationship between the state and that church has taken shape which is an achievement of historical importance of our system. That the church should know its place midst the new social conditions is not only in the interests of the people and the state, but also in that of the church, and particularly in that of those who believe in God. No figures are available to show how many people in Hungary believe in God and how many do not, nor could there be, since that is everyone's private business. It is a fact however that there are a fair number. It does not bother me particularly whether someone kicks a ball around on Sundays, as the member of an Old Boy's team, or attends mass. What is much more important is that we have reached a stage where pious people can serve the cause of progress and socialism with conviction, while staying true to their faith. They do not have to suffer a crisis of conscience because of that. We place great store by this achievement and, if possible, we will strengthen it further. Noone can suffer any sort of social disadvantage because of his religion or faith. Freedom of conscience is complete in our country, everyone decides for himself on his ideological allegiance.

There is complete equality between citizens in Hungary, regardless of party, ideology or ethnicity. Public office is open to everybody. It suffices to look around in this hall. In addition to Representatives who are members of the HSWP there are a fair number who are not. The working classes and sections of society are represented: workers, peasants, members of the professions, clerks, women, widely varying age-groups as well as the churches and congregations and the national minorities. The National Assembly, the highest legislative body, faithfully reflects our policy of alliances, socialist national unity, and concentration of forces.

They are always insinuating in the West that we have come to an agreement with those who think differently, the small group of the internal opposition, setting up certain taboos, for instance that the leading role of the HSWP must not be attacked, nor the foundations of the socialist system, or the system of alliances of which the country forms a part. Of course there were no contracts or negotiations of that sort, but is seems that there really is a kind of implicit understanding with the far from large camp of those who think differently which can perhaps be most plainly expressed as a preference for managing without trouble.

It is said from time to time—at present in connection with the international situation—that a toughening of the Hungarian position can be expected. The only possible answer to that is what the Party Congress had already stressed, that the period of the major class struggle is over in Hungary. The working classes of the country have overcome and destroyed the power of the former exploiting classes. We no longer have to continue the class struggle in that sense. But even while that fight was fought it was the principle of the working class and of its revolutionary vanguard not to endeavour to escalate the situation. We did so only when we were forced to. There is no social factor of any significance which might prompt us to do so now, there is no need to toughen policy, and the Party has no such intention either. Attention must, however, be given to certain things, such as the more acute state of the international situation. At times like that every country urges its citizens to close ranks.

There is thus no domestic reason or intention to escalate the situation and we trust that nothing like that will happen. But I should also like to say to those who attack our basic achievements that their welcome will be in keeping with the nature of their approach. We are certainly not looking for conflict but we will not dodge it either if need be, since we will not let anyone hurt our achievements for which the whole people has suffered and worked. When I say that we tread the path of socialist democracy I have in mind our own road and tasks, that of our party, working class and people. Let noone on the outside try and further develop our socialist democracy.

For some years now we find ourselves in a new stage of socialist development. Extensive growth is no longer possible at the present level of socialist progress, in the future there will be scope for intensive growth only. The rate of growth must also be subjected to this fact. In the past we often expressed pride in the fast rate of growth of the socialist economy. It is true that it is always possible to progress a little faster at the start, than later, once a certain standard has been reached. A runner who can manage the 100 meters in 11 seconds must work terribly hard to achieve a further improvement of a tenth of a second. The same is true of the economy. It is more difficult today to increase profits by 1 per cent than it used to be to do so by 10 per cent. World economic conditions also changed. The 1973/4 price explosion occurred which adversely affected Hungary. But more general problems also make themselves felt, such as various financial difficulties, trade discrimination, and the recession in the capitalist world.

Hungarian exports already amount to 50 per cent of national income. We cannot change world economic conditions. We must live, work, progress and prosper in circumstances given by the present situation. In the past eighteen months we had to manage under far more difficult conditions than earlier. Certain effects can already be discerned. The main objective was improving economic equilibrium, particularly our balance of payments. This year, so far, foreign trade with capitalist countries has been almost in a state of equilibrium, exports paid for more than 90 per cent of imports. This is a significant advance on earlier years, and we must continue with this work.

Essential trends of improvement show in other no less important economic questions as well. Workers in industry, agriculture and transport carried out the plan. Factories managed with a smaller workforce—around a hundred thousand fewer—and yet coped with their tasks. Tensions on the labour-market thus somewhat eased. The use made of energy resources also improved in the past eighteen months compared with the earlier situation. Earlier around 6 per cent more energy was used every year, in the past eighteen months however there has been no growth, partly because of the decline of the growth rate, and partly because of a better husbanding of resources. More energy still will have to be saved in the future.

Speaking of the economic situation it is worth talking about the manner in which we hold our meetings nowadays. The Central Committee and its executive bodies, County Party Committees, the Council of Ministers and the Economic Commission on occasion hold meetings which one might well leave with one's hairs turned grey having gone in with black locks. What are discussed are mostly troubles and difficulties, problems, factories and whole industries that are not up to scratch. To a certain degree this is true of conferences held in public as well. The press, radio and television, in good faith, then go and add more troubles and problems still [. . .]

[. . .] It is important that the people should feel that no rise in standards of living is possible without intelligent hard work. But the reverse is true as well, if constructive work in the country progresses, standards of living will rise. This is the essential aspect of our economic and social policy. Results already achieved are also due to our socialist system, our resolute policy, and in the first place to the devoted work of the working class, the peasantry, members of the professions, that is of the whole people.

At the present stage of economic construction we can only achieve a lower rate of growth. An annual 3 per cent growth in national income appears reasonably feasible for the sixth five-year-plan period. We hope to achieve a further improvement of economic equilibrium as a result. This includes improvements in the international balance of payments, equilibrium between purchasing power and the stock of consumer goods, and many other factors. These are basic economic questions which define family budgets as well.

I address a request to the Council of Ministers speaking also as the Representative of the 13th district of Budapest. I suggest that the way prices are determined in certain areas be examined. There are industries which almost exclusively employ only Hungarian raw materials, and yet when prices are determined it seems that the wheels of the adding machines are extraordinarily well oiled, and that more electric current is fed into the computers, for costs appear as extraordinarily high. They explain that world market prices are very high, but in truth they have little to do with imported materials. There are cases where the calculation of profits lacks foundation, and that cannot be tolerated. Industrial enterprises should not only calculate costs but reduce them where possible. Nor should the mark-up be determined irresponsibly. Work must be based on sound calculation and a realistic mark-up [. . .]

[. . .] This makes me think of a pretty well known West European businessman who made a surprising declaration when negotiating with our men: "You will go bankrupt," he said. When asked why, he answered: "Because workers want to be paid the highest rates of the most highly developed industrial countries, but their working rhythm is the one they have got used to at home." One also remembers the dream of the man who left Hungary many years ago, that it would be good to work at home, get paid in the West, and spend your wages at home. It would be pleasing if after a time all such comparisons lacked foundation.

How could the situation be improved? It won't hurt perhaps to stress that what we are after is not more physical effort, more blood and sweat. We are not insisting that people work more—most do an honest day's work anyway—but that they do better work. Productivity will have to be raised, better job organization is needed, technological standards have to be developed and, naturally, working hours will have to be made better use of. These are our major implements.

In making progress we are counting on intellectual forces, on the collaboration of professional people that cannot be done without, and the creative powers of the whole of society. I add my voice to those who said that Hungarian society has made much progress and that, in coping with the political and economic tasks of recent years it exemplified a high degree of maturity. Without that we could not have managed, given the greater duties. I approve that, in the future as well, 3 per cent of national income be devoted to research and development. We are counting on the work of the technological and the scholarly professions, on those working in the education system, on teachers who are doing much to ensure that the Hungarian nation should have an ideologically sound youth brought up in the spirit of socialist thought and a socialist morality.

Writers, artists, publishers, broadcasters, and journalists all have an important role in shaping public opinion. I do not wish to probe too deep into the problems of such a touchy field, but I believe that literature and the arts also progress in a wave-like motion that corresponds to dialectics and the laws of life. Progress is occasionally interrupted by stoppages and stagnation. That is part of the nature of things. Withdrawal and cocooning, and even a pessimist tone can be experienced within literature and some of the arts. Artists in certain important, and sometimes expensive art forms have said that self-realisation is their major aim. On occasion this has cost several million forints, but it is not this that I am concerned about right now. I should rather like to ask artists and writers, and all others involved in shaping public opinion that, working on their self-realisation—and there is no other way—they should also serve the self-realisation of the people. This people, having shaken off the capitalist yoke, has asserted its creative powers in socialism and truly found self-realisation.

Pessimism often depends on the mood, and perhaps also on the time of life. But there is another kind of pessimism as well. There are international trends in art and literature which have their ups and downs, and take turns at being fashionable. True artists in the West have every right to be pessimists when considering the future of their own capitalist world. But there is no need to follow suit, just because it is fashionable, since when it comes to problems the socialist and capitalist systems are a world apart. The problems of socialism—though occasionally very painful—are birth pangs, or infantile disorders, or growing pains. The sickness of capitalism on the other hand shows the symptoms of an aging social order which—and I am deeply convinced of that—is condemned to perish.

What I am asking our writers and artists to do is to reflect the reality of our people. That is what I am also wont to ask when I meet this or that foreign diplomatist. Let them familiarise themselves with the facts of Hungarian reality, and inform their governments accordingly. Let them not look at Hungary through either pink or dark glasses since both distort reality. Writers and artists as well should also reflect reality, it is in that way that they can best help our efforts to carry out the socialist plans of our people. In exchange I can promise that our management practice will remain unchanged in this field as well, every kind of hardening of the line is out of the question. We have implemented appropriate measures of decentralisation in education and culture as well. Governmental bodies naturally proceed responsibly in accordance with their duties when dealing with comprehensive and important questions. Let me here mention the National Theatre and the Opera House. We do not prescribe a style, nor what is to be written or what kind of statue is to be produced. Carrying out artistic tasks is the artists' business. Things will continue like that since that is the right way.

Marxist–Leninist science serves as our guidepost. It is a good compass, that is why we stick to it. We compare principles and reality, that is we choose attainable aims, aims where conditions are present for their implementation. The direction and character of our policy, the policy of alliances, the concentration of forces, of those inside the HSWP and outside it, of people with a varying view of the world, proved itself. The Party cannot exist without the people and the government also needs the support of the masses. People understand what we are after and our deeds, and the right word of explanation also shapes public thinking. People are ready for action, they want to do something for our socialist objectives. That is why they demand sound leadership, and chiefly that they be told what their duty is.

I am convinced that determination, staying power, and hard work will carry us forward. That is why we need unity, and the concentration of the progressive creative forces of the nation. In that way our people can continue to move forward along the road of socialist construction [. . .]

2. *At the meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, March 1981*

In Hungary, putting things in general terms, public opinion has accepted the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and actively supports their implementation. The situation at home is consolidated and in equilibrium: when I say this I do not merely mean to refer to the present and this past year, but to a process which has been going on for a quarter of a century now. This fully implies that Hungarian public opinion approves of, and supports, the home and foreign policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Standards of living are an important element of the situation at home. It was clearly stated at the Congress that right now—and predictably for some years—the general aim of standards of living policy is to maintain the level achieved. What has been said in this discussion as well shows that the mood of the country accepts this. There is some anxiety concerning the realism of such an objective: can it, in fact, be realised? The answer is yes, but bearing in mind the economic situation at home and abroad, harder work than so far is needed.

It ought to be mentioned as well—and this will also have to be reckoned with later—that the aim is for prices to reflect costs; a precept that applies to producer and consumer prices alike. This is part of economic policy and the practice will have to be continued. It is also true that public opinion cannot be expected to be happy about price rises. It will accept them and take note of them. Concerning prices no more can be expected or achieved.

At the same time much will have to be done to put a brake on something that accompanies price rises but should not be there. That part of price rises—and here I am talking about producer prices in the first place—which covers up for poor performance will have to be curbed. One cannot mechanically accept the cost plus principle as defining producer prices, adding up everything and letting the consumer pay for the lot. Let me therefore stress again that responsible cost-accounting, based on better performance, on an honest day's work and sound management is not merely something that concerns economics, nor is it of purely intra-enterprise concern. It is the business of the economy as a whole, and there are side-effects as well which influence public morale.

The soundness of the situation in the country also means—and there again I am thinking of a long-established process—that the alliance of the basic working classes and sections of society operates and is effective as a living force. These days the alliance of workers and peasants stands at a higher point compared to what we used to talk about. Now it is already showing healthy and sound growth in the soil of socialism and on the basis of our socialist programme. Intellectuals and professional people are the allies of the working class and of the cooperative peasantry in public life and work alike. Our policy of alliances has stood the test, in its components as well, as has our policy as a whole, including our economic policy, in conditions where the country's economy was subjected to considerable stress. We have stood up to the test and this has been everywhere appreciated abroad. In other words we must consistently carry on with our policy —including the policy of alliances—in every major field. The 12th Congress which offered important theoretical and political guidelines for our work, approved and confirmed this intention.

The recent Congress of the Patriotic People's Front impressed me most favourably. Every section of Hungarian society was represented: workers, cooperative peasants, professional people, clerks, craftsmen—men and women of many trades and professions, Party members, and those outside the Party in great numbers, including representatives of the denominations. The Congress enjoyed considerable publicity and was widely reported in the press, every one could follow its deliberations. All I want to mention therefore is something I experienced myself, connected with the speech I made there. Speaking in front of so many one naturally concentrates on what one has to say, paying little attention to what goes on around one. At the same time one naturally maintains contact with the audience. The Congress, reflecting the position and will of public opinion in Hungary, reacted with imposing strength, unanimously and with great determination to the declaration that we will preserve our historical achievements, defending them against all comers, and further increase them in shared work. That means a great deal, politically.

A further remark connected with the echo of the Congress of the Patriotic People's Front. Some argue that the churches and congregations played too large a role in these deliberations. In my view those who argue that way miss the point. The loyal behaviour of churches and congregations, in other words their readiness to undertake a positive role in public life, is of great importance, and is amongst the achievements that have to be preserved. One can hardly estimate what it means in practice, how much it helps our policy at home and abroad, that church and state relations in Hungary are sound, sound in their fundamentals, in terms of the platform of the people's socialist work and aims, what is more. The state, as a matter of principle, ensures the autonomous functioning of churches and congregations, as well as freedom to freely practice one's religion. The relationship between the state and the churches and congregations is bilateral, and acceptable to both parties; this much is included in the soundness on principle of the relationship.

A number of lasting positive factors and effects are operative in the present situation within Hungary.

Our Party, reorganized on the basis of sound principles, in which Leninist norms are effective, is itself a considerable achievement and at the same time a determining source of the results obtained since. The Hungarian

Socialist Workers' Party has remained united right to this day, it has fought and been active as one. This must be maintained in the future as well, together with the associated style of work.

Intra-party unity in thought and action naturally also means—if interpreted precisely and well—political continuity. Active participants of an important event—twenty-five years having passed one might well call it an important event in the history of the Party—are present today. At the time of its December 1956 meeting the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had twenty-three members, and a fair few of them are here today. I am sure they remember how, and under what circumstances, the basic resolution was born which is the source of our present policy. I cannot recall for exactly how long we sat, but if I remember right discussions lasted as long as three days. We argued from morning to night, and everyone spoke several times, expounding his views. It was a great and passionate debate. Some even kept an eye on the drafting at night, tired, fighting off sleep, making sure that the document would contain what accorded with their opinions and convictions. We were all loyal to the communist idea, beyond that we truly agreed just on one point: the power of the working class had to be saved, the socialist character of the country had to be preserved, the socialist future had to be secured. On everything else positions varied to a considerable degree. It still pays to remember what that session taught us: differing positions clashed and we argued until we achieved a consensus. Finally a unanimous position took shape on the major and decisive points. That is how a lasting, genuine unity is achieved: in lively, and open debate faithful to our principles. The rest followed. After the debate was closed and we had reached a unanimous position, we were able to represent the jointly formulated position in a united and consistent way for a very long time. This is still valuable for us today, and will remain valuable in the future.

The other point I wish to make refers to the settling of the relationship between the Party and the masses, and—connected with this—the development of the working style of the HSWP. Coming to an arrangement with the masses meant political work in the first place, but this was linked with adjusting the style of work. Great things were done in every field as a result. Their intrinsic importance means that the defence of power ought to be stressed, as well as the socialist reconstruction of agriculture; the reform of the system of economic management also belongs to this category, in my view that was an achievement of some significance as well.

We rightly keep on record the growth of a socialist consciousness amongst the secular achievements, as well as the strengthening of socialist patriotism and internationalism in the way Hungarians think. In a wider sense this means that socialist ways of thinking had matured. Hungarian public opinion disposes over the appropriate horizons, it is pretty well informed on most questions, and it has a position, a socialist position. That too is an achievement of note.

Speaking of socialist social processes that form our present and future, of all the positive factors, it ought to be said that negative influences as well affected Hungarian thinking, which have their source not last year, or the year before, but in an earlier period of difficulties. This too is among the facts and part of the whole truth. What I have in mind is that serious crisis of socialism which really lasted from the summer of 1953 to the summer of 1957 in Hungary, and which culminated in the counter-revolutionary uprising of October 1956.

Perhaps the most serious consequence of this situation was that the socialist idea and socialist practice were compromised in the eyes of public opinion. That was the greatest loss. The credibility of the Party suffered. The right way of thinking about the Soviet Union suffered damage, the Marxist position faded, and many other important questions were relegated to the background. That was the situation at the time. Just think how much work had to be done—and what it means to us—for the prestige of socialism to be restored, in Hungary, that the credibility of the Party was restored, and so was the honourable place which Hungarians accord to the Soviet Union. All this was a great feat of historical importance due to the struggles and policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [. . .]

[. . .] Many will remember as well how many formalistic, mistaken and exaggerated methods were applied in other fields as well, in agitprop work but also for instance, in education, all the way from the early morning *Szabad Nép* half-hour reading to the political texts, fed to nursery school children. Penalty interest had to be paid for that as well, we had to retreat in a manner which perhaps exceeded the proper limit. The damage done to the socialist idea, and to many of our intellectual and moral values, and the penalty interest we had to pay jointly had the effect that at first we had to almost argue: calm down, good folk, one can live and survive under socialism as well. Those were the depths from which we started. To put it plainly: we had to take up a defensive position on many issues, amongst questions of ideology, politics and propaganda as well. This had a certain effect on public opinion and the after-effects can be met with even now. Petty bourgeois views were given room besides socialist ideology.

On the one hand Hungarian society saw an unheard of growth and development of the socialist idea and class-consciousness. This is convincingly shown by the thinking and work of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Party members as well as others who are not who, to the best of their knowledge and ability, serve in voluntary bodies and mass organizations, and hold their own in various fields of constructive work. One can speak in a similarly positive way not only about industrial workers, the socialist brigades, the workers' militia, the youth guard but also about the cooperative peasantry and members of the professions.

On the other hand there is more egotism as well, more acquisitiveness by fair means or foul, more showing off and a more intensive hunt after status symbols. Many break their necks to get things they have no real need of, just because neighbours, friends, or their kin, have them.

These were compromises which we deliberately made. The word compromise will not scare me in the future either. There is a guiding rule concerning the kind of compromises which those who support the socialist revolution may enter into. Every compromise is acceptable and must be deemed useful and good if it furthers the cause of the socialist revolution, and no compromise is good or acceptable if it harms the cause of socialism. We entered into many theoretically sound and politically useful compromises which helped social consolidation, and aided the revolutionary forces in getting up on their feet again, as well as further socialist progress in the right direction. Occasionally however, in the troubled situation, we also made compromises of which this cannot be said. At the time things could not be judged all that precisely. This too played its part in the spread of the petty-bourgeois ideas I just mentioned. It also shows in the political indifference of some of the young.

In connection with ways of life in a state of transformation much is said about the useful and less useful aspects of growing leisure, and about the interaction of work, education, and entertainment. As far as I am concerned, I am for work, I agree with those who say that work and culture must not be confronted. If someone happens to build a house, and spends his Sundays carrying a hod instead of going to the theatre, let him do it with a clear conscience. If this means that he cannot make it to the theatre because all his time is taken up by work it would be unjust to call him to account because of that. He will go later when the house is ready and he lives in a better-furnished home and environment, for which he had worked and which he had created himself. Criticism would be justified if he led a drunken and dissolute life. [. . .]

[. . .] Present difficulties derive from a number of sources, they are complex and effective concurrently. Amongst the first, as far as I am concerned, is the relative slowing down of our progress. Whatever the subject, for me the starting point is given by the way things are at home. The second is the international situation which is as acute as ever, and the events in Poland which are really intertwined with the latter.

Our own experience shows that true unity cannot be created without a genuine programme, nor can there then be developments in a socialist direction. Given a suitable programme and action the situation can be turned in the right direction. Talking to the leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party I mentioned our business of twenty-five years ago, and the experience which our party gained in those difficult times. Sharing with our Polish comrades what we had then learnt I at the same time warned them against mechanically copying anything I had described. It is impossible to work with patterns abstracted from a concrete time and place.

Mentioning current events in Poland and our own experience together makes me think of the memorable 1957 Budapest May Day. Half a million men and women assembled at the mass meeting to proclaim their faith in the socialist idea and our system. I am sure many will remember that at that time one could only turn up as an individual, neither factories, nor other organizations marched as organized collectives. That was decided on so we would see how many would turn up off their own bat. Nevertheless half a million working men and women of Budapest assembled to support our cause and make it explicit that they were ready to play their part in the fight for social consolidation. As against this the largest crowd which the counter-revolutionary agitators, were able to assemble on Bem tér and later on Kossuth tér was significantly smaller. They would have been incapable of mobilizing or collecting as large a crowd as responded to the call of our reorganized party, whatever their slogans, or organization. I am deeply convinced that in Poland today as well the supporters of socialism are in the majority.

The conclusion I have drawn from the great lessons our history has taught us, and in the last resort from the present situation in Poland as well—which has its source in deviation from the right principles and practice, and a neglect of the realities—is that our system is of a higher order than the capitalist system. It is a powerful and good system which has stood up to many storms and tests, true enough it has a few specific features which I do not like. Thus sound recognitions often find it difficult to cut a path for themselves, and the process of decision taking is slow. I do not, however, imagine these to be incurable diseases. Something can be done about them, and we are doing our best. And we lack the sort of pressure releasing safety valve which exists in capitalism. In essence every bourgeois political party stands for the same system, nevertheless when the people are disillusioned with one for some reason they choose another and calm down, and the tension is eased, at least temporarily. In addition the bourgeois system disposes over other tools of manipulation as well.

As against this our socialist democracy is the institutional system of genuine democracy. What I have in mind here is the autonomous, specific and genuine operation of our mass-organizations, mass-movements and other communities, as well as a decision taking system based on prior consultation and lending an ear to all those with an interest in the matter. If these work suitably, as designed, then things work smoothly. Let me talk straight there: there is still plenty of room for improvements. When, for instance, at an election, something is said against the ticket, it often appears that a person whose name is raised is better than the one the preparatory body thought of. There is no need to get scared then, or to show reluctance. If socialist democracy operates well it also furthers creative processes, offering a certain freedom to views and opinions, and scope to collective experience.

THIRTY-FIVE MINUTES WITH JÁNOS KÁDÁR

Journal entry for June 12th 1979

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

Three years ago I asked János Kádár for a contribution for the seventy-fifth issue of The New Hungarian Quarterly. *He wrote it, and gave it to me in his office on the afternoon of June 12th. Going home at night I described the events of the day in my journal, but not for immediate publication at the time, nor has what I wrote appeared in Hungarian. I felt that János Kádár's 70th birthday is a good occasion for printing it in* The New Hungarian Quarterly.

I

István Katona, who heads the Central Committee bureau, phoned on Monday that Kádár's article could be fetched on Tuesday afternoon. We agreed that he would ring me at home, after the meeting of the Political Committee. I was working on a talk I was going to give to the Peace Council, dictating over the phone—as had become my habit. I stopped at half past three when the phone rang, it was Katona, and he had not tried before. The Old Man was expecting me around five, he said. Would I go and see him first, and read the article. Things were repeating themselves, I thought. That was exactly how they had happened six and a half years earlier, when János Kádár had contributed an article for the 50th issue of our journal.

Knowing my propensity to be late I started in good time, and then I only just made it. I could not find a parking place. I drove up and down the Újpest embankment twice—that had been the playground of my boyhood—and, as always, I was surprised by the thick trunks of the trees. They had been planted when I had played there, on the traffic island in the middle of the carriage-way. Children cannot do that now, cars have taken their place. I was thinking I had acquired rights there, and then I only managed to get two wheels on an island.

István Katona was working on the minutes of that meeting, and interrupted to give me the article. Fourteen and a half typed pages: about as much as I had asked for. The heading scared me for a moment. "Peace the common interest of all peoples." I had asked for something more personal, at least in parts, and had been promised that. The heading suggested otherwise, but fortunately only the heading did.

The article started off in pretty general terms, with the war and destruction but I found the personal experience I had hoped for already on the second page.

"I experienced the Great War when still a child but was active in the Second World War as a militant antifascist. I saw the fruit of the labours of the Hungarian working people being turned into ruins and burning to cinders, and saw hundreds of thousands of my fellows perish in the service of alien aims, men whose lot in life had been only poverty, and the trials of inhuman labour for the benefit of the few."

From then on the article becomes more and more personal. Kádár points out for instance that peace can be served in various ways: bilateral negotiations, to give just one example, and then adds in a personal vein:

"My own experience has strengthened my conviction that meetings by leaders of countries with differing social systems can successfully aid the improvement of the international situation and the consolidation of security."

From then on the article contains not only what *The New Hungarian Quarterly* asked for but also what indeed could be said with little exaggeration to best serve the politics of détente. János Kádár goes on to describe his trips to western countries. He travelled abroad on seven occasions officially representing the Hungarian people in capitalist states: first in October 1960, to attend the UN General Assembly, then fifteen years later to take part in the Helsinki Conference.

Reaching that point I hoped he would compare the cool, even unfriendly, reception he was given in New York with his appearance in Helsinki, where he suddenly found himself playing one of the main roles. He did not do that, listing instead the 1973 trip to Finland, the Austrian visit the next year, and the journeys to Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France in 1977 and 1978. Writing about the visit to Vatican City the János Kádár style, known from addresses and conversations, really comes into its own: "When in Italy, bearing in mind that the defence of peace, and the service of other basic shared interests, in our view, and in that of the 2nd Vatican Council, made the dialogue, and a possible joint stand, of religious people and non-believers desirable, I called on the

Vatican and had important talks with Pope Paul VI of happy memory."

I interrupted my reading there. What a nice touch that modifier after Pope Paul VI name is: "of happy memory." He succeeded with a couple of human and personal words to make a meeting of great importance memorable.

I read on and I was given what I had expected and hoped for; a confrontation of the conference of the sixties with that of 1975, though presented better and in a more political way than I had thought. János Kádár writes that the reserves of those obsessed by the Cold War were still strong in 1960 but—and here he takes a step forward—the General Assembly had indicated that "the time had come for the governments of the capitalist countries to abandon their policy of passive and active isolation towards Hungary. Contrary to the intentions of rightwing forces, the meeting in fact meant a turning point in the international position of our country."

Given this background the "fundamentally different atmosphere" of the 1975 Helsinki Conference receives a much more powerful emphasis. The UN General Assembly had still been the scene of Cold War rhetoric, "but after a passage of fifteen years the Hungarian delegation was able to participate in the preparation and closing stages of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe as an equal and, let me add, as a recognized constructive factor."

János Kádár goes on to expound what is often disputed: the active part taken by the Hungarian government in decisions of world political importance. He refers to the March 1969 Budapest Appeal, which initiated the efforts that eventually led to the Helsinki agreement, and then comes back to one of the cornerstones of his life in politics, the consistency of Hungarian policy which is open and honest and based on firm principles. It is owing to such a policy that "we are present where the affairs of the world are discussed and we can and will speak up to serve the good cause."

The point is clearly made: "A clear position, based on matters of principle, has its own importance." Hungary is accepted abroad as a country one can do business with. "The countries of the world, when dealing with us, know precisely what they can expect. There can be no misunderstanding concerning the side we are on."

The next few pages are spent on developments at home, with special emphasis on the extension of socialist democracy. I came across a passage which, in writing, evoked what I had heard János Kádár say in Paris, in November 1978, at a press conference, concerning those Hungarian citizens who were churchgoers.

It was something that I often mentioned when abroad or talking to foreign visitors at home. "We have ever considered it most important that honest religious citizens, doing a fair day's work building our country, should not be faced with irreconcilable problems of conscience by the confrontation of state and church. As the result of protracted, patient work settling the relationship between the state and the churches, a religious citizen can now, at the same time, be committed to social progress and socialism, and be a faithful son of his church."

The end of the article points to the future, starting with two well-put but disquietening sentences: "The world is at the cross-roads. Whether humanity will take the road to peace or to a world war is being decided." I heartily agreed that peaceful coexistence was not merely the absence of war, I had tried to say as much in the talk which I had just stopped working on, to be given at the Peace Council meeting next day.

Kádár concludes with an apology for détente. Speaking of human rights, he stresses that the right to life is the most basic of all: "War and the danger of war offend this most basic right of man which is only, therefore, assured by peace."

He went on to draw a conclusion which should be a matter of course but which is seldom stated: "It is also obvious that given international tension and in an atmosphere where threats prevail, every state issues tougher regulations concerning law and order. When there is no feeling of security countries react more sensitively even over petty matters, and such questions grow to dimensions that are greater than their importance."

Reading what followed it occurred to me that in obtaining this article for *NHQ* I had also done a service to whatever paper would print it in Hungarian. "Those therefore who truly care for human rights must fight for normalized interstate contacts, for détente and for peace."

I went in to thank István Katona for all he had done acting as a go-between to help us get an article by János Kádár. I mentioned to him that in his conclusion Kádár has summed up something that was in the air and that had been made more precise by his saying it and saying it in this way.

The telephone rang. János Kádár was expecting us.

2

János Kádár's office on the first floor of the Central Committee Building on the Széchenyi Embankment consists of an inner office, a small waiting room, the secretaries' room, and a lobby. He came as far as the small waiting room to meet us, and invited us to take a seat at a coffee table in front of his desk. The original of the article he had written for *NHQ* 75 was there in front of him, signed and dated in the top left hand corner.

"Here is the article," he said. "Please read it, and if you have any comments tell Katona. I have done my part, thank God."

Katona mentioned that I had read it and had no comments to make. Proceedings had been much the same when I had gone in to see Kádár about the article which he had written for the fiftieth issue of this journal. At that time I had marked the MS in six places, I had asked questions and suggested minor amendments. He had accepted three out of six, not a bad score.

I had thanked him for making the time to write the article even before we sat down, but he would not let me finish. "Here it is. It's done." Then he said that it had really been difficult to find the time needed to write it.

When I had written to him to ask him for the article he had answered that he could not then say yes, but did not want to say no. I took that to be encouragement, and István Katona too backed me up by saying he thought the article would get written. I had originally asked to have it by the end of April, and it had been promised for then. Around April 20th Katona called and said it was unlikely to be ready by then. On May 1st, after the May Day demonstration, János Kádár was taking some time off. Would it not be too late afterwards? No, I said, and I fixed things with the printers. After he came back I felt discouraged nevertheless. The Shield 79 manoeuvres took place then, and Leonid Brezhnev's visit. I admitted that I had started to lose hope.

"I thought after receiving the letter," Kádár continued, "here is *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, an important paper, it would pay to write for them, after all, I had done so for the fiftieth issue. I talked things over with the others, as you know we do things together here. Everyone thought that, if only possible, I should comply with the request. I made a start on it, but I really had a lot to do over and above the usual work. The American senators came, then the manoeuvres, and Leonid Brezhnev."

The secretary brought in two whiskys and a glass of orange juice for István Katona. We clinked glasses and he wished me good health, as is customary in Hungary. It was on the tip of my tongue to say that six and a half years earlier, when I had been to see him about the article, he had also given me a drink, a cognac at that time. We had both just turned sixty.

"When you were here before," his thoughts must have wandered in the same direction, "we spoke about the Club of the Sixty Years Olds, we tried to work out which of our friends and acquaintances had been born in 1912. Zoltán Várkonyi came to see me around that time too, and he had said that we would not admit everybody." We talked about those who had meanwhile resigned from the Club. Not only Zoltán Várkonyi, the actor-manager, and director, but also Gábor Thurzó, the writer. I mentioned that we had been in the same form for a while, in *gimnázium*. "And we had been together in the Czukor utca Primary School. He used to be called Rutterschmidt then. It was years before I found out that this Thurzó was identical with the Rutterschmidt I had been to school with. We had met once or twice." I gaped. Thurzó had not only been a friend and fellow writer, but also, so to speak, a member of the family. His niece Ildikó had married my son Gábor. Many others had gone too: György Rónay, the poet and critic, who had been some months younger, László Orbán, born almost the same day as me, and Pál Ilku who had been a week younger, both had done much for education in Hungary. I mentioned that it seemed that István Örkény, the playwright, was next. He nodded. Yes, he knew. It was very sad.

Still glass in hand I said what I had rehearsed in my mind coming down the stairs from Katona's second floor office. The article was not only an honour for the paper—he very rarely wrote articles after all—but also served the cause of our country, and of existing socialism, I managed to say. It is difficult to praise someone to his face, however true what one said was. I quickly went back to the subject the drinks had interrupted, and noted that Brezhnev's visit had gone off very well.

"Yes," Kádár carried on the thought, happily, "he said a few things which we as well think very important."

Everyone in Hungary had read that toast where Brezhnev mentioned things specific to the country, as far as I could tell the international press took note as well and, I am told, it figured in the reports home of ambassadors accredited in Budapest.

Kádár nodded, adding to what I said, clarifying the point. "Not only what he said about Hungarian specificity was important, but also his remarks about looking for the way. That is essential for the Communist Parties in the West, for the Italians and the French." He said, either then, or later, in another context, that this French Congress had been better then the previous one. Then he got back to specificity, winking with his right eye in that way the whole country recognises as typical of him: "Of course this is what we have been saying all along, but it makes a difference whether we say it, or Brezhnev." He mentioned that when he discussed what was specifically Hungarian with representatives of other Communist

Parties one or the other had mentioned that it would be good if this were said out loud by a Soviet politician as well. It had been said now, and by Brezhnev himself, what is more.

I mentioned that this journey to Budapest had been important for the West as a proof of Brezhnev's state of health. "There's nothing wrong with that," Kádár answered. "He is a little tired and worn out, that's all." He must be working under great pressure. Kádár agreed. I mentioned that you could tell on television as well that he spoke with difficulty. Western papers suggested a disease of the jaw-bone.

Kádár laughed: "Out of the question."

We got back to the article and to what is specific about Hungary. I suggested that his article was implicitly about that as well.

This prompted Kádár to say something interesting.

"It is odd that, while writing, one discovers things one has been turning over in one's mind for some time, and suddenly they are lit up in this context. Things occurred to me which I had never expressed before, or had only mentioned them in passing, talking; and things that were altogether new as well."

Like the things which I had heard him say at the Paris press conference, about the relationship between religious people and socialism. We shall have it in black and white now, first in English, then in Hungarian. And what a good idea it had been to speak of Pope Paul VI as "of happy memory."

He was obviously glad that I had noticed this. "It did not happen by chance."

I reminded János Kádár of Paul VI speech of welcome to him.

"The peak of diplomatic formulation," he said. "It was fully reported too, in the Hungarian press as the importance of she occosion deserved. Pope, or no pope, it was a good and clever speech."

We switched to the present Pope, John Paul II, who had recently visited his native Poland.

"I just read in a report by your French AFP that the success had been a double one, the Pope's, and the Polish governments' as well."

I startled. What does he mean by this *your* French? Was he pulling my leg?

"You remember all right where we met last? In front of Notre Dame in Paris. There you are! I often tell Aczél as well that he is a Francophile. It's a good thing, don't you worry. That's the way to do it."

There was a slight pause. He took out a packet of cigarettes, offered me one, and promptly withdrew his hand. "You don't smoke, do you?"

While he struck a light I thanked him, in my French wife's name as well, that he had sent his regards to her when we had met outside Notre Dame.

"Of course I did. We know our men, and those as well who look after them. We owe a lot to the women-folk. Where would we be without their care, good humour, patience, and love?"

Or without their severity.

"Strictness is part of it. They keep an eye on us. My regards once again."

I promised to tell her and observed that I was one of that tiny minority of Hungarian intellectuals who had never been divorced. That is when Kádár winked for the second time. Neither had he. Then, turning towards István Katona, and pointing at the long conference table, he mentioned that at a recent meeting they had spoken of someone who was only forty, and already married for the third time. "What madness, I told them. After all a lifetime is not enough to get to know one woman."

But it is worth trying, I said.

"It is indeed," he answered.

I mentioned that he looked better than he had when I had seen him here, in this room, six and a half years earlier. I reminded him of what I had said then since I turned sixty myself, and tire more easily, I often wonder how he manages, sixty as well, with much greater responsibilities, and many more worries. He had laughed, and brushed off what I said. What was I talking about. He had tired when he was fourteen and had been tired ever since.

We mulled over the recalled conversation. I asked him if he still kept to the old time-table. He had said that he tended to divide the day into three parts rather than two. He often had an early evening meal, followed by a short nap, and then continued working from nine until midnight.

He did not give me a direct answer now, but said, as he had the last time, that he only had a very small lunch. A cup of tea and a little ham, that was all. After that, if there was noone to see him for at least an hour, he lied down for twenty minutes next door. "I tell them to knock after twenty minutes, enough time to take the edge off tiredness." Generally he gets seven hours of sleep a night, that is enough, but Saturdays, once he knocks off, he goes and has a swim, then home and two to two and a half hours sleep. That extra rest then keeps him going for another week.

"I feel better than a few years ago. Human life seems to go in cycles. We've got over a difficult one. That is how things will go on, we'll have to get over the next cycle, that's all, and then the next. Those who drop out will be piously remembered."

I did not say it aloud but what I thought was that we all flirted like that with that dropping by the wayside. But he truly looked well. I had often seen him pale, even before that meeting six and a half years ago. Sometimes there were deep lines at the side of his mouth. Now he looked pink, his skin was tight, and his eyes looked livelier too. His hairs had diminished in number, but the hairs on his head were still fair and not grey. He looked younger than me.

This was the time to say good bye. I seized hold of the last thing he had said and played back the ball. If things were that way, I said, I would present myself again in six and a half years' time, when we were working on the hundredth issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly.*

"Come by all means. To your good health, but don't you drink if you are driving."

We clinked glasses again, and I wet my lips nevertheless.

On the way out he spoke again: "This article is yours. It is for your paper. It can only appear in Hungarian after it was published in English. I told Katona to make sure that the Hungarian papers which publish it should all mention that I wrote it for *The New Hungarian Quarterly.*

Shaking hands he asked that his regards be given to all staff members at *The New Hungarian Quarterly* and, once again, to my wife. I also asked to be remembered to his.

He came as far as the door. I had spent thirty-five minutes with him.

HUNGARY IN AN UNEASY WORLD

by

JÁNOS BERECZ

Barely more than 10.7 million inhabitants, an area of 93,000 square kilometres—these two figures already give an idea of what the international context means to Hungary, how the country relates to changes in the world. Like all small nations Hungarians—a quarter of one per cent of the world's population—are highly sensitive to outside political, economic and other changes. These can further or hinder the country's interests, and the realization of its objectives.

The Hungarian nation looks upon the outside world with great attention also because more than a thousand years ago it settled at the centre of a continent which has since been ravaged by the greatest number of wars, which has in this century alone been the fuse of two world-wide conflagrations, and where threatening dangers are now greater than ever before. A nation living at the crossroads of civilizations, ideologies, religions and cultures is of course interested not merely in the preservation of peace. It is of vital importance also that relations between countries with different social systems be actuated by goodwill and mutual confidence.

Small countries more responsive to the outside world understandably try to win allies and friends since, standing alone, they are unable to influence the fundamental processes of world politics and the world economy in a favourable direction. The Hungarian nation more than three decades ago took the socialist road of social progress and it has continued along it ever since. It is only natural therefore that it sought its allies among countries moving in the same direction, trying jointly to create international conditions that favour their great objectives of social reconstruction. It also offers friendship and sympathy to those nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America which, having achieved independence, decided in favour of progress of a socialist kind, accepting it as a pledge of national and social advancement which will help them overcome their secular backwardness.

Alliance and friendship based upon an identity of social aims does not preclude cooperation with other forces for the sake of coping with problems vital to the survival of civilization, and the future of mankind. That is why Hungary indefatigably explores possible steps to be taken jointly with any international political factor that is ready to act with a view to averting the danger of a world war, and for the preservation of possible improvement of the natural and economic conditions of human existence.

I.

Hungarians are very anxious about the present unease of the world, and the heightening of international tension. History has taught them what war means and they know that the horrors of a thermonuclear conflict would surpass whatever went before many times over. In the late forties and fifties they experienced the harm done by a tense international situation, and a war-like atmosphere. The mistakes and distortions of the early years of socialist construction were also largely due to the outside dangers that threatened the nascent socialist world.

Fortunately Hungary experienced contrary things as well, in the first half of the seventies. The easing of tension, the strengthening of confidence between countries with differing social systems, the extension of political, economic, scientific, cultural and human contacts made a favourable impact on progress in Hungary and on the improvement of the conditions under which people lived.

It is therefore in the fundamental interest of Hungarians that a relaxation of tension should ensue and that the earlier level of confidence between the two opposing alliances, between socialist and capitalist countries be restored and there should be more cooperation on the basis of mutual benefits. I am convinced that all this is hoped for not only by Hungarians, and that not only the country's socialist allies think the same way. The half-decade of détente produced such tangible results for all countries and nations that I am confident that others will join efforts to reduce present tensions and avert threatening dangers.

To do the latter one must know precisely what causes them. The raw nerves of the uneasy world must be exposed; all the objective circumstances and subjective factors.

It is a plain fact that two radically opposed social systems coexist in the world. Forms of ownership differ; consequently, in spite of certain similarities, there are essentially different methods of economic management. The position of social classes and sections of society in the structure of political power differs as well. The ideologies of socialism and capitalism confront each other; and the values of the two social systems are also radically opposed. Confrontation between the socialist and capitalist countries and between the two military and political alliances is therefore given, and this exercises a decisive influence on the destinies of all mankind.

The uneasy state of the world is aggravated by the dangerous side-effects of human progress. Industrialization not only makes life easier, but also pollutes and destroys the natural environment, consuming raw material and energy sources at an increasingly fast rate. Scientific and technological progress can be used not only to improve life but also to destroy it, and the development of military technology has indeed brought humanity to the brink of totally blotting out life on earth. These are threats which it is in the general interest of all mankind to avert, something that can be done only by joint efforts, by the collaboration of all countries, first of all by the cooperation of the socialist and capitalist countries which dispose over the greatest material and intellectual resources. This fact as well increases the interdependence of the countries of the two opposed systems.

In this manner confrontation and struggle, competition and interdependence, contact and cooperation necessarily coexist in the relationship between socialist and capitalist countries. It really depends on the attitudes of the two alliances, including the concrete international actions of the particular countries and the decisions of their governments, whether emphasis is put on confrontation or on responsible partnership in this complicated situation.

The way the facts of the situation and subjective factors are related can be seen especially well in military matters, the most delicate field. The truth is that parity exists between the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the United States, of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Salt-1 agreement concluded in 1972, and the Salt-2 agreement signed in 1979, by the Soviet Union and the United States implicitly accept this equilibrium since these instruments could not have been drawn up if either of the two parties considered its own position to be at a disadvantage. The complexity of military technology, the incomparability of some kinds of weapons, the differing location of weapon systems, and a series of other factors means, however, that this equilibrium must be considered in approximate and global terms. A proper understanding of it implies giving due weight to quantity, quality and location as well. Global strategic parity does not exclude relative imbalances in respect of certain weapon systems or geographical areas. It follows that an apparently reasonable step taken to eliminate a relative or local imbalance, while doing away with it, necessarily upsets global parity, offering a threat to the other party and thereby leading to a further escalation of the arms race.

Since the opposing forces possess by and large identical material, technical and scientific resources, neither party can hope to achieve a military superiority which would ensure victory in a thermonuclear war or could even establish enduring political advantages. It is, therefore, obvious that, by potentiating rearmament, not a single country can strengthen its own security to the detriment of others. Security can be created only by reducing armaments, by equilibrium at a reduced level of weapons of mass destruction, by taking account of the mutual interests, by carrying out collective steps.

International relations are considerably influenced also by conditions at home in the countries of the two systems. Economic problems and socio-political tensions render international action insecure and unpredictable, and they in general weaken the foundations of cooperation. The unfavourable and even dangerous features of the current world situation are closely related to the serious difficulties which—though they differ in character—are met with in both systems, amounting to crisis symptoms in a few countries.

The crisis in the capitalist world, in my judgement, springs from the very nature in the system and is today already a permanent concomitant of capitalist socio-economic conditions. As the centuries since the victory of bourgeois revolutions show the entire history of capitalism is a record of crisis management, the story of their emergence, temporary solution and recurrence. This is dangerous for the world since, in a system where the business interests wielding considerable political influence are anyway directly linked to armaments manufacture the danger always exists that problems are solved to the detriment of other countries and mostly by employing force. The confidence-destroying effect of an arms build-up looked on as a boost for the economy harms international relations even if it is presumed, or hoped, that ultimately the means of mass destruction will not be employed.

The international effects of an ongoing crisis in Poland since the summer of 1980 show that the problems of the socialist countries also have an unfavourable influence on international affairs. The apparent similarity, however, covers up essential differences: the causes of the difficulties in the socialist countries differ radically from the structural contradictions that produce the crisis symptoms in the capitalist world, and the connection of these problems with the international situation presents itself in a way that differs from the world political consequences of the capitalist crisis.

The problems of the socialist countries derive in part from the inability to eliminate completely a secular backwardness; their economic performance is still below the standard of the most developed capitalist countries. Being forced to rearm there does not mean a chance to do business but sacrifices, and their economies react sensitively to the known difficulties of the world economy. The problems are also connected with the exhaustion of the reserves on which extensive development in the earlier stage of fast growth relied, and the hitches and bottlenecks of the transition to intensive development. Socialism is a young society, sixty-five years old in the Soviet Union, much younger than that even in the other socialist countries. Consequently there is relatively little experience to guide one's steps along new and untrodden paths of socio-economic development.

The unfavourable outward conditions, being under a threat, the more complicated domestic tasks, and the scarcity of experience all combine to magnify the role of subjective factors, increasing the possibility of mistakes and the damage such mistakes can wreak. But problems present not only in Poland, but also—though less acutely—in other socialist countries, are not of the essence of the system, they are not part and parcel of socialism as such but can be traced back to occasional irregular functioning due to the above causes. Therefore the socialist countries look for a solution not on the outside, in the direction of other countries, nor in stepping up armaments in which not a single section of socialist society is interested anyway. They endeavour to eradicate errors relying on themselves alone, and on creating favourable outside conditions for undisturbed constructive work by stabilizing international relations. The success of such efforts of course depends on noone taking advantage of these difficulties by irresponsible action that puts international security at risk.

II.

Countries liberated some time ago, or more recently, from colonial rule are very likely the most uneasy part of the world. Political changes are frequent there, and most involve force and the use of arms. The frequency of armed clashes is rooted in tradition at least in part, as the only means in many places for overthrowing the colonial system. It is true, however, that even today there is no other way of overthrowing oppressive dictatorial regimes that serve foreign interests. Counterrevolutionaries also resort to armed force, and carry out military coups. Changes effected by force of arms —whatever their social content—have an unfavourable influence on the world situation. Furthermore the conditions which result from such changes —and which are, at least temporarily, often insecure—add to the probability of differences between countries coming to a head, of arms being used to redraw frontiers or to revive and settle other ancient grievances. Such conflicts always carry the seeds of possible extension inside them.

The most important international consequence of such changes is that they provoke a reaction from countries of the opposing systems. Capitalist countries generally try to anticipate or put a brake on social change likely to threaten their economic, political and military interests. The name of the game is therefore in essence that force, or more refined means, be used to head off social processes that have fully ripened. The aim of the socialist countries, on the other hand, is to help such processes to freely run their course and, in case of need to provide protection against foreign intervention and aggression. The two kinds of radically opposed reactions which necessarily stand in each other's way, of course have an unfavourable effect on the relationship between socialist and capitalist countries and thereby weaken the chances of détente. All this is potentiated if the assistance given by socialist countries, to allow the developing countries freely to set a course of their own choice, is used by extremists in the capitalist world as a pretext for increasing tension and for restricting and narrowing down relations between countries with differing social systems.

III.

These facts, such complex and contradictory interconnections in international affairs, require sober and responsible attitudes on the part of all countries. This applies particularly to countries which, owing to their economic potential and military strength, play a decisive role within their own alliances or in world politics as such. It is this sense of responsibility that one expects from the U.S. Administration as well which, in recent years, has put the emphasis on confrontation with socialism, making it more acute, rather than on rational compromises.

U.S. foreign policy is not based on the facts nor the historically established balance of forces, but is out to upset precisely that balance, and to achieve military supremacy. The leadership of the United States does not accept the necessity of peaceful coexistence, based on mutual interests, with the Soviet Union and with the socialist world, and considers a nuclear conflict to be within the realm of possibility, expecting to emerge victorious. They try, from a position of strength, to force their will on opponents and allies alike and to extort changes to their own liking in the countries of the developing world.

Noone can deny that in recent years the United States has met with a number of failures in Indochina, in the Persian Gulf area, in Africa and in Central America. Their cause must be looked for not in the alleged expansionism of the Soviet Union or of the socialist community or in détente. It was not the socialist countries that triggered off the fall of pro-American dictatorships but it was precisely the policy of the United States that raised to the utmost the determination of the peoples of Indochina, Iran, Ethiopia and Nicaragua.

The U.S. leadership also suffered disappointment in connection with Poland. Towards the end of 1981 it looked as if antisocialist forces would be able to seize power exploiting the justified discontent of the workers, and the political and economic chaos produced by the mistaken policy of the leadership. At the very least they expected that only military action by the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Treaty, would prevent Poland from breaking away from its allies, and this could then be used as a pretext for armed intervention against progressive systems, in Latin America in the first place. The campaign started after the proclamation of a state of emergency which created the basic conditions for continued socialism; furthermore the sanctions against Poland and the Soviet Union which weigh most heavily on the Polish people, and the pressure exercised in order to bring allies into line clearly reflect the essence and real nature of the current foreign policy of the United States. Such a policy can do damage but it will not divert the Polish leadership from seeking a political solution. As Wojciech Jaruzelski said in Budapest on April 21st: "Declaring a state of emergency was a difficult but unavoidable step. We know, however, that this is only a starting point, a lasting solution of our problems must needs bear a political character."

The most important lesson taught by the past sixty-five years is that the coming into being and growth of socialism is a necessary law of social evolution. It is possible to slow it down, and it is possible on occasion to make those who chose this road pay a stiff price, but arresting or reversing it is hopeless. Fortunately many among the more responsible exercising political influence in the capitalist world are fully aware of this. They know that risking a worldwide thermonuclear conflict to force back socialism does not make sense. It is such realistic and sober-minded forces which a socialist foreign policy intent on soothing an uneasy world relies on a foreign policy in which an active part is taken by the Hungarian People's Republic.

This spirit and such endeavours were expressed by the cordial and successful meeting in Bonn on April 27th and 28th between János Kádár, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and Helmut Schmidt, the Federal Chancellor. At the same time François Mitterrand, the President of the French Republic, who will be paying an official visit to Hungary in the course of 1982, had successful and friendly talks in Paris with György Aczél, the Deputy Prime Minister.

IV.

In this complex and inconsistent world it is particularly important for a country to be predictable, that is consistent in its international attitudes. Only in that case can a country be relied on by its allies and friends, and only then can it rely on the respect of those countries who may be partners in negotiation and adversaries at the same time.

It is generally known that Hungary's foreign policy is committed to socialism. The line is determined by the social changes that have taken place in Hungary, by pertinent national interests, by the resources of the country and the facts of international life. Since Hungarians have for over three decades now and of their own free will trod the socialist path of development they are directly interested in contributing to the consolidation of the national independence, social progress and the international positions of socialism.

Peace is an essential condition of constructive work, it is therefore a duty of Hungarian foreign policy to support every initiative aimed at lowering the heat of military confrontation, and at reducing the stock of weapons of mass destruction while maintaining parity. The country has modest dimensions, it possesses few raw material and energy resources, the economy is thus largely dependent on external relations. Hungary cannot do without mutually advantageous cooperation—which also builds up confidence by promoting more thorough mutual acquaintance—in science, education and culture as well. This is why international activity concentrates on maintaining and developing the achievements of détente, on the improvement of relations and the extension of contacts between countries with differing social systems.

The principal aims and concrete aspirations of Hungarian foreign policy are based on the interests and resources of the country, and are independently determined by the leading bodies of the HSWP, the National Assembly and the government, on whom this duty devolves according to principles laid down in the country's constitution. This policy line, apart from specific features connected with national characteristics—as implied by the identity of social systems and the similarity of objectives—basically coincides with the foreign policies of other countries of the socialist community.

In the alliance, however, there is of course more to it than an automatic identity. Deliberate coordination also takes place—national and common interests are coordinated with a view to formulating the joint initiatives necessary for the attainment of common aims and determining joint actions designed to realize them. Thus the independently formulated foreign policy of particular socialist countries, Hungary among them, turns into a coordinated policy line and it is then again up to the national institutions to implement it. It is these latter which determine the instrumentalities and methods employed. This process offers further opportunities for bringing out special national features.

There is no doubt that Hungarian foreign policy, including the international activity of the HSWP, has a style all of its own. This characterizes initiatives taken, the public exposition of Hungary's position as well as the way the country's views are expounded in the course of bilateral negotiations and at different international conferences. Efforts are madet to ensure that actions be well-founded and suggestions realistic. The national interest and the common aims of the alliance are represented while due account is taken of the interests and intentions of the other party. In world political debates and in the deliberations of the international working-class movement emphasis is laid on sober and calm reasoning and everything is done to avoid methods which look simple but which serve no good purpose —such as using striking epithets to describe the other side and their position.

In my view such ways are best suited to the realities of the world. The most urgent problem, the prevention of a world war that threatens to destroy human civilization, can only be dealt with by an exceptionally broad-based concentration of forces. It is realistically possible to achieve this since experience shows that even in the capitalist world—first of all in the capitalist states of Europe, the most endangered continent—there are forces within the political establishment which show a sense of responsibility for the survival of their own people and of mankind. The countries of Europe, regardless of their social system, are equally threatened by the limited nuclear war contemplated by the extremists within the U.S. leadership. This absurd notion can perhaps be entertained from the angle of other continents, it would in any event lead to total, unlimited destruction in Europe. The security interests and economic conditions of Western

Europe are, just like those of the socialist countries, tied to the prevention of war and to the maintenance and development of relations between countries with differing social systems. The coincidence of interests is a sound basis for joint action even if views on the nature of social progress differ.

The fundamental ideological opposition between the revolutionary and the reformist wings of the working-class movement have persisted unchanged for many decades now. The present international situation, however, makes it imperative, and at the same time possible, for the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, which enjoy the support of the broad masses of the working class and which are in power in the majority of the countries of Europe, to engage in systematic dialogue, and undertake parallel or expressly joint actions. The ideological debate must continue, openly exposing differences of opinion concerning the nature of society, but at the same time it is necessary to reckon with shared interests in disarmament and political and military détente.

To quote the joint communiqué issued by the delegations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the French Socialist Party following their talks in Budapest at the end of April: "In the course of their talks the representatives of the two parties expressed their conviction that, in spite of differing ideological and political views, the continuance and development of contacts between the two parties fully accords with both their interests and serves the strengthening of manysided relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the French Republic."

There are good opportunities for joint action also as regards voluntary bodies and organizations. The greater threat of war has not only increased public anxiety but has intensified public activity. In recent months the masses in both parts of Europe, organized workers, women and young people as well as church members have—in their different ways—given expression to their resolution and will to act against the dangers menacing peace on this continent.

The Hungarian People's Republic, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian trades unions, other voluntary and mass organizations, churches and congregations have the confidence, goodwill and readiness to cooperate with any governmental, political or religious body in whom this uneasy world produces the same anxiety, and wish and readiness to act responsibly.

SURVIVAL, DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC COOPERATION—A DRAFT FOR THE YEAR 2000

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

I

In a changing world, there is need of novel ways for creating intellectual contacts, and all who feel a sense of responsibility search for these. Conventional forms of contact do not suffice any longer to ensure the transfer and exchange of those insights and associations of ideas that will play a decisive role in shaping the future of mankind.

A survey of the key issues in terms of the diverse concepts and approaches that have been devised, covering the full range, from an analysis of the concrete situation to timetables for rational action, is required because

(a) it provides all participants with information and insights superior by far to any other channel of information,

(b) discussion and debate, the comparison of views and attitudes compels us to rethink our own attitudes and ideas,

(c) a dialogue will open up new prospects of cooperation and also mark out their limitations.

Contacts of this sort will be needed more and more frequently since it is so much more difficult to cooperate than to stay in confrontation. Confrontation requires no analysis, no research, and no information; all it needs is large doses of prejudice. But novel forms of contact in themselves, however important they might be, do not provide sufficient motivation for the organization of such an important convention; the crucial ingredient is what is said. What is crucial as well is experience matured into conviction that, as scholars and scientists, we represent similar attitudes, or at least attitudes open to rapprochement, *vis-à-vis* some of the looming problems, hazards, and prospects of the world today. Our views and strivings—as

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Address delivered at the Budapest conference of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes, November 11–14, 1981.

shown by our publications and the positions we have taken up—are similar also as regards the tasks and the future of our profession, and that of scientific and scholarly research.

Permit me briefly to touch upon three of these similar or reconcilable views and strivings.

(1) Being concerned with the world and the economy, we hold that Third World progress is one of the key issues of survival and development, which must be tackled concurrently with the other global issues and problems. In an interdependent world, an issue becomes crucial to development when, in its emergence and evolution and in its implications, it comes to interact with many other issues and relationships. The economic crisis, the crisis of energy and resources, the problems of the biosphere, the dangers of technology, and the arms race are quite grave enough in themselves, but their solution apart from Third World development is simply inconceivable. At the same time, in formulating development models and structures for and by the Third World, it is necessary to keep in mind the ways in which these global problems affect the available alternatives and vice versa. It is imperative to keep in mind this double interaction in a period when interdependence requires regional and interregional (global) economic cooperation at levels far exceeding current ones, while nation-states with their different ethnic, language, and cultural backgrounds and the corresponding interests flourish and, indeed, processes of disintegration marshalling considerable forces are active in attempting to split apart the framework. Citizens of nation-states and members of the different ethnic groups perceive economic growth and the evolution of their living standards also as the fulfilment or frustration of their national or ethnic aspirations.

(2) Appearances suggest that a rapprochement is also emerging in the appreciation of the role that East-West relations play, or should play, in promoting Third World development. New trade centres are doubtless emerging in the world economy; just as the bipolar world political and power pattern is in process of transformation. Yet we must not forget that the greatest economic and military potentials and the greatest capacities for further developing them are still to be found in the East-West region. It is what is more well known that governments strive to integrate their defence, economic, and cultural policies, which implies that East-West relations do make a decisive impact on the world economic climate, international relations, and the readiness to cooperate of the actors on the economic scene. An embargo of any kind reveals a striving to despoil others of the main benefits of international trade. Such offences against the

principles of such trade, however, are no mere bilateral concern and not simply economic or political pressure on allies or neutrals (with view to forestalling substitutions); they also entail a deterioration of the international economic climate. Such measures are apt to make impossible before the event the degree of cooperation which is required if the interests of the developing countries are to be served.

It is clear on the other hand that the East-West climate is affected not only by the direct relations but also by processes and events in other parts of the world. In the present situation, it is likely that indirect (external) factors should acquire an increasing importance. The *status quo* that has emerged in the European region has been accepted by every government and major political force but conflicts regularly occur in other parts of the world. (What I have in mind here are self-generated conflicts that are not merely consequences elsewhere of East-West confrontation.)

We probably do not agree in our judgement of all these issues, especially of some of the conflicts; but we are of one accord about the need to become more familiar with each other's intentions and ideas regarding these major world problems, and that a dialogue best serves this end.

The dialogue itself must be a process; it clearly cannot be the outcome of a single step or a single decision and cannot be confined to a single action.

(3) Shared or similar ideas have presumably matured in our minds concerning the role that science—and, more specifically, the social sciences—can or should play in tackling world problems. All of us are committed: by cultivating our own disciplines, we do not only wish to make a contribution to science but also to serve progress. We do not look on science and knowledge as a mere compendium of information, methods, and skills within a discipline but also as a systematic overview of relations and interdependencies between things and processes. This is why we tend more and more to approach problems in an interdisciplinary manner; in doing so, we strive to see the economy for example in the contact of diverse activities, processes, and institutions. Given highly complex and greatly accelerated world development, an understanding of the past and of the causal relationship between the different factors is not enough: rational alternatives for future action must also be elaborated. The structures of politics, of society, and the economy are embedded in the present but have evolved in the past; this stresses the importance of future-oriented research. These inherited structures exert pressure on those in charge. This is why the sciences are the only factor that can speak for the future with the weight and emphasis that it deserves. It is thus within the framework

of scientific cooperation that we must, in a spirit of consultation and consensus with the holders of political power, attempt to implant new institutions, effects, and stimuli into present structures that are likely to extend the focus of decision-making towards the future, pointing the searchlight towards long-term effects and the secondary consequences and side-effects.

II

A mutual exchange of views should include a consideration of what the socialist countries have done in the study of the developing countries and of the furthering of economic relations.

In the nature of things, socialist research on the developing countries first emerged in the Soviet Union. High-powered scientific institutes study the development issues of the Third World, under the direction of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, making use of the experience of several decades. In the colonial period, such research used to be closely connected with the study of the history of the international working-class movement. Since the former colonies' accession to independence, research in the Soviet Union has been concentrating more and more on issues of economic development.

In the other socialist countries of Europe research in the nineteen-sixties strove first and foremost for an understanding of the phenomena of growth and development and for the formulation of concepts related to them. Socialist research exhibits a propensity for the analysis of economic problems in their social and historical context. It is argued that development is much more than simply a matter of economics; it is, in addition, also a social, political, and cultural issue that may be in harmony with the laws of history governing social development or may clash with them. This is why we have endeavoured to survey and anticipate the social and political consequences of different economic alternatives and, on the other hand, to specify that minimum of socio-political change which permits economic development to take off but still allows those participating in the development process to retain a feeling of identity in the sociological sense. Numerous books on this subject have become part of international economic literature. The analysis of the social and political problems of development from the economic aspect has commanded a great deal of attention on the part of sociologists, political scientists, and students of jurisprudence concerned with various Third World problems.

The nineteen-seventies saw a shift in the focus of economic research: socialist economists have been concentrating their efforts on the interaction between the developing countries and the world economy. This shift was justified by the seminal changes in the world economy and the accompanying crisis which have, within a comparatively brief span of time, radically altered the setting and conditions of economic development.

The crisis, or to put is differently, the emergence of major changes in the world economy in the form of a crisis should not, however, be seen as a pretext for deferring a serious consideration of Third World problems but should serve as an impetus in the sense that these interrelated problems cannot be solved one by one; they must be tackled together, within the framework of a single self-consistent, comprehensive concept. It would be inconceivable e.g. to find a worldwide solution for the problems of the natural resources without the cooperation of the Third World; it would be likewise irrational to formulate development models for and by the Third World that disregard the scarcity of resources.

In the socialist countries, vigorous, intense, and ever-broadening scientific activity concerning the problems of the developing countries has had a considerable influence on public opinion as well as on governments. This has at the same time furthered understanding among planners and those concerned with production and marketing for the special conditions and interests inherent in economic relations with the developing countries. In the world of concrete economic activities, concrete relations of interests must, of course, always be reckoned with, since they are the motors of expanding production and sales, promoting technological progress and adaptation to the needs of clients. In the decades to come, a growing preoccupation with Third World countries is to be expected on the part of the economies of the socialist countries; this broadening preoccupation is closely linked with a novel external-economy policy and attitude that is fuelled by the need for a more vigorous integration into the world economy. In earlier decades the economic blockade of the Soviet Union, followed by the embargo after the Second World War (to which certain errors of the socialist thinking of the time had also contributed), resulted in introverted models of development in the socialist countries. In a period of intensive growth and development, however, the external economy becomes a growth factor: the share of foreign trade in national income steeply rises. The international division of labour (procuring different factors of development or supply through foreign trade) must thus be organically embedded into economic planning. The advantages inherent in the international division of labour, however, can be enjoyed only if different alternatives can be effectively compared. This implies a close relationship between domestic and world-market prices. The use of world-market prices, or an approach to doing so, is also motivated by the profound changes that have taken place in the prices of natural resources, of fuels in particular, which can only be offset by vigorous integration into the world economy, as urged also by the disequilibria that have emerged in the balances of trade and payments of several socialist countries motivating vigorous efforts to increase exports. The necessity of the new external-economy policy is present in every socialist country in Europe, but the actual timetable of introducing the (inevitable) changes is a function of a large number of factors. These cover a broad range from the vulnerability to foreign trade of the individual economies to internal stability and the views and attitudes of the economic and political leadership. Though timetables may differ, the introduction of changes seems inevitable.

The new external-economy policy include the vigorous expansion of economic relations—in importance as well as in quality and quantity—with the developing countries.

All in all, wide economic cooperation and trade expansion with the developing countries is urged not merely by high-minded but abstract attitudes, but by concrete economic interests as well, including the mutual benefits accrueing from the division of labour and the advantages perceived by economic unity in higher profits, reduced costs, and the strengthening of market positions.

III

In the past decade socialist economists have contributed directly and through criticism and the formulation of alternative concepts to the shaping and reshaping of various programmes of action aimed at changing the world economy.

The New International Economic Order, a document that expresses the views of the political leaders and scholars of the developing countries, is the most important of these programmes. It is more than just a new world economic concept since, at critical junctures such as the present one, economic activity itself as the most dynamic sub-system of human society and of development becomes a norm of action geared to securing the conditions of human existence. The recognition that the problems of the Third World are connected by their origin and by their prospects with progress as such and are inseparable also from the crisis of aims, limitations, and opportunities of development that has surfaced in our days is greatly to the credit of the document. Doubtless, it is a product of moral-normative-legal thinking rather than of other disciplines of thought; it lays down postulates but does not delve into the mechanism of concrete economic processes. This attitude is understandable in view of the antecedents, but in practice it raises the problem whether there are in operation any forces and influences outside the system of economic interests that are capable of deflecting economic processes in the desired direction towards the attainment of the designed objectives. Notably, even if governments can affect and change the setting and the conditions of action, those performing the steps of concrete economic processes are individuals, groups and enterprises motivated by their interests.

The courageous initiative on the part of political leaders from the developing countries was followed up by further ones, primarily under the aegis of international organizations. What I have in mind are the Rio programme, the Leontief study, the formulation of alternative strategies of development, alternative basic needs and programmes of regional and interregional research (jointly sponsored by Unitar and the Club of Rome), and similar actions. These undertakings have introduced numerous innovations on the scientific and methodological side, such as looking at the world economy as a single coherent whole, though the world economy as such has no institutional system based on a coherent set of interests, and no single representative authority. They activate large international teams headed by eminent economists or other social scientists. Outstanding among these is "North-South: a Programme of Survival" produced by the Brandt Commission. This report is an important milestone in the story of inquiry into the problems and options of humanity. It is greatly to the credit of this report that

(a) it synthetized and further advanced the most important findings of earlier work;

(b) it linked up the diagnosis and therapy of the different groups of world problems with the phenomena of the seminal changes in the world economy (from the energy crisis through stagflation to armaments),

(c) it strove to involve the socialist countries, which is very much to its credit even though the cooperation advocated has not yet come about,

(d) it managed to involve some leading statesmen (*de facto* wielders of power) into close attention to the gravest economic problems of the world today, which are inseparable from political and security issues. This is highly important since, in any striving for a compromise, only those are in a position to assess and compare advantages and drawbacks whose competence covers every form of power, political and military as well as scientific and economic.

While repeatedly emphasizing my appreciation of the report, allow me to make a few corrective and explanatory comments and some critical remarks as well.

In its analysis of the North-South issue, the report starts from a humanistic prosition, which means that it accepts some aims and strivings as natural and treats the accommodation of those as postulates. As scientists or scholars we are in the habit of making a clear distinction between a description (what is) and normative postulates (what should be). Of course, a great many scientists also have political convictions to which they are more or less committed; it is understandable if in the case of political personalities such commitments play a greater role, in fact, to some extent, a determining role. If on the other hand one strives to formulate systems of action, one cannot avoid considering the interplay of the parties' concrete interests because, in the economy, acting according to one's self-interest is normal behaviour. Of course, the sum of self-interests does not add up to equality, justice, or equity. The core of the problem is whether one succeeds in combining the goals one prescribes for the socio-political world with the interplay of concrete interests. There are precedents for such combinations both within national economies and within integrations (for instance, tax concessions, preferantial credits, bonuses, infrastructure for regional development, etc.).

Another problem is that the views of the Commission do not reflect the ideas of the West (of the industrialized capitalist countries), but that of progressives in the West, which is an important distinction in the current period of conservative backlash.

Reviewing the international reception of the report, however, I was struck by the fact that economists often take exception to incomplate findings and incertitudes that are the inevitable consequences of the current state of the social sciences. One should not expect any report to provide at a stroke answers to all the problems which the social sciences had been unable to cope with satisfactorily for decades. The situation today, and the tasks facing us, imply that the lack of a systematic collation of ideas and terminology between the diverse social sciences will have to be overcome by a multidisciplinary approach. Such an approach, however, is still in its infancy. The greatest need is for the rapprochement and clarification of the concepts of economics, sociology, law and political science in the first place. Equality and economic growth are the two lodestars of modern history, but the economic process does not create equality; this is why economists tend to be so fond of financial incentives and to be so apprehensive of outside interference upsetting the balance of the economic circular flow. Clearly, measures promoting equality have to be implemented in a manner so as not to upset the system of economic interests and incentives. Even the term interest is used in different ways. Economists often equate interest with economic interests pure and simple. However, society recognizes not only economic interests but also interests connected with survival and national or cultural progress. It has been said that institutional change is ineffective without political changes. This is debatable since the improvement of institutions by reforms is a necessity even under a given political system, precisely in order to promote its better functioning. I have repeatedly stressed the necessity of summit meetings and I should not like to repeat my arguments here, but it seems clear to me that summit meetings do not only promote the solution of what are called ripe issues, but can also spark of new processes in international affairs.

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In what follows I should like to, in an active spirit of cooperation, touch upon those factors that hinder or indeed prevent the satisfactory solution of major problems, those of the Third World in the first place. I want to consider these problems in an active spirit, i.e. I do not consider the present situation immutable, and in a spirit of cooperation, meaning that I regard the present situation as a cause for anxiety for all of us and do not mean to shift responsibility upon this or that party. I should like to point to two inhibitive factors, more important in my view than the others, which have emerged and gained strength in relations among industrially developed countries but which, owing to their weight, and nature, affect every essential economic issue. One of these is the arms race; the other is the deficient nature of East-West cooperation.

In international political relations having a bearing on Third World development, dangers do not emanate only from those conservative manifestos that relegate the problems of the existence and survival of nation-states to the categories of free competition and free markets, but also from those programmes of action, drawn up elsewhere, that withdraw unprecedented volumes of material and intellectual resources from the efforts required to solve the grand problems of humanity. What is staggering is not only that armament expenditure should have surpassed 500,000 million dollars a year, and that a bout of supplementary armament has been embarked upon, but also that

— in the present international setting, armament overlaps into the Third World, where new conflits flare up as a result,

— the economic crisis—rampant in the developed world above all—transgresses into ever widening spheres,

— increasing armaments expenditure in a deteriorating economic situation requires a very convincing justification to the national societies, which then are bound to result in a further exacerbation of tension and to discourage forces striving for cooperation,

— all this endangers international economic relations by making them dependent on sets of values and systems of assessment rooted in the military sphere.

Of course, those present here are social scientists and not soldiers, I nevertheless feel that at this time of crucial changes, ranging from the population explosion through the obsolescence of earlier models of economic growth to unprecedented technological progress and threats to the biosphere, a rethinking of security policy conceptions on a multidisciplinary basis is greatly needed, because security is an economic issue as well as a political and social one.

The arms race and its recent amplification is a consequence of East-West relations that, subsequently, itself becomes a cause with a strong impact on the shaping of relations. It is a remarkable feature of today's economic power pattern that the bipolar world system is in the process of loosening up and that a five-pole power pattern is emerging. It is obvious to an economist that new economic centres are arising; everyone has to accept this. Still, as I have said, the greatest military power and war-making machine, as well as the capacities for further expanding these, are in the European theatre and within the East-West relationship. Therefore, even the global issues of the international economy and politics tend to acquire and East-West bias. Whatever one may think of this, it must be accepted for the time being.

It follows that the political and economic climate still depends on East-West relations first and foremost. I think it conceivable that in the present highly vulnerable world hemmed in by a number of interdependences, peaceful coexistence, that is the avoidance of war, is not sufficient any more. What is needed is cooperation, that is, joint action. It follows logically that East-West relations evolving on the pattern of the late nineteen-forties or the early nineteen-fifties would trigger catastrophic consequences today making the world an increasingly unpredictable and dangerous place to live in.

Obstacles are, however not confined to the industrially developed countries; they exist in the Third World as well. The integration of the Third World into the world economy, the tasks devolving in that context upon the developed countries and the international organizations, and the prospects of the future are being examined by commissions and other bodies using a variety of scenarios. Essential progress has been made in this respect, even though, of course, views diverge concerning the different issues.

The socio-political alternatives of Third World development are however another matter. Economists, in keeping with their traditions and terminology, speak of models of growth and development when they simply mean export orientation, import substitution, etc. Of course, the linking to the world economy of economic policy in a given country is of outstanding importance, but it does not in itself exclude any or all alternatives in the socio-political or sociological sphere. The evidence seems to be that more reckless and experienced conduct of affairs of the nineteen-sixties was replaced in the nineteen-seventies by greater prudence and circumspection. On the other hand, the nineteen-seventies saw in some societies the revival of older ideas that may, in themselves, have a considerable value for culture and civilization but are unhelpful to economic development. The first current, that of greater prudence, has resulted in the postponement of reforms that seemed reasonable and even imperative. The second current, the revival of old values, has created combinations of ideas, strivings and concepts which would have seemed barely conceivable as recently as a decade ago.

These two concepts, so different in their social backgrounds and ideas, will have similar consequences in the long term. In the first case, it is a socio-political background in conflict with the requirements of economic development that causes disturbances and tensions; these lead to a hang-up in development, handicapping the spreading of its beneficial effects. Under such conditions, however, the passive populations of preceding times cannot develop the ability of reacting to economic impulses. In the other case, it is the rapidly emerging economic disturbances that will undermine socio-political strivings divorced from what is actually feasible in a given setting. The second current appears especially fascinating and important, reflecting as it does a deep conflict between old values and the changes wrought by economic development. The basic tenet of modern economics is that the growing material needs of humanity can be satisfied only if economic activity is organized into a network of profit-generating operations embedded into a system of interests of individuals and of enterprises. This view, however, and its extremely far-reaching consequences enmeshing every form of social activity, comes up against the old values which know and recognize no economic norms or consider all economic activity to be a matter of moral obligation. This is why those who stand for the old values regard many of the new phenomena as morally reprehensible and damaging to the cohesion of society. Whenever difficulties arise in the course of economic development or in the laying of its social foundations, this attitude—which is deeply rooted in the masses—receives a new lease of life and may, in the name of apparently radical slogans, overturn structures working for changes. Such radical ideas may be sincere at the subjective level. General aspirations such as equality existed in the traditional hieratic, tribal, and feudal societies as well. The concrete effects of these and similar ideas depend, however, on their context and on the interests they serve. Inherited cultural values, however, are clearly rooted in structures rather than strivings, and these structures automatically re-emerge or gain the upper hand whenever those working for changes are overturned or repressed. Faced with extraordinary combinations of social changes, economists may well retort that their discipline is concerned exclusively with economic relations. This would, however, imply that the most crucial issues of development lie in a sort of scientific no man's land: both the economic and the socio-political processes evolve in a space of interactions that nobody seems to be concerned with. It would be a semantic joke to call the Cultural Revolution of China or the events in Iran special variants of the austerity model. This is why I perceive a gaping void in our appraisal of development alternatives; we have not only failed to foresee variants and problems that have turned out to be starkly real but also neglected the analysis of the empirical evidence relating to the solutions that have emerged. In my view there is a dire need for scientific cooperation which could—on a trilateral and multidisciplinary basis—remedy these omissions.

Conflicts between countries of the Third World are another noteworthy group of obstacles to development. What matters particularly is that they may escalate into grave international crises. They are highly varied as to motives and types; some of them, however, have grown into full-fledged wars fought by large armies using a complex weaponry. These conflicts, wars, and protracted tensions cause huge losses of life and property and demolish such nuclei of progressive structures as have been achieved. Over and above the squandering of scarce resources they wreak lasting havoc among the conditions of economic growth.

The interested parties bear an essential responsibility for the emerging conflits and minor wars since, for them, real-life international relationships are one of the media of political action. Even while emphasizing their responsibility, however, it is important to point out that the conflictconfining and conflict-eliminating organizations that are an organic constituent of the international political and institutional system have lost a great deal of authority and effectiveness precisely in a period when the spreading and escalation of conflicts of this nature has to be reckoned with.

This conference of ours is attended by scholars and scientists who profess to be committed concerning the issues of the economic, social, and political development of the Third World. Their commitment is not incompatible with their loyalty to their own nations and their political systems, indeed the two may well spring from common roots. In today's interdependent, complex, and dangerous world the basis of survival and continuous development of nations and political systems must be looked for in cooperation. The social sciences have and will go on having a special responsibility in making international public opinion accept this and in insisting that something be done.

The understanding of the Third World's problems, their analysis and solution requires cooperation in scientific research as well. New methods of research and new forms of cooperation are needed; new systems of action apt to reach the political sphere have to be worked out. Only in this way can the great international scientific undertakings of our age be launched in the interest of coordinated approach to the crucial issues bringing together eminent personalities and institutes with modern equipment and resources. In the course of such cooperation, efforts must be continued to establish contact with politics, which are, and will go on to be, much more dependent on science than before.

The societies of the present have no other sensors responsive to the problems of the future. It is quite clear on the other hand that, when world problems of this calibre are at stake, only politics are capable of making adequate changes of course and of mechanisms. I am of course fully aware that the nature of politics and its methods of introducing changes, its time-scales and strivings, differ greatly from those that scientists would prefer to advocate. In scientific relations, for example, continuity and the long-term view are paramount. It would therefore be quite wrong to surrender scientific cooperation to day-to-day political changes. Of course, in a highly vulnerable world, it is difficult and sometimes impossible to avoid the storms that blow up in politics. This is why scientific relations and contacts must possess considerable elasticity, bearing in mind that the fact and the contents of cooperation are invariably more important than its forms. We must maintain the hope that, within a framework acceptable to all, a system of actions will emerge that is able to accelerate Third World development and assist the most disadvantaged economies.

Such a framework can, in my opinion, be provided only by the United Nations, even though its rather brittle system of organization and representation revealed itself more sluggish in keeping up with the greatly dynamized international political and economic developments of the nineteen-seventies than with those of the nineteen-sixties. These shortcomings and the need for change and renewal must be pointed out even though we all recognize the difficulties of organizations operating on a principle of at least partial consensus, because today, a consensus is required much more in admitting the necessity for change than in maintaining and accepting the established situation.

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SMALL BUSINESSES IN A SOCIALIST ECONOMY

by

ANDRÁS TÁBORI

In the first few months of 1981 advertisements appeared in Hungarian newspapers announcing that the state-owned catering and retail enterprises would put out their smaller restaurants and shops to tender and hire them to small businessmen who offered the highest return. The late autumn weeks brought the follow-up: 32 new statutes were passed on the establishment of small-scale state-owned and cooperative enterprises from January 1st 1982. These also make it possible for those working in the socialist sector in state-owned enterprises and cooperatives, to engage in full-time or after-working activities based on private initiative.

Two closely connected processes of change are involved. 1) The first is a re-organization of the direction and the sizes of trading units in the socialist sector (state-owned enterprises, cooperatives); the second is the legalization and revitalization of personal initiative and enterprise. It is important to emphasize that both trends are based on enterprise, and on the national benefit to be derived from it. At first sight the new statutes offer a superficial picture of changes in the size of economic entities, the renaissance of small firms. In fact more thorough and more comprehensive changes in direction and organization are involved.

Unnecessary centralization

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party resolved in the autumn of 1980 to modernize the method of directing industry. The resolution pointed out that "the development of the central direction and enterprise organization of industry has lagged behind national economic planning and economic regulation." There followed decisions in two areas; one was that the government would concentrate—instead of on details—

on drawing up comprehensive industrial strategy; the second was that enterprises should be able to manage their affairs with greater responsibility and independence. The government also made a careful analysis of the conditions for more independent management at enterprise level; this included the very important factor of whether the actual size of enterprises stimulated or put a brake on more flexible managerial behaviour.

Central direction was made more efficient mainly by making the comprehensive processes of planning and regulation central among the tasks of the State Planning Commission; at the same time the government's Economic Commission was established to coordinate the operative direction of the economy and international economic relations. I might also mention that the three ministries earlier involved in the directing of industry—the Ministry of Metallurgy and Engineering, the Ministry of Light Industry, and the Ministry of Heavy Industry—were replaced by a single Ministry of Industry. What was involved here was far more than a simple merger, but a preparation for a style of direction new in its nature. The fact that the Ministry of Industry works with approximately one half of the staff of its three predecessors is in itself an indication. (Direct, everyday direction of industrial enterprises is no longer the task of the Ministry.) The responsibilities of the new Ministry are entirely different: it elaborates concepts of industrial policy and checks on the process of their implementation, with a special eye to technical development and scientific research.

With the change of central guidance a process, which had been continuing for same time, was reversed. While the number of enterprises in Hungary fell year after year up to 1980–81 through large enterprises swallowing up the smaller; at the beginning of 1981 small and medium-size enterprises were formed through the break-up of some large enterprises.

The Hungarian economy wishes to support flexibility and adaptability in every way; this in turn demands the elimination of rigidity in the size of enterprises. In the past, the reform of economic direction introduced in 1968 refrained from reorganizing the enterprises themselves. This is how a vigorous increase in the autonomy of enterprises opened up the way for a further increase of large enterprises by their constant assimilation of the smaller. The larger enterprises—facing shortages in labour and capacity—considered expansion through taking over small enterprises to be in their interests, since they thus obtained additional resources. This process was so unidirectional that between 1970 and 1979 the number of state-owned enterprises diminished from 812 to 702; the number of industrial cooperatives from 821 to 673; the number of state farms from 184 to 131; the number of the common farms of the agricultural cooperatives from

2,241 to 1,350; and the number of wholesale and retail enterprises and co-operatives from 946 to 603. Those years were thus marked by organizational centralization, merger, the swallowing up of the small in the economy.

However, the lack of small enterprises also had the effect of reducing the efficiency of large enterprises. Everywhere—and especially in the industrially developed countries—it is characteristic that while increasingly larger enterprises are formed, thousands of small firms employing very few workers provide the environment in which the giants operate. But in Hungary, in the end, the large ones had to pay for the accumulating expenses of the mergers forced by them. They paid by having to manufacture themselves at considerable costs what small enterprises would have been able to produce more cheaply and for many large enterprises at the same time. A single example will suffice: the 1977 figures tells us that 80 per cent of enterprises in the metallurgical and engineering industry had their own tool-making shops. They also had their own foundries as well as the construction departments and also produced locally and at great cost small accessories such as screws using back-yard methods.

All this justified the breaking up of unnecessarily centralized enterprises. Six were abolished: those of the sugar industry, wine production, the tobacco industry, coal-mining, road-building, and film-making were broken up into independent enterprises. Three large enterprises—the Hungarian Confectionery Works, the Lampart Enamel Industry Works, the Ganz Measurement Instrument Works were broken into their components, and other enterprises were hived off from other large units. In this way 78 enterprises were established at the beginning of 1981, and this has not been the end of the process. It is also necessary to establish entirely new small firms, and also the existing enterprises should set up—to meet their own demands economically—small enterprises and subsidiaries out of their common money, through association.

In many critical sectors the large enterprise continues to be the only profitable framework for production. But it is not profitable through its size but by doing in fact what large factories have to do, delegating to smaller units everything that can be produced economically by the latter.

Small enterprises and cooperatives

This process of handing over continues, with the new statutes, from January 1982. As far as the size of firms is concerned, state-owned small enterprises can be formed—employing a simplified accounting system which differs substantially from that of the large ones. (The small enterprise uses simplified cost accounting; it has approximately 70 per cent fewer ledger accounts, and has to report 80 per cent fewer data. All this expands the scope of the small enterprise; after meeting its fixed taxes, it can itself decide how much it uses out of its profits for research and development and how much for increasing wages.)

What are called small cooperatives are already a step towards the other process of activating private initiative. Small cooperatives can be established—with a maximum of one hundred members—including people employed elsewhere, that is those working outside working hours, or pensioners, possibly university students—with the condition they pay towards the foundation of the cooperative and participate in the work personally.

There is ample scope for private initiative which is linked to an existing socialist enterprise or cooperative. For instances the state enterprise may transfer a section employing a maximum of 15 workers, by contract or through a hiring out system, to the entrepreneur, who pays out of his income a share of profit fixed in advance. Opportunities for what is called a specialized farming group* have been extended. This entrepreneurial form has already been in operation in Hungary, although with more modest possibilities. At present specialized farming groups have approximately 200,000 members, and the overwhelming majority of the members are not engaged in farming as their main occupation; they include unskilled workers as well as university professors farming on their small weekend plots. The new regulation makes it possible for the specialized group contracting with an agricultural cooperative, a state farm, a forestry enterprise, or whatever, to undertake any activity which forms part of farming, including the industrial processing of produce. The statutes have also simplified the taking out of craftsmen's licences: the administrative councils no longer have to consider whether the craft for which the licence is requested is in demand in the given area; the licence must be issued if the applicant fulfils the legal conditions (that is, he is skilled, and he is not barred by a current court sentence.)

Economic partnerships

In accordance with the Civil Code, what are called economic working communities can be formed; it is especially interesting that this can be done not only by independent entrepreneurs but also by the workers and employees of state-owned enterprises and cooperatives. In the latter case there is an opportunity for the workers of a large enterprise—by forming a working community—to obtain preferentially the waste materials and tools of the enterprise (or to be candid: it will hardly be worthwhile any longer to steal these); they may undertake repair and maintenance services locally, and they may also contract with their own enterprise for the production of smaller parts, accessories, outside working hours.

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* See the article by C. M. Hann in *NHQ* 74

The new types of businesses—as this sketch shows—legalize work which has been done until now mostly without permission (or tax), and which may be included within the second economy, or auxiliary activity. This encompasses an extensive, almost unfathomably broad range in Hungary, although it may do no harm to note that it is far from being peculiar to the country. In Hungary auxiliary activity, which has partly already been legalized and is partly being "emancipated" by the new statutes—is especially widespread and important in a number of sectors, mainly in services and in agriculture. The household plots of the agricultural cooperatives produce a substantial proportion of fruits, vegetables, and of small livestock which can be exported profitably. But the household plots flourish not only on account of the stimulation of the form of ownership—personal possession—but because of the method and experiences which have deserved the attention they have aroused internationally. The essence of the method is rather simple: the household plot has been linked and integrated to the common property without impairing the form of the latter, not merely in agreement with but often at the initiative of the plot-owners. The machines of the cooperative help to work the small parcels of land, the common farm sells the produce, and in many places the cooperative even employs an agricultural specialist who offers advice on working of small plots, on the farm-work done in a member's free time or by members of his family.

Auxiliary economic activity

An extensive system of generally useful auxiliary economic activity has been developed beyond this too. To give some indication of the scale: there are expert estimates that approximately 3 to 3,5 million active earners and 1 to 1,5 million pensioners—i. e. one half of the Hungarian population, approximately three quarters of families—are today engaged in some smaller or larger auxiliary activity. This includes farming and horticulture (not only on household plots, but also the on what are called weekend plots). Further more, it is within the framework of this auxiliary economy that some 35 to 40,000 family homes and several thousand summer houses are built in Hungary annually, partly by tradesmen and partly by the individual families themselves. The value of this construction work corresponds to the full annual production of from eighty to one hundred thousand full-time building workers. Only 25 per cent of consumer services are performed by socialist enterprises: the rest are carried out by private tradesmen and through private arrangements which have been tolerated, though not lawful, until now.

Paying guest rooms satisfy approximately 50 per cent of the total demand for tourist accommodation, from which the conclusion may also be drawn that foreign tourists use commercial accommodation for only part of the time they spend in Hungary. In total, the work performed in the auxiliary economy amounts to some 18–20 per cent of the social labour input.

There are enormous amounts of additional energy doing work, investing savings, and satisfying social demands—mainly for services.

A change of direction?

How can this revival of private enterprise* be fitted into the socialist order of values—or can it be fitted in at all? Have the views on the relationship between the small and the large enterprise, or to be more exact, about the inherent supremacy of the large interprise been modified? Does the government take into account the obvious risks of individualism among small businessmen gaining ground?

It seems useful to begin the description of the changes in this sort of backhand way—by asking—because it is undeniable that the arrival of, first the tenant innkeeper and shopkeeper and then that of their fellow businessmen on the scene have been received in Hungary and abroad with no little perplexity. The clichés may take two standard forms. The first is that the man hiring the shop or managing the small restaurant is a capitalist; in essence he does not differ at all from a capitalist entrepreneur, and consequently his appearance on the scene is, at least, suspicious. The second form is that the citizen with initiative not only helps overcome shortages by offering good fare in his inn or in his shop, but also solves some of the growth and structural problems of the Hungarian economy.

I have set down these contradictory clichés in order to high-light the argument throughout Hungarian society which, not always explicitly, has developed around the changing order of values in Hungarian society. One may add to this the perplexity or misunderstandings of the reports in the foreign press. Two newspaper headings suffice to demonstrate this. "Hungary tries a bit of capitalism"—*The Wall Street Journal* reported from Budapest, and *Die Presse* of Vienna headed its analysis of the Hungarian situation with "Eastern Europe discovers private initiative".

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* Here it ought to be said that enterprise is here used mainly in the psychological sense.

The essence of the changes is—and the new statutes also fit into the mosaic—that a definite shift may be observed in public life towards initiative and on performance. Much more is involved than the social appraisal of the modest innkeeper or shopkeeper leasing state-owned premises.

Socialist entrepreneurial initiative appears to be an unusual collocation at first sight. That it appears to be so, however, may be due to historic circumstances. Although socialism itself is one of the largest undertakings in world history, it is certain that enterprising, as a character trait, retained for a long time in Hungary an exclusively collective connotation. This followed necessarily from the fact that economic guidance—forwell defined historic reasons—for a long time had interpreted the entire economy as a single enterprise, and that it had also placed the notion of enterpreneurial initiative within this frame of reference.

The debate which has greeted the appearance of entrepreneurial initiative as a social value to be respected in socialism, is fundamentally on where this "alien" of dubious value has arrived from—from the political other side or perhaps from the early history of socialism?

In Hungarian history, revolutionary and reforming processes always postulated each other; they then sharply and explosively separated. It should suffice to refer here to the connection between the revolution of 1848 and the compromise—between the Hungarian ruling classes and the Habsburg Monarchy—in 1867, and the confrontational nature of these two processes. In completely different circumstances, the continuation of the revolution through reform is involved in Hungary today too.

The period following 1956 was marked by debates on paths and passionate arguments for the reforms as a continuation of the revolution. The arguments today are similar to these earlier polemics, not only in substance but also in misconceptions. But where epochal changes are concerned, it is often exactly the misconceptions that indicate a broader picture of reality than rational analysis. The "frigidaire socialism" debate which occurred in the first half of the sixties also confronted "ancient and pure" revolutionary ideas with a material comfort which had then only just come into being. The expression was "frigidaire socialism" for it was the refrigerator which the debate had taken as the symbol for the embourgeoisement of revolutionary attitudes. The modest refrigerator has turned out since to have had a far from alienating effect, in that almost every Hungarian household has installed one.

The household plot debate of the first years of the seventies is also relevant here. It has become obvious since then that the dogmatic interpretation of the interests of the working class is not valid; this was that the working class should assert itself at the expense of the allied peasantry, by restricting the household farm which was represented as the breeding ground of the petty bourgeoisie (although it fed the city market with meat and fruit). Since then the small household plot has become an organic part of the Hungarian socialist economy.

Nevertheless, these debates indicated problems which were in the air; they were reflections of a Hungarian world in train of preparing for the important switch from the extensive to the intensive period.

However, this pre-history of the changes leads further back than the Hungarian debates in the sixties and seventies. There are two more distant historic trends; firstly, there was the economic antecedent which may be called the difference between economic management (and thought) in kind and in value; and secondly, there was the background of the "original" socialist capital formation being realized amidst an oppressive shortage of capital, and the concomitant shortage, as a determinant, and an egalitarian consciousness which followed from this.

As far as the separation in kind and in value thinking is concerned, we have to refer to the beginning of socialism: the ideas of Marx and Engels as their afterlife is has vitally topical for both enterprise and enterpreneur. It is above all important that we should by a single gesture—by invoking the Marxian attitude and not simply the received texts—acquit him from responsibility for the interpretational confusions of the present. In the Postscript to the second German edition of Das Kapital, Marx declared:

> "Thus the Paris *Revue Positiviste* reproaches me in that I... confine myself to the mere critical analysis of actual facts, instead of writing recipes for the cookshops of the future."

Well, this future, for whose cookshops, Marx declined to write recipes or prescriptions providing historic cures is, among others, contemporary Hungary. But for sometime, mainly until 1957, Hungarian socialist public opinion had behaved as if it possessed exactly these recipes.

The classic texts, although they do not give a coherent analysis of the economy of the transition, and even less an analysis which may be applied as a recipe, indicate unequivocally that by stepping from capitalism into communism the commodity form of products ceases to exist, and that consequently value and money are replaced by the direct exchange of products. Marx wrote in the Critique of the Gotha Programme (speaking not about the transitional but the communist society):

"Within the cooperative society based on common ownership of the means of production, the producers do not exchange their products; just as little does the labour employed on the products appear here as the value of these products, as a material quality possessed by them..."

Engels, in the Anti-Dühring,—speaking of the production plan of achieved communism—formulates this even more definitely, pointing out that the realization of this plan: "People will be able to manage everything very simply, without the intervention of much-vaunted "value."

All this was passed down, mainly in the German labour movement, as something evident, probably also because realization had not been closely approached. In this way and for this reason this short-circuited economic solution became evident in 1917 too. This was the inheritance which the victorious revolution, which was later compelled to consolidate itself within one country—and later the historic legacy of this revolution—was able to adopt and so adopted. Research proves that what is known as war communism—and all that accompanied it—compulsory handing over of produce, the experiment of abolishing money, the exchange of products discarding value—did not appear as the compulsion of oppressive circumstances, but as the gaining of ground by communism. Nothing proves more unequivocally the ideological boldness of Lenin, his acceptance of experience, than the process by which he became aware of the inevitability of the commodity form, and how he arrived at the application of this awareness. This matured, set, and instructive result was the NEP. The huge change in thinking is indicated by the lines written in November 1920, which Lenin jotted down for the "Commission for Abolishing Cash Taxes."

The second cause mentioned above in second place was the pressure of circumstances, the shortage necessarily following from historic reasons. This category of East Central European history would need a separate explanation; for the moment we must be satisfied with listing the ravages of war, the social-egalitarian compulsion of the new society. All this necessarily contained some obscurities in the relationship between the moment of value and socialism, between enterpreneurial initiative and plan-fulfilling discipline.

It was only the epochal change which confronted socialism from the mid-sixties with the requirements of intensification that again placed value, thinking in value, into centre stage.

This necessity for new emphasis was made stranger by the effects of the revolution in technology. In the first half of the seventies it was accompanied by a world wide price explosion, the latter in turn leading to value consequences unmistakable and unambiguous. Hungary paid a huge price for the transformation of the international order of values, the consequences of the price explosion: the national product—on the sensitive international scale-was effectively devalued in one year by one fifth, by 20 per cent. In consequence, the earlier arguments suddenly came into sharp focus. For a country which is short of raw materials and capital and has a small market, there was no choice left other than to undertake a rapid structural rearrangement. It was no longer a question of whether entrepreneurial initiative could be brought over to our values, since it became clear that we could respond to the complete rearrangement of international conditions only by people and organizations that were ready and suited to initiating enterprise. This, and only this, corresponds to socialist ideals, because the view and practice which used public money to make up for weaknesses in activity and which made up by discipline in execution for the lack of entrepreneurial initiative have nothing to do with this ideal (even if as an intermezzo they had or could have had something to do with it).

Consequently, the changes cannot be narrowed down to activities organized on a small scale, and even less to private enterprise. Enterprising people with initiative are needed above all in the management of large enterprises. This conviction comes from the general experience that the wealth of nations is effected primarily by large enterprises. Nor is there any contradiction in the experience that the large enterprise can only be efficient when it is surrounded by economic and flexible small enterprises.

All this has appeared in the way that the large enterprise, the cooperative, organizes and integrates the bulk of small enterprise; in this way, according to Hungarian experience, advantages on a social scale exceed the disadvantages.

Naturally, there are also calculable disadvantages and risks—in influences on the consciousness as well as in occasional extreme differential in incomes, in the institutionally rearranged utilization of leisure time. But consciousness, the economy, and the country are disturbed above all by shortages, by deficits, and by inflexible rigidity.

It is the essential interest of socialism that society should again and again confront its image of yesterday. This assumes an unceasing correction and renewal of habits, of conditioned thoughts and of institutional systems. The series of statutes which permit the formation of small enterprises are also part of this process.

THE GRAMMAR OF GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS

by

TAMÁS SZECSKŐ

In an editorial, the journal *Intermedia* considers some recent developments in communications and asks for a kind of linguistic cooperation from its readers:

"We need a few ideas, and preferably a new word, to describe the electronic sending of messages—pictures, sound, even data—from A to B. The new word has to encompass TV and radio; broadcasting over-the-air and broadcasting by wires, cables, and optic fibres; and radio meant as electromagnetic radiation, and radio meant as sound broadcasting. We need all these words, and more. But we also need a new word. Suggestions, please."

My first reaction to this dramatically worded demand was cynical. Perhaps, I said to myself, what is needed more is a kind of glossary for the ever-growing number of abbreviations which are swamping our profession: NIIO, IPCD, TDF, DBS... just to mention more recent abbreviations, which stand for New International Information Order, International Program for Communication Development, Transborder Data Flow, and Direct Broadcast Satellites. I would say that anybody working in the communication professions could easily add to this list, and thus provide proof of an apocryphal law of the late Professor Northcote Parkinson which could be put as: The more a field of activity is in the forefront of public attention, the more an increasing number of abbreviations is likely to dominate, thus obscuring those issues really worth public attention.

Joking and abbreviations aside, I think the demand of the *Intermedia*'s editorial is false or misleading. It is not new words or even concepts that one needed most urgently in the domain of communications, but a type of conceptual framework which would help us to understand and interpret the underlying structure of events and processes as they emerge, or to understand the interrelations between the elements of the global communication system. What we need is a grammar rather than an expanded vocabulary. This is because a real historical novelty reveals itself on the structural level, here on this level a sound analysis is more than enumerating the new elements in communication development or in extrapolating past experiences.

A slightly modified version of an address given to the annual convention of the Alliance Européenne des Agences de Presse, Zurich, Switzerland, September 1981.

Two Different Models

Since I work on one particular part of the communication system of society—mass communications—let me refer to examples from the development of mass communications. (Since I come from a small country, limited in financial resources, my examples will have to refer to elements in the mass communication systems of more developed—to be blunt—wealthier societies.)

During the 1930s a spectacular change took place in the mass communication systems of the time. A new element thrust its way into the system: sound broadcasting, or radio, or wireless. Its rapid penetration into the households of the industrially developed countries transformed the mass communication environment; the printed press reacted by readjusting its traditional function; the press agencies responded to the challenge by speeding up their activities, by offering specialized services; the first scientifically acceptable probes into the behaviour of mass audiences appeared. Again, in the 1950s, some twenty years later, a new element broke into the system: television. I am not going to detail its impact on the existing media world, since we all have first-hand experience of the time when communicators working with the traditional media, developed a striking feeling of inferiority; when whole branches of the film industry went bankrupt; when social critics began worrying about the chewing-gum of the eye, and when Marshall McLuhan, on the other hand, preached optimist visions of the global village.

Twenty years on, we suddenly found ourselves facing a totally different kind of development in communication. The events of the 1970s were not part of a linear process: not one, but several new elements have been incorporated into the communication system at the same time: computers, coaxial and optical cables, satellites, teletext, microprocessors, and in close interrelation with one another. What, I think, is the most remarkable aspect of the development beginning with the seventies is that change itself has been modified in form. One type of development in communications, which I would like to call an inductional model—meaning that one new element of the system induced changes in the functions and interrelations of those already existing—was replaced by another type, which could be labelled as "organic." In this latter model the new elements appear simultaneously and are of mutually conditioning character. So by analogy with language, it is not only the words which are changing, but grammar as well.

The emergence of new communication media and technologies in this integrated fashion reveals another structural modification that press agencies have experienced earlier than other sections of communications; this is none other than the reintegration of mass communication, telecommunication, and computer-based information. Until the seventies these three areas of handling social information were not only distinct from one another but they even had their own endogenous laws of development; in the recent past these divisions seem to be being increasingly dismantled. It is worth remarking that an agency news desk using video-displays, relying on satellites and computerized data banks has become a model for the larger transformation of the whole communication system of society.

In Hungary, for example, it was MTI (the Hungarian News Agency) who were first to exploit video-displays in editorial work. Moreover, the agency is the most active promoter of the Hungarian teletext system, other bodies working in mass communications do not yet seem to be fully aware of its potentials.

The complex restructuring of the information and communication industries, the emergence of this new syntax—to carry on with this linguistic analogy—has some implications, which, though they seem to be of secondary importance, react on the structures themselves. Let me briefly view three of them. Firstly there is the fact that precisely because of—not in spite of—the close interrelation between these elements in communication development, one of them is playing a generating role at a given time, but this role could pass rather quickly from one element to the other. The computer as such played this role for a time, just recently it has been the turn of microelectronics, and in the near future it may be that of robots. This highly complex and dynamic set of development-generating forces conditions the processes of this organic model of communication development to be much more stochastic in character, than those processes in the old, inductional, linear-type model, which seemed to be more or less deterministic. Consequently—and this is the third aspect to be mentioned—it is much more difficult to make sound forecasts and prognoses of the social, economic, or political implications of the new developments in communication than it used to be in the framework of the traditional model. Look back to those prognoses made only twelve to fifteen years ago: a massive use of communication satellites was foreseen for the end of the seventies as was a mass market for video discs; on the other hand, no Silicon Valley is to be deduced from the same forecasts, nor the spectacular development in optical fibres technology, nor the impressive growth is digital transmission and recording techniques, not to mention their economic or social consequences. (It is worthy of note that even a socially planned society like Hungary, relying heavily on social prognosis, committed similar errors in foreseeing the electronic future. In the sixties, most planners overestimated the prospects for satellites, while, conversely, they did not seem to realize that cable television—in its first stage community-antenna—was already at hand.)

This partial failure in prognosis cannot be laid entirely at the door of the unforeseen crisis in the world market. It was also due to the complexity of the new model of communication development. It is due to our living in a time when qualitative change is fast and furious.

Finally, to close with this historically new model of communication development, let me refer briefly to the very fact that all these changes in the information of societies are just reflections of a thorough, determining transformation in the system of productive forces itself; here there is a shift, at an almost exponential rate, from handling materials to handling information. Some call it a march towards the information society. I am not very much in favour of this ahistorical phasing, where an industrial society is followed by post-industrial or technetronic or information societies. What I do see, however, is that never before in history have the issues of information or communication become so directly issues of "big politics," as in our age. And this certainly has something to do with the radical transformation of the process of social reproduction along the lines I have tried to sketch.

Information or Anti-information Overload?

Let me turn now towards facts of a more concrete nature. When I browsed through the notes I made during a gathering of the International Association of Mass Communication Research and during the debates of the International Institute of Communications, I would almost randomly select a handful of items which are meaningful even in their mosaic-like unrelatedness.

In the diplomatic traffic of the Canadian government, the daily flow of telegrams amounted to 2,700 in 1961. Now, 20 years later, it is 19,000 telegrams per day.

In 1979, the number of computer terminals in operation in Western Europe slightly exceeded 600,000. The estimate for 1983 is for more than 1.7 million, and for 1987 almost 4 million.

Sony is introducing a new camera which makes a series of electronically recorded snapshots on a small disc with the capability of instant replay onto a video-screen.

Japanese social scientists calculate that the production of words in their society increases yearly at a rate of 10 per cent, whereas the increase in the consumption of the same words is only 3 or 4 per cent a year.

In our age, not a single day passes without some exciting information on information. So in the self-reflection of the looking-glasses—I mean mass communications, mirroring events of the media-world, scientific and technical information reflecting information processes of sciences and technology—one does not only visualize the galloping pace of information growth, but can also feel a certain kind of dizziness: a sensation of being lost in the maze of mirrors. For the paradox of this quantitative growth seems to be the following: the number of possible channels and their capacity grow faster than the amount of messages conveyed by them; but the volume of messages shows again a larger increment than human faculties can absorb, understand, process, and retain these messages. Some speak of information-overload. Others argue that this is rather an anti-information overload, a sort of self-destructive redundancy. A third opinion is that while we are overloaded by information, we seem to be undernourished in communications—in community-building information transfer which is multi-sided and humanly meaningful.

I am not moralizing. As a scholar I see that these processes have different mutations in the developed and in the developing world, and they are more or less divergently interpreted in the socialist and capitalist countries. However, I do share the conviction that the grammar of today's global communications cannot be understood without recognizing the underlying dialectics of qualitative and quantitative changes in our information environment which I tried to refer to.

In the autumn of 1981, at the annual conference of the International Institute of Communications in Strasbourg, M. Dondoux, the director general of telecommunications in France, claimed that "it seems necessary to redefine the coexistence of society and its telecommunications." I share his view and I would go even further and risk the assertion that we need to redefine society's relations to its whole information-household—telecommunications, mass communications, and informatics—in a way as complex and coherent as possible. (One document from the State Commission for Radio and Television in Hungary has formulated this process thus: "It seems that different forms and institutions of the mass communication system which have shown hitherto a rather autonomous development, now more and more overlap and supplement one another. At the same time telecommunications and mass communications which had become relatively independent of each other during the last 50 years, are now step-by-step reintegrating.") Using the terminology of linguistics again, it is not only the clear perception of the syntax and the understanding of the semantics that is needed, but also the elaboration of a new kind of pragmatics, a set of actions, both on the national and international level. In recent years most of the efforts made on the international stage, such as Unesco, the McBride Commission, the Information Subcommittee of the UN, the ITU, and so on, have been turned into trials of drawing up concrete strategies—and perhaps tactics—for the actions to be taken. Let me restrict myself to some remarks on four aspects of pragmatics.

The first is related to the infamous issue of regulation or deregulation (whether processes of social communication should or should not be constitutionally and legally regulated). One is certainly well aware that this is no mere game of formal logic, played by the jurists and political scientists of several nations, but one of the most vital problems of communications today, it involves the feasibility of communication policies—of communication planning even—and the forms of social intervention into the communication and information processes. The arguments pro and con are also well known. Nevertheless, I think, the apparent basic opposition is false: the deregulation of communication industries, which is under scrutiny in some countries nowadays, essentially proves to be a form of state intervention on behalf of some powerful pressure groups which express corporate interests. No wonder. From the model that I have tried to outline, it directly follows that modern nations can no longer live without at least some kind of policies on communication and information (or on what can be called public communication and on scientific and technological information-transfer). Nations are aware that the absence of policies could have a detrimental impact on the most fundamental processes of social reproduction. It is not only the Nora-Minc Report on the future of the French information society, and recommendations by many European parliamentary subcomissions, which seem to take this line of argument; even the complex restructuring of communication policy-making bodies in the U.S. administration reflects this.

Let us face the fact that for the communication and information industries, ours is far from being the age of Adam Smith or John Stuart Mill. Classical liberalism on information flow is outdated. Here I am not only thinking of the most common arguments of the developing countries, embodied in the vision of a new International Information Order, or in the more pragmatic documents of the International Program for Communication Development. I am also thinking of Simone Weil's words, when as president of the European Parliament, she evoked the menace of a new imperialism in the field of informatics. I am thinking of the findings of the Swedish Defence Ministry which express anxiety on Sweden's dependence on international data transmission circuits. I am thinking of the Strasbourg statement by Montigny Marchand, associate Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, revealing that 90 per cent of the outflow of raw data from his country is through non-market transactions (uncontrollable by state agencies), because they are between the subsidiaries and the parents of multinational firms. So I have a second remark, based on facts similar in character. It seems to me rather likely in the future, perhaps not too far ahead, that some of the highly developed countries as well as the developing countries will fight on the international political forums for more balanced and just information flows. If there is such a thing as the mercantilism of information, it is probably coming of age.

There will remain, however, strong proponents of the free flow of information in its widest and most ambiguous sense: some of the largest multinational corporations with a vested interest in the communication industries. Is global communication developing towards internationalization or toward a more through transnationalization?—this is a fundamental question. The former, based on the sovereignty of nation-states, could result in better communication between different cultures and societies, while one, of many, consequences of the latter would certainly be a series of conflicts between nation-states and the multinational corporations. Considering the model of communication development described above, one cannot be very optimistic in these options. The integrative character of the changes seems to invite capital concentration on a scale that no anti-trust law can effectively counter. Development in recent times frequently demonstrates this deductive argument. It is notable that the most powerful corporations in communication and information have not only emerged unhurt out of the turbulent waters of the recent recession, but have even acquired a new impetus. It is remarkable that on certain issues of communication even the neo-conservatism of the Reagan administration does not seem effective enough for these corporations. Under the title "The Threat to International Data Flows" in an August issue *Business Week* says: "Corporations in different industries will be affected in vastly different ways by developments in the area, and each must ensure that its interests are represented appropriately. Reliance by the private sector on the government to solve the problem, or reliance by the government on general policy positions (such as the traditional U.S. support for the principle of the free flow of information), will not be adequate." And, as a headline, there is the rather strong suggestion on the same page: "The private sector will have to develop its own strategies instead of relying on the government to protect it."

My third comment is, consequently, that there is a growing likelihood of conflicts between corporate interests and those of nation-states even in the most developed parts of the Western world on communication and information. In my view the solution to these conflicts cannot be found in any kind of further liberalization. On the contrary, it is to be sought for by building up a system of democratic control of the basic information processes of society.

Let me finish by commenting on the pragmatical, policy aspects of our grammar and, in so doing, perhaps explain my terminology, too. You have certainly noticed that I have always tried to apply the concepts information and communication together. This is, of course, the logic of the organic model, on the one hand, and, it also suggests a guiding principle for policy-making as well. I think the time has passed when it was possible to set up rules, regulations, or policies for communication and information separate from each other, either on a national or on an international level. It is a kind of hypocrisy, for example, to fight for laissez faire principles on international forums, where communication—or more narrowly, mass communication—is being debated, and to preserve the good old protectionist attitude when information is at stake. In the world of electronic libraries, remote sensing satellites and video-texts, information and communication go together. Beyond grammar, do we not need a new word, after all?

ARCHIPELAGO

(From a Javanese notebook)

by

ENDRE ILLÉS

ISLANDS

Our plane is approaching Jakarta, Java, one of the large islands of the Indonesian archipelago.

Spread out below us, for the moment indistinguishable from each other, are hundreds of small islands.

A house stands on one. A tree on another. The third boasts at least a pothole.

There are thirteen thousand of them.

TROPICAL HEAT

Thermometers register an inexorable 34 °C, humidity is up to 90 per cent.

Stepping out of your air-conditioned room, the following happens:

1. You are slapped in the face.
2. You start swallowing warm water.
3. Your lungs are paralysed. Your windpipe feels as if it had been snapped in two with a pair of scissors.
4. Suddenly assailed by the powerful fumes of horse-radish, your nose begins to twitch and you start sneezing.
5. A couple of bandits bind and gag you with a hot, wet towel.

And that is just the beginning.

TREES

The most beautiful gateway to Java is through the Botanical Gardens of Bogor. Its splendour is extraordinary: four hundred types of palm-tree greet the stroller along its gravel walks; four thousand varieties of the orchid, that most intricate flower of all, are displayed.

Hurriedly I note the rest, the names of the many-shaped trees flaunting their sundry foliage, flowers and fruit:

There is the rain-tree (its leaves spread wide, like an umbrella) – the Saint Tree – coconuts – palms – banana-trees – camphor-trees – sandal-trees – eucalyptus – ebony – every third tree is a teak (which yields the hardest type of wood) – there is the betel-tree (with edible fruit) – and there is even a handkerchief-tree (with leaves that really are handkerchief-sized).

And there are two trees at eternal enmity with each other: our local guide, breaking off a piece of twig from both, dropped them to the ground to show how they, like fighting cocks, rise up and attack one another. Leafing through the leaves of my note-book I am unable to find the names of the belligerent-natured trees—by then I had become discouraged.

Of the orchid-names, the one that most took my fancy was that of the butterfly-orchid. But I also took note of the pharmacy-orchid; its strong scent reminded me of disinfectants.

THE TEA-HARVEST

The Puncak Pass is 1,200 metres high. But the hot air stays hot even at that altitude.

That is where I saw the tea-harvest.

Covering the ascending slopes of the mountain stand the tea-shrubs, tied up with vines, and in their midst hundreds and hundreds of young girls pluck at the fresh shoots. The green mountainside seems bestrewn with flowers: the red, blue, yellow, lilac, and brown robes of the girls. They work in mittens and rubber boots. The boots protect their legs from the snakes—cobras aren't rare around here—the mittens protect their hands from the prickly shrubs. They start working at four o'clock in the morning; in the cool of dawn, they must dress up warmly.

On the mountainside, their voices trill like that of birds.

And suddenly I realize that something is missing. There is not a bird in sight. As if they had all taken refuge in the forest from the strong, bright glare. I miss the sound of their flight.

MORNING BATH

In Jakarta, even the hovels sheltering in the shade of the hotel can do nothing to ruffle its dignity.

Waking early, I step out on the balcony.

And see a family from one of the huts going through the ritual of their morning bath.

In the courtyard stands a barrel full of rainwater.

The father, naked, is the first to step out of the house. Looking around him, he yawns, then steps into the barrell, bobs down, slapping water on his body, then, after a few minutes, jumps out. By then a little boy, also naked, stands beside him. The father, catching hold of his son, dips him in the water four or five times, then releases him.

The last in line is the young mother, a jug in her hand. Loosening the strings of her robe at the shoulders, she folds it down to her hips, then dips the jug into the water, lifts it above her head and pours the water over herself. The procedure is repeated. She is soaking wet. Re-tying the strings of her robe she goes back into the house.

The sun is already out. Three minutes later the family is dry.

THE SKANZEN

In Jakarta's Miniature Indonesia Park all the one-time island dwellings are preserved, complete with their former implements. Houses made of wood, spherical and pillared, houses with porches or trefoiled roofs, houses on stilts and converted from barns, meeting-houses and household sacrificial altars...

Their forlorn ranks are a heart-rending sight.

In other respects, this skanzen erected with such care is a tranquil, dainty place. But it is desolate beyond measure. Our steps echo loudly in the eerie silence. There are only two or three of us wandering among the locked houses. Standing on our tiptoes, we peek in at some of the windows.

It is almost as if a neutron-bomb had exploded in the vicinity: the buildings are still standing but their inhabitants are long dead.

The bleakness is ghostly. The way our planet shall seem when Man disappears from its surface for ever.

One of the houses is left open for visitors to walk in. Here is a knife that people ate with, there, the wooden bed where they once made love; a whip that cracked, a sailing-ship in a bottle that once served as an ornament, a reminder that there lived a people who journeyed from island to island in this same world. Here, a stone, half-carved, abandoned in the making; there, an axe, discoloured by blood perhaps—or is it rust?

My restless contemplation is interrupted by a sudden and turbulent tropical storm. Raindrops the size of my fist pour on down.

I seek refuge from this forsaken world.

THE BLIND GIRL

A street scene in Jogjakarta.

The little girl sat on the pavement, her back against the wall. She sat on the pavement in a side-street. No one passed by her.

The little girl did not want anything. She wasn't there to beg, she never opened her mouth. She sat mute. There was no plate beside her, she did not hold out her hand.

She sat motionless, looking at nothing.

Her eyes were closed for ever. She was sunbathing.

ON THE TRAIN

The train leaves at dawn. Here the dawns are green.

Long before the passengers arrive, a group of children assemble at the station. The departure of a train is a great adventure: the train rattles and bumps across Java only once a day. The children are half-naked but clean. Curious, they wait for the tourists to arrive.

There is a whole little army of them now. A little girl stands, holding her baby sister in her arms. But the majority of them are boys.

The train pulls into the station and waits patiently. Several boys rhythmically beat the sides of a wagon, singing, shouting.

At long last the departing passengers are let out of the waiting-rooms—and from that moment, arms and hands take wing and fly, writhing in the air like snakes, in perpetual motion. Young voices are raised for all they're worth to utter one word:—Rupia!... Rupppppia!... Rupiiiiia!

These are the great moments of earning money. Of soaring hopes. The children shriek and squeal as if they were jumping into ice-cold water.

For the little girls or boys, begging is an attack, an assault: they are invulnerable. Holding out their palms and finding them empty, their disappointment is promptly forgotten.

But when an old man begs, mute, his face creased with age and his eyes full of pain and the outstretched hand stays empty—then the moment wounds.

There are old people begging along the railway lines, begging at every station. An elderly man waits at one, holding a wooden tray on which is spread an almost complete choice of all the fruits that Java has to offer high above his head.

From the train windows Java's tourists lean, clicking cameras in their hands. Many of them jump off the train during its three-minute stop to take close-ups of the old man. And he stands compliantly, motionless, in the hope that these are all prospective clients.

A bugle-call is heard.

The train leaves. And not a bunch of bananas, not a single pineapple has been sold.

An indignant, surprised, scornful face. The most resourceful photographers manage to capture even this expression with their superb Japanese equipment.

BALI

Bali is the small island, a glittering world drunk with its own beauty. Besides palm-trees, it is the proud possessor of extinct volcanoes; its greenery is varied, its flowers pulse with blood. The sand of its sea-coast has the gentlest embrace. Sudden, wild drumbeats and cries abound in its music. Gods have made their dwelling in its lustrous heights; ancient, evil spirits lurk in the depths of its ocean; demons haunt its paths. On Bali, the garden gate never faces the front door directly; it is always placed a little to one side so the demons won't find their way to the house.

In this fairy-tale world I ran across a funeral procession. Its members were laughing, their faces radiant with joy.

Oh no! Not out of wickedness. They were all sincerely happy that the person they were accompanying on his last journey had been delivered from his impure body to become part of the great circle once more, to be reborn on a higher plane.

In Indonesia, the dead are buried twice. First, enshrouded in white linen, they are laid to rest in the earth with simple ceremony. And there they remain for a certain time. If the family has sufficient funds, the second, more elaborate and more extensive ceremony, the cremation, may take place with the least delay—a festive occasion in which the whole community participates. But the ceremony does not end there. The ashes are eventually strewn to the winds, in the seas. Though sometimes the dead must spend years in the earth before the money can be collected for the second ceremony.

Earth, fire, wind, and water: the four primary elements.

The double burial thus takes on a deeper meaning: the dead must become as one with the four elements to be reborn—and in the course of the successive burials they come into veritable contact with the earth, fire, wind, and water.

THE WOUND OF PHILOCTETES

by

GYÖRGY SOMLYÓ

"ONE MUST BE MODERN ALTOGETHER..."

The word "modern" is not a *modern* word. In the European languages it is descended from the Latin noun *modus* (mode), which became an adverb, *modo*, with the meaning "here," "now," "just," and later transformed into the adjective *modernus* by analogy with the late Latin *hodiernus*. In other words, it existed in the beginning as a necessary duplication of "contemporary," "today's," "present:" a sort of synonym for passing from the medieval concept of time to our present concept of time. The word embodies in language the change whereby for Augustine history unfolded "in the shadow of the future," while for modern man it appears in the light of the present; the medieval feeling of stability has been replaced by the modern realization of change. Time had passed "from the hands of God into the hands of man."

In French, dictionaries note the occurrence of the word in 1361. As a Hungarian word, "modern" is much younger, nevertheless in meaning it proves surprisingly old. The "Historic-Etymological Dictionary of the Hungarian Language" records it from two poets, Csokonai in 1799, and Kazinczy in 1815. It occurs, thus, at the end of the eighteenth century, which was the beginning of Hungarian literary life as we define it today; it occurs in authors who were the first conscious initiators of that literary life. This was a time when the phrase and notion of *Weltliteratur* appeared, and when, simultaneously, the peculiarly Hungarian consciousness of being left out of "world literature" necessarily occurred—a consciousness still alive today.

As a concept, "modern" is, however, modern. In today's usage it does not mean simply the contemporary, the now of continuous time, as it has from its first use; it may be said that it does not mean "new" in relation to the "old," but in relation to the old concept of the "new." The philosophy of art had to confront the new category for the first time in the most acute period of modernity. It does so in the most important chapter on aesthetics written by the young György Lukács and discovered recently; the chapter that deals with the "historicity and timelessness of artistic work." Although Lukács does not discuss the "modern" new directly, but the "relatively constant" new of all times, nevertheless he does approach it.

"The 'new'... is a relative concept of time, the expression that the unique process of historic time creates changing qualities: the concept emphasizes at the same time the meaning of changeability." Consequently in the "new," already for Lukács, not only the phenomenon of changeability is present as a meaning, but also the "emphasis" on this changeabil-

Two extracts from the first chapter of *Philoktétész sebe* (The Wound of Philoctetes). An introduction to modern poetry. Gondolat, Budapest, 1980. 464 pp. In Hungarian.

ity. The "modern" continues to stress this subjective element in the emphasis. "Yet the new spirit now appears for the first time in a way where it is conscious of itself." A few years after the Lukács Heidelberg manuscript, Apollinaire recognized this too in his *l'esprit nouveau et les poètes,* to which we will have to come back several times. The modern is not the new, but this particular consciousness of the new. A further half century after Apollinaire, Octavio Paz expressly identified the beginnings of modernity with this consciousness: "It is not so much the break with the Christian order that makes Baudelaire a modern poet, but the consciousness of this break. Modernity means consciousness." *(El arco y la lira.* 1956.*)* In these two comments, the concept of consciousness acts as a magnet attracting the two principal elements of modernity to its two poles. The new and its consciousness, the break with religion and its consciousness: modern poetry traces its main lines of force in this magnetic field.

We may claim that the novelty of the new "new," its "peculiar singularity," namely, its modernity, consists in the new new being the conscious realization of the new, and the striving for it. The modern is the new which has become conscious of itself and has been established through experimental means. As the principle method of art in our era, it is naturally connected with a parallel development in scientific thinking. This is why in our era it is impossible to separate art from "experimentation." Experimentation is not an accessory, not a disposable element of modern art, to be banned or graciously permitted but indispensable to its method. "...whoever would condemn in essence these experiments, would commit the same error which is attributed—rightly or wrongly—to Thiers, who purportedly said that the railway was only a scientific game, and that the whole world was not capable of producing sufficient iron for the rails to connect Paris and Marseille," writes Apollinaire. The history of modern art is of an unbroken struggle against this "error of Thiers," an error constantly being repeated.

"Il faut être absolument moderne" — Rimbaud's unavoidable command was written over the Hell's gate of twentieth-century poetry, right from the start, on the last page of *Une Saison en Enfer.* Since then nobody has been able to enter without—one way or another, even if only in words—recognizing this condition as obligatory.

The word modern has proved itself capable of carrying an extraordinary range of meaning and has been exceptionally tenacious. A hundred years after Rimbaud—after the very first modernity—it still unequivocally denotes the whole of the evolution that has occurred since. It is at the same time—of itself—the attribute of all streams, trends, phenomena that follow and react to each other, down to their extremes, their doubtful and dangerous limits. Nothing "new" in art has appeared for a hundred years which has not advertised itself as modern—not only with respect to the evolution prior to the modern, but always and also with respect to yesterday's modernity. In the permanent terminology of the arts, the modern means the new of yesterday and the day before yesterday, just as it means that which is reacting to it, the most recent of today which supersedes that of yesterday.

Let us deliberately cite a well-known writer who with the best (or worst) of intentions cannot be called modern. J. B. Priestley gives in *Literature and Western Man* (London, 1960) a rather sweeping summary of literary history: "A French critic has told us that if we can discover what a writer's favourite word is, the word he cannot help using over and over again, it will give us the essential clue to his personality. Now if the first half of this age in literature, the period from the later Nineties until 1914, had consisted of one writer instead of innumerable writers, if we see it as a person, that clue word would have been 'modern.' Had the term been newly coined, its wide use might have been necessary to describe something equally new, like Impressionism in painting earlier, or Cubism later. But of course it was anything but new; what was new was this frequent use of it, as if a great many writers were suddenly realizing they were existing in their own present time. And these writers were very different. (. . .) They were alike in this claim, if in little else. And this is something we have not met before; it is a distinct and perhaps significant peculiarity of this period."

Even the most traditional of European institutions, the Roman Catholic Church, was not free of it. The Holy Office had to take a stand twice, in 1907 and in 1910, against "modernism" within the Church, and it had to condemn 65 "modernist" tenets. This condemnation was made, curiously enough, by that same Pope Pius X, who appears in perhaps the most influential "encyclical" of modern poetry, *The Zone*. Whether uninformed or misunderstanding the open conflict between his modernity and religious inclinaton, Apollinaire mentions him in terms of great praise.

Seul en Europe tu n'es pas antique ô Christianisme
L'Européen le plus moderne c'est vous Pape Pie X.

However hard one looked, a more grotesque (and thereby again more modern) proof of the omnipotence of the modern could not be found: the most modern poet of the era cannot confer a greater attribute of praise on the principal adversary of "ecclesiastic" modernity than this "le plus moderne."

This could not be the most distinctive and outstandingly important mark of the era if it did not seize the most important vital function of the era by its sensitive roots as it were. This is what Stephen Spender in *The Struggle for the Modern* (London, 1963) wished to express through his adjective "unprecedented." He wrote that he saw the "modern" as those who intentionally endeavoured to create a new literature, and this was built on the feeling that our era was in many respects without precedents. The complex entity in which all the spiritual ambitions of the past one hundred years converge, modernity, is characterized by its ever increasing awareness of this lack of precedents. Let us reduce this to its simplest form: we call modern the response of art to this "unprecedented" character of our age; and this co-occurs with the recognition and the efforts deriving therefrom, that the response, if it is to gain validity, must itself be unprecedented.

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How to begin our account? It does not proceed in a straight line but along a spiral in which questions are interwoven. Where can the thread be cut? Indeed, who knows where Renaissance painting begins? With a picture, a geometric tract? A discovery, a recognition? Did Giotto think that he might be the first Renaissance painter? Or—nearer to us—where does Romantic poetry begin? Let us assume Chénier was the first Romantic poet; did Chénier know he was the first Romantic poet? But Baudelaire certainly suspected he would be the father of, if not "modern" poetry itself but what would be later called modern. The consciousness pervading everything modern had already left its imprint on the first recognition of this consciousness. Rimbaud, in his visionary way, was entirely aware of the caesura as catastrophe and liberation; the more so as he himself straddled both sides of it, as final and initial syllable. As if he had used the proclamation of modernity entirely as a metrical indication of this recognized caesura.

As it is always advisable to begin with an anecdote, let us agree that modern poetry—or its consciousness which, as we have seen, means the same thing—begins with the unusual event that a king still living and of his own free choice anoints the new king who is to succeed him. Not with "The King is dead! Long live the King!" prescribed by the *ancien régime.* But with the "God save the King! Although I be not he!" of Richard II. The Richard II of poetry is Victor Hugo. And the unusual event is a letter which acknowledges the arrival of *Les Fleurs du Mal* thus: "Vous avez donné frissons nouvelles aux hommes." This recognition includes—beyond the customary courtesy—a true discovery of literary history. A key word which, as we have seen, to this day has kept its ability to open new and newer locks: the "new." And, let it be said, a key notion, which has lost none of its validity either: "frisson." So much so that a century later a Hungarian poet does not find a newer and more precise instrument to measure the effect of art with:

> *What do I care, why and to whom your poem speaks,* | *As long as a thrill runs down my spine* |
> *Oh, thermometer of beauty, spine,* | *Thou silent sage: thou be, thou be my critic!* |

Sándor Weöres: *Harmadik nemzedék* (Third Generation)
(Prose translation)

Thirty years later Weöres comes back to the idea in prose: "It is not important whether it is understood, but the nerves should be thrilled like a tense cord in the wind. It does not matter whether my poem pleases, whether it causes rapture. The reader, even if he does not know, not even suspect, should feel it subconsciously in his tickled nerves..." Most recently, André Frénaud reached for exactly the same word when looking back on his career as a poet (*Notre inhabilité fatale.* Paris, 1979): "Poetry is the great deep thrill (*le grand frémissement profond*), which is the premonition of the original and eternal setting into motion of everything."

Notice that the "beautiful" is no longer what pleases "without interest;" nor is it even what may perhaps please with interest. It is something entirely beyond this frame of reference. Instead of the objective idealistic notion of being without interest or the notion of "subjective materialistic" or "voluntary," to use an ideological term, poetry (and art in general) is referred to a judgement representing the whole human sensitivity. And this, undoubtedly, appears first in its full complexity in Baudelaire. Baudelaire is not only the one who found a new thrill: it is of equal importance that he also sought out the new thrill and above all the thrill given by the new.

> *Ô Mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps! levons l'ancre!*
> *Ce pays nous ennuie, ô Mort! Appareillons!*
> *Si le ciel et la mer sont noirs comme de l'encre,*
> *Nos coeurs que tu connais sont remplis de rayons!*
> *Verse-nous ton poison pour qu'il nous réconforte!*
> *Nous voulons, tant ce feu nous brûle le cerveau,*
> *Plonger au fond du gouffre, Enfer ou Ciel, qu'importe?*
> *Au fond de l'Inconnu pour trouver du* nouveau!

(Baudelaire: *Le Voyage,* VIII)

Here I do not have to add "my parenthesis" in brackets. In fact, I have to underline that the emphasis is *not* mine, and that this emphasis on the poem's final word is a device unknown to the whole of the "classic" poetry preceding Baudelaire. And is it not symbolic that the first word to be experimented with typographically or graphically, as a poetic device, to be the forerunner of this process, was none other than "new?" And that this new, when first being emphasized, inseparably faces the most important old—religion itself. Instead of the two thousand years old alternative of Hell and Heaven, this all-encompassing selection and acceptance of the new is to become the final goal for the journey of modern poetry; the new is the final word of Baudelaire's "The Journey." European man had set out on the unknown adventure of godlessness; since then his ancient magnet, poetry, has pointed unwavering towards the new.

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Perhaps no other word has played a greater role in the intellectual life of our century than this word. Let us repeat that every second of historic time is tautologically identical in every second with its being new. And let us also repeat that the realization of this took place only after the passing of a very long historic period, in our era. Consider that although the Renaissance called itself a rebirth, this rebirth was built on the discovery and conscious imitation of an old world long forgotten. The "new" of the Renaissance did not form itself in the periods being conscious of a lack of precedent, but took the precise form of the revival of precedent. And from then on the old example was to become the norm for the new value; up to the end of the last century the objectively new was measured subjectively by every era against the scale of "unsurpassable" old examples. This order of values began to dissolve with Romanticism. Until, from the final third of the nineteenth century and, even more powerfully, from the beginning of the twentieth century, the measure of every value in art became the "new." The "unknown but always new" towards which Baudelaire's "Journey" was directed, "et dont l'esprit humain n'a jamais su le nom!" Holbrock Jackson, in his important *The Eighteen Nineties* (Penguin, 1939) quoted (naturally) the first sentence of H. D. Traill's *The New Fiction:* "Not to be *new* is, in these days, to be nothing." I add the "naturally" to Traill's title, because from Jackson's book the titles of the books of the period may be listed almost to the stage of ridicule; whatever subject they deal with, the adjective is sure to be "new." New Paganism; New Voluptousness; New Remorse; New Spirit; New Humour; New Drama; New Unionism; New Party; New Woman; New Hedonism.

The socialist militants who led the great London dock strike of 1899, John Burns and Tom Mann, were also called "new labour leaders." Jackson wrote: "The adjective 'new' as an indicator of popular consciousness of what was happening, was (as we have seen), applied indifferently to all kinds of human activity, from art and morals to humour and Trade Unionism." But we must not believe that this was peculiar to England. An almost identical list can be made up from a comprehensive anthology, recently published, of the German avant-guarde of the beginning of this century (Paul Pörtner: *Literatur-Revolution 1910–1925*). Here it is worth putting down the names of the authors too, seeing that they are outstanding figures in German literature in this century: Alfred Wolfenstein: *Das Neue.* Robert Musil: *Ansätze zur neuen Ästhetik.* Rudolf Leonhard: *Der neue Ton.* Max Brod: *Versuch einer neuen Metrik.* Stefan Zweig: *Der neue Pathos.* J. R. Becher: *Die neue Syntax.* Ivan Goll: *Versuch einer neuen Poetik.* Kasimir Edschmid: *Der neue Roman.* Franz Marc: *Die neue Malerei.* Walter Sernes: *Der neue Styl.* Rudolf Kayser: *Das neue Drama.* Max Krell: *Die neue Prosa.* Franz Theodor Csokor: *Die neue dramatische Form.* And so on. Never have artists seemed to be more obedient in carrying out an order than those of this century stepping forward with their demand for individuality and originality and thus obeying Rimbaud's. Everything had to be new—and in every detail. Hedonism and remorse. Pathos and syntax. Poetry and strikes. Woman and the party. And, of course, the novel, the drama, the metrics, the painting, the style. From the time that the young Eliot and Pound issued the slogan "Make it new!," and independently of them Benedetto Croce called the aesthetics deriving from Bergson's doctrine of intuition the "new critique," and I. E. Springarn's *The New Critique* of 1911, so important later, through *New Bearings in English Poetry* by F. R. Leavis (1932) and *Die Neue Sachlichkeit* of Weimar Germany to J. C. Ransom's *The New Criticism,* all experiments in literary critique gave themselves the same adjective.

"New poem" is also the name for the revolutionary branch of Turkish poetry, out of which, among others, Nazim Hikmet has grown. The epochal movement of contemporary Greek poetry is known as the "New Poetry." It accepts Cavafy as its master, and besides Jannis Ritsos, who is probably its most important contemporary figure, includes two Nobel Prize laureates, George Seferis and Odysseus Elitis.

Kandinsky called the most important assembly of Expressionism the "New Society of Munich Artists;" Mondrian called his geometric abstract school (which is sort of the opposite of Kandinsky's) Neo-plasticism; Le Corbusier's periodical was *Esprit Nouveau.* This is how Malevich confesses to discovering his own separate path: "I simply felt the night in myself, and saw in it the new, to which I gave the name suprematism." But besides the theoretical realizations, there is—it seems up to now—no more adequate adjective for the interpretation of the so far unknown sentiments either. New, too, is even the tenderness which Pablo Neruda, in one of his serial poetic testaments, wanted to pass in his main legacy to the "thirty years of sunset" remaining to the century: "we must leave here, having laid the foundation for the new tenderness on Earth." (*End of the World,* 1970) (Prose translation).

The most influential trend in the post-war French novel was called the *Nouveau Roman,* while successive flourishes in the Italian, Soviet, French, and Hungarian cinema were called neorealism and the new wave. Some important Hungarian periodicals of the past century carried titles such as: *Aurora, Athenaeum, Magyar Minerva, Orpheusz.* The titles of some of the most important literary periodicals in this century are: *The New Age, The New Revue, La Nouvelle Revue Française, Neue Zeit, Les Temps Modernes.* And this can be extended to the most important Soviet literary periodical, *Novy Mir,* and the Hungarian *Új Hang* (New Voice), *Új Hold* (New Moon), *Új Írás* (New Writing). Contemporary anthologies carrying this and similar names are innumerable: *Új Antológia* (New Anthology), *New Poetry, The New American Poetry.* And if in 1957 an anthology, *Anthologie de la Poésie nouvelle* (Éditions du Rocher) was published in Paris, ten years later only the word order had been changed and the newer anthology became: *La Nouvelle Poésie française* (Robert Morel, 1968). Through the hell of the first decades of the century the wings of the angel of the new, Walter Benjamin's *Angelus Novus,* can be heard beating.

Marxist aesthetics, in its vulgar and distorted forms, repeatedly opposed and, in some cases turned dogmatically on, modern and new trends. In the heat of the debates they were postulated in a distorted way and dismissed as "modernistic." In spite of this and in spite of a later evolution which complicates the picture, it is nevertheless obvious that the outstanding Polish Marxist revolutionary rediscovered in our days, Julian Marchlewski, came closest to the truth when, in his article "Modern Artistic Movements and Socialism," made the categorical formulation: "The new art belongs to socialism." In other words, the art of socialism is only the art committed to socialism; modern art, as such, is the ally of socialism, and in the last resort leads to it. Russian futurism, which—for all its contradictions—cannot be separeted from the preparation of the October Revolution (nor its main figure, Mayakovsky, from the whole of Soviet poetry), set out with the "new" as its most extreme slogan.

At the head of the notorious proclamation, by which in 1911 "public taste was boxed on the ears," stood: "To the readers of our New First Unexpected." They outlined their position and programme as follows: "...the lightning of the future beauty of the Auto-valuable (Autogenetic) New Word vibrates over us for the first time." Signed: Burlyuk. Kruchonikh. Mayakovsky. Khlebnikov. And what was for Rimbaud in 1870 a slogan, was in 1918 for Mayakovsky "an operational order:"

Our thorough debates | by the objects themselves | are cut, yelling at us: | "Give us a new form"
Comrades, | a new art | of the veritable, | to pull the Republic | from the mud.

("Operational Order No. 2, to the army of the artists")
(Prose translation)

And when the prince of Russian symbolism (of yesterday's new, yesterday's modernity), Alexander Blok, died in 1921, Mayakovsky, after paying homage, defined the task facing the new poets: "...after they have cleansed their soul of the rubble of symbolism, they are digging a foundation for the new romanticists, are building the stones of new images, strengthening the lines of poems with new rhymes." Again here too, everything must be "new," "altogether:" not only art in itself, the form, but digging deeper, the rhythms, the images, the rhymes too. This accumulation is also peculiar in its use of "new" as a key word: just like an incantation, it had to be invoked at least three times. It is as if this monotonous, refrain-like repetition of the adjective was the stylistic principle of this "unprecedented" new, this our "new first unexpected." Rimbaud was the first to discover this too; he passed on his recognition along with his syntax irresistibly to posterity. He passed on the condition of "absolute" modernity, not only "...demandons au poète du nouveau, —idées et forme" (Letter to Paul Derveny, 1871), which has been adopted almost verbatim since then countless times by so many trends and views opposed to each other and to Rimbaud as well. But he also passed on these stylistics of which the magic word to be repeated to the point of tedium (apparently never to become tedious) is "new:" "J'ai essayé d'inventer des nouvelles fleurs, de nouveaux astres, de nouvelles chaires, de nouvelles langues." *(Une Saison en Enfer.)*

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"... CETTE LONGUE QUERELLE"

"-Isms" are the most spectacular manifestation of *cette longue 'querelle.'* Their characteristic lies precisely in their opposition to one another, often in opposing one another more intensely than they do the old. Several times more so. While they are united in taking up the cudgel for greater (or the illusorily absolute) freedom of expression, one after the other they deny each other the freedom of another type of struggle for the freedom of expression. As schools and trends, they necessarily become dogmatic. As a peculiar contradiction—and not without an enlightening analogy with politics—their struggle, proclaimed for a greater freedom than ever existed before, inevitably takes on the armour of dogmatism. It is therefore natural that the outstanding modern creative artists soon feel the pressure of this armour burdensome. Can a single great poet be named who remained (stuck) in the ranks of the school to which he owed his initial élan (or which owed its élan to him)? This is exactly what Yuri Tinyanov recognized in 1928: "If we speak about Khlebnikov, it is not absolutely necessary to speak about symbolism, futurism..." (Yuri Tinyanov: *Le vers lui-même.* Paris, 1977). Mayakovsky could write in 1915: "Yes. Futurism has died as a separate group, but it has spread into all of us." Only the "old warriors" stick to their groups, those satirized by Aragon:

J'ai fait le Mouvement Dada | Disoit le Dadaiste | Et en effet | Il l'avait fait

(Ancien combattant, 1928.)

For Aragon himself, and for Éluard, Char, Picasso, Surrealism was only one—even if a definitive—stage; Breton remained the "pope" of Surrealism to the end of his life; but he can be considered an important writer only in the heroic period of the movement. The Hungarian poet and painter Lajos Kassák tried out a whole series of -isms but his work cannot be identified as a single "-ism," nor can his œuvre be placed within all the trends he actually tried. Nor can this be otherwise. For the -isms, while they go into battle for a "vision of the whole" (as Spender defined the essence of the modern), make their own particularity absolute. This is why they follow each other in such rapid succession and with such intense reaction. The birth of each is induced by the inevitable insufficiency of another, an insufficiency in that which it undertook. A vision built on impression must necessarily be followed by one built on expression; one limited to the image (the "imagists") by one based on action (the "activists"); Surrealism must be outdone by various super and hyper realisms. The -isms are set against each other, simultaneously pushed and pulled by the principle of the complementarity of reality, unrealized by them and consequently influencing them the more. On the other hand, this is what makes it possible for them to be characterized by an exclusive separation at birth, one by one, in their own time, and for them to show such an inseparable unity in retrospect. In at least one place, more exactly in the most important periodical of the Hungarian avantguarde, *Ma* (Today), they almost contemporarily demonstrate this potential unity. The editor, Lajos Kassák, in an article, "Modern Art Lives," recognized and practised the real unity of the schools in conflict with each other. "Today we write 1925, and if we want to speak of the new art, it is no longer necessary that we should speak of these schools... The international homogeneity of artistic movements was never so united, so one-directional, as today. No, the new art has not died. It has succeeded in laying down the basic laws of the new style...". Kassák clearly saw, during the time of acute struggle for the last effective -ism, Surrealism, that behind the cavalcade of many -isms there lay hidden a unifying effort. In fact, he had set out towards this "synthetic" view ten years earlier, in 1915, in a manifesto included in the programme of the periodical *A Tett* (Action). "The new literature," he wrote, "cannot take an oath to the flag of any single -ism. Just as it cannot recognize the new possibilities of Christianism, it must also confront Futurism. Every school is the hallmark of holy mediocrity." (What made it possible for the Hungarian avant-guarde, which had the narrowest elbow-room, to be among the first to recognize this and to create this synthesis within its narrow confines, is a separate question. We can argue that it was precisely because it had the narrowest elbow-room, because here there were almost insurmountable obstacles to be overcome in forming even a single avant-guarde; thus the necessity was greater for inserting some sort of modernity. Consequently, the militant task here was not to intensify some contradictions of the new art, but to confront obsolete atttitudes towards art with the causes most in common among the -isms. One of the merits particular to the Hungarian avant-guarde consists in this, as do its undeniable weaknesses.)

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The most spectacular gesture—and for many exhausting for both positive and negative reasons—of the new style and its "unity" is the challenge: the scandalous break with the whole of human culture. "To hell with everything old!" again and again shout the new and newer moderns, too continuously outdoing each other, too continuously relegating each other to the rank of the old. "The moderns want to send the whole of human culture to hell!" shout back, with the same fervour, all opponents of the modern.

It can be easily seen that the profession and the accusation coincide perfectly. Yet neither profession nor accusation came into being (and continues to come into being) by examination and analysis: they both result from conflicting emotions. They are battle calls, which refer to something different at every stage of the struggle. But they always disguise rather than reveal the reciprocal nature of the situation.

". . . cette longue querelle de la tradition et de l'invention," which Apollinaire condemned so passionately (although occasionally, and this is characteristic of the paradox, he himself kindled it just as passionately), is not yet over.

If we wish to express a paradoxical situation in a paradoxical form, we might claim that it is in fact the guardians of the tradition who break with the tradition, since the break lies in the unbroken tradition of the evolution of the human spirit. But if we did, we would fall into the error of accepting the arbitrary concept of tradition of the guardians of that tradition, and would be debating on the unsuitable terrain they had chosen precisely for its unsuitability. Because the real argument has never been (and is not) whether or not we continue a tradition in general, but with which traditions we continue and how. It is here that the conservatives, usually proclaiming loyalty to the tradition, mostly narrow down the known range of traditions, and those proclaiming their break with traditions, mostly enlarge this range of traditions. The attacks of those who take a stand in the name of tradition against modernity is never directed against those who reject every kind of tradition (even though they may proclaim it as such), but against those who build on newly discovered traditions, broader than those followed before, and on their new interpretation.

Although the sixteen-year-old Rimbaud (again the first) cockily and rudely proclaimed: "Du reste, libre aux *nouveaux* d'éxécrer les ancêtres: on est chez soi et l'on a le temps." But barely a page later, he continues: "Cet avenir sera materialiste, vous le voyez. (. . .) Au fond, ce serait encore un peu la Poésie Greque." (Letter to Deroly.) And he lists almost schoolishly those who he sees as his direct ancestors, visionaries, who he considers as in his own tradition. By curious agreement, Apollinaire attributed something similar to the modern poetic experiment. To wit, he claimed that it would not be inferior to the rich poetic realism of Ancient Greece with her wealth of knowledge.

And the line of surprising prophecies continues. True, the second item of *We Box the Ears of Public Taste,* to the joy of those opposing modern "barbarity," sounds rather unpleasant: "The infinite hate for the language which existed before us." But can anyone claim that the poetry of Mayakovsky (and Khlebnikov), signatories to the proclamation, was not conceived from an infinite love of the Russian language which existed before them? To take it further, does not his "Fifth International" see the aim of this altogether new poetry and "its practical benefits" in the same way:

This is the practical benefit of my new invention: | if in such circumstances | an Ancient Greek is resurrected, | the thirtieth century easily becomes his home.

(Prose translation)

And what of the most scandalous destroyers of tradition of the century, the Surrealists? In the first of their notorious proclamations, they virtually followed Rimbaud's list, not to mention his tradition. André Breton drew up a list of all those, beginning with Dante, Shakespeare, Swift, Swedenborg, Young, whom he recognized as Surrealists of the past (with what justification, is here immaterial); he defined his tradition. And does he not seek out entirely new traditions too, discovering, for instance, the ingenious initiator, left in obscurity by the preceding half century, Lautréamont? And was not Rimbaud too helped —even if after the first discoveries, especially after Claudel's—by the Surrealists to the exceptional place where he shines even today? And was it not the Surrealists who made a place in the tradition for the writer whom a century—as a complete scandal, scandalously—kept silent on, le Marquis de Sade? And to produce an extreme example: was not the inevitability of traditions borne witness to when (in 1919! the year is not unimportant) the Dadaist Marcel Duchamps raffishly added a Spanish beard and moustache to the Mona Lisa? After all, nine-tenths of the surface of his "work," the painting signed by him, is nevertheless filled by the immortal who has been denied, or if you like, raped by him. In a sense, it can be argued, even if somewhat figuratively, that nine-tenths of every work of art is formed by the "tradition," the experience and results accumulated until then, which are built into it (even if its creator did not want them, even if he protested against them). But every innovator fights for the remaining tenth, for that which he himself adds to what already existed, and which gives a (new) meaning to the whole. In some ways, to use an unexpected source, it is similar to what the Gospel has to say of the nature and tasks of the true scribe:

"Then said he unto them, Therefore every scribe which is instructed unto the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which bringeth forth out of his treasure things new and old." (Matthew 13:52)

On the other hand, what is lacking in the corrupted succession to the tradition, the succession which struggles against modernity, is both accumulated experience and innovation. (This is the true paradox.) Yet, the two assume each other.

Consequently, the battle between tradition and innovation is fought out on two separate battle-fields. The poet László Nagy touched on this in an interesting way in an interview: "To be tied to the traditions, and also to renew: this is not such a dramatic process in the poet as it is made to appear." It is not in the poet that it does become dramatic—sometimes comical—not in the process of poetic creation, but in those little intellectual (and very often political) battles which are fought out over the scene of poetry. According to the key Apollinaire poem already quoted, his testament, as it were:

Je sais d'ancien et de nouveau autant qu'une homme seul pourrait les deux savoir | Et sans m'inquiéter aujourd'hui de cette guerre | Entre nous et pour nous mes amis | Je juge cette longue querelle de la tradition et de l'invention | De l'Ordre et de l'Aventure

(La jolie rousse)

There are always, of course, some who are much "disturbed" by the struggle, or who again and again disturb intellectual life by the struggle, to whom this "long ferocious debate" will always be important, and never the poetry.

There is a failure to notice which, at the beginnings of modernity, may have been a genuine error but, which with one view of the whole evolution can only be intentional distortion. The distortion is not to notice that one of the main features of artistic trends in any period which call themselves or are derided "modern," is not an entire rejection of the traditions, but their elaboration in more conscious, wider, and more complex ways. It is true that in this contradiction there exists a superficial or, perhaps, dishonest, game with the word "tradition," or with its possible meanings. But it is even truer that it is in a genuine dual interpretation of the word that the contradiction between the relationship of the modern and the traditionalists to tradition can be grasped. To take the paradox further: those who insist on tradition insist on traditionally interpreted traditions. In our case, on what the nineteenth century left us as its legacy. The modern reject the exclusivity of this tradition, and seek out older, more remote, more hidden traditions for themselves. Naturally, this involves an acute struggle against the traditional tradition. But the most particular instruments of technique used by the European avant-guarde—collage, montage, the drawing of planes, quotation, reference, travesty, parody, parable—are so many variations, all new or renewed organs of creation; capable within a single work of art to create the greatest possible symbiosis between elements in time and in space most remote to one another. In the Romantic-Realistic literature and art of the nineteenth century where do we find such an intimate relationship with the many traditions of human culture as are demonstrated by, say, Picasso and Henry Moore, Eliot and Attila József, Stravinsky and Bartók?

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

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G. F. Cushing

OTTÓ ORBÁN

POEMS

Translated by Eric Mottram

POET IN THE SEVENTIES

the poet in the Sixties
wrote in flames 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

it became clear too
that the amount of reality
usable in poetry had strict limits
a simple instance for you
the lyric I
suppose I
as a citizen in a particular country
grew three ears as a result of oppression
and certain horrors could be detected in my stare
or a star shone
on my forehead
tempting international intellect
on the broad terrace of his villa with a view of an ocean or a mountain stream
to introspect

a brooding we all know
tends to ripen ticking fruit in airport baggage lockers
or be stuffed into gun barrels
while elsewhere
thin struggles of poverty among sharks
screaming and blood
are frankly
tedious

the everyday bits in a poem
are nothing but provocations
not a means
to cover up the earth-shaking scandal
our century trapped us into
with vertiginous promises
the Seventies
the poet evokes a perfected man in a sanitation bin
and makes us convulsed laughing
if we did not know
birds are circling the tidal wave of cars
whistling the Marseillaise
meaning no battle is lost
and that is obviously absurd
and our last wisdom
summer in our bones struck down by rheumatic death
essence corrupts the transient
a stroke splitting the rigid membrane second

ON RESURRECTION

I

Individual freedom is not everything but part of everything.
Individual freedom is a glue.
Without individual freedom stone will not stick to stone, walls will fall,
the country's crossbeam cracks.
Without individual freedom no free community.
And stone axes, crossbows, submarines are useless, no chance of survival.
And only the wind will play marbles with smoke in the ruins.

2

Except this is just too simple.
Individual freedom is not individual glorification.
Everyone is individual: the free individual is everyone's freedom.
The world calls the police, suspects terrorists, heretics, demons, it's no use.
The individual's freedom is the community.
You and me equals knowing where you end and I begin as in love.
You is me.

3

This contradiction is free of contradiction and self-evident as the Sun.
It shines over centuries filthy with smoke and ideas.
No resurrection but there still is if one doesn't sell out.
O, we free the bird in our mouth, how beautiful you are, Earth,
your face of blood and mud, the crushing failures, concealed hopes.
And our uncertain presence makes safe apparent outlines vibrate.
And summer like a voluptuous dragon blows fire for as long as it lasts.

A NICE LITTLE WAR

A war would be an answer of course to all our problems; the answer of Behemoth: no more bald heads, surplus value, New Left, sex problems, public amenities, buildings... Youthful ardour could take an ice bath. Or a fire bath. Why not? Suppose the tide of flames flooded to the shelter entrance. Suppose the last have-nots did not collapse from loss... at last their turn... the Southern hemisphere would remain intact... Brazil... that's the way to madness. And not simply because of the flattened power-stations and mountain of corpses. We searched for God, found ourselves, our limits; I am what I am because there is nothing else. A clean page? Completely inscribed with blood? Seen from the balcony of the stars this might count as the master masterpiece: the pattern regulates time passing. But overemphasized objectivity disgusts me. It is precisely the earth smell which is divine in me; people I saw ploughing with wooden ploughs and tractors; the wiry ocean rustles and everywhere the infinite face in its points of reference... trees, potholes in the road, a scarlet insect... the poem of the world exists in details, I learned as much during the siege of a city in about an hour. First we noticed the breathing. Huge lungs gasped for air in the distance. Then we realized it was our own thirst for air working the bellows in our chests. Then utter silence. Vertigo that we had just about survived. The iron door. The corridor. Mortar between shapeless stones. Then the silent film: brick-dusty coats swayed slowly at the resurrection ball... lashless mirror of light-soaking eyes... How can I look now into any other mirror? I was spared to be a messenger from the age of world conquest. My burnt mouth the message mumbling: NO.

GINSBERG IN BUDAPEST

the thought of an encounter did not thrill me to tell the truth
I had expectations for the poetic image once
but where have the mad lightning years of youth gone
when an impetuous quiet official swore
Howl would never appear in Hungarian as long as he lived
poet and poetry have now been relegated to their proper place
tucked away between global oven and infinite restriction
playing with multicoloured professional marbles
nor did I fancy acting the tourist guide
Ginsberg seemed to doze off in the exposed front seat
but when we stopped he did ask
WHAT SORT OF CAR'S THIS IT'S GIVING OFF WHITE FUMES
a twostroke I replied grinning
that's my play with the intellectual ball
after soporific passes an unexpected dash for it
what the hell we might even finally get round to conversation
two decrepit predators
mister ginsberg what's the poet's task
must we be New York buddhists or aggressive fags
ride our broomstick obsessions
to a sabbath of angelic dreamspeech
or the opposite
keep our finger on the pulse of events
know more or less what the ordinary man thinks
under specific conditions
do minor repair jobs round the house
poetry is Blake's tyger
with yellow body of fire snarling in the forest
and why shouldn't it let those who want to

ride in the velvet saddle
the tyger will smile after all
with our sublime emotions in his gut

I'm talking about freedom what else
but not like the young lover
offering his kingdom for a horse slogan
but rather like Dante finally married to Beatrice
now they sink hand in hand into the earth
this is the spring of everything everyday
not some fictional hell but uncertain balance in a torrent tumult
the unforgettable swept off in a mass of forgettable moments
and what shall we do with the golden altar future tense
when a slightly bitchy virgin wife overdrives herself
better listen to the soul hooting in the chimney
wisdom is in love with revolt
revolt with wisdom
hope is their hopeless love
which shines above the gap we left
after transubstantiation into mud itchy with cosmic radiate energies

'bye Allen so long our muddled salvation
I'm saying goodbye to my grandiose youth poems
to Sixties illusions that we saw
the intellectual as a knight shining in his armour of reforms
wearing a hand-drawn flower in place of a heart
we have nothing in common
but it's good to know we share the essentials
we both asked the offhand supercilious driver the same question
WHAT SORT OF CAR IS THAT RUSHING ROUND THE SUN
and what childhood what love what world
since in the X-ray of each answer
another question appears
the coat-of-arms of our humanity
while Earth's last hair turns white
stands on end from the electric Spring shock

Ottó Orbán read "Ginsberg in Budapest" at an International Writers' Meeting jointly sponsored by PEN International and Cyprus PEN, held in Nicosia, November 2–6, 1981. Before reading it he said:

I first came across the name of Allen Ginsberg in 1960, in an anthology of modern American poetry. Oh those naive and impassioned sixties! I felt as if I had met America itself, not just the poems of an American poet. I translated *Howl* into Hungarian, which made people think that I was the beat poet of Hungary, and when was I finally going to make some nice big scandal or at least grow a beard. Then that passed too, like so many other things: I grew wiser, so did the world; who knows whether or not it was purely to our advantage? In any case, fewer and fewer people thought of me as a stumbling-block and more and more as a poet.

Then, at the end of the sixties, I found myself in India; I was fascinated by the monumentality of the social enigma, the incredible proportions of hope and despair. By way of an aside I was told in several towns that Ginsberg had been there not long before me. Soon after that I came across a book on Ginsberg by an American journalist from which I learnt what had fascinated Ginsberg in India: the freedom to meditate. I began to get the idea that our coordinates were different.

Years later, travelling in America, I met this journalist, and after a lengthy conversation, she gave me Ginsberg's telephone number. I dialled the number, whereupon a husky male voice informed me that "Allen has gone off on a meditation tour to Colorado." It was only much later, twenty years in fact since I had first heard of him, that I met him in the most unlikely meeting place, my home town, Budapest. Me, an established Hungarian poet with greying curly hair; Ginsberg in a suit and tie. "An ageing beat," as he described himself. This meeting prompted me to write my poem "Ginsberg in Budapest." Naturally, I didn't only write this poem when I actually got down to writing it. I was carrying the more and more extensive material for it around with me for twenty years on my travels through many countries in three continents. Not to mention the people with whom I was disputing the deeper meaning of the poem during this time. Even the completed Hungarian manuscript had to fly over the borders of several countries in order to be translated into English and in order to be heard now in a place where both Hungarians and Americans alike are only guests. What else is poetry, then, but the language of "mutual understanding and peace?"

INTERLUDE

Short story

by

TAMÁS BÁRÁNY

So now that I was out of the Army and there was no sign of Csut anywhere I plunged into a self-disgusted loneliness. It was time to take a look around the girls. There was one called Mari working in the accounts department. She was an attractive little creature with brown hair, big brown eyes and the most caressable little breasts. To begin with I started to make more distant enquiries after her: what kind of a life she had, was she going out with anyone, wasn't she about to get married? Every one only had good things to say about her, a nice girl, she didn't have a serious boyfriend because she was a hard case, no one had got, anywhere with her. She likes to dance, when she feels like it she will down a couple of brandies, likes to flirt a bit and when you are dancing with her she will cuddle up to you nicely, and she is not averse to some heavy kissing in the cinema, but that's really the most you can expect. No one, but no one has got any further than that with her, although quite a few of the lads have had a try. She has put everyone down, including the big wheels, the company lawyer even. And there was this young manager from the distillery plant—so they said—who was after her for three whole months, but he didn't get anywhere; she's a girl who has her principles, old-fashioned upbringing, religious parents and that, and she sticks to her guns.

I must say that I was getting curious. At a party in the factory I tried a casual approach and just asked her if I could buy her a drink.

She ran a careful eye over me. "You are the one who is just out of the army, aren't you?" she asked me in a matter of fact way. I nodded that I was, but was rather surprised how formally she spoke to me. She was around my own age, probably 21 or 22. Why pull the grand lady on me? Or, perhaps, it was because I was from the shop-floor and not from the office? Surely it would have been different if I had been a lawyer or one of the managers?

"That's all right," I said without heart. "But if your are not thirsty, allow me to withdraw my invitation."

"Very official all at once!" she smiled.

"Just as you wish," I gave her a measured answer. "It wasn't me who set the time."

She looked at me in astonishment.

"How?"

"Well, it wasn't exactly the usual "I-am-Mary-you-are-John,-aren't-you" opening...

She took my arm and made a beeline for the bar sweeping me along.

"Well, I am sorry but with me it takes time. Anyway, why should I be completely informal with a stranger?"

"Well, I am not exactly a stranger. In fact you knew that I had been in the army!"

She laughed. "The pay-roll sheet! And on this basis I could be on first-name terms with the whole army!"

We had reached the bar.

"What will you have?" she asked me.

"I'm the one who should be doing the asking."

She shook her head.

"This is on me. It will be our peace cup, all right?"

It was my turn to shake my head.

"I am not in the habit of having girls pay for my drinks."

"Not in the habit of having girls being formal with you..."

She made a motion toward old Erzsi who ran the bar.

"Two small brandies, please!" And back to me: "With me there are going to be some new habits!"

"Is that the treatment everyone gets with you?," I asked cheerfully because I have to admit that I was getting to like her fresh self-assurance.

She was looking into my eyes when she said very seriously:

"Everyone. It's better if you learn that straight from me. I am a hard nut to crack!" The two glasses were in front of us; she raised one of them: "Cheers!"

I picked up my glass as well.

"And why say this now?"

"Because I don't like complaints later. It is much more honest to play it with your cards on the table!"

"In other words?" I asked pusillanimously, really feeling that I would have preferred to chicken out. The girl is either a lez, frigid, or just mad.

"In other words, I am not an easy lay..." She drained the brandy and looked at me again. "I didn't want you to say later on that you weren't warned in time. You can still run away."

I smiled. "Do you take me for such a coward?"

"No, I just think you aren't persistent enough."

"I went with a girl for three years..." I said quietly.

"Well," she asked, "and what happened?"

"She got married while I was in the army."

She rested her hand for a second on my arm.

"You poor boy! Don't you see what hussies those softer nuts can be?!"

I didn't answer that; I had Csuti on my mind, and my face must have shown the bitterness.

All at once I felt her gently squeezing my hand, saw her get on her tiptoes and heard her quietly saying:

"Want some consolation? Come on, let's dance!"

*

It was not a big wedding; neither she nor I wanted a big do. In fact I was rather surprised to find out that not even my mother-in-law insisted on one. In fact, I had been ready for a fight, wild arguments and the need to be really adamant about it, for the mater was a practising Christian, more pious than most, and at first I supposed it was simply inconceivable that she would let her only daughter get married without the blessings of the church.

For a long time I thought that she had shown a kind of flexibility in accepting my determined stand of not submitting to the ordeal of a long ceremony that may stir the spirit of some but would have only dampened mine. Nowand then it even occurred to me that it might have been considerations of thrift wich made the old girl bend to the stubborn will of her son-in-law...

It took several months for me to realize that I had been mistaken, there was a simpler reason for their readiness to show concession: the parents considered their daughter's marriage as something temporary. But they were, in fact, glad that Mari was not tied to the bed and table of a manual worker till death do them part.

Her father teaches at a polytechnical school. Although he did not have a degree or diploma—he had been picked from his work-bench in a factory where he was a cabinetmaker of magic skills—he had made considerable intellectual progress for having spent most of two decades working with graduates. It can be said that he has the education of a person of average schooling. Thus, as it were, half-way between an intellectual's and a worker's life, his spiritual homelessness had turned into the central problem of his life and intellectual advancement became his main desire. Had he had a son, he would have surely insisted on his becoming a teacher, a scholar or research scientist. But as Mari was not exactly enthusiastic about her studies, she just barely slipped through secondary school and had not the slightest intention of going on to college or university, the old man had been compelled to deep-freeze his secret hopes and then thaw them out by transferring them to his son-in-law. And then life had sent me into the poor man's way!

For a while they got along with me. Of course, I had already had to promise when we got engaged that I would continue with my studies as soon as possible. I had my choice of night school, correspondence school anywhere as long as I would get a degree, they told me, because being around graduates when one had no degree—the old man admitted to me once when a bottle of wine had loosened his tongue—I could take his word for it, was a bad deal.

Everything was fine for six months. I had moved in to their flat—they had two large rooms in Baross Street, one of them a corner room with a lovely little balcony—we could live in clover. But then half a year passed and I still did not have an entrance paper to a school of higher learning to show them, and so they started to look critically at me. At first only the atmosphere chilled around me, the friendly smiles faded from the two old faces and their greetings became abrupt and started to sound rather official. No more "and how are you Pisti my boy"s, no more "my dear son"s, but "Good morning, István." And then, "Good day to you!"

Luckily Mari did not seem to be very much bothered by all this. We lived our life, went to the cinema and theatre and, occasionally, dancing. She loved to dance. And there were some times, after a night out dancing and a couple of brandies, she embraced me with such fervour that I was close to making myself believe that I had made a good exchange. Weeks went by and I did not think of Csuti.

But then everyone in a flat has to breathe the same air. It was no use trying to overcome a bad atmosphere when the whole house was oppressed by it... I would be happy together with Mari in our room and then go to the kitchen for a glass of water and brush against my sulking mother-in-law... Or my father-in-law snapped at me that next time I should wipe my feet more carefully when it rained, his wife was no maidservant to have to keep cleaning up after me... You can't really answer that, you just swallow hard, after all you are younger and anyway just a barely tolerated guest in the old people's house—but you feel it in the contraction of your guts and in your teeth as you go back into the room... The wife looks at you and sees that something has happened outside, she is not quite sure what but can make a fair guess—and she too catches the mood... Then you sit about silently the whole evening, neither of you speaking in case what you say will really get the other started...

And then even the time comes when you do speak up, when you snap, quarrel, yell. You slam doors and bang things down, no longer caring if it is heard in the next room. Just let them hear it. Here you are, this is how your working-class lad lives who has not gone to college, who won't have your degree. Let them hear it!

No, you won't have to listen to this for long. I hate to remember this time. For eighteen months I stood my ground and tried to put on to it, tried to be as little in evidence as possible. I was doing it for Mari's sake. But as the air in that prison on Baross Street was getting more and more suffocating, time and again it turned out that after work I did not set out directly home, but now and then made a flying visit to my mothers' and later I would stop off at some espresso with a pal or two for two or three beers. And perhaps this was what caused the biggest trouble—though it did not strike me then!—because during all that time Mari was at home alone with her parents who were giving her their own bit of propaganda and turning her against me. And once a wife turns against her husband, the whole thing has gone to hell.

*

We were getting ready for New Year's Eve, the end of '76. The year before at this time we had still been sitting together happily enough watching the special TV programme, having a few drinks, and toasting each other a happy New Year and meaning it. This year, however, I was not the least bit inclined to put up with this company when seeing off the old year which had been so slow to pass thanks to their destructive ministrations; I had no desire to wish them cheers, when drinking to a new year which they would surely ruin again... I told Mari that we would get ourselves fixed up for a more lively party at some friends' where we could bring in the New Year in a happier frame of mind.

She looked at me, but it was as though she was looking at a stranger.

"So you want to go boozing, is that it? And my parents would only be in the way, you would be ashamed to stagger around dead drunk in front of them..."

"What do you want to say that for?" I asked very quietly. "Have you ever seen me really drunk?"

She waved it away.

"Allright, allright! But sometimes you stink with liquor!"

"I always know how far I can go, you know that!"

"Really? It seems to be that lately you have lost count!"

"You don't exactly mind a couple of brandies, yourself, do you?"

She raised a finger:

"Once a month! But you're drinking twice or three times a week these days!"

"Well, what am I supposed to do?" I asked angrily. "Am I supposed to sit around the house listening to your old man whining on me not going to college, continuing my studies?"

She shook her head.

"No, but you could be sitting in a classroom with a decent teacher instead with your drinking pals."

I took a long draw on my cigarette, and wondered what to say. In the end I came to a decision.

"Is that what you think?" I asked quietly.

"Yes, it is!" She raised her head. "Because they are right. That's the way you'd have a degree in four years. Your way, you'll end up getting put away into a detoxication centre! But I did not marry a heavy drinker—I married a nice lad who gave me his word he would continue his studies!"

I looked at her.

"Was it you I made the promise to?" I asked still in the same quiet tone of voice.

"To my parents, but that's the same thing!"

I put out my cigarette.

"I don't think it is. All I promised you was that I would love and cherish you and take you for my wife."

"And?" she looked at me incomprehendingly.

"Well, don't you think that that's what I've been doing?"

She nodded her head, unsure of herself.

"You have..."

"Well then," I nodded with satisfaction, "and what did you promise me?"

"When?"

"At the Registry Office!"

She just kept looking at me.

"Well, what did I promise?" she asked after a while vaguely.

"That you would stay by me for richer, for poorer."

"And?" She laughed scornfully. "Am I supposed to wait until you sink far enough to become an alcoholic?"

I shook my head.

"No. Come away from here with me!"

She gave me the kind of look that you give to someone who has gone crazy.

"Has someone given you a flat?"

"No, but let's get out of here!"

"To your family?"

"Of course, not. You know well that we can't do that. One room and kitchen and an alcove for bed!"

"Well then?"

"We can rent something. It doesn't matter what it costs! Both of us are earning money."

There was a long silence.

"You have gone mad," she said at last. "You mean we should be paying a thousand, or one and a half-thousand, for what we're getting here free?!"

I nodded.

"Yes, that way we may still have a chance..."

"And this way?" she asked provocatively.

"This way we don't!" I said shaking my head resolutely.

It all went quiet again for a while.

"And what now?" she asked a little later, discouraged. "What will become of us?"

"It is up to you and you alone," I said emphatically. "Are you going to come or stay?"

"What about you?"

"Me, I'm going!"

She was staring at nothing, wondering. Then she looked at me.

"I can always get a husband..." She sighed. "But you only have one set of parents!"

I felt the blood run from my head, but I made an effort to stay coherent.

"I see," I said quietly. "Then just one more question: can I stay here until the first? Or would you prefer if I moved straight out?"

She thought again for some time.

"Perhaps you should move now," she answered finally and hesitantly.

"The holidays are almost on us... And I'd like my poor old things to get something nice for Christmas..."

"That's clear!" My laugh was bitter. "But why didn't you tell me sooner? They could have had this pleasure at Easter."

"I hoped that you would come to your senses during the summer and would apply for admission," she replied colourlessly. "But ever since autumn it has been hell for me here as well."

"And that's why you are staying?" I asked with irony.

She waved it away.

"Once you have left, things will be like they were again!"

I just stood there, trying to absorb it all. Finally I asked hesitantly, secretly hoping that she would protest:

"Shall I start packing right away? Or, ...can it wait until tomorrow?"

"You better start now," she nodded briefly. "Wait, I'll help."

No more was spoken that day, we packed my things quietly. The next day I moved home to my mother's.

And that was how the most useless year and a half of my life came to an end.

Translated by Peter Doherty and Éva Rácz

THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT TO THE HUNGARIAN WARS OF INDEPENDENCE

by

BÉLA KÖPECZI

Western historians have been prone until quite recently to disapprove of the Hungarian wars of independence during the 17th and 18th centuries, and for two reasons in particular. Firstly, many of them consider the rise of the Habsburg Empire as a positive contribution to European development as a whole, and believe that Hungarian resistance movements interfered with this process. They regard the risings that broke out so often as a conflict between the progressive, centralized state and the retrograde forces of feudalism. Secondly, they also find that it made a negative contribution to the balance of power in Europe. They hold Habsburg opposition to French ambitions to hegemony in high esteem, and present the Hungarians as merely the tools of Louis XIV's intrigues. They especially reproach Hungary for her Turkish connections, considering the Ottoman Empire as an enemy to progress. The reproach that the Hungarians were disloyal to Christendom today seems mere decoration, but it deeply influenced public opinion at the time. Some historians, following the fashionable psychological approach, seek to find the roots of Hungarian resistance in national peculiarities. According to the new *Cambridge History of Modern Europe*, after economic and social causes, it was chiefly the "disorderly rejection of all authority" that led to Rákóczi's fight for independence We can add a lighter note here by quoting an Austrian historian, who said that Hungarian liberation movements "quite often degenerated into senseless violence, which is characteristic enough of all revolutions, but especially Hungarian revolutions due to the Hungarian temperament."

But what was the reality? To find the answer, we first have to analyse the relations between European powers in the second half of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth.

Following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, France grew stronger, while the Spanish Empire began to decline. England and the Dutch were pushed into the background, Sweden became the strongest state of the north, Poland became weak, as did—to some extent—the Habsburg Empire. At this time, sections of Hungary belonged to this Empire, the central region was occupied by the Turks, while Transylvania formed an independent principality subject to the Ottoman Empire. All this meant that Hungary was not only surrounded by two great powers, but was, at the same time, the point of intersection of two different socio-economic systems and cultures. Neither Turkish expansion nor Habsburg rule undermined the consciousness of an independent Hungary, and the regaining of Hungarian independence and unity was desired in equal measure by both the Magyar subjects of the Habsburgs and by those living in the Transylvanian principality. After the Peace of Westphalia many Hungarians cherished the hope that Vienna would turn against the Turks, and the country might be reunited under Habsburg rule.

On the other hand the Estates had from the very beginning rebelled against Vienna's absolutist endeavours and the drastic measures of the Counter-Reformation. Vienna strove to establish absolutism, tried to curtail the privileges of the Estates and launched an attack on the free practice of the Protestant religion. One may dispute how well-developed Austrian absolutism was; it is beyond doubt, however, that with the army and the Catholic Church behind it, it could be repressive enough, and could change the political structure.

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Hungarians discontented with this situation cherished the hope that France would support them against Habsburg oppression. Especially so as some French volunteers had fought with the Imperial Army in the campaign which ended with the rout of a Turkish army twice its size at the battle of Szentgotthárd in 1664. This outcome to the campaign seemed to satisfy Vienna. So much so that Leopold I quickly negotiated the Peace of Vasvár in which he recognized all the defeated Turks' conquests and even entered into commercial agreements with the Sultan.

The Peace of Vasvár caused general consternation in Europe; such was the embitterment in Hungary that even magnates prevously loyal to the Emperor now turned against him. But Louis XIV refused to support the conspiracy of the magnates, which ended with the execution of the leaders in 1671; he only began to take an interest in Hungary when war between Austria and France broke out in 1673. At the beginning of 1677, he nstructed his ambassador in Warsaw, the Marquis de Béthune, to enter into a pact with the Prince of Transylvania so as to aid the Hungarian, mainly Protestant, nobles in exile. After the Peace of Nimwegen, he again let the Hungarians down, although he secretly gave some support to Imre Thököly (1657–1705) son of one of the magnates in the conspiracy. In 1678 the latter took the leadership of the exiles and with his troops quickly occupied Northern Hungary with its mining towns. Louis XIV would have liked Sobieski, the king of Poland, to support the rebels, and for "Turkish and Imperial forces to keep each other busy" in Hungary. He was pleased with the Turkish attack on Vienna. Guilleragues, the French ambassador to Constantinople, reported to the King on August 11, 1682, that following his instructions, he had assured the Porte that France would remain neutral if the Turks turned against Austria, but not if they attacked Poland. French diplomacy, thus, did not scruple to ignore Christian solidarity and had encouraged with discretion the outbreak of war. Only much later did France decide to back Thököly directly; this was after the War of the League of Augsburg when Louis XIV even promised Thököly that should he come to rule Transylvania, he would make a treaty with him as a sovereign prince and would pay him a subsidy of 100,000 thalers a year. All this shows that French support was rather hesitant and dubious and that it was those members of the Hungarian aristocracy known as "the Malcontents" who took the initiative in French-Hungarian relations and not Louis XIV.

Thököly also tried to enlist the help of the Polish king, but Sobieski, turning his back on similar French diplomatic overtures, entered into alliance with the Habsburgs in 1682. Thus the only power to support the Hungarian aspirations was the Ottoman Empire. This kind of assistance had something of a tradition in Hungary, for a section of the ruling class had been defying the Habsburgs with Turkish support since the reign of János Szapolyai in the sixteenth century. It was not a question of István Bocskai or Gábor Bethlen's being happy in such an alliance; for these two princes of Transylvania it was more of an inescapable necessity. We must add further that Hungarians in the first half of the seventeenth century were highly impressed by the economic and cultural development and the relative religious tolerance that had come into being in a Transylvania subordinated to the Turks; all this demonstrated that the Turks did not interfere in home affairs or to a lesser extent than the Habsburgs did. It was in keeping with this tradition that the magnates rebelling after the Peace of Vasvár undertook to make contact with the Porte, and Imre Thököly accepted his proclamation as King of Hungary, even though he himself used only the title of Prince of Transylvania.

Thököly was one of the most controversial personalities of the age, chiefly because of his relations with the Turks and the role he played in the Turkish military campaign against Vienna. According to his contemporaries it was he who urged the Turks to march against the Imperial capital in 1683, although this is contested by Prince Dumitru Cantemir in his Turkish history. In fact, he may well have made this proposal, especially as he would have liked Turkish and Tatar troops to stay in Hungary for as short a time as possible. He himself behaved most discretely in the course of the campaign, and only undertook to defend Northern Hungary. But he failed even in this, as he was not able to prevent Sobieski's march through the country.

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Why did Thököly not make a compromise with Vienna after the Diet held in Sopron in 1681? The main reason was his lack of confidence, an attitude justified by the tragic fate of the leaders and the cruel persecution of those who had taken part in the conspiracy of the magnates, and of Protestants in general. In his manifestos, Thököly accuses the Court of not having redressed their grievances, of not having guaranteed their liberties, especially those of the nobility, nor religious freedom for Protestants, and accuses Vienna of being ready to come to terms with the Porte at the expense of Hungary. In January 1684, Thököly even wrote to the Pope, listing the rights that had been infringed upon by the Habsburg kings, and which he himself had gone to war to defend. He answered the charge of rebellion, and reported on his negotiations with Vienna, and on the futile attempts at mediation made by the Polish king. He declared the Emperor responsible for the war, and presented the Turkish alliance as a *faute de mieux* solution. He asked the Pope and the Christian kings to judge whether he had acted from mere wickedness, carelessness, private ambition, and interest, or whether he had been guided by law, necessity, reason, and justice.

In the end, Thököly fell victim to the Turkish alliance and the disastrous decline of the Ottoman Empire. We might wonder why he and his contemporaries did not foresee this decline. The fact is, as Stanford J. Shaw has pointed out, "it was only Kara Mustafa Pasha's defeat at Vienna in 1683 and the following collapse of his army that made Europe aware of the Ottoman situation, and led her to use it to her own advantage."[1]

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[1] Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New*. The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III. Harvard, 1971.

Rákóczi's war of independence (1703—1711)

Thököly's failure did not mean the end of the long-term tendencies, which first appeared at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and continued for a further century and a half. Efforts to re-establish the Hungary of the Middle Ages would continue to be made. Following the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699, after which all Hungary was cleared of Turkish occupation, a new wave of opposition came, in which the serfs took the initiative; but which later was headed by Ferenc Rákóczi II, the wealthiest landowner of the country who managed to gain the support of the nobility.

To find the proper ally was the crucial problem for this new war of independence. Who could be relied on? By the beginning of the eighteenth century, France had weakened, England, after the Glorious Revolution, had become a leading power at sea, and her influence could be felt even on the Continent. Austria had won the Turkish wars and had become the greatest power in East Central Europe, while Russia emerged in the East as a new European power. In the War of the Spanish Succession an isolated France confronted the alliance of England, Holland, and Austria. In the North, Sweden fought against Russia, and the two great powers each strove to take advantage of a disunited Poland.

Rákóczi's maximum programme included dethroning the Habsburgs, independence for Hungary, the election of a new king, and himself becoming Prince of Transylvania. His minimum was redressing the grievances of the nobility and winning recognition for the Habsburgs as electors and for himself as Prince of Transylvania. The prince looked to France for help in achieving both policies. Louis XIV, in his isolation, gave a certain amount of limited support, and even undertook, on certain conditions, to conclude an alliance with Rákóczi as Prince of Transylvania and to help Maximilian-Emmanuel, the Bavarian elector, to become king of Hungary. France's economic setbacks and military defeats did not allow these promises to be fulfilled. The fact that Rákóczi still adhered to a French alliance indicates not that he was a puppet but that not even this much help was forthcoming from other quarters.

The independence of his foreign policy is reflected in the fact that as soon as he recognized the growing strength of Russia, he turned to Tsar Peter I, concluding with him the only agreement he was to make in 1707. He undertook—on certain conditions—to accept the Polish throne while the Tsar promised him support against the Habsburgs. The situation that arose in Eastern Europe, and especially the war between the Turks and Russia, put an end to this last hope. It had indeed been the last hope, because although he had also been willing to consider accepting Turkish support, the Porte refused to help against Austria.

Rákóczi also tried to reach an agreement with Vienna and was supported here by English and Dutch diplomacy; these two powers had an interest in Austria's marshalling her forces against France in the West. It was quite evident to the mediators that Vienna was reluctant to make any important concessions, and especially refused to accept Rákóczi as Prince of Transylvania. Palmes, the English ambassador to Vienna, reflected on the intentions of the Emperor's court in 1710 as follows: "I dare think, that the intention of this Court is to have very little regard to the privileges of that kingdom, laying hold of this occasion to establish a Despotic power there which they have aimed at, and to which the People of all kinds are so very averse, especially in the hands of the Germans, to whom they have an extreme Antipathy." If a foreigner anticipated the outcome in these terms, can we accuse Rákóczi of lack of confidence in the Viennese court?

Finally, in 1711, the Hungarian nobles reached a compromise with the Emperor. By this agreement, the Habsburgs confirmed the Estates in their privileges, while Hungary agreed to give up her claims to independence and accept a hereditary monarchy. These concessions determined the future development of the nation, since they brought about more favourable conditions for economic and cultural development. At the same time, the compromise consolidated feudalism in Hungary, reinforcing social antagonisms with ethnic ones. It was a more backward feudalism than that defended by Rákóczi, whose aim was to organize a centralized state. Rákóczi's war of independence had not, of course, aimed at destroying the feudal system, but he had proposed some economic and cultural reforms, within the framework of this state. His attempts to win independence were within the long-term trend to establish national states. Under these conditions, it is hard to claim unequivocally that the compromise was a progressive step in the long term.

Contemporary views

The two wars of independence had affected not only power relations in Europe but political thinking as well. Thököly's revolt posed two main problems. The first was whether a Christian prince might ally himself with the Turks. The other—and this was the more general problem—whether it was permissible to rebel against a legitimate king. In the era of the prevailing Christian ideology and with the Church's support for the Habsburgs especially after 1683, only a few gave a positive answer. There were, of course, some, such as the French writer, Eustache Le Noble, who were not ashamed to confess that one was free to form any alliance, even with the Turks, in a good cause. Pierre Moret's 1692 *Le Paravent de la France* represents the official French position on Thököly and his connections with the Turks: "The king follows the message of the gospel in helping unjustly oppressed Christians; and when he protects the neighbours of the Turks against the tyranny of the Austrian Dynasty, he is acting in the name of common justice and humanity. Thus one can conclude that the king and the Turks are acting in the spirit of Jesus Christ. The ruler of Hungary, on the other hand, is acting like a perfect Muslim. We must not say that the Hungarians are damned heretics. For one thing, not all of them are heretics; however, all of them are oppressed Christians. But let us suppose that they are all schismatics or heretics—which is not true—is it not a more profound godliness to protect them against the tyranny of their oppressors than for the Habsburgs, the German princes, and the Pope to support the Prince of Orange and the English rebels against their king?"[2].

And here we have come to the question that more or less divided even those writers supporting the Habsburgs, namely that of the persecution of Protestants. The issue was a problem mainly in England, where following the War of the League of Augsburg, Louis XIV was officially accused of "inciting Thököly against the first and greatest Catholic monarch." However, not everyone shared this view. According to the pamphlet *Observations upon the Warre of Hungary*, published in London in 1689, it was the Jesuits who were persecuting the Hungarian Protestants; and, though the argument is somewhat ambiguous, we find in it a justification for the Hungarian alliance with the Turks. We also learn that a party known as the Thököly party was founded in England, such was the admiration for the rebel leader: "The Hungarians of Teckely's party, that have been in England, have given a very high Character extolling his Courtesy, Courage and Conduct and likewise the Comeliness of his Person. It must be confessed that by the great Resistance he hath made and the great Authority he hath maintain'd amongst his Party in such a Condition he appears to be no ordinary Man." It was Jean Leclerc, a Huguenot who had sought refuge in Holland, who wrote the first biography of Thököly as a fellow Protestant. It was first published in 1693 in French, and then in English in the same year. The English translator, of course, used this work to discredit the Jesuits and the Catholic party in England, and to present the ruling party in a favourable light.

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[2] P. Moret, *Le Paravent de la France*, Poitiers, 1962.

The war of independence led by Ferenc Rákóczi II met with an even stronger response in the Europe of the time. Here the religious aspect lost its importance, and writers concentrated mainly on the questions of whether natural law permits rebellion against the legal monarch, and of which interests the French alliance with Hungary was in conflict with. Of French writers, besides Le Noble, it was Jean de la Chapelle who expressed the French point of view in the greatest detail, making use of the polemic writings of the Hungarian independence fighters. His *Letters* are a justification of the Hungarian rebels, with the arguments based on the fundamental laws of Hungary, above all on the Golden Bull of 1222.

Although Dutch and English Protestants sympathized with their co-religionists in Hungary, they argued against the Hungarian revolution on considerations of state interest. The best example of this is the position taken by Daniel Defoe, who, in his paper, the *Weekly Review*, gave what amounts to a history of Hungary in the September to December issues of 1704, adding his own commentary as he went along. He upbraids the Hungarians for their French connections which are directed against the allies. He admits that the Hungarians have genuine grievances but relegates these to the sphere of civil law. He holds out hopes for the success of the English and Dutch attempts at mediation, and invites the Hungarians to moderation. At the same time, he leaves no doubt that it is national interests that determine his views and not religious or other sympathies. "It is not enough that a Nation be protestant, and the People our Friends; if they will joy with our Enemies, they are Papists, Turks and Heathens, as to us. . ." It was only after the War of the Spanish Succession and before the Peace of Utrecht was signed that English writers turned against the Imperial court and criticized the Habsburgs—as Swift did—for not having come to terms with Hungary.

This background indicates that there were several contemporary European views on the Hungarian revolts. Their actual variety should make us wary of how we approach questions of social development, such as the relationship of the Estates to the absolutist state, and the connections between social progress and national development, or questions of diplomatic relations and foreign policy whether using historical research or comparative methods.

I believe that Hungarian historians are now quite realistic in their judgements on these independence wars and we may hope that their conclusions will find their way into western works as well.

THE LONG DYING OF BÉNI FERENCZY

by

MIKLÓS VAJDA

There in the corner, under the window facing the garden, in a private room of the antique surgery pavillion near the main entrance of St John's Hospital in Budapest, Béni Ferenczy, towards the end of May 1967, fought his dreadful fight—not for life, but for death—and it took him eleven days.

There are some of whom the biological fate programmed into them demands a terrible extra toll as the price of ceasing to be as if, in the deathly obstacle race named life, the world had not provided a sufficiency of crippling traps, pitfalls and tripwires. In Béni Ferenczy the vital instinct, having finally and completely slipped out of the control of consciousness, switched to a minimized emergency programme and, mobilising unbelievable reserves of energy, stubbornly insisted on the self-contained operation of its automatisms. Life itself abandoned the outposts of willed movement, consciousness, and every kind of contact with the outside world, and continued to defend itself behind its innermost lines.

A body half-paralysed for more than eleven years whose daily exercise had consisted of traversing the bed-armchair-bathroom triangle several times a day—leaning on wife and stick—now performed in a manner that would put an athlete in full training to shame. A runner's heart would have stood it for a few hours at most, one of the consultants said; his managed for eleven days, and could have managed more. The art of healing—what else could it have done at a time like that?—stretched the agony as far as it could and complimented a metabolism reduced to panting with a vitamin-enriched physiological saline solution. Pearly bubbles slowly and regularly rose in the up-ended bottle on the drip, as if they had their origin at the bottom of the sea, in a sunken diving bell which linked to the surface only by this thin plastic tube that offered no hope, none whatever, of ever pulling it back up.

The packing done, Béni Ferenczy and his wife had been ready to go off for the summer. The change of scene, judging by past summers, promised new drawings, new water-colour flowers, perhaps new sculpture, in any event a new bed-armchair-bathroom routine instead of the old, with new things to see, new faces and new flowers. The sculptor, however, unexpectedly uttered a cry of pain and when his wife asked anxiously, and yet rhetorically, what was the matter, did anything hurt?, the sick man, who for over ten years had only been able to make use of a round two dozen words in communication, pointed his workable left hand to his abdomen and cried out: "My belly!"

Within hours he was on the operating table. Clearly his body, paralyzed on the right, could only signal appendicitis once it had reached a dangerous stage, turning the whole of the perforated peritoneum painfully sensitive. An embolism in the brain occurred while under the knife, and the agony started.

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Words had not left Béni Ferenczy all at the same time. November of 1956 had started off a tiny clot in his heart which was carried by the bloodstream to his brain where it got stuck in a bloodvessel somewhere on the left side. The right side of his body was completely paralysed but his vocabulary only gradually vanished. He could even read at first but as other parts of his brain, lacking a proper blood supply, suffered necrosis, he only managed to make out texts in French. I can remember our hopeful and naive surprise when, in his room at the hospital, we gave him the current issue of *Paris Match*, full of stunning pictures of the recent events in Hungary. He looked at the pictures and then at the text. Pointing to a place he first questioningly looked at us, then went on reading, shaking his head while moving his mouth as well, finally he said "Yes!" with great determination, and by way of emphasis hit the paper with his left.

We excitedly tried to explore this special case of dislexia. We carried French papers and books to the hospital by the armful. Was it possible? Like that, shrunk to a reader of French, could he possibly plant his one good leg in French literature, continuing with at least some of his favourite books: Ronsard, Montaigne, Rousseau, Baudelaire, Appollinaire, Proust, Gide, Malraux, Camus, Sartre, and the oft-mentioned and quoted Delacroix note-books and correspondence. This surviving ability gave hope that the rest too was only temporarily out of action, that time and treatment might return to him the Hungarian printed word, and even speech. He was still able to sing, for instance, and with the tune words as well left his lips. We kept guessing, being unfamiliar with the operation and topography of the brain, why it was precisely the French layer that survived, and not the German, or English, or Italian, or the Russian which he had learnt last, or the Hungarian which, at least in theory, must have lain deeper, and been more extensive. We examined him, like a child, to make sure that he really understood what he read in French. What had not occurred to us was that the sculptor finally, after a years's painful labours—in which Erzsi, his wife, would figure as muse, crutches and slave-driver—would cut his own path back to art using his own ways and tools; that he—at sixty-seven—would not be concerned with literature or language, or a world drifting from crisis to crisis, but with his own oeuvre, which he would classically fulfil in the decade left to him, dumb and crippled, using his left hand.

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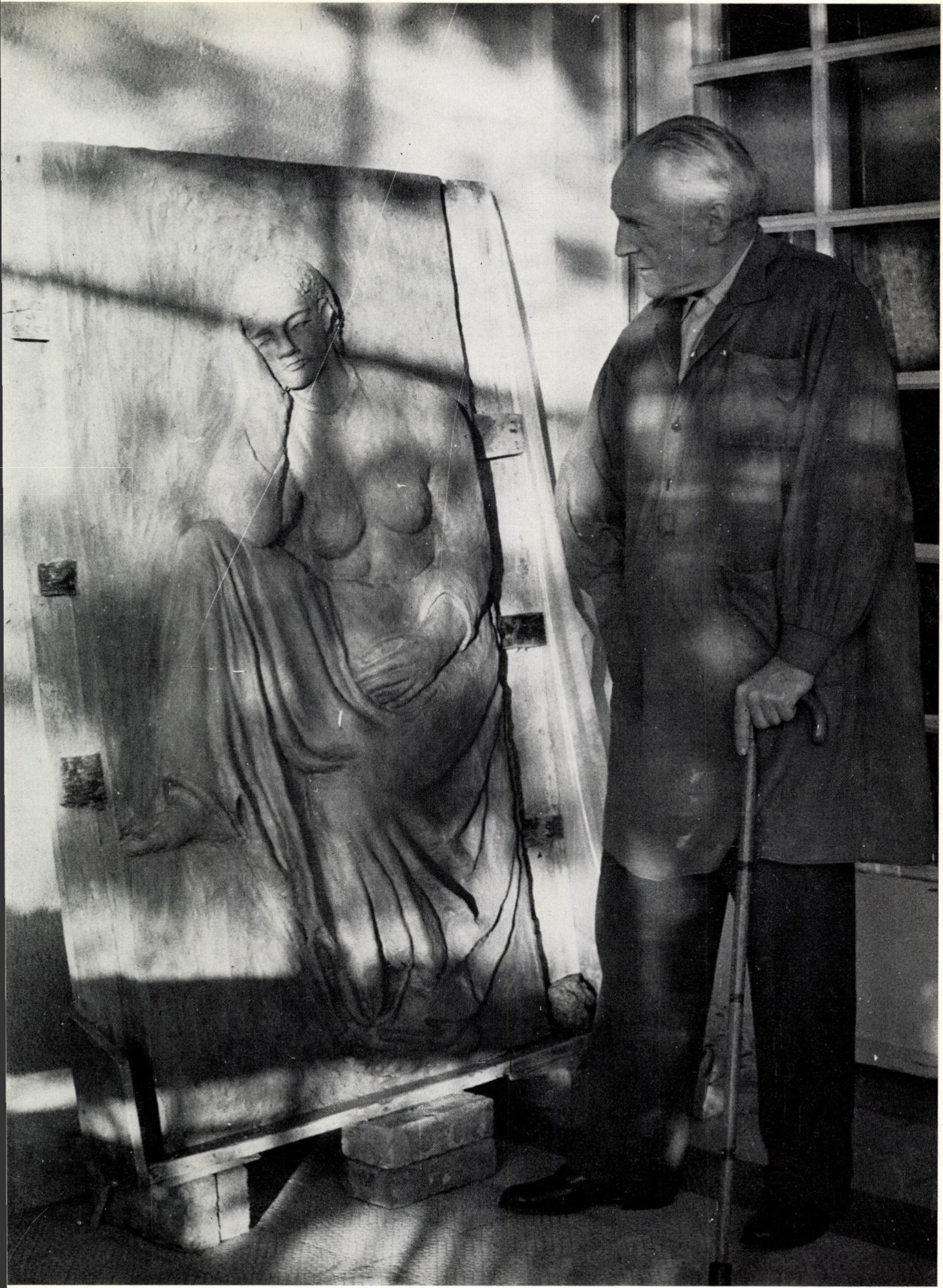
The French period did not last. Soon one had to learn and accept that Béni had finally lost a complete dimension of his personality. The social being was gone, the fascinating story-teller with his tart wit and youthful laughter, and so was the teacher, master and colleague, the friend and second father one could go to for advice or help. Those who went to see him found instead a man sitting dejectedly, at everyone's mercy, who often demonstrated his condition to visitors by raising his lifeless right with his left and letting it drop back into his lap from on high, then with an infinite, renouncing bitterness which really cut to the quick because he laughed and the way he laughed, he said: "Well. . . no."

These two monosyllables made up more than twelve per cent of his surviving vocabulary. I can remember three regularily used words altogether which went as far as two syllables. Rarely, and as the effect of a certain inner excitement, one or another short word, sometimes a name, might crop up, but mostly out of context. He completely lost verbs and nouns. The vocabulary of an eighteen months old baby is much richer than that, and yet, within a relatively short time, Béni was able to express a hundred complicated signals with it, making use of stresses, stretchings, pitch, and tone. How much surprise and joy, preparatory and expecting curiosity urging speech, how much kindness and humour there was in the tunefully stretched "Á" which greeted a visitor; how much urging and greedy reaching out to the world in the "Na!?" which started the onesided dialogue. The visitor, so prompted, put his stage-fright behind him and dived headlong into talk.



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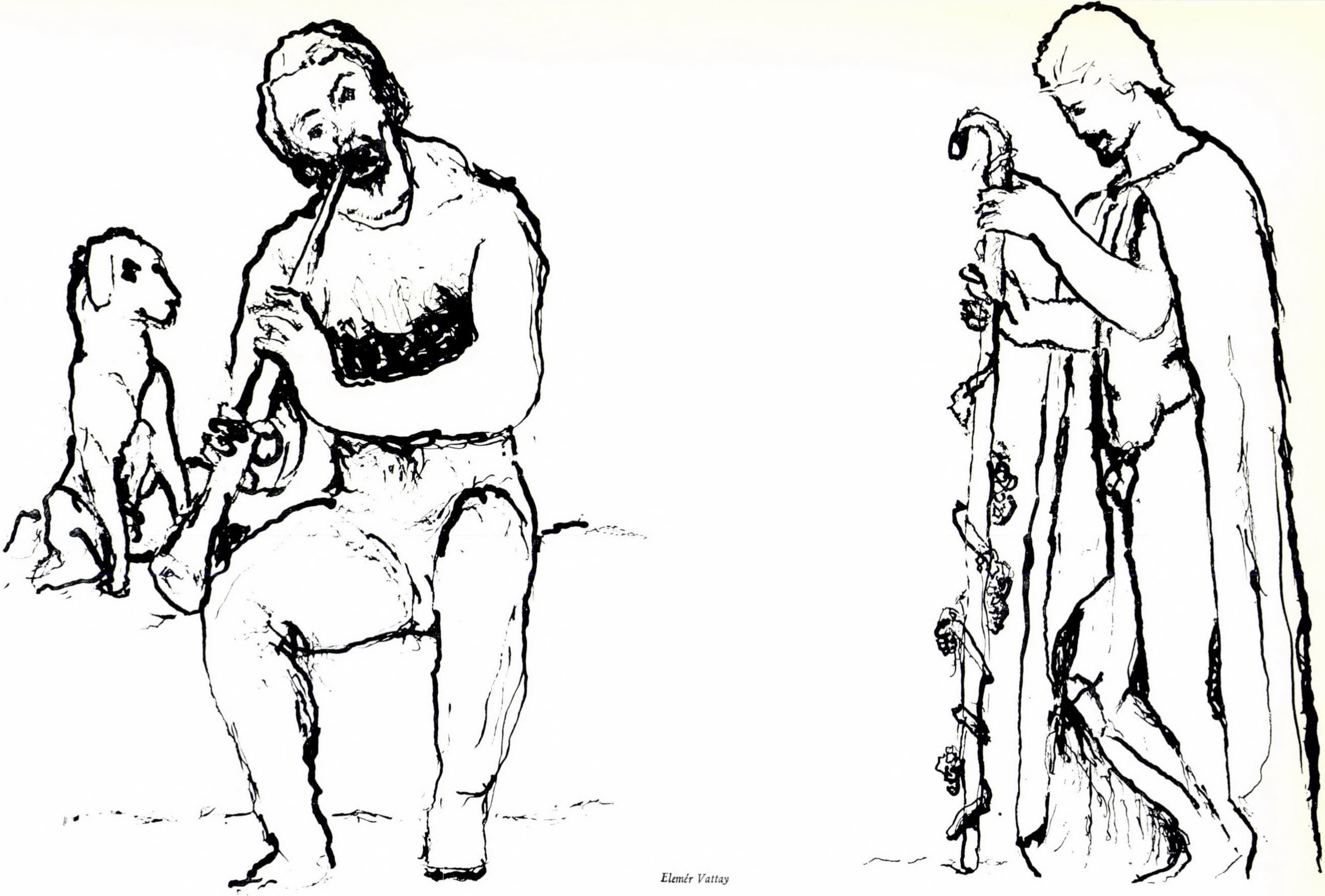
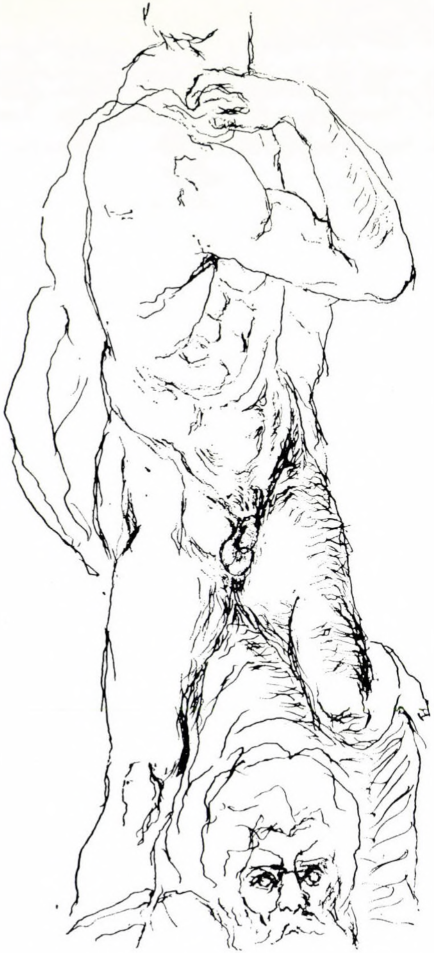
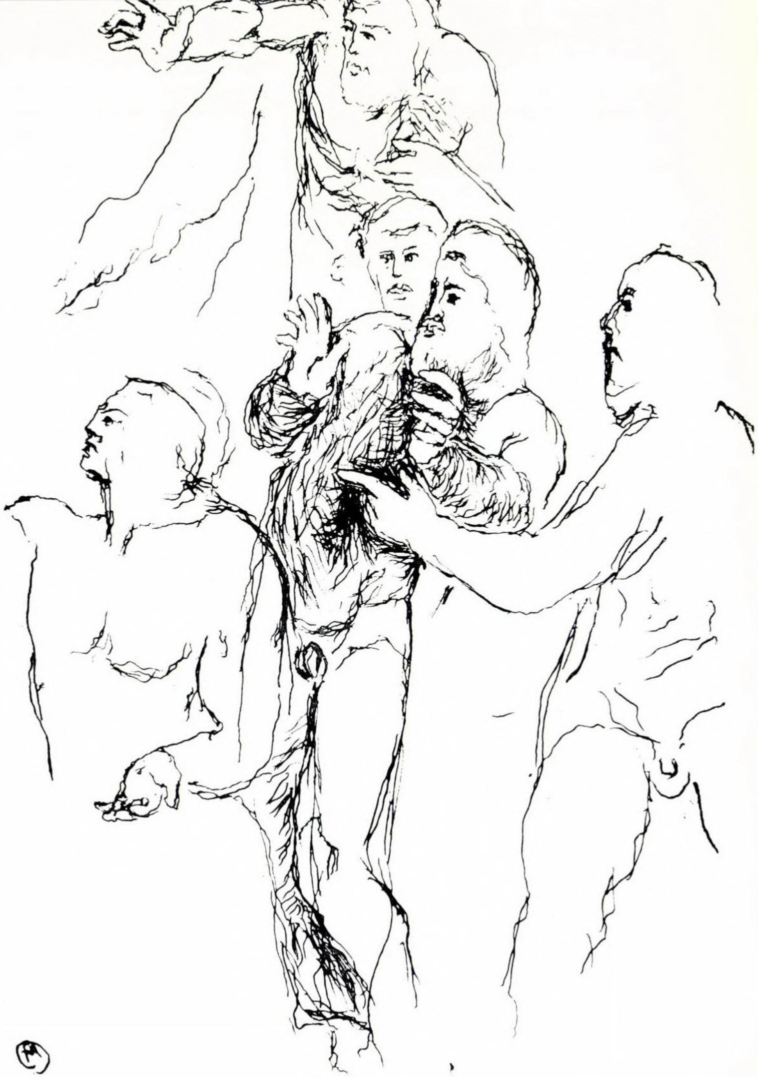
Bény Ferenczy with the clay model of his father's tombstone

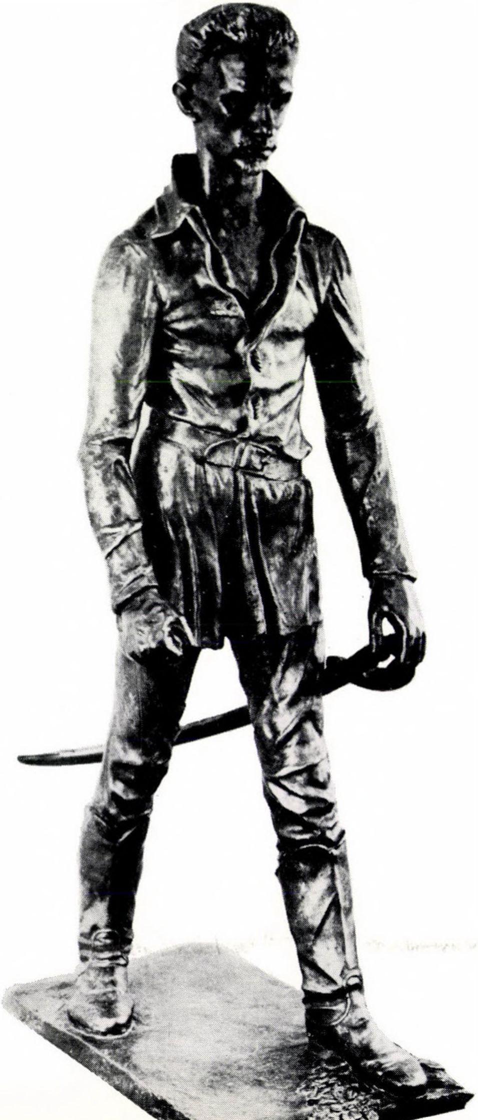
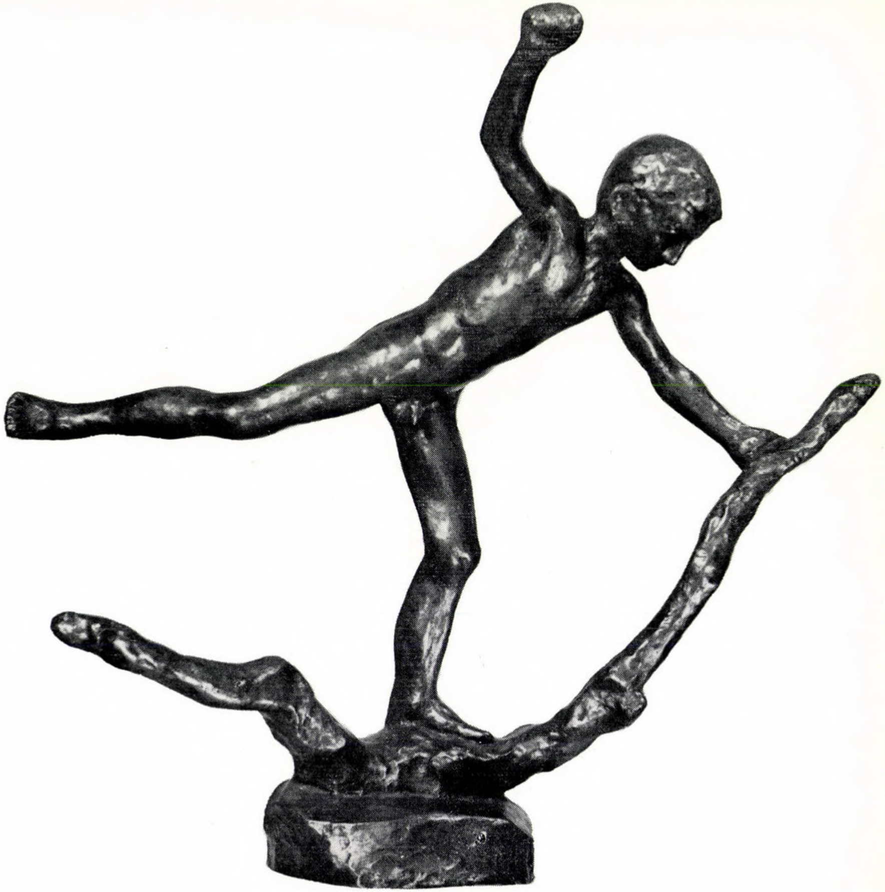


Elemér Vattay

Post-stroke drawings by Béni Ferenczy, done with the left hand. The M on the opposite page refers to Michelangelo







Béni Ferenczy: "The golden age." bronze. 1957
The first sculpture done after the stroke

Béni Ferenczy: Petőfi. bronze, 1949

Elemér Vattay

It was a painful and difficult task one could not get used to—and it did indeed thoroughly decimate his circle of friends. Most of them stayed away to spare themselves, the sight of the artist apparently reduced to the status of a babe was too much for them.

One had to guess in the first place, relying on the questioning look, on accents that expressed curiosity so appealingly, with all the old Ferenczy charm, what happened to interest Béni right then. As the tragedy which had triggered off the illness moved further away, the world appeared to interest him less. Though we, the radio, and later television could inform him about everything, I think he gave up, making no effort to keep up with events. One could not tell for sure what really went on inside him. There was no way of knowing if brain function, thinking, and memory continued to exist on a conceptual level even without language, or became reduced to some sort of primeval, ante-linguistic, visual empiricism, or perhaps it was just the physiological ability to articulate words and to recognize their printed image that had disappeared, while the entire intellectual apparatus, though hopelessly entrapped inside, survived sound and whole. He clearly lived in the past and his memories of it, being satisfied, in the present, with the microworld around him, rich with Erzsi's personality, colourful and fertile, in which his art, which did not depend on language, was eventually able to overcome even paralysis.

He continued to participate in the lives of those who stayed his friends, keeping account of turns of events, attentively listening to our reports, accompanying them with laughter, head-shakings, and monosyllabic comments. What was worrying was when, interrupting, he asked what might be called a supplementary question: "But well... no...?" Or "Well... yes... and... if?," and one did not understand what else he wanted to know, what detail had excited his curiosity. A despairing "Twenty Questions," disguised as fun, started at times like that. We tried to discover his intention by formulating questions that could be answered yes or no. The method generally proved itself, he was often able to assemble the answer for himself out of the pointed questions. Erzsi often helped, she was so familiar with the way his mind worked that she was able to translate this or that conjunction into extended phrases that took several logical steps at one leap. But sometimes even Erzsi did not understand what Béni wanted; then, especially at first, he tried self-expression afresh. He put tremendous effort into the attack, his body turned into a sprung bow, he bent forward in his armchair, his lips tried to shape the target-word, he gripped his knee with his left with such strength that his fingers went white, he groaned and turned red—but all in vain. At first failure often brought tears to his eyes, they flowed down his face; later he was able to laugh, a brief, renouncing, tormenting laugh. "So... this," he added and turned his head away.

In his last years he mostly made use only of the proven little words within reach.

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The joint presence of human and artistic greatness is usually associated with the illusion of incorruptibility. We took Béni for granted while he walked and worked in health, the radiation of his personality was so strong and serene, laying all doubt at rest, that I do not think it occurred to any of us to pencil his talk, to record his stories, sayings or habits or to question him about his family, his youth, the years spent abroad, the principles or methods that guided his art. We were satisfied with what he told unprompted on occasion, and the little he had written. We forgot the details, the formulations, the hues, and fitted the essence into the image we treasured of him.

A shameful sin of omission that cannot be made good. It is characteristic that—in addition to István Réti's memoir—a fascinating, colourful novel, by J. J. Tersánszky, should be the best book, to this day, about Nagybánya. If what interests one is the thing as a whole, the environment, the ambience of that Transylvanian Barbizon, it is still this novel that tells one the most—but it has been out of print for a very long time, and anyway, does not contain all the information which is needed to help one understand Nagybánya, all the information that should have been accumulated long ago by a whole series of popular and scholarly books. *A félbolond* (The crank) is fiction after all, a half-serious, real Tersánszky novel, overlaid with autobiographical hues. A basic, detailed book on the Ferenczy family—which is without parallel in Central European art—does not exist either. It follows that the beautiful and rich Ferenczy Museum in Szentendre, which endeavours to make up for a lost Nagybánya (now in Rumania), is not enough; the family does not occupy a place worthy of its importance in either Hungarian or international opinion. (There could be no better proof of this than the absence of Károly Ferenczy* (and Csontváry) from the huge London "Post-Impressionism" exhibition which closed in the Spring of 1980, and covered almost the whole of Europe. That is where he should have been and, if well shown, he would have created a small sensation in this overview of an age that was more complete than any earlier one.)

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* Béni Ferenczy's father, the painter.

It was after he was struck dumb that I, and others, discovered with a shock how much we should have asked him that only he knew. His twin sister Noémi* died in the summer of 1957 (Béni himself came across the headline announcement in the paper, at a time when Upper Case letters were still able to address him) and as a result only a dumb witness to the life of this legendary family of artists survived. What appeared in his two short Nagybánya sketches, memories of childhood full of colour, written with splendid visuality, with a total absence of pseudo-literary endeavours, only serves, precisely because of genuinely good writing, to feed vain efforts to imagine what kind of book this great artist might have written in a more fortunate age, or more fortunate country, with *this* family, *this* life, and *this* oeuvre behind him. And he would have written it too, since a healthy, genuine cultural ambience, and the logic of his own life's work, would have demanded it of him.

Between 1949 and 1956 when, sacked from his teaching post and left largerly without commissions, midst anxieties to make ends meet, he eked out a living illustrating novels—work which friends managed to obtain for him (as well as relying on the lovely jumpers which Erzsi knitted and sold to friends), he had no time left for writing. The note-books he kept, which were fragmentary anyway, were interrupted in 1951. These seven dark and difficult years truly proved to be a period of unprecedented creativity. Of the 389 pieces listed in an incomplete catalogue of his sculptures, reliefs and medals, almost a hundred, that is a fourth, belong to these years, from the commissioned but not accepted brilliant Petőfi (1949), which was not cast for many long years, to Károly Ferenczy's** gravestone (1956), symbolically his last work before his illness. I had heard that his writing showed great sensibility and a wealth of ideas, and could really be enjoyed, that it was of a standard worthy of the man and artist, but before his illness I had read almost nothing of it. When there was talk of his writings he laughed and changed the subject. The 1961 folio *Béni Ferenczy* first gathered the most important of them but they were unfortunately published undated. The brief Paris memoir, the short Italian travelogue, and the memories of Nagybánya showed him to be a master of composition in writing, as he was in the making of sculptures and medals. He shapes and defines the material as surely as in space and on surfaces, and lends it the same live and rich plasticity.

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* Also a well-known artist. Valér, Béni's and Noémi's elder brother was another painter in the family.

** His father's.

The secret of his sculpture is, I think—over and above the unquestionable naturalness and the highly personal quality of his artistic communication—that serenity and harmony which is the universal foundation of European culture, the reformulation for his time of absolute human values in a manner that is free of any attempt to make them fit the times, as well as the ability to create and present the continuity of values. These statues, however, in their vulnerable nakedness, with their gentle and timeless human poses, are very much of their time, and not only because they are in the most noble European tradition that goes back to the Greeks, while maintaining live contact with the most important artistic achievements of the century, but also by presenting something which humanity tends to forget in this age of murderous, culture-hating dictatorships and archetypal rats. This is done on such a level of serious serenity, poetic transfiguration, final wisdom, simplicity, and purity that they are capable of producing a cognitive shock; if what they proclaim no longer says anything to us then man has finally lost his self. Everyone experiences this cognitive shock who is able to see them as one with their time and their place—in other words everyone able to see the way all art must be seen. Their value is in no way diminished, on the contrary, it is heightened by the fact that there is nothing in them to refer to any of this; it is only their formal idiom that tells of European sculpture, and of Hungarian sculpture as part of it, and of the paths travelled by the artist. There is no escape into a timeless idyll, in any of this, nor a quiet and irrelevant fussing with the ever-interesting forms of the human body. On the level of great art one can speak of something by not speaking of it, by making the presence felt by the lack, mentioning things through their opposite, depicting not the threat but the one threatened in the last resort, not the fight but its meaning, not destruction, nor victory, but life itself in its purest, artistic, sense.

An important feature of this programme realised with admirable consistency is that it does not absolutize itself. In the age of strident art it renounces challenging, spectacular, and exhibitionist gestures—which could be perfectly justifiable elsewhere—and, sure of its own artistic and moral stature, it immediately shifts attention from the work itself to the deeper meaning, the essence, the message. One grasps the details only after empathizing with this. Yeats writes somewhere that pathos comes about when the will does the work of the imagination. Béni Ferenczy was well aware of this. One of his most dynamic, one could call it most dramatic, statues, that magnificient *Petőfi*, which was successfully deprived of the chance to manifest its seminal importance at the time, does not draw his sword but clenches his fist. His left rests on the hilt of the heavy weapon that is a little out of proportion given Petőfi's build, and it does so calmly, in a pose that cannot be called soldierly. The weight of the sword pulls his belt a little askew and, perhaps to counterbalance this, the determined young man, filled with the vision of a tragedy a hundred times bigger than his own, standing there hollow-chested and stunned, slightly inclines his head to the right. We see a moment of inner drama, reflected on a face. No gestures, no heroic poses, no pathos. The experience of what we see, even before we grasp the details, recalls a poet who, beneath his most challenging gestures, poses, and pathos, was one of the most clearsighted men of his age, who thought things through to the end, and who was a most daring and solitary innovator. One cannot really point to what it is in this statue which promptly and with oppressive certainty convinces that this weedy and somewhat dishevelled young man will be as alone as alone can be, that he faces death, that this death is the death of a genius, and of a great cause.

"It turned out that the undersecretary in the ministry who had commissioned it had already cancelled the Petőfi in December! So I continue with all the greater pleasure, as if working for myself only, with growing courage!," Ferenczy noted on May 6th 1949. The half-finished statue was thus cancelled the same year as its sculptor was awarded the Kossuth Prize in the posthumous company of the poet Attila József, the novelist Móricz, Bartók, and the painter Derkovits, together with Kodály, the actress Gizi Bajor, and other great artists. "The Petőfi is finished," he noted on May 30th. " . . . Is this Petőfi perhaps the final blunder? Or at long last a finished work? I am thinking of modelling small reliefs on those parts of the sword where this is possible—this would be the final consequence of the declared naive realism—not to worry about contradictions of scale since reality does not worry about them either (here he sketches ideas which he later rejected). But would such an accumulation of detail make the work more finished, or only more confused? Is it finished then because it bores me, because it has exhausted me, and because I must at last stop modelling for technical reasons as well? 'Und es fehlt auch diesem die letzte Vollendung?' I hardly think so, it is a powerful thing as it stands. Of course it is only good company that could heighten it—it would come into its own in a good location! Even today a statue as work of art cannot be content with being 'perfect,' it must belong to some sort of artistic community, artistic space, an occasion, some sort of rite, or culture. In other words, not a museum, not the Ambrosiana—where, then? Between the columns of the Pantheon (Rotonda) perhaps—it might be effective there."

The statue found its way neither into an artistic community, nor a culture, not even a museum. It was stored in a warehouse for ten years, true enough in excellent company. Those who commissioned it did not even pay for the plaster cast. Révai's* taste was good enough to recognise that this Petőfi had no place on the "standard" of his age. That same year Béni Ferenczy, 1948 Kossuth Prize laureate, received an arrogant letter giving notice of dismissal written by József Révai, 1949 self-awarded Kossuth Prize laureate, which culminated in a dangerous insinuation. According to a (suspiciously apocryphal) Budapest story, Révai, then already wheelchair bound, had himself pushed in front of the Petőfi at the great 1959 Béni Ferenczy retrospective held at the National Salon. He looked at it for a long time, and his tears flowed.

That is, if he had any.

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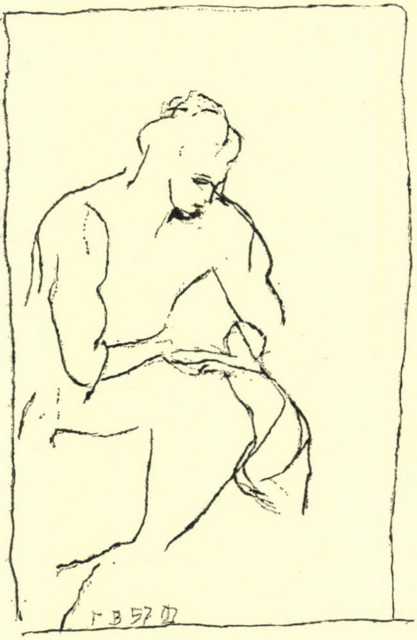
Already in 1957 Erzsi placed a pen in his left hand, which he had never before used for drawing or writing, and not much later, starting from scratch, after the initial doodling, at first with trembling hand, he drew and then used watercolours in the characteristic Béni Ferenczy manner. Close to seventy he appeared to have enough free brain potential left to be able to force a lifetime's right-hand responses across to the left, enabling that not merely to do as it was bid, and to somehow make up for speech, but to fully express himself in art of the highest standard. As the drawings, watercolours and sculptures proved which his left produced, art was the sole surviving sense of being as far as he was concerned. Zoological monsters, tousled, bizarre, distorted heads, mysterious motives followed by scenes in a Biblical mood, at other times scenes evoking the aged Rembrandt, frequently an attentive group around a hatted, sometimes hatless, bearded patriarchal figure, and trees, horses, boys making music, radiant still-lives with flowers in the brightest colours—it became more and more obvious as time passed that he was carrying on with his life's work.



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* József Révai was in charge of cultural policy during the Rákosi period.

They were different from the earlier work nevertheless, since these drawings were the products of a struggle, yet they were still the drawings of a sculptor who thought in three dimensions and who was obviously getting ready for the final summing up. It would only have been natural if he had used his heroically regained ability to work to give shape to his own tragedy. Most artists would very likely have done that. Béni Ferenczy did not turn a single stroke of his pen on himself. Not only his modesty but the logic of his life's work as well excluded self-dramatization, he probably did not even give it a thought. A statue truly answered his illness. As early as 1959, *Golden Age*, levitating with Mozartian clarity, with a perfect harmony of forms, told of the joy of life as of the depths, which this small boy, gracefully balancing himself on one leg, who had stolen away from goodness knows where, appeared to defy. There may have been good reason why he held on with his left hand, raising his right hand and right leg. A magnificently graceful masterpiece of human movement imprisoned in unmoving matter.

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These were the years which should have produced reflections and remembrances in writing as well. His modesty would very likely have stopped him writing a proper autobiography, and yet it is an unsurveyable loss that he was unable to sum up his huge knowledge and the experiences in art of a working life spent in continuous contemplation. After all, thanks to his occasional writings, we know how brilliantly he would have accomplished the task. He was Károly Ferenczy's son, he knew Despiau and Maillol, Ady and Bartók had sat for him, he had lived in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow, yet he had remained an Hungarian artist, he returned home shortly before the War, after the Anschluss, because that is where he belonged, doing so with such naturalness that he never talked about it, did not write about it, did not express it. He only spoke of his life when one asked him a direct question.

I heard the story of his two 1918 Ady drawings from him, still in the early 50s; to my shame I forgot it. I tell it now with Erzsi's help, trying to give some idea of what was stopped up (more important things than anecdotes as well) in his brain by that November 1956 blood-clot.

He looked up the bed-ridden, fatally ill, and restless poet in his home in the Veres Pálné utca. He started to draw while Ady was reading the paper.

F.: Put that paper down, Bandi, it covers your face, I can't draw you.

A.: What will I do then?

F.: Close your eyes.

A.: I can't do that, I can't close them, I have to see, always.

F.: Have a nap then.

A.: I can't do that, I have never slept, as long as I've lived.

Not long afterwards he fell asleep and Béni was able to work and finish. Then he woke up.

F.: Well, see what a good sleep you had.

A.: Don't you believe I was asleep, I only pretended to be, so you could work.

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The married couple's story, the way Béni and Erzsi found each other, and then their life together, is itself the great unwritten Central European novel which can never be written. Erzsi, the daughter of the Chief Building Inspector of Nagybánya was first keen on Valér, Béni's older brother, nevertheless she married Miklós Kovács, the Communist son of a well-to-do local landowner, in 1923. Miklós Kovács did technical work, he started a printing office in Nagybánya, and then he became a member of Parliament, representing the Rumanian Communist Party which had become legal in 1920, but he was arrested in Bucharest. They left for Paris where their son Miklós was born. Meanwhile Béni who had been much impressed by the misery of the local miners already in childhood, by their being invalids by the time they were thirty, organized a general strike in Nagybánya in 1920. I have never heard him speak of it, nor has anything been published about it, to the best of my knowledge. He had to escape, moving to Pozsony, later settling in Vienna. There he married his student, Yvonne von Ungermann, the daughter of a high ranking k.u.k. officer. They had two children, Rosie and Matyi. After some years Yvonne left Béni for an Austrian skiing instructor with whom she went to Moscow, together with her children, including Karl, whom she had by the skiing instructor. After being expelled from France, Erzsi with husband and son also moved to Moscow, via Berlin and Vienna, but accidentally missing Béni there. Soon Béni too came to live in Moscow. Yvonne on the other hand left the skiing instructor, returning to Vienna with her children, then dying there of septicaemia at the age of thirty-two. The children were looked after by relatives in Vienna. In 1932 Erzsi divorced Miklós Kovács to marry Béni the same year, her son Nikola stayed with his father who remarried as well. Things looked like settling. After some years, however, Béni and his wife began to feel the pressures of the Stalin era, and decided to return home. Béni went ahead to Vienna in 1935, to prepare their return, Erzsi followed him after a year. Austrian citizenship, that had been so difficult to obtain, meant that they had to go back to Vienna, from Budapest, every three months. Béni also looked after his children, adopting Karl, the skiing instructor's son, as well. Meanwhile, in Moscow, Miklós Kovács, Erzsi's former husband, was denounced by a Hungarian fellow Communist. He was arrested, and shot. Erzsi's son, born in Paris, was evacuated from Moscow in the war, as a pupil of a factory school, and he grew up a Russian, speaking not a word of Hungarian, and first came to Budapest to visit his mother whom he had not seen for twenty-one years in the summer of 1956, a husband and father. Béni's son Matyi joined the Wehrmacht straight from the Theresianum in Vienna. He was killed in a motoring accident in Poitiers, as a member of the occupation forces. He lies somewhere in an unmarked soldier's grave. His sister married a German after the War, who now teaches English at the University of Frankfurt. Rosie, mother of three children, first visited her father, whom she had not seen since childhood, and who could no longer address her, in the 1960s, nor did she speak a single word of Hungarian. Finally Karl, the adopted son, the son of the skiing instructor, is a mechanical engineer, and lives in Houston, Texas.

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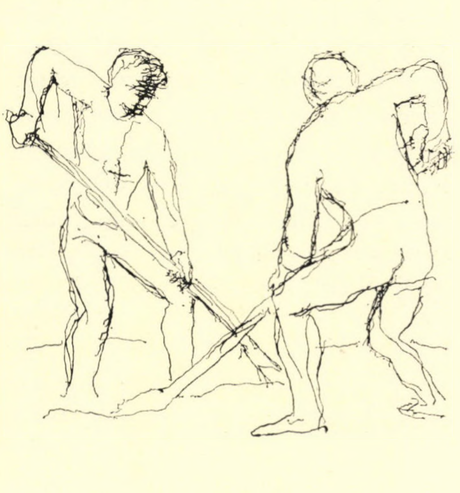
In the heat of early summer the dying man fought for breath naked, with a cloth covering his crutch, that was all. His tall, elegant figure, pared down to a skeleton, his beautiful, tormented face and closed eyes, and the sprouting beard—expressing a terrible inner concentration—reminded of a Christ who still fought for life after being taken down from the cross. Noise, or the opening of the door, started him, barely visibly, and tears sometimes rolled down his cheeks from under his closed lids. One could not elicit any other reaction from him. Erzsi, whose face every day showed increasing reproach, horror, indignation, and despair, washed him, stroked his face, wiped the sweat off him, spoke to him, tried to calm him—after all she had

F. B. 1960



managed to nurse him back to life once before, and she had got used to soliloquizing without an answer. Back in 56, in the hospital, the whole country had given him attention and love. An unknown young man, for instance, had sent for Erzsi, handing her an envelope, then disappearing without trace. It contained 5,000 forints and not a line, they do not know to this day who sent it. Another unknown man asked for Béni on the phone saying his message needed no answer. When Béni raised the phone to his ear, the unknown sang Don Ottavio's aria from *Don Giovanni*, Béni's favourite.

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Only three of us, of his friends, came to see him at Saint John's Hospital every day while the struggle lasted. I stood and watched the dying man who was a long way away already, and tried to fight off sympathetic symptoms. After some time one caught oneself gasping for breath, keeping time with him, or with one's eyes bathed in tears. I could not help thinking that this violent agony fought with such staying power was somehow opposed to his tastes and nature. Our very own bodies betray us once they slip out of being controlled by the mind. There is no misery or humiliation which they are not prepared to accept just to postpone the end. For eleven days we watched as one of the greatest Hungarian artists of the century, having turned into a mechanism of unthinking reflexes, slowly exhausted the still huge store of energy of his seventy-seven year old body.

On the eleventh day, by the time I reached the hospital, the dreadful gasping had suddenly stopped, the fight had reached its end. Béni's features had become smooth. On Erzsi's face terror, despair and indignation were replaced by infinite bitterness, by the expression of aimlessness and superfluousness, which is there in her eyes today.

Seeing the dead shining in his sweat, finally redeemed from the tortures he was subjected to, I decided to try and remember him the way I had seen him so often over the years. He sat there with a chequered rug over his knees, his crippled right hand resting in his lap, listening to Mozart, surrounded by volumes of Rembrandt, Velasquez and Cézanne, on the terrace covered in flowers of his Pasarét home, modelling with his left, working, pinching off clay and putting it on, leaning back with squinting eyes, watching the form being born—his own living statue which also symbolised Hungarian art.

FROM THE PRESS

POPULATION GROWTH AND MATERIAL WELFARE

A press debate

In 1980, the Hungarian population numbered 10,715,000. Population density was three hundred inhabitants per square mile. There were 192 children to one hundred families. These figures are expected to fall in the years to come. The fact that for the first time in Hungary's history a population decline is taking place in peacetime does not in itself explain the anxiety bordering on despair with which some writers react to the declining graphs. In Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Benelux countries and Scandinavia the trend is even more evident, the birth rate has been falling in Hungary too over one hundred years or so. There is thus nothing surprising in the matter. But since the beginning of the last century Hungarian writers have been haunted by the idea of the death of the nation, to the extent of it becoming almost a cliché.

The thought may be alien to a, say, West European but if account is taken of the traumas which the Hungarian national consciousness has suffered in the twentieth century alone, there will be some idea of what is involved. Hungary was on the losing side in both world wars; the Peace Treaty of Trianon in 1920 reduced the area and the population of the country by approximately two thirds, and over three million ethnic Hungarians became overnight citizens of foreign countries. (Today Hungarian minorities living in neighbouring countries approach four million.) In the thirties German influence grew apace; six to ten per cent of the population perished in the Second World War. The beginning of the fifties was both the period of official injustice and of forced industrialization, causing greater change to the social structure within a couple of years than the preceding one hundred years had done. Then came 1956. Yet within the economic and political stability of recent years, the suicide rate has been alarmingly high, and alcoholism has been on the rise.

As Hungarian literature (along with other East European literatures) since the romantic period has been especially sensitive to questions affecting national existence, it was not fortuitous that it was the writers in the thirties who first discussed the problem of declining population growth. The peasant families of Southern Transdanubia reared a single child in order to avoid sub-dividing their holdings. According to leftwing populist intellectuals this was an unconscious revolt against the latifundia system. In the meantime there was a continual growth of the German minority whom the Nazis regarded as their outpost in the Danube basin. The two together amounted to a true political danger; an essay by Gyula Illyés, *Pusztulás* (Destruction), documented this.

Since then a great deal has been written on demography. Today's arguments are easy to survey because everybody in Hungary agrees that population growth is desirable (though not why); but it is almost impossible to give a faithful account of the argument. This is because every word and statement has a long history, an uncautiously formulated sentence may awaken hidden injuries, and some arguments require no explanation, merely a reference.

Two issues in 1981 (42 and 42) of *Élet és Irodalom*, carried an article by the writer and literary historian Domokos Varga, *Népesedési gondok* (Demographic Worries). In 1964 a debate on the same topic had been conducted in the same weekly. (It should be noted that the birth rate has so far been lowest in the years 1962 and 1963.) This debate continued for years in the press. The two extreme views may be summarized as follows: population growth is a moral question, economic considerations are secondary, childless parents or those with a single child are individualists, egotists, and indifferent to the national interests; secondly, those who profess the above view are demagogues, who do not face realities, since more children are born when the economic conditions of families are satisfactory. Between the two extremes there was a broad range of opinion. The press debate—and not least the work of another writer, Gyula Fekete—had a considerable effect on the birth of the 1973 resolution of the HSWP on demographic policy, a resolution which was soon followed by decrees. A child care allowance had been introduced even before and in its scope it is probably unique. The monthly benefit, after the first child, is around thirty per cent of the average industrial wage, and it is paid for a maximum of three years. The following years saw the birth of many more children; although, there was a contributory factor seen by later analysis in that the large number of girls born between 1953 and 1956, at the time of a drastic tightening of the abortion law, were entering child-bearing age exactly at this time. In the second half of the seventies the birth rate again began to fall. In July 1981 a conference on demographic policy was held the lectures of which were soon after collected. Domokos Varga's article was based on the data published in that volume.

A relatively optimistic projection states that the population of Hungary will have fallen by three hundred and fifty thousand by the turn of the century. What will happen if this trend continues? The proportion of the largely unproductive old will grow and manpower will fall. If the political boundaries become more open, a massive immigration into the industrially developed countries whose population is falling may occur. In Western Europe this already causes problems of assimilation of various ethnic groups; in contemporary Hungary the problems of adjusting to the increasing proportion of Gypsies have not been solved. In the spirit of Hungarian literary tradition, Domokos Varga adds: "In a perspective of centuries we cannot exclude the possibility that we may find ourselves in the situation of those who are to be assimilated gradually, just as this fate has already caught up with Hungarians living beyond our borders." The first half of the sentence is a vision, but the second reflects the genuine anxiety with which many intellectuals observe the situation of the Hungarian minority in some neighbouring countries. Varga quotes from András Sütő, an outstanding Hungarian writer living in Transylvania, which belongs to Rumania: "We have to act so that we survive." But how? The basic question is whether a spontaneous process of society can be influenced at all? Can the decline be stopped?

Varga does not want an increase in the birth rate at any cost: "There is no need for more children who are expected unwillingly and brought up reluctantly, nor for those who—as a parental or family inheritance—will in all probability add to the physically, mentally, or morally deficient." (To better understand the author's feelings one should be aware that he himself has seven children and has written successful books about the joys of a large family.) There are several conditions for the physical and mental health of future generations. First the improvement of housing: flats on the housing developments are meant for families with one or two children. Secondly, young mothers on child-care-allowance already "suffer nervous breakdowns from their isolation at home". Their organization as outworkers should be made possible which would be advantageous for industry too. Organized study at home should also be facilitated. For many mothers there is greater financial advantage in a quick return to work: they send their children to crêches. But there "infections make their rounds." According to Varga it would be better if small groups of children were entrusted to the care of an individual mother—who may perhaps receive state support. State protection of the child may be improved.

Varga considers the bringing up of children a form of productive work, since "the adults of the future are being brought up to the profit of the whole of society." Productive work should be rewarded adequately. Even at present the state expends a great deal of money on child care allowances, family allowances, on subsidizing various goods and services. But all this is visibly insufficient for the achievement of the minimum goal, the simple replacement of the population (two hundred and thirty children to one hundred families). The more children there are in a family, the lower its standard of living. Still more money would be needed, money which must be withdrawn from somewhere else. Varga argues that the solution would be to introduce a contribution to the bringing up of children. This would be no less than a redistribution of wages and other incomes: for instance it could be done by raising indirect and direct taxes. But for this a radical transformation of social norms would be needed. And the changes could only be introduced gradually.

The two replies to Varga tended to supplement Domokos Varga's study. One was written by András Klinger, a section head of the Central Office of Statistics.* He analyses in detail the trends determining the population: decline in birth rate, increase in mortality, the constant fall in the proportion of women of child bearing age despite the rise in their absolute number, the ratio of childless woman of only five per cent—in brief, "never have so many given birth to so few". As far as the mortality rate is concerned, this is caused partly by the ageing of the population, and partly by the fact that more middle-aged men are dying of the "diseases of civilization" (heart disease, lung cancer, cerebral haemorrhage), through accidents or other non-natural causes. Klinger asks what we can expect of the future? In his view the decline in the population is temporary, and in the long run it will become stabilized. Nevertheless, it is "an undesirable phenomenon against which it is necessary to fight in every way that is in harmony with the goals and the humanitarian order of values of society. We should at least attempt to moderate the decline in the population." However, a demographic policy can only be successful if it takes into account the ambitions, desires and ideas of people. "The changing of normative concepts 'from above' is very difficult—if it is possible at all." Reducing of the mortality rate through better care for the old and a healthier way of life is certainly a simpler task than increasing the level of fertility.

In the same number Miklós Miskolczi (author of a bestseller on the "sociology of extra-marital relations") explored a train of thought which caused a minor storm: "The instability of the institution of marriage has probably contributed decisively to the birth of fewer and fewer children. At least fifty per cent of parents between the age of twenty and thirty are occupied with the problems of marital or extra-marital relations exactly at the time when they should be conceiving children." Miskolczi considers this to be a more important factor than the financial causes mentioned by Domokos Varga. In Sweden, Holland, West Germany incomes are much higher, housing conditions better, and so forth. Nevertheless the population does not grow. There is the further danger that greater financial support would mean more children being born to families of lower education and of lower aspirations. In addition, the introduction of contributions to child rearing would cause an effect exactly opposite to that desired and would turn public opinion against families with children. All in all, "almost anything reminds Domokos Varga only of money."

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* For another article by András Klinger on the same subject see *NHQ* 85.

"The truth is that in wanting to remain objective, he emphasized the economic factors which are truly decisive"—was the defence offered for *Demographic Worries* a fortnight later by Éva Petrőczi, poet, critic and mother of four children. She scolds Miskolczi for his attitude, as does Ferenc Buda (another poet and the father of six children). It is also Buda's view that changes in financial conditions are pressing, since every child is needed. The comparison with Western Europe is false, because geographic, political and social conditions there are different. He prefers to recommend the neighbouring countries as examples.

But Iván Ordas's article makes clear that the situation is no better in some neighbouring countries. (Several people mention in the debate the present high birth rate in Rumania, this is however mostly due to a strict law on abortion, similar to Hungarian law of the fifties.) Ordas, who completely agrees with Domokos Varga, notes that "Any of my ancestors would have smiled if after the birth of a third child somebody had begun to call them families with many children."

The sociologist Kálmán Kulcsár does not, however, consider taxation a good idea, since its effects would be incalculable, and it is unlikely that it would by itself motivate the acceptance of more children. For instance, women of higher education would be unlikely to abandon their career for the sake of a large family. The decline of the population is too complex a phenomenon to be stopped by a single economic measure.

The long essay by the playwright Géza Páskándi under the title of "The housing problems of consciousness," appeared in the first two issues of 1982. The author's title refers to the fact that consciousness is at least as important for demography as the shortage of housing afflicting the young. In a Marxian historic overview, Páskándi states that the patriarchal family of the old type has by now ceased to exist. With the advance of democracy and bourgeois individualism population growth has visibly diminished. The decline of religion also had its effect. The old self-supporting function of the large family has partly been taken over by the state, in part through the system of social allowances. Consequently, the individual no longer depends on his family in the way he used to. The drive for a career, just as the desire for individual self-fulfilment, acts as a brake on establishing a family; they also militate against the ideal of families with several children. Personal motives—prejudices, vanity—also reduce population growth. If the acceptance of a child is not seen as an instrument towards some higher goal, it simply makes no sense for many people. Where shall we look for the way out? Beyond the material, claims Páskándi. In the promise of history. If the individual and the nation have no prospects, the population declines. A large family is today a synonym for poverty, mediocrity, degraded life, the impossibility of social success. This must stop.

The debate is continuing.

JÁNOS SZÉKY

IN FOCUS

EAST OF THE URALS

The Hungarians figured regularly in the European annals and historical records from the time they occupied the Carpathian Basin in 896 and came into direct military contact with the holy Roman and Byzantine empires. Their earlier history may be reconstructed from references in some eastern chronicles and Arab geographic works, linguistic analyses and archeologic finds in the South of Russia and Western Siberia. But it is not possible to identify unequivocally the pre-conquest Magyars since the archeological cultures, unfortunately, do not coincide with linguistic or ethnic units. In consequence, there are conflicting ideas on the early history of the Hungarians even today.

The young Hungarian ethnographer Péter Veres, working in the Ethnographic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, has written a comprehensive study on the origins and early history of the Hungarians. In agreement with the hypothesis of V. N. Chernietzow and Péter Hajdu he believes that the ancient home of the Hungarians must not be sought in the middle reaches of the Volga and the Kama rivers, but in Asia, east of the Urals, on the West Siberian steppe stretching down to Lake Aral. The novel and ethnographic character of his study is due to his linking the stages of the development of the Magyars with changes in the way of life and in the social division of labour, and linking these changes to ecological adaptation. The regional conditions modified under climatic changes. The community of the Finno-Ugrian peoples who had led a similar life on the European and the Asian sides of the Urals broke up at the turn of the second and the third millenium B. C., towards the end of the neolithic age; farming was developed by the southern groups, while the northern groups specialized in hunting and fishing, especially the hunting of reindeer. The Ugrians and the Magyars who continued to live together east of the Urals separated at the turn of the second and the first millennium. At the time of the climatic change which is known to have occurred between the 13th to 8th centuries, the Magyar tribes in the south became nomadic horsemen. Separated from their Ugrian brothers, the Magyars found themselves surrounded by peoples speaking other languages. Veres argues this from the name the Magyars gave to themselves: "magyar"—"speaking man," which refers to a single language community in an environment of other languages.

In the past decades Hungarian historic and ethnographic research has gathered much data to demonstrate that the Magyars at the period of the conquest were acquainted with agriculture, and leading a semi-nomadic life. But Péter Veres definitely sides with the nomadic party, which has again become stronger recently. According to the generally accepted view, the Magyars acquired the elements of farming and a more advanced tribal organization from the Bulgarian–Turkish tribes in South Russia. In Veres's view, the nomadic Hungarian tribes were militarily superior and subdued the Bulgarian–Turkish tribes, semi-settled and already farming the land. Incidentally the Magyars also set out from their South–Russian area towards the Carpathian Basin because of a climatic change and under pressure from the Pecheneg tribes attacking from the east. The climate, temporarily drier, set into motion a universal abandonment of a sedentary way of life and led to mobility on the South-Russian steppe. The dissertation claims that we can count on the existence of a linguistically and more or less politically independent Hungarian ethnicity for at least one thousand years before the Magyar conquest of Hungary. This alone can explain that they did not become assimilated, but maintained their Finno-Ugrian language.

The published minutes of the debate also contain the contributions and comments of several leading Soviet historians, ethnographers, and archeologists. These pointed on the controversial aspects in Péter Veres's thesis, but called the whole original and noteworthy. They conclude that it modifies earlier ideas on the history of Western Siberia and the South of Russia.

A magyar őstörténet a néprajztudomány szemszögéből (Hungarian pre-history from the aspect of ethnography). The Moscow debate on Péter Veres's dissertation. *Ethnographia*, 1981. Vol. XCII. pp. 120–141.

T. H.

FINDING A FOOTHOLD IN HISTORY

There are many signs that interest in history is on the increase in Hungary. Large and expensive historic works are bought in tens of thousands and not only by intellectuals. Yet this positive phenomenon also hides a sense of insecurity. According to Hanák, who is one of the leading Hungarian historians, the public "turns towards the past instead of the present, seeking in history a foothold and a feeling of community experience."

Some conflicts of old standing in the national consciousness also contribute to this. There has perhaps never existed in Hungary a truly harmonious national consciousness; it was present to the greatest extent in the liberal generation of the enlightenment and the reform period where a harmony existed between being a Hungarian and a humanist, between national and universal progress; it was these few generations of the 17th–19th centuries that sensed most realistically the place of the Hungarians in the world.

The conflicting elements in the national consciousness appeared after the failure of the 1848–49 revolution, and were intensified by the compromise of 1867. Then the nation became a partner in a great power, the Habsburg Empire, and the majority of the public "believed, because they wanted to, that we had really become a great power and that it was only a question of time that we should become the leading nation in Central and South-Eastern Europe." In the era of the dual monarchy there was no room for a self-critical patriotism which faced realities, there was room only for loud patriotic slogans. Those who spoke up for friendly coexistence with the national minorities and the neighbouring nations (Lajos Mocsáry on the left wing of the Kossuth party, or the radical Oszkár Jászi, and the poet Endre Ady) were silenced or at least isolated. Hungarian public thinking was determined at that time by the gentry middle class, which had preserved its leading role, despite its financial, moral, and intellectual decline.

At that time public attention—in a peculiar way even that of the reformers—focused on saving historic Hungary, on "protecting assets." After the disastrous Treaty of Trianon attention was centred on its revision, the recovery of the lost territories, again not on the future.

Nor did an adequate historic self-examination take place after the second world war either. As opposed to the illusions and megalomania of the earlier eras, a self-degradating and inferiority complex dictated from above, by the Rákosi leadership, dominated. It was as if, for past sins, the Hungarian nation should lose not only its ability, but also its right to shape its own fate and its right to equality in Central-East Europe. At the same time it instilled an exaggerated confidence in the automatism of socialist internationalism, which would automatically solve every national and border problem.

Today it has become clear that national self-knowledge, self-critism and self-esteem are equally necessary. Historiography can do a lot to foster them.

A nemzetnek önismeretre és önbecsülésre van szükség (The nation needs self-knowledge and self-esteem). An interview with Péter Hanák. *Alföld,* 1981. No. 8. pp. 48–56.

G. L.

TWO OR THREE EUROPES

This detailed study undertakes no smaller task than to present the place and destiny of East Central Europe in European evolution.

The region in question has found its place sometimes in Eastern and sometimes in Western Europe. The Eastern borders of Western Europe ran, in Charlemagne's time, along the Elbe-Leitha line; from the 12th century they were much further to the East, along a line connecting the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. Consequently, until the 16th century, this region, including Hungary, was part of the *Occidens* and even if somewhat lagging and inconclusively it bore the typical marks of western social evolution.

West European feudalism—as explained by the author following István Hajnal and István Bibó—separated state and society, creating "the balancing structure of small circles of freedom", the network of mutual rights and obligations. It was thus that it laid the foundations for a dynamic movement unparallelled on a world scale. At the time of absolutism these dispersed local *libertas* were added to each other into a united *liberté,* under the state, and with the bourgeois revolutions it was this national society that became the depository of sovereignity. As against this, in Eastern Europe the whole of society was statified. In Russia the free land-owning nobility was displaced by the serving nobility, and absolute state power, as the protector of feudalism, subordinated both the nation and the church.

From around 1500 the line spearating East Central Europe from Eastern Europe faded, and the Elbe–Leitha border again became marked. Our region remained the eastern region of Europe Occidens, but with numerous East European features (for instance, second serfdom). Feudalism and the estates existed here in parallel, in forms changing from country to country. Some social liberties remained, but—especially in Poland and Hungary—the *corpus politicum* was identified with the nobility.

From this spring the dual faces of the struggle by the nobility for independence and liberty in the 17th and 18th centuries. On the one hand, the Hungarian nobility, against the absolutism of the Habsburgs defended genuine, (although socially very restricted) civil rights, while on the other, it rejected "western" reforms coming from above. But in the mid-19th century it was the Hungarian nobility that initiated social reform from below, making tremendous efforts to catch up with Western Europe. In spite of the "eastern" turn of the East-Central-European region in the 16th century and the dead ends to which this led, attempts were made again and again in the countries of this region to return to the western path of progress.

Jenő Szűcs: *Vázlat Európa három régiójáról* (A sketch on the three historical regions of Europe). *Történelmi Szemle.* 1981. No. 3. pp. 313–363.

G. L.

ON THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF ISTVÁN BIBÓ

Iván Zoltán Dénes argues that István Bibó's studies on jurisprudence and social theory before and during the war were philosophically and ideologically related to his major works written between 1945 and 1948, both in their subject matter and in their humanist and democratic values. The concentration and the limitation of power was the leitmotif which can be traced from Bibó's early writings on legal theory (the critique of legal positivism, the need for administrative tribunals,) right through to his inaugural lecture at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1947, "in his article entitled "Lawful administration, strong executive power" he formulates the contrast between the concentration of power and the separation of powers, more narrowly a thesis on the humanization of power, a thesis on the process which leads from the abolition of personal power to public service. This is the greatest achievement of European progress, which begins with Christianity, continues with the development of the principle and practice of the separation of powers and the development of a state ruled by law, and which against the new forms of the concentration of power undertakes the development of new forms of the separation of powers."

The second large set of questions characterizing István Bibó's work during and after the war was the examination of the historic traumas of the Central and East European peoples who had not taken part in the "organic" West European evolution towards the restriction of power or were left fatally behind. His review on the work of Ferenc Erdei dismisses the narodnik myth which tries to fabricate a virtue and ideal out of historic backwardness. European man "wants in the social community primarily full human dignity and liberty, and all his further accomplishments are determined by this desire: his economic, intellectual and political capacity depends on whether the community provides him with the self-consciousness of human dignity and brings him up to live with freedom." Bibó flings this in 1942 into the face of fascist collectivism which demanded the suppression of human dignity and liberty.

The tragic break between the sources of community and of liberty is the fountainhead of fascism: this is the basic tenet of the study entitled "The causes and history of the German hysteria," written in 1942–43. In Germany, Italy and Spain democracy and liberalism were represented by constitutions imposed by the French conquerors subjugating the nation at the time of the Napoleonic wars; thus the cause of national independence seemed to become linked with popular traditions opposing every kind of modernization, the mediaeval requisites of national history, "and by the end of the century the most frightening monster in the evolution of the Modern Age had appeared, the national sentiment and ideology programatically opposing democracy."

Iván Zoltán Dénes: *A hatalom humanizálása.* (The humanization of power). *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 1980. No. 6. pp. 914–930.

M. L.

SOCIAL MOBILITY

In Hungary the examination of social mobility looks back to a past of many years. Even in a Budapest project at the end of the twenties the occupation of the father was asked for, and a similar question appeared in the 1930 and 1949 censuses. The Central Office of Statistics surveyed social mobility in 1962–1964 and again in 1973. All this allows Hungarian sociologists to analyse the changes over a long period, and thus compare mobility in capitalist Hungary, in the first post-liberation years, in the extensive stage of economic growth (roughly 1950–1965), and finally in the intermediary phase of change to intensive growth.

International sociology frequently exercises itself on what determines the amount of social mobility, social openness, namely the equality or lack of mobility chances. One view gives most importance to the degree of economic development and considers the social system and culture to be lesser factors. Several western surveys found that changes in mobility have been caused only by economic evolution or changes in the occupation structure, and openness has not changed since the Second World War. Rudolf Andorka, József Csicsman and András Keleti applied log-linear analysis, a rather widespread method in international literature recently; they found that, although the transformation of the economic and social structures were of decisive effect on mobility in Hungary, the change-over from capitalist to socialist conditions substantially increased the openness of society. Several sociologists recently forecast that once the period of revolutionary changes was over, the openness of socialist societies would again diminish. The study finds that this is not true of every type of mobility: for some kinds of mobility openness increased, while in others—primarily entry to the professional stratum—it diminished.

Rózsa Kulcsár examines intragenerational mobility; this is mobility between a first job and the social position occupied at the time of the survey, as well as mobility over various ages in life. She finds that intragenerational mobility—the change in social position during working lifetime—was very high in the period of extensive industrialization and diminished during the change-over to the conditions of intensive development. Many adult peasants in the earlier period quit agriculture to work as unskilled industrial workers; more recently it has become more characteristic for the children of farming families to learn a trade in youth and begin work outside agriculture.

Social mobility is often connected with migration. In Hungary too, huge migration processes occurred in parallel with social mobility, mainly migrations from villages to towns. However, as István Harcsa has found, social mobility was much more intensive than migration, mainly because many of those who switched from farming to industrial work continued to live in villages. This has several substantial consequences: in the same village household there are often industrial workers living side by side with members of the family working in agriculture; these worker households or mixed worker-peasant households in the villages are also engaged in substantial small-scale agricultural production, partly for their own consumption and partly for the market, a considerable contribution to the country's food needs; in the last ten to fifteen years the social mobility of the village population has increased continuously, while in the cities, and especially in the capital city, mobility has fallen to some extent.

Ferenc Gazsó examines the educational and occupational career of 16–30 year olds working in industry. He compares data from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, and the Soviet Union. He finds a high proportion of mobile young people in each country. The proportion of the children of industrial and agricultural worker families among young professional people working in industry is highest in Hungary. On the other hand, in the skilled workers stratum the proportion of those coming from unskilled worker families is highest in Poland. He finds that education plays an increasing role in determining mobility in a career, a low level of schooling being a strong handicap to mobility. On the other hand, an increasing number of those who have completed secondary schooling become blue collar workers; in other words, a school certificate does not lead to a professional career as automatically as it did earlier. Meeting the demand for specific labour skills is becoming less and less the task of the educational system; instead it must impart skills and knowledge to students which do not limit them to a specific occupation but enable them to change occupation: in short, mobility over a working life.

Rudolf Andorka, József Csicsman, András Keleti: *A magyar társadalom nyitottságának változásai* (Changes in the openness of Hungarian society). *Statisztikai Szemle*. 1981. No. 10. pp. 980–1004;

Rózsa Kulcsár: *A nemzedéken belüli mobilitás rétegenként* (Intragenerational mobility by strata) *Statisztikai Szemle*. 1981. No. 1. pp. 42–54;

István Harcsa: *A vándorlás és a nemzedékek közötti mobilitás* (Migration and inter-generational mobility). *Statisztikai Szemle*. 1981. No. 2. pp. 135–161;

Ferenc Gazsó: *Az iparban dolgozó fiatalok társadalmi mobilitásának tendenciái néhány szocialista országban* (The social mobility trends of young people employed in industry in some socialist countries). *Szociológia*. 1981. No. 1. pp. 1–24.

R. A.

CMEA ALTERNATIVES

The opinion has become widespread both in the east and in the west that the accumulating tensions in east-west trade will lead to a decline in relations between CMEA and the developed capitalist countries in the coming years. There is also the view that the CMEA countries are to turn inwards and their integration is to become stronger. This idea is far from new, as this recommended or assumed trend is the traditional external economic and political stracegy of the socialist countries. However, this regional autarchy proved to be impossible in the past. The opening towards the west was assisted to a large extent exactly by the unsatisfactory development of intra-CMEA trade.

In the reduced economic growth of the seventies, internal trade was only able to grow more slowly. The most pressing task facing these countries became the improvement of the balance of payments, and consequently their ambition became stronger to sell those goods which could be marketed on western markets. Furthermore, the growth of socialist exports had to be restricted in certain areas because of their considerable capitalist import content as had those goods that could not be sold in the west.

A reduction in western relations in the future would not result in the acceleration of CMEA integration. The member countries would be more dependent on each others' deliveries, but an increase in their mutual trade would be greatly hampered through the insufficiency of goods available; the rate of their economic growth would become increasingly dependent on the technical development in the CMEA countries, and consequently technical progress and growth of productivity would slow down. This situation would also constantly reproduce the necessity to increase rapidly imports from the west.

Another alternative is the opening towards the world economy, whereby the CMEA countries would endeavour to extend their economic relations with other regions of the world. This strategy is only realistic if it is not over susceptible to international political conditions, but even the present situation of the world economy and of international trade presents a serious barrier. Here, the changes in the composition of world demand, the deteriorating terms of trade, and unfavourable changes on the credit markets present great problems. However, the difficult market situation does not exclude the rapid expansion of the markets of some groups of countries or groups of commodities. Nor is the raising of credits impossible in the future, and even the deterioration in the terms of trade may become—although unpleasantly—a stimulant to internal economic and social reforms. Those who are for turning inwards postulate—willy-nilly—an unchanged system of institutional system of economic guidance and of society in general; on the other hand, those who are for opening towards the world market are aware that thorough internal reforms are necessary for its successful implementation.

András Köves: *Befelé vagy kifelé fordulás?* (Turning inwards or outwards.) *Közgazdasági Szemle*. 1981. No. 7–8. pp. 878–894.

M. L.

MONEY AND THE PLANNED ECONOMY

Through its regulated circulation between consumers and producers money integrates the capitalist economy. In the plan precept model of the socialist economy money does not have this function, although it has the functions of measuring value and price, is a circulatory instrument and is also used as a means for accumulation and saving. It is the national economic plan which is called upon to integrate the economy—and money is a subordinate instrument. The plan prescribes various goals for money and it can only be used as stipulated in the plan. Only consumers have relative freedom in spending sums of money available to them.

In the Hungarian economy the role of money has increased since the economic reform of 1968, but substantial barriers continue to hinder the monetary integration of the economy. Tardos argues that in further developing economic reform it would be desirable to eliminate obstacles to the integration of the markets. In the central economic regulatory system of the seventies, the following points should be noted:

Money available for financing current expenses can be used only in part to cover wages costs. Financing of the average wage or wages fund increment can be carried out through various channels and only out of the profit before tax.

Financing developmental costs has its own special obstacles. Current and fixed capital can be increased only through certain financial channels, where this financing is not determined primarily by the circulation of incomes but by central planning concepts.

Accounting the expenses of an enterprise is influenced not only by the tax system but also by the central price and financial control based on the calculation of average costs.

There are restrictions on enterprises, as the owners of money, in deciding freely about the point in time when they want to use their money because of compulsory rules on forming reserves.

This restricting of the active role of commodity-money relations into separate financial areas has numerous negative consequences. For instance, for enterprises starting out under different financial circumstances, the economic actions of a national character will be different in their effect. Further, it is not rational for enterprises to strive for the maximum result achievable in the given conditions, because the enterprise would find itself in future economic difficulties for the simple reason that financial regulation (and the regular revision of the regulators) are calculated on bases. In such circumstances, price control, which is fixed on Hungarian average costs also prevents flexibility in price changes and makes effective bargaining between buyer and seller impossible.

Márton Tardos: *Gondolatok a pénz szerepéről* (Thoughts on the role of money). *Gazdaság*, 1981. No. 1. pp. 58–73.

M. L.

FROST RESISTANT CELLS

There is already a food crisis on the Earth: more and more people have to be supplied with food from a production area practically unchanged in size. It is consequently important to know the mechanisms by which polar plants have the capacity to tolerate frost, since this would also enable us to protect the productive plants of the temperate zone—the largest productive area—against unexpected frost damage. Frost damages in the temperate zone has been calculated at over 40 billion dollars worth annually to the farm crops of this zone. This is what lends great importance to the biochemical research conducted in the Biological Centre of Szeged, under Tibor Farkas. Several years' work by research groups have succeeded in establishing that one of the most important factors in the tolerance of frost is the composition of the tunics of vegetable cells. The "more liquid" the membrane is, the higher the frost tolerance of the cell; this in turn depends on the presence of the fatty materials which are present in the tunic. The phosphate-idilcholine content of the membrane is especially important, as it increases the frost resistance of the vegetable cell considerably. According to the details now published by the Hungarian researchers, by growing the plant in a suitable fostering soil—which contained among other things a certain quantity of choline chloride—it was possible to increase the frost resistance of wheat, beans, vine, paprika, and cucumber plants substantially, without a lengthy and costly preliminary inuring process. This was unequivocally linked to the phosphate-idilcholine level substantially rising in the leaves of the plants treated in this way. The tests are the more valuable in that practically any temperate zone plant can be treated successfully. The researchers would like to prove the agricultural applicability of the new process through large-scale experiments; these experiments are now under way.

I. Horváth, L. Vígh, T. Farkas in *Planta.* Springer Verlag, Berlin–Heidelberg–New York. Vol. 151. pp. 103–108.

J. H.

PORTRAIT OF A PHYSICIST: ZOLTÁN BAY

We are indebted to Pál Vajda for pioneering studies on the history of science and technology in Hungary. He has now published a paper on the life and work of Zoltán Bay, (1900–) one of the leading physicists of our days. There are three main themes in Bay's research work and Vajda follows their ways and means through the dialectics of profession and knowledge, the "external" and "internal" aspects of science.

Bay's education in the famous old Calvinist school of Debrecen is recalled; here he met and became friends with the young Lőrinc Szabó, the great poet of the future. From those days on Bay remained in contact with art and literature. While a student at the University of Budapest, he was admitted to the Eötvös College, foster-home to so many fine scholars and professors. Here he came upon the exciting new results in modern physics. After his Ph. D. in 1926, he spent four years on molecular and spectroscopic research in Berlin, one of the great scientific centres until Hitler came to power. In 1930 Bay was appointed professor at the new university of Szeged. Six years later he left for the better research facilities available in Budapest and for the *Egyesült Izzó* bulb factory, famous for an enlightened research and development policy. Here in collaboration with several prominent physicists and engineers Bay spent his time dynamically and fruitfully. He discovered and built an electron-multiplier, a device which made possible the detection of minute time differences and thus, of events and coincidences previously unperceivable. During the war he was engaged on the development of microwave devices. When peace came he performed the first Lunar radar-echo experiments simultaneously with those in the United States, but with quite different and most ingenious methods; Bay's statistical work here later proved to be germane to the birth and development of Radar astronomy. In 1948 Bay went to the United States in order to continue research which culminated in high precision coincidence measurements as well as in the surprisingly exact verification of the constancy of the velocity of light. Vajda compares the latter with the well-known gravitational experiments of Loránd Eötvös, both results being justifications of the whole modern scientific world-view.

The electron-multiplier, the Lunar radar-echo experiment, and the high-precision measurement of the speed of light are outstanding achievements of a man who displayed courage and integrity during the dark years of war. Vajda calls attention to the wide range of Bay's erudition and interest, and above all, shows him as a teacher of deep and lasting influence. With the help of Lipót Aschner, the general manager of the Egyesült Izzó, Zoltán Bay founded the first chair of atomic physics in Hungary at the Technical University of Budapest in 1938. His lectures were rightly popular; and with two of his disciples, György Papp and Károly Simonyi, he even started on the constuction of a high-voltage particle accelerator. "Because of the war this device could not be finished, but during his last visit to Hungary, Zoltán Bay recognized with great pleasure in one of the cascade generators of the Central Research Institute of Physics the old condensators once used in his accelerator." The little anecdote is significant and even symbolic, since Zoltán Bay, living and working abroad more than three decades now, has never broken away from his native land.

Pál Vajda: *Hat évtized a fizikai kutatások szolgálatában* (Sixty years in physical research). *Fizikai Szemle*, 1981. Vol. 31. No. 5. pp. 161–175.

L. V.

GROUP THERAPY

Michael Bálint*, a Hungarian psychoanalyst emigrated to England before the Second World War. He practised in London until his death in 1970 and there published an influential volume in 1956, *The Doctor, the Patient and his Illness*. The book describes a group method of learning elementary psychotherapy, useful especially for general practitioners. Since the publication of this work (translated into several languages, including Hungarian), the "Bálint group" method has been in use throughout the world. The method consists of discussing case histories and trying to gain a collective insight into the intriguing problem of what happens between the patient and his physician at an unconscious, relational level. The group explores the doctor's hidden fears, aversions, desires and other emotions toward the patient which might interfere with a helpful relationship, and tries to gauge the patient's feelings from the response given to the case history by the members of the Bálint group.

The method is not only used to develop psychotherapeutic ability in general practitioners but it is useful in psychotherapy research and in the professional training of would be psychotherapists. This is demonstrated by Paneth's article, which is based on the author's own experience and his observations in the Frankfurt Institute of Psychoanalysis. The author finds that the aspect of group dynamics in the Bálint groups might be a key to understanding and interpreting the nature of therapeutic relationship. The emotional reaction elicited from the group members by the case history corresponds closely to that of the patient. The psychotherapist thus obtains a mirror for his work. Since the Bálint group is a form of objectification of the rather elusive quality of the therapeutic relationship it is also applicable as a tool of research.

The article represents the best of contemporary psychotherapeutic literature in Hungary. Pointing to a wide array of methodological questions and principles of interpretation it is suitable to give introductory information about the Bálint group method as well as giving valuable advice to more seasoned training or research psychotherapists. The author stresses that the method is economic; a single therapist is able to supervise and influence the treatment of several patients and to develop the professional competence of several trainees at the same time.

Gábor Paneth: *A Bálint-csoport mint a pszichoterápiás képzés és kutatás eszköze* (The Bálint Group as a Tool for Training and Research in Psychotherapy). *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 1981. Vol. 38. No. 3. pp. 231–245.

B. B.

THE MEANING OF NEUROSIS

This is a fascinating report on a typical case of phobic-hysterical neurosis written in a vivid, untraditional form, which is more reminiscent of political thrillers or documentary works. The authors simply assemble parts of hospital records, letters written by doctors to each other on the cases, letters from the patient's relatives and the patient himself, a young professional; a brief comment from the authors is appended. The reader follows how the case, at first seen as a somatic illness and treated symptomatically, evolves into a complex human problem. The symptoms and complaints become meaningful so that by the end it is fully comprehensible how family milieu, childhood development, events in professional training and finally marriage and even work situation contribute to the emergence of a morbid psychic state and to personal failure. The patient was treated in a hospital ward run on the principle of the therapeutic community, an intensive psychotherapeutic regime, and he was helped to understand himself and then to change. The patient's letters show him going through different phases of insight and therapeutical change.

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* See the interview with Imre Hermann in *NHQ* 85.

By demonstrating the process in which an understanding of the connections between the symptomatic manifestations and the events in personality development and current life situation is followed by therapeutical change, the meaningful nature of neurotic illness is elucidated along with the necessary course for psychotherapy.

János Füredi, István Görgényi, Mária Pál: *Szabálytalan beszámoló egy "szabályos" esetről.* (An Uncommon Report on a "Common" Case). *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle,* 1980. Vol. 37. No. 4. pp. 407–419.

B. B.

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Ethnographia — the quarterly of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society

Alföld — a literary and cultural monthly published in Debrecen

Történelmi Szemle — the quarterly of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Magyar Filozófiai Szemle — the bi-monthly of the Philosophical Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Statisztikai Szemle — a monthly of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office

Szociológia — quarterly review of the Sociological Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Közgazdasági Szemle — a monthly of the Committee for Economic Sciences of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Gazdaság — economic policy quarterly of the Hungarian Economic Association

Planta — an international journal of plant biology published in three volumes a year in New York

Fizikai Szemle — the monthly of the Loránd Eötvös Physical Society

Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle — the bi-monthly of the Hungarian Association of Psychology and the Committee for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

SURVEYS

ZSUZSA FERGE

MAIN TRENDS IN HUNGARIAN SOCIAL POLICY

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

1. I do not propose to go into the theoretical intricacies of the definition of the term social policy, and shall confine myself to a few brief remarks. The term is employed, traditionally and usually to cover instances where resources are allocated or re-allocated by the state (or state-sponsored agencies) in order to assure the satisfaction of certain needs, by and large independently of the market mechanism i.e. independently of the income or purchasing power of the persons or groups concerned. Social policy is essentially an *ex post facto* intervention in distribution, designed to correct the socially problematic or harmful aspects of the market. Such activities cover not only income transfers, but also various social services, including personal services for persons or families with special handicaps or problems.

This description is admittedly rather vague. A more exact definition of the term would require, however, a somewhat elaborate theoretical discussion which could be out of place in this context and a more exact description of the scope of social policy is practically impossible. Indeed this is defined by convention in each particular country, since countries vary largely as to the income maintenance programme and social or human services they consider to be social policy.

In Hungary, the situation is very much as described above except that in recent years there have been endeavours to extend the *ex post* character of traditional social policy by *ex ante* measures, meant to strenghten its preventive or formative role. This implies significant government intervention already at the stage of the primary allocation of resources, i.e. endeavours to guarantee the self and family maintaining power of the highest possible number. This means in other words that under the new conditions (such as the absence of private property in the means of production) the operation of the market itself is profoundly modified, including that of the labour market.

Whether all these government activities—those aiming for instance at the creation and maintenance of full employment—can be considered, or are seen officially as social policy, is a secondary matter. The relevant point here is that Hungarian social policy even in the traditional sense cannot really be understood without taking into account some aspects of employment or incomes policy.

2. In Hungary, the role and implementation of social policy have undergone major changes in recent years. To put it briefly: the revolutionary élan and changes of the early post-war years were followed, from the end of the forties, by the dictatorial

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régime of Rákosi. These years were also characterized by a rigid economic determinism. The development of the economy—the targets being defined mainly by political considerations, and prescribed by a rigidly central planning—became the major objective. It was assumed that social growth—from the improvement of living standards to the disappearance of alcoholism or delinquency—would automatically follow economic growth, without requiring any special action, let alone a separate or autonomous social policy.

While the rapid growth of production, as measured by some global statistical indicators, did occur in the event the other assumptions were falsified relatively quickly. Forced investment harmed current consumption and the infrastructure. In addition, various social difficulties and troubles, instead of disappearing, tended to aggravate with rapid industrialization and urbanization.

From the end of the fifties, the situation has changed, rapidly in some respects, gradually in others. To cut a long story short, it was slowly realized that more balanced social and economic development required a change in the spirit and methods of management. The economic reform, introduced in 1968 after long years of preparation, offered a solution. It lessened the role of central planning, and gave more autonomy to firms allowing them to respond, at least to some extent, to the demands of a slowly emerging market. At the same time, narrow economic planning was replaced by more broadly conceived, and much less minutely elaborated, socio-economic planning. Within this framework, the socialist goals and values, relevant at this stage of development, were more explicitly formulated than before, and were incorporated in the plans. Such moves led to the emergence of a very broad social policy, or societal policy in the Hungarian terminology.

Social policy was thus again stressed. It was realized that a more autonomous and more flexible economic policy had to be complemented by a more autonomous and also more caring social policy. After having fallen into almost total disuse for about fifteen years, the term itself made its reappearance in the second half of the sixties. It has continued to acquire importance and visibility since, although the sometimes rather heated discussions show that opinions about its possible role, scope, methods, objectives, and even the values and principles that guide its activities are extremely varied, and even conflicting. Currently, a five years research project initiated and sponsored by the government is under way to clarify the basic issues, and also to offer suggestions concerning the improvement of the operation of social policy.

II. THE MAIN TRENDS SINCE 1968

1. *Social policy elements in employment*

a) Full employment has, for a long time now, been accepted in Hungary as the only sound manner of complying with the constitutional right and obligation to work. Rapid industrialization and the extensive development of the economy up to the end of the sixties facilitated attaining this objective. It has to be realized however that full employment though it is the only socially acceptable solution has never been inexpensive. Numerous costs had to be incurred, in many cases intramural unemployment appeared, meaning that more people were engaged on certain jobs than absolutely necessary. Whether, as some economists maintain, lax work discipline has been a direct consequence of over-employment or not, there is no doubt that it exists and that it damages economic efficiency. Those who are not required to give of their best, may suffer a loss in self-esteem and job-satisfaction. The really unemployed, however, are not priviliged to suffer such disadvantages.

Table 1.

Child care allowance

Year	Total number of births, in thousand	Number of mothers on the allowance		as a p.c. of all active earners
		at the end of the year in thousands	as a percentage of all mothers entitled to the allowance	
1967	149	34	72	•
1970	152	92	68	3,3
1972	153	185	73	3,6
1974	186	229	78	4,8
1979	160	264	83	5,5
1980	149	254	•	5,3

Source: 1/, 2/, 3/.

Full employment has been attained and maintained essentially by the creation of jobs, and by aspects of wage-policy. (See below). However, certain other social policy measures also contributed to its maintenance, even though being of a multi-purpose character their anti-unemployment may not have been explicit.

One of these is the child-care allowance. It was introduced in 1967, offering an alternative way of infant care in order to improve the situation of both mothers and children. The main features are the following: the allowance becomes effective at the end of the twenty weeks' fully paid maternity leave and is payed up to the child's third birthday. The amount corresponds to about 40 per cent of the average income of young women, 600 forints at its introduction, and now over 1000 forints per child per month. The condition of entitlement was 12 months full employment prior to child-birth, but later the right was extended to some other groups (part time workers, etc.). The allowance need not be taken up, and a mother retains her job and employment rights throughout the whole period. She can go back to work at any time she chooses. According to a more recent regulation, the grant may be interrupted once every year.

The allowance soon became popular. Around 80 per cent of those entitled avail themselves of it, though only a minority use it up to the end. Still, more than 200,000 women are continuously on child care allowance—4 to 5 per cent of the whole work force. (This means that the allowance itself creates labour shortage problems, especially in some over-feminized fields.)

The table makes it clear that the introduction of the grant stimulated young women to take up employment in order to acquire the entitlement right. That is why the number of those qualifying went up so rapidly.

Another measure, the right to early retirement for medical reasons, also contributes to some extent to alleviate the problems of unemployment or employability. Early retirement, under the auspices of a favourable pension scheme, can be chosen by those whose sickness lasts longer than the period covered by the normal sickness benefit (which may be one or two years, depending on the illness). This pension is available until full health and full earning capacity

Table 2.

The level of employment, 1st January 1980

	Men	Women	Total
Manpower resources (in thousands) Men between 14 and 59, women between 14 and 54 years	3.315.0	3.023,0	6.338,0
	Men	*Women*	*Total*
Active earners above retirement age	70,7	153,9	224,6
Total	3.385,7	3.176,9	6,562,6
Allocation (in percentages)			
Active earners	82,9	71,5	77,3
Pensioners (of working age)	7,6	2,5	5,2
On child care allowance	.	8,3	4,0
Students	7,6	7,3	7,5
Dependants (non-earners)	1,9	10,4	6,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0

are restored. Around 5 per cent of those of working age use this scheme.

On the whole, full employment and job security could be maintained during the period under scrutiny to such an extent that major problem of the country has been for some years a labour rather than a job shortage. (The dependants of working age shown in Table 2 are mostly seriously disabled men and housewives.)

b) The incomes-policy also incorporates social policy (or societal policy) aspects. These were somewhat strenghtened after the economic reform. The central plan no longer specified the number and the wages of the work force firm by firm, but only the average wage level. In this way, even if the firms wanted to introduce high wages as a new incentive for some, they had to engage a number of low-paid workers in order to arrive at the average wage.

There is also another element in the

Table 3.

The dispersion of earnings of workers and employees

Income brackets, in 1978 values	The percentage distribution of earners		
	1970	1974	1978
Under 2000 forints	18	12	6
2000 to 3000 forints	37	32	26
3000 to 4000 forints	25	26	30
4000 to 5000 forints	11	17	21
Over 5000 forints	9	12	18
Total	100	100	100

Source: 3

Table 4.

The dispersion of wages of workers and employees. 1966–1980

Year	The percentage of the wage fund accruing to the top 20 per cent	The percentage of the wage fund accruing to the bottom 20 p.c.	The multiplier between the bottom and top decile	Inequality ratio[a)]
1966	31,9	12,1	3,37	1,79
1968	32,2	12,1	3,29	1,83
1970	33,4	10,7	4,04	1,88
1974	32,8	10,8	4,15	1,91
1978	32,2	11,2	3,85	1,85
1980	32,0	11,3	.	1,85

a) The inequality ratio is the relation of the average wages over the arithmetical mean to the average wages below the mean.

Source: 3,4

wage policy which is connected not so much with full employment as the guarantee of a minimum wage for the lowest paid. Obviously this same concern is also related to preoccupations with social inequalities. The economic reform, by granting more freedom in defining earnings at first increased income differentiation especially by a more than average increase in the incomes of managers and highly qualified people. This tendency was counteracted by central endeavours to raise low wages, either by introducing new compensatory elements (e.g. for night shifts), or by offering extra wage funds to low paid industries skills, etc. These endeavours were, by and large, successful (Table 3).

Table 4 shows clearly that, besides the decrease of the number of income earners the reform of 1968 was at first followed by an increase in wage inequalities, this tendency being reversed later.

Table 5.

The main social security benefits

Year	Number of families getting family allowances (yearly average, in thousands)	Number of pensioners on January 1st, in thousands	Number of pensioners as a percentage of the population over pensionable age	Number of women on child care allowances (at the end of the year, in thousands)
1960	570	636	40	.
1965	612	1101	.	.
1970	713	1380	70	167
1975	905	1748	80	265
1980	1100	2018	91(1978)	254

Source: 3,5

2. *Income programmes, i.e. social benefits in cash*

In Hungary, universal or near universal benefits (handled by Social Insurance) take precedence, by far, over selectively allocated welfare payments. This is due mainly to the deliberate rejection of means testing dating back to 1945, but also to the tacit, and at the time only partly warranted assumption that full employment and universal benefits would automatically yield an acceptable income level for all. In the first twenty post-war years social security benefits were on a low level. The reasons were manyfold. Scarcity was, no doubt mainly to blame, but ideological or political considerations played their part. (Thus, because of the concern with production, future workers, i.e. children, and former-workers, i.e. aged people were treated unfavourably. Also, the cover of those who were not workers or employees, but peasants, was minimal, and their terms of insurance were unfavourable.)

Since the end of the sixties four main trends can be observed. An end was put to political discrimination and the terms of the policies were made uniform by the 1974 Social Security Act. At the same time, the scope of each benefit widened; some new benefits were introduced to take care of hitherto unmet needs; and the terms and or standards of the policies were significantly improved. Some examples:

a) Scope:

— the number of families getting a family allowance increased from 600,000 in 1965 to 1,00,000 in 1980. The increase was due to several reasons. Since 1965 members of cooperatives are covered on the same terms as workers and employees; since 1968, a former criterion of selection, the steady employment of at least one parent, is handled less strictly; since 1972, the allowance is paid after one child if the family qualified beforehand, having more than one child;*

— the number of pensioners went up from 1,100,000 in 1965 to 2,000,000 in 1980. Here a better cover for the self-employed and members of cooperatives went together with rapidly increasing employment rates. (Up to 1980, 10 years of employment were enough to qualify people for a pension. Hence, many women beginning to work only in the fifties or sixties were entitled to a pension ten years later.)

b) The majority of new benefits were meant to ease the situation of families with children. The most significant measure, the child care allowance, has already been discussed. Besides this, since 1974, sickness benefit is paid to one of the working parents if a child is ill, for an unlimited period until the child is one, 60 days per child between one and three years, and 30 days per child between 3 and 6. In 1974 a selective supplementary benefit, the educational allowance was introduced for low-income families with children under or of schooling age. A minor measure is that child maintenance may be advanced by the state to deserted wives with children.

c) The standards of the available benefits were improved partly because of the uniformisation of the terms of the policies for the various population groups. Since: 1974 the less favourable terms were raised to those of workers and employees. More importantly, the various rates were raised several times, either in order to compensate for price increases, or just to lessen the gap between the amount of the benefit and the needs to be covered. (Table 6. The two last lines are added as background information.)

3. *Collective social services, i.e. benefits in kind*

The social services network also steadily increased during the period under scrutiny. In some cases, as with health services, the Social Security Act assured access as a citizen

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* Otherwise one child does not qualify for a family allowance except in case of single parents or handicapped children.

Table 6.

The level of the main benefits

Indicators	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Total sum of family allowance					
— in billions forints	1,4	1,6	2,8	6,4	13,6
— as a percentage of national income	0,9	0,9	1,0	1,6	2,4
Total sum of pensions					
— in billion forints	4,4	77,7	13,0	27,1	56,0
— as a percentage of national income	2,0	4,4	4,7	6,7	10,1
Monthly sum of family allowance for two children, forints	75	200	300	600	980
Average monthly full pension in case of the recently retired, forints	898	922	1136	1966	2635*
Monthly average income (earnings from 1970), forints	1525	1706	2129	3055	3927*
Consumer price index, 1960=100	100	102	106	121	165

* In 1979
Sources: 3,5

right, making coverage one hundred per cent. Child care institutions, offering day care to children of working parents, considerably increased their intake. Educational institutions have offered their services to a growing number of students. Powerful efforts were made to overcome the housing shortage and to improve communal services, although this still remains a problem-ridden field.

Some new forms of personal social services were also introduced in the last ten odd years. Thus day-care centres have been established for elderly people, offering them free or subsidized meals, medical care and supervision in situ, and easing their loneliness. Several forms of home care for people unable to provide for themselves have been worked out. The number of places in institutions established for these people has also grown, but to a lesser degree. On the local level, there is a search for forms of helping people who need information, advice or other kinds of support.

Communal and housing services are not conventionally considered in Hungary as part of social policy (and are not counted as social benefits). Nonetheless, it should be mentioned that of the 282,000 housing units built between 1961 and 1965, 104,000 were financed by the state outright, and 103,000 by a state loan, while the same numbers were 438,000, 149,000 and 235,000 respectively between 1971 and 1975, and 363,000, 132,000 and 203,000 respectively between 1976 and 1979 (4 years only). Between 1960 and 1980, the ratio of housing units provided with electricity went up from 74,6 to 98,1 per cent, and those with piped water

Table 7.

Collective services

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
Health:					
Per 10.000 inhabitants:					
— number of doctors	15,3	18,6	22,0	24,9	27,9
— number of hospital beds	70,3	75,7	80,6	83,3	87,0
Child care:					
— children under 3 in nurseries, as a percentage of their age group	7,4	10,7	9,5	10,7	15,7
— children between 3 and 6 in kindergartens, as a percentage group	33,7	47,1	57,7	75,5	87,2
— children betwen 6 and 14 in school day care centres	8,1	12,8	18,8	30,5	38,2
Education:					
— percentage of secondary school students in the cohort from 14 to 17 years	47,1	59,7	58,9	65,1	72,2
— percentage of students in higher education in the cohort from 18 to 22 years	4,1	6,8	6,3	6,9	9,2

Source: 3

from 22,7 to 64,9. Several measures were taken to help less well-off people, giving them priority in access to state housing. There getting priority are families with three children or more, young couples and families of manual workers.

Let me add that while in the case of benefits in cash both scope and standards improved, this was not necessarily true for social services. Their standards or the quality of the care offered are hard to measure, and it is even harder to measure the satisfaction they gave. The available information, however, draws attention to a number of problems. Many institutions, including those of child care, are overcrowded. The staff are overburdened, and this adversely affects the quality of the care offered. The official standards for food, etc. did not always keep up with price increases. There were insufficient resources to maintain and repair old buildings, so that they deteriorated. This meant a growing gap between new and old buildings or arrangements, which were often reinforced by some other, e.g. regional inequalities. However, in some institutions the quality of care improved because new, more flexible and more democratic methods of dealing with clients were adopted. This is e.g. true for the network of educational counseling.

It is impossible here to go into a detailed analysis of the changes described above. As always, there are many causes. No doubt, the leadership of the country was aware of the sins of omission and commission of the fifties and was intent on correcting them. This explains a growing concern with public welfare in general and with the charting of the public's wishes and sources of tension, and a growing responsiveness to them. However, in many cases welfare measures gained support because they helped other central concerns. Thus family policy measures could get under way since they harmonized with population policy, being an indirect intervention in favour of increasing birth-rates. Measures helping working parents, as e.g. the larger intake of child care institutions, were motivated both by population policy considerations and by economic reasons; while making the life of parents easier they made women more easily employable. In the same vein, it was realized, albeit to an insufficient degree, that social services and their cost were not only a liability from the standpoint of the economy, but that they also contributed to more balanced economic development. (This is certainly true e.g. of the infrastructure as well as of better medical care.) Thus the interests backing observed trends are varied. This, however, cannot alter the fact that social policy underwent a period of rapid growth in the past ten to fifteen years. The overall impact of this development is represented by the growing proportion of social policy derived incomes within incomes as a whole.

III. PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

The trends described above show all the signs of, and are indeed, a success story. There are, however, obvious and manifest shortcomings, all the way from shortages in available services to their low standard, and problems that are not yet recognized, constituting a sort of no man's land in social policy.

Some examples, the still existing housing shortage or the overcrowdedness of certain institutions have already been mentioned. Unmet needs are easy to find in personal social services: no public provision is made for instance to care for children if the mother is ill, or to offer organized help to families who have a permanent invalid to care for and cannot or do not want to place him or her in an institution.

Despite a relatively rapid increase, benefits in cash could and should be improved. Thus e.g. families with two or more children have a living standard that lags far behind that of childless couples. The average per capita monthly income as a percentage of that of childless families was, in 1977, 72 per cent for families with two dependent children, 59,3 per cent for families with 3 children, and 40,4 per cent for families with 4 or more children. Also, despite the considerable improvement in pensions, there are still pensioners who have a very low income. This is true of those who retired a long time ago, since pensions are not fully index linked; of those who had not acquired the right to a full pension, either because of a too short period of employment, or because they have only survivors' rights; of those who have no pension at all, but are only given selective old-age grants subject to a means test. On the whole, 20,6 per cent of those living in households headed by pensioners had, in 1977, a monthly per capita income under 1200 forints, and 24,8 per cent between 1200 and 1600 forints. The same ratios were 4,8 and 11,7 per cent for the households headed by active earners. (See 8)

Because of incomplete scope and inadequate standards access to services and/or to good quality services shows important social inequalities: groups in better positions to assert their interests because of more knowledge, more power etc. are likely to get more and better services. The social inequalities affecting the activities of social policy form one of the major concerns of social research in Hungary, and are therefore well documented. (See e.g. 6 and 7).

Table 8.

The composition of total income

Year	Total incomes in nominal value, in billion forints	*Of it, as percentages*			
		Work-related incomes	*Social benefits*		
			in cash	in kind	Total
1960	119	80,4	7,0	11,4	18,4
1965	146	77,1	8,7	12,3	21,0
1970	208	76,1	11,3	11,3	22,6
1975	307	71,5	15,5	11,7	27,2
1980	460	66,9	19,0	13,1	32,1

Source: 3,

Various measures of positive discrimination (affirmative action) in favour of worse-off groups, together with broadening scope, helped to reduce some of the inequalities, but they were still significant even at the time of the last research project (1977–1978). Table 9 portrays some of these inequalities, in order to give an idea about the seriousness of the problem, and also about variations even in these fields. A cursory glance suffices to bring out two facts: first, that the wider the scope, the better the chances of overcoming social inequalities in access (the same hold for regional inequalities). Second, that social inequalities increase when we pass from more basic services to services which contribute to make life comfortable or agreeable or which improve prospects in the long run.

These and other problems clearly indicate that the activities of social policy and the standards of its provisions could and should be improved in order to assure decent standards for everybody, and to help to equalize prospects. This is recognized by and large by everybody as a long term social objective. There are, however, big differences of opinion as to how and when this objective should be implemented.

a) The core of the controversy is the real or alleged clash between economic interests and social policy. This theoretical debate leads to a number of concrete criticism of the actual situation, and to proposals for changes in the future. The main concrete issues—in an abridged form—are the following:

— Some people maintain that full employment is at the root of many economic shortcomings. At least some unemployment should be accepted, in order to permit the restructuring of the economy cutbacks in inefficient production, improvements in work ethics and work discipline, etc. The counterarguments, in favour of the present arrangements, while recognizing the necessity of economic restructuring, see ways other than unemployment to accomplish this, such as retraining or rehousing grants etc. They also maintain that the threat of unemployment does not seem to improve the work-ethic in other countries. The high cost of unemployment is also pointed out as well as the experience derived from other fields, that new arrangements create new demands.

— There are criticisms directed against fully or heavily subsidized social services, saying that people do not value what they get free; that they overuse or abuse services which are, therefore, very costly and, most

Table 9.

Some indicators of social differentiation in access to social benefits or social services

(Based on the survey on income distribution of the Central Statistical Office, 1978)

Indicators		National total or average	Leaders, intellectuals	Other non manuals	Skilled	Unskilled	Agricultural	Pensioners
					workers			
Social benefits in cash, per month, per head, in forints		474	303	300	299	312	239	1092
Social benefits in kind, per month, per head, in forints		339	500	432	341	302	278	270
In per cent of per capita monthly income of the group, in case of benefits:	in cash	20,3	9,6	12,2	12,9	15,6	9,8	51,2
	in kind	12,7	14,0	14,6	12,8	13,1	10,2	11,2
Value of health services per head, per month, in forints		99	90	86	86	90	69	143
Percentage of children in kindergarten, within the age group		73	88	88	76	58	60	—
Percentage of primary school children in day care centres		32	43	42	33	29	23	—
Percentage of the 14—17 year old in 4 year secondary schools		40	86	74	43	25	23	—
Percentage of students in higher education within the age group		8	32	16	5	4	2	—

Source: 3, and 7

importantly, social security and services constitute a disincentive to work more and earn more. Therefore they advocate more market oriented solutions, assuming that this will improve the services and create new incentives to work more.

The counterarguments are again manyfold. They point out that people indeed take for granted and see as a right many services, and do not therefore continuously cheer them. But they profoundly value them, and will not tacitly accept cutbacks seen as violations of rights. They refer also to empirical research showing that abuses, though occurring occasionally, form a much less serious problem than the under-utilization of services in case of need—whether because there are no services available, or because of other problems of access. It is also shown that the market never helped to cover these needs in a general way, while a two-tier system (a parallel paying and a free one) is socially divisive, leads to means-testing and is therefore again costly, etc. It is said finally that because opportunities create demand—the availability of medical, educational, recreational etc. services have given rise to needs in the case of those who were previously objectively excluded, and whose needs were, therefore, nipped in the bud. In this sense, free social services may be an important instrument in lessening inbred social inequalities.

It is often said that social services only weaken individual effort. If, in the future, with slow economic development more will be turned over to social policy, resources to differentiate wages and to increase the wage fund will be entirely lacking, and hence the most important stimulus for improving work-performance will be lost.

Others again maintain against this that the increase in the wage fund would be slight in any case, but they doubt that wage differentation is in itself a major stimulating factor. They point out that social benefits are indirect wages, contributing to the well-being and security of a huge majority. It seems, also, that there is more and more evidence to show that a reverse argument can be put: the lack of social services, including adequate housing, good health and child care services etc. harms work ethics and therefore, damages the economic interest.

b) There are also some differences of opinion about the priorities to be followed if there is any increase in available resources for social policy, and about the necessary changes in the terms of existing schemes. Of course, the economic versus social controversy is present behind many of these debates. (Thus e.g. there are always proposals to make stricter the terms, to institute more control etc.). But there are also other clashes motivated mainly by various group-interests.

To give only two examples: for some time now it has been suggested that the child care grant should be transformed into a parental right instead of being tied to the mother. This has been rejected on various grounds (e.g. that the fathers would not stay home with the child anyway). The real problem is (at least in my opinion), that the equality of women is not a fact yet. Therefore the sharing of responsibilities between the sexes is not taken for granted. The actual situation works in favour of men and it is, therefore, their interest to maintain it.

As was already mentioned, families with one child do not qualify for a family allowance. Some maintain that the family allowance for one child ought to be introduced rapidly not because of economic needs, but because this is a measure promoting population policy. People will accept more easily a second child if they are paid already for the first. The inequity of the present arrangement is frequently mentioned. The extension of the right is seen, by the other camp, as not being an absolute as yet, in terms of existing needs. These families are still in a much better position than families with more children. Therefore the extension is seen as fair and necessary in the long run, but not as a matter of high priority.

When it comes to priorities in general, various modifications are proposed in order to promote one or another of the existing interests: the increase of the pension ceiling to be fair to the highly-paid; the introduction of family allowances for reasons of fairness and to improve philoprogenitivity and many modifications are proposed to improve economic efficiency.

All these arguments are, in the opinion of some (including me) justified to some extent. However, the current problem is the slowdown of economic growth and, therefore, the near-stagnation of resources.

With the rapid growth of the last decade practically everybody could gain, although to a varying degree. Therefore the stake was only the size of the gain, the main issue was how to distribute the surplus. Under present conditions, however, there are two main possibilities (mathematically). Either changes are slight and slow for everybody—or some gain and some loose to a greater extent. Because of the nature of social forces, there is a high chance that the spontaneous processes will work in favour of stronger and better-off groups. Hence, if no action is taken to counteract this process, the weaker and worse-off groups may be the first to suffer. This outcome is seen as contrary to the values and ethic of a socialist society. Therefore, in this view, the main effort under present conditions should be to prevent the deterioration of the situation of the weakest and worst-off groups.

It is hard to predict, under these conditions what the outcome will be in the next ten or twenty years, (even neglecting outside factors). The development of the economy will, no doubt, be a major factor in orienting development—but it is hard to predict the course without considering the external conditions.

For the time being, the economic interest has probably a good chance to gain some ground in various minor matters. Nevertheless, some basic values—full job security, the necessity of universal social services, etc.—seem to be so firmly established, and have been time and again so strongly reaffirmed by central bodies, that a reversal of the present arrangements and of the main tendencies is extremely unlikely.

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8. *A családi jövedelmek színvonala és szóródása 1977-ben*. (Level and dispersion of family incomes in 1977.) CSO, 1980.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

HISTORICAL SCALE

János Kádár: *Szövetségi politika — nemzeti egység*
(Policy of Alliances — National Unity). Kossuth, Budapest,
1981. 368 pp.

Selections from the political addresses and articles of statesmen are undertakings deserving of respect, for by publishing them, the authors subject themselves to changes produced by passing time as to reader opinions, and not even a position of power alleviates this exposure: readers are independent intellectual partners and, as such, merciless critics. But it is just this almost personal contact that validates the morality of this condition. This is how it becomes possible for the man in the street, while reading the collection of speeches and articles that had occasionally been delivered or published, to control, as it were, the policy of the man upon whom he has bestowed his confidence, empowering him to render decisions concerning the whole community—even if such a reader is not a member of the governing party but has cast his vote as a citizen for the person of the politician and for the policy he represents. Such collections are therefore manifestations of fundamental importance which concern the entire population of the country.

A statesman who thinks and acts on a historical scale, especially if he has for a long time been a member of his country's political leadership, must comply with the often contradictory and yet always jointly present conditions of consistency and of constant adaptation to changing times. This is what mostly held this reviewer's interest when reading János Kádár's book a few weeks before his 70th birthday.

The title in itself shows that János Kádár is true to principles he enunciated already twenty-five years ago, principles which, obvious and apparently even self-evident as they may be, were nevertheless not guideposts for earlier governments and politicians in this country. Their substance is that the leader of a party with a membership of 790,000 must and can govern in agreement with the entire population and in the light of the specific nature of the whole of Hungarian history, getting the policy of the HSWP accepted by the majority of the population, working upon minds and hearts alike, and convincing everybody if possible that this policy offers the chance of a happier future for the entire Hungarian nation.

"Every country must unreservedly bear in mind historical tradition, its own specific qualities, or, to put it succinctly, the national particularities." "Socialism is built on mutual confidence between party and people, with the support of the entire people, for the good of the entire people." In this connection it is particularly fortunate that János Kádár devotes attention also to the Hungarians living beyond the frontiers of the country: "The history of our people has taken a course leading to nearly one-third of all Hungarians living beyond the frontiers of our country: Hungarians live in just about every region of the globe. It is good to know, when thinking of them, that most of them preserve and foster, in keeping with what is possible for them, their native idiom, their national culture and traditions, and that they hold socialist Hungary in high regard. We expect them, while fostering their national culture, to be honest citizens of their country and to promote social progress and friendship among the nations." At the same time he emphatically points to the dangers of nationalism which he distinguishes from a patriotism founded in history. "Nationalism is a very dangerous ideology, and therefore it must be fought with determination, and without compromises. In handling national feelings, however, we have to proceed prudently, with respect. I think that properly interpreted patriotic feelings accumulated from generation to generation and the ideas of socialism combine into an integral whole in our country."

That the last quoted sentence is not merely impressive rhetoric is demonstrated by Hungarian history. Efforts were made during the first decade following Liberation to make Hungarians believe that the ideas and achievements of socialism were a gift, that the revolutionary struggles of the Hungarian past had been waged for barely more than something that was not even always an unequivocally progressive cause of national independence; the revolution of 1919 was scarcely mentioned, still less were the international aspects of the 1848/49 revolution. At Liberation Day celebrations it was hardly ever said that of the peoples of the Habsburg empire it was only inhabitants of Hungary who had fought (in such great numbers) for the victory of the Russian revolution, recognizing that its success was internationally to the interest of all peoples; those one hundred and fifty thousand Hungarian Red Army men also did their bit towards the survival of the Soviets, helping to defeat the white Counter Revolution. The idea of Hungarian historical continuity is therefore not merely a pledge of Hungarian national existence, but it also teaches us that socialism and kindred ideas soon found a response on the soil of Hungary, and consequently they are inalienable features of Hungarian history. Now that some peoples and nations take pains, with too much pride in themselves, to invent their own past, one cannot sufficiently stress the progressive traditions of the history of Hungary.

From the point of view of national unity it is essential that the author also allots a place to religion in the work for the objectives of socialism; he emphasized this on many occasions; moreover, at a Central Committee meeting in March 1981, he answered related criticism as follows: "In the opinion of some people the denominations have played too great a role (at the Patriotic People's Front conference). In my view those who opine in this way do not entirely understand the essence and significance of the matter. The fact that the denominations... undertake to play a positive role in public life is of great significance and is one of the achievements to be guarded." This is true, if only because numerous representatives and members of the churches and other religious communities took an active part in the antifascist struggle in the closing years of the war, not to mention that the basic principles defined by both the Christian and the Jewish faith from ancient times are invariably valid, so much so that they are fundamentals of socialist jurisdiction as well. Compared to this, that philosophical question of theoretical importance: whether being determines consciousness or consciousness determines being—is of no decisive importance in the daily life of the overwhelming majority of people.

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In János Kádár's book, adjustment to the new requirements imposed by changing times is part of staying true to oneself: "We should proceed not from desires or subjective fancies, but from social reality, from the facts." "It is part of the essence and style of our policy that we draw attention to problems in good time." This sensitiveness to problems explains why Hungary has so far sailed relatively safely midst the rocks and eddies of international economic life. An attractive feature of the volume is that it avoids economic talk meant for specialists, that it does not juggle with figures and statistics, which in the uninitiated are liable to arouse the suspicion that they are victims of some hocus-pocus. It gives directions of principle which are plain, easy to understand and convincing. It always stresses the importance of information: "...explanation, agitation, argumentation and persuasion cannot be economized. It is possible simply to issue orders and make them public, but then it will be necessary afterwards to listen to the remarks made, to persuade people to be kind enough to swallow the order in question. This way leads nowhere. We have to say much more and argue, debate and explain with far lower efficiency if we do all this after and not before making the decision. Subsequent reasoning deprives us of a very precious thing, the opinion of the best experts."

"It is evident that the new economic conditions and the increased technical requirements enhance the role and importance of professional people, and, thereby, the managers' individual responsibility for their decisions; but this is precisely why it is necessary to consider also how it might be possible to exercise more substantial social control over the activities of appointed managers. To this end there is need for more specific provisions to define what managerial responsibility of reporting to the democratic forums consists of and also how the views of workers' collectives could better prevail in the future when it comes to the appointment of managers." A piece of advice worth considering which, however, is unfortunately far from being heeded. Now that the rapidly growing number of television sets, in addition to newspapers, has multiplied the links between the masses, the decisions taken, and the ensuing situations, it is sometimes downright alarming how many unreasoning and brazenly conceited declarations are made by this leader or that which entice responsible citizens into a maze where professional jargon rules. It likewise occurs frequently that the interconnections of daily work, way of living and culture are discussed demagogically. It is fashionable to reprove a man who is busy building his house on weekends instead of going to the theatre, but who, by doing so, and this at the price of great sacrifices, also eases the burden of the local councils wrestling with the difficulties of the housing situation. The book stands for a rational and honest position: "If a man happens to build a house and carries a hod on Sundays instead of going to the theatre, let him do so with a clear conscience. If he cannot make visits to the theatre because all his time is taken up by work, it would be unfair to speak ill of him. He will go out later, setting out from the finished house, from his better furnished home and environment for which he had slaved, which he had worked for, which he created for himself."

The secret of such and similar observations is the unpretentious yet useful ability to simplify the really or seemingly complicated phenomena in as simple a manner as possible without, however, minimizing them or reducing them to secondary importance. This is the wisdom of a reading and thinking man who is accustomed to meditation and has been taught to suffer. The present writer always feels embarrassed when told about this politician or that who has no time for reading because he is so busy and has so many different interests. He who cannot find time for reading—not files and official papers, or technical works, but reading for his own pleasure—is hardly able to make permanently valid decisions and is certainly unable to empathize with others. In a volume free of personal references there is an interview in which the author replies to a question about what his favourite occupation is: "Reading. It has become a passion from early childhood. Reading is my favourite occupation of my leisure hours to this day." A writer popular the world over among those who grew up in the 1920s was Jack London; mere mention of his name will arouse joyful sympathy in many readers of the volume. It would be a pleasure to read more of such a personal nature in the book. In talks with foreign journalists, too, it seems that there had originally been more personal remarks and witty asides. These interviews and—if I remember all right the telecast speeches—the texts of the different addresses have been condensed and are here printed in a concise form; the text is sometimes drier than the original version. The explanation may be that the author's individuality does not always manifest itself in the words themselves, but rather in gestures and facial expressions, in what is nowadays called body-language, in other words in the subjective contact established with the audience. The significance of this is that it augments the credibility of what has been said and stimulates confidence in the speaker, that is the author of this book.

István Nemeskürty

ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

György Lukács: *Napló — Tagebuch (1910–11). Das Gericht (1913).*
(Diary, 1910/11. The Judgement, 1913).
Edited by Ferenc L. Lendvai. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest. 97 pp.

Once when I tried to praise *Theorie des Romans,* a work of his younger days, György Lukács impatiently interrupted me: "Look, I have never denied that this book was written by a talented young man with a feeling for the relationship of history and form..." Then he deployed his entire Marxist arsenal against the essentially harmful and misleading young idealist ideologue. I looked on in amazement as his old face glowed in the heat of polemic—as if Georg von Lukács, who had put that work on paper in 1914/15, were just a namesake he had nothing to do with. Suddenly I too felt that they were really two persons. "Would they exchange greetings," I asked myself, "if they ran into each other in a second-hand bookshop?" I decided that they presumably would: the old man would answer his young colleague's fastidiously ironic gesture with a cool nod.

Indeed, György Lukács did almost all he could to weave and spread the legend of two Lukácses. He obstructed any re-issue of his youthful works until this had become impossible as various pirate editions and a series of his works began to be published in the West; later he supplied these books with sternly rebuffing prefaces; as to his works in manuscript—the most significant being his Heidelberg "Philosophy of Art and Aesthetics"*—he simply forgot about them: he declared them lost. He also forgot about the manuscript fragments, diary notes, and more than fifteen hundred letters kept in a suitcase he had placed in the safe of a Heidelberg bank in 1917. His hostility and his forgetfulness sprang from the same source: he wanted to make even himself believe that his joining the communist movement was a rebirth in the strict sense of the word.

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* See *NHQ* 47.

So he did almost everything possible for the purpose, but he failed to destroy those manuscripts he considered damaging. Behind his forgetfulness must have been a lack of interest, but a sense of standards as well. A good many painfully unsettled affairs of his youth—mainly the suicide of his first love, Irma Seidler—must also have pushed him towards the more comfortable positions of oblivion. But he nevertheless may be supposed to have known at the bottom of his heart that the two men were identical, and although the rebirth had really taken place —its fact and importance are incontestable— it was basically the same man who was reborn.

Lukács's diary for 1910/11 and a fragment of his 1913 dialogue *Das Gericht*, edited by Ferenc L. Lendvai, and published in the Lukács Archives and Library series, have confirmed my long-growing conviction that an unavoidable task for research on Lukács is to restore the contradictory unity of the personality and the œuvre, to use a Hegelian phrase, to lay emphasis upon the unity of oneness and difference. This kind of corrective effort would be in the spirit of György Lukács, since in all his periods he doubted that the creator was competent to judge his own work.

It is impossible to gather from the booklet, owing to its small size and personal nature, how basically the attitude and categories of Lukács's Marxist aesthetics, his value judgement deeply rooted in his reading taste are connected with the fundamental aesthetic position of his youth. Additional evidence will be provided by the forthcoming publication of his youthful correspondence, particularly the exchange of views with his highly gifted friend, Leó Popper, and it is there in his early essays, his Heidelberg aesthetics, and his theory of the novel. The Lukács Archives publication, which documents his love affair with Irma Seidler, sheds a piercing light on the personality of the young Lukács and thus gives an opportunity for comparison.

To begin with, it comes to light that Lukács was poetic by nature. It will be noticed even by the most superficial observer that Lukács provides all his principal works in all his periods—even the most objective and most scholarly ones—with a dedication, and the dedication is mostly to a woman. The Hungarian edition of *The Soul and the Forms* is covertly, while the German edition, published after the tragedy, is openly dedicated to Irma Seidler. *The Theory of the Novel* has a dedication to Lukács's first wife, Elena Andreevna Grabenko; *History and Class Consciousness* and *Die Eigenart des Aesthetischen*, as well as works published thereafter, are dedicated to his second wife, Gertrud Bortstieber. The diary from his youth and the letters printed in the appendix clearly demonstrate that this was not merely a gesture. It is amusing to see how long Lukács takes to get ready to request Irma Seidler's permisson to make the dedication, how many variant texts he writes, how important it is for him to identify the addressee of the secret confessions hidden in the essays. What is even more essential is that in this period of his work and thinking Lukács quite consciously uses the subject as a pretext for giving expression to his individual problems. He even explains this to Irma Seidler: "You know—again—why these pieces have been written: because I cannot write poems; and you know—again—to whom these poems are addressed and who has articulated them in me."

Or this diary entry for May 20, 1910: "The essay on Philippe matures strangely. It seems this will be the truest Irma essay. The poesy of the present state... So there will be a genuine great poetic series: George, Beer-Hofmann, Kierkegaard, Philippe. The connection with the others is much looser— Novalis: the atmosphere of encounter; Kassner: Florence, Ravenna; Storm: letters from Nagybánya. Still more distant—Sterne: shallow moods of futility, of the winter following separation. Ernst: the hours of being repudiated." But Lukács would not be Lukács if he had not formulated his position theoretically as well. He writes on the pretext of Rudolf Kassner: "The poet always talks about himself, whatever he sings of; the Platonist never dares think of himself aloud, he can relive his life only through the works of others, approach himself only through understanding others." Platonist here means critic. Thus the philosopher, aged twenty-three, claimed to seek, through his theoretical work, the answer to the most intimate questions of his life. Let me mention that also in 1939, in one of the most miserable periods of Marxism, he published an essay on the types of poet and critic being interrelated and mutually complementary even as they are different. In it he notes that the history of aesthetics knows only two productive kinds of critic: the poet-critic and the philosopher-critic. Although his explication carefully avoids the appearance of being personal and outwardly complies to a large extent with the formal requirements of contemporary Soviet philosophizing, one would be utterly deaf not to notice that Lukács again speaks of his most personal problem, trying to justify his own activity. Discussing the ultimate interrelation of Goethe and Hegel, he challenges the competence of the hosts of critics who pass judgement on the living and the dead without any poetic or philosophical qualifications.

The ultimate oneness of the personalities of the young and the old Lukács is most clearly manifest in the second great crisis of his private life. When his wife, Gertrud Bortstieber, died in 1963, the idea of suicide haunted him as it had at the time of his love crisis and then of Irma Seidler's suicide. He made his decision depend on whether he would prove to be able to work. He was unable to proceed with his planned aesthetics, he sank into apathy, from which he was eventually freed by an essay. In writing—entirely in the spirit of *The Soul and the Forms*—about Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, he honoured the memory of his wife. Even if he had not mentioned it directly, it would be obvious who these lines refer to: "Looked at directly, Minna's wisdom is not at all wise, it is just a person's uncompromising pursuit of a sensible life, which can be realized only when living together and in love... At the bottom of her soul she is unbroken and dauntlessly courageous, therefore she goes through the tragic conflicts gently, charmingly, and resolutely, without attracting attention or making gestures, unaffectedly." As Minna rescues her crippled lover from desperation, so the model of Minna averts, even in her death, the tragedy which menaces the one who mourns for her.

The Minna type—the subject of Lukács's poetic escape from death in old age —was a nostalgic ideal all his life. "I wish there were somebody," he writes in the Irma diary, "but who? Somebody strong enough to be a mirror (not to transmit light, a mirror only). I can see ever more clearly that very powerful and interesting intellects (Simmel, Bloch) have practically nothing to offer me. I develop not in struggles, but quite in a plant-like manner... why was it that I profited so much by dedicated, tractable, and impulsive intellects, who nevertheless attuned themselves to the note struck, such as Irma and Leó (whom I today see entirely in this way)? Because, I think, they were strong enough to see exactly what I thought, but not so strong as to go off on a different level if they had started out with me. On the other hand, their inner life was more sensual and more impulsive than mine, so on the level of my train of thought they found, or made me find, things that would not have been reached by my course of—essentially—asensual, asexual, rationalist experience." Elsewhere he writes that he needs somebody—and this can only be Irma—to whom he may stutter, "whose silence would prompt me to audacities," whose questions would reinforce his vaguely formulated thoughts. To Simmel, to Bloch, to Károly Polányi he would have been unable to stutter a single sentence, "the experts are good for the finished things."

Every line of these notes is in keeping with the Lukács of later times. I remember him rushing out to his wife in his baggy shorts: "You know, it has occurred to me that in music..." he shouted and went on expounding something. He was heard out, and then got the response: "You ought to consider also..." and she mentioned some problem arising from what had been said; what she said was not an objection, nor was it a question, but only a new point of view. Lukács turned about, rattled back towards the study, stopped off at the door, he had hit upon a new idea which he must get out at once; unfortunately for me, something came to my mind too, I uttered a few words, whereupon he bawled at me: "Stop it!" in a way he had never done.—Or, after the tragedy, he explained with an expressionless face: "Now then, if I am at all able to work, I have to find an entirely new working method. Thus far I could tell my unripe thoughts to Gertrud, she filtered and rectified them, so that in this sense every one of my works is a collective production. Now there is no one to disclose my unripe thoughts to, so I have to switch over to a different working method, if this is still possible."

Or, he described his wife entirely in accordance with his youthful desires. Her inner life was more sensual, warmer, more accessible to people, more human (not being subjected to the rigidity of a life centred on work), and thus it more blissfully supplemented his "essentially asensual, asexual, rationalist experience." Or, the plant-like, organic character of his development, this recurrent theme of the diary of his youth, varied sixty-one years later immediately before his death, in the course of a tape-recorded interview of ours, like this: "For me everything is the continuation of something. In my development, I think, non-organic elements do not exist."

I have come back to the starting-point: György Lukács himself also knew therefore that his life was an integral whole: why did he forcibly want to cut it in two, why did he want its first half to be discredited, submerged into oblivion? I think the answer can be found in the recently published diary. The intellectual and moral soil in which that period of Lukács's work was rooted was the supposition that life and art exclude each other. Art requires seclusion, it subdues and harnesses human relations, regarding them merely as a tool. The bourgeois household of life is basically anti-intellectual, adaptation means intellectual death. "Fear the mellowing effect of happiness; fear of my becoming unable to find my way in a broader-based life." On the other hand: "Irma is life."

Renouncement of life therefore meant first of all that he renounced Irma, the more so since he can imagine living with Irma only within socially sanctioned bounds, in matrimony. These bounds, however, would adjust him to the bourgeois way of life. The tragic conflict of life and art—which was experienced by Tonio Kröger and much later by Adrian Leverkühn too—makes Lukács reject happiness. Irma's death and his own acute suicidal thoughts, however, begin to ripen his realization that the aristocratic intellectual fastidiousness which helped him reach the summits of contemporary philosophy cannot provide him with a permanent reason for existence. "I live in such a way that I frivolously retire to purely intellectual problems," he recorded in a note written in German, "and I expect a miracle to allow me to break through. But everything is empty and intellectual: intellect only works an advance miracle—there is no firm and submissive expectation. That is why the miracle cannot even take place. And I feel my whole condition is only an attempt I make to remain in the sphere of irrelevance, because I would not be ripe for the despair which ought to set in." Lukács knows, as he formulates in June 1910, that "expecting a miracle is always the sign of a crisis." The expectation of a miracle is the religious necessity which draws Lukács from the rarefied atmosphere of the seclusion he imposed on himself towards new people or communities. Thinking of this, he also uses a religious reference: "...I am of a type which (as a type) has been denied fulfilment. If therefore no miracle comes to pass and I shall not live to see another Damascus (which would transform my type), then ... I can blow out my brains." So, as early as 1919, Saul wanted to become Paul so that, by a miracle, he might choose life, no matter how much it cost his art. He still had to wait, for almost ten years, until his long-drawn-out personal crisis could merge in the general world-wide crisis.

By joining the communist movement he terminated his seclusion, even though he reproduced it from time to time, of course inside the movement, and changed its type. But this he did only to the extent that he might find different answers to the vitally important questions of his personality. The conflicts of life and work, adaptation and isolation, continued to have an effect amidst the changed conditions, but these circumstances queried, day in day out, not only the conditions of his intellectual existence but also his quite ordinary, everyday life. Still it was not anxiety for life but dread of a new seclusion and isolation that prompted him to give up his earlier fastidious position and, at the price of trimming his sails to the wind, keep up with all the changes of line of his chosen community. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that Paul—after Damascus—was most unwilling to recall the figure of young Saul. No Paul in history has been keen on doing that. But we, who watch our hero's road towards his own Damascus and beyond from the outside, must not suffer from double vision, must not forget that the story is about the same man.

István Eörsi

TWO HISTORICAL NOVELS

Tibor Cseres: *Én, Kossuth Lajos* (I, Lajos Kossuth). Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1981, 576 pp.; György Spiró: *Az Ikszek* (The X's). Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1981, 642 pp.

These pages have often mentioned the recent Hungarian interest in authentic historical memoirs. Older Hungarian works of the kind have been in great demand, and many contemporary authors seem to add lustre to their fiction by resorting to this genre. Tibor Cseres's new novel. *Én, Kossuth Lajos* (I, Lajos Kossuth), a fictitious autobiography of the Hungarian nineteenth-century statesman brings a special colour to the scale of this non-fiction fiction.

Lajos Kossuth lived through almost the whole of the nineteenth century. He was born in 1802, the year of Victor Hugo's birth, and by dying in 1891, he outlived by six years the French poet who had become a legendary hero of his century. Kossuth too was a legendary hero to the century, in Hungarian eyes, *the* hero. Following the initial victories and ultimate failure of the 1848/9 War of Independence against the Habsburg monarchy, he remained among the age's heroes even to a European, and indeed, American general public, still predisposed to Romanticism. Kossuth became a decisive factor, transformer and furtherer of a whole geographical region, that of the Danube basin, and of the fate of a whole nation, that of the Hungarians, at least to the same extent as Victor Hugo's romanticism influenced for decades the development of European literature, and raised French literature into a veritable national religion. Kossuth can be considered as a romantic hero straight from Victor Hugo's pen as well: the fantastic turns in his career outdo even the most daring extremes of romantic literary fancy.

Kossuth was born of an impoverished gentry family, and became a lawyer in a remote and backward provincial town. In an episode straight from a romantic novel, Kossuth became the estate lawyer to an aristocratic widow in the neighbourhood, where an awkward romance developed between him and his employer's daughter whose husband neglected both her and the estate. One of the children of this withering marriage was Count Gyula Andrássy, whom Kossuth came to know as the grandson of his employer and the son of his beloved Etelka, a young man cherishing political ambitions. During the 1848 revolution Andrássy went as Kossuth's emissary to Constantinople, and in 1867, after the Austro-Hungarian compromise which obliterated Kossuth's life-work in politics, he became the prime minister of Hungary and as such, helped the emperor Francis Joseph to the Hungarian crown.

No less romantic is the episode in which the driving force of the reborn reform movement drew Kossuth to Pozsony, to the Hungarian Diet, which had at long last been reconvened. He wrote reports on the proceedings, copied them by hand, and distributed them by mailing them as letters. These reports, which sowed the spirit of the reform diets all over the country and scarcely concealed their sympathy for the Diet's radical endeavours, earned him four years in prison. Scarcely a year after his release, the whole Hungarian opposition movement was paying attention to his newspaper articles, and within a decade Kossuth was considered the leader of the Hungarian revolution. In 1849, after the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed the dethronement of the Habsburgs, he was elected the nation's Regent. After the final failure of the War there came long and bitter years of exile: in August 1849, Kossuth, in disguise, with thousands of his comrades in misfortune, the remnants of his followers, fled along the Danube, crossing the river which then marked the Turkish border, to Vidin. After several months of protractions, he was taken by the Turks to the safe distance of Asia Minor, where for one year and a half he was kept under what amounted to house arrest.

International protests and the intervention of West European governments finally freed Kossuth, who travelled triumphantly through Britain and the United States, making speeches and conducting talks, canvassing followers and accumulating political and financial capital to continue the fight. However, it soon turned out that neither Palmerston nor Louis Bonaparte or the United States were interested in undermining the unity of the Habsburg monarchy. But Kossuth did not surrender his cause for a long time, he waited for a favourable political situation and was meanwhile active as the leader of the revolutionary exiles. In 1859, the moment seemed to have arrived with the Italian war: Napoleon III played the card of the Hungarian rebellion against the Austrians and promised armed support to Kossuth, but then reached an unexpected agreement with Francis Joseph, and the Hungarians were left to their own devices. In 1866, during the Austro–Prussian War, Kossuth once again livened up and cherished hopes; but by then the revolutionary and federative solution he represented had been isolated for good. Ferenc Deák, his former colleague-in-arms, was already having talks on a compromise in Vienna, and Bismarck only needed Kossuth to threaten Austria with. A Hungarian uprising once again failed to take place, the Austro-Hungarian compromise was settled and Kossuth submitted to his fate. He lives on for nearly a quarter of a century as an exiled, lonely old man in Turin and around.

It is in this Turin solitude that Tibor Cseres has Kossuth write his memoirs, memoirs which his protagonist, regrettably, never did actually write. (It is all the more regrettable that he did not undertake such a written account as many other leading figures of the Revolution, exiles and non-exiles, did so and a self-portrait by Kossuth would fill a gap, replacing the Kossuth image drawn up by others. Kossuth was a wonderful stylist, who throughout his life took every opportunity to express himself and the national cause with which he identified himself, in speeches, newspaper articles, letters, appeals, and memoranda. His writing is a treasure in the history of Hungarian style as well; it was collected in a number of bulky volumes.) In Kossuth's exile in Turin Cseres has found a typical situation and motivation for a memoir writer, which he, rather than Kossuth himself, has acted on by making use of Kossuth's stylistic armoury.

Cseres has not written a romantic novel on Kossuth's life, and the romantic biography which it could inspire will now, with Romanticism gone, presumably remain unwritten. Instead Cseres has written a fictitious memoir, a wise, calm, and settled autobiography, one which might have been written by a man resigned in his old age, after the inflammatory speeches and revolutionary turmoil of his prime. Cseres's book comes over perhaps as too calm, wary, and keeping distance, in places almost impersonal, which sometimes weakens its memoir character. Cseres has felt obliged to survey all of Kossuth's career, and so, taking into consideration the length acceptable to the average reader, the result is inadequate space for a detailed, inspired portrayal of some of the decisive episodes. Cseres is hampered by the fact that in dealing with Kossuth he so often has to dwell on almost every major episode of the reform age in Hungary, and the history of the revolution that followed. Without doing so, Kossuth's ideas and actions would remain disjointed. For several decades, the story of Kossuth's life was virtually identical with the history of Hungary, and if one writes a Kossuth biography, even if in the form of an autobiography, one unavoidably also writes a history of Hungary. That would not matter if the author were to make a clear decision on what he actually wanted, but Cseres seems to have been carried in two directions by his intentions. The belletrist in him had him write literary fiction (even if thoroughly documented), but he was not able to deny the historian either, who increasingly gained the upper hand. Thus, apart from some excellent scenes, his novel is at times somewhat constrained in realizing his literary goal, and more and more frequently a recital of history, at places from an openly contemporary perspective.

As a layman, I cannot judge how original Cseres is as a historian, but I presume that, beyond a powerful exposition of the topical problem of national minorities, his presentation by and large falls into line with the accepted views. The stand he takes on the nationality issue is stirring if only because there is no, nor will there be in the immediate future, accepted public view. Here public also includes the neighbouring nations, who in 1848/9, misled by the Austrian government and fired by nationalistic zeal, played a reactionary role (which up to the present day they have not acknowledged).

Cseres uses Kossuth's language in his novel. This idiolect can be sufficiently reconstructed from his writings, and Cseres genuinely reproduces it where he is left to his own devices. He often lets himself be led by Kossuth, quoting verbatim from the relevant writings without quotation marks. After all, why should he use them when he has the passages narrated by the man who actually wrote them. Sometimes one can feel the seams between the authentic and the reconstructed or imitated texts; this in itself would not matter, were it not that in the long run these seams create some uncertainly in the reader who does not know whether he is dealing with documentation or a novel. Cseres has remained much too close to the verbally documented Kossuth, and that has tied his hands when he has to manage on his own. The reconstruction gives a certain impression of make-belief, lacking the gesture that by now has become compulsory in the reconstruction of art monuments: to clearly divide the original parts from the reconstructed ones. The situation would have been different if Cseres had permitted himself to break with the authentic Kossuth texts, or if he had let their characteristics filter into his novel within limits. The Hungarian language of that time has since become extremely antiquated and Kossuth had a romantic predilection to heap metaphor upon metaphor; the result is that Kossuth's writing is in an extremely unusual, almost archaic style for the present-day reader. A faithful adherence to this stylistic device gives the impression not only of mannerism but of unbearable overcondensation. Of course it would perhaps be asking too much of a Hungarian writer to have the courage to break away in a fictitious Kossuth autobiography from the documented Kossuth style, cherished as a national treasure, as a masterpiece of Hungarian eloquence. Perhaps only a foreign author would feel free to do so, and then only if not writing in Hungarian.

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In a certain sense that is what György Spiró did in his large historical novel, *Az Ikszek* (The X's), only the other way round. As a Hungarian writer, he has treated a Polish historical subject in an entirely different manner to what a Polish writer would have chosen. Spiró gives the reason why he selected precisely this Polish subject, amongst other things, in the book's blurb: "...although the history of the two peoples [the Poles and the Hungarians] is similar, it is not similar to such an extent as to allow taboos and prejudices paralyse an outsider." The similarity in the history of the Hungarian and the Polish nations is generally known, at least by the people concerned, and so it can be correctly supposed that if a Hungarian author writes up a Polish subject, he has an axe to grind at home rather than a message for the other side. (For that matter, how can any writer address his message elsewhere than to his home audience?) Yet at the same time he is not bound by national proprieties so frequently attached to domestic subjects, he can move freely in the strange material. Spiró has ground his axe effectively, and indeed with some nerve in this imposing, excellent novel, because amongst other things, he could freely formulate, from his own aesthetic and conceptual points of view, a subject which is virtually unknown to the Hungarian reader. He was not restricted by facts, nor by the received Polish opinion on these facts.

As far as facts are concerned, Spiró more or less conforms to reality. "All my characters are, without exception, historical persons," he writes on the sleeve, "from the Grand Duke to the stage inspector, and from the second-hand bookseller to the prompter, and the (theatrical) performances I reproduced from the available sources." Only Professor Raszewski of Warsaw might know where Spiró has departed from real events, or has amended history's eventualities, as the professor has written a monograph on Spiró's protagonist, Wojciech Boguslawski, the greatest Polish actor and stage director of the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and has edited the writings of the X's which Spiró often quotes verbatim. Who were these X's? They were high-ranking, cultivated, but conservative and cynical Polish government officials, who formed a kind of secret society, writing reviews on the productions of the Warsaw

National Theatre, and irrespective of authorship, signed their reviews uniformly with the letter X.

This unusual manner of exercising power was cultivated in chaotic times by the powers that were, whose power was rather questionable. They themselves did not really know who or what they represented. The plot of the novel takes place in the second half of the 1810s' after the formation of the Holy Alliance, with some flashbacks and previews into the previous and the following decades. By that time Poland had ceased to be a unified, independent state. The Polish kingdom, already shaken by the Prussians, found itself occupied by Napoleon, and after his downfall, carved up by the victors between the Prussians, the Russians, and the Austrians. Warsaw, the royal seat of the historic kingdom, came under Russian suzerainty, though Polish government bodies formally preserved some provincial independence.

It is in this historical and political situation that Boguslawski tries to maintain his position in the Warsaw theatre and to continue his career. He is getting old, but his reputation is still alive, and his colleagues look up to him. Boguslawski, a Polish Molière, is the son of royal Poland and Polish classicism. Though not dogmatic in ideals, his make-up, his outlook, and his stagecraft are rooted in the spirit of the great bygone days. Being an actor, he can accommodate himself to the changes of the new times. He weathered the Napoleonic times, he was allowed to act and direct, and became manager of the Warsaw National Theatre.

Spiró's novel opens at the point where Boguslawski's career is breaking down. After the partition of Poland everything is changed, roles become recast both in state administration and the intellectual scene. New people, smooth-spoken, faceless diplomats of the new times win the day—the "X's," who are interchangeable at will, and the robust personalities of the old times cynically assimilate with them. Boguslawski has the same fate in store. Bur first he still tries to maintain his personality and ideals; the great comedian does not surrender at once. His name, his prestige and knowledge are also needed in politics, if only as a tactical tool.

At first Boguslawski does not recognize his reduction to a mere tool. He has faith in himself and the skills of his profession; he knows that he can rely on a considerable section of Warsaw audiences, heated by national emotions and responsive to good theatre, and he is aware of the tiny stature of his supposed adversaries. He is convinced that his shelving and the criticism can only last for a short while, and soon he can again take his rightful place at the head of the National Theatre. He is still able to produce performances of mobilizing effect out of valueless plays, under adverse circumstances. But the reception of, and reaction to, the productions include more and more false tones. A shadow of an elusive, suggested suspicion is cast upon Boguslawski, and in vain he tries to shake it off. In vain does he resort to subterfuge, in vain is he tireless and indestructible; he undertakes shameful compromises and adopts his adversaries' tactics, thus debasing himself to their level, gradually lowering his demands so that in the end he merely insists on being able at least to perform; the mechanism which methodically destroys traditional values, gradually liquidates Boguslawski the true master.

Seemingly it is the X's who weave the web around him. Boguslawski also thinks of them as his opponents, fighting them and bargaining with them. But the X's do not form an independent apparatus of power, they are merely a transitional manifestation on the current political practice, with cynical, unprincipled corruption as its essence.

The refined society of the X's is neither a dictatorial terrorist organization nor an elusive, unapproachable Kafkaesque "castle," whose officials are the mechanical executors of an irrational law. The X's, and other cliques around them, are alliances based on the conformity of incidental interests, who are fighting each other, changing by the minute, representing no more than the will of the individuals who for the moment belong to them. Boguslawski also becomes a victim and at the same time a cultivator of this corrupt public life, because in the given historical situation there is no other alternative left for him. Boguslawski is unable to set anything else against the general practice of moral disintegration, sycophancy, and a way of day-to-day life than an artist's consciousness rooted in classicism, and his professional knowledge; when these historical relics prove to be ineffective, he too falls to pieces and adds to the fulfilment of that which destroys him.

Spiró demonstrates his bitter message with amazingly rich and lively material. This abundance and variegation was to a certain extent a condition for being able to realize his intention: only an almost unsurveyable web of individual ambitions and interests, reactions and machinations create an authentic illusion of the world in which every activity is dictated by motives of mere self-preservation or momentary success, and the many conflicts of wills result in a dependence of all on everyone and a mutual defencelessness.

Boguslawski's fate remains in the focus of "The X's" throughout, there is scarcely a page in the book on which he does not appear. However, he is surrounded by swarms of supporting characters who, like Boguslawski, are all active and passive participants in their own conditions. Above all, there are thousands of vignettes of the company of the National Theatre, which provide a large mosaic of daily life. The reader can easily lose himself in the labyrinth of Polish names (unspellable and difficult to remember) and the diverging relations of their bearers which cannot be followed. But even that seems to be in keeping with the writer's intentions. Spiró introduces the reader to the story of Boguslawski and the X's as if it calls for no explanatory supplement at all, as if he is telling a contemporary story, taking knowledge of the prevailing conditions for granted. Unlike the traditional historical novel, he does not waste a single word in explicitly explaining the conditions and revealing the identity of the characters and their relationships; where there are brief explications, he remains within the contemporary horizon of the events described in the novel. He treats the reader as a contemporary on whose knowledge he can safely rely.

All that of course is only a cleverly created semblance, even though a number of questions and mysteries really remain unanswered, in the same way as the present is never closed down for the contemporaries. The thorough documentation of the material also reinforces this feeling of actuality. But Spiró's most impressive formal device lies in the fact that he tells this Polish story, every bit of which is linked to a given historical moment, in present-day Hungarian, and indeed in the somewhat flippant parlance of the modern Hungarian intelligentsia. By so doing, he paradoxically renders the same service to the presentness of the historical material as by creating the contemporary horizon. But this would remain merely a brilliant trick if the political and intellectual state of existence thus portrayed in "The X's" exclusively refers to the Poland of the beginning of the nineteenth century. The great force of Spiró's novel lies above all in the fact that it depicts with a fascinating interest and suggestive precision an intellectual public sentiment which is even more real today than it was in the past that the author has chosen as an alienating perspective.

MIKLÓS GYÖRFFY

TACITURN POETS

Ágnes Nemes Nagy: *Között* (Between). Magvető, 1981, 217 pp.; István Lakatos: *Írás a porban* (Writing in the Dust). Szépirodalmi, 1981, 343 pp.

The first reviewer of her first book recognized the significance of Ágnes Nemes Nagy and established her reputation immediately. István Vas, an influential member of an older generation of poets said of her *Kettős világban* (In a Dual World) in 1946: "Ágnes Nemes Nagy is the most masculine poet of her generation." This remark is unforgettable and may give rise to myths, especially the myth of being an outsider and even more so if the subject in question is a beautiful young woman.

When her first volume appeared Ágnes Nemes Nagy was a contributor to the monthly *Újhold* (New Moon, 1946–1948). The editor was her husband, the critic Balázs Lengyel, who also drew up its manifesto. *Újhold* was based on a generation which makes it virtually unique in the history of the Hungarian literary press. It was the outlet for writers who were in their twenties at the time. In the post-war coalition years in Hungary, most political parties had their literary line and produced their own literary reviews. Almost every one of the magazines of the time attacked *Újhold*, both as a movement and as a review; however, they were quite happy to publish its contributors and praise their books. (The situation is easier to understand if we remember that most writers contributed to most papers.)

Újhold (New Moon), whose best known contributor was János Pilinszky, was a great surprise. Its voice was entirely new, although it's deep attachment to the past is obvious today, especially to Attila József (1905–1937). Ágnes Nemes Nagy herself said in an 1981 interview: "...what did we learn from him? In the first place to use verse to express the extremes of experience. The feeling of one's existence being attacked both physically and mentally. Physical misery and madness turned into verse."

The voice of *Újhold* seemed shockingly, even provocatively, new because it was the voice of those who had come overnight into literature, from complete anonymity. Their formative experience was the war because they were too young to have any other. While other poets, to a greater or lesser extent, continued in their pre-war vein, the poets of *Újhold* did not, if for no other reason than their youth. Their voice and their tone were shockingly new because of their striking fervency and because the vehicle of their emotions was not narrative but the metaphor.

Ágnes Nemes Nagy has said several times that the experience which determined her life is the war, and in this 1981 interview she emphasized that the greatest, if not the only, joy in her life has been the defeat of fascism.

Fame and success came to her early. In 1948, a critical anthology, *Négy nemzedék* (Four Generations), surveying contemporary Hungarian poetry (including the established writers of the older generations), did not stint its praise: "She has proved her really great poetic talent."

Ágnes Nemes Nagy was 26 years old in 1948. She had to pay a high price for her spectatular and merited success, for the critical acclaim. During the period of dogmatism she was ousted from the literary world for almost ten years and only her translations were published. The silence, however, only increased her reputation. Her 1957 book, *Szárazvillám* (Dry Lightning) did not perhaps find sensational favour among reviewers; it did, however, exert a deep and, more importantly, liberating influence on the twenty-year olds who, a quarter of a century later, are now among the leading poets of their generation. Nemes Nagy, the outsider, has three presences in

Hungarian poetry: through her œuvre, her ethical attitude, and her impact.

She is a taciturn poet and here lies one of the secrets of her impact and prestige. It has often been said, especially in the sixties, that the obvious reason for the smallness of her production was her having been silenced. This may be true to some extent, but over the last twenty-five years when she has had every possibility of publishing, Nemes Nagy has remained very reticent, especially in the last ten years. *Szárazvillám* (Dry Lightning) was followed by *Napforduló* (Solstice) in 1967, and two years later, in 1969, she published her first selected poems under the title *A lovak és az angyalok* (Horses and Angels). Her 1981 selected poems, *Között* (Between), contains only 14 poems, or some 300 lines, more than *A lovak és az angyalok.* So her reticence seems to be a matter of poetic technique and ethics—the two cannot be separated.

As did the best of the *New Moon* poets, Ágnes Nemes Nagy follows in the tradition of Mallarmé: a poem suggests, it does not explain. The metaphor, not narrative, is the foundation of a poem. If earlier the metaphor had served to decorate the narrative, in her poetry, the metaphor absorbs it. The essential difference between her earlier and later work is that this technique has been more and more perfected. Autobiographical facts are crystallized and hidden in metaphors. Her verse, which mostly retains strophic structure and is occasionally rhymed, takes care to exclude interchangeable, accidental narrative (the question of why this and not that in narrative does not arise); overloading with metaphor is also carefully avoided.

In her third book, *Napforduló* (Solstice) this concern is explicity stated by *A formátlan* (The formless):

The formless, the never-ending,
I perish until I can wall off
my sentence from the infinite.
With sand, I am fencing off
a bucketful of ocean against nothingness.
(Prose translation.)

Elsewhere in the same book, the two-line *Párbeszéd* (Dialogue) views the same problem from the angle of the poetic statement that results from the above process:

Unhand me, flagpole! Why do you keep me from the wind?
Alone, you'd be tatters. As it is a streamer, streamer.

(Translated by Bruce Berlind, "Selected Poems by Ágnes Nemes Nagy." University of Iowa, International Writing Program, 1980.)

In her *A viadal* (The Struggle), the epithets *poshatag* (putrid) and *formátlan* (formless) indicate decay, death. The opposite of decay, death, indifference and self-abandonment is poetry, the activity which creates and gives form:

My craft, bewitching one,
You make me believe my life matters.
Between morality and terror, at the same time
in broad daylight and pitch blackness. (idem)

The above lines are from *Mesterségemhez* (To my Craft), which opens *Szárazvillám* (Dry Lightning). The title of the cycle to which it belongs is also characteristic: *Jegyzetek a félelemről* (Notes on Fear). The contrasting pair in the above stanza is also characteristic: the opposite of morality is fear. Light is joined to ideas of morality, pitch blackness into those of terror.

Reticence originates in the claim to give and create form. The translator of Corneille and Racine passionately loves the "architectural and structured qualities" of French classicism. "In general, the architectonical in poetry is close to me. The word, incidentally, I've taken from Goethe. That mute Church, the wordless tool which is structure and architecture, have greater effect on me than verbs, words, or statements."

Nemes Nagy considers that her major work to date is the cycle *Ekhnaton* from *Napforduló* (Solstice). An interviewer once remarked that "characteristically, from the cycle of poems we learn nothing of Ekhnaton's historical role. Why not?"

"Because I don't want to write a coffee-table book on cultural history"—was her answer and she went on to say to another question: "Ekhnaton lent us the look of the man who was the first to see." Here I can mention that Bruce Berlind, her American translator, has noted the frequency and role of "looking" and the "art of seeing" in her poetry.

Although a metaphorical architecture has had central place in her poetry, it would be a pity to ignore the three narrative poems she wrote in 1946, 1949 and 1966. They are maybe less interesting in themselves but, if we bear in mind that she has mastered the essay in the last 15 years, that in the 1970s she began to write prose poems more loosely-structured and lighter in tone (and, indeed from several lengthy interviews), it is not impossible to think of a turn in techniques and organization of her poetry. One thing is certain: despite apparent stagnation we cannot yet speak of an œuvre, a completed œuvre.

How to characterize this poetry? According to Bruce Berlind "One walks into a Nemes Nagy poem as into an abrupt change of climate. Indeed, her poems resuscitate a cliché: they build a whole new world. It is often a surreal world but the surrealism is a matter of landscape, not of language or local image. Taken as an œuvre, and they should be, her poems present a vision of the contemporary world which is at once unique and disconcertingly familiar.

"It is, primarily, a vision of fallen man uncomfortably accommodated to a fallen world." * Bruce Berlind remarks further that "trees are everywhere in these poems, as are birds and horses. And let me add: also airplanes and tanks. Airplanes at the bottom of the water of Lake Balaton, and tanks in the night of Ekhnaton."

"Nemes Nagy is a contemporary European poet in her feel for impending apocalypse," says Eric Mottram, the English poet and critic. ** "As a Hungarian, she can draw on immediate contributory experiences —but they do not particularise her work into something parochial." A Hungarian critic lacks the distance necessary to such a remark, only a foreigner, in this case an Englishman, can do so. But once the statement is made, the Hungarian critic can see what prompted it. The reasons lie in the metaphoric structure, and in the wealth of the allusions, mainly biblical. But it is perhaps not without significance that her early poem *Bűn* (Sin) has, in at least its closing stanza, a very distant, hardly perceptible paraphrase of that part of *The Jungle Book* where Hathi, the elephant, narrates "how fear came."

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As a new poet, István Lakatos's success was even more spectacular than that of Ágnes Nemes Nagy. He was born in 1927, his first poem appeared in 1947. In 1948 he published his narrative poem *A Pokol tornácán* (In the Limbo of Hell) in a review; a year later it was awarded the Baumgarten prize. (In the 1930s and 40s this award, given by a private foundation, was the highest-ranking literary prize; it was abolished in 1949.) *A Pokol tornácán* contained poems written as an adolescent, yet István Sőtér was writing of him in the *Négy nemzedék* anthology: "His voice is most special among the authentically new voices of the young generation. Sometimes harsh and unclear—but rare and heart-stirring."

There followed years of a silence even more prolonged than those of Nemes Nagy. The collection *Egy szenvedély képei* (Images of a Passion) appeared only in 1972, and of its 3,800 lines half were taken up by a radical rewriting of *A pokol tornácán*. His latest book *Írás a porban* (Writing in the Dust) is composed of two parts. The first is *Egy szenvedély képei* with a further twenty-five poems added, the second contains his snorter translations.

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* *NHQ* 76.

** *NHQ* 81.

During the years when he could not publish, and probably did not even write poetry, István Lakatos became an excellent translator. He translated all of Virgil; the *Aeneid* came out in 1962, the *Eclogues* in 1963, and the Complete Works in 1967. The interest in classic authors in Hungary is attested by a new edition of the latter (being sold out in 1973). In the sixties Lakatos translated long passages from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. But had he actually stopped writing poetry? Literary translation has always enjoyed great prestige in Hungary, although since the romantic era only original works have been considered really important. One should not forget, however, that before romanticism or in a literature less dominated by it, a translation of the complete works of Virgil would be considered the work of a life-time. His new Hungarian Virgil is an outstanding popular and artistic achievement. One cannot know what would have become of Lakatos if there had not been that turn in cultural policy, if he had been able to continue publishing his own work after 1949 at the rate he had done in the two years previous. The best poems in *Írás a porban* make us believe that his thorough study of the classics was the school which made a writer of significance out of a gifted and ambitious young poet.

Lakatos has assessed the role of translation in the epilogue to *Írás a porban*, and has come to the same conclusion: "The most important phase of my development and career are certainly those then odd years. The great classics were my university. While translating them I learned what I had to learn if I wanted to set out on the course I had outlined for myself. At the same time they made me realize the insignificance of my poetry compared to theirs, and its imperfections compared even to my own ambitions and plans."

The young poet had been characterized by unlimited ambition and self-confidence. *In the Limbo of Hell* was written in 1948 and was an epic experiment with the siege of Budapest as its subject; despite the foolhardiness of the attempt, it was not altogether unsuccessful.

To qoute again from the epilogue of *Images of a Passion:* "...in 1968 an anthology wanted to publish *In the Limbo of Hell* again. I resolved not to allow this without substantial changes. But could it be improved? I tried then what a poet could perhaps never do with his own work: I regarded it as a poor, rough translation of a narrative poem. The structure, the skeleton was in order. I progressed from line to line. Transcribed almost every sentence and simile... By the time I got to the end the poem started to live and then I knew that it was possible to salvage the flawed work of my youth."

In the epilogue to *Writing in the Dust*, Lakatos again takes up the problem of rewriting: "...I felt that these corrections were necessary, and not because I denied my past or some parts of it... My early poems... are technically poor, and formally immature."

The title may also change in the process of rewriting. *Writing in the Dust* is the title of a narrative poem which then gives the collection its title. It was included in *In the Limbo of Hell* back in 1949 under the title *Emlék* (Memory). The story is the same in both cases. A young Christian tells the story of his love for a Jewish girl deported with her family in the summer of 1944. Passion, pain and devotion are on the highest pitch in both and yet, there is a basic difference between the two versions, to the advantage of the second. The titles themselves give an indication of the difference in dimension. *Memory* is indifferent, neutral. A memory can be related and, ultimately, if not completely banished, at least numbed. The biblical *Writing in the Dust*, however, conveys an idea of the unforgettable horror of the holocaust. The new title penetrates the fabric of the poem, some lines have been rewritten:

> *The mark of falling bodies, of footprints*
> *on the ground. Writing in the dust:*
> *rain would soak it, wind sweep it away.*
> *Not even God can ever wipe it out.*
> (Prose translation.)

The narrative poem relies on description and characterization. This is how the narrator in *Writing in the Dust* explains his antifascism:

> *I had the strain of scepticism in me*
> *since my brain has begun to think.*
> *I knew that who knows how to doubt (also*
> *himself) will never serve a tyrant...*
> (Prose translation.)

Again, Lakatos in the epilogue to *Images of a Passion:* "I have been aiming at a kind of œuvre for a long time: a book which does not contain only a sequence of good poems; not a setting for gradually improving smaller poems but an organic unit which transcends the individual personality, attitude and style of the author." In other words, he made a virtue out of constraint of protracted silence. He also found his models: *Les fleurs du mal* and *Leaves of Grass.* Both Baudelaire and Whitman built and shaped their single books all along their life.

The same epilogue emphasizes this train of thought: "The reader should not seek the process of my personal development in my poetry... instead he should look for a poetic structure, a system." The overwhelming majority of the poems in *Writing in the Dust* are love poems but, as he writes in the prose poem *Ha...* (If...) "the passions of love can mask very different passions." Love is the chance for knowledge, measure and judgement: "Deliver justice between me and the world!"

Writing in the Dust is extremely varied in theme and form. Some poems are dramatic, such as *Boldogság múzeuma* (Museum of Happiness) where Lakatos writes up a Persian fairy-tale motif and the legend of the building of the Taj Mahal in the ironic style of the *Mahabharata. Száz arcod* (Your Hundred Faces) is a cycle of linked and complementary lyrical poems. There are also portraits (Prometheus, Berenice, Tannhäuser) or aphorisms as in the cycle *Változatok a gyűlöletre* (Variations on Hate): "Hate, and I tell you who you are." Despite—or, perhaps, because of—this diversity, it is an organic and unified work.

The second part of *Writing in the Dust* contains a collection of Lakatos's literary translations, mainly Latin, Sanskrit, and Italian material (Martial, excerpts from the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana,* Ariosto, Tasso, Ungaretti.)

László Ferenczi

TRADE OR PROFESSION?

A műfordítás ma (Translation Today). Essays. Edited by Sándor Rákos and István Bart. Gondolat, Budapest, 1981, 675 pp. (In Hungarian.)

To translate is impossible, to translate is necessary—Hungarian literature has known this paradox from the beginning, and if it had ignored the paradox Hungarian literature would not exist. In Hungary literature in the national language began with translations, and along with other literatures of Central and Eastern Europe it again drew strength from translations in the early 19th century. This was a time when unlike those happier nations whose cultures continuously developed, even the national language had to be reformed partly through loan-words, partly through mirror-translations and adapting idioms from other languages.

Thus translated literature in Central and Eastern Europe has considerable traditions: accordingly the practice and theory of translation are more closely related to Hungarian literature itself than is the case in those structurally more closed and continuously developing literatures, written in major languages.

This bulky volume of essays published in 1981 (and edited by two practising translators, István Bart and the poet Sándor Rákos) throws light on practically all aspects from quantitative indices to analyses of the most delicate problems of the translator's workshop. The volume focuses on literature. We learn from a comprehensive essay by László Ferenczi, the number of foreign works published in Hungarian between 1945 and 1977 was 22,859 including 9,622 works of fiction. Today the role of literature is still more considerable in Central and Eastern Europe than in countries farther to the west, and it is therefore right that the vast majority of the essays discuss artistic questions, including problems of verse translation. Yet we may still note that the past thirty years that have witnessed excellent translations in the fields of philosophy, the social sciences and the natural sciences, ranging in time from the Greco-Roman era to the 20th century.

It may be a legend though, as László Ferenczi points out, that translation is carried out in Hungary or, that translations here are made only by great writers, while elsewhere the same is the work of craftsmen, but it is a fact that translation here has a different function. After the Second World War the Hungarian conception came somewhat nearer to the more matter-of-fact conception in Western Europe. According to Zoltán Kenyeres: "Characteristic of the first wave... of modern translated literature was that the poet did the translation for himself in the first place; he endeavoured to enlarge the horizon of his poetry, to refine his tools and develop his personality by connecting it to the current of universal lyrics... Only indirectly was his intention to acquire knowledge through working in translations. It was this very intention that changed after the Second World War. Translation became an immediate instrument of the cultural revolution taking place in society where the task of dissemintating knowledge came into prominence." The considerable increase in the number of translated works, however, was only partly why this job underwent a quasi-industrial transformation and one of the most interesting essays of the volume, written by István Geher, an outstanding translator of English and American literary works, reveals the contradictions in translators' conditions.

Geher states that critical response to translations is very poor, that material recognition is mechanical and insufficient. "...anyone who does difficult work well has to work at least two or three times as much as someone who does light work barely adequately, the difference in financial rewards, hardly 10 to 15 per cent, is insignificant." Not even the most talented person living by translation only can earn more than 200 Ft (about $6) a day, "...his monthly earnings amount to 5,200 Ft—average, even for a fixed salary. Yet at best, only the best of translators can, with luck, earn this much through their work." As for poets, to make this much money, they would have to translate 600 lines of poetry a month, "roughly forty sonnets every month." For moral recognition, the situation is better: "To be a translator is to have a respected position." The translator is in fact regarded as a creative writer and can enjoy modest perks available to a member of literary associations.

According to Geher's calculations the number of translated books published in Hungarian every year is about 400 of which at least 200 are new translations. Together with the translations published in literary magazines—exclusive of film scripts—"the approximate total is about 100,000 pages of literature other then verse translated every year."

This enormous amount produces its own problems. "The pseudo-texts of false poetry and sham prose propagated as literature pervert the taste and style of readers (and of writers and poets), dull their sensitivity and slacken out their imagination. They corrode even the Hungarian language." It is understandable that few among such a number of new works are of real literary value; with such meager recompense, the translator feels compelled to produce in quantity. Another question is the replacement of translators. Even the best manage to do this work for only over a limited time; this is true mainly of professionals, whereas amateurs cannot always be relied upon by publishers. There is no organized training of translators, and this corresponds to the established situation: "...The translator's trade, modern and productive in both quality and quantity, certainly calls for a specialized work force but is unable to maintain it, to provide for the reproduction of its mental energies (to subsist at an average level). The translator's profession as a chosen career is therefore non-existent."

The overwhelming majority of translated literary works are prose, but in this volume not even their translators deal in any detail with practical questions of prose translation; they prefer to discuss theoretical problems in translation, problems which are essentially identical with those raised by academic treatises abroad. A reason for this can be found in the fact that Central and Eastern European literatures in general, and Hungarian literature in particular, gave preference to lyrical poetry from the 19th to the mid-20th century; so much so that works on Hungarian literary history repeatedly state that "In Hungary the leading role belongs to lyrical poetry." Lyrical forms dominate in any society retaining archaic features. Wherever urbanisation has been hindered or has developed unevenly for historical reasons, social consciousness preserves certain feudal elements. In these societies the vatic poet (in the romantic sense) is seen as the repository of the national culture. The dominance of lyrical poetry in Hungarian literature was only lost to fiction as late as the sixties and seventies. The consequence of this, for works translated and studies on translation, these essays suggest, is that prose translation carries on with little basis in theory and with great effect on the public; verse translation is still going on, with negligible effects on the public and with a highly developed theory and occasionally significant results.

Several sets of questions are reformulated in these essays which deal with the translation of poetry where the authors themselves are also poets. One of the big sets is concerned with the specific features of the Hungarian language. Unlike other Central and Eastern European languages, Hungarian is as suited to Greek, Latin and Western European verse as it is for the stress versification of Hungarian itself. In the 19th century and early in the 20th these features prevailed both in Hungarian poetry itself and in the practice and theory of translation; a complex system of obligatory rules had been consolidated by the middle of the 20th century. The established practice was that foreign poetry should be translated into Hungarian in the original verse-form, accurately reproducing the rhytms and rhymes and the syllable count of the original; a certain degree of freedom was allowed only for masculine and feminine rhymes. This translating practice became so refined that—as several contributions point out—Miklós Radnóti, one of the great Hungarian poets of our century, was able to choose one hexameter form when translating Greek and Roman poets and a relatively heavier, more cumbersome hexameter to translate Goethe. In other Central and Eastern European literatures—in the Slavonic languages or in Rumanian—the question does not even arise because a hexameter can be constructed only with difficulty, by doing violence to the language itself. Poets and theorists have for a long time seen only an advantage of the flexibility of Hungarian in this. From the essays published in the volume, however, this view appears to have undergone some change. In fact the question is raised whether or not absolute fidelity to form entails renunciation of fidelity to content. The tone of the essays in the volume suggests that the answer is going to be negative.

Fidelity to form is obviously possible only by making greater or lesser changes in content, by inserting fillers to supply rythm and by omitting important information. Because of this practice—observed to this day—Hungarian verse translation stands almost entirely alone in Western and in Eastern Europe. György Somlyó compares the Hungarian practice of verse translation with the French, Grácia Kerényi compares it with the Polish; they arrive at similar conclusions: a French or a Polish translator, taking a Hungarian poem in hand, would not even understand this traditional attitude of ours. Miklós Vajda reports having encountered similar difficulties in editing an English-language anthology of Hungarian poetry. In Western and Eastern European lyrical poetry, free verse means something other then it does to Hungarian poetry. Another question is in what Hungarian verse-form to render, for example, Polish stress and syllable versification: if we render it through stress, we create a specifically Hungarian atmosphere quite different to the Polish, and if we take the syllable count as a basis, the poem will inevitably become iambic or trochaic, that is to say, Western European.

The contrastive approach to form and content shows that practising poet-translators feel that the established canon is too narrow. The poet József Tornai, for example, compares a formally faithful translation of a poem by Rimbaud to his own rendering of it, which ignores the form, to illustrate the contradictions of the increasingly problematic canon: contrary to the prevailing idea, he comes down for prose translation of poetry, a practice which is more usual in Western Europe.

The decline of the principle of formal fidelity obviously follows also from changes in the language. It is observable, and the poet Ágnes Nemes Nagy records this in her essay, that in the past few decades Hungarian iambic verse has also undergone some change, it has become considerably looser, freer; dactyls, spondees and trochees may appear in an iambic line, and it is the terminal syllables which qualify the line as iambic. This change in the norms of the accepted standard literary language can be seen from a different angle in Dezső Mészöly's essay; he examines the applicability of constantly changing Hungarian vulgar slang to the translation of the Villon poetry which uses the thieves' cant of his time.

The essays of the volume range fairly widely, from the problems of translating Greek and Latin poems and Russian folk poetry, through the most recent Bible translation approximating to colloquial language, down to the interpretation of today's world literature; consequently the Hungarian standard language of poetry is illuminated from the angle of diachrony and synchrony at the same time, in perfect harmony with the extension in space and time of modern Hungarian literary translation. It is evident that different problems are met with by Sándor Rákos, who deals with the poetry of Oceania, and by László Lator, who is grappling with Montale's poems, or even by Ede Szabó, who is working on a new translation of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*.

The colourful chapter on these subjects in the volume is the most instructive of all. It is headed under "Workshop," and thanks to translators who are directly faced with practical problems, puts into sharper focus matters dealt with on a theoretical level in other chapters. The intrinsic qualities of contemporary Hungarian emerge more clearly and more practically by juxtapositing Hungarian with this variety of foreign cultures than by a theoretical formulation of additional, possibly more flexible and less strict, rules of translation.

There are two lessons that are to be

drawn from the volume. The first is that, although István Geher's situation report on the insecurity of the translators' condition is quite correct, the practising translators who discuss specific problems do not in the least regard their job as a trade but, conscious of a calling, continue to work in the interest of the Hungarian language and in order to enrich contemporary Hungarian poetry; they do not seem to mind the low translator's fees or the conditions imposed on them by the employer (such as deadlines). The translators' sense of vocation, handed down from the past, is still alive, at least in case of the best of them. The second lesson is that those problems insoluble in principle can—because they must—somehow be solved in practice. Of course, there are compromises on form and content and there are restrictive self-limitations, but solutions can be found so that the available work in Hungarian might be built into the body of Hungarian culture which it, in turn, develops and enriches. The reserves and layers of the mother tongue are mobilized at such times, as we can see in the essays of poets such as István Vas or Dezső Tandori, which recount the process of translating a given foreign poem.

The volume mainly concerns itself with translations into Hungarian which, as they have done in the past, continue to enrich the receiving literature. Certain translators, for the most part writers or poets themselves, consciously look to add to Hungarian culture from the literatures available to them.

The present reviewer translates from Slavonic literatures, so is able to gather, from behind the composed and businesslike contributions, the interest, the despair of seeing the impossible, and also the satisfaction of finally arriving at a solution. A lot of things which, west of us, are a trade, are a profession in this part of the world. This is demonstrated also by the almost 700 pages of this volume.

GYÖRGY SPIRÓ

ARTS

NATURALISTIC ABSTRACTIONS

Mari Mészáros, Judit Nagy, Liviusz Gyulai

Mari Mészáros had no intention of setting a new artistic trend, yet that is just what she seems to have done. She graduated in 1977 from the School for Industrial Design, but she did not feel like following up her training in the design of drinking glasses. "There was the medium which I wanted to keep at any cost," she said, "and I have always been excited about human processes. My own medium, glass, is obvious. A good partner. First of all it is transparent, and also hard, but it can take on any soft shape, since it is so plastic. This medium exists and yet it does not exist."

The Dorottya utca Showroom has gathered her works in glass—one could even call them glass statues; the organizer, Ágnes Dobai, has painted the walls black and has been liberal with light effects. According to the photographic reports in the catalogue on Mari Mészáros's complex and exhausting method, she always starts from the living form: she makes a plaster moulding of the model—exactly in the manner of death masks—she shapes ever so slightly; occasionally she breaks off a piece of plaster, or covers the nude body with plastic wrap, but all this is mainly correction. It is rather frightening to see the dark young girl in the catalogue-photos cast in plaster and tied with ribbons. When I asked the artist, she answered: "The model feels sealed up, locked in, buried alive. When I prepare the cast, I always talk to her, hold her hand. I have even made a cast of myself in order to get the feeling of being a model." When the plaster is set, Mészáros pours into this mould the incandescent glass, or she bends into it the 6 mm hot glass plate. The faithful copy of the living head, or of half of the body—or of both hemispheres—which is saturated with the transpositions enforced by the medium or by Mari Mészáros herself.

Jealousy, My Lover's Lover (1979) is a regular torso, without head or limbs. The artist has placed plastic drapery between the model and the plaster, and has silvered the inner surface of the sculpture for extra effect. It shines like a mirror, or more precisely, this silvery-white material looks and feels metallic. The torso *Afternoons of the Shepherd's Wife* (1979) is moulded glass with wire netting, encased in a window-frame, a complementary object with two open, empty casements. *He Said* (1981) moves one step beyond the primarily high relief character of the last two. The wire-netted glass head has two hemispheres, it has become sculpture in the round; it has the suggestive quality of almost all her sculptures, strengthened by the dazzling beam of the spotlight hidden, not in the head, but in the base. Another double-hemisphere work is *Fighting Style* (1981), only this one no longer imitates or paraphrases traditional sculpture. The twin glass composition is the torso of the two sides of a feminine nude. If we lined them up next to each other, we would obtain the figure: two shoulders, two breasts, the back, etc. But no. The two halves confront each other now, stand facing each other, giving a whole new interpretation to the human body in space. And there is also something else. Mészáros does not want to hide the fact of casting two hemispheres, does not want to assemble the sculpture neatly with a well-finished appearance. On the contrary, she emphasizes the method and technique by placing the two pieces in twin space. We observe the impressions of the model's goose-flesh on the inner glass wall, which validates the immediate sensitivity of this work: these sculptures have a primary relationship to man.

Mészáros plays with glass. Sometimes she lets the green colour of her medium speak, at other times she sprinkles on iron filings and there is the wire-netting plate we have already mentioned. We keep calling her sculptures "torsos," because they are, in fact, fragments just like our monuments of Graeco-Roman sculpture. It is easy to associate them with classical models. Her other works, in turn, remind us of Donatello, or Pop Art. I would call her style expressionistic hyper-realism, her representation of reality being more immediate than photography, and yet of the highest individuality. A Mészáros sculpture is dualistic, better yet, polyvalent. It is sincere, letting us see beneath the epidermis of the figure.

Glass is transparent.

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The tapestry artist Judit Nagy is also very young, and graduated from the School for Industrial Design in the same year —1977—as Mészáros. Her 1981 exhibition has been organized by the brand-new Fészek Gallery of the 80-year-old Artists Club. The artist won a prize in 1978 at the Szombathely Textile Biennale, which earned her an individual exhibition as early as 1980.

At the Gallery I was greeted by a declarative tapestry. It depicted a sheet detached from a notebook, pinned to the wall, with a few words on it: "Weaving—a way of life." This rough little note—the very antithesis of solemn tapestry-weaving—heightens the "conceptual art" attitude. "Weaving does determine my way of life," explains Judit Nagy about her title, "jokes are not enough, tapestry requires slave labour. As soon as there is light, I am at my weaving. I take a little rest at noon, then I resume, so I work about six hours a day, sometimes as many as twelve." The subjects of her tapestries and appliqués are exclusively butterflies, insects, bugs. (This all brings to mind the title of a comedy in the period between the two world wars in Budapest: The Lady Has a Bee in Her Bonnet.) Her bugs are usually enlarged to a square metre in her Gobelins and, when she wants plasticity, she depicts them with appliqués stuffed hard: *Rose-beetle, Stag-beetle, Goliath-beetle, Cynthia Drury's Moth, Sphinx-moth, Emperor-Butterfly, Bird-Wing Butterfly, Urania Moth.* Her work is really biology illustrated. This unsentimental realistic presentation can only be achieved with an ability to draw like Judit Nagy. The colours are original, the transposition given by the yarn, so that everything is muted, i.e. tapestry-toned. The identical subjects do not get boring, because of the varied arrangement, the change in découpage, and the difference made by the presence of two or three bugs instead of one. The shadow of the insect is visible, and there is some colouring of the picture-background too. The three-dimensional appliqué bugs appear even more enormous than the tapestry ones. The *Goliath-beetles* (1978) group is sewn on an *objet trouvé,* a bordered velvet tablecloth from the early 1900s. The size here is that of a dining-table. The flies are also part of Judit Nagy's entomological storehouse. They are always, all their lives, *Flies in Evening Gown* (1978), they are the most gorgeous, most colourful of the artist's collection of insects. "I only found out later," Nagy confesses, "that these are carrion flies. Well, they must live on something too."

There is just one change of subject in the exhibition. This is the *Great Button-Sewer* (1980), obviously a household note. There are white feminine hands on the Gobelin, needle and thread, and underneath the orderly composition of a multitude of actual buttons sewn on. Their style suggests they must have belonged to three generations.

Her newest large-scale work is the *History of Flying* (1981), a tapestry sized 260×110 cm. It is to be placed in the conference-room of the new Atrium Hyatt Hotel in Budapest. On the bottom of the picture there are hills, valleys, green landscape, trees on a backdrop of mountain-tops, in the valley an idyllic little village with red roofs and the red spire of a church. Up in the sky there are balloons, airships, the instruments of flying men, and a good-sized ichneumon fly. Just like bugs preserved and pinned in the glass show-cases.

Judit Nagy sought a territory for herself in the world not as yet claimed—and she has found one. This unclaimed territory belongs to the living world and she is exploring it until she can find something new. The cool reality of her art does not degrade it into a handbook of biology. It is at the same time a satire of the scientific viewpoint, of narrow bug-hunting; but all this ironic disposition and humour, which are essentially her basic stance, pass almost unnoticed. She makes no quips, and if she does, she never pauses for effect. She is absurd, without seeming so.

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Hungarian critical literature keeps referring to the golden age of Hungarian graphic art in the sixties, which has become inseparable from the name of the master, the prematurely deceased Béla Kondor—who was never a teacher, a professor. Kondor initiated the new interest in archaizing, he began to visit the graphics department at the Budapest Museum of Art, where students could look at their ease at Dürer woodcuts, Rembrandt engravings. This early nostalgia has been decisive for a generation of graphic artists, whose members all tried to express something new in the old way, while remaining faithful to their age and sovereign at the same time. Liviusz Gyulai belongs to the second generation of graphic artists, his graphic methods, his tools are traditional, yet his mark on all his illustrations is unmistakable. "I could not even illustrate a modern book," he declared from the beginning of his career. "I get ideas from ages long past; I feel this radium-like emanation."

He has assembled the illustrations of a decade at the Dorottya utca Showroom, and has supplemented it with preparatory studies and independent sheets. He is an enthusiast of multiple-replica graphic art; he uses the language of graphics—woodcut, pointillism—even when drawing. He likes to create original illustrations for poets', writers' works. He is very careful to stay within the chosen technique—or shall we say pseudo-technique: his drawing ability is that of the old, classical masters. But his directness is transpositional. With this attitude Gyulai was the forerunner of the real-line attitude widespread today, which hides a different-level reality in its depths. It is assisted by irony, self-irony too, with which it can easily defeat apparently unbeatable obstacles. "Liviusz Gyulai must have been a faun in his former life," begins his monographer, András Bán, in the preface to the catalogue.

He stays in the rococo world with his illustrations to Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1976), we could almost believe them contemporary with the book, but not quite: Gyulai always makes his presence felt without modesty. And the series of illustrations for Sándor Weöres's *Psyché* (1972)* is rococo too, according to Bán "the illustrator has not scanned his lines of verse like an amateur actor." When I interviewed Gyulai fifteen years ago he said: "Illustration is a responsible thing to do. The pictures first seen in a book give one a basic experience which cannot be erased. Like the steel plates in the Jules Verne books read in my childhood." The artist's implicit wish has come true, he has had the chance to illustrate the volume *From the Earth to the Moon* and *Around the Moon* by Jules Verne, which is also among the exhibits. And perhaps it is also natural that Liviusz Gyulai and E. T. A. Hoffmann should have met, in *Tom-Cat Murr.*

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* See *NHQ* 52.

A few years ago the world of the early twentieth century was not so fashionable, at any rate Gyulai's ambitious pen-and-ink composition *Grandmothers' Seaside* (1976) is an evergreen. The *Champion* (1975) with his waxed moustache and visored jockey-cap leans on his velocipede. This pen-and-ink drawing is detailed like a photograph and prepared with as much care as a test piece. The champion and the bicycle as well are lifelike, with a minor fault: the first wheel happens to be octagonal. Liviusz Gyulai's major work and presumably at the same time his emblem is the linoleum cut entitled *Man Drawing a Unicorn* (1970). The superb graphics and the animal drawing is as full-blooded and weighty as a Dürer, the clothing of the artist absorbed in his work is within the period. Obviously there have been many people drawing unicorns in the past—in the absence of photographs we have such drawings left to us. But how did Gyulai think of all this?

JÁNOS FRANK

PAINTINGS AND MEDALS

Works of Tamás Kárpáti and Erika Ligeti

Tamás Kárpáti's show in the studio room of the Műcsarnok Gallery in Budapest was intended to introduce the latest examples of his Parables series (1980–1981). It was not, then a retrospective show; but it did give a certain overview of the artist's earlier works, even if in a limited, incomplete form. From what we saw it becomes clear that Kárpáti's art has been in a process of transformation since his 1974 beginnings, and also that this process, which advanced at first step-by-step, has lately accelerated and announces itself in formal changes which are more and more striking. This is most easily observable in the evolution of his colour-range: the paintings with luminous yellow skies and green basic tone heated up to red by 1978, than they wilted and exchanged their inner glow for greenish-brownish marshlight tints, until finally the *Parables* series completely swept aside the naturalistic colour-scale, replacing it with poetic deep brown, golden yellow and muted red tones.

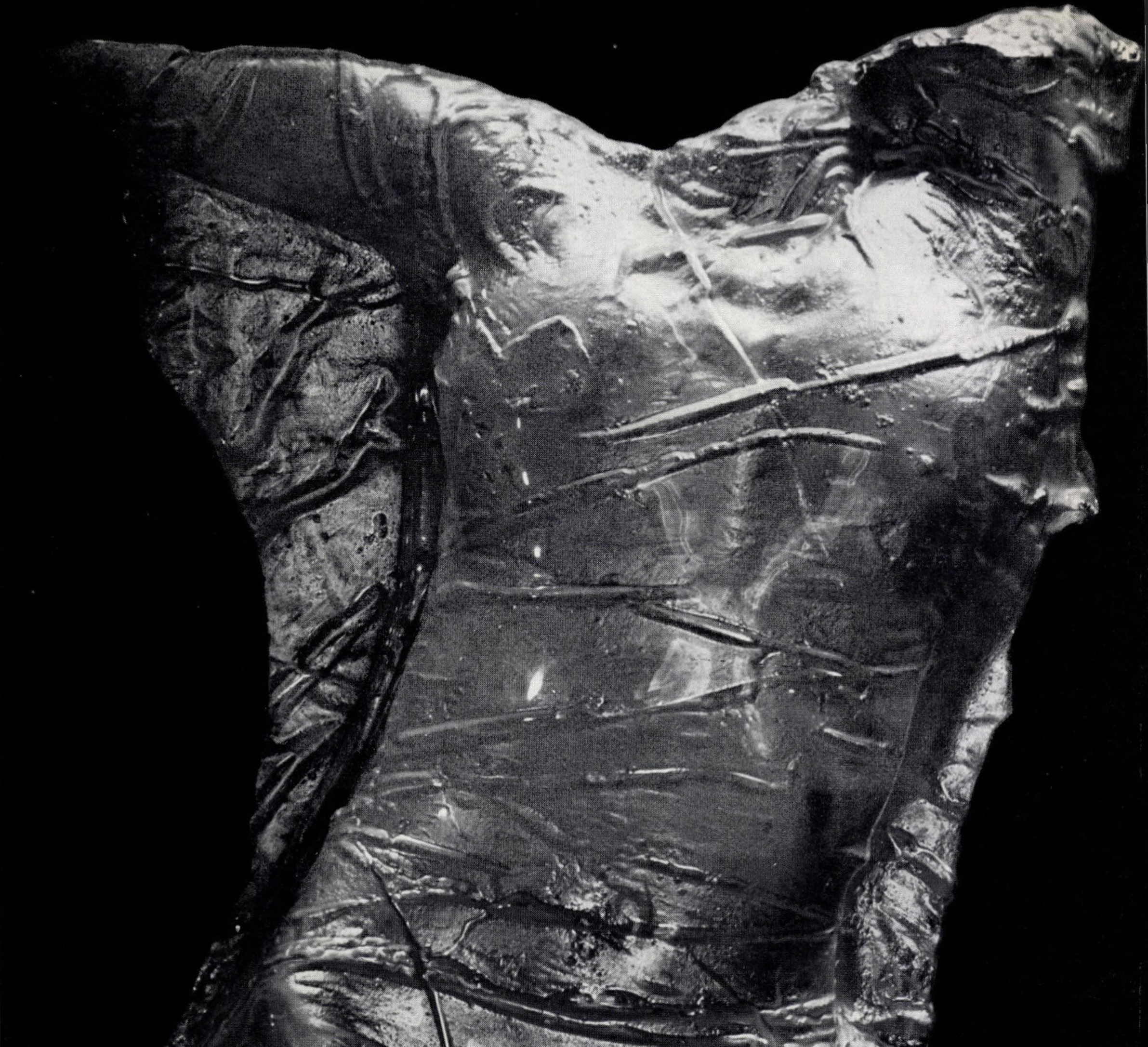
The green period was represented at the show by a 1977 painting, *The Kiss.* The figures, a lonely one and a kissing couple, place themselves in the foreground of a stage-like slice of space populated with trees. In the poetic atmosphere the intimacy of the theme is expressed in the features, the brooding eyes, the harmonious relationship between man and the natural environment. The lonely figure and the pair of lovers face each other in a characteristic, recurring pattern of Kárpáti's paintings, which finds its most sensitive formulation in *Passion* (1978). Breaking with the freeze-like coordinative stringing together of figures drawn at the same scale, the artist gave prominence to the lovers bearing the central idea of the painting, pushing them slightly to the side at the same time, so we would see more of the scenery, where the horizonline has been placed higher than customary. The opening next to the main figures allows us a glimpse, not only of the scenery, a clearing surrounded by trees, but also of a tiny, lonely figure placed in the bosom of nature, wiping his tears under a big tree. The two kinds of phenomena are connected with, and set against, each other by the diagonal axis, the difference in scale and mainly through the contrasting feelings. The pictorial solution emphasizes the figures of the Chagallesque hovering woman and of the standing man, whose passion is expressed not in a spectacular outpouring of feelings, but rather a total oblivion to their surroundings. Feelings glow inside, behind closed eyes, and sketchy, mask-like faces.

In the early works of Kárpáti the natural background plays an important role. That is where the introspective, grieving or meditative characters find refuge, this environment is the home of lovers oblivious of everything except each other. Nature is not simply decorative scenery but also the instrument of protecting and objectifying feelings. This is the city-dweller's peculiar relationship to nature: for him the biological sphere is not the instrument and the object of work, not a source of livelihood, but rather the space for a free, unconstrained relationship with the world, for a breaking out of walls. The wall in the 1978 painting of the same title is the obstacle incarnate, it blocks the pictorial plane, it obstructs the view, and thereby it becomes the surrealist symbol for all kinds of social constraints. The wall, as the embodiment of social as opposed to natural existence, also appears in another painting (*At the Wall*, 1979), where it fills the left of the picture plane in all its height, while the right is taken up by the green vegetation of the natural sphere. At the dividing line between the two worlds, in the geometrical centre of the picture, stands man depicted as a desperately crying figure.

Human personality becomes even more obviously the stage and stake of the conflict between the social and the natural in the paintings titled *Warlike Peacetimes* (1979), and *Poet and Soldiers* (1979). The former expresses the inner conflict generated in the individual by social constraint, by the confrontation with the self through the juxtaposition of youths wearing helmets and flower-wreaths, and through the mixing of the attributes of the two spheres—a helmeted youth with a wind-instrument, a flower-wreathed figure with a helmet on his shoulder. *Poet and Soldier* raises the possibility of open collision between the two kinds of roles. The middle panel of the triptych depicts the poet, who embodies feelings, sensitivity, star-gazing, other-wordliness with his whole attitude. The soldiers around him on the other hand have their feet solidly planted on the ground, they wear helmets, carry weapons, and at their feet lies the red rose of illusions, dreams, which they must trample in the mud at command.

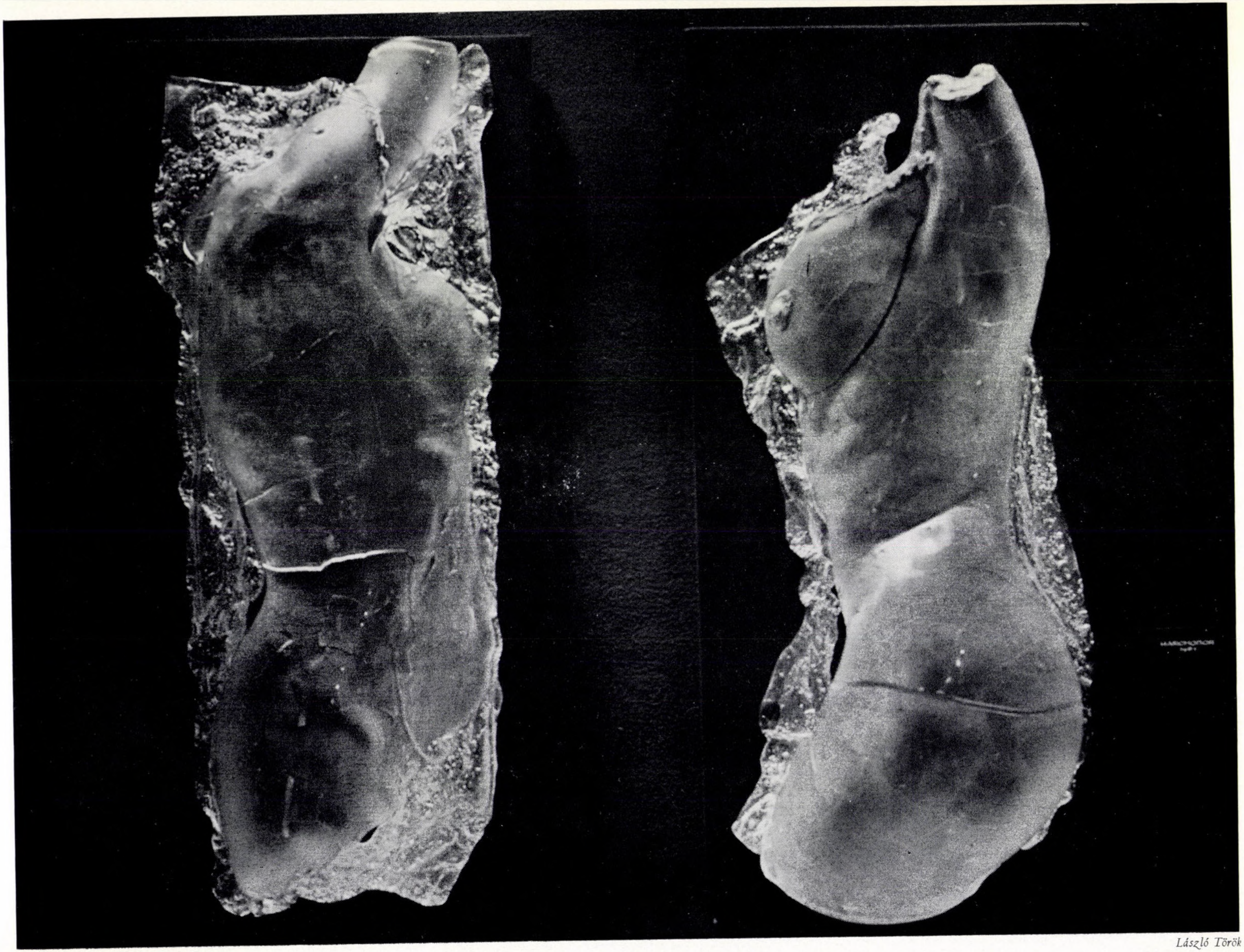
Tamás Kárpáti's latest pictures bear the title of *Parables*, and the source of their motifs are biblical scenes. The artist gives no particular indications as to the identity of the figures depicted, he does not emphasize the Christian iconographical tradition, nor does he recall it by titles which would define the painted subjects more concretely. He brings out the general human, psychological aspects of the situations, and actualizes them in a way, as if he were staging a modern version of an old play.

In some of the pictures we see a meditative, lonely protagonist, who could be interpreted as the hidden self-portrait of the artist dreading triviality and brutality, or on a more general level, as the portrait of suffering, self-tormenting, self-destroying humanity. Elsewhere the fate of this bearded Christ-like figure brings him into conflict with society around him, with the other

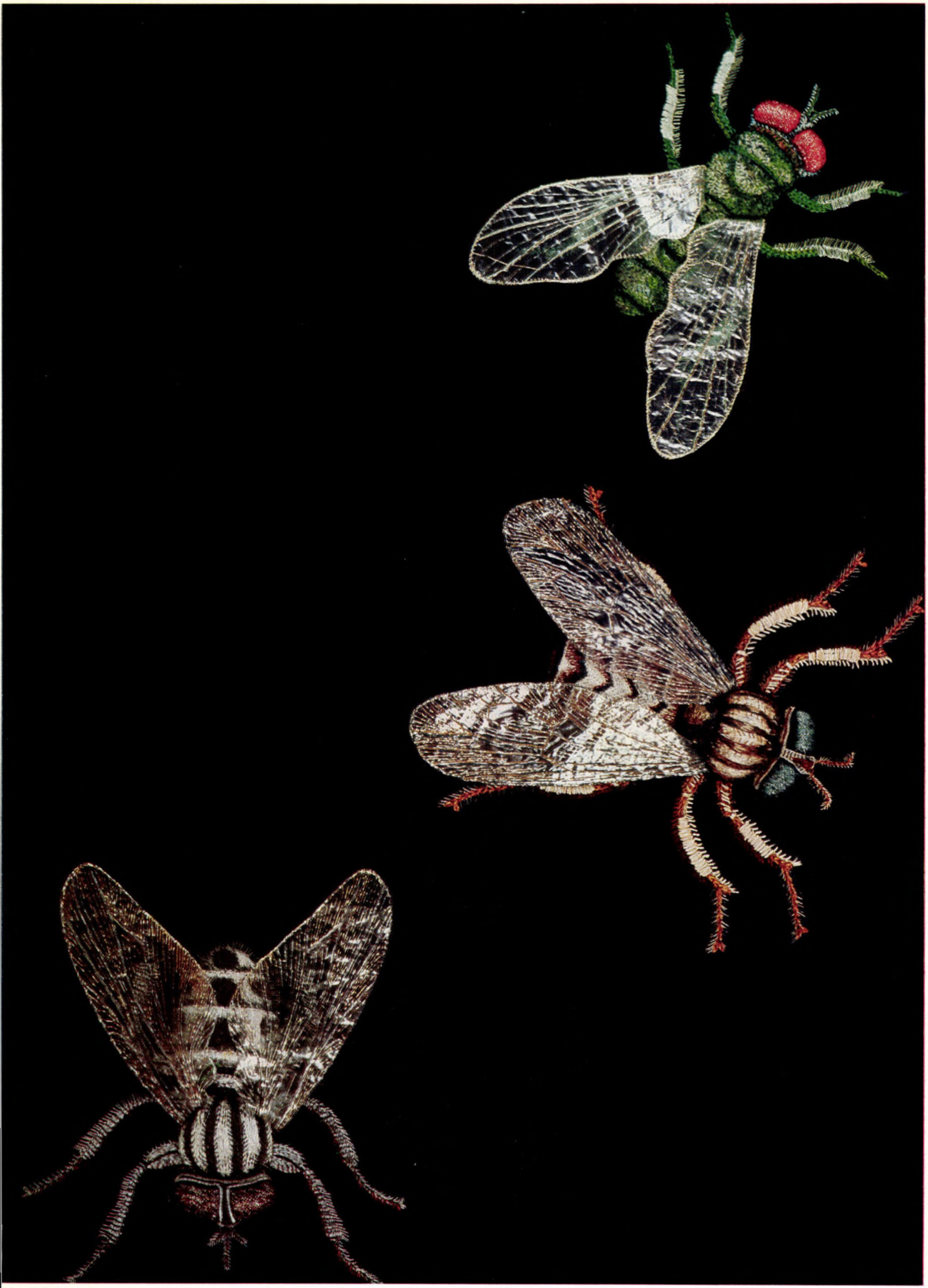


László Török

MARI MÉSZÁROS: JEALOUSY—MY LOVER'S LOVERS. MOULDED GLASS, 80×60 CM, 1979

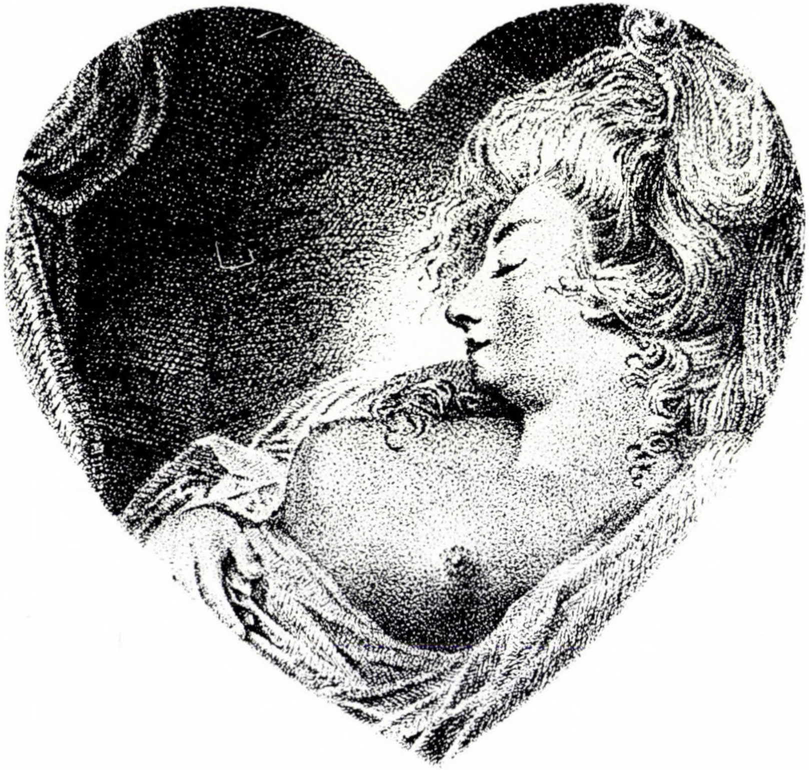


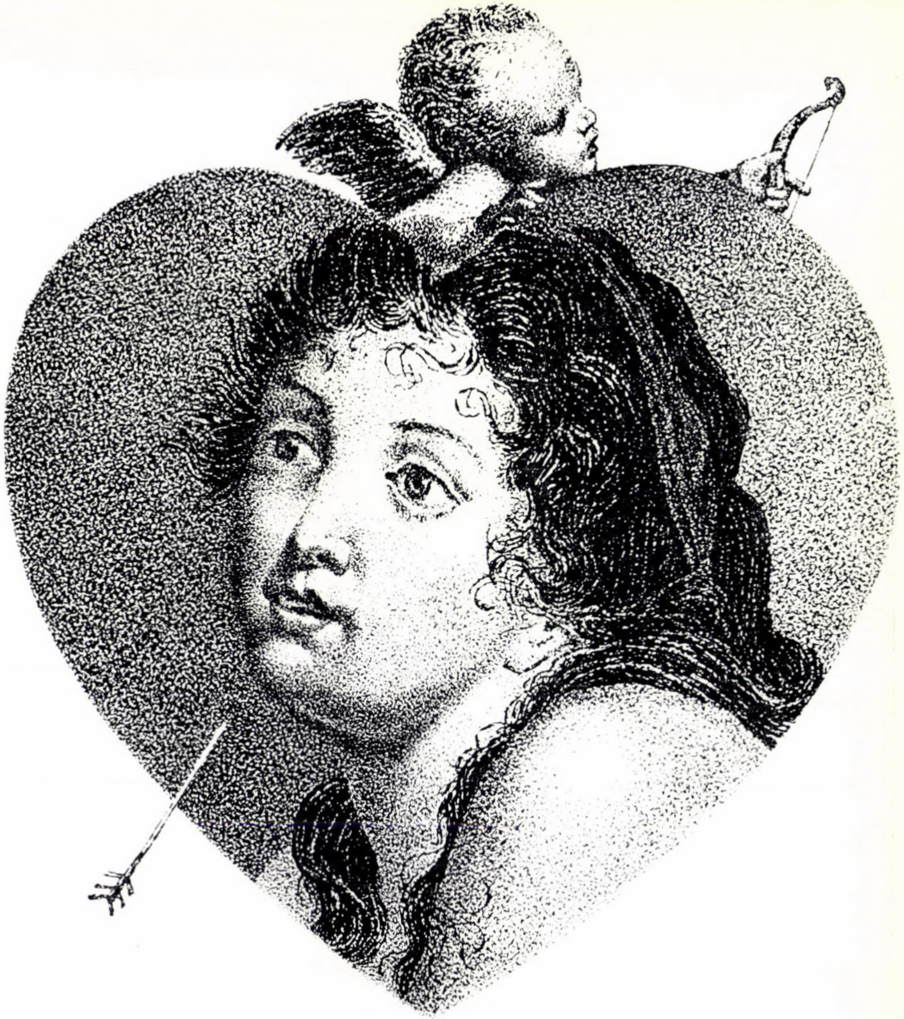
László Török



éza Molnár

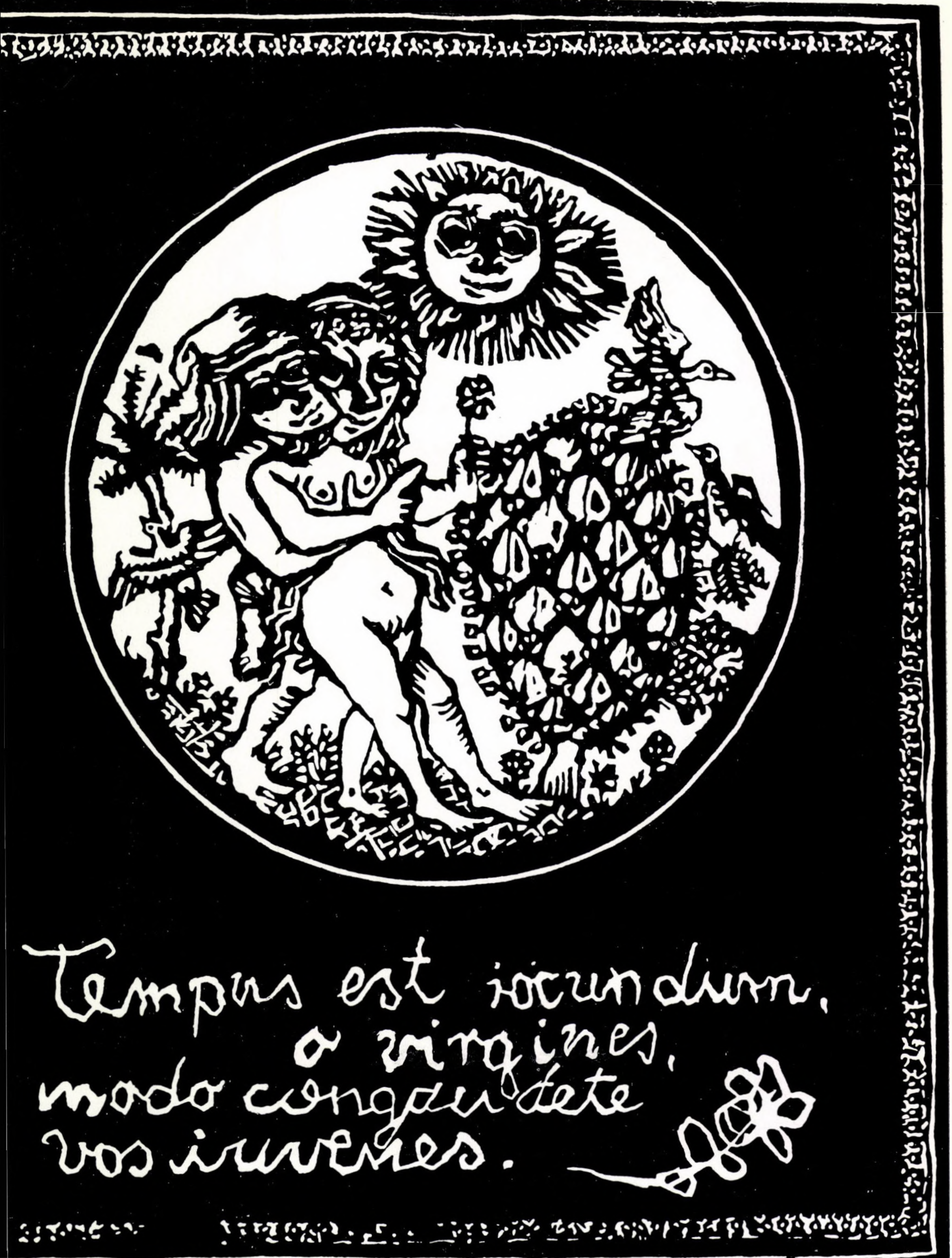
JUDIT NAGY: FLIES IN EVENING GOWN.
EMBROIDERED WOOL, NYLON SHEET, 70 × 100 CM, 1978





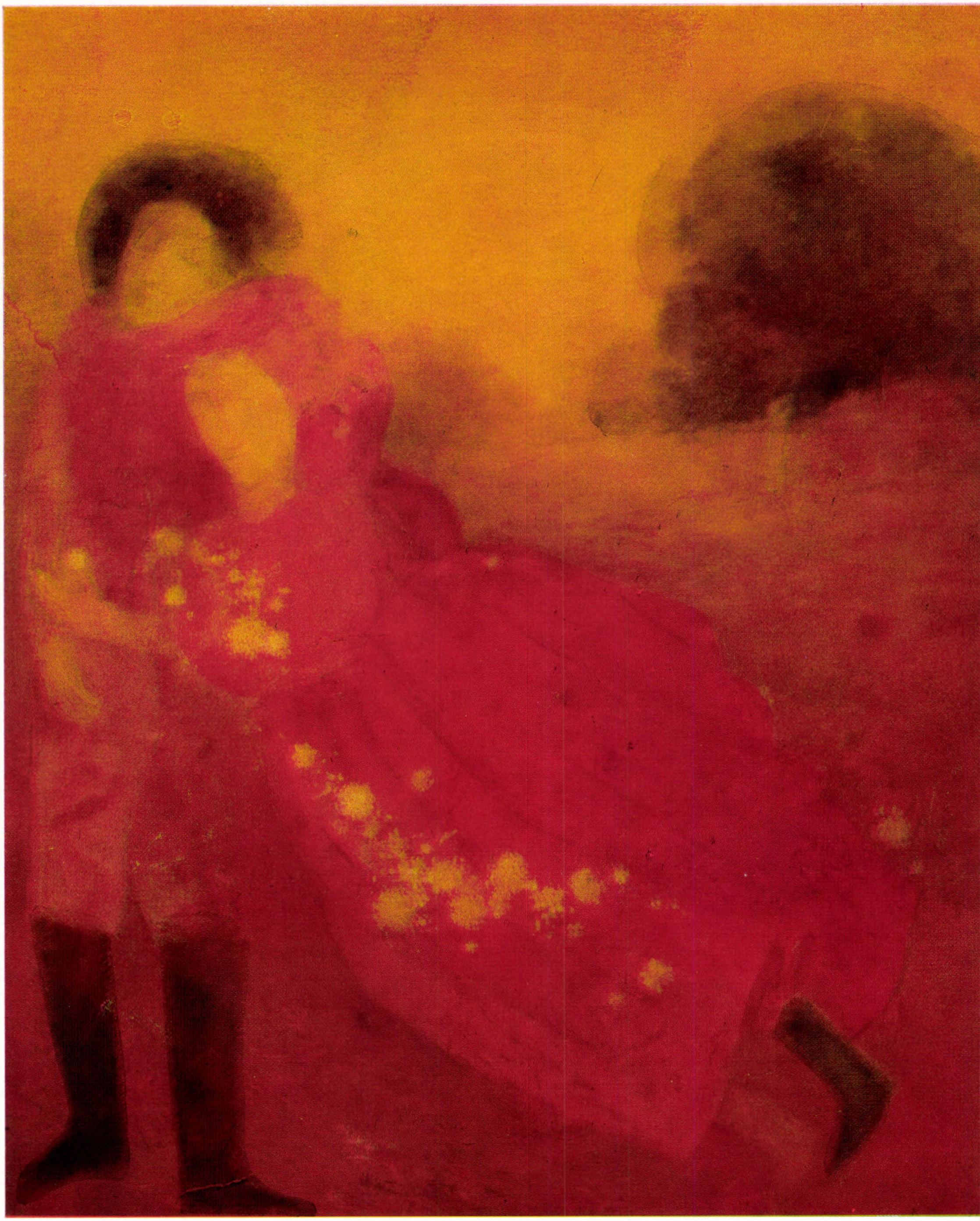
László Haris

Liviusz Gyulai: Illustrations to Laurence Sterne's "sentimental journey through France and Italy." pen drawings, 14 × 11 cm each, for the Hungarian edition published by Helikon, 1976


Tempus est iocundum,
o virgines,
modo congaudete
vos iuvenes.

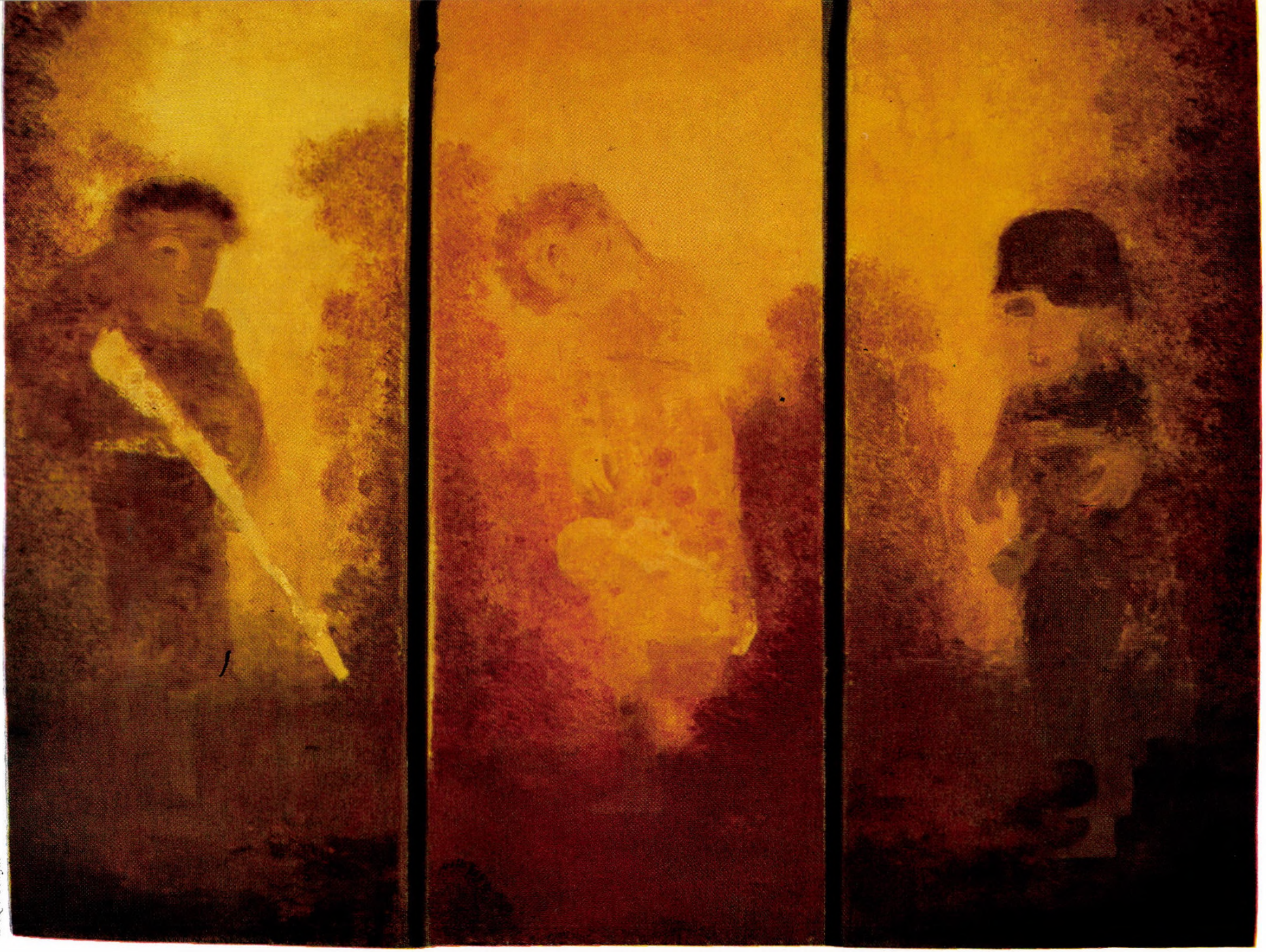
László Haris

LIVIUSZ GYULAI: CARMINA BURANA. FROM A LINOCUT SERIES. 27.5 × 15.5 CM, 1980



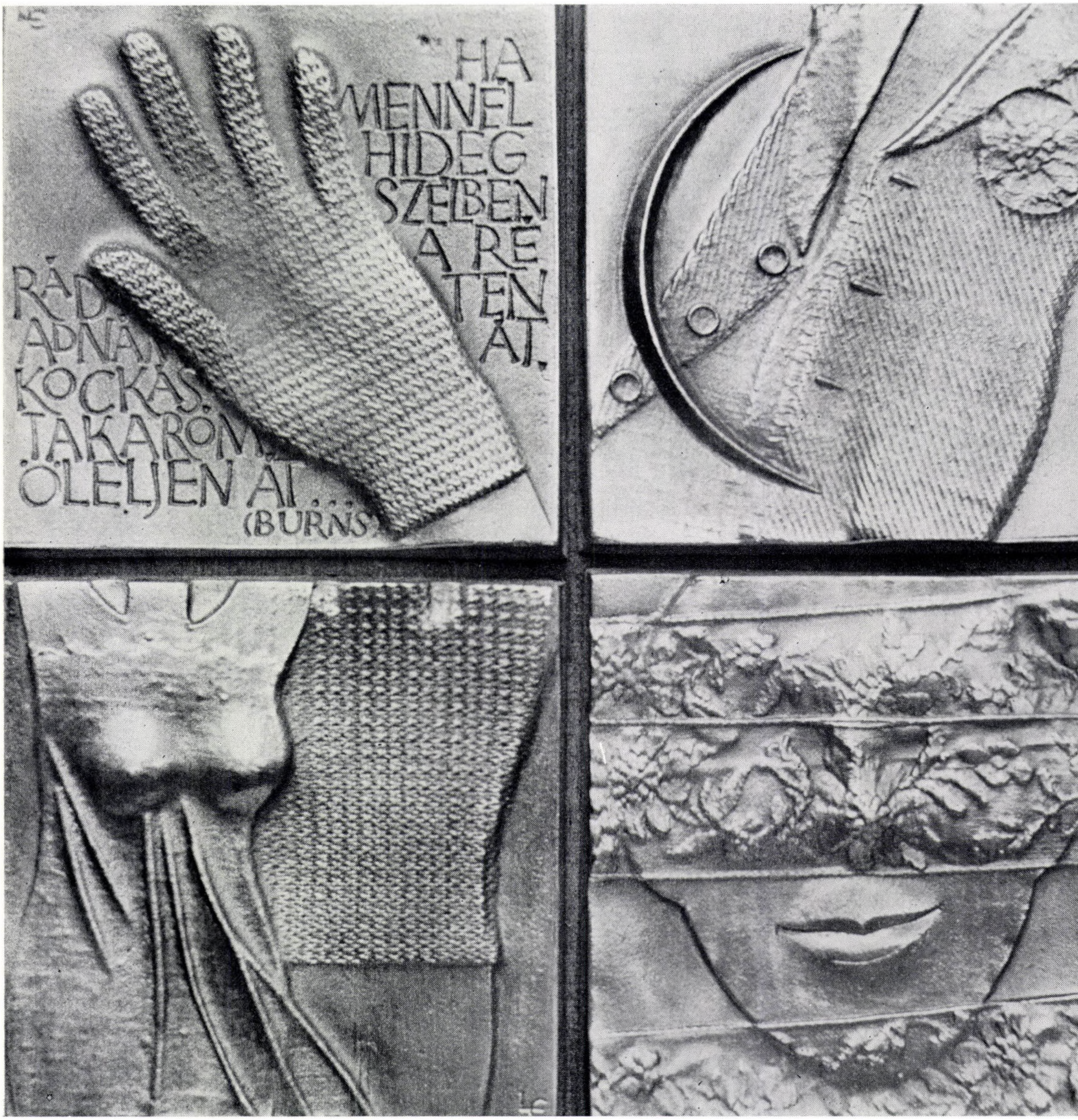
László Somfai

Tamás Kárpáti: Passion. oil, canvas, 120 × 100 cm, 1978



László Somfai

Tamás Kárpáti: Poet and soldiers. oil, wood, 13.5 × 31.5 cm, 1979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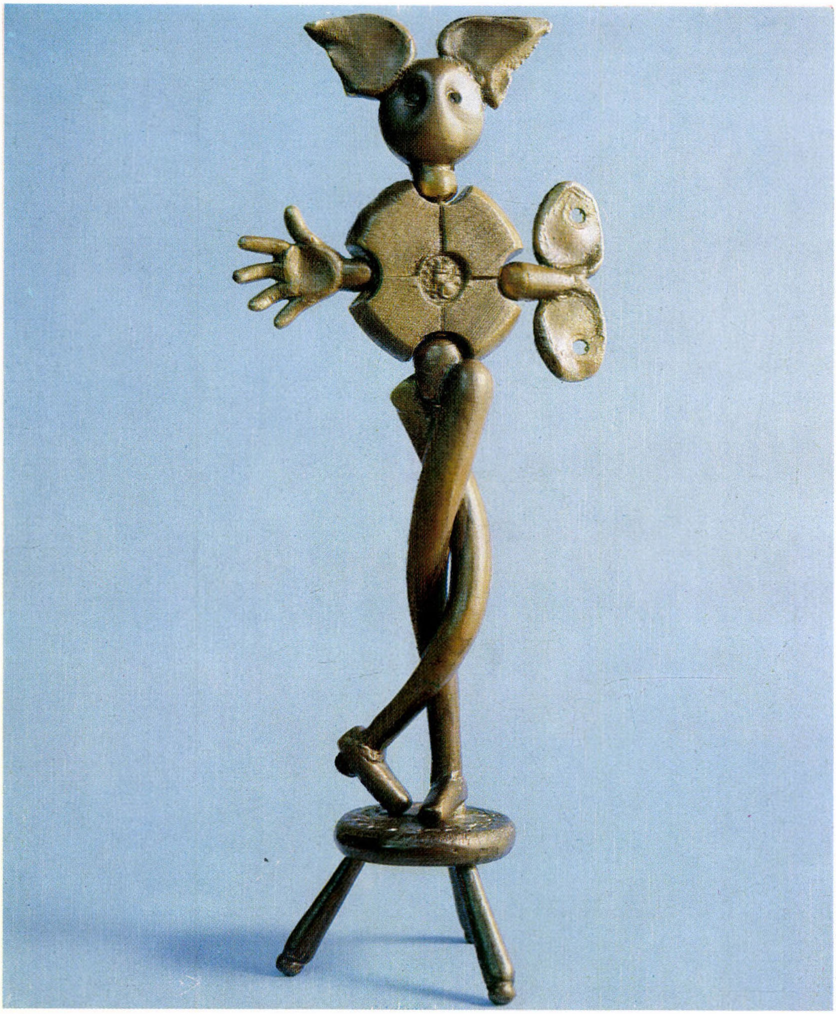
(BURNS

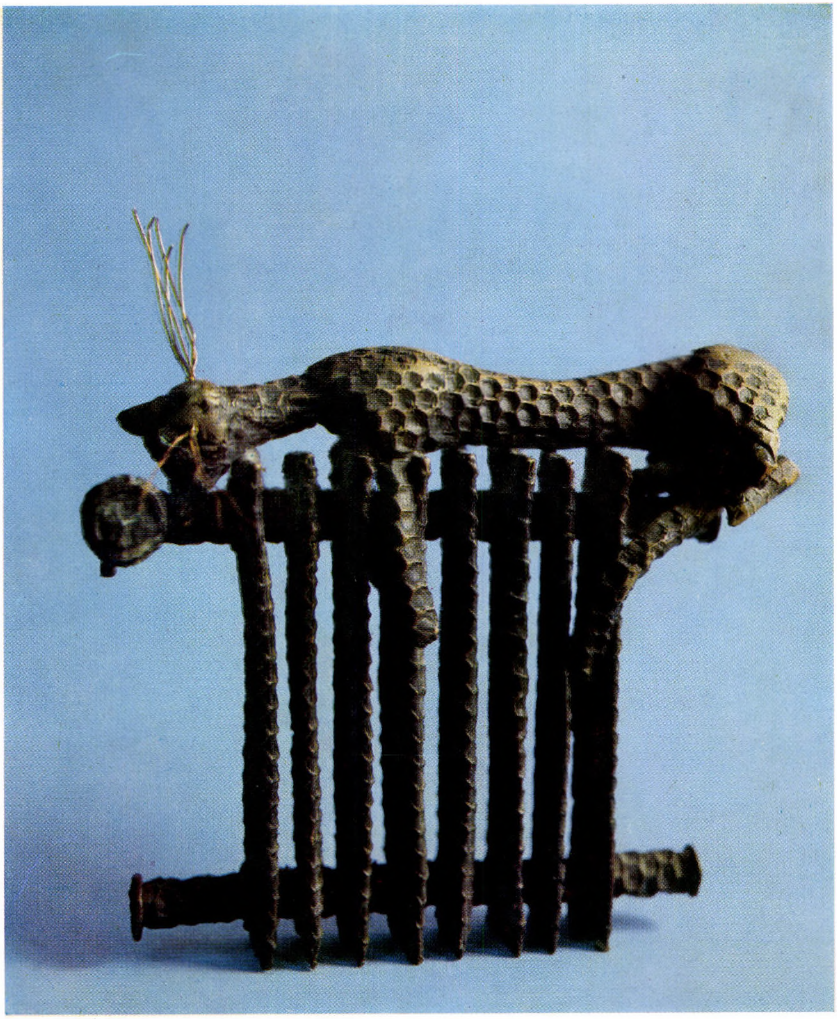
László Somfai

Erika Ligeti: Illustration to the poem
“Oh, wert thou in the cauld blast” by burns.
A series, 5 × 5 cm each, bronze, 1980



László Somfai

ERIKA LIGETI: MY DOLL LUCY. BRONZE, 27,5 CM, 1981



László Somfai

Erika Ligeti: Pinkus the cat. bronze, 14 cm, 1981 figures in the paintings, who are irritated by his detachement. While the earlier pictures were concerned with certain states of being, here we see dramas whose characters —the victim and the executioners, the brothers-in-arms condemned to powerlessness and the hypocritical traitor—are moved by sentiments and passions more subtle then before. Faces and figures never become quite concrete or individual, they retain some abstract, general character, we guess rather than see them, as they loom forth under the multy-layered veil of paint.

The pictorial rendering is consciously archaizing, built on brownish-reddish-yellowish tones. Instead of raw contrasts the emphasis proceeds through a system of tonal gradations, the light brings out the figures from their deep-brown, courtain-like background, leading the eye through the medium tonality of the clothing to the brightest and most emphasized parts, the golden-yellow radiation of the Judas-face, the striking sword and Christ's breast.

*

Erika Ligeti graduated in 1958 from the College of Fine Arts in Budapest, but she was not really able to devote herself to art until she obtained the Derkovits—scholarship in 1964. The overwhelming majority at her present show is devoted to medals and plaques. As in her show of a few years back, her main inspiration comes from her son: *Benedek Kovács, 9 Years Old*, is the inscription of one medal, *Bedtime Story*, of another, and under a small clay statuette we find the title: *Benny Dreams Dragons on a Mercedes.* The child's world, the coexistence with animals, the role of tales and games in the metamorphosis of reality, appear not only in the mentioned works, but practically everywhere.

The shaping intention and the stylistic alignment of Erika Ligeti's medals point in two directions. The row of plaques called *Judo* shows figures enframed by Japanese characters, pulled out from their background almost like sculptures-in-the-round. The struggling bodies, the members appearing to fly off create a delectably concise, plastically enjoyable and animated pair of figures, in which the two contestants finally become so entangled, that we see them as one. These forms are stylized and pulled together, they refer back to nature, but they obey plastic laws too. The alternation of protruding and receding, spreading and thinning formations are not only harmonious with the organic build of the human body, but correspond to the rhythm of sculptural masses too.

But there is another, less engaging aspect of Ligeti's medal artistry. In the series called *Minitextile* the figures emerge from the background in a one-dimensional way, and their outer and inner shapes are determined by a savourless, extremely regular, stylized contour line. Upon a closer look at the works we find that the problem is not only in the way they are given form, but somewhere deeper, in the excessive, too intensive use of the medal as an art from, its becoming empty and formal. The artist makes medals for her friends and acquaintances just like bookplates trying to keep up with the flood of anniversaries, and finds herself after a while in a vicious circle which she cannot break. Medal making can be practized as an occasional art, and the sculptor doing it may earn the fate of many a writer of occasional verse: their resounding rhymes, in this case the sensuously modelled surfaces, become empty, especially in the absence of true inner motivation connecting them to the chosen subject—take the case of the Bartók and József Attila medals. Erika Ligeti tries to fight monotony, she attempts to bring more animation into the medal base and the background by breaking them open, punching them through, to open and loosen the closed, geometric borders of the object.

There are a few sculptures at the show as well, about half of which are portraits, modelled in clay, and with pottery shapes. The upper torsoes of the figures are pressed flat, thinned like a vase, but in the place of the flowers there is a big bearded-moustachioed head, or a longhaired, soft youth's face. The artist, who tackles successfully the recording of her immediate environment, fails in the case of Bartók, because the portrait is not authenticated by the convincing power of personal experience.

The rest of the sculptural compositions are anecdotic in mood and close to life. The little angel crouching on the stove *(The Angels are Cold)*, seeks to stimulate interest in the phenomenon rather then searching plastic articulation by the blending of the figure and the stove and by the play of rough surfaces. A similar effort is visible in the modelling of the pussycat stretched out over the ribbed heater. *Csaba Békássy Tormented by his Muse* stands out from the rest not only with its humour, but also with its animated mass effect: the surge of the clay, the edges left unfinished, and the T-shaped pair of figures (the sitting artist and the Muse hovering around him) are the components of this effect.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

THE HUNGARIAN CROWN AND REGALIA

An International Conference in the National Museum

The Hungarian regalia have been on display in the ceremonial hall of the Hungarian National Museum for four days a week since the beginning of 1978. This is not unusual in itself. Displayed in similar solemn circumstances, under due security, such treasures serve as tourist attractions all over Europe. Think of the treasury of the Tower of London, the collection of the Munich Residenz and the Vienna Burg, the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre, or the Armoury in the Kremlin where tsarist crowns and thrones are on view.

What is extraordinary is the recent history of the Hungarian regalia.* These important and handsome works of art have recently suffered troubles strongly reminiscent of the stormy episodes of medieval history. The constitutional significance of the Hungarian Crown, sacred from early times, far from affording the crown protection, exposed it to vicissitudes.

Some of the recent history of the regali includes them being stored in the Imperial Treasury in Vienna by Joseph II, the enlightened ruler (1780–1790), who did not have himself crowned as King of Hungary. After his death they were brought back to Hungary in triumphal procession, where half a century later, with the collapse of the 1848–49 Revolution the republicans had to urgently consider the alternatives of destroying or hiding the relics. Fortunately the Prime Minister Bertalan Szemere chose the latter; three years later an informer disclosed the hiding-place, Orsova, and the treasure was dug up from the dank marshy land. The crown was disintegrating, the mantle was torn and crumbling; for Francis Joseph's coronation in 1867 two goldsmiths and five embroiderers from Pest hurriedly repaired both. The coronation of Charles IV of Hungary (the Emperor Charles I) in the winter of 1916, against the sombre backdrop of the Great War, was the last coronation in the Matthias Church in Buda. Then after 1920 followed the kingless kingdom and the totem crown. On the 900th anniversary of St. Stephen's death (1938), the experts invited to examine the regalia were forbidden to touch the crown. This very same crown at the end of the Second World War lay buried underground in an oil-barrel cut in half on the shores of the Mattsee in Austria. Shortly afterwards the Hungarian regalia came into the hands of the US forces, and later disappeared. Legend had it that they were being kept in the Vatican; in fact they had crossed the ocean to the United States, where they spent years locked into cell 31 of the Fort Knox Depository. Finally President Carter released the crown: a special aircraft carrying the regalia and the committee bringing them arrived in Budapest on January 5, 1978. The following day the solemn hand-over took place in Parliament.*

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* See *NHQ*, 51, 70, 71 and 82.

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Marie-Madeleine Gauthier called the private international meeting of scholars held in September 1981, three years after the return of the royal insignia, a seminal occasion. It was organized by a crown committee under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Culture. Up to then, the only examination which could be called scientific by the standards of the day, had been that directed by Bishop Arnold Ipolyi (also initiated by the Academy) one hundred years ago. The examination had taken two days and had been painstakingly sober and scientific: the objects were measured, photographed, sketched, the cross of the crown was even screwed off. Nobody had considered the regalia to be untouchable.

Naturally, the recent conference had no desire to repeat the work of the Ipolyi committee, even on a larger scale. Nor did we expect that this three-day consultation would settle questions or problems long disputed. The preparation of the *catalogue raisonné* of the objects, is a task for Hungarian experts; conferences, with their tempting opportunities for improvisations, are little conducive to the latter.

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In the period following the Second World War, a series of works on the crown appeared, but only a few of these were based on direct examination; only a few experts had had such an opportunity before the regalia were taken to the United States. During this time heraldry turned into a scientific discipline in its own right, as that concerned with objects symbolizing status or dominion. The Hungarian regalia, a very profitable object of study, consists of: the closed two-part crown, with a lower circlet of Byzantine origin and upper cross-bands inscribed in Latin; the gold embroidered coronation mantle combining an eleventh-century chasuble of St. Stephen's reign and a later liturgical collar; the mace-sceptre of a unique design; the modest orb whose special feature is the double cross; and the late, sixteenth-century, sword whose probable predecessor is the eleventh-century weapon kept in the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague, and regarded as St. Stephen's sword since the fourteenth century.

Heraldry is a very elegant discipline; it demands great erudition and its unusual perspectives allow it to place the insignia of power into a theoretical context. But once that is created, it has to be reexamined. In fact, the postulates of heraldry are often mechanically applied, ignoring the fact that what is generally valid for a given period is not necessarily so in each specific case.

Quite a number of the theories on the Hungarian crown have been prompted by heraldry, particularly those which draw conclusions from the appearance on some of the regalia of deliberate alteration. Now we have the opportunity to verify the theories against the objects which inspired them. The great significance of this September 1981 conference was that it permitted Hungarian experts and scholars invited from abroad to thoroughly examine every item of the Hungarian regalia. Jewellery and textile historians, textile restorers, historians, heraldry experts and Byzantinologists were invited from no less than seven countries. Some who, unfortunately, could not participate sent papers.

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* See *NHQ* 70.

The conference held between 22 and 24 September, 1981, proved to be an event for all those interested in heraldry. Not only because of its object, but also because of the unexpected predominance of theoretical arguments over conclusions drawn from the items themselves. The present writer cannot hide the fact that she considers objects as the best witnesses about themselves; this conviction has only been strengthened by her experience with art objects which are incomparably better documented than the crown. Accordingly, she has the highest expectations of the further work of David Buckton, who is trying to determine the related groups of relics by a complex comparative method based on enamel colours. At the conference we heard a preliminary report on this investigation.

Among the questions treated by the historians were those not specifically related to the existing insignia but, for instance, to the prehistory of the crown. György Székely has collected the sources: mentions of requests for a crown, the sending or returning of a crown in the neighbouring countries during the eleventh-century. He outlined the context in which the crown request, in other words the recognition of the first Hungarian king's royalty, took place. Péter Váczy analysed the only contemporary information on the event, a brief and somewhat ambiguous communication by Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg. In his view, the crown and the blessing which the Pope sent at the Emperor's encouragement to the Hungarian prince could hardly have been a real diadem; his interpretation of the source is that Stephen was given endorsement for the coronation and church organization.

György Györffy discussed the circumstances in which the lower part of the crown, the Byzantine circlet designated *corona graeca*, found its way to Hungary. He called attention to the fact that, according to medieval tradition in legend and chronicle, two Hungarian rulers, Stephen and Prince Géza (who is depicted on the Byzantine diadem), received crowns under miraculous circumstances, through heavenly intervention. Yet this is not why it is called "the holy crown;" it is because the upper part originally served as an ornament for the reliquary of St. Stephen's head, the first and canonized king (1000–1038).

Szabolcs Vajay also looked for the cause of the crown's holiness; he found an analogy in the Byzantine concept, by which all the insignia of the Byzantine Emperor, a man equal in sanctity to the apostles, are themselves holy. His conclusion is that it is a case of the assimilation of Byzantine coronation practices and concepts, which he attributes to Béla III who was raised in Constantinople. Both Györffy and Vajay apply the formula of the "heavenly, divine origin of power." This however is valid universally in medieval European thinking, and if we accept this, we must then give up any effort to discover a concrete reason for an apellation which stubbornly recurs.

Marie-Madeleine Gauthier presented the iconography of the lower crown, intended to express the kinship developed through vassalage and marriage. She compared the Byzantine to the Roman enamels of the upper part, and pointed to their fundamentally divergent conception which override some common elements.

The present writer reported on new observations of a technical nature made about the coronation mantle and crown. There is no doubt that the characteristic four-armed arrangement of the crown's upper part is original, and also that the four missing apostles were placed at the lower end of these arms. They were cut off simply so as to be able to fasten the Greek circlet. This was done by using nailing. In my view we can also dispense with theories based on complex alterations of the lower crown. Indeed, the setting of the enamel plates and gems is homogeneous and of a Byzantine character. I should add that this theory, together with those on the original destination of the upper part and the type taxonomy of the Greek crown were those most disputed at the conference.

A very important contribution to the study of the crown's materials was made by Professor Sándor Koch, the doyen of Hungarian mineralogists. He found that the two green jewels of the Greek crown were of glass, and the upper string of pearls is a mother-of-pearl imitation. Zoltán Kádár spoke on medieval gem symbolism, Tamás Biró outlined the modern approaches to material testing, especially the X-ray fluorescence method.

Two speakers dealt with the sceptre. First Gyula László referred to the fact that one of the attributes of Hungarian kings was that of *sceptrifer;* this shows the existence as well as the importance of this emblem in the Árpád period. Then Hermann Fillitz reported on an unfinished work by the late József Deér, author of a major monograph on the crown, which contains the apt perception that the filigree reliquary double cross of Salzburg Cathedral, taken to his new seat by Beckensloer, the Archbishop of Esztergom, a diplomatist who defected from King Matthias Corvinus to his rival, the Emperor Frederick III, is very closely related to the sceptre. This may have been the original silver coronation cross of the Árpáds. János Bak, in a submitted paper, dealt with the orb, the most modest item of the regalia. He reconsidered several points of the debate on orbs which took place between József Deér and Percy Ernst Schramm. Regarding the Hungarian specimen with the Anjou coat of arms, he asked whether it could not have been made as a substitute emblem for Caroberto, the first Anjou king of Hungary, whose coronation had to be repeated three or possibly four times, until it finally qualified in all respects.

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So much about the historical and art historical aspect of the conference. The next question is connected to the new status of the insignia once hidden treasure, now museum exhibits. To be specific, the delicate mantle has lately been kept in its case, under cover, and in its soiled state the effect of light proved increasingly destructive. Its present state is also determined by the fact that before the 1867 coronation it was sewn, lining and all, with tight stitches on a new thin gauze. At the same time the crown was soldered with tin in many places. Mrs. Flury-Lemberg reported on the state of the mantle, Joachim Szvetnik on the state of the crown. Mrs. Flury-Lemberg, director of the textile restoration workshop of the Abbeg Foundation in Bern examined the mantle earlier with Sigrid Müller-Christensen. Joachim Szvetnik, chief restorer at the Museum of Industrial Arts in Budapest, was able to base his report on the microscopic examination made together with Zsuzsa Lovag (of the Hungarian National Museum) and with the present writer. Both reports consider an intervention necessary, in the case of the mantle in order to at least restore it to its state before the nineteenth-century restoration and to remove dirt, and in the case of the crown in order to remove the tin particles which are causing slow but irreparable harm through electrolysis.

Éva Kovács

ART IN HUNGARY 1830–1870

Three Exhibitions

Under this title, the Hungarian National Gallery and the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences jointly organized an exhibition of the architecture, sculpture, painting and the graphics of the 1830–1870 period. What was offered was a framework in which to take stock of the works and to survey the major trends and convergences during four different periods in the history of Hungary under the Habsburg Empire. These are: what is called in Hungarian historiography the Age of Reforms in the eighteen twenties and thirties, followed by the 1848–49 revolution and War of Independence, then the age of Habsburg despotism and finally, after the 1867 Compromise, the Age of the Dual Monarchy. The four decades are connected however by an essential historical process; this was the age when bourgeois society developed in Hungary, along with a simultaneous pursuit of national independence and national culture.

In addition to the major exhibition at the National Gallery, there were two smaller complementary exhibitions. One was held in Tata and the other at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which exhibited material from its own collections; the Academy itself was founded in the age of reforms. The *objets d'art* came from both public and private collections.

The show did not intend to seek out correspondences with what was being produced at the same period in Western Europe, that would have been pointless, since the development of art in Hungary was quite different; only the easing of conditions after the 1867 Compromise created the possibility of an artistic outlook synchronous with Western Europe. This is not to say, however, that Hungarian culture in the period was entirely out-of-time. Rather. it was struggling with its own peculiar problems though the means and forms necessary to express them could only be acquired at foreign schools. Accordingly the techniques learned in the academies of Vienna, Munich or Paris are found in works produced by Hungarian artists who studied there. The show is not then simply a cultural or historical documentation—though it can be interesting as such. It is a presentation of the development of artistic styles from the classic landscapes of Károly Markó and the classicist sculptures of István Ferenczy, both trained in Italy, and the works in the baroque pictorial tradition of Károly Brocky, who established himself in England, to the more naive creations of artists who got no further than Vienna, and finally those important artists who represent the academic standards of Munich or Paris.

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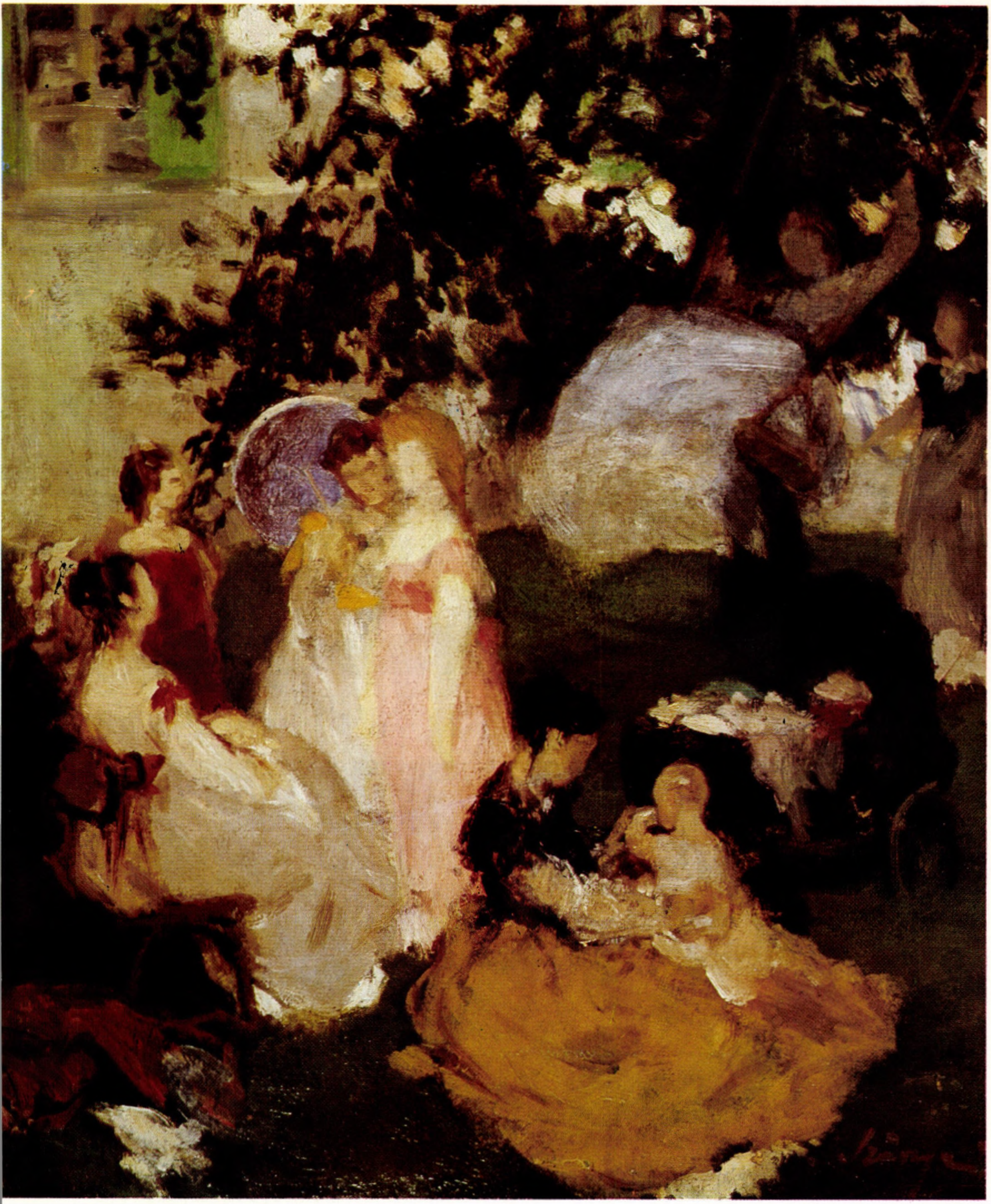
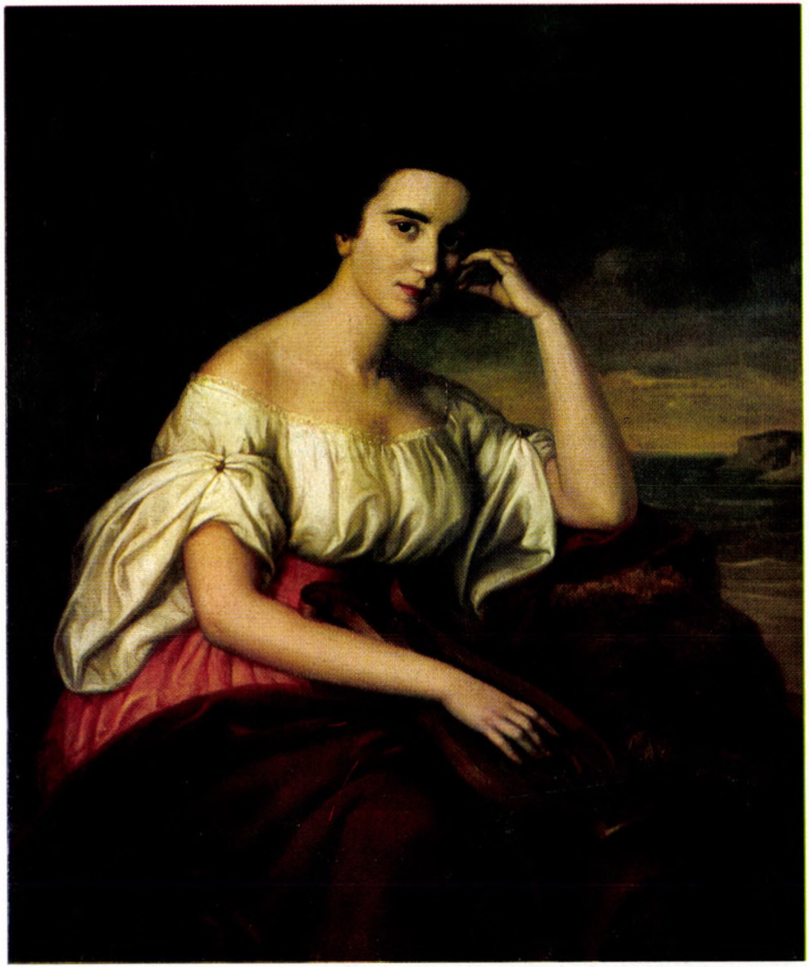
The architectural material is rich in drawings and maquettes; well represented are the monumental creations of classicism running through the period—the cathedrals of Eger and Esztergom by József Hild, the National Museum by Mihály Pollack, the suspension bridge connecting Pest and Buda by William Thierney Clark; so too are the public buildings characteristic of the developing bourgeois society—the Parliament building, some hotels, banks and so on. The Romantic shift towards Gothic is seen in manor-house and church designs; the search for a national style is illustrated by the plans for the Redoute (Vigadó) in Pest by Frigyes Feszl (1860), eclecticism by the work of Miklós Ybl (Budapest State Opera House).

The development of Hungarian art can be traced in its various categories, and the

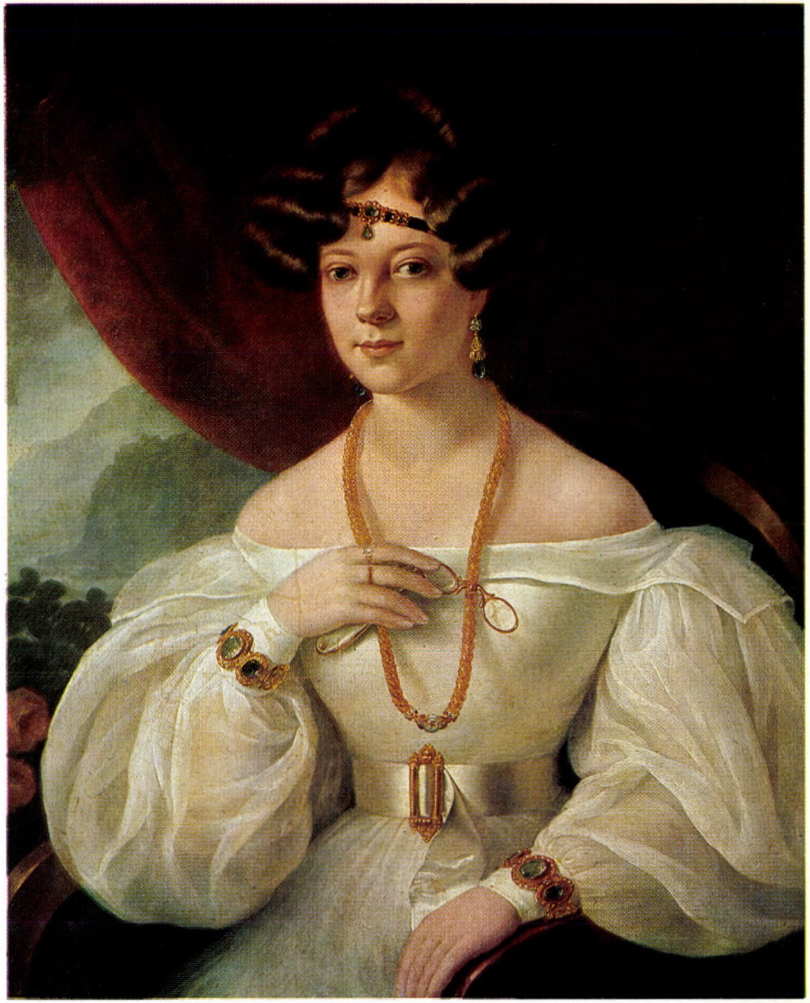


Pál Szinyei-Merse: Swing. oil, cardboard, 50.3×41.5 cm, 1869

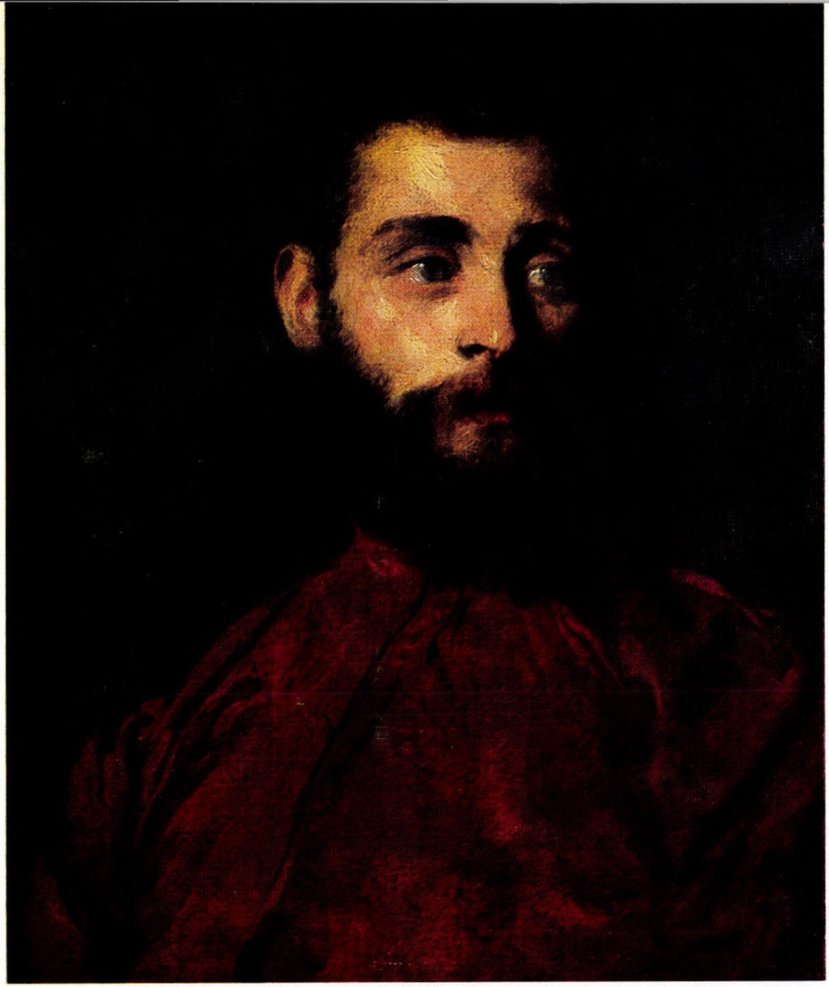


Soma Orlai Petrich: Sappho. oil, canvas,
113×94 cm, cca 1850

Vilmos Bertalan

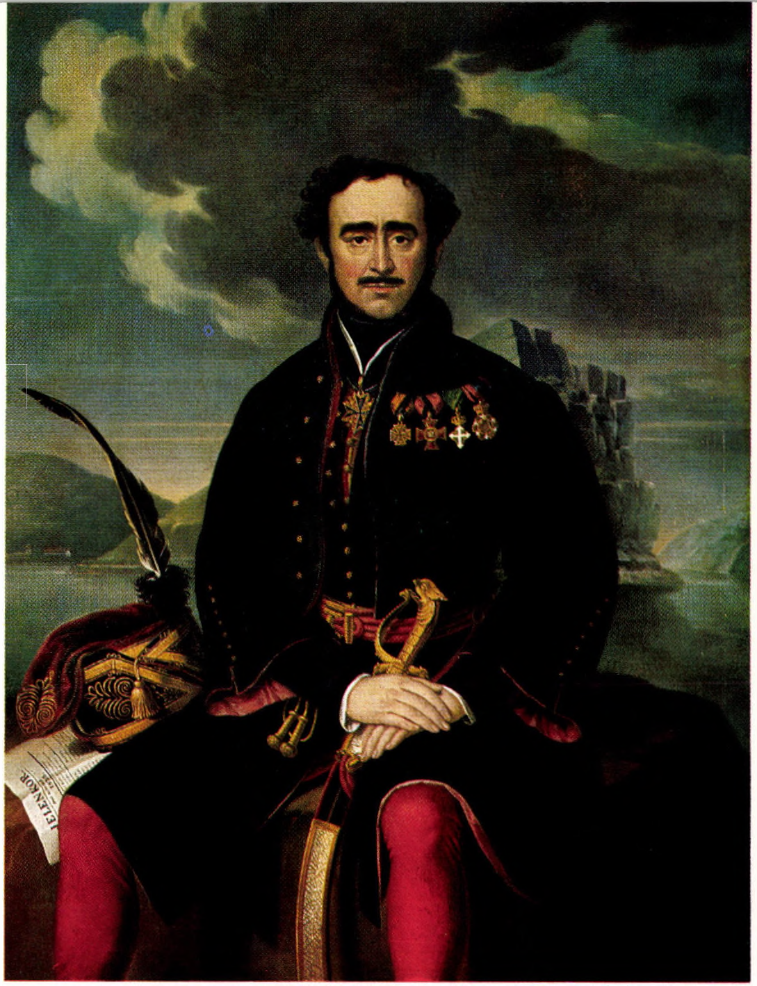


Miklós Barabás: Portrait of a Woman.
oil, canvas, 80×62 cm, 1831

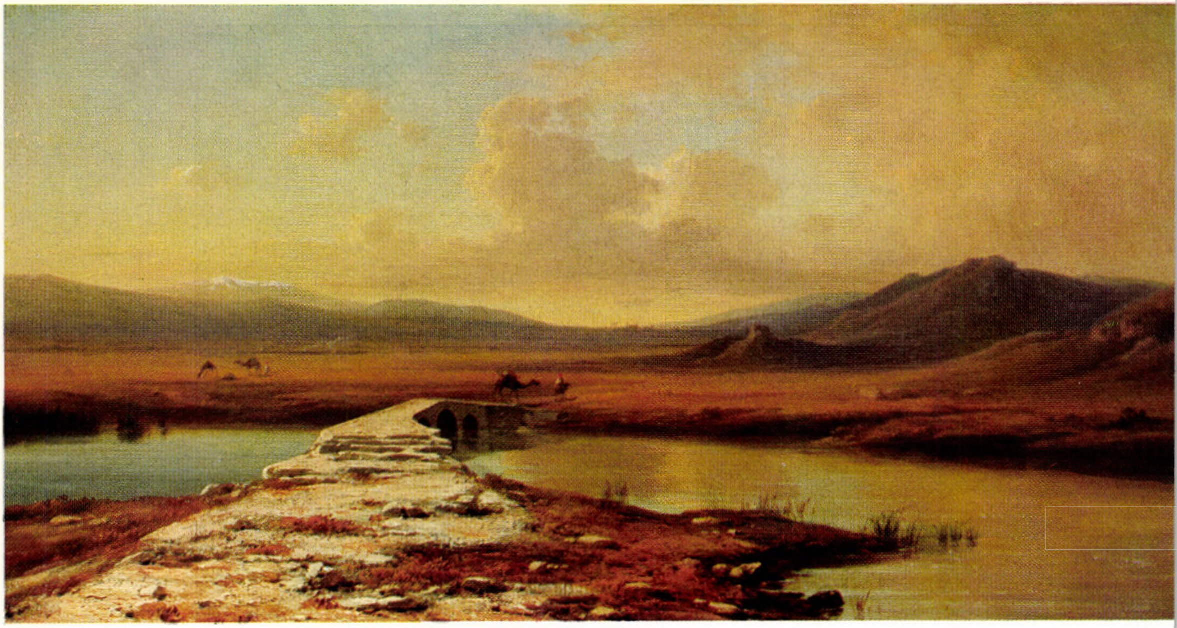


Károly Brocky: Selfportrait. oil, canvas
21.5×17.7 cm. after 1850

Vilmos Bertalan



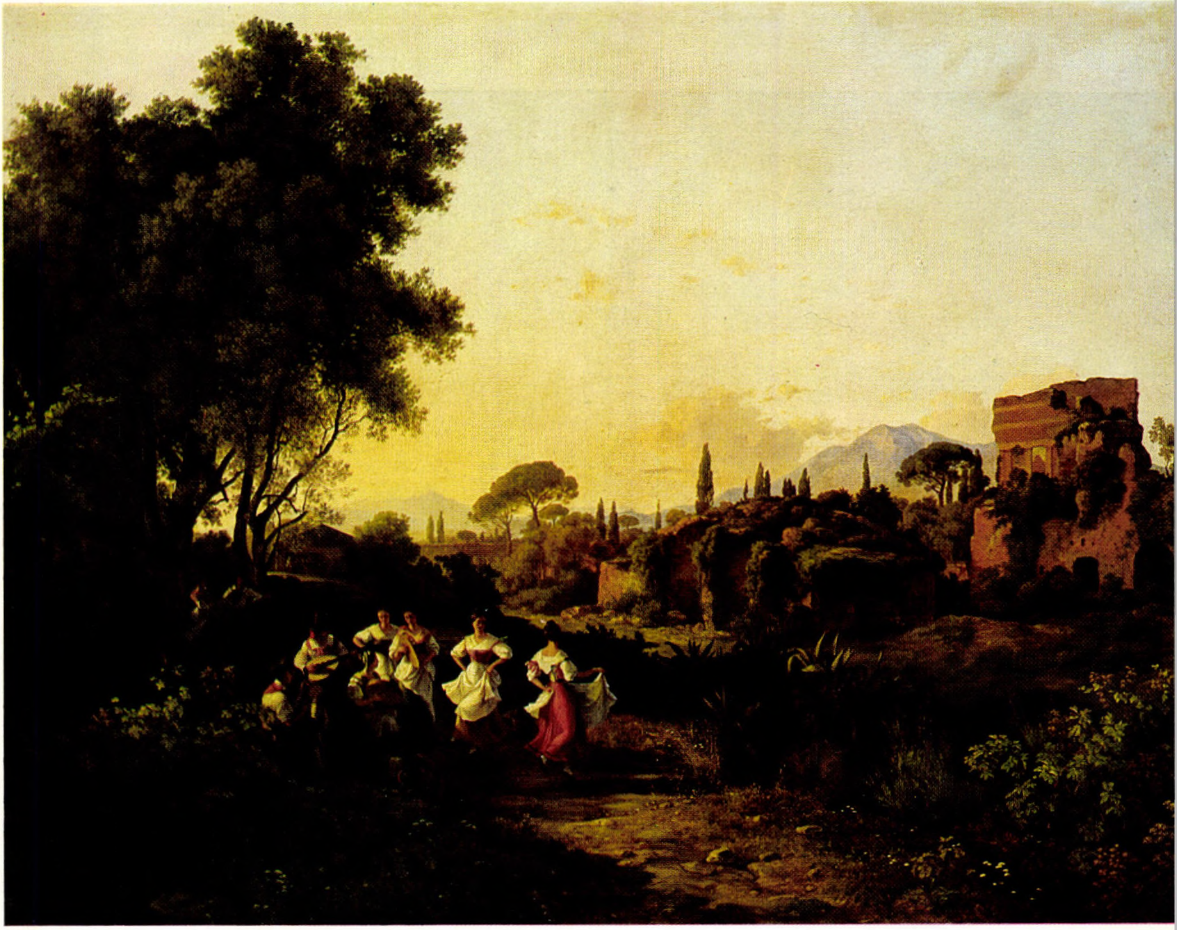
József Schoefft: Count István Széchenyi.
oil, canvas, 150×113 cm, 1836



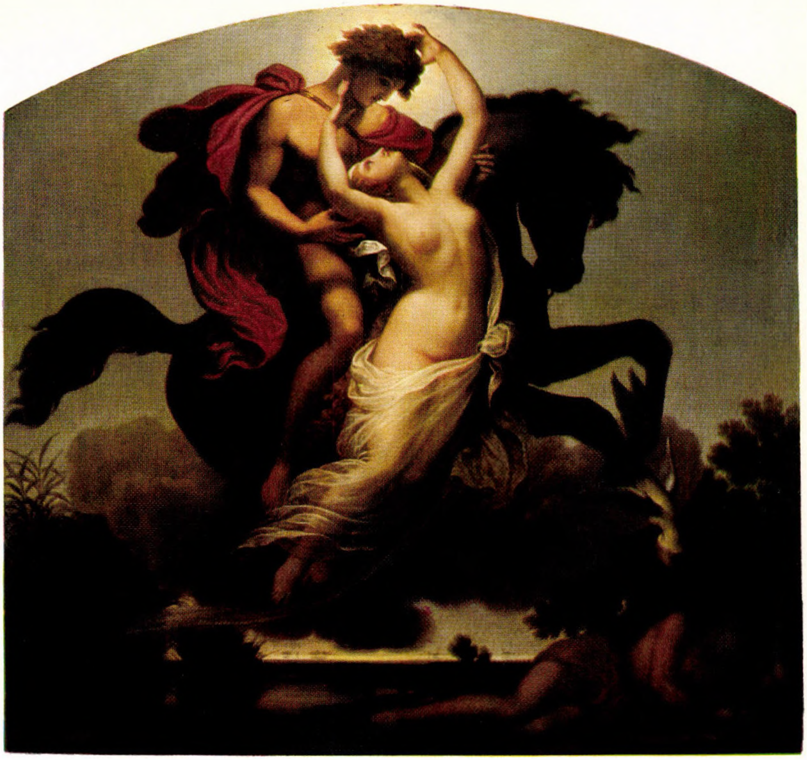
Antal Ligeti: Lebanon antilebanon. oil, canvas, 32.2×65 cm, end of 1850

Károly Markó Senior: Tarantella. oil, canvas, 64×84 cm, 1836

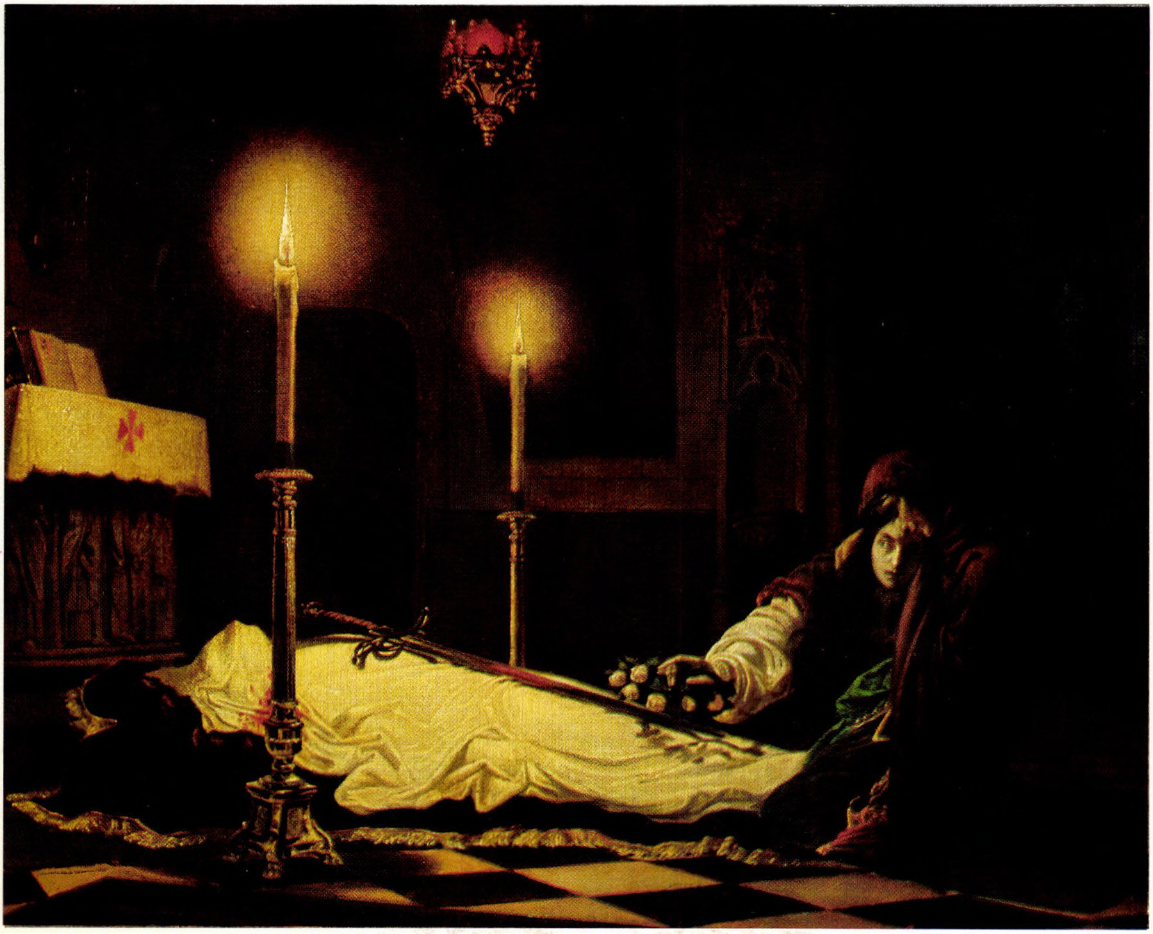
Vilmos Bertalan

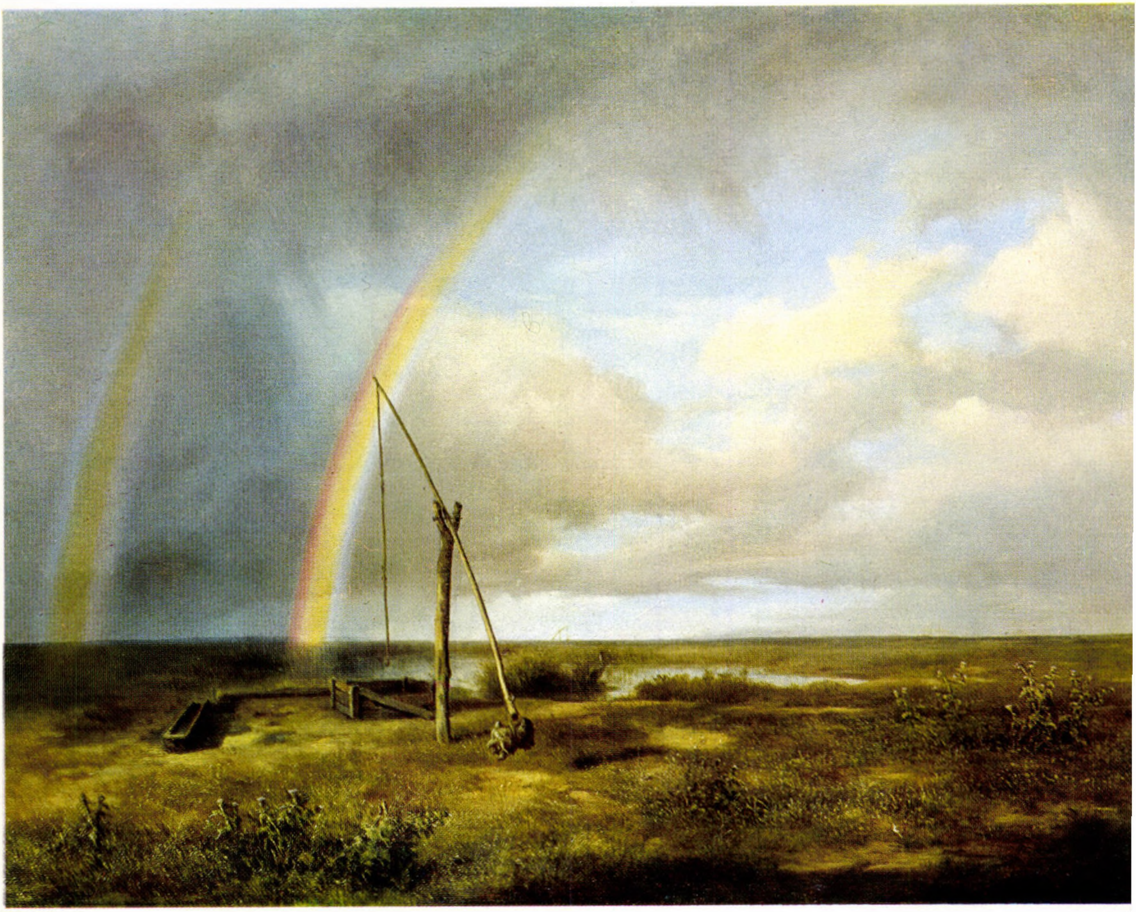


MÓR THAN:
THE SUN AND
FATA MORGANA
IN LOVE.
OIL, CANVAS,
148 × 158 CM, 1866


Vilmos Bertalan

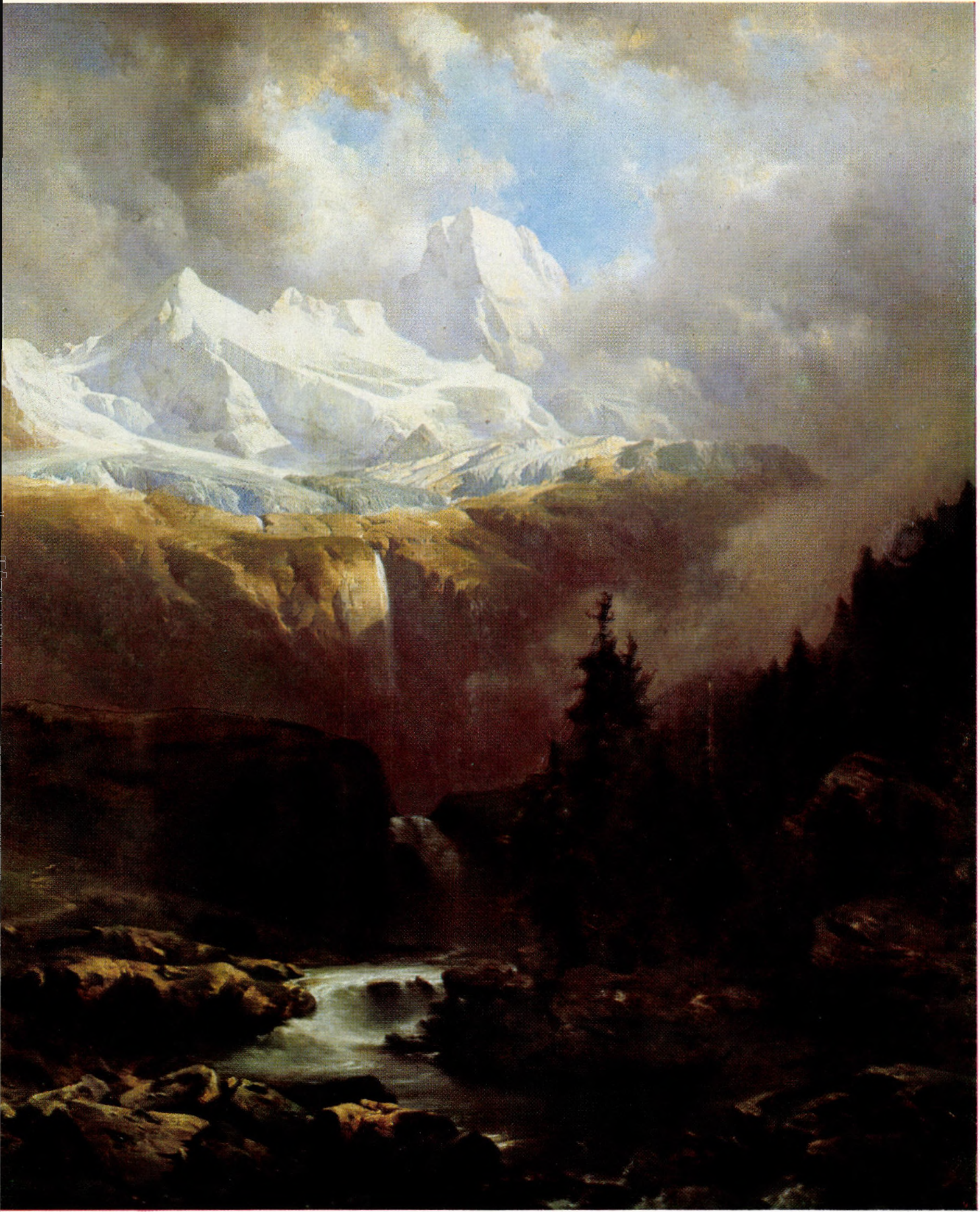
VIKTOR MADARÁSZ: MOURNING LÁSZLÓ HUNYADI. OIL, CANVAS, 47 × 56.5 CM, 1860





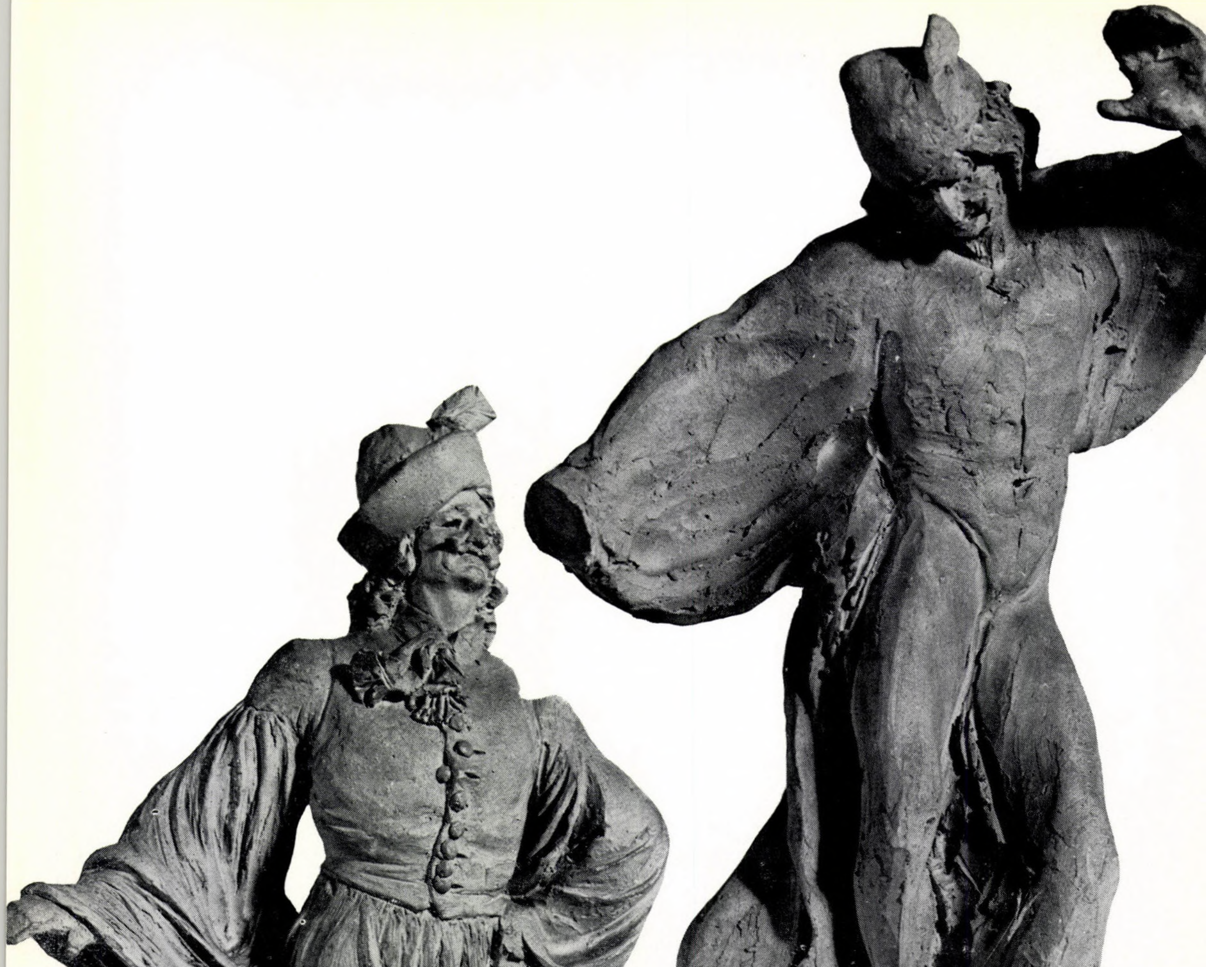
Vilmos Bertalan

KÁROLY MARKÓ SENIOR: THE HUNGARIAN PUSZTA
OIL, CANVAS, 39.5×52 CM, 1853



Vilmos Bertalan

GUSZTÁV KELETY: TÁTRA MOUNTAINS WITH A WATERFALL.
OIL, CANVAS, 126 × 105 CM, CCA 1850



Vilmos Bertalan

Miklós Izsó: Dancing peasants. terracotta figurines from the study series, 28 cm. 1864-72 points where a particular period had a decisive influence on later developments are appropriately highlighted. Painting was strongly connected to the Viennese Biedermeier in portraits, in genre paintings and in pictures of historical events as well. The portraits of the reform age politicians, for example those of István Széchenyi, are selfconscious portrayals of the new hero, the ideal citizen. The sculptors blend the classical and national ideals, like the work by István Ferenczy, who studied under Thorwaldsen and Canova in Rome.

The mid-century public monument competitions produced academic work by foreign educated artists, among them the outstanding sculpted portraits by Miklós Izsó. Among painters, a good example of the blending of individual features, realistic likeness and idealism is Soma Petrich Orlai, especially his "Sappho."

Realism, combined with the need to express the national character, also produced particular types of pictures. A characteristic Hungarian landscape was the scenery of the plain, occasionally with a motif which hardly disturbs the flat country-side. After the first water-colours by Miklós Barabás, the type of romantic landscape of the "puszta" proliferated especially in the work of Károly Lotz. The romantic literary and pictorial influence is perpetuated in some landscapes as well. These used the results of the contemporary historical and archaeological research and took, as their subject-matter places of historical significance. Some painters turned to Middle-Eastern themes, among them Antal Ligeti who made the 19th century painters' journey through Italy and the Holy Land with the help of the Károlyi family and became the forerunner of Tivadar Csontváry-Kosztka; the letter raised these motifs to the rank of universal human symbols.

Gusztáv Keleti, trained at the Munich Academy, encouraged by the Hungarian Fine Arts Society and later by József Eötvös, the Minister of Education, drew up by the end of the 1860s the plans for the training of artists. The School of Design soon became a source of the academism and eclecticism which dominated the next period. Though also Munich trained, Pál Merse Szinyei chose another direction: he first followed in the footsteps of Böcklin, then, abondoning mythological or historical references became a painter of the pleinair in the late 1860s.

The popular folk-genre developed through the interaction of visual arts and poetry. Ethnographic interest begun in the early 19th century and spread to practically all parts in the country. However the characteristic picture depicted scenes from the life of the people of the plains, characteristic too were the outlaws who made their appearance in the early works of Mihály Munkácsy (1860s). The series of terra cotta sculptures 'Dancing Peasant' by Miklós Izsó, anticipating the buoyant, dynamic forms of late 19th century art has unfortunately remained unknown abroad.

After the mid-century more Hungarian painters were able to travel beyond Vienna, studying at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, as did Viktor Madarász, a pupil of Lépon Cogniet's and winner of the French 1861 gold medal. His paintings represent academized Grand Romanicism with a terse, balladlike representation of a Hungary vainly struggling against oppression. The expressiveness of Madarász was attached, however, to the culture of a closed world; he depicted antagonism within the confines of the academic style. Not even his passionate personality could make him an innovator.

The world of Hungarian legends and beliefs appeared in numerous paintings. Arnold Ipolyi's book on Hungarian Mythology and the fairy tale 'Csongor and Tünde' by the poet Mihály Vörösmarty were sources for a number of paintings. Mór Than turned to German and French prototypes for the first fresco to decorate a public building, using the tale of Prince Árgirus and the Fairie Ilona, he also tried to create his own myth in a painting entitled "The Loves of the Sun and the Mirage," which is an academic treatment of a Greek myth transposed to the Hungarian plain.

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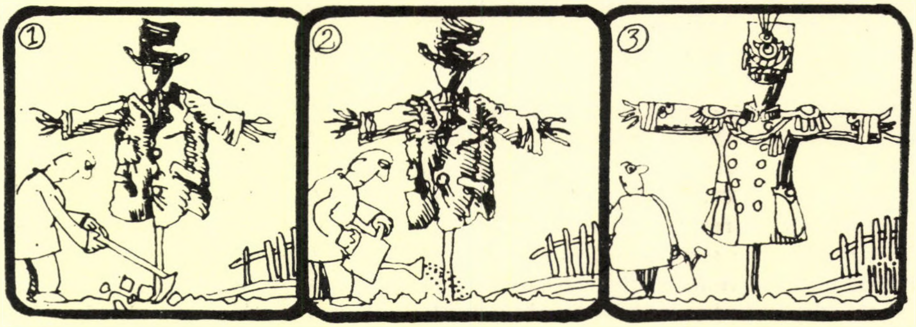
The material exhibited included pictures of scenes and characters from the 19 century Hungarian theatre. The period and peasant costumes and the interiors are all related to contemporary painting. The common themes of theatre and painting bear witness to the close ties between the two arts, and also to the strong attachment of the arts to political and social reality. The first daguerrotypes, talbotypes and photographs reflect the style of the fine arts of the period. The perspective for portraits and groupings, the choice of landscapes motifs are similar; it seems that in Hungary—as elsewhere—at the beginning photography looked towards the painter's art for models and guidance.

KATALIN KESERŰ

A CARICATURIST'S SMALL WORLD

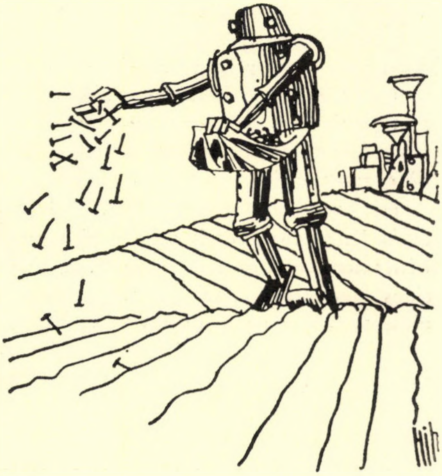
Caricatures by Hihi — István Hegedüs



"Hihi"—never has there been a more telling *nom de plume*. Phonetically—in Hungarian—it conjures up a grin, even a giggle, and also shuddering shock and a ghostliness that scars the nonbeliever. István Hegedüs's work comprises the paraphernalia of the caricaturist at least as much as it does gloom that belies one's itch to laugh.

The revival of the caricature in Hungary is linked to Hegedüs's name. He has been working for the satirical weekly *Ludas Matyi* since 1957, a period that saw the development of a drawing style which seemed to differ radically both from the pre-war funny pape rmanner and the artificially naturalistic, feigned joviality of the 1950's.

For Hegedüs and his fellow cartoonists a funny message is only valid in the second place, primarily and above all they are draughtsmen. If Hungarian draughtsmanship and the process of reproduction had not discovered for their own use the inexhaustible treasury of visionary associations of ideas, archaic stylistic means and the grotesque, press illustrations might also not have dared to step over the limits of conventions. Had



there been no István Hegedüs, no György Várnai, Tibor Kaján and András Mészáros, esoteric, surrealistic, high draughtsmanship would also not have become known as easily and quickly to such a wide public. As Hegedüs put it: "I am a caricaturist, and as I have been squeezed into that pigeonhole, I try to obey the rules consistently. As a counterpole I deal with other things too."

In fact he deals with other things not in the way of a counterpole. His style, world outlook and rendering are all one and indivisible. It is far from easy to grasp his uniqueness.

By saying that the ground colour of his humour is black, one has only said half of a halftruth. Black humour also characterizes his highly gifted colleague, György Várnai, who strikes home with the fast reflexes of his scathing Budapest humour with arrows of simplified lines, resorting to no special style, along the shortest possible route. Another of his talented colleagues, Tibor Kaján is also a votary of black humour, who even during his visual enforcements of judgement does not forget to put on his gloves, with a classical gentlemanly elegance of draughtsmanship. The humour of most of the press cartoonists is black.

But Hegedüs's black is infinitely colourful. His method makes ample use of scenery and costumes, his line, contrary to the draughtsmanship of many of his contemporaries, has an *Art Nouveau* complexity. And above all, he is comprehensively cultivated. His exhibition in the Helikon Gallery, makes countless references to the history of style, ranging from the Altamira bisons to *Art Nouveau* woodcuts: he has done his homework in art history, he quotes when and where his message calls for it.

But over and above dissimulation, there is a Hegedüs basic texture. The warp is horror and the woof is rationality. One is dark, the other bright, the two together are "changeant" in the language of fashion.

It depends on the incident ray which shade becomes underlined. He is neither monstruous nor humorous he is horrifying. I do not know whether the world conjures up that special, transitional mood which, in the presentation of visibly frightening things, ventures as far as to transform astonishment into an embarassed smile. And also the other way round: getting laughter to stick in one's throat.

For example: the figure has no head, but his hands are moving—this is horror itself. The moving hand holds a bottle with the inscription, "ego spray"—this is humour itself. But then the hand presses the button of the bottle, and an "ego," a hairy creature slowly unfolds from the cloud of gas. Or something else: UFOs on earth. Horrifying. The UFOs spit medieval armoured knights out of themselves—grotesque. Is the world entering a new Middle Ages? What is all that if not terrible?

Twelve years ago a collection of English short stories was published in Hungary; the ingenious editor gave it the title, *21 Horror Stories*, and the even more ingenious publisher commissioned István Hegedüs to illustrate the volume. The selection included average sort of horror pieces of the thriller type. These authors, fond of fog are not likely to have thought of their works inspiring a Hungarian caricaturist nearly a hundred years later in Budapest to the extent of producing one of the principal works of illustration of the period in Hungary. It was in that work that Hegedüs discovered bat-winged Gothic romanticism, colonial *fin de siècle*, and the line to fit them.

But everybody is developing. In Hegedüs's *Bistro*, the beer is sold in pint mugs with sinuous outlines and *Art Nouveau* inscriptions, and *art deco*, of the 1920s, is also present. The mug is of harder lines, and the froth on it consists of cubes. Disillusion is the fashion, and a graphic artist must conform to the formal idiom that most stimulates the public. But Hegedüs does not disavow himself in this change-over. A loss of illusions. The end of the world, declares the highway code sign board with *World* crossed out. Those will proceed along the road who know that all that does not have to be taken seriously. It is dreadful, that's all.

JULIANNA P. SZŰCS

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THEATRE AND FILMS

THE RIGHT AND WRONG SIDES

Csíksomlyói passió (The Csíksomlyó Passion); István Örkény: *Forgatókönyv* (Scenario); István Csurka: *Reciprok komédia* (Reciprocal Comedy); Endre Fejes: *Az Angyalarcú* (Angel-Face)

In the middle of the season the long expected reopening of the Budapest Katona József Theatre took place. Thanks to television the whole country could be present. Named after the greatest of Hungarian dramatists, it is the studio satellite of the National Theatre, had been undermined by the building of a new metro line; for eight years it had existed only as the subject of cabaret and cartoon jokes. The new auditorium is modern, elegant even, though no large conclusions can be drawn from its first production. Mór Jókai wrote *Thália szekerén* (On the Caravan of Thalia) as an occasional piece some hundred years ago. It is an evocation of the heroic age of the theatre in the 18th century. The comedy is about authors of genius and impotent theatre directors, immortal actors and scheming buffoons. This is a production which is ironically turned on its contemporary self. The most ingenuous idea of the director was to have the actors twice play a scene from an old verse drama. The first time we see everything from behind as if we were backstage; the actors jostle and kick each other, engage in ridiculous tricks of technique. Then we see them from the front reciting their lines with great élan as if nothing were happening behind. In other words, we have seen the theatre from both sides of the stage. Opposites show their faces, the valuable becomes worthless and the impossible real. This, by the way, seems to be current in the Hungarian theatre, and can be viewed as a sign of that uncertainty of values which increasingly permeates the arts throughout Europe.

Before continuing with this topic let us look at another *Hamlet* in Szolnok. István Paál, who is the chief director of the theatre, gave audiences an unusual and controversial interpretation. It opens with a mimed scene in which the old king is buried in a grave which is left open throughout the play. The first line we hear is: "I am thy father's spirit...," spoken not by the Ghost but stammered by the Player King (who, in the text, appears only in Act II. scene 2). It is clear that he agrees to play the role of the Ghost only under the peremptory threats of Polonius. And so the prince in setting out to set right the "time out of joint" is the victim of a plot. Polonius is fully aware of the crime of Claudius and Gertrude but has no intention of seeing justice done; he is unambigously motivated by power, there are hints that he is Fortinbras' man.

Polonius feels quite at ease with the royal couple, sits beside them on the throne dais and by gesture suggests that he could unmask them if he wanted to. He sends Laertes abroad to ensure that his plans are not hindered; the onset of Ophelia's madness pleases him. In the mouse-trap scene he has Lucianus actually poison the Player King: the latter has played his part—so into the grave with him. The corpse is thrown into the grave, which from now on swallows bodies as they come. Fortinbras, who likes to see a job properly completed, has Horatio shot and dumped into the mass grave; with a mocking smile, he takes over at the end of the play.

The interesting and suggestive in Paál's interpretation is that both Claudius and Polonius represent evil power (although Polonius is the king's superior both morally and in actual strength). The worthy heir apparent personifies honesty, talent, artistic and physical prowess, but in the struggle for power between Polonius and Claudius, he must go to pieces.

However, this picture of a dual power in Denmark becomes inaccurate after Act III; on Polonius' death the concept becomes artificial. (What Ghost does Hamlet see during his overwrought scene with his mother if the Player King is dead?) István Paál has intervened in the text ingeniously, mid-way through the text has resisted and slipped away from him.

To return to Hungarian plays. The première of *The Csíksomlyó Passion* has been one of the successes of the season through the ability of those involved to handle the special character of the dramatic material. The director, Imre Kerényi, and his collaborators compiled a 'new' drama out of old Passion plays which had been partly recorded in the 18th century. In the Hungarian-populated regions of Transylvania, especially around Csíksomlyó, there was an old tradition of performing Passion plays on Good Friday. The roles were played by village peasants or by students in the schools run by the Franciscans. In the peasant play the texts become imbued with the folk tradition and hence more life-like than the students' bookish, Latinized versions.

This production retained both the popular and the bookish features. The Passion play itself is performed in all its beauty and dignity, and is preceded by a Genesis scene. At the same time, ironically and with great liveliness, the production shows us the people engaged in theatre here are not used to the elaborations of poetry or masks or acting. The topical Passion versions so fashionable at the turn of the 60s and 70s were political (Jesus was always represented as a clear-cut revolutionary) and this production shows that the Hungarian theatre is now capable of memorably rendering its national variations of the genre. Some good examples of this had been the experiments of Kazimierz Dejmek in Poland and some German, Italian and French productions.

The director knows that the Old and New Testament figures who personify Good and Evil—such as God the Father and Lucifer, Jesus and Judas—are archetypes always available for new functions and meanings. Therefore a multitude of similar pairs are brought to life within the story. The parable-like stories of Birth, Death, Struggle, Honesty, Betrayal, Love everyone can code into the lower-case concepts of everyday life; this they do according to their own conditions, mood, experience and mentality. Nor was this achieved through theatrical effects by the director, but through a pure, simple straightforward explication of the Passion story, the symbolic became the personal.

Most of this production appeals to the Hungarian eye and ear: the text, the airs in particular. But beyond this, it managed to show a particularly Hungarian passion in the universal story and, vice versa, out of a piece of national culture to create a performance with universal appeal.

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In Memoriam Ö. I., a tribute to István Örkény at the Vígszínház was one of the best productions of 1979—unusual and original in form. The Vígszínház of Budapest also put on the last play by this outstanding writer, completed on his sickbed, shortly before his death.

Forgatókönyv (Scenario) was written in the form of a film script and is set in a circus. The Ringmaster—not Thomas Mann's magician, more like the hero of a Bulgakov novel—is having his benefit performance. Aided by friends, guest performers and former fellow companions-in-arms, he performs an unusual feat. With hypnotic force he persuades them to assume different roles and, with the help of arguments and self-confessions, reveal how the history of the 20th century with its revolutions and counter-revolutions has affected the individual. The October Revolution, the Spanish civil war, the Second World War, the Hungarian Resistance and the rebuilding of the Country after 1945, the show trials, and the 1956 autumn in Hungary all appear in a single sequence, closely linked and even merging into one another. Örkény did more than set down real events; he looked for the patterns of 20th century history, and within them, the history of the working class movement.

The huge circus set transforms the auditorium; the opening acrobatics and the film clips give the play a brisk and lively start. But Péter Valló, the young director, cannot keep pace with the text as it develops. Örkény characteristically sees everything in history as contingent, uncertain, incomprehensible, and open to several interpretations. The Master manages to persuade the heroic revolutionary and communist politician to accept groundless accusations against himself, and surrender as a traitor to the tribunal which sentences him to death. This man, Ádám Barabás, finds himself entangled in a web of faked evidence, uncertain facts, real crimes, and illusory hopes and promises. He loses faith in the meaningfulness of struggles, past and present, and thus life looses its value for him. The Master does away with him, not because of his own political careerism but simply to demonstrate through the circus the valadity of a philosophy of hopelessness.

Some references and dates in the text suggest that Barabás has been modelled on László Rajk, a leading figure of the Hungarian workers' movement, who was executed in 1949 on the basis of trumped-up charges. Other moments evoke Imre Nagy, the prime minister of 1956 who was executed in 1958. The leading figure of the bourgeois revolution of 1918, Mihály Károlyi, also has something in common with the hero. Irreconcilable characters from different historical periods. With the merging of the figures and historical roles of László Rajk and Imre Nagy the substance of the show trials gets lost. The critics found fault with these conflations in the play (but admitted at the same time that a pessimistic and sceptical outlook is expressed originally, although not as convincingly as other outlooks in Örkény's *The Tót Family* and *Catsplay*. (Despite some success, the director made the mistake of trying to make Barabás represent the models rather than be himself a model. It is a much smaller achievement to present a recognizable László Rajk on the stage than to have us recognize the essence of the character of the modelled hero. Örkény's text has experience and conception, but Valló presented only pre-conceptions, sometimes quite spectacularly.

Incidentally, Örkény's plays and some short stories turn on the conceptual, moral and practical problems of exchange and substitution. In one of his one-minute stories people suffering from anxiety neuroses are accidentally directed to an Olympic ski jump instead of to the clinic, others looking for modern artificial limbs find themselves behind a door with the inscription "Come on boys and be a spaceman!" In another story somebody wants to exchange his own apartment for his own; in another story a customer who asks "Have you got an airbed?" gets the answer "We haven't but we can give you an air bed."

His plays fall into three groups: *The Tót Family* and *Catsplay*, relatively well known outside Hungary, are the dramas of inexchangeable values. Nobody would think of substituting one character for another in these plays: they personify different qualities. *Vérrokonok* (Blood Relations) and *Kulcskeresők* (Where's the Key?) are plays where "something is exchanged for the same." In the first the grotesquely conspiratorial characters mysteriously insist on using the word railway insted of the world railway. And, finally, *Pisti a vérzivatarban* (Pisti in the Bloodbath) and *Forgatókönyv* (Scenario) are plays in which anything can be substituted for anything. In the former, the eponymous hero orders an execution—and then himself (his "other self") instantly joins the men condemned to die. Örkény wanted to know in theory—his plays suggest this curiosity splendidly—which of these views had the most to offer 20th century man. In other words, he wanted to find out who was the "hero for the century:" the man with a firm system of values and beliefs, the man with uncertain values, or the resigned man who thinks that the valuable and non-valuable can be exchanged for each other? His three groups of plays give the answer together and separately: not one of them. Örkény, who adopted "Long live the question mark, down with the full stop" as the slogan for his grotesque dramaturgy of doubt and questioning, does not consider that the behaviour of any one of his heroes is the only salvation, the definite answer. He said himself that each new play was the negation of the one before. The director, however, used exclamation marks instead of question marks; instead of doubting, he canonized.

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Another higly regarded playwright, István Csurka, has also written a new play, *Reciprok komédia* (Reciprocal Comedy). It shows in its very title that here too, we are dealing with the right and wrong side of things, with exchangeability, with the trap of reversibility. The hero is a young journalist who wants to write up the working day of a chemical factory but realizes with a shock that the countless pipes, containers, and heating apparatuses serve the purpose of "brainwashing and conception-correcting." Inefficient managers, swindlers, pseudo-scientists are being treated here and cured into idiots; (at the beginning and end of the "healing cure" they resemble Randle McMurphy in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, before and after electrotherapy). The reporter is lucky: he is able to avoid treatment for his pathological curiosity but next day he must present himself again at the mysterious enterprise. Astonishingly, instead of fleeing in panic he docilely walks back into this brainwashing centre where, to his surprise, he finds a busy chemical factory. The action, turned into its own opposite, ends more or less where it has started: most probably tomorrow it will be the turn of the brainwashing centre to be back in operation.

With an obstinacy one has to respect Csurka has written another variation on one of his basic themes: the professional is unable to develop his abilities and personality in present Hungarian conditions, he irreparably wastes his talent, turns to substitutes for real action, and drowns himself in alcohol. To Csurka, the bureaucratic official apparatus fears every bolder innovation, public opinion and morality are also against initiators who are prepared to be bold. His earlier successful plays—*Ki lesz a bálanya?* (Fall Guy for Tonight), *Deficit*, *Házmestersirató* (Lament for a Concierge) made almost everybody admit that he was diagnosing a real disease even though he made it out to be more serious than it actually is. This time too the intention was laudable but the result small: an indecisive production does not know what to do with the sketchy and crude play in which passions replace arguments. Csurka did not seem to realize that in the first part of his play the characters sent to the brainwashing centre are socially dangerous and ethically corrupt; as such, almost to a man, they deserve to be brought to court rather than to the centre.

Another type of character in Csurka's plays is in contact with this world of managers, artists and other professionals. These are the social derelicts and others at the bottom of the ladder. Csurka often speaks of them with ironic affection: he appreciates their healthy, close-to-nature, day-to-day existence, and he certainly prefers it to "intellectual fog-carving." He sees in them more physical vigour and vitality than in the intellectuals who wilt and give up easily. In this play the type is limited to one or two small parts.

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The type, however, appears in another play with some affinities to Csurka's work, *Az angyalarcú* (Angel-Face) by Endre Fejes. The link between the two writers is of a sociological nature, they write about the inhabitants of the same parts of the town. Almost everything by Fejes—and this is no exception—is set in the "thousand times blessed eighth district," a district of Budapest once populated almost exclusively by the petty bourgeoisie, small craftsmen, tramps, and whores. By now the area has changed almost completely but Fejes evokes its past sentimentally and critically. See, for example, his best-known novel, *Rozsdatemető* (Scrap Iron Yard). He also recognizes the defencelessness and criminality of this way of life, he recognizes its pitiful beauty and depravity—all doomed to perish.

The transient appears in the modern, present-day *Angel-Face.* The remains of the fauna and flora of the eighth district, the Józsefváros, are still alive: the workshy drunk betting on horses, the oafish publican, the handsome hairdresser pursuing beautiful women, the prematurely retired workers. The hero lives among them but fate has raised him above the milieu; a newly rich father provides him with everything, and he himself is soon to qualify as a doctor. But this ever-smiling boy, a modern romantic hero, cannot rest: he wants to challenge the fate of the eighth district. With nothing in common with his disappearing characters, he wants to become their doctor. He has also nothing in common with the "upper ten thousand," which Fejes believes that students and their circle constitute; nevertheless, he sleeps in their beds, drinks their brandy, and loves their girls. The story is disproportionately romantic, and as elsewhere in Fejes, it ends with bloodshed. The boy accidentally murders another boy, the lover of his mother. Because he has been unable to live up to his maximalist principles, unable to save the world, he throws himself in front of a train: the angel-face is crushed by the wheels.

The text—originally intended as a film script—is obscure enough dramatic material. Events and causes are often incomprehensible. The style is sometimes sentimental, sometimes journalistic, and superficial in both cases. The sequence of scenes needs the intervention of a severe editor; to add to all this, the play is performed on the smallest stage of Budapest, (the Radnóti) where the countless changes of set produce awkward pauses. Fejes' talent is fully fledged in one respect: portrait is his strength and he knows his minor characters marvellously.

TAMÁS TARJÁN

CHILDREN OF YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Péter Bacsó: *Tegnapelőtt* (The Day before Yesterday); György Palásthy: *A szeleburdi család* (The Harum-Scarum Family)

The resurgence in the sixties of the Hungarian film is a commonplace in film literature. Nor is there anything new in the complementary observation that the seventies in comparison were years of regression or stagnation. At the beginning of the eighties, the Hungarian film seems again to be about to bloom no less spectacularly. The signs of this are in films such as *A ménesgazda* (The Stud Farm), *Angi Vera* (The Training of Vera) and *Mephisto.* Some scripts, and films now at the post-production stage before release, seem no less promising.

There is, however, an important difference between the two periods, not a difference in value but a historical one. The golden age of the sixties largely came from the efforts to create a language, the mother tongue for the Hungarian film; the new evolution relies on what has been achieved and seems to be more an epoch of genres. In contrast to the intensive but somewhat one-sided experimental work of the sixties, Hungarian film-makers are experimenting now across almost the entire spectrum of film genres from the lightest (the children's films, the thrillers, the burlesque) to the most serious. The Hungarian public at one time were turning away from Hungarian films because they offered only one kind of fare (vitamin full in the sixties, lower in nutritional value in the seventies), a ragout of parables and esoteric aestheticism. Today, the menu has more variety, and the frightening fall in cinema audiences of the sixties has stopped; the box-office is showing an upturn and, for some films, remarkable success. From the new films I have picked out two which are very different.

Péter Bacsó's *A tanú (The Witness)* made in 1968 (see *NHQ* 81) has been shown recently on international forums (Cannes, New York, Berlin, and elsewhere). His new film *Tegnapelőtt* (The Day before Yesterday) returns to the period in which his deservedly succesful satire was set. This is the period called the personality cult. Bacsó made another film in the sixties, *Nyár a hegyen* (Summer in the Mountains) in this period; but *The Day before Yesterday* is, without any doubt, his best work so far. I do not think I am exaggerating when I call it one of the most poignant artistic testimonies to appear in recent times.

The film is on those young people who, after the liberation of Hungary, laid their lives on the line to achieve and build socialism, the new social order. A series of unlawful acts abused their faith, corrupting them into fanatical tools or—and in the case of the majority—persecuting, humiliating and finally outlawing them from the community of the "reliable."

After the war one of the most important and original forms in which the young organized themselves was the movement called people's colleges. They were set up partly on the initiative of László Rajk who gave them special care until the end. This movement took to itself the children of peasants and workers who, wishing to embark on intellectual careers, enrolled at universities and art colleges. The organisation was based around the self-government of these youngsters who had obtained from the new social order the chance to study, to rise: they were to become the backbone of the new socialist intelligentsia. They participated in the land distribution, in all action organized by the left and by the communist party—the movement was, in short, the solid pillar of socialism. Until Rajk's trial they were the pride of the party and the system. With the "unmaking" of Rajk (and of Tito who had been popular among the young left after the war) the movement became "guilty" overnight. Rákosi banned it, members found themselves tried and imprisoned on trumped-up charges. Expelled from higher education, the bright hopes of yesterday, the leaders of the future, were thrust into insecurity, poverty and moral dissension. (In a recent television interview, the poet Gyula Illyés said that the dismantling of the people's colleges was the crime for which it was most difficult to forgive Rákosi.) This film chronicles their history.

Bacsó had himself been in a people's college and based the script on his own experiences. The characters illustrate the central conflict of the period, a conflict which, of course, affected more than this group but was most marked in this particular environment. The slow growth of confusion, the gradual questioning, and the final and total collapse of a faith considered absolute were much more important than the problems of earning a livelihood. In other words, what was involved was the realization and the struggle against this apparently absurd realization that the infallible leader, Mátyás Rákosi, was not only deceived but was himself a deceiver, a political card-sharper. Not only could the party be mistaken but it could even be led astray. The characters of the film find themselves trapped between the cog-wheels of their soul-searching. The soul-searching, the derailment of careers, the basic problem of earning a livelihood, poverty and social ostracism (in many cases, prison) bound together to become an unanswered and unanswerable why?

The full depth and the agony ot this "why" can only be understood by those who are also aware of the fervency, the utopian behind it. Today it is easy to smile at the naiveté of those youngsters; uncomprehendingly, the outsider pities their gullibilty and "idolatry"—many young people do so nowadays. It is easy to demonstrate today the deformation of faith into a cult, into a religious aberration of Marxism, a contradiction of its own tenets. But the deformation of reality and history actually happened in the sign of pure morality and ethical absolutism; the deformation from above was a manifestation of moral nihilism.

Bacsó's experience of the period was deep and personal; the merit of his film is that it shows the whole process from within. How faith, conviction and consciousness were turned into a mythical cult. The film portrays a generation or, rather, the best of a generation, produced out of the crucible of war and oppression almost unimaginable today. György Lukács used Fichte's phrase, "This generation found the faith in a new world rising with the force of historical necessity," to describe that they had to believe in a superhuman age of perfect guiltlessness and total purity, they had to find in this world institutions, representatives and models to believe in. Utopias have always been *de profundis* reactions; East Central Europe has had to react from a depth greater than most. After centuries of oppression, these young people were granted human dignity, a future, a purpose in life and a vocation by a social transformation. Just when they believed it achieved, the transformations expelled them from their dreams and illusions of Eden, and threw them into the hell of doubt.

A great merit of Bacsó's film is that it shows this side of their fate truthfully; only thus can their tragedy come to term. It opens in the period of coalition government immediately after the war. Dorottya, the daughter of a village publican, studies in a church secondary school where she boards; she is expelled for possession of books and publications of the Party; she breaks with her parents and joins her young communist boyfriend in people's college. She still retains her religious faith (she prays for communist votes in the election), but this first experience of love carries her away: she is in love not only with the boy but also with the new world of his ideas. This second love for life grows stronger and stronger. Dorottya, by the right of this love, convinces the party secretary of the college (her boyfriend and husband-to-be) to let her go with the brigade of the college to Yugoslavia to an international youth work camp. In enacting this great and blissful experience of community Dorottya commits (i.e., obtains for her fate) the "crime" which is to ruin her life. Specifically, the "crime" which her husband—and she with him—must pay for is that he was the brigade leader.

The world turns upside down, its value system seems to reverse, what was sacrosanct becomes criminal: here the film's authenticity is poignant. The sacraments are narrowed down to a single sacrement until finally, in the end, this, the most genuine, turns out to be fraudulent. In the wake of those shattering reversals there follows a demonic atmosphere which ruins, changes, and strips everything of its essence. The purest proletarian solidarity becomes betrayal, comrades and friends are "changed" into enemy police agents, ideals are dragged through the mud, and love is profanized because it turns the most honest into spies and informers. Bacsó repeated the stunt he had managed in *The Witness* under the opposite sign: he represented this process almost incomprehensible for anyone in his right mind in its tragic human dimensions because he emphasized its essence: pure faith which is defenceless against the grossest manipulations just because it is so guileless and absolute.

I do not want to relate the whole plot: Dorottya is one of many martyrs to this faith. Another merit of the film is that it does not soften her individual fate in the wry "happy end" when unlawfulness is unmasked. Bacsó has accepted and presented the modern tragedy of Dorottya in its full cruelty. She chooses death because she is caught between her faith in the ideas of socialism and her refusal to abandon her belief in her jailed husband's innocence. She chooses so because she cannot forgive herself for being, in the film's motto, "a false witness to her own true cause." The line comes from Attila József. She refuses herself this forgiveness, in spite of her resisting all the temptations, guile, and traps set for her by the investigators; her defencelessness, her good intentions, the fact of being blackmailed in this way end in psychosis. The catharsis is provided by Dorottya's humanity, not by the reassuring cliché of justice triumphing—albeit too late for her.

Bacsó shows the positive and negative aspects of the period without idealization; his treatment is even-handed whether dealing with what he values, or with what he believes has to be condemned.

He does not deal in personifications of good and evil, but in human beings of flesh and blood. The task he set himself is complex but his solutions work. (Nor was he ashamed to ask Ferenc Karinthy to work on the dialogue—with excellent results.) A special mention is due to cameraman Tamás Andor, designer Tamás Banovich, and György Vukán, who wrote the score. Apart from the excellent Marianna Moór (as a nun-teacher) and Lajos Őze (as the father of Dorottya), most of the cast are beginners, or academy students. Éva Igó, as Dorottya, contributes a performance which is a primary factor in the experience the film offers: it may well be an important landmark in her further career.

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When a film is based on a book, I do my best to read it before reviewing the film. This is useful even if I have to refrain from unfavourable comparisons: reading the book may simply reveal the difficulty of the enterprise. Recently I had the unexpected experience of reading a gem of a children's book, a novel written by Ágnes Bálint. Charming, rich in psychological detail, it stands comparison with Queneau's *Zazie dans le métro* and Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, those being the last two books I have read with such unrestrained delight. Since I am not yet a grandparent, I have only my adult family to confirm my appraisal. The lesson for all of us obviously is that it is worth while to read the occasional book written for children or teenagers. Stanislavsky's "you must act for children as you act for adults, only better," seems to apply to writing and film-making too.

György Palásthy gained my favour through the mere fact of having made a film from this novel, although when I read it I realized it would be impossible to capture fully its special lyricism. The cinema does not know the first person singular: a picture always represents a he or she, a third person. What is special about this family is that—as in Queneau's book—it is presented to us through the consciousness of a child, as filtered through its experiences and psyche. What I feared was that if we are deprived of the refraction of reality so brilliantly rendered in the book, the family will seem merely a little dotty. There also remains the question whether the particular visual humour of the cinema can make up for the loss of humour based on personal reflection?

The answer is both yes and no. The script was jointly written by Ágnes Bálint and György Palásthy. Bálint could have fought a little harder for some of the motifs of her novel; some turns of the plot and gags are omitted or changed so that the humour is less sharp, the originality less striking. On the other hand, Palásthy has returned to classical film burlesque in order to condense and narrate a plot which in the novel is rambling and structured. It is hard to see how he could have done otherwise. Thus, the story seems more formal and less original, but in compensation, it is more cinematic. For want of better comparisons, Palásthy has brought his own outlook (which has something of René Clair) closer to Chaplin's outlook and humour; this is not to denigrate but simply to say that the film harmonizes less or differently with the book's original feel.

The shriller, louder tone and character will not necessarily work against the film's popularity: children will be the ultimate judges. The one thing that is sure is that it is unjust to compare films to literature. The reference we should use is the children's film: Palásthy's film, for all its faults greater or smaller, sparkles like an oasis in this desert. Eccentricity as a principle of stylisation has been effective since the golden years of the cinema. Because it is the principle of stylisation, the sense of Ágnes Bálint's novel comes across, changed through it may be somewhat. The family's bohemianism, dottiness even conceals a capacity for humanity, love, and respect for each other. Only the real warmth of the family's life becomes a little mechanically "stylized" in the process.

All in all then we should be pleased with Palásthy's film. Indeed, we should be happy that he consistently takes upon himself the unrewarding task of making children's films, and that he makes them better and better. Bálint's novel was a happy choice, the selection and direction of his child actors are excellent. He has skilfully used old and modern burlesque, the action is effective and his message enchanting—what more do we want?

ERVIN GYERTYÁN

MUSICAL LIFE

BENJÁMIN RAJECZKY

GREGORIAN CHANT IN HUNGARY

The foundations for music history in Hungary were laid in the 18th century; as a discipline it emerged in the 19th and was rooted in the romantic nationalism of the period. This approach dominated and even accompanied the new work of the 1920's and 1930's. As a result the history of Hungarian music came to be studied on two parallel lines. On the one hand efforts were made to establish a continuum in the field of composed music by linking the flourishing musical life of 15th and 16th century Buda and Transsylvanian courts with its aristocratic and baroque counterparts while others, under the impact of Kodály and Bartók, followed the trace of folk music from ancient times through the Middle Ages to the centuries of the modern era. Remarkedly, views contrary to this artificial separation had been voiced as well. Gábor Mátray had established as early as in the middle of the 19th century that "old Hungarian sacred and secular songs were strummed virtually on the same strings," Mihály Bogisich arrived at the conclusion in 1879 that in certain MSS Latin and Hungarian texts "eulogize the nation's glorious saints, and the singing reveals an orientally rich diversity," and then at the beginning of our century Bertalan Fabó declared categorically: "the student of Hungarian folk song can get nowhere without a knowledge of the Church hymns." Still, the only recorded melodies from the Hungarian Middle Ages, the Gregorian body of music, had been well left unexplored up to comperatively recent times.

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the Gregorian sources were completely ignored. From the seventies of the last century on Nándor Knauz reviewed the MSS of Pozsony; indeed, after József Dankó's publication of the hymns and sequences of the Hungarian saints (obviously Hungarian compositions) became known but they were not dealt with from a musical standpoint. When Ferenc Liszt was searching for a hymn of Hungarian origin for his Saint Elizabeth oratorio, the hymn to Queen St. Elizabeth of Portugal was recommended to him. Then, in the twenties of this century political changes meant that research found itself in an unexpectedly difficult situation. Post Trianon Hungary was exactly the territory where almost the whole material containing notation had perished under Turkish rule, the major part of what had survived was to be found in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia or Rumania, and had thus become inaccessible. In an isolated effort, Kálmán Isoz made an attempt to establish the number of the Gregorian *notatores* of the 12–13th centuries in the Pray Codex by analyzing differences in the notation; his work was subjected to study only 30 years later. In similar manner Dénes Bartha's notable publication of the handwritten notes taken by László Szalkai, Archbishop of Esztergom, during his student days at the end of the 15th century, had no further effect. Since it was concerned with Gregorian chant, musicologists of the time, busy investigating the origins of Renaissance polyphony or those of folk music paid little heed to his work.

Yet the investigation of Gregorian sources had become more and more urgent for two reasons: firstly, for the light they could throw on musical culture in medieval Hungary and secondly for their contribution to comparative studies in the whole body of Gregorian music.

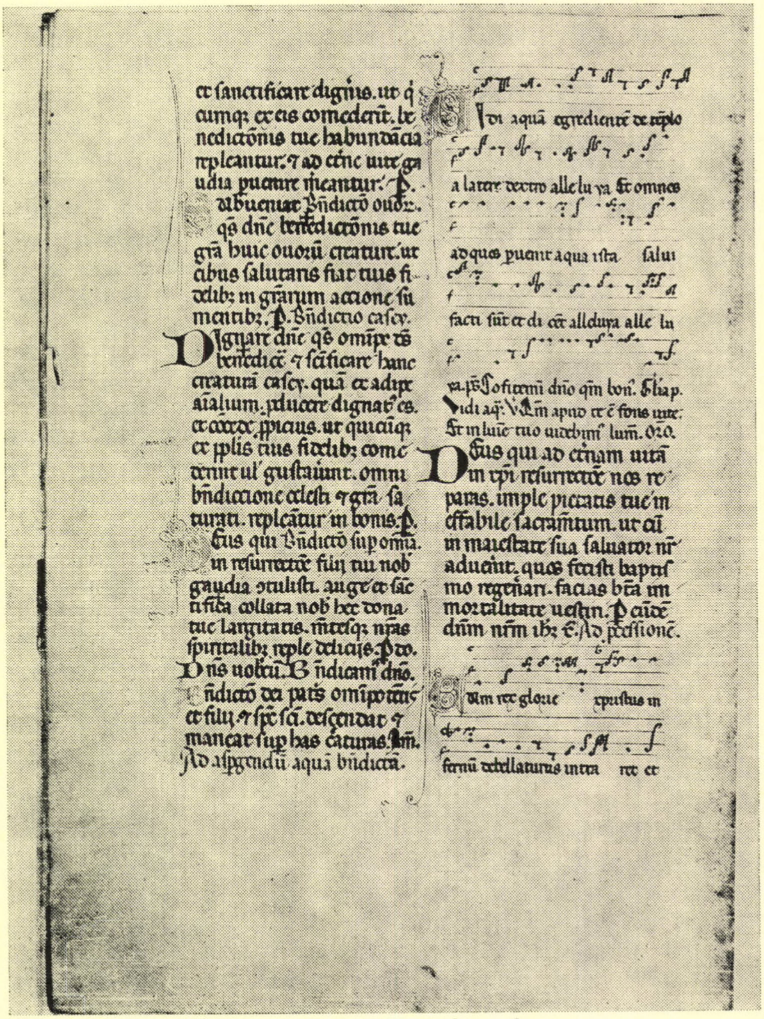
As far as the first of the above is concerned József Dankó's *Vetus Hymnarium* clearly showed that Hungarian poets had a significant share in the origin of Hungarian liturgical texts of the Middle Ages, and this share was of no mean literary quality. Since these were prepared for singing there must have been collaboration with suitably trained singers. Inasmuch as the music to this Hungarian verse was of equal quality, we have to conclude that there was a section of the medieval population whose literary and musical erudition met the demands of the age. Thus music history may not treat medieval Hungary as a gap; without names for composers, in fact, there must have been quite a few musicians even in the sphere of polyphonic music.

The other standpoint was offered by comparative Gregorian studies. The work of the Benedictines of Solesmes Abbey has been aimed at the rediscovery of an authentic heritage; primarily on the basis of Italian and French and to a lesser extent English and German sources. Among the latter where possible more monastic than diocesan are explored, and the work is on sources not later than the 12th century. Peter Wagner has pointed out, however, that the heritage of Central and East Central Europe, with its evidence from the late Middle Ages, stems from a region whose difference is marked by pentatonizing turns (the only exceptions being the curial hymn books used by the Franciscans). The relationship of the two dialects to each other, the circumstances of the origin of the Eastern group will hardly be clarified until source material from each European nation, including the late mediaeval and especially the cathedral material is given a detailed presentation and is subjected to careful comparison. A separate treatment of the Hungarian heritage thus can provide just as important data as would a careful analysis of German, Austrian, Czech and Polish Gregorian material.

Research to support these two standpoints received an impulse from an unexpected quarter: the investigations of folk music, which revealed parallels between folk and Gregorian music. The writings of Zoltán Kodály, as well as those of the Germans Bruno Maerker and Walter Wiora directed attention to the correspondences between the origins of folk music and composed music encouraging a twofold approach in the classification of Gregorian tunes: the application of methods evolved by Bartók and Kodály for a typology of folk music alongside historical comparisons.

The importance of Polikárp Radó's work, that is of his liturgical source catalogue, is that this complex task permitted a start to be made at the beginning of the forties. His work is supplemented by Dragutin Kniewald's index, which provides a careful description of the manuscripts in Zagreb. Because of the war, however, intensive study of Gregorian music was out of the question until the fifties. László Mezey then discovered the Székesfehérvár Antiphonal, the *Codex Albensis* from the first half of the 12th century, in Graz; Zoltán Falvy made a study of the paper on neumes by Kálmán Isoz mentioned above in 1956; the publication of hymn and sequence melodies from Hungarian sources appeared in a musical classification (B. Rajeczky: *Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi*. I. *Hymni et Sequentiae, 1956.*) By the sixties László Mezey, together with Zoltán Falvy, brought out the *Codex Albensis* in a facsimile edition; Kilián Szigeti published an expanded musical source catalogue after the research areas expanded considerably through the good offices of the Slovak and Croatian scientific institutions along with exchanges of microfilms.

Consequently for some fifteen years the medieval sources have been such that an analysis of individual pieces can be followed by a comparative survey; any investigative standpoint can be applied to each and any part of the entire material. This is where a research team comes in. László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei, who had done outstanding work on a typology for Hungarian folk music melody, co-ordinated the work of a team (ten in all) working out of the Department of Melodic History at the Institute of Musicology. As a result the whole of Hungarian antiphonal music is ready for publication, and unlike that published abroad, in a classified form. At the moment the melodies of the graduals are being compiled;



Missale Notatum Strigoniense. Early 14th century.

thus in a comparison with any foreign group, their national characteristics may be evident as well as their place in Gregorian music in one of the major groups of variants.

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Although the complete melodic material still needs many years of work, investigations have to date produced more than one concrete result.

I should mention first of all the dissertation submitted by Janka Szendrei to the Academy, in which she demonstrates the existence of a distinct Hungarian neumatic system. This notation can be traced back to the 12th century and according to all indications its existence was related to the leading position of the archdiocese of Esztergom. Its classical form is found in the Esztergom *Missale Notatum* dating from the beginning of the 14th century; at the same time variants may also be adduced, such as the *Zagreb Missale Notatum* or the *Esztergom Pontificale* of the 15th century. It preserved its characteristic notation forms, alongside of Gothic Metz influence, or those such as are found in the *Bakócz Gradual* from the 16th century. The Hungarian notation tradition as well as the Esztergom liturgy was kept alive, particularly by the Pauline Order, founded in the 13th century. The distinct Hungarian notation is still to be found in 18th-century manuscripts.

Janka Szendrei's conclusions, which at first glance are daring, are based not only on the few dozen Hungarian MSS; she made a penetrating examination of some 600 available fragments (she also catalogued all of these). There is still a decade of work remaining for the fragments to be investigated; this is being done under László Mezey.

Even professional musicians frequently ask whether any medieval Hungarian musician composed Gregorian chant which displays a Hungarian character. The question itself is a vestige of the romantic viewpoint. However rich Gregorian chant is in local variants, "national Gregorian" in the 19th century sense is in fact contradictio in adiecto. Gregorian chant was Europe's first general musical language with a specific grammar and vocabulary; its genesis goes back to folk music antecedents in antiquity and a reform in the Carolingian era during which certain elements had been selected and rigid structures established. When this reformed music reached the Christianizing nations, it came with a sacral, obligatory character, and was only superficially modified, that is according to its practice which was that of folk music; the style itself had general validity. This general validity had its effects even in the forms which enriched its succeeding periods. Even a trope or a sequence could only occur with a claim to general validity: what was created by individual peoples still conformed to the mainstream. (The new forms however may no longer be termed Gregorian in the original sense; the cantios had already openly broken with the classical tradition and joined the national language.)

Therefore, when the local church of a given nation had new offices, new texts composed for its own celebration of the mass it expected from both the writer of the music and of the text the most masterly application of the style of the times. The builder of a Romanesque or Gothic church was similarly expected to observe the general characteristics of the style with the freedom of local variation. It is worthy of note that the more traditional the liturgical form, all the more obligatory was the traditional style as well: more in the responsories, than in the antiphons or the hymns.

The specific system of notation indicates that Gregorian music had not been adopted slavishly, but a deliberate selection had been made even in the 12th century. The musical culture of the 11th century must have left only meagre traces, since pagan rebellions in the middle of the century destroyed nearly everything. What remains from the end of the century and the *Codex Albensis* point to German influence. In the latter a Hungarian application is already evident: the pieces of the *Saint Stephen Office* make their appearance, not only antiphons, but a responsory as well. The *Integer ardorem rubus,* also of Hungarian authorship, may possibly be independent work even musically. From the middle of the 12th century the data reveal French orientation. Archbishop Lukács of Esztergom studied in Paris, in the environment of Thomas à Becket and Walter Mapes; from the 1192 Pray Codex, we know of the first journey undertaken to study music: King Béla III sent Elvinus (quite likely a member of the court chapel) to Paris "ad discendam melodiam", just at the time of the canonization of King Ladislas. It is characteristic that his sequence of the sainted king, the *Novae laudis attollamus,* makes use of the French *Laudes crucis attollamus* melody, as does the *Mira mater* of Hungarian authorship; to his cleverly woven melody of the Saint Ladislas hymn beginning with the words *Regis regum civis, ave* he also adopted two stanzas of the French *Coeli solem imitantes* sequence as a model (Fig. 1.).

Saint Stephen's Sequence, the *Corde, voce, mente pura,* formed an independent dynamic composition under the inspiration of the French *Verbum bonum et suave* four-line and the *Laudes crucis* three-line stanzas, the first strophe of which shows the extent to which it is not a pure imitation (Fig. 2.).

The 13th-century Saint Stephen Office in verse and the succeeding Saint Emeric

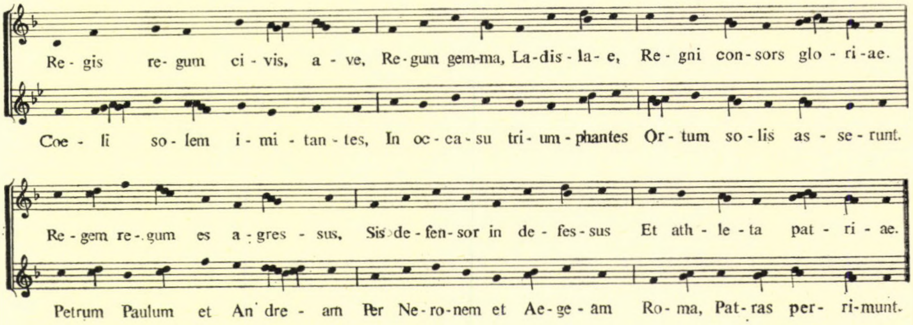

Re - gis re - gum ci - vis, a - ve, Re - gum gem-ma, La - dis - la - e, Re - gni con - sors glo - ri - ae.
Coe - li so - lem i - mi - tan - tes, In oc - ca - su tri - um - phantes Or - tum so - lis as - se - runt.
Re - gem re - gum es a - gres - sus, Sis de - fen - sor in de - fes - sus Et ath - le - ta pat - ri - ae.
Petrum Paulum et An' dre - am Per Ne - ro - nem et Ae - ge - am Ro - ma, Pat - ras per - ri - munt.

Figure 1

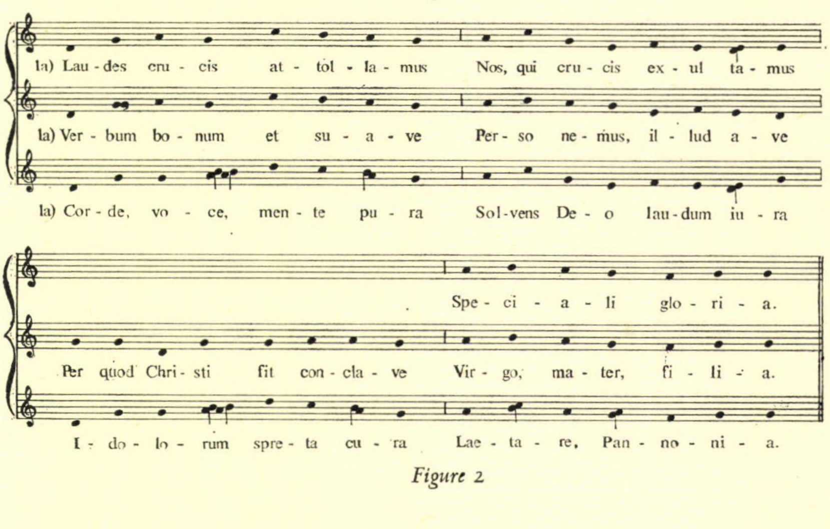
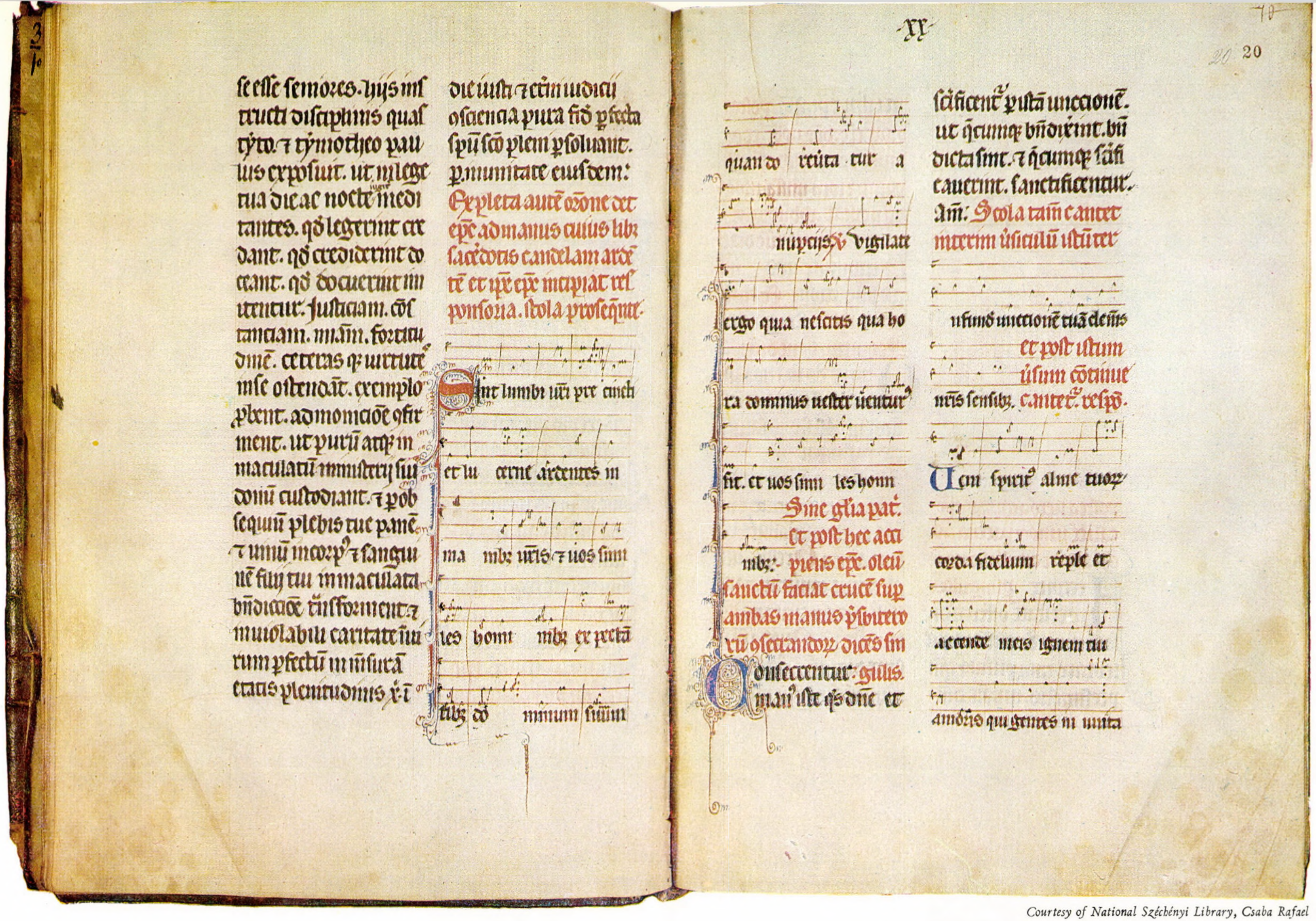
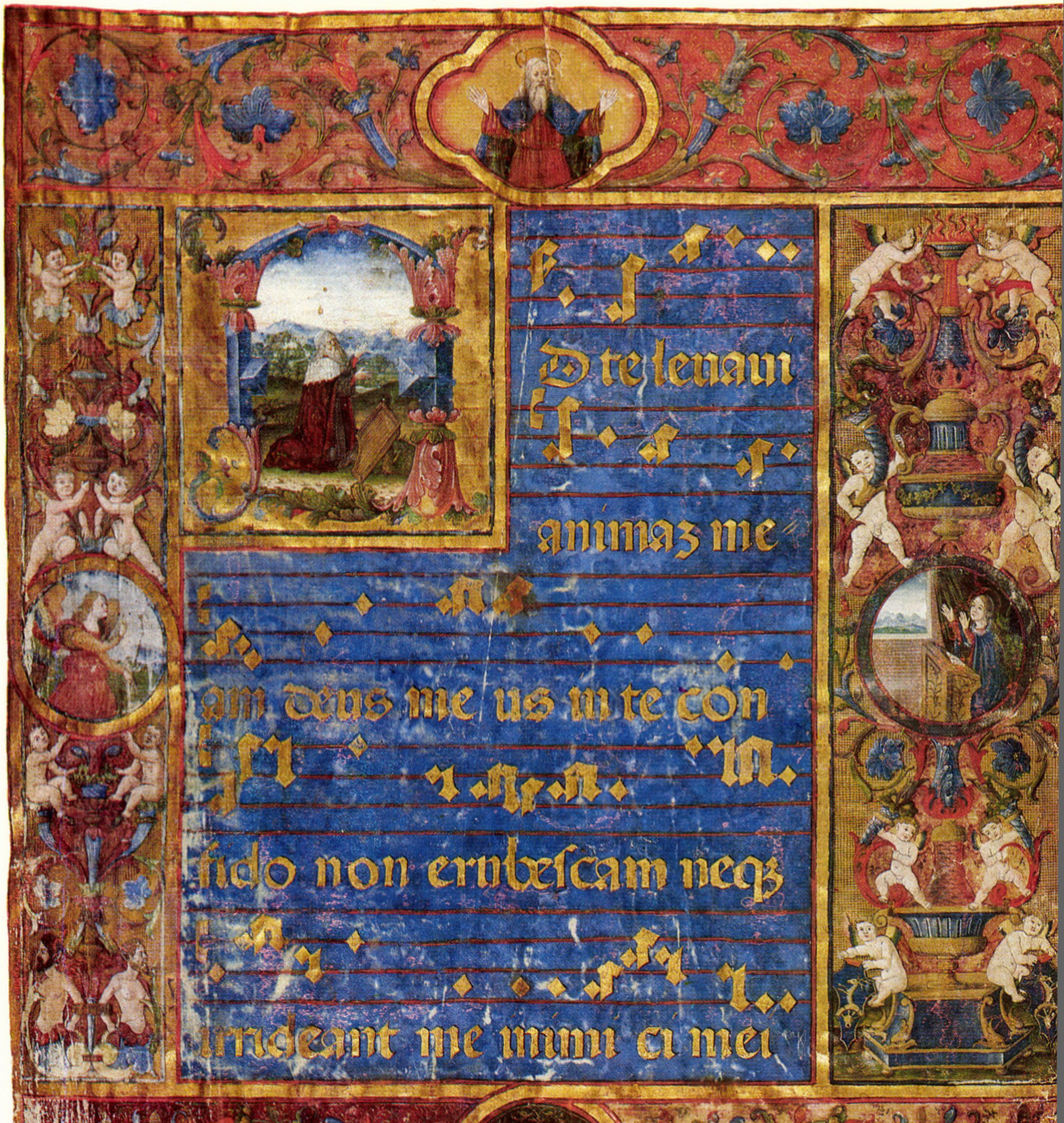

1a) Lau - des cru - cis at - tol - la - mus Nos, qui cru - cis ex - ul ta - mus
1a) Ver - bum bo - num et su - a - ve Per - so ne - mus, il - lud a - ve
1a) Cor - de, vo - ce, men - te pu - ra Sol - vens De - o lau - dum iu - ra
Spe - ci - a - li glo - ri - a.
Per quod Chri - sti fit con - cla - ve Vir - go, ma - ter, fi - li - a.
I - do - lo - rum spre - ta cu - ra Lae - ta - re, Pan - no - ni - a.

Figure 2



Courtesy of National Széchényi Library, Csaba Rafael

PONTIFICALE STRIGONIENSE. 15TH CENTURY.


D te leuaui
animaz me
am deus me us in te con
fido non erubescam neqz
irrideant me inimi ci mei

Courtesy of Esztergom Cathedral Library, Csaba Ra

GRADUAL OF ARCHBISHOP BAKÓCZ. 16TH CENTURY and Saint Ladislas Offices, also in verse (published by Zoltán Falvy: *Drei Reimoffizien aus Ungarn* 1968) are evidence that the Hungarian idiom was fully a part of contemporary composed music. To evaluate this we shall have to wait on the vast international material, whose publication is still in its beginnings. Their psalm tunes, their antiphons, their responsories and hymns point to the work of a group who were capable of selecting freely, producing variants, setting formally and also independently; they also point to the existence of a highly trained body of performers. The monumental responsory of the *Saint Stephen Office*, the starry closing section of which repeats after the verzus, is a fine example (Fig. 3.).

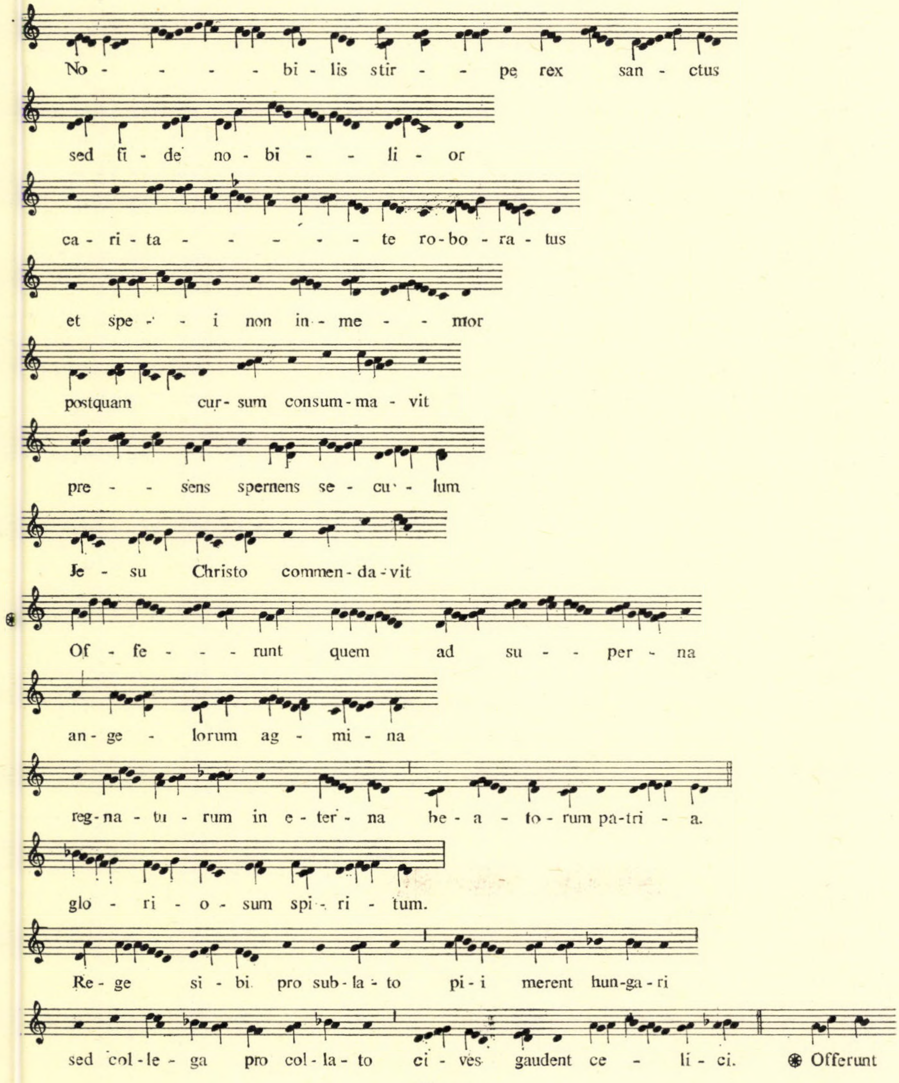

No - - - - bi - lis stir - - pe rex san - ctus
sed fi - de no - bi - - li - or
ca - ri - ta - - - - - te ro - bo - ra - tus
et spe - - i non in - me - - mor
postquam cur - sum consum - ma - vit
pre - - sens spernens se - cu - lum
Je - su Christo commen - da - vit
❀ Of - fe - - - runt quem ad su - - per - na
an - ge - lorum ag - mi - na
reg - na - tu - rum in e - ter - na be - a - to - rum pa - tri - a.
glo - ri - o - sum spi - ri - tum.
Re - ge si - bi pro sub - la - to pi - i merent hun - ga - ri
sed col - le - ga pro col - la - to ci - ves gaudent ce - li - ci. ❀ Offerunt

Figure 3

A generally accepted mode of creation by the masters of the Middle Ages, the contrafactum (the application of a given melody to a different text, a syllabized melody to a melismatic one, and vice versa) found wide usage in Hungary as well. Evidence for the cult of Thomas à Becket from the 12th century is to be found in the application of the *Iacet granum* responsory to the text of the Sanctus of the mass (Fig. 4.).

A strikingly favoured procedure in Hungarian practice was the use of sequences for the purposes of passages in the mass: thus the popular melodies of the *Victimae paschali* and the *Laetabundus* were performed even outside festive occasions. From the standpoint of music history, however, this is very interesting: the old-style sequence melody, which once came into existence from the syllabization of an alleluia, was restored to its original melismatic form in a Kyrie (Fig. 5.).

The much favoured form of the Middle Ages, the sequence, was readily cultivated also by the Hungarian masters; ten per cent of the two hundred odd sequences from Hungary are known only from Hungarian sources. An example of the skilful arrangement and popular appeal, *Omnes una celebremus*, which tells of the celebration of Sunday, spread from Hungary to the neighbouring territories (Fig. 6.).

All of this is proof of a lively, independent Hungarian Gregorian practice. A great role was played in this by school training; the data point to particularly energetic cathedral and capitular schools, later joined by urban schools, which promoted from the 14th century onwards the rise of a strong literate stratum. Such circumstances were always favourable for the emergence of local singing customs. We can mention two such customs: One (very likely under French influence), was the tradition of a passion melody of minor mode; the written records for this spread from its recording in Esztergom in the 15th century to Protestant

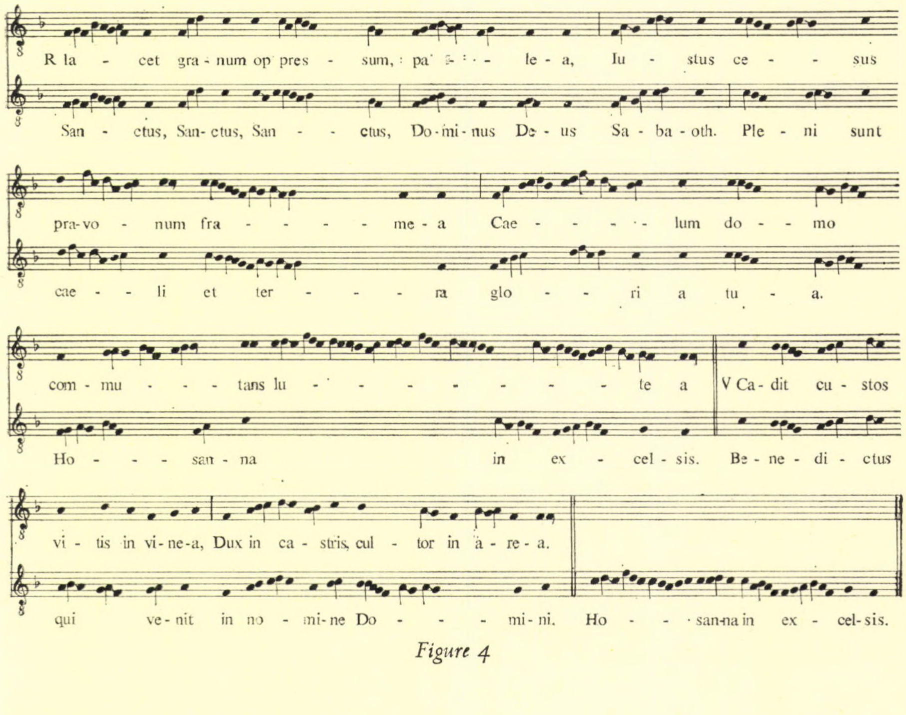

R Ia - cet gra - num op pres - sum, pa - le - a, Iu - stus ce - - sus
San - ctus, San- ctus, San - - ctus, Do-mi-nus De - us Sa - ba - oth. Ple - ni sunt
pra-vo - num fra - - - - - me - a Cae - - - - lum do - - mo
cae - - li et ter - - - - ra glo - - ri a tu - a.
com - mu - - - tans lu - - - - - - - - - te a V Ca - dit cu - stos
Ho - - - san - na in ex - cel - sis. Be - ne - di - ctus
vi - tis in vi - ne - a, Dux in ca - stris, cul - tor in a - re - a.
qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - - - mi - ni. Ho - - - san-na in ex - cel - sis.

Figure 4

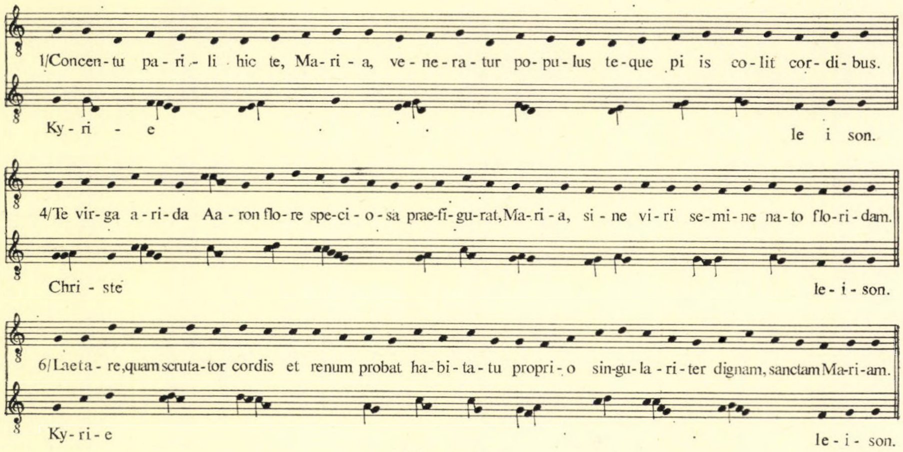

1/Concen-tu pa-ri-li hic te, Ma-ri-a, ve-ne-ra-tur po-pu-lus te-que pi is co-lit cor-di-bus.
Ky-ri-e le i son.
4/Te vir-ga a-ri-da Aa-ron flo-re spe-ci-o-sa prae-fi-gu-rat, Ma-ri-a, si-ne vi-ri se-mi-ne na-to flo-ri-dam.
Chri-ste le-i-son.
6/Laeta-re, quam scruta-tor cordis et renum probat ha-bi-ta-tu propri-o sin-gu-la-ri-ter dignam, sanctam Ma-ri-am.
Ky-ri-e le-i-son.

Figure 5

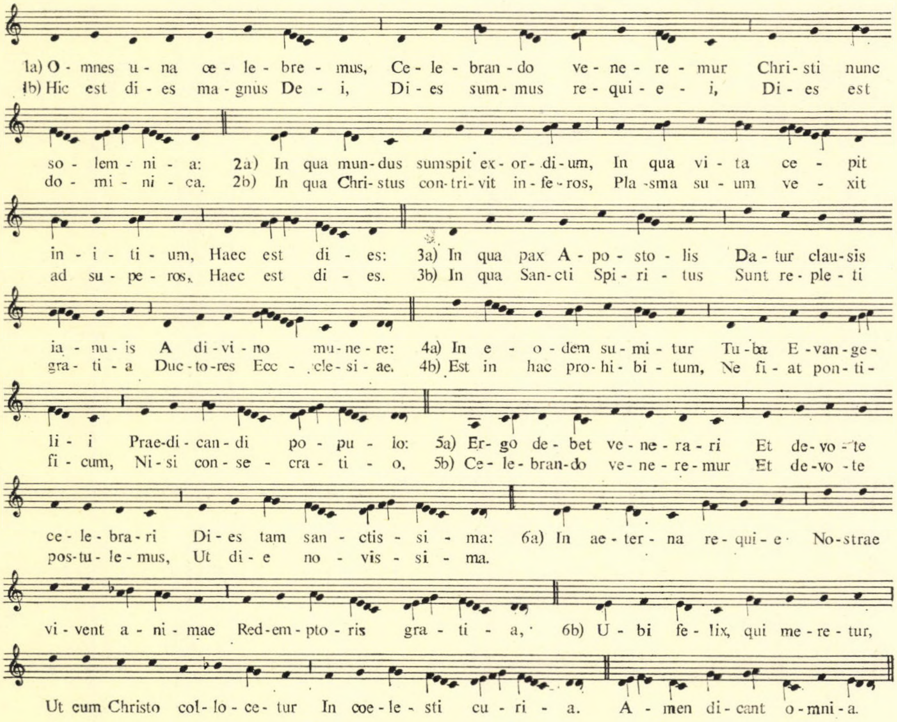

1a) O-mnes u-na ce-le-bre-mus, Ce-le-bran-do ve-ne-re-mur Chri-sti nunc so-lem-ni-a:
1b) Hic est di-es ma-gnus De-i, Di-es sum-mus re-qui-e-i, Di-es est do-mi-ni-ca.
2a) In qua mun-dus sumspit ex-or-di-um, In qua vi-ta ce-pit in-i-ti-um, Haec est di-es:
2b) In qua Chri-stus con-tri-vit in-fe-ros, Pla-sma su-um ve-xit ad su-pe-ros, Haec est di-es.
3a) In qua pax A-po-sto-lis Da-tur clau-sis ia-nu-is A di-vi-no mu-ne-re:
3b) In qua San-cti Spi-ri-tus Sunt re-ple-ti gra-ti-a Duc-to-res Ec-cle-si-ae.
4a) In e-o-dem su-mi-tur Tu-ba E-van-ge-li-i Prae-di-can-di po-pu-lo:
4b) Est in hac pro-hi-bi-tum, Ne fi-at pon-ti-fi-cum, Ni-si con-se-cra-ti-o.
5a) Er-go de-bet ve-ne-ra-ri Et de-vo-te ce-le-bra-ri Di-es tam san-ctis-si-ma:
5b) Ce-le-bran-do ve-ne-re-mur Et de-vo-te pos-tu-le-mus, Ut di-e no-vis-si-ma.
6a) In ae-ter-na re-qui-e No-strae vi-vent a-ni-mae Red-em-pto-ris gra-ti-a,
6b) U-bi fe-lix, qui me-re-tur, Ut cum Christo col-lo-ce-tur In coe-le-sti cu-ri-a. A-men di-cant o-mni-a.

Figure 6

hymn books of the baroque age. The other was the *Te Deum*; we have compared certain sections of it with the 13th century *Worcester Antiphoner*-variant. The distinctly individual character of the tradition, starting from the *Aeterna fac*, grows steadily stronger. From the *Per singulos dies* the Hungarian version, according to Janka Szendrei, assumes an expressive turn diverging strongly from any other European variant. That this is not an error in transcription is verified by a long series of Protestant sources and in fact by a folk music tradition which still survives (Fig. 7.).

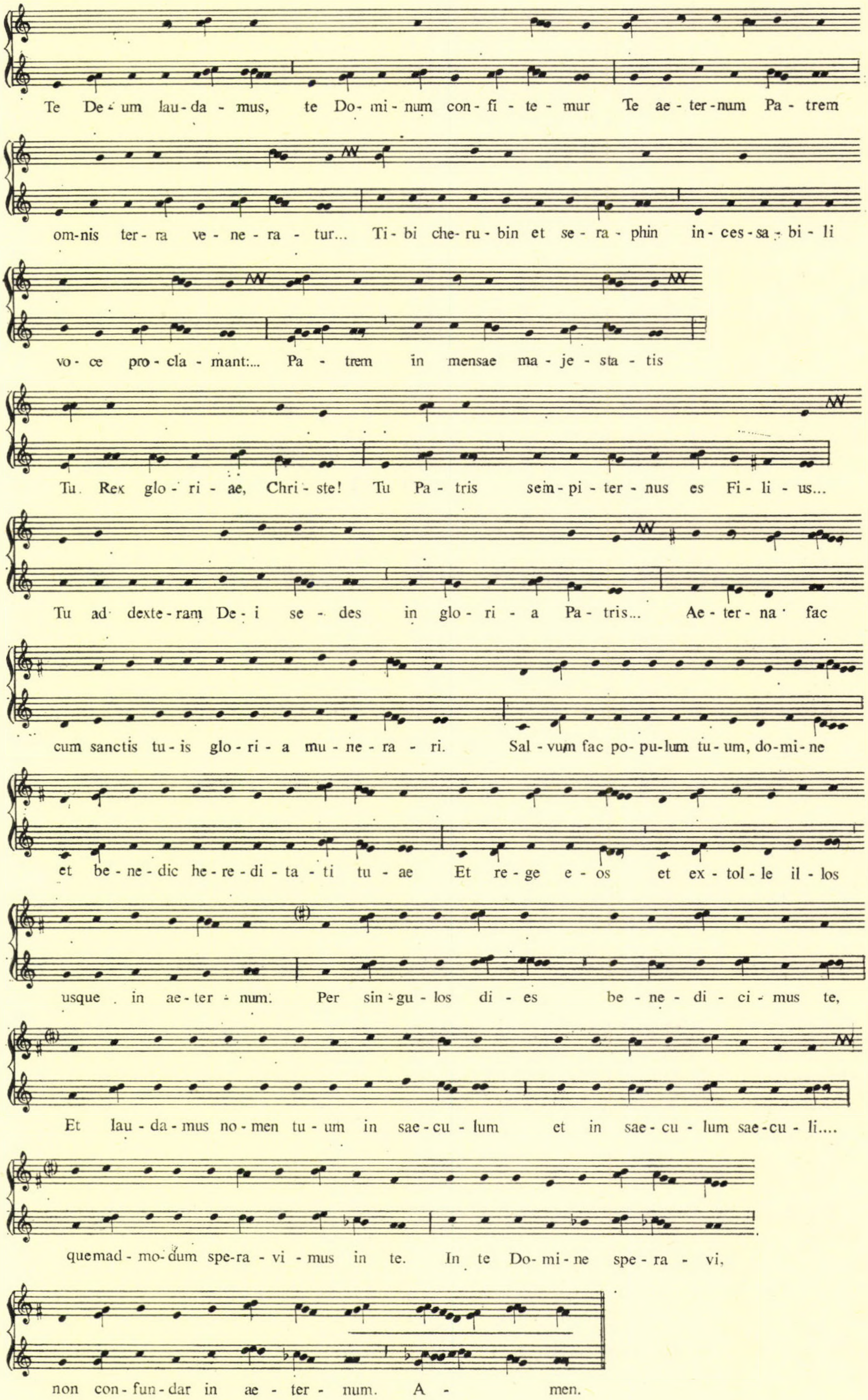

Te De - um lau - da - mus, te Do - mi - num con - fi - te - mur Te ae - ter - num Pa - trem
om - nis ter - ra ve - ne - ra - tur... Ti - bi che - ru - bin et se - ra - phin in - ces - sa - bi - li
vo - ce pro - cla - mant:... Pa - trem in mensae ma - je - sta - tis
Tu Rex glo - ri - ae, Chri - ste! Tu Pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es Fi - li - us...
Tu ad dexte - ram De - i se - des in glo - ri - a Pa - tris... Ae - ter - na fac
cum sanctis tu - is glo - ri - a mu - ne - ra - ri. Sal - vum fac po - pu - lum tu - um, do - mi - ne
et be - ne - dic he - re - di - ta - ti tu - ae Et re - ge e - os et ex - tol - le il - los
usque in ae - ter - num. Per sin - gu - los di - es be - ne - di - ci - mus te,
Et lau - da - mus no - men tu - um in sae - cu - lum et in sae - cu - lum sae - cu - li....
quemad - mo - dum spe - ra - vi - mus in te. In te Do - mi - ne spe - ra - vi,
non con - fun - dar in ae - ter - num. A - men.

Figure 7

BARTÓK IN THE STUDIO

CENTENARY EDITION OF BARTÓK'S RECORDS, edited by
László Somfai and Zoltán Kocsis.
Vol. I. *Bartók at the Piano* (1920–1945). Hungaroton LPX 12326-33.
Vol. II. *Bartók Record Archives: Bartók Plays and Talks* (1912–44).
Hungaroton LPX 12334-38.
HUNGARIAN FOLK MUSIC: *Gramophone Records with Bartók's transcriptions*, edited by László Somfai. Hungaroton LPX 18058-60.

"The phonograph," Stravinsky wrote in December 1928, "is now the best instrument with which to transmit the music of modern composers." By an odd coincidence it was in that very month that Bartók first presented himself at a commercial studio for the purpose of recording music of his own for public release. From his point of view, as a pianist-composer, it was a modest beginning; most of the pieces recorded were songs by Kodály (from the *Hungarian Folk Music* series), and Bartók acted simply as accompanist both in these songs and in two short selections from his own folksong arrangements. This occasion was in many ways symbolic of the relationship he was to enjoy with record companies until his death. For various reasons, as László Somfai explains in his introduction to the first volume of Hungaroton's centenary edition of Bartók's recordings, Bartók recorded only spasmodically. Not only was his music not much in demand outside Hungary, but in later years political conditions militated further against the kind of flexible marketing which might in due course have encouraged record companies to press Bartók for his services. It was quite foreign to Bartók's nature to press them for theirs, of course. So they came together only infrequently, and as if by chance. A painful statistic will make this clear. Somfai and his co-editor, Zoltán Kocsis, have managed to assemble some thirteen discs of Bartók's piano playing, but only by including every single known recording (professional or amateur) in which he plays. By contrast CBS have recently reissued the entire professional recorded legacy of Stravinsky as conductor and pianist; and this requires no less than 31 discs.

The detailed comparison of these two projects is even more illuminating. Stravinsky, having convinced himself (far from wholeheartedly) that the gramophone was a useful medium for transmitting his creative wishes, set about recording as much of his music as he could, and because he lived well into the age of long-playing record and stereo sound, he was able to put on disc "definitive" performances of the great bulk of his music, recorded to a high standard of fidelity. Bartók was never in a position to do anything of the kind. He recorded commercially only for 78 r.p.m., and his repertoire was determined entirely by the exigencies of that medium. His few studio releases were dominated by short "favourite" pieces, excerpted from longer works. The *Suite op. 14*, one of the few longer solo piano works Bartók recorded complete, had to be offered with its movements rearranged so as to get it on the two sides of a 78 r. p. m. record. It is galling to be told by Somfai that the composer probably never recorded the *Sonata* of 1926 because of its awkward length as well as (possibly) because of its musical astringency. In recording the *Fifteen Hungarian Peasant Songs* and the *Improvisations*, Bartók was obliged to omit movements in order to meet the timings of single discs. And even then the recording of the *Improvisations*, by Don Gabor's

Continental Records company in the USA in 1941, was apparently only possible as one of those secret charitable enterprises by which Bartók's friends in America tried to alleviate his financial difficulties without openly giving him cash.

It is therefore hardly surprising that these centenary issues should have cast their net well outside the all-too-easily fished grounds of Bartók's commercial studio recordings, and should have taken the view that any medium which has demonstrably preserved the faintest echo of Bartók's playing, however obscurely or fragmentarily, should be treated as holy writ and included without discrimination as to quality. The policy hardly needs defending, particularly since the editors have taken the precaution of dividing the records into two boxes with, roughly speaking, the recordings of reasonable sound quality all in the first, and the purely archival material all in the second, so that those who simply want to enjoy the sound of Bartók playing his own and other composers' music need not also struggle through the thumps and atmospherics, the sudden cuts and fade-outs, the snap, crackle and pop inseparable from the wax cylinder, the home recording on discarded hospital X-ray foils, and all the other apparatus of pre-war amateur recordings which have moreover had to survive a world war and perhaps forty years in somebody's grandmother's attic. Listening through this second box is certainly an experience, but perhaps not primarily a musical one. Much of its contents are from the recently disembargoed Babits/Makai Collection, which consists of recordings made privately over a period of about three years (1936–39) from Bartók's broadcasts, on equipment which, until towards the end, could only take just over three minutes at a stretch, with the result that any work longer than that appears in neat standardised lengths with gaps, like so many bales of hay. The sound quality of these recordings, made on whatever suitable materials could be had in immediately pre-war Budapest, is also naturally somewhat haphazard. But it far surpasses what emerges from the small collection of wax cylinders surviving from Bartók's stay at Rákoskeresztúr just before and during the First World War. Here the listening experience is as unpredictable as a stroll through a minefield. In one instance one embarks on a crackly recording of the first *Rumanian Folk Dance* for solo piano, only to have it suddenly overlaid by some nameless Arab peasant instrument playing one of the tunes Bartók collected in Biskra in 1913. Thereafter the piano only re-emerges, symbolically perhaps, when the Arab musician decides to take a rest. Yet this very recording, so remote and evanescent, embodies two important points about such documents which makes them so richly fascinating. On the one hand, a question of dating: Bartók pencilled "1912"? on the outside of another cylinder containing the rest of the dances in that set, but so far as anyone knows he did not compose the *Rumanian Folk Dances* until 1915, so one of these two dates must be wrong. The question would presumably be settled by finding out which of the two recordings on the spoilt cylinder was the earlier (even though the two cylinders do not apparently belong to the same performance of the dances—there is some duplication of pieces, which would not have been technically possible through transfer at that time). Somfai is convinced that the Biskra recording is the earlier, though that may not be how it sounds, and that the 1915 dating for the dances is correct. Unfortunately he does not give his reasons or technical authority for this view; and of course Bartók's own dating is contrary evidence, however inconclusive.

The other point is perhaps more real to the lay imagination. The very remoteness and confusion of these sounds, coming down to us from another age, give them a paradoxical vividness and immediacy which, for reasons that are doubtless in part sentimental, one cannot quite discern in the clear studio recordings of twenty years later. Just as with photographs or cinefilm, the inchoate and imperfect early phase of the technique somehow excites one's wonder more quickly than any of its more complicated later achievements, perhaps because it catches actuality at the moment when it emerges from the silence of history. This is enhanced by the thought that Bartók's early recordings were all naturally of recent work—work which to us now is standard repertoire but was then fresh, little known, perhaps even not yet written down. The same of course applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to later and better recordings, and it is not the least important fact about such archives that they help musicologists to establish a chronology for textual change, especially where a particular work was recorded by the composer more than once. Moreover they can provide a fresh and authentic perspective in conjunction with early manuscript and printed sources. And from there it is possible to deduce general principles concerning the relationship, in Bartók's work, between the written score and the music as performed. Admittedly Bartók himself provided an *obiter dictum* on this subject when he pointed out (in his *Mechanical Music* of 1937) that "the composer himself... does not always perform his work in exactly the same way. Why? Because he lives; because perpetual variability is a trait of a living creature's character." Still one does not need to veer as far as Stravinsky's alleged opposite position on such questions in order to assert that, all the same, the composer's reading of his own scores (which incidentally Bartók always had in front of him when he played) must influence the way we ourselves read them. Stravinsky himself later became disillusioned about the accuracy of studio recordings. But that was at a time when performances had come to be created as much in the cutting room as in the studio. This was emphatically not Bartók's problem in the inflexible days of direct-to-disc 78 cutting.

We can therefore take it that these recordings, making due allowance for variant readings of this or that piece, accurately represent Bartók's music as he played it. With the wax cylinders, and to some extent also with the handful of piano rolls which Bartók cut in the twenties, one has to exclude questions of touch and tone colour, which are inaudible on the cylinders and inevitably lost in playing back the rolls. This is an important field of study for Bartók playing, as the mature studio recordings show. Furthermore there are some performances which, for obvious technical reasons, cannot be taken as authentic, even though Bartók was taking part. The extreme case is the recording of the *Sonata for two pianos and percussions* which CBS themselves took from a live broadcast of the work in New York in 1940. The playing of the percussion parts was so inaccurate that the anxiety it caused must have seriously unsettled Bartók and his wife (the two pianists) as well. Once or twice the performance seems close to breaking down, and we can readily agree with Somfai that Bartók would hardly have allowed the issue of such a recording, whatever further view we may take on the ethics of issuing it after his death (this is not, by the way, its first release). The faults and their cause are admittedly so plain that no serious listener could be mistaken about them.

For the most part, though, one is directly conscious of Bartók's personality as performer, even where the sound quality is poor. What picture does one form of authentic Bartók style? The short answer must be that modern Bartók playing has become hopelessly stiff and self-consciously "modern", rather in the way that Webern playing became inexpressive under the influence of Darmstadt analytical theory. In Bartók's case the wrong idiom comes from the image of a Bartókian style framed by the "barbaric" motor Allegro on the one hand and the dry, chirping nocturne on the other. Peter Stadlen, reviewing these records in the London *Daily Telegraph,* tells the story of Louis Kentner, in a rehearsal of the *Second Piano Concerto,* being urged by the composer: "Dear friend, not so Bartókian, rather think of Debussy". Not that thinking of Debussy would help most pianists to arrive at that extraordinary rubato style which Bartók constantly tried to suggest in his scores by the simple and frequent use of that much-abused term but which—as we can hear from these records and see from his amazingly detailed transcriptions of the rhythms of folk songs—is much too complex to be described in words. Nevertheless the Stadlen anecdote does show that even in Bartók's lifetime the idea that his music was in some sense mechanistic had already taken hold, even with a player as sensitive as Kentner. Bartók's own playing ought to kill off that idea once and for all. Not only is his rubato style remarkably fluid and expressive, but his delivery of the "barbaro" idiom has a kind of lightness and fleetness which significantly offsets any hammering quality, even though Bartók was a strong performer of such music and always gave it plenty of thrust. It boils down, I think, to a question of momentum. With Bartók the weight is invariably thrown forwards, rather than downwards. For example in the disc version of the first *Rumanian Dance, op. 8a,* (there is also a tape probably taken from an earlier piano roll) he uses the merest hint of a snatch on the upbeat anapaests which is enough to keep the rhythm from getting too heavy. A similar constant readiness to push the tempo ahead towards major points of stress also invigorates his 1929 *Allegro barbaro.* It seems that Bartók had great agility of touch. His ability to glide across the weak quavers in a movement like the Allegro molto of the *Suite,* without at any time relaxing over-all rhythmic control, is evidence of superb co-ordination. Even a player of the calibre of Andor Földes has difficulty matching Bartók at such times. Moreover Bartók's tempi are often faster than are now normal, and faster than his own metronome marks (but this is a controversial issue, in view of the frequent discrepancy between the metronome markings and clock timings in Bartók's later scores).

In slower music Bartók's idea of rhythm was plainly influenced (as Somfai tells us) by the *parlando rubato* idiom of certain types of folk music. He could take this to extremes in the search for characterisation; the second *Burlesque,* "A bit drunk" (also recorded in 1929) is an example. But the same type, if not degree, of flexibility is found throughout his playing of the non-ostinato or declamatory piano pieces. In comparing Bartók's four surviving recordings of the fifth of the *Ten Easy Pieces* ("Evening in Transylvania") Somfai hits on a brilliant solution of this problem, postulating the concept of a "hidden text" behind the melodic line which is so handled.

If we examine Bartók's own folksong transcriptions, as for example reproduced in facsimile in the third of these centenary boxes, "Hungarian Folk Music", and listen at the same time to the songs transcribed, we can begin to sense the subtlety of Bartók's feeling for this word-generated rhythmic fluidity, and perhaps even improve our awareness of its relevance to the parlando lines in his piano music. Again it is the delicacy and precision of his rubato technique which is striking. It has none of the pompous emotionalism of the Lisztian type of rubato, which Bartók had certainly aped to good effect in early works like the *Rhapsody for piano and orchestra* (a hay-bale recording of which is in the Babits/Makai Collection). Instead it has a spontaneous flow like speech. In Bartók's playing the first piece of the *Sonatina* takes on pages of extra meaning thanks to this approach, which transforms the piece from a charming but childlike dance into a strange and intriguing vignette, full of decorative surprises.

The clarification of such stylistic points is perhaps more important than the textual questions raised by these records. After all nobody is presumably going to start leaving out the last four bars of the fourteenth *Hungarian Peasant Song* just because Bartók did so for some reason when he recorded that work in 1936 (his 1920 piano roll has the extra bars); nor are violinists in honour bound to play the revised ending of the *First Rhapsody* just because Bartók apparently always did so. The question of whether, as Somfai believes, Bartók's alteration of the number of ostinato repeats in both his recordings of the *Allegro barbaro* (as compared with the score) is to be taken as definitive is complicated by the fact that he does the same in his two recordings of the fifteenth *Hungarian Peasant Song*, one of which was made in 1920, the year the score was also first published. This tends to support the view that Bartók made such changes on the spur of the moment as a matter of feeling, and it would be slightly absurd to take this as authorising a correction to the printed texts. In a few cases Bartók actually plays different notes from those in the score, under circumstances which rule out error. Some of these are examined by the marvellously thorough Somfai. But even they, he admits, are less important than interpretative matters.

Bartók's playing of his solo piano music is probably the most crucial part of these albums. Unhappily it is by no means the most substantial in point of time. On the contrary much—one could say too much—space is occupied by performances of longer concerted works by other composers. However beautiful one may find Bartók's accompaniment of Kodály's folksong arrangements, or his partnership with Szigeti in the *Kreutzer Sonata* or the *Violin Sonata* of Debussy or with his wife Ditta in Debussy's *En blanc et noir*, Mozart's *D major Sonata, K. 448*, or Brahms's two-piano version of the *F minor Quintet*, most enthusiasts would, I imagine, readily sacrifice all these performances for just one decent recording of Bartók playing one of his own concertos. Instead the only concerto recording is an appalling series of fragments taken by the Makai system from a broadcast performance of the *Second Piano Concerto*, in which the balance is so bad that, in the first movement, the wind accompaniment is almost completely inaudible. Somfai attributes this to the notorious acoustics of the Vigadó Hall in Budapest, where the concert was being given. In any case the performance is impossible to enjoy as such, though of course it gives plenty of insight into Bartók's (in this case fairly "orthodox") playing of the solo part. Makai also took several fragments of Bartók playing solo works by other composers, which are useful in that they show how remarkably unidiosyncratic and clear-headed was Bartók's approach to music not his own (a not unimportant point in assessing the individual character of his readings of his own music). Finally the well-known recordings with Szigeti naturally include both the superb but unfortunately not well-balanced performance they gave of the *Second Violin Sonata* at the Library of Congress on Bartók's first arrival in the States in April 1940; and the original Columbia recording of *Contrasts* with Benny Goodman, about which it is superfluous to comment now. A few clips of Bartók lecturing and in interview (in various languages) make up the final side of the second box.

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It hardly seems necessary to emphasize the value and interest of these two boxes, taken as a whole. Whether or not they are in due course supplemented by newly unearthed recordings (as everyone, including the editors, hopes they will be), they constitute as they stand a unique set of documents of a vital aspect of the work of one of the century's greatest composers, a composer moreover whose artistic development would hardly have taken the course it did but for the invention of the gramophone, which enabled him to compile and analyse a vast collection of autochthonous music and take from it the material he needed for the formulation of his own creative style. Although the recordings in the third box of records (also edited by Somfai) come from a later period than that of Bartók's own decisive field-work and were not made by him, they will undoubtedly be studied—at least outside Hungary—above all for the light they shed on his style. To this end the inclusion of facsimile transcriptions of all the pieces recorded (many of them in Bartók's own hand) was an excellent decision, well executed. It would be fulsome of me to say that I have derived undiluted pleasure from actually listening to these records; it would need a devotion to research well beyond the normal to derive anything but misery from, for example, the numerous and lengthy bagpipe solos played with great energy on a hideously mistuned instrument by Mr. József Kós of Borsosberény. At such times the speculative mind is apt to wonder at what point the researcher decides that mistuning is something other than a modal phenomenon. But it's a relief to find that Bartók did so decide in this case. "Unusable bagpipe", was his laconic note.

If the presentation here is good, that of the first two boxes is generally excellent. The introductory articles, which answer most of the questions that come to mind as one listens, are superb, and in the tabulations there are fewer errors than one usually finds in scholarly lay-outs of this kind. The various performers are not listed in the tables (though their names are on the labels), which is annoyingly pure-minded of the editors. The one bad mistake is in the listing of the various excerpts of the second concerto, which omits the final extract. The recording date of the *For Children* selections, which is given as the 2nd January 1945, must cast doubt on the date of the revision of these pieces (which Bartók follows in the recording)—also given as 1945—unless he had a wretchedly busy New Year's Day (his last). One final professional complaint. The standard of English translation in the programme notes is generally inadequate and in the notes to the third box so bad as to render the text almost unreadable (It is also given in Hungarian, French, German and Russian). The simple and inexpensive solution to this is to ask an Englishman to check the draft translation, perhaps in return for a set of the records. I know many competent but hard-up writers who would accept like a shot.

STEPHEN WALSH

INTERNATIONAL BARTÓK SYMPOSIUM

The annual Bartók Conference of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1981 proved to be a small gathering of a limited though not closed character, and above all of high standard. This was obviously connected to the nearness in time of a large international congress under the Unesco International Council of Music and also devoted to the Bartók Centenary. In fact we might also regard it fortunate that this symposium convened in the Bartók Memorial House in the Buda hills, in Csalán utca, where Bartók lived between 1932 and 1940. Its intimacy was greatly enhanced by the lovely environment, a lecture room ideal in its size and, of course, the spirit of the place.

László Somfai, the driving force and organizer of the three-day commemoration—

held between September 28 and 30—maintained the highest academic standard. Besides the lectures by 23 scholars from seven countries, there were little known Bartók recordings, Bartók manuscripts, and Bartók notations of folk music; papers by young research workers were distributed to the participants and discussed; Albert Simon's specific analysis from the performer's point of view was demonstrated with illustrations.

Among the morning lectures on the first day, Peter Petersen from Hamburg dealt with Bartók's influence on Lutoslawski. After pointing out the similarities of the two artistic careers and creeds, the major part of his lecture drew parallels between certain technical applications—primarily in the tonal system—by the two masters (correspondences of Bartók's "modal chromatism," and "diatonic-chromatic" dualism in Lutoslawski's twelve-tonality). What was striking was the lecturer's circumspection in posing questions, his sensitivity to divergences, and his avoidance of generalizations appealing but not sufficiently founded.

András Szentkirályi (United States) delivered a lecture entitled "Bartók and the 20th Century," which was virtually provocative and stirred a heated debate. As he himself is a composer, his frankness and firmness on the current crisis of the composer's relationship with the audience was congenial: composers are writing more and more for each other or posterity, and audiences are more and more finding in the music of the past ages and in light music what they seek for in vain in contemporary music. According to Szentkirályi the true member of the avant-garde, and it is Bartók he sees as the avantgardist par excellence of our century, "wages a dialectical struggle with tradition and the audience," he innovates, but he develops tradition further; even conservative audiences will have to accept his work sooner or later. And here we gradually arrive at the conservative basic assumptions of the bold lecture: the lecturer ultimately measures musical worth by the criteria of the musically inexpert listener, the music loving audience; this is in itself problematic, particularly if it is considered to be some kind of objective, exact (and adequate) yardstick. Szentkirályi's warning should be taken to heart: casting everything away will lead us nowhere; but the moral offered to us as a palliative—a return to melody, to harmony and simplicity—is surely an over-simplification.

Tibor Tallián's lecture (A musician around the turn of the century. The musical scene—an outline) produced a picture rich in thought and detail of that background in music history, society, culture and politics, out of which the careers of Bartók and Kodály took their divergent paths at the beginning of the century. He pointed out that it was precisely the negative aspects of a national culture "incapable of 'normal development' " which decisively influenced the formulation of their system of ideas. Just as the composers of the era who had "made their name" they too wished to create a national music (Bartók even attempted to advance further along almost every beaten path); only afterwards did they realize that the form of national consciousness embodied in the works of their contemporaries was unacceptable to them. The lecture then dealt with some of those who contributed to this national style, stressing that the representative orchestral genres of the age were the suite and the symphonic poem; there was ample illustration of the frequency of their performance at that time and the generally ostentatious Hungarian character of concert programmes and of the new operas. He drew a parallel between what appeared to be a road but was in reality a "blind alley" and the music of the fifties. The lecture ended with a concise, but quite original comparative characterization of Kodály, Dohnányi and Bartók.

András Wilheim undertook the not everyday task of reconstructing the delicate relationship, rich in failures, between pupil and teacher, Bartók and János Koessler, his

Academy of Music's professor of composition and counterpoint, or at least the main determinants of this relationship. He used the meagre amount of Bartók's composition papers available, carefully considered biographical data and letter excerpts, and a composition textbook with sources identical with those of Koessler. Most important was his conclusion, going far beyond the customary generalities about the reason for Koessler's perplexity, which he illustrated with a few Bartók excercises: "Koessler... paid no notice to the sensitive bent for raising problems, which kept reemerging in his studies of style... For an ideal teacher, however, these seemingly faulty, inconsistent solutions would have been signs to justify all the more hopes."

The last lecturer on the first day, the young Sándor Kovács, gave us a modest title; "The Problems of Form in the Bartók/Serly Viola Concerto," for the exciting and important research he has accomplished on the sketch material of the uncompleted concerto, for a long time inaccessible and bestowed to the Budapest Archives by Tibor Serly in the form of a photo-copy in the 1960's. Sándor Kovács has investigated this important document with the greatest care and refused to cling stubbornly to one single redeeming solution. His work could be described rather as a kind of noble solution to a puzzle, the solving of a puzzle which can have no unambiguous solution, but in order to arrive at any solution whatever, we have to keep on linking together the elements and always in a constantly new manner and have the courage to state hypotheses which can never directly be proved. Sándor Kovács pointed out that the two principles for reconstruction chosen by Serly as his point of departure—to intervene as little as possible, to retain as much material as possible—led to a diplomatic version which, Kovács argues, is not only weak, not only ill-proportioned, but does not even correspond with Bartók's conception. He feels justified to reach this conclusion though it is not really possible to reconstruct what Bartók had in mind. It cannot even be decided whether he had planned three or four movements, or a five-part "bridge form;" in this manner one cannot speak of a reconstruction in the strict sense of the term. Serly, in Kovács's view, presented, instead of a possible interpretation, as it were his summing up of the autograph.

László Dobszay, with his "The Absorption of the Folk Song in Bartók Composition," subjected a relatively simple composition based on a folk song, but by no means a mere accompaniment to the folk song—one of the duos for violin—to a very penetrating analysis. He accounted for practically every note, first of all from the standpoint of the "disposition" of the tone stock, the systems of reference among the notes sustaining the movement of the piece. The analysis convincingly supported two important lessons. One was, that for Bartók the composer the folk song was of an entirely different nature than for Bartók the folk-song researcher. In the eyes of the folk-music researcher the folk song was always a variant; one possibility among many, which could be grasped entirely only in its historical essence; the composer "canonizes" a certain figure corresponding most of all to a given composing design, and it is this he evaluates and breaks down to its constituent elements. It is with this that the other, perhaps even more fundamental lesson is connected: Bartók's style was not "developed from the folk song": the folk song is merely one element of his compositions, although integrally organized into the whole; it is not the kernel, but the stabilizing force of his style. This thought, cropping up in other lectures—although formulated most clearly here—was one of the leading ideas of the symposium.

Another Bartók miniature was given a similarly thorough analysis though from an entirely different standpoint, by Iván Waldbauer the musicologist-pianist, living in the United States (who is none other than the son of the first violonist of the Waldbauer String Quartet). His lecture was: "Intellectual Construction and Tonal Design in Bartók's 'Divided Arpeggios'." The piece, in the 6th volume of the Mikrokosmos, has a "constructive" conception even in its title (naturally it contains no material from a folk song). The analysis concludes that the piece is determined by two processes essentially independent of each other. In its local progress it is a normal series of transformations of a basic formula, symmetrical from the standpoint of a tone stock—hence a mechanical construction—and globally, on the formal level of the piece there are tonal considerations; in the case of possible conflicts the standpoints of the latter are decisive. Waldbauer with a rather unusual but stimulating approach took and examined the tonal relations of the piece with the Schenker-analysis, a method applied most often in analyzing classical and romantic works, and to a considerable extent—admittedly—in a subjective manner. It is truly a daring idea to seek in the work built of symmetrical, constructive interval models on the local level, dominant ninth chords, 6–5 suspensions and Neapolitan sixths on the larger scale. This virtuoso and most evocative analysis, however, at least offers serious food for thought on whether these classical-romantic harmony elements are not really present—to a certain extent even unconsciously—in the piece.

The papers of four young researchers were discussed after the demonstrations of the afternoon. There was a lively exchange of views first of all on Péter Laki's lecture on the Rumanian *cîntec lung* (or *hora lungă*). as one of the basic types of several folk musics—which Bartók encountered in the music of several peoples—and its influence on his works.

The theme of the third day's first lecture boldly expanded the horizon of the discussions: the psychiatrist, Bertalan Pethő, spoke on the meaning of Bartók's "hidden paths." Pethő, curiously, examines a very concrete phenomenon, Bartók's human image, through philosophical means, and—if I understand him correctly—through this Bartók's extreme idealism, which is not connected with an idea; stressing Bartók's "concealment" which is necessarily related to his idealism. The attempt is entirely remarkable although it is open to question whether such an amount of generalisation can be applied back to the man without giving a unsophisticated, one-sided, possibly meaningless picture, and to what extent can the conclusions be verified at all? (The lecture itself was a series of assertions, with no attempt at verification.)

A lecture with a philosophical theme, based on quite profuse, independent research, was delivered by Ives Lenoir of Brussels (who, it seems, is fostering the tradition of Denijs Dille) on the fate of Bartók's last European research into folk music.

The Bartók Symposium was closed by the lecture of Professor Albert Simon, of the Hungarian Academy of Music. Simon demonstrated his methodology, applying it to a page from Bartók's Fourth String Quartet; the ultimate purpose of this method is to help the performer to perceive as many inner relationships as possible and to render them perceptible. The most important aspect is the sensing of the "aureole" of the music actually committed to notation, of all the possibilities from which Bartók chose in the course of composing the work. The music illustrating the lecture was played by Zoltán Kocsis.

JÁNOS MALINA

BARTÓK AND AFTER

The International Music Council meets in Budapest

The Bartók centenary drew to Budapest two hundred musicians who in this way not only paid tribute to Bartók, the composer and the ethnomusicologist, but also remembered what an active member he had been of a forerunner of Unesco, the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations.

The Budapest Congress was however also an indication of the growing reputation of contemporary Hungarian music. The Executive Committee of 12 members of the IMC moreover has had a Hungarian representative since 1971—with short interruptions—in the person of Professor Tibor Sárai, the composer; in the years 1980–81 he occupied the office of General Secretary.

The IMC events of Budapest essentially centred on three points. After deliberations in a narrower sphere, between September 28 and October 1 (in the mornings) the IMC Conference was held, then followed the International Congress on Musicology between October 2 and 5, and in the meantime the programmes of the World Music Week took place, arranged around the International Music Day on October 1. This arrangement also expressed the spirit of the events, since the Conference was a closed function, the Congress concerned the experts (although I should like to note that 120 interested Hungarians attended), and the programmes of the World Music Week were events by any standard.

Such IMC arrangements are repeated every two years. The Conference itself was also made up of two levels: an extraordinary Conference for the amendment of statutes, and an ordinary one. Neither produced any storms, a spirit of friendship and cooperation imbued them, which is in itself something in our world. True, there was mention of the IMC's appalling financial situation, of arrears in membership fees, in which sense the deliberations of the musicians reflected —how could they help but reflect—the world's economic position. There was something symbolic, however, in the fact that the first words of the ordinary conference were given to musicians: the superb singing of the Kodály Zoltán Primary School Choir from a small provincial town, Tata, opened proceedings to the surprise and delight of the delegates.

The discussion, however, consisted not of statutory articles or questions of music. The talk centered round the recent past, the present and the future of major IMC ventures. The World Music History, an unparalleled venture—the writing of a universal history of music on the basis of uniform standpoints has, after much preparation come within tangible distance. This monumental scholarly work is not only an IMC, but a Unesco programme as well. The section of the socialist countries is written by a Hungarian, János Kárpáti (the volume, a complete bibliography, will appear soon). The computerized data bank of music being prepared in New York (WISMI), a programme headed by Professor Barry S. Brook was discussed as was the regional Rostrum of Composers and the Rostrum of Interpreters established at Pozsony which covers young musicians. There was also a comprehensive report on how October 1, International Music Day (World Music Day according to its earlier designation) was being commemorated in different countries. Various plans were debated, such as the Music and Tomorrow's Public programme, which is already projected for 1985.

An essential point of the Conference's scenario was the election of the executive body and the officeholders. The President of the IMC for 1982–83 is Barry S. Brook, Professor of Music History at New York University, and the General Secretary is Professor Gottfried Scholz, the pro-rector of the Vienna Musikakademie.

Formal functions are indispensable concomitants of such international conferences. The presence of Yehudi Menuhin at the opening session however was more than a simple gesture. As he wrote in advance: during these end-of-September days Budapest would be the musical capital of the world, he too wanted to be there.

The IMC's International Congress on Musicology had for its motto: "The Composer in the 20th Century—in Commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Béla Bartók," which put a double stress on national and international values. This is the first time in the history of the IMC since its founding in 1949 that a 20th century composer was the focus of the organization's Congress on Musicology.

There were two keynote addresses. Józse Ujfalussy, the Rector of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, lecturing on "Premises for an Understanding of Bartók's Music" summarized the history of Bartók's reception, and the historico-socio-aesthetic conditions for the birth of Bartók's art: "Bartók's conviction, his life's purpose stimulated him to create music which was "new and Hungarian." He undertook to continue a centuries old cultural tradition. The welding of national character with the international: the main tream and also the avantgarde of European music. It was folk music which illuminated for him the inherent logic of music history, the laws, which function according to common principles, in folk music and composed music alike... The new order and stylistic medium which he created thus could translate the most varied styles and kinds of folk music into the idiom of European music. Out of all these elements he managed to establish a homogeneous and universal concept of music, one of the very few in the 20th century. It was through this generalization that the music of his country participated as of equal rank in the music of mankind."

Luigi Nono gave a memorable lecture on the tasks and possibilities of the composer of today, fascinating especially because improvised. His presence was the ocassion also for arranging a concert of his works of electronic music in the early days of October. Nono refered to Barótk's example in many ways, to the microintervals in his folk music collections, to the microrhythms of his piano playing, his structures (golden mean) the consequences which continue to exert an influence on contemporary music. He stressed the significance of artistic freedom, the autonomous nature of music, and the importance of social commitment, the role of experiment with a sense of responsibility to society. He spoke of new music and its new kinds of links with he public, and of the neglect of such matters by his country's musical institutions underlining the important role of education and of Unesco within it. He referred to the role of Third World music, and of the importance of preserving the identity of these traditions, that we should learn from them and not force European ways on them.

After the major reports laying down lines of development the Congress continued its work in six round-table debates. The subjects of the debates were: 1. Bartók reconsidered; 2. The emergence of modern music at the beginning of the century; 3. Bartók, stylistic analysis; 4. The interrelation of contemporary music and the Third World; 5. New techniques and the public—the responsibility of the composer; 6. Democratization of opera, through recordings, the radio and television.

By way of a supplement to the round-table debates László Somfai, the head of the Budapest Bartók Archives established in 1961 reported in detail on the documentary material there; the preparations of the critical edition of the complete works of Bartók and the circumstances obstructing the publication of this edition to this day.

The complete material of the Congress will shortly go to press, and will appear in print by the time of the next IMC Conference (Stockholm, 1983). In the exchange of views 43 musicians from 25 countries representing all the continents took part as panel members, and numerous other participants contributed to the discussions. Outstanding experts were persuaded to act as heads of discussion groups. It was in such a capacity that Professor William Austin, head of the Music Faculty of Cornell University (Ithaca N.Y. USA), Professor Carl Dahlhaus, Head of the Chair of Music of the West Berlin Technische Hochschule, Narayana Menon, Indian sitar artist and musicologist, and Kurt Blaukopf, the Head of the Institute of the Sociology of Music of the Vienna Musikakademie and of the Unesco Mediacult Agency, took part (round tables 1., 2., 4. and 6.). The chairman of the "Bartók, stylistic analysis" subject was László Somfai, and the leader of the lively debate dealing with the composer's responsibility was Simeon Pironkoff, the Bulgarian composer.

Unusual interest was evoked by the discussion as part of the "Emergence of modern music at the beginning of the century," subject, organized by Carl Dahlhaus, of the fate of works neglected in their time and reviving in our days, and of those famous in their time and nowadays fallen into oblivion. A sharp debate developed around the responsibility of the composer today, and the true significance of avant-gardism. A debate charged with sociological considerations discussed the present-day possibilities of the democratization of the music theatre.

Naturally Bartók was in the focus of the music programmes. The Bartók String Quartet performed all the six of his quartets and the Girls' Choir of Győr conducted by Miklós Szabó presented an ample selection of his little known pieces for female chorus. The Bartók and Stravinsky programme of the State Puppet Theatre was, I believe, a convincing example of a novel approach of modern music on stage. For the first time in the history of the IMC Conferences time was devoted in the musical programmes to the more popular genres. The Azimuth group from Britain gave a jazz concert.

An integral part of the whole musical programme and the entire Budapest IMC cycle was the presentation of music of the Third World. The discussion on the interrelation of musical traditions figures on the agenda of the Congress. Arvind N. Parikh and his ensemble gave a concert of Indian Traditional Music, Munir Bashir (Iraq) gave an ud' (Arab lute) recital, an exhibition was opened, under the aegis of Unesco, of the record sleeves disseminating the traditional music of the Third World, issued since 1961, and the Budapest Ethnographic Museum opened an exhibition of Asian musical instruments by way of illustration to János Kárpáti's *The Music of the Orient* published with the support of the Unesco in September 1981.

JÁNOS BREUER

APPROACHES TO BARTÓK

László Somfai: *Tizennyolc Bartók-tanulmány.* (Eighteen Bartók Studies.) Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1981. 323 pp.

"I was not searching for a brand-new 'conception' or idiosyncratic analytical method—the Bartók literature is rich enough in those. It is mainly my choice of topics, the thematic diversity across the chapters, the interaction of the results of the various approaches that I intend to offer as new" explains László Somfai in his afterword to this volume. This wide spectrum is indeed the most distinguished feature of the book, itself a major literary event in the centenary year. The diversity in fact comprises all the aspects of the creative activity of the composer, scholar and performer, not in isolated instances, but in the constant interaction of all of these. This approach follows from the recognition of the unique nature of Bartók's genius.

The eighteen articles—some new, some reprinted and some revised—are grouped in five large sections. The titles are self explanatory: Genesis of the Works, Perfomances by the Composer, Structural Analysis, Essays on Style, Background Documentation. The introductory study is the Hungarian version of the author's article on Bartók in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*, an entry that has gained general professional recognition for its concision and clarity. The five sections are quite different in length. The third is more than four times longer than the fourth (both contain three studies), and the later articles in the Documentation section are quite short.

The only entirely new section (with four studies) is the first, on the genesis of the works. "Autograph and Urtext: the Source-Types of Bartók's Works," gives a detailed description of all the source-types from fragments of preliminary sketches to published versions and beyond—in other words, sketches, drafts, manuscript copies, corrected proofsheets, authorized editions, revised editions, recordings; it then gives a fully worked-out, finished plan for a complete critical edition of Bartók's works. It is both ironic and discouraging that the project has not moved forward for certain legal reasons. However, the synopsis here proves that the scholarly preparation has been done, and the work could get underway. The three other studies in this section focus on specific pieces or movements. ("Drafts of 'With drums and pipes;'" "Metamorphosis of the Finale of the Piano Sonata;" "Three Sketches from 1936/37 for the Violin Concerto.") The first one is a comparative analysis and evaluation of three different continuity drafts of the opening movement of the cycle *Out of doors;* the second follows the gradual development, changes and final stabilization of the rondo-structure of a finale; the third is a fascinating analysis of three short thematic sketches. The whole section shows an exemplary approach and solution to the study of the compositional process, often controversial in today's musicology. Somfai's methods are tailored to the creative thinking of Bartók (see the heterometric classification of the rhythmic variations of the theme in the case of the *Sonata*, p. 97; the corrections of the tonal structure in the drafts of *With drums and pipes*) but they are also a model for meaningful and revealing sketch-analysis in general. Especially instructive is the interpretation of the few sketch-lines of the *Violin Concerto*, complete with facsimile and transcription. (For the better understanding of the previous study the reader can consult the facsimile edition of the *Piano Sonata* autograph, published with Somfai's commentary. (Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1980.)

The next chapter continues to follow the line of genesis in some ways, since Bartók's playing was a creative process that could change (or at least modify) the printed version of his music. The surviving recordings have important value as sources; in some cases they even represent the final version of a work *(Allegro barbaro)*. The two studies in this section ("Four Bartók Performances of *Evening in Transylvania;*" "Two Bartók Recordings of the *Allegro barbaro*") introduce a novel kind of detailed comparative-analytical method for textual differences and peculiarities of accentuation, tempo-changes and rubato-style in various performances. This chapter is a must for pianists and other performers of Bartók's music: it is the result of an admirably carried-out, complete investigation and it reveals the most important aspects of Bartók's wonderfully personal style as a pianist. (The two articles are available in shorter form in German, in the *Documenta Bartokiana:* the *Evening in Transylvania* analysis in No. 5, 1977; the *Allegro barbaro* study in No. 6, in press.) Several musical examples and tables clarify the written text; of these the diagram showing the complete tempo-structure of the performance of the *Allegro barbaro* is of particular interest, p. 148). Because of the centenary tribute from Hungaroton, the complete edition of all the surviving Bartók recordings (edited by László Somfai and Zoltán Kocsis)* is available now in 2 large albums; a close study of Bartók's performing art has thus become possible for all musicians.

The core of the volume is the 100 pages of the central section on structural analysis. Somfai is a first-class analyst, with rare stylistic insight. His understanding of the composer's intention is always coupled with an original approach and imagination, whether his subject be Haydn or Webern, Liszt or Stravinsky. This talent is seen to advantage in the case of Bartók because of his every-day contact with the material, and a special affection for the oeuvre, which shines through the writing here. His analytical method for Bartók's music is wonderfully fresh, clear even in its many-sided complexity, and free from prejudice. In fact, he has arrived at such close understanding of Bartók's musical and creative thinking, that his own approach has become quite Bartókian. Partly this is due to his intimate knowledge of all the scores; however, more important factors are his recognition of the decisive role of folk music in the broadest sense in Bartók's creative world, and the reconciliation of this musical-ideological primacy with the traditions of Western music on Bartók's part. The two major analyses of this section are masterly ("Structural Plan and Dramaturgy of Form in *Piano Concerto No 2,*" "Strategics of Variation in the Second Movement of the *Violin Concerto,*" the latter is available in English: Studia Musicologica 19, 1977). In it Somfai examines the variation technique of the movement in respect of tonal structure, phrase structure, instrumental groups, and register formations; the results are illuminated with specially designed diagrams. (See particularly Tables XIX and XX, on pp. 241 and 248.) Everyone who is familiar with Somfai's books and articles knows the clarifying value of his analytical diagrams: even when schematic and simplifying (as the formal plan of the opening movement of the *Piano Concerto*, p. 204), they offer invaluable help by making a complex structure or pattern immediately conceivable.

To return to the *Violin Concerto* study: the most exciting and revealing part of it is probably the complete analysis of the theme, and the implications deduced from it. The Bartókian approach above described does wonders here, but Somfai goes further, discussing the functional similarity between this polymodal theme-structure and the basic pitch-set of a serial composition. Describing the sophisticated pseudo-simplicity of the theme, he writes: "Its composition strictly determines the chain of variations built out of it, just like a late Webern 12-tone set defines the strategy of the given composition" (p. 233), only "... in this polymodal melodic style, instead of a deliberate or instinctive equalization of the 12 tones, the aim is rather to create a constructive equilibrium" (p. 227). The validity and significance of this argument hardly needs to be stressed if we keep in mind some of the severe misinterpretations and distortions of some foreign writing on Bartók, which rise from a fundamental misunderstanding of Bartók's musical ideals and priorities.

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* See Stephen Walsh's review on p. 205 of this issue.

The analysis of the *Piano Concerto* touches a few important general questions, such as the Bartókian versions and revisions of the palindromic form, or the formal alternatives of the opening movements in the symmetric form. The introductory part of the study gives a beautiful account of Bartók's own playing again—so relevant in the case of this concerto. The third item of this chapter ("Analytical Notes on the 1926 Piano Works") is a collection of 10 very short pieces: all of them are parts of a projected larger work on Bartók's piano music.

The three studies in the next, 'Essays' section will be familiar from earlier publications; two of them are available in English. The well-known "Per finire" "Per finire'. Some Aspects of the Finale in Bartók's Cyclic Form," in Studia Musicologica 11, 1969) assumes a slightly different angle in the present abridged version: without the closing discussion of the various interpretations of the final movement of the *Music for Strings...* (Epilogue and Justification) the essay here becomes more conclusive. "A Characteristic Culmination Point in Bartók's Instrumental Forms" (International Musicological Conference in Commemoration of Béla Bartók, 1971, Budapest, 1972) is also somewhat abridged, because the sections on the *Piano Concertos* in the original version are to be found elsewhere in this volume. "A Particular Form Structure in the Instrumental Works of the 1920's" was written originally for the 1970–71 yearbook of the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music: its point of discussion is the formal model of the *Third String Quartet.*

There are two new articles of a very different nature in the closing section on documentation. One line of Somfai's recent research follows up the terminology of Bartók's analytical writings (see "Early Sources of Bartók's Terminology for Form," in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok,* Budapest, 1979; "Terminology for Form in Bartók's Self-Analyses," in manuscript); the present piece, "Terminology for Form in Bartók's Ethnomusicological Writtings," is the third part of a larger work in progress. The most distinct field of Bartók's scholarly activity is discussed here in documentary fashion; the clearly organized study gives an account of the terminology and analytical method used for closed, strophic structures on the one hand, and for open, more continuous forms (mainly instrumental) on the other. The next study is, in a way, a contrast to the previous: here the author offers a detailed terminology system for a certain repertory of piano music ("Small Form, Simple and Complex Movement Structures in Bartók's Piano Music 1908–1930"). The formal tendencies then are followed through a chronological survey of the repertory; although some categories of this provisional system are basically designed for the later structural patterns of the *Mikrokosmos* (Nos. 5–6 on the chart). The remaining, shorter studies are duplicates of earlier publications from the Budapest monthly *Muzsika.* ("*'Árvátfalvi keservő'* in the lst Rhapsody," 1977; "A Ruthenian Episode in the *2nd Rhapsody for Violin,*" 1971; "The Rondo-like Sonata Exposition of the First Movement of the *2nd Piano Concerto*" *, 1977).

The typography of the book is clear and attractive. The musical examples, tables and diagrams are printed in the author's hand.

* See also in *NHQ* 84.

There is a slight inaccuracy in two of the examples: in the structural model of the *Allegro barbaro* (Table XII, p. 138) the upper arch of the recapitulation section should start a little earlier (m. 152) in order to include the four previous bars; in the musical example 124/b (p. 228) the letter "f" above the system does not coincide with the actual "f" note of the discant. These are hardly worth of notice, however, considering the immense value of the 156 musical examples, 24 tables, and 21 facsimiles, which illuminate the text.

To sum up the significance of the book we can best quote the author himself who, three years ago wrote, in the preface to his book on Haydn's Piano Sonatas: "I believe that modern musicology can proceed towards safe results today through a multiplicity of methods only, through the total integrity of the interdependent fields of source studies, historical-analytical disciplines, interpretation studies, and so on." The same principle is realized in this Bartók volume, and the consistently high standard of this realization affirms Somfai's distinguished place in the forefront of internationally recognized musicologists. For this reason, this book should not remain available in Hungarian only: the publication of an English translation would certainly reinforce the reputation of current Hungarian musicology—and it would do a great deal for Bartók too.

KATALIN KOMLÓS

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BÁRÁNY, Tamás (b. 1922). Novelist. Started as a poet, later worked as publisher's reader. Has published three volumes of poems, numerous collections of short stories and novels, as well as historical novels for the young. Two of his novels were filmed; has also written plays for the stage, TV and radio. His latest novel *Másfél szoba összkomfort* (All mod. cons.), was published in 1980. See his story "Idyll," *NHQ* 35.

BERECZ, János (b. 1930). Head of the Department of Foreign Relations at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a historian by training. His most recent contributions include "The Class Content of Peaceful Coexistence," *NHQ* 58, "Theory and Existing Socialism," 75, "The Interests and Responsibilities of Europe," 81, and "Détente and Tension in the World Today," 83.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist, MP, heads the Research Institute of World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board of, as well as a frequent contributor to, *NHQ*. See also "Economic Growth in Coexistence with Nature," *NHQ* 74," Political and Security Factors — East West Economic Policy for the Eighties," 75, "Global Economic Security and Growth," 79, "Aspects of Structural Change," 81, and "The Driving Forces of Economic Development," 83.

BREUER, János (b. 1932). Musicologist and critic, staff member of the Hungarian Musicians' Association, editor of *Magyar Zene*. His field is 20th century Hungarian music and its international connections, on which he has published several books, including "30 Years of Hungarian Musical Culture," published in English in 1975. See "Pál Kadosa — Composer, Pianist, Teacher," *NHQ* 80 and "Adorno's Image of Bartók," 81.

EÖRSI, István (b. 1931). Poet, playwright, critic and translator, a disciple of György Lukács. Translated some of Lukács's late works from German into Hungarian. See his poems in *NHQ* 36, 47, his short stories in *NHQ* 46, 61 as well as "György Lukács, Fanatic of Reality," 44 and "The Story of a Posthumous Work (Lukács's Ontology)," 58.

FERENCZI, László (b. 1937). Our regular poetry reviewer.

FERGE, Zsuzsa (b. 1931). Sociologist, a senior research fellow at the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, also teaches sociology at the University of Budapest. Her research concerns factors at work in social inequality, social policy and the school system. Has lectured at various universities in Britain and the US, and published a number of books, one of which, "Society in the Making," was also published by Penguin in Britain and Sharpe in the US. See "Social Mobility and the Open Character of Society," in *NHQ* 37.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art critic, one of our regular art reviewers.

GYERTYÁN, Ervin (b. 1925). Our regular film critic.

GYÖRFFY, Miklós (b. 1942). Our regular reviewer of prose fiction.

ILLÉS, Endre (b. 1900). Writer. 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 and his Bangkok diary in *NHQ* 85.

KESERŰ, Katalin (b. 1946). Art historian. Her main field of research is Hungarian art and applied art at the turn of the century and their connections abroad. Works at the Department of Art History of Budapest University. See her article on László Moholy-Nagy, *NHQ* 57, "The Colony of Artists in Gödöllő," 70 and "The Art of Streets and Squares," 73.

KOMLÓS, Katalin (b. 1945). Musicologist. Studied at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music where she subsequently taught. Spent three years at the Kodály Institute, Wellesley, Mass. (USA) (1970–73). At present on a scholarship at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. (USA).

KOVÁCS, Éva (b. 1932). Art historian, a graduate of the University of Budapest and a Senior Research Fellow at the Art History Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Specializes in medieval textiles, goldsmith's work, heraldry, clothing, reliquiaries, and symbols of power, on which she has written numerous books and studies. She is an expert on the Hungarian crown and regalia and went to Fort Knox te help prepare their return to Hungary in 1978.

KÖPECZI, Béla (b. 1922). Historian and literary historian. Deputy Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, member of the editorial board of this review. Has published an extensive study on relations between Ferenc Rákóczi II and 18th century France (1966) as well as another book on Rákóczi himself (1974). See "Ferenc Rákóczi II, the Man and his Cause," *NHQ* 61, "The Famous Prince Ragotzi," 65, "Can We Learn from History?" 69, "Culture and the Socialist Way of Life," 70, "The French New Philosophers," 72, and "Lukács in 1919," 75.

MALINA, János (b. 1948). Mathematician and musicologist. At present in Brussels, on a scholarship. See "Sound Games," in *NHQ* 66.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). One of our regular art critics.

NEMESKÜRTY, István (b. 1925). Historian and critic. Graduated in Hungarian and Italian from the University of Budapest in 1950; has been a teacher, a reader at Magvető Publishing House, a dramaturgist. Since 1972 he heads a studio at MAFILM. Author of many books on history, films and literature. Has recently published books on Fellini and on Bálint Balassi, the 16th-century Hungarian poet. See "The Hungarian Inventor of the Sound Film," *NHQ* 79 and his review of Graham Petrie's *History Must Answer to Man* in *NHQ* 81.

ORBÁN, Ottó (b. 1936). Poet and translator. Studied literature at the University of Budapest, but dropped out. Has published seven volumes of poems, the last of which is *Az alvó vulkán* (The sleeping volcano), a volume of essays, a travelogue on India, and a great number of translations. Spent four months at the University of Iowa in 1976, as member of the International Writing Program. See a chapter from his Indian travel diary in *NHQ* 39, and poems in *NHQ* 35, 37, 46, 67, 71. Hungarian titles of poems in this issue: *Költő a hetvenes években; A feltámadásról; Egy jó kis háború; Ginsberg Budapesten.*

RAJECZKY, Benjámin (b. 1901). Musicologist, a Catholic priest. Studied at the

University of Innsbruck and the Budapest Academy of Music. Taught at the Cistercian Secondary School in Budapest (1926–1945), Prior of Pásztó (1945–1950); Ethnomusicologist at the Budapest Ethnographical Museum (1950–1960), Deputy Director of the Ethnomusicological Research Team of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1960–1967), Acting Director (1967–1970). A Senior Research Fellow of the Music Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since his retirement in 1970. His major works include: *Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi I., Hymni et Sequentiae*, 1956, its supplementary volume in 1982; *A Magyar Népzene Tára V. Siratók* (The Thesaurus of Hungarian Folk Music. Dirges (with Lajos Kiss), 1966 and *Mi a gregorián* (The Gregorian Chant) 1981. Consultant for numerous recordings including those of Hungarian Gregorian chants.

SOMLYÓ, György (b. 1920). Poet. Has published numerous volumes of poems as well as books on poetry. Author of a novel, and of a book on the poet Milán Füst. Has translated many French, English, Latin and North American poets. Editor of *Arion*, a yearbook of poetry, fiction and criticism in several languages, published by Corvina Press, Budapest. See his poems in *NHQ* 23, 32, 57, the obituary "In Memoriam Pablo Neruda," 53, an excerpt of his novel "Shadow Play," 72 and "Lost in Manhattan," 78.

SPIRÓ, György (b. 1946). Novelist, playwright and literary historian. In addition to two novels, has published a book of poems, several plays (some of which were also staged) and a study of the Croat novelist Miroslav Krleza. He teaches 19th and 20th century Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croat, and Rumanian drama at the University of Budapest. His latest novel is reviewed in this issue of *NHQ*. See his short stories in *NHQ* 68, 73.

SZECSKŐ, Tamás (b. 1933). Sociologist, since 1969 heads the Mass Communications Research Centre in Budapest. A member of *NHQ*'s editorial board. He is editor-in-chief of two scholarly journals and an elected officer of the International Association of Mass Communication Research, the International Sociological Association, and the International Institute of Communications. His publications include four books and numerous articles.

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, and "Innovation — From Words to Reforms," 85.

SZÜCS, Julianna P. (b. 1946). Art critic. Books include *Morandi* (1974), *István Szőnyi's Copper Engravings* (1978, also in English). Contributes art criticism to dailies and periodicals. See "The Fascination of the Garden," *NHQ* 73.

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, "The Whole Theatre is a Theatre," 84, and "Euripides and the Hostages: Playing it Safe," 85.

TÁBORI, András (b. 1927). Journalist, at present deputy editor of *Magyar Hírlap*, a national daily. Graduated in history. Has specialized on economic subjects.

VAJDA, Miklós (b. 1931). Essayist, critic, translator. Literary Editor of *NHQ*.

WALSH, Stephen (b. 1942). Musicologist. Read music at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. Since 1966 he has been a music critic of *The Observer* and since 1976 a senior lecturer in music at University College, Cardiff. Publications include a book on the songs of Schumann and a book on Béla Bartók's chamber music for the BBC Music Guides. He is writing a book on Stravinsky.

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