NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

The Stages and Crises of Socialism — *György Aczél, Francis Cohen*

Hungary's Progress in a World Economic Context — *József Bognár*

The Efficiency of the Intellectual Resource — *Rezső Nyers*

György Gonda on Environmental Policy in Hungary

János Pilinszky the Poet and István Szabó the Film Director in Interview

Kodály in England —*János Breuer*

Poetry and Fiction — *Sándor Weöres, Károly Bari, Ferenc Karinthy, Sándor Tar*

87

VOL. XXIII. ■ No. 87. ■ AUTUMN 1982 ■ £ 2 ■ $ 3.60

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Annual subscription: $ 13.50 or equivalent post free to any address

Orders may be placed with
KULTURA FOREIGN TRADE COMPANY
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See also distributors listed on back page

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

Published by Lapkiadó Publishing House, Budapest
General manager: NORBERT SIKLÓSI

Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest
© *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, 1982

HU ISSN 0028-5390

Index: 26843

The New Hungarian Quarterly

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This issue went to press on 6 May 1982
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LOOKING BACK AND FORWARD

Though I started work on this preface on April 24th, work was interrupted by the final proofs of the previous issue, and I only continued on May 6th. I mention this since, on April 24th, before sitting down at my typewriter, I read that morning's papers and could not resist the temptation to list some of the headings which referred to Hungary's international activity. Two stories on the front page of *Népszabadság* are relevant there: one about the talks which Mauno Koivisto, the President of Finland, had with Frigyes Puja, the Foreign Minister of Hungary in Budapest, and another about Imre Pozsgay, the Minister of Culture, meeting Indira Gandhi while on a visit to India. A longish article on page 4 reported that György Aczél, a Deputy Prime Minister, was received by President Mitterrand in Paris, another that the Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky had had talks with Péter Veress, the Minister of Foreign Trade, and a third that István Sarlós, the General Secretary of the Patriotic People's Front, had negotiated with Yugoslav politicians in Belgrade.

Such news appeared after Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Prime Minister of Poland, had visited Budapest, and after trips to Algeria and the Far East by Frigyes Puja. Another item of general interest was that János Kádár had received thirty West European and American financiers and businessmen.

A fortnight has passed since then. Meanwhile, János Kádár spent two days in Bonn talking to Helmut Schmidt, and the German press had reacted with interest, and favourably, regardless of party; József Marjai, a Deputy Prime Minister, had been received by President Reagan; Lionel Jospin, the First Secretary of the French Socialist Party, had had talks in Budapest, and Frigyes Puja had visited his Czechoslovak opposite number, Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Foreign Minister. Eric Honecker, the Head of

State of the GDR, is paying an official visit to Hungary. It also became known that President Mitterrand would visit Budapest this summer, and Michel Jobert, the French Minister of State, would come here even before his President. I mention all this since many write and ask me—and almost every visitor from abroad does so as well—whether Hungary engages in foreign policy activities?

The present issue only deals with the question indirectly; János Berecz discussed it in detail in *NHQ* 86.

Two of the longest and most important articles look back, and forward. "Hungary's progress in a world economic context," is the heading of József Bognár's article which at the same time sums up what he has to say. Professor Bognár created the category of a change of period or era in the world economy and, as readers might remember, expounded it in the pages of this journal. This category points to changes which are not merely necessary concomitants of progress in a dynamic world but shepherd both the world economy and particular economies in new directions, questioning the course hitherto followed as regards e.g., the exploitation of natural resources, drawing attention to new long-term dangers. This is the background to a survey of twenty-five years of Hungarian economic policy which brings out its salient features in the context of the general style and nature of political and governmental activity which alone made it possible for Hungarian economic policy to react the right way to the world economic crisis. Professor Bognár shows the effects of a successful economic policy on the switch to a more developed system of socialist democracy. He expounds that a feeling of shared responsibility for decisions taken in critical situations expressed considerable cohesion and contributed to the strengthening of a consciousness of Hungarian national identity. In other words, though József Bognár's article is apparently retrospective, it is in fact a political evaluation addressed to the present.

Equally I could say that György Aczél speaks about the future of socialism by taking up a position on current issues. His views here appear in what is in fact the closing section of three hundred pages of conversation between the Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister and Francis Cohen, a leading theoretician of the French CP. The book was published in Paris, and later in Budapest as well. The partners in conversation did not dodge awkward questions, indeed they sought them out, and the answers to them. They argued about the stages and crises of socialism. This was the heading we chose. György Aczél here not only answers Francis Cohen's questions but also those repeated statements and insinuations which, taking the difficulties of existing socialism as their starting point, presume to identify

a real crisis of socialism as such. Perhaps I will be excused for adding that the young county party secretary who figures in the 1949 story is none other than the teller of it.

*

The definition of socialism is one of the subjects that György Aczél discussed and, indeed, a number of articles in the present issue also have something to add to it. The changing image of socialism in Hungarian public opinion figures in our From the Press section. There are lengthy quotations from an article by Valéria Benke, the editor-in-chief of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical journal of the HSWP. The author, who is also a member of the Political Committee, points out that the image of socialism changed along with changes in ways of thinking. The progress made by Hungary—the economic aspects of which were outlined by József Bognár—implies that people's demands on socialism change. Satisfied demands give rise to new ones, and it is characteristic of sound socialist policy that these are not only taken note of but that it changes in their light. The kind of policies which ensue from these changed demands are very much at the centre of interest of the political leadership as well as of economists and public opinion as a whole. The periodical press, lecture halls, party premises and the Budapest espressos all buzz with their discussion. The presence of three articles in this issue which deal with the subject is due to this interest. Rezső Nyers writes about the better exploitation of the intellectual reserves at the back of Hungarian economic development. This is part of the changing image of socialism and also of that recognition that—at a time when material resources are tight, and this is the case in Hungary right now—more attention must be given to the human resource, both by the community and by individuals. There was a time in Hungary—before the quarter of a century discussed by József Bognár—when the professions were not accorded the role and importance due to them in the life of society and in socialist development. Survivals of that age still persist. Rezső Nyers not only suggests that they be put an end to but also pleads for new measures and methods which pay better regard to the role of the professions and are thus able to further improve their work performance.

A train of thought which some call entrepreneurial socialism has touched a fertile lode in Hungarian public opinion. Some speak of the Liska model, after Tibor Liska, the economist who worked out the idea. Though it is still in an experimental stage, there are many aspects which have become part and parcel of thinking on economics. Many wonder whether Liska's

ideas can be realised as a whole, but even his opponents admit that his diagnosis has drawn attention to a number of weak points in the Hungarian economy, and that it enriches the growth of a socialist society with many sound ideas.

THE EDITOR

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GYÖRGY ACZÉL

THE STAGES AND CRISES OF SOCIALISM

A Conversation with Francis Cohen

A large, 300-page volume of interviews with György Aczél bearing the title *Conversations sur un socialisme* was published by Éditions Sociales in Paris in April 1982. The interlocutor is Francis Cohen, a senior research fellow of the Marxist Research Institute of the French Communist Party. Upon publication of the volume, György Aczél was invited to Paris by the publisher, and on this occasion he was received by President François Mitterrand.

We publish the last chapter—the eighth talk, a summation of the whole—in a somewhat abridged form.

*

F. C.: Starting this last conversation, I think, we ought to explain our relationship as partners in these talks.

As far as I am concerned, I have put to you a few questions which occur to a French Communist when he thinks of the prospects of socialism in France and of the history of existing socialism. These questions relate tc socialist Hungary in the first place, this being your country, and because the Hungarian experiment, which is so often talked about but is so little known, is one of the most important subjects.

Our aim has been to get to know better what socialism is like in reality. Not in order to suggest or pronounce any judgement on this reality, but to offer food for thought, giving readers some extra knowledge when considering the prospects of socialism.

You have offered an opportunity for me to enter the workshop of one of the leaders of a socialist country; you have frankly laid before me the motives, deeds, results, and prospects of the leadership. Before we try to draw a few general conclusions, will you kindly explain to readers abroad—as it were as a credo—the principles guiding the leadership.

Gy. A.: It is not only courtesy that prompts me to say that progressives in the great periods of history held France to be the country of reason. But as you know, reason is not only a French privilege. According to Hegel everything has to justify itself before the tribunal of reason.

Since capitalism has not become the realm of reason and has not linked the humane to the rational, in our age only dialectical and historical materialism has a chance to recognize reality. Therefore recourse must be had to it if we want to examine socialism.

Reviving the reasoning of Descartes—God is perfect; if He did not exist He would not be perfect; therefore He exists—certain of our contemporaries argue that socialism is, by definition, a perfect society. Existing socialism however is not perfect, therefore it is not socialism. Arguing like that they expect socialism to offer everything at once and blame it for everything.

This way of arguing is wrong. A perfect society does not exist, nor will there ever be one. Even under communism society will always encounter new tasks and contradictions which the creative forces of humanity will have to face. We often leave out of account that human society is much more complicated than the construction of even the most complicated machinery.

I imagine the road to socialism as a sort of mountain-climbing in Lenin's famous parable. There are those who do not for a moment take their eyes from the unconquered peak towards which they proceed and pay no attention to the terrain, the precipices, the avalanches. They are the fanatic dogmatists, the believers in big leaps. Others are satisfied that they have managed to reach a clearing. These opportunists take a rest there and want to induce others not to continue climbing. After all, they claim, perhaps there is no peak at all. Genuine mountain-climbers know that they have to reach the peak, but they know also that to this end they have to go round the precipices, to take detours, sometimes even to go downwards in order to circumvent an obstacle. This is what we try to do.

It is still premature to talk of the peak. We Communists use the word convictions to describe our ideas. I am wont to use the verb to have faith, but what I mean by this is not faith that excludes doubt or exploration. I declare emphatically: on the basis of the explored laws of history I believe in the ideal of Communism, in its real feasibility. (. . .)

In the beginning Communists were few in number. The way Mehring puts this in his suggestive style is that a slip of paper could bear the roll of all the Communists in the world. Lenin formulated this as follows: we are a drop in the ocean. Today, however, there is not a single one

among the nearly two hundred countries of the world where communism lacks followers. (. . .)

All this makes us ask: why?

Because only socialism is capable of answering the big questions of humanity.

A communist life rarely starts with a study of the theory of surplus value or a reading of *Das Kapital;* the desire for justice, for a better, more humane life free of exploitation makes one a Communist.

Young Marx, before he discovered that the proletariat is not only a class living in poverty but also a class marked out for great historic deeds, was asked why he had become a Communist; he replied, and I quote from memory: "Because I could not remain indifferent to human suffering."

But desire is powerless if it is not coupled with the knowledge of theory and reality.

Our people, the small Hungarian people, were plunged into a devastating war by the irresponsibility of the ruling classes. Socialism has shown us the way out allowing us to crawl out of the crevice at last and to cope with the awfully difficult problems of survival. A full knowledge of the past alone allows one to appraise what the road opened up in 1917 means.

I wish to say two things to the admirers of developed capitalism.

Firstly: the achievements of capitalism are the fruit of many centuries, including many upheavals and political retreats. If I am not mistaken, it took forty-six years for France to attain the economic standards of the last year of Louis XVI's reign, and ninety-one years for July 14th to be made a national holiday.

Socialism is still young and, in spite of dramatic stumblings, there are things it can be proud of.

Secondly: in 1917 Churchill prophesied that Bolshevism would survive only for a few weeks. Clemenceau outbid even him. In the space of a single year one American newspaper prophesied more than eighty times the certain collapse of the young Soviet State. Reagan says today that Communism is a page of history which must be turned over and possibly ought to be torn out. In France there are politicians and philosophers who would like to place Marxism as a nineteenth-century ideology in a museum.

The truth is that its opponents are afraid of socialism. The ideological struggle between the two great social systems goes on without interruption. Neither has the intention of withdrawing from the field of battle, but our opponents have no answer to the big questions that decide the fate of mankind; this is why they resort to lies about socialism, this is why they falsify reality.

The definition of socialism

F. C.: Attempting to get an overall picture of our age, can we define what we call socialism? To avoid having to return to this question, I mention that according to Marxist theory the society following capitalism will be communism to be realized in two stages. The first is socialism, the second is communism in the strict sense of the word. I say all this only to avoid any misunderstandings concerning terminology.

Gy. A.: Of course, Marx had his own theory of communism. But permit me, while maintaining the nature of our talk, not to engage in theoretical explanations now but to speak of concrete issues concerning socialism. True, there is nothing more practical than a good theory, as Marx put it. But as soon as concrete political practice was the subject the founder of scientific socialism rejected Utopia and dispelled the fog of naive illusions. Communism, Marx and Engels argued in the *German Ideology*, was not a condition to be created, nor an ideal to which reality must adjust itself. What Marx called communism was that real movement which puts an end to the present condition.

Socialism can and must be defined. But we do not get anywhere with bookish definitions. The image drawn by Marx and Engels of socialism as the first stage of communism has taken a concrete form. According to them socialism is born of a simultaneous action of industrially developed nations, that is how it starts on its conquering march. In reality, however, socialism was first victorious in a powerful but far from industrialized country. It is equally difficult to squeeze into a preconceived definition the people's democracies and the new socialist countries in America and Asia.

Lenin regarded social ownership of the means of production as the backbone of socialism. A backbone is needed, but an organism does not consist of a backbone alone.

I am of the opinion that a society can be called socialist when a new political system and mechanism come into being on the basis of the new conditions of ownership. The appropriate institutional and ideological superstructure also takes shape in this system. Passing over obstacles, suffering pauses and even crises, the historical objective of socialism remains the welfare of the workers, the material, intellectual, political, and moral progress of the people, never losing sight of these aims.

The pace of progress may change, different aspects may develop unevenly, but where the historical objective is rejected (as was the case in Kampuchea), there can be no talk of socialism.

F. C.: A multitude of works deals with the establishment of rules, with periodization. They talk of a stage of developed socialism, argue about the difference between the socialist stage and communism proper, and ponder whether socialism is an independent socio-economic structure or only a transitional stage.

I am unwilling to split the complete process into detached stages differing from one another, and still less would I consider that each and every country ought to get through these stages gradually and in a definite order. You have also remarked, by the way, that although the subject of our talks has all along been socialism, the official name of your country does not as yet describe it as a socialist republic.

Gy. A.: Understanding the historical processes requires their periodization. Historical development is continuous, it does not allow the skipping of certain stages. On the basis of our experience so far we can define the necessary stages or phases of every socialist revolution. But the forms of the various stages have thus far been different and will certainly be so in future as well, from country to country. In this respect it is impossible to establish rules, reality keeps surprises in store. We do not reach socialism at once and in the same manner. (. . .)

I imagine communism as a society characterized by action. It will be accompanied by a radiant revelation of the potentialities of man; creative work will show complete harmony between thought and deed.

F. C.: We have talked several times, and in a natural manner, about the crises in the parties and the societies of socialist countries: the 1956 crisis in Hungary, the 1968 crisis in Czechoslovakia, and the 1981 crisis in Poland. (. . .)

Gy. A.: The word crisis is often used to identify the contradictions of the two types of society. I do not consider it a general crisis of socialism when, owing to the subjective errors of some of the leaders, a dramatic or even tragic situation develops in a socialist country. True, as I have just mentioned critical periods have existed in the history of socialism thus far. I do not take them to mean the crisis of socialism as a system. Nor was the Vendée rising at the time indicative of a crisis of the bourgeois order. The main cause of such serious crises is a series of political mistakes committed by the leadership. (. . .)

The situation is quite different in the case of radical changes which become due as necessary steps taken in the course of the economic and social development of socialism. In our days we have to switch from extensive

industrial development to the intensive development of the economy. This doubtless causes difficulties, since it demands new methods from firms, government authorities, and workers alike. It demands inventiveness, independence, and more precise work from the individual, and a higher degree of organization, a growing inclination to accept innovations and bolder changes on the part of the firm. From government authorities it demands a clear definition of strategic aims, the ongoing improvement of the regulation system of economic management, of the system of education and training, of the cultural processes, as well as of the guidance of research-and-development activities. This is a field in which we have no experience yet. Leading politicians of socialist countries assert more and more frequently that the realization of this change is a more complicated task than industrialization or the organization of large-scale farming was, and this is entirely true. This in itself, however, is not a crisis situation but the start of a new stage of development. (. . .)

Two factors make our job very difficult. On the one hand, we switch from extensive to intensive economic development in a far shorter time than the industrial countries did. This is why conflict situations also arise more frequently. On the other hand, the international economic and political ambiance, in which we strive to carry out a switch-over of great consequence, has become clearly unfavourable in recent years. (. . .)

The human factor

The least that intensive development requires is a radical rearrangement of factors of production. At the time of industrialization the basic task was to supply inefficiently utilized manpower with tools, material, and energy. Since than care had to be taken to train the masses rushing to non-agricultural work for a radically different way of life. We have coped with that. More than half of those in employment in Hungary are skilled workers or more highly qualified still. The lesser part of national income is derived from agriculture which has become highly profitable and capital-intensive requiring special skills and very much like industry. The focus of economic policy has shifted. Until now we have concentrated attention on investment projects as well as on the supply of raw material and energy; now the human resource, first of all its quality, i.e. professional skill, system, enterprise, and reliability, has come to the fore. (. . .)

Let me add that these changes are not confined to the productive sphere, but induce and presuppose deep-going transformations in consciousness,

in living conditions, and habits. During the past decades, for example, Hungarian welfare policy has concentrated first of all on the liquidation of poverty and ignorance in the strict sense; we have had to secure the necessary quantity of victuals, clothing and housing, primary education and health provision. Thus we have reached a point where we have to use every effort to improve the quality of the living conditions. In the years to come we cannot afford to raise the standard of living at a fast rate. Now we put the emphasis on the qualitative improvement of working conditions and morale and ways of life. All this cannot be done without overcoming obstacles, making detours and accepting compromises. Those who will have to take the often painful dilemmas by the horns will have no easy life.

For such cases I would use the expression historically necessary radical changes rather than crisis. (. . .) History has taught us that the fight for the realization of the possibilities inherent in every new stage of socialist development must be waged under occasionally difficult circumstances.

The "personality cult"

F. C.: Socialism and a long period of the whole international communist movement were marked by phenomena such as extremely centralized and personal character of power, ideological dogmatism, often dreadful repressive methods; these are usually labelled the "personality cult". (. . .)

I have to begin by saying that I do not agree with the use of the term "personality cult." Its weakness is that one of the characteristics covers up all the others.

Gy. A.: I agree that the term is not precise. But I know of none better.

F. C.: We might as well speak of arbitrariness, personal power, but this is not good either. The term Stalinism has the disadvantage that while creating an appearance of rejecting the cult, it actually remains within its original bounds.

Gy. A.: These are really misleading designations. Arbitrariness may exist without a personality cult, too, and a personality cult may also exist in a party that is not in power.

It is difficult to describe all these facts using just one of the factors, since all the factors have never been and never are present at the same time.

F. C.: These things were manifest in practice in every socialist country; and in a guise made possible by the situation even in communist parties of other countries. All this cannot be ascribed solely to the character of the persons concerned. I think it would be necessary to examine rather what

was and—in so far as vestiges are found or a relapse is experienced—what is their role in society, what were their motivations, who supported them, and who profited by them.

Gy. A.: The personality cult did not exist everywhere. Furthermore, the cult should not be confused with such personal popularity as the leaders may have enjoyed.

There are men or leaders whom the people recognize and respect without a cult being developed about them. On the other hand, an officially promoted cult can surround men who were unpopular in the first place. It may happen also that the two coincide. It is my impression that today, owing to a natural fear or dislike of it, we neglect to analyse the historical role of the personality. The cult not only bars the way of the initiative of the masses, it represses the growth of the personality, as well.

F. C.: It is certain that the personality of leaders plays a great role indeed. But it is probably not mere chance that a certain kind of person becomes a leader under given circumstances. There is also something disturbing about the fact that, while condemning the personality cult, we still refer to the personality.

Gy. A.: Here I cannot see any contradictions. The personality cult arises from the meeting of objective and subjective factors: political isolation on the international plane, inexperience, messianic faith at the outset, forced industrialization. All this prepared the ground for the objective conditions which then made it possible for an intolerant, perverted, arbitrary political power to take shape. Nobody can know what would have happened if Lenin had lived longer but it is certain that everything would have been different, and these perversions could never have come about. It is necessary for the movements to be headed by dominant personalities who, however, have to make sure that independent minds are able to make themselves heard and toadies are not. Those who are respected can educate independent, free personalities, but this has nothing to do with the personality cult.

F. C.: We are talking about what the "cult" is not. But then what is it?

Gy. A.: Arbitrariness threatens where Leninist collective leadership comes to an end. The profound analysis of reality is replaced by commonplaces, quotations, oversimplifications, the individual proclaims himself to be omniscient and unique. The question is always this: is there a collective leadership or is there none, is there democratic centralism or is there none, is there true democracy or is there none?

Leaders who resort to arbitrary methods do not feel confident that the masses understand and accept socialism. Where there is no trust in men,

where they are not respected, and where it is said: *Le socialisme c'est moi!*, the cult will take shape—with all that goes with it.

I never cease to repeat: democracy within the party is most essential. Do you know what effect the show trials produced? Democracy inside the Hungarian Working People's Party was liquidated, and the relationship between the HWPP and the masses was wrecked. In essence, a clique appropriated the party.

The personality cult evolved slowly and gradually. When Rákosi was first styled a "wise leader," he showed surprise but accepted it. Later he became accustomed to it. I know well a former county secretary who was once invited to attend a conference in 1949. Although he respected Rákosi, he remarked that Rákosi had been wrong about a matter concerning his county. Mihály Farkas* then started to shout: "Our great leader cannot be wrong, get that into your head!" And Rákosi, instead of protesting, nodded approvingly. The young party secretary walked the floor of his room the whole night, talking himself into believing that Comrade Rákosi could really not be wrong. In the end he came to believe it.

F. C.: Without broad-based support the spreading of the phenomenon would be incomprehensible.

Gy. A.: In the first stage of socialist construction historical successes, momentous results were attained, and this created the illusion of undisturbed progress. The illusion is infectious and attractive, one is willing to yield to it even when in trouble.

On the one hand, the cult was very favourable to lots of people; to those who shared in power, and not only to them. No one had to think. If one had a problem, one had only Rákosi to think of, he would deal with it... On the other hand, the initial successes obscured the mistakes or suggested tolerance of mistakes.

The cult was a very serious infantile disorder of the initial period of socialist construction. Marxist science is inconceivable without discussion and doubt, without an open and frank examination of reality. If subjectivism is rampant in fighting down the conflicts involved by everyday reality, distortions are bound to appear.

F. C.: If people are told what to think, they will stop thinking.

Gy. A.: Some will stop thinking, others will more and more lose hope. And this is a very serious matter, especially in a society which, originally and intrinsically, exists for man and is rational by nature.

* Mihály Farkas (1904–1965), a Communist leader. Until 1945 he lived in the Soviet Union; upon returning to Hungary he became a member of the party leadership and Minister of National Defence. After October 1956 he was expelled from the HSWP, tried and imprisoned as one of those responsible for the sham trials.

Something that is avoidable

F. C.: One can often hear—and not only from the opposite camp—that in the initial stage of socialism the tremendous problems awaiting solution required a centralization of power and much compulsion on the part of the state. The "cult" would be a natural means of this centralization and compulsion.

Gy. A.: In Lenin's time there was no personality cult, although centralization was necessary and countless insoluble problems arose.

The cult is not a historical necessity at any stage of socialist construction, under any circumstances. I emphasize: it is not thanks to the cult—as some people still believe today—but in spite of it that the results were attained.

The cult exploited the difficult circumstances only to justify itself. Supporters claim that the people were illiterate, politically immature, and for this reason an indisputable authority was needed. It was a period marked by an outside threat with all its possible consequences. No, the cult was not necessary, its development and consequences did serious damage to the movement everywhere.

Of course, the bourgeoisie seized the opportunity. It listened to the exposure of past mistakes with *Schadenfreude.* Exploiting the distortions, errors, and wrongs which we have long outgrown and have condemned, its propaganda tries to identify with this past the communist movement of today, existing socialist societies, harping on the old abuses over and over again. Talking to various bourgeois journalists I have remarked several times that capitalist governments and systems would take us to be insane if we tried to reproach them with acts committed fifty or a hundred years ago.

Communists are resolved on renewing their movement. The mistakes of the past were a terrible shock to us, they have gravely affected us, and we still have to pay interest on them today.

F. C.: Experience nevertheless shows that the movement is not free of the survival of certain traits of the cult.

To mention just one thing, the camps as means of mass punishment have of course come to an end, though the Chinese cultural revolution and its backlash as well have also taken measures of this sort. In any case the vestiges are still around. Sterile dogmatism is deeply rooted. One notices with no little concern that in countries emerging from colonial status and embarking on the road of socialism as well things develop which are strongly reminiscent of the outward forms of the cult.

Gy. A.: I do not feel competent to discuss the problems of the Third World. One thing is certain, however, national unity was powerfully

strengthened in the struggle against imperialism. After victory disruptive forces appear; often with imperialist assistance. If a sort of people's front policy fails, there is danger of an excessive centralization of power. Such countries must find the means to enable the forces of national unity to cement in the struggle, to assert themselves also in the building and defence of the country. When it comes to the survival and reappearance of certain traits of dogmatism, you are right in saying that to disclose and overcome them is a continuous task. But even if the foundations of dogmatism are done away with, slothful thinking, lack of moral courage, and an insufficient knowledge of reality—I suppose—will for a long time be a good breeding-ground for such an attitude. It is primarily conservative dogmatism incapable of renewal that must be fought against; sectarian dogmatism taken in the old sense is already less active today. I would add, however, that the fight against dogmatism may itself change into a dogma, and this antidogmatic dogmatism is likewise not particularly productive. Finally, obscure right-wing, anti-communist, dogmatism is raging—maybe more than ever before—amongst the opponents of socialism; they adhere to their own dogmas about the socialism of the past even more than we adhered to ours at that time. Socialist democracy, the institutions suited to it, the struggle waged for it—all this is the most reliable guarantee against the come-back of the situation we call the personality cult. (...)

Everything at once

F. C.: The majority consider it natural that poverty, injustice, and inequality exist in every system, even if these are fought against with all one's might. But if socialism is in question, they would like to get everything at once. This is an instinctive tribute paid to socialism.

Gy. A.: People accept the everyday injustices done by the capitalists as a matter of course, even though they object to them. It is flattering that they expect everything good at once from socialism. This proves that even if they criticize us—often with good reason—they put their trust in a future society free of injustices. If they often pass an intolerant and unfounded judgement on us that is also our fault.

Like every revolutionary party and movement, we also believed that we would be able to eliminate all injustices and inequalities at one stroke. We were inclined to seek the underlying causes of the difficulties only in the capitalist past. When the storm clouds of war passed, hopes became stronger of course: we started to reconstruct the country as fast as possible.

We succeeded in this work, and this roused further hopes. Then it was proved clearly that socialism was no panacea doing away with all difficulties, and that it has difficulties of its own, too, and even dramatic conflicts. The criticisms then became more objective, more realistic, more natural. Of course, we come up against dogmatic, Leftist intolerance as well. (. . .)

On optimism

F. C.: At the end of our conversation let me put one more question perhaps as a sort of summing up. To be a Communist, a revolutionary, means to want changes, to work hard on the creation of new and better things; that it, to be an optimist. What makes you an optimist?

Gy. A.: What makes all Communists the world over optimists. Others are content because of their stupidity, and their optimism consists of doing nothing. The optimism of the revolutionary does not follow from the acceptance of the world as it stands today, but its negation. It is the conviction that human conditions can be altered, and people are able to alter them. The world does not satisfy man, that is why he tries to transform it.

Optimism has illusory forms which can hinder us from recognizing the failures. But it also has realistic forms which enable us to draw lessons from failures as well. Let us remember Marx: he was convinced that the right conditions for a victory of the Paris Commune did not exist. He nevertheless supported it. He looked upon history with the eyes of those who made it, and not with the eyes of those who wrote it. He was convinced that the working class was able to learn only from its own—sometimes negative—experience. (. . .)

The dangers threatening mankind make me uneasy, but I see that uneasiness prompts millions to action. And this makes me an optimist.

A great achievement of socialism—and this cannot be repeated often enough—is that it has put an end to the exploitation of men by men. This is something for a start. Socialism is the trustee of the real human potentialities and the rights of man. For this reason I trust in the decisions of history.

As long as mankind survives to have a history.

What I have in mind are not only the dangers of nuclear war but also the horrors of the fuel and food shortage, of environmental pollution, and of other problems which threaten our entire planet, even if they are not on the same scale as the dangers of mass destruction. Mankind not only has to produce more and more and do it better, it also has to change the

mode of production. Full freedom ought not to be given to the unlimited use of technology, but one must not stop progress under the pretext of environmental protection either, forgetting that technology is the only means of protecting the environment and that hundreds of millions of people need it for their mere existence.

A society of opportunities

As a modest contribution I could draw the following conclusion from our own experience. We must set ourselves realistic aims without losing sight of the great long-term social prospects. We must seek new and better ways while adhering to all human values and the achievements of socialism. Let us depart from the trodden path if we can thereby reach the goal faster and with less effort or surmount particular obstacles.

The reason why things in Hungary are well-balanced today, and why we progress in spite of all the difficulties is that, whenever reality put a new question to us, we have looked for new answers. Without losing sight of our objectives we have sought the various ways and means leading to them.

I repeat: socialism is the society of opportunities, and human opportunities are unlimited. Not only does humanity satisfy its needs and demands, but it always raises new ones as well.

When a revolution is victorious, the new classes coming to power also inherit bad habits from their predecessors. This society is built by us frail people who are nevertheless capable of achieving lots of things and have strength enough to do so. We build a society which respects and develops what is good in man.

The owners of clippers used to call the first steamships "puffing teakettles." True, those first steamships were ungainly enough and made much noise. But the future was theirs.

We now stand on the threshold of the future. But let us not forget: steam only provides the possibility of faster advance. A lot depends on the quality of the coal, on technology, on the skills of the engineers and the master. What is the engine worth if the engineer disregards the signals of the instruments and overheats the boiler? Yet the necessary skill was often missing, and the best clippers many a time outsailed the newcomers. But the future was still theirs.

HUNGARY'S PROGRESS IN A WORLD ECONOMIC CONTEXT

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

Political continuity was characteristic of Hungary even at a time of radical changes in the world economy and an international situation which rendered cooperation more difficult. This political continuity finds expression in the fact that the country and the nation are governed by the same socio-political and economic power centres under the guidance of which it overcame the tragedy of a quarter of a century ago and rose to the present position. Only political power centres with the capacity for renewal and change are able to effect economic-policy and social changes which influence so deeply the fate and thinking of the nation. Only such political power centres are able to introduce in a dynamically changing world, at the right time, reforms, and introduce thereby new effective forces into the stream of evolution. If the necessary reforms are left out there can be a personal or institutional continuity but no genuine political continuity; on the contrary, explosions may easily occur.

It is in terms of such an approach that I try to establish what, and why, I think will last of what the economic policy of the past quarter century has achieved. It is obvious that the concrete results which can be described by quantitative indices reflect those abilities of society and of the regime which have proved effective in the understanding, management and solution of economic problems in a given period. But genuine and lasting results can only be produced if the way of thinking, developed by a community or nation living under a given socio-economic system, concerning the functioning of the economy and the aims, scope and limits of economic action are in harmony with the conditions. This is particularly important at the early stage of new socio-economic systems. Lack of experience, exag-

Based on a lecture delivered at the 1982 Annual General Meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on May 7, 1982.

gerated optimism, and doctrinaire ideas play a great role at the initial stage of evolution and there is a danger that the limits of rational economic action are identified with the scope and limitations of action by the powers that be.

This is why it is one of the greatest achievements of the past quarter century, and one of the sources of measurable economic results, that within Hungary relatively homogeneous views and forms of activity have been developed concerning the role and functioning of the economy and the nature of economic conditions.

Major aspects of economic policy in the past quarter of a century

In 1957, on a governmental level, there was not and could not be a clear economic policy that would both bear in mind existing economic conditions as well as serving as a guide for action over a longer period.

Thinking of economic reform as the recognition on the part of economists and technologists in industry and agriculture of the necessity for change, and of its principle directions, implies arguing that the reform could already have been introduced around 1957 or 1958. A broader interpretation, however, assuming a causality between realization or failure and the socio-economic processes and power relations, makes it obvious that it would not have been possible to introduce the reform as long as the necessary understanding and mutual trust did not exist between the country's population and those in power, and while those who thought of consolidation in terms of the restoration of obsolete structures and not as the beginning of a new age occupied positions of considerable influence. But reform and new ideas of economic policy were in the air, and the details were being worked out, among them the ideas and work of commissions headed by the late Professor István Varga deserve particular emphasis. These commissions worked hard to make economic reform government policy. For the reasons mentioned they were only partly successful, but they had a great influence on the thinking of economists.

And yet right from the beginning, from 1957, aspects were present in the thinking of those in charge that owed their strength to a specific combination of theory and experience, and sensitivity for what was the case and what was also feasible. These gradually congealed into demands which decisively influenced political action.

These included the idea of national unity as based on a policy of alliances, the reduction of the exaggerated centralization and bureaucracy, more attention to the particular interests of groups and individuals, a reappraisal

of the importance of agriculture and greater freedom in public life and in discussion, as well as the recognition of the possibility of alternative developmental variants. This recognition means that there are choices in the course of every kind of evolution, and that the conflicts of interest and intellectual differences of opinion connected with the selection of methods should not be seen in terms of the opposition of socialism and anti-socialism.

Such changes in political thinking made the progress of the social sciences possible in Hungary. There is no scientific freedom, without freedom in public life and there is no socio-economic progress without scientific freedom. There can be no scientific progress as long as research using up considerable intellectual and material resources must support existing conditions and various central decisions.

However, these new features of political thinking not only transformed the environment of research producing greater freedom, but were also linked with aspects of economic thinking striving for renewal. Further progress was already realized as the fruit of interaction. Fertilizing mutually strengthening interaction meant, in the intellectual sense, the antecedents of the economic reform of 1968, and also powerfully influenced the substance of the reform.

With progress in this way of thinking it became clear that economic policy was not the application of some theory, or its testing, but a discipline or system of action of which concrete conditions, interests, situations, organizations, abilities and consequences constituted organic parts. It is obvious that clear theoretical concepts and firm convictions are necessary, otherwise the economic policy becomes amorphous; it dissolves in the confrontation and tactics of daily problems. There are people who imagine that economic policy begins with the formulation of developmental objectives, continues with the distribution of the available financial means, and reaches its goal in the course of such a process of execution in which every member of society participates in the place allotted to him or her. These views simply disregard economic facts, individual and group interests, conflicts, and national ways of thinking. Such primitive, simplified, schematic views have very little in common with genuine socio-economic processes.

The fact is that economic policy must be in harmony with economic conditions (commodity-monetary-market-organizational, etc. conditions), and with the prevailing interests (individual, group and social interests). If these favour economic development — which does not of course imply an absence of negative components or effects. The mechanisms must be

rooted in conditions of a socialist society which connect particular interests with action systems, as well as the particular interests with the public interest. It follows that the art of economic decisions does not consist primarily of the invention of new and possibly abstract goals, but of the formulation of those balanced action systems as a resultant of which society, the various economic groups, and individuals all make progress. Economic decision must of course be prepared by strictly scientific methods; I nevertheless speak of the art of decision-taking, since at the time of deciding one cannot foresee all the factors which influence the future. There are possible alternative courses within domestic economies and foreign trade and surprises and unexpected turns may also occur in the world economy and international affairs.

In order not to complicate matters I have so far left unmentioned the external economic factor which increasingly influences every national economy. In the case of small nations and economies the influences and limits on developmental goals which may be chosen realistically, or the methods used, largely depend on it. In a world teeming with interdependences small economies must adjust in some form to world economic processes. Consequently, the kernel of the problem is not whether we should adjust or not (this is putting the question in a spurious form), but how and to what we should adjust in consideration of our own economic capabilities and interests?

Given such an interpretation decentralization becomes possible, that is the components of economic power which find expression in the decision-taking power must be dealt with in a new way. It is obvious that those economic units and individuals are able to act rationally which are influenced by economic conditions, their own interests, and the economic mechanism, and are strenghtened by information and scientific assistance. The rationality and reality of economic policy can be ensured in socialist society only by such a way of thinking. Economic decisions which do not reckon with conditions, interests, conflicts and the role of the economic mechanism necessarily come up against their resistance or meet with passivity, all of which leads to low efficiency of utilization of available resources.

However socio-economic conditions, interests and mechanisms are, in a socialist society as well, subject to change. New tasks and important technical changes make this necessary from time to time. The realization of reforms involves conflicts and risks. They cross existing structures and interests and, furthermore, only the future can show whether they are sound or mistaken. Existing socio-economic equilibria are upset by reforms and then become rearranged.

It is to the lasting credit of the Hungarian political leadership that it recognized, in a policy of continuous reform the most useful way of ensuring the progress of socialist society and of the economy. A government responsible for the nation and the fate of the regime must reject both the adventurism of permanent revolution and the explosions which occur when the socio-economic system is rigid. One of the main goals of reforms is therefore the development of socio-economic structures which are able not only to hold on to power but are also capable of change and renewal. The contradiction is only apparent, since the only possible conclusion is that the way of keeping power is the good functioning of the regime.

However, economic reforms are not concentrated exclusively in the economic domain. They include the redistribution of economic power, the framework for the economic activity of the state and new methods of economic administration, as well as new postulates of research and training and the connected policies at home and abroad.

In an age of economic interdependences and a rapidly growing international division of labour, the necessity for some reforms may also originate in the world market. Those who deny or reject this obvious truth find themselves in conflict with the world and its dialectics of the run-up to, and the follow-up of, the year 2000.

Four economic processes

I should now like to briefly mention results achieved so far in the course of the formulation and realization of the economic policy which forms the object of this discussion. I wish to speak of four economic processes only: industrial and agricultural production, foreign trade, and consumption. I do not wish to stress quantitative relationships but two qualitative processes of decisive importance. The interdependence between macro-economic policy and concrete economic policies (directed at the complex planning of single processes) is one aproach, and the connections between Hungarian economic activities and world trends is another. The interdependence between macro (national economic) policies and concrete policies of organizing the processes are characterized by the fact that at the start (the beginning of a single action) the macro-policy substantially influences the concrete process-organizational policy, but later the results of the concrete processes confirm or deny the correctness or incorrectness of the general concept of economic policy. It is scientifically untenable to argue the soundness of macro-policy also in the case of unsatisfactory results. Such a concept

leads sooner or later to only too notorious notions concerning inspired leadership and a primitive, complacent people. In discussing the connections between Hungarian economic activity and international trends I ask whether the characteristics of Hungarian economic evolution are in harmony with those trends and endeavours which characterize the world economy in what is left of the twentieth century.

In the course of the past quarter century, Hungarian industry has reached the standard of medium development in the sense of the term used by economists. Certain key export industries are in the process of development, such as precision engineering, the pharmaceuticals, coach building, the aluminium industry, energetics, incandescent lamps, the clothing industry, and certain sections of the food processing industry.

In the present situation the development of *export foci* represents the main component of selective industrial development. The industries concerned still often produce expensively; technical development is insufficiently continuous; and links with the world market also have numerous uncertain elements. In agriculture as well as industry enterprising men have appeared who understand that modern organization in industry must be based on the market and must verticaly cover all those processes which influence product quality and structure, the introduction of new products, and marketability, under the existing competitive conditions.

In the years ahead the situation of Hungarian industry will become even more difficult. The main reasons are:

—Given slow growth domestic demand grows slowly as well while, of course, there is increasing emphasis on quality.

—The effective purchasing power of the CMEA countries shows a diminishing trend.

—The supply security of industry diminishes, since a growing share of raw materials, semi-finished products and components must be purchased from outside the CMEA.

—The conditions for importing up to date technologies become more difficult. This has political as well as economic and organizational reasons.

—Competition between industrial enterprises shifts into sectors in which small countries are not able to make up for their handicaps.

—Due to the spread of the crisis to the external economy—which appears in the reduction of the import capacities—competition for markets becomes more intense. In the course of this competition one must reckon with the fact that the rapidly industrializing developing countries become competitors on Western markets to an ever increasing extent.

—Due to the slow-down of opportunities for investment, the emphasis

must increasingly be placed on the better utilization of existing fixed capital, which is more difficult.

—In the coming years those factors which favor the introduction of key technologies in a large number of productive and non-productive areas will be strengthened. Thus micro-electronics penetrate simultaneously communication, computers, automation, data storage and processing, telecommunications, tertiary services, commerce, health, education, administration, and households. In this way the potential lag does not threaten a single industry but a great and varied number of economic and non-economic activities.

This outline is meant to show once again, but in one concrete developmental area that

—the future development of the Hungarian economy, including Hungarian industry, depends on exports and on the degree of intelligent integration in the world economy;

—the economy, including industry, can be developed in Hungary only taking the world market as one's guide;

—in order to accelerate the technical-structural change-over, to acquire the leading technologies, to increase sales, the external economic organization of industry must be increased and developed forcefully;

—the standard of industrial management must be improved by every possible means (modernization of the criteria of selection, of the training and in service training of managers, greater socio-political authority for successful managers, and higher incomes for them, extension of the autonomy and decision-making competence of the enterprises, etc.).

The extraordinary progress and dynamism of Hungarian agriculture has received world wide recognition. This has made it possible to approach within twenty years, in numerous respects, the most advanced countries. Performance is not only reflected in high yields, but also in the organization of production. Production techniques connected with the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture have been acquired and clever forms of integration between the cooperative farm and the family farm have been introduced, as well as methods of organization based on the market.

Let me also mention successes achieved in the introduction of the auxiliary industrial and servicing activities, which have eased not only the labour problems of industrial enterprises but have also resulted in goods or services which can be sold on markets at home and abroad. This has led to a justified radical transformation in rural ways of life.

There are problems still which can only be reduced, or done away with, given further great efforts. Excessive costs present difficulties to exports;

the weaknesses of the background industries the slow growth of some of the food processing industries and the relative backwardness of modern marketing are amongst them.

At a time of revolution of natural resources the biopotential is the greatest such resource. The conditions for further growth are given. Hungarian biologists and agriculturalists consider it possible to raise agricultural output by 60–100 per cent by the year 2000.

The role of agriculture has been revalued internationally as well; bearing in mind the expected food crisis. A successful agriculture is able to guarantee a safe supply at a time when, given the world population explosion, even those find it difficult to obtain supplies of cereals and other fodders who have ample foreign exchange resources. Agriculture is able to provide goods for export at a time when demand for both quality and mass products is growing.

A price explosion may well occur towards the end, of the eighties. World population increases faster than farm output in general, in particular land prices are rising in Western countries, as are world market prices of fuels and industrial products needed by agriculture.

Favourable factors include finally the biotechnical revolution ahead, to be carried out by a vigorous and enterprising farm population and outstanding members of the biological and agricultural professions. The cooperation of these over the past twenty years has shown great speed and efficiency in the learning of new techniques and entire production technologies.

At a time of change and crisis the role of foreign trade increases in every country. It is one of the major driving forces of economic progress. This is especially clear in the Hungarian economy. The growth rate depends primarily on an expansion of imports, and without higher exports in the case of a restrained growth dynamism production cannot be raised at all. Finally, it must also be taken into account that backwardness and an advanced stage are international categories, i.e. a comparative status. It follows that in countries striving for a high level of economic growth the weight of external economic problems increases extraordinarily.

In the past twenty-five years Hungarian foreign trade policy has achieved notable results, in spite of the fact that it could take wing only slowly and with difficulty, given the primitive organizational framework which had fettered it since the reorganization of 1949–1950.

It was able to ensure rising imports and exports even in the most difficult circumstances and that was a great achievement. The structure of exports to non-socialist countries has improved considerably in favour of finished products. New ways of organization and of thinking about it have asserted

themselves in recent years. After years of imbalances of trade and payments, trade has been in equilibrium since 1979.

A smaller part of the worries and problems leap from the past into the present, while their majority have been created by the problems due to the major changes the world economy has undergone.

Among the old problems, the neglect of the services, the tertiary sector, should be mentioned first. It originates from the theoretical errors of the initial period. 90 per cent of foreign exchange is earned by exporting goods, which is a great burden and implies the omission of many possibilities which not even the richest countries can afford. Some improvements are possible in tourism, and others in the extension of services offered abroad in connection with the supply of goods.

Hungary has been able to maintain its relative market position also in a dynamically growing world trade. Since 1960 exports have grown somewhat faster than world trade (by 1 per cent annually). But this also points to the fact that Hungary's relative market positions have hardly improved.

However, new problems have occurred in the international economic environment owing to the changes of recent years, and these must still be faced in the coming years:

—The new export structure developed through considerable efforts has become devalued, the bulk of exports being in categories of low price dynamism and low profitability, and endangered due to structural oversupply. (Metallurgical exports, some chemical light industry exports, etc.)

—Competition from the industrially dynamically developing countries became acute in the seventies and has appeared with growing intensity and on a broadening scale. These are present on the markets of the leading capitalist countries with cheaper manpower, own raw material base, and trade preferences.

—Hungarian trade—especially exports—are too much Europe centred in a period when economic growth will be faster on other continents than in Europe. Some of the countries of Latin-America e.g. play an important role in the new world trade centred on the Pacific, but Hungarian export policy has not been able to exploit such opportunities.

—Awkward and inflexible organizational forms and systems inherited from the past are not able to develop new forms of cooperation, and joint enterprise which are the main conditions for increasing trade.

Finally the Hungarian economy pays 20 per cent more for one unit of imports than ten years ago. This has happened before since—due to structural backwardness—the terms of trade have shown a deteriorating trend since the 1920s. This process occurs in fits and jolts. There are some, eco-

nomists and members of the general public alike, who argue that the Government exaggerates the negative effects of changes in the terms of trade in order to cover up its mistakes. Extremes of judgement should be avoided; such include also the underestimation of these negative effects. This also harbours the danger that one may respond to the world economic challenges by inward turning debates and attitudes.

It is obvious that a lasting deterioration in the terms of trade on this scale cannot be eliminated by better marketing methods or a more active and agile trade policy alone.

A restructuring of exports and production is needed. This decision is inevitable, since Hungary must compete on the world market against an increasing number of economies which are in a more favourable position, and also because external economic activity covers the entire Hungarian economy, and thus the losses suffered there may obstruct growth in the standard of living.

It is obvious that the reform policy which has already ensured substantial progress, must be continued in the economic, social and political areas connected with the foreign trade potential.

The reform must cover many processes and a wide area. Such areas will be—presumably—the entire system of economic administration, organizational questions, the system of control and guidance, as well as the development of modern forms of joining in world economic processes.

Consumption takes a distinguished place in the economic results of the past quarter century.

It is incontestable that pre-1956 consumption was at a low level and, in spite of a policy strictly restricting purchasing power, an economy of shortages came about which was caused neither by the absence of commercial skills or the imperfect implementation of central decisions. On the contrary, it was the necessary consequence of the economic conditions brought about by the Government. It is possible that in some especially critical periods some of the leaders would have liked a change, and some institutions certainly attempted to mitigate the situation. It is, however, obvious that minor resolutions passed against the economic conditions brought about by the given system are only special forms of the expression of pious or hypocritical wishes.

Turning the argument around: the fact that in the past twenty-five years first an improvement, then favourable changes, finally a turn occurred in consumption demanded the complete transformation of the conditions that governed the functioning of the economy and attention to processes preceding consumption.

It is due to the transformation of economic conditions that consumption begins to fulfil its stimulating role in production. Modern consumption means not only the purchase and use of various kinds of goods, but also the development of interconnected trend of consumption which necessitate the introduction of new skills and methods of production. The individuals and families taking part in the development of economic processes are stimulated by the chance of a higher income only if an ample range of goods and services make the intelligent spending of incomes possible.

Consumption also raises standards of education—especially of more receptive, younger people—in the technical-professional sense. This later bears fruit in production in the higher skills of the labour force. Household appliances and their use, the driving and maintenance of one's motor car, or do-it-yourself are all cases in point.

The development of services, the tertiary sector, has also been very important. The earlier lag had negative consequences not only as regards the public but—as has already been mentioned—for foreign trade as well since a considerable part of industry was not even acquainted with forms and methods which are self-evident in marketing in the developed capitalist countries and are the object of competition. Many types of organization that might have satisfied the needs of the public did not even exist.

What has been achieved has contributed decisively to overcoming the economy of shortages in many aspects connected with consumption and the needs of the public.

Hungarian economic policy since 1979

Since 1979 Hungarian economic policy has reacted correctly to the world economic crisis. But between 1974 and 1978 the temporary strengthening of the anti-reform tendencies, the artificial slowing down of the dynamism of the economic reform, as well as the uncertainty manifest in the appraisal of the nature and effects of changes in the world economy led to a deadlock. Those urging further reforms did not dispose of the strength necessary for the rearranging of the existing situation, for a break-through, but were strong enough to stop those opposed to reforms from negating them altogether. To put it in another way, the policy of reform which had been started with a big momentum in 1968 suffered a certain hold-up, a temporary stagnation. It was possible to end this deadlock only at the beginning of 1979 although the 1977 resolution of the Central Committee of the HSWP had already recognized correctly the essence of the changes in the world economy and their effects on Hungary.

Since 1979 economic policy has endeavoured primarily to restore equilibrium. This was possible in the given situation only through a considerable slow-down of the earlier dynamic growth in imports, investments, budgetary expenditure and consumption. In the given circumstances—having to face in addition to internal problems also the continued deterioration of the world economic situation—I consider it an important achievement that, since 1979, Hungarian trade and payments have been balanced. However, the equilibrium achieved through the forced restraint of economic dynamism is only a temporary and relative success. In the long run those factors must be changed which cause the imbalance. In Hungary two interconnected and interacting circumstances which cover a broad area are responsible.

First, far too much capital, labour and imports are employed in the production of one unit of national income. This means that the acceleration of growth in the present structure would increase the imbalance.

Second, Hungary has insufficient economical export capacities which would pay for the imports necessary for the undisturbed and dynamic growth of the national economy.

However, in the course of efforts directed at the creation of the conditions of dynamic growth, one must reckon with the fact that new types of growth and development appear to grow out of the present world economic crisis. One is hardly able to foresee today all the characteristics of these types of growth and development, but it is obvious that the economical use of natural resources (energy, raw materials, land), the protection of the environment and of living conditions for future generations, the location of a considerable part of industrial activity where manpower is available, the variety of organizational forms and solutions within the given social system will be organic factors and decisive elements of the economy of the future.

Lasting economic equilibrium, however, as well as the development of a new type of growth, demands the renewal and acceleration of the reform policy which has already brought so many successes. But this reform policy must be more extensive economically than it was in 1968, since it has to cover the organizational and institutional system as well. Until now the inert conservatism of the organizational and institutional system has hampered the taking wing of the economic reform. In the course of the introduction of the economic reforms—as in 1968 and in course of the changes brought about since 1979—the endeavour has been to minimize the socio-political risks of change. Such solutions are profitable economically, but their dynamism is limited. It is obvious that in the current grave world

economic crisis, and in the present Hungarian economic situation, reforms generating more vigorous effects are needed. In other words; the socio-political risk taking in economic reforms must be increased, not to mention that in the present international and domestic circumstances delaying, let alone avoiding, reforms involves a greater risk than their introduction.

The reforms must extend to the entire system of the economic administration from the treatment of state property through the formulation of economic policy to the system of state revenue. It is particularly important that the opportunities which exist in the economic role of the state should be intelligently exploited, but that the limitations of this power should also be clearly understood. Special attention must be paid to the forms and methods of the transmission belt linking the state organs and economic activity.

From national unity to a more advanced socialist democracy

It is desirable from the economic aspect, and decisive for democratic evolution that representative, autonomous and social bodies should play their proper role in economic administration. Evolution of this nature can lead from a democratic framework based on information and persuasion and of national unity as the result of the former to such a more advanced socialist democracy where the clash of interests and the exchange of opinions occurs on a broad social basis in the course of the preparation of decisions. I am, of course, aware that in economic policy a substantial part of changes, and precisely the most important ones, have their source in the outside world, in the world economy. They often occur as explosions demanding rapid reaction. Consequently, the necessary speed of action may conflict with the *modus operandi* of democratic institutions. It is however obvious that such cases can be bridged over institutionally as well given adequate flexibility on the part of governmental and social bodies.

It must be assumed that such complex economic, social, administrative, political reforms can only be introduced in several steps, after thorough preparation and coordination. The economic aspects of the reform are clearly the most important and the most urgent, since the focus of the present changes in the entire world lies in the economy. The force and speed of world economic changes make the acceleration of the entire system of decision-taking, administration and action inevitable. Since accelerated and more complicated decisions demand broader and more thorough scientific foundations, it may be assumed that the links between scientific research

and political action must also be modernized, and placed on new foundations.

The necessity of a switch to a more advanced socialist democracy becomes more urgent because decisions must often be taken and implemented which are contrary to earlier expectations or differ from them considerably. In such critical situations and times the feeling of shared responsibility for the decision has high cohesive power. It is the multiple of the strength provided by national unity based on information and persuasion. In this way, the feeling of identity of the Hungarian nation living and acting within the framework of the socialist system will be much stronger and will show itself much more aware of the continuity of policy in a rapidly changing world.

The results, realities, and clever innovations of Hungarian economic policy are today recognized in all corners of the world. They are recognized by Hungary's friends and allies, albeit they mostly make their final judgement dependent on the results of the reforms. This caution is quite understandable, since in the history of the socialist societies so far the trumpets of victory have often been sounded following the introduction of changes which did not bring the desired results or even led to failure. The results of Hungarian economic policy are recognized in the developed capitalist world and in the developing countries as well. Everyone able to think clearly is aware that at a time of economic interdependence this recognition has great importance. The countries in question are trading partners; and as such their opinion matters. The quantity and quality of economic relations, the extent of benefits offered, or denied, are strongly influenced by their judgement of Hungarian economic policy. It is obvious that this is valid not only for the exchange of goods or cooperation in production, but also for services (tourism) and international monetary relations (credit). Consequently, unfavourable judgements are accompanied by tangible economic disadvantages of which every inhabitant of the country becomes aware, and vice versa. Of course, it is true in this respect also that the final judgements are always determined by concrete economic results and not by intentions and opinions.

Nevertheless, the esteem enjoyed by Hungary in the world has not only concrete and tangible economic consequences. Economists, politicans, or sociologists judge the economic capabilities of the socialist system by the economic policy of a socialist country. The social system can also be interpreted as the framework of economic activities and abilities. In this respect, the socialist countries of Europe have had to suffer much criticism, especially since the recent changes in the world economy, due to their slow

and unwilling adjustment to them. These criticisms and sceptical views—economic failures also influence the opinions of progressives—imply two propositions: that the socialist societies are not able to get out of the rigid structure concentrating on the protection of the system which they developed in their initial stage; and that it is not even possible to develop, on a socialist basis, a socio-economic structure able to compete economically with the developed capitalist world and with the rapidly industrializing developing countries. Such views assume that the socialist countries are not only unable to catch up with the economic potential of the developed capitalist countries but that 20 to 30 other countries may also move ahead within the next ten years or so.

It is therefore of special importance that the Hungarian economy confirms through its system of action, and continues to do so, that the socialist society and economy are capable of renewing themselves and of adjusting to economic changes which influence the life and future of the whole of mankind.

A new consciousness of national identity

Finally, I should like to mull over some ideas concerning the national and social effects and components of the economic reform policy. I am prompted to explain such ideas also because I feel that in Hungary public opinion concerning the great national issues is excessively centred on language and literature. After such important economic progress economic factors should be felt to a greater degree as part of the national consciousness.

It should be obvious that the successful implementation of the economic policy here described is the greatest national accomplishment since the social transformation. There must be no mistake about it: in the case of failure Hungary may again become backward and this would be the greatest danger from the aspect of the meaning and evolution of national existence. Nevertheless, everybody can experience in town and country to what extent the successes of the economic policy have increased a united and world-aware self-confidence of the national society.

The twenty-five years behind us and the realization of the necessary reforms have set and will set freer the development of the abilities which are present in the people and in the nation. In an over-centralized economy and society led by administrative prescriptions somebody may have a good position or a high salary, but nobody has room for responsible and free action. In such circumstances gifted persons are unable to give to society all their talents.

This economic policy and these tasks tie us to the past in the sign of continuity, to the noble endeavours of earlier Hungarian reform generations. In us the contradiction between reform or revolution occurs already in a mellower form, contemporary generations may continue the reform of the socio-economic and political structures on the basis of a victorious revolution and far-reaching social changes. This economic policy has set out, and sets out, at all times, and in all situations, from the facts of existing socialism can develop in a dynamic world only through change—blending these socialist conditions with those national characteristics and talents which are specifically Hungarian. In this sense, the Hungarian economic policy is not a model. In other socialist countries there are other conditions, other situations, but one of the common works and endeavours of the Hungarian nation which has discovered its own way in socialism. To improve and to perfect socialism, proceeding from day to day and from situation to situation, is a task that devolves on all Hungarians.

THE EFFICIENCY OF THE INTELLECTUAL RESOURCE

by

REZSŐ NYERS

I.

When material resources are in short supply, the human resource always gains in importance. This is precisely the situation which has recently developed in Hungary. Even though Marxian economic theory has always emphasized the decisive role of the human resource, it must be admitted that the light of such great truth shines brighter in the darkness of difficult situations. Otherwise the tendency is not peculiar to Hungary, since it is observed now right around the world.

I do not think of intellectual work as a thing in itself that can be the source of success alone as well, but something that is one of the factors of growing importance within the whole of economic activity. Much is being said nowadays about labour intensity and labour discipline, which must be improved; and also about hard work, sound sense and the importance of a vocation and skills, all expressions of human behaviour, and not negligible factors in better performance in a number of fields. But if it is true—and it is true—that changing conditions create new situations, then one can no longer break out of a pressing ring of difficulties simply by working harder, specific additions must be acquired, new recognitions in technology and economics, new methods, new know-how, new kinds of human relations which break with stereotyped routine. This may perhaps be called some sort of new intellectual investment in the economy, which upgrades the efficiency of intellectual work, and thus leads to a degree of usefulness of social labour higher than the present.

The problem of intellectual work emerges in a broader and in a narrower sense from this aspect of the development of socialist society. The broader

Based on an address given to the Conference of the Association of Organization and Management held at Pécs on November 13 and 14, 1981.

problem concerns the efficiency of the intellectual foundation and value of the work of all, and the narrower relates to that of the intellectual workers. The subject is important in both interpretation, not just because there are border areas in the various spheres of activity, but mainly because the intellectual content of the work done by skilled workers in particular continually rises in the course of technological progress. If this process were to come to a halt even temporarily, the rate of progress would suffer. Vocational training thus gains particular importance now and will keep it in future in strengthening the types of workers willing to undertake training in new skills and new methods, even initiating such training. In any case, the intellectual sources must become material sources in the hands of workers, the role of workers is, therefore, indispensable in technical progress. At the same time, intellectual work also has its own specific problems.

The problem of intellectual work, even though it cannot be identified with that of professional men and women, is closely interwoven with the latter. There can be little doubt that those with professional qualifications occupy a central position among intellectual workers.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, acting in the spirit of Lenin's ideas, attributes great importance to professional people in the building of socialism. Authentic Marxism always emphasizes the leading role of the working class, but it never interprets this to mean that professional people are subordinated to the working class, but as an alliance of equals under the aegis of the ideal of socialism. It is true, though, that errors did occur earlier in political practice, and certain reproducing dangers, erroneous concepts, which cannot be accepted, must be reckoned with even nowadays.

The thought that professional people could play the role of an elite in the cooperation of the classes, and that manual workers might play second fiddle compared to them, emerges from time to time in Hungarian society—mainly as reflections of foreign bourgeois theories. Such and similar views are unsound, however, since they would replace the democratic idea of service owed to higher training by the hierarchic order of command over the people. It is true, however, that the very opposite of this, the tendency to underrate professional work, also crops up from time to time in the working-class movement, and this also must be rejected, since this would separate the working class from the professions, making the former unsuited for fulfilling its leading role.

The cooperation of workers and professional people is one of the growing resources of the 25 years old policy of the HSWP. Political harmony is far stronger now than it was a quarter of a century ago. This alliance cannot be established once and for all, it is one of the social resources in need of

constant reproduction. I am convinced of the need to look on the constant renewal of this alliance as one of the aims of high policy. This alliance can be broadened and strengthened also on the local level in the course of development, production and sales. I believe that the furthering of this concrete cooperation should be concentrated on in every field within already existing arrangements and such which do not function as yet, but could be established.

II.

The present Hungarian intellectual resources are noteworthy. Some 330,000 people work in technical fields, 377,000 in business and administrative jobs, 332,000 in cultural and health services, and about 361,000 in accounting and clerical jobs. The number of people engaged in intellectual work totalled about 1,400,000, almost 28 per cent of the total work-force.

A growth in intellectual resources in necessary and possible in the medium and long term, yet one could not reckon with an extensive growth in numbers. Such prospects have been almost exhausted and only a limited and gradual growth in the numbers of intellectual workers can be predicted. The share of the intellectual fields of work in national income has by and large been established, the funds earmarked for this purpose can be increased more or less proportionately with the rise of national income to the end of the current decade. Extended scope can therefore be given by a growth in national income, although that is a tough prospect under given circumstances.

Education used up 4.4 per cent of the national income in 1980, R & D 3.2 per cent, and adult education 1.2 per cent. When investments, representing about 20 per cent, are added, then it becomes apparent that the bulk of funds available to workers in intellectual fields annually represents about 29 per cent of national income. It is true that a decisive portion consists of fixed assets, which cannot be freely disposed of, but an increase in efficiency is aimed precisely at freeing a somewhat larger portion of those vast funds than today, making them available for current purposes. Unfortunately, this is so difficult that it cannot be easily done even if central directives are sound, the right solution requires hard work in almost every field. Yet this is still one of the most important of the means at our disposal at present; growing efficiency of intellectual labour can free a certain proportion of already tied resources, and this is the essence of the intensive method.

III.

How should the efficiency of intellectual work be measured? Since efficiency always means the relation of inputs and results, the results as well as the inputs have to be expressed by comparable values. In my opinion the possibility of realistically measuring individual as well as group performance must be explored in every field, but I should like to emphasize that the intellectual achievement ultimately must always be related to the whole of the results of an enterprise, or smaller economic unit, unless basic research in involved. Naturally, moral and financial incentives for individuals must be allotted considerable roles as motors of intellectual performance, and there is room for improvement in this respect.

The moral motive—soul-shaking excitement of new, and better, discoveries, fight against early incomprehension, often indifference, overcoming the hurdles of realization, almost incessant race against time—play decisive roles apart from financial rewards in measuring the success of intellectual creative work be it innovation, invention, technological development, or some other organizational solution. Fortunately, the ways of reaching the goal, of realizing intellectual concepts are not always rough, smooth paths exist as well, with few obstacles. But the truth is that individuals as well as the community must fight for the new, and the better, both now and in the future. Existing methods, current circumstances and institutions are not just embodiments of shortcomings, but mostly also vehicles of realized values, and in this sense the innovation really destroys some existing value in the interest of some larger future value. Existing things become obsolescent as time goes on, sometimes visibly, but not infrequently almost unnoticed, perceptible only to those with keen eyesight. The conflicts arising from such changes cannot be avoided, anybody who has new ideas must fight all along the road.

Increased efficiency of intellectual work can generally be the result of efforts starting out from two directions: it may feed either on the struggle of creative intellectual workers for something new, or on the activities of economic-political institutions supporting innovations. The dual approach must unconditionally meet on the following three critical points:

—A considerable proportion of intellectual efforts must directly promote the solution of the prime economic policy aims of the day.

—Intellectual efforts must fit into the existing limits of the state and enterprise spheres, they must keep within realistic financial limits, and ensure the realization of social gains.

—They must have the support of a considerable proportion of workers directly affected either as producers, or as users or consumers.

Under such social condition, it is the common interest of society that initiatives towards rationalization, innovations of technical, management, administrative processes be increased in wide fields of the intellectual activities. Under such conditions public opinion will not only follow with interest, but also actively assist the positive solution of stresses triggered off by innovations.

IV.

The importance of external economic relations from the aspect of the development of the Hungarian economy is widely acknowledged in Hungary. The notion of autarky in either production, technology, or science has no basis in Hungary. And that is how it should be. But is the widening and deepening of outside economic relations of the country adequately founded in intellectual activities? A summary judgement just will not do since the outside relations are based on stronger and broader intellectual bases concerning some industries and enterprises, and on weaker and narrower ones elsewhere. It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that intellectual efforts in this direction have been potentiated lately, becoming more practical. But it should also be said that local intellectual work is not sufficient bearing in mind the extent of the external economic relations and the difficulties and stresses involved, inputs not being sufficiently efficient. It follows that the possibility of better utilization of the external economic, international technological and scientific, and production cooperation relations must be explored in just about every field of intellectual activities.

The production pattern as well as the exports structure of Hungary are changing in a favourable direction, but still very slowly, while fast, sometimes explosion-like changes occur on world markets. Of the almost 20 per cent deterioration in the terms of trade suffered on the capitalist world markets since 1974 the Hungarian national economy has succeeded in regaining only 4 per cent so far by improving profitability and the production structure. Owing to the delayed application of world market prices, Hungarian terms of trade are still deteriorating on socialist markets, and the country must make up for the major portion of this deterioration by exporting more goods. The export efficiency of Hungary must therefore be further improved to a greater degree than heretofore.

An interesting difference is present in the way the product structure of

the enterprises is judged officially by management, and the unofficial, personal opinions of executives. According to the official view, some 50 per cent of the industrial commodities are internationally competitive, a further 25 per cent can be made competitive given certain developments, and there is no hope for the remaining 25 per cent. A survey of personal opinions reveals a less favourable picture than this, and the leeway being considered more serious, and the things to be done more urgent. Where does the truth lie? Is it possible that personal opinions are less responsible, and less well considered? There could be some truth in that. But it is also possible that optimism is felt to be obligatory when official views are given. It is to be feared that there is even more truth in that. Be that as it may, it is certain that the evaluation of international competitivity requires further intensive work of great technical and economic complexity.

The particular importance and special role of trade with socialist countries on the one hand, and the development of long-term cooperation with the non-socialist world on the other must be kept in mind in laying the intellectual foundations of the international division of labour. The two types of trade must not be taken as alternatives under any circumstances, since they are not that in any way. Hungary will, now and in the future, follow the principle that whatever the country can cope with in terms of socialist cooperation, at a satisfactory international level, will be done that way. We therefore give preference to socialist trade in respect of many commodities, where there are really two alternatives. But the hard truth is that the capitalist or the developing markets do not, and are not expected to have socialist alternatives in a wide field of commodities and technologies, consequently the Hungarian national economy must hold its own simultaneously on two external markets. Intellectual capacity must be developed on this basis.

The characteristic feature of socialist trade is nowadays that the imports determine turnover, that is the bottleneck, on which the broadening of exports depend. Particular attention will therefore have to be given to the exploration of the import opportunities, in which Hungary will be assisted by the slowly, but surely, broadening scope of inter-enterprise relations within the CMEA. Dependence is reversed in capitalist trade, where the bottleneck is caused by the exports, which are more difficult to increase, and since the currency earned limits the increase of the imports, the prize of special attention must be given to exports.

V.

It is essential to increase intellectual efforts in order to improve the efficiency of resources and more rationally manage the operative forces of production. This includes the efficiency of investments, the improvement of their implementation, the economic exploitation of capacity, market realization, the right rate of return of the fixed and current assets, in all the favourable proportion of the national income and invested funds. This is important, since the sources of national economic resources efficiency in the past quarter of a century—rapid economic growth, and the more modest efficiency of the infrastructure—exist no longer. Hungary had earlier recognized that labour was wasted and switched to improvements in productivity, even though there is still a lot to be done in that field. The fact of inefficient capital use was also generally recognized earlier, yet it drew focal attention only recently. The central brake on investments is a temporary necessity, which must be suffered, but the real, enduring solution of the problem lies in the improvement of instrumental efficiency. Such improvement requires considerable intellectual efforts in the central economic administration, but no less in the enterprise sphere.

The increase of the proportion of small and medium-size enterprises in several industries and services is justified in no small measure by the national improvement in resource efficiency. But this process is also justified by the fact that large enterprises are not able to meet economically a certain part of consumer demand, or the fast-growing demand for component parts, manufactured in short series. Unless large enterprises are forced to maintain several small, inefficient supporting units there is no alternative to a wider network of small and medium-size enterprises.

VI.

Adaptation to the world market and the solution of pressing efficiency problems necessitate the further development of the economic mechanism in every area, including the central and enterprise planning, central and enterprise price and financial control, and a structured central and enterprise economic organization. The basis of development could well be the position of the HSWP Congress, which underlined the importance of the parallel strengthening of the efficiency of central management, and of the increase of the independence of economic and administrative units of organization.

The desirable direction of development is no doubt a further promotion of initiative on the part of the socialist enterprises encouraging them to do more for their own technical, economic, and market competitivity relying on their own resources, and not—or at least not to the present extent—on assistance from state funds. This demands two changes: a further tightening of central efficiency and the gradual loosening of limitations that still handicap the spirit of enterprise. The improvement of efficiency requirements means a broader application of competitive prices, and the narrowing of cost plus prices, the cutback of tax refunds, and a further rationalization of credit terms, while the easing of the restrictions means further liberalization of the use of assets, labour management, market supply and sales by enterprises. In the essence such a course would ensure the progress of both main factors of the current Hungarian model of the planned economy, planning would increase its influence in macro-economic terms, and the role of the market would broaden in the micro-economic sphere.

It is true that the system of internal management, control and organization did not develop as required in the great majority of the enterprises. Decisions tend to creep upwards too much within enterprises, and they are often slow, lacking an adequate information basis, either the technical or the market information is sketchy, or calculations are superficial. The productivity of labour is particularly low in administration, management lacks adequate standards and is thus a goldmine for management experts, yet rationalization still does not make sufficient progress. Independent accounting within enterprises is mostly strongly restricted, and only suitable for measuring the performance to a limited degree. There is of course no enterprise where these shortcomings occur simultaneously, but the existence of even a part of them is quite enough to seriously handicap performance. One of the most important fields for making intellectual work efficient could be a critical analysis of the inner mechanism of the enterprises. There is sound criticism at a general level in this field, yet there are few concrete ideas making for rationalization.

The efficiency of intellectual work and its improvement depends to a great extent on the democracy of social life. There are many cases which are better dealt with personally, giving orders to carry out some task, and ensuring that the job is done. In such cases it is not only needless but also harmful to play at democracy. On the other hand, truly lasting solutions in a wider community framework, and in respect of important problems, can be achieved only by the use of democratic methods. Rationality and democracy assert themselves together in such instances.

The development of the socialist democracy in our days consists of two

series of actions progressing parallel with one another: the development of the institutions and of the system of decision taking, and the spread of the democratic attitudes. The two can develop only together, interacting at all levels. The role of intellectual work is significant in both.

The problem of democracy emerges broadly as well as in the narrower sense in the economy. The broad aspect is the participation of the working masses in decisions. Apart from being entitled to make decisions, the further improvement of information is also necessary, indeed the simultaneous expression of information in two conceptual systems: one to suit the more summary manner of thinking of everyday life, and another adjusted to the requirements of experts will have to flow more deeply and more precisely in the economy and outside it.

The problem arises in the narrower sense as the cooperation of those acting as managers and experts, their joint shouldering of responsibility in the preparation, the correct interpretation and realization of decisions. One might call this the specific democracy of the leadership level, whose development is not easy, but very necessary.

The efficiency of economic democracy in the narrower as well as in the broader sense depends heavily on the harmony of the thinking and actions of the technologists and economists. The interdependence of the two is obvious, yet the danger of seeing and interpreting things narrowly haunts one in real life, and in such instances common cause appears as two separate ones. A close relationship between technologists and economists is indispensable for development, as is the restraining of a narrowly technical and equally narrow economic view. An economic policy way of thinking is that great ordering force, which may integrate differences that exist by necessity.

SÁNDOR WEÖRES

POEMS

Translated by William Jay Smith

DECEMBER

While clouds of the north
run over my head
for myself I draw
tropical landscapes.

It's like me to evoke
imagined warmth:
I'm contented largely
with things reproduced.

BOLERO

We all go away, from under the swaying trees we all go away,
under the humid sky we all set out across the wasteland
to a place beneath the dry sky, all of us who have come together;
some of us still look back, the moon's ray moves in our footprints,
in the end we all go away, the sunlight too lags behind
and we are walking behind the stars on the hoops of the sky,
above the spires, some still look back and desire to see
a fallen apple in the garden, or perhaps a cradle
next to the door, under a red awning, but it is late, let us go,
as the bells toll we all amble
always in a different way behind the stars, on the round wall of the plain,
all who have in the end come together, we all go away.

THE SIXTY-FIFTH YEAR

How small and empty the world has become,
or else I have grown old and shrunken.
Perhaps it guards its secret, or perhaps my questioning
    has ceased, no longer occurs.

On a gray plain at a pale river
bank lonely logs emerge
and half-dead twigs, sprouting here and there,
    project into the foam.

This has become life. What it is good for who knows.
I dread more my coming winters
than the anonymity of the death
    that awaits me.

GHOSTS

Of the dead I often dream:
some I dream are still alive and gay,
and in my dream I also grow young
grow into a year when I was with him—
we were together and his death had not yet occurred.
But of another I am a bit astonished:
he died; how then does he get here?
and he answers, giving such an explanation
that every hair on my head stands on end.
I gently forgive another
for, by his return, confusing
my knowledge of life and death;
for yet another it is so natural
to walk about here it could not be otherwise.
My dead are all here with me
and wordlessly tell me with their unconstrained
serenity that they are not badly off,
I should not fear, should not mind if before long
I will also be at home with them.

SUPPLICATION

Invisible circular bands on which celestial fires revolve
underneath you like an ant I carry a single morsel,

and I collapse under the weight of my dowry.
I wish I had a ray of your power, circular-orbited stars.
Oh, the weight of the unknown burden! From eternity you have known it,
from eternity to eternity you are not ashamed to bear it.

Thus you turn the whole world around courageously, gracefully!
But I am but a single sliver of your ore: What am I capable of?

WORN OUT

The poem flows on to my paper
as if my nose were bleeding.

Do not torment me, memory,
like the pebble in my shoe.

Everything I have spoiled
now becomes my grim accuser.

Everything I have postponed
can now no more be done.

All those I have offended
look on relentlessly.

One thing life has preserved:
vanity that drives and enflames me.

TALISMAN

I go to go
I stay to stay
I go to stay
I stay to go

I run to run
I stop to stop
I run to stop
I stop to run

I rise to rise
I sit to sit
I rise to sit
I sit to rise

I'm born to be born
I die to die
I'm born to die
I die to be born.

FERENC KARINTHY

PAGES FROM A GUIDE-BOOK OVER THERE

(Sketches)

A TOURIST GUIDE IN LONDON

Stepping out of the glass-covered hall of Victoria Station I stop in the square and stare wide-eyed at London: pandemonium reigns, past me surges a continuous flow of people, cars and buses, the source of constant, confused turmoil, a wild primeval chaos. There's no familiar path, not a single corner where I can catch my breath and at least attempt to find my bearings; almost choking, I feel that in one more minute I'll be engulfed by this strange, swirling sea and leave no trace, nameless and forever.

Suddenly an enormous red motorcar glides to a stop beside me, braking without a whisper at the kerb; one of the many heads is poked out of the window, and turned unmistakably towards me. It takes a while to make out from the half-slurred question fired at me twice in rapid succession that they are looking for something and expect me—me!—to tell them the way. When the question is repeated for the third time I can hardly believe my ears: their objective is Victoria Station. Greatly cheered, I take out the pocket map I bought in Dover—reverting to such an expedient is of course solely necessitated by my wish to oblige the inquirer—and, to play the scene through, I tell them that the shortest way to reach their destination is to go straight along Buckingham Palace Road, turn right at Palace Street, continue down Palace Street until they reach Victoria Street where they must turn right again. From there Victoria Station is only a step away; they'll be sure to recognize it by its glass-covered hall.

They thank me gratefully for my precise information and glide away in the direction given while I sit down on my suitcases and somewhat heartened, light up a Kossuth; I've found a foothold in London, I've made friends. And in truth as soon as I put out my cigarette the red automobile appears again, this time from the right. The man at the wheel points out their goal with great delight and looks for a place to park the car.

STRIKE

New Year on the Canary Islands: a long-awaited, delightful holiday, a whole week of paddling in the warm sea, of sunbathing, of long walks in the old city and excursions to the peaks and the volcanoes—a whole week of untroubled, restful pleasure. Or almost. Before the Spanish plane takes off from Ferihegy airport the P/A announces that the air-hostesses are on strike; no food or drinks will be served on board, all other services are suspended, and passengers are kindly requested to show due consideration. Accordingly, from Budapest to Munich, from Munich to Barcelona, from Barcelona to Madrid, there is only one solitary, sullen stewardess out of uniform on duty at the end of the aisle. She stands motionless, staring stern-faced somewhere above our heads; to all questions she replies with a curt "no" if even that. There are old people among us and a woman expecting a baby, but not a glass of water is to be had; to our repeated entreaties the only response is an aloof gesture towards the empty pantry where a plastic flask of stale tap-water stands on the metal-topped buffet table, it's there for us to help ourselves, she won't touch it.

In Madrid it's the ground personnel, the traffic-controllers who have started what they call a go-slow strike. At the hotel we are awakened at dawn but we spend the morning loafing about the airport; the hours pass with nerve-racking torpidity, the traffic indicator sets our estimated time of departure to a later and then to a still later hour. We jump up and crowd towards the gates, fooling ourselves every time the loudspeaker sputters or a minibus appears on the asphalt but we are quickly abashed and retake our seats; that's not our plane, nor that one either. In the afternoon, at long last, we are allowed to board but another forty minutes are lost dawdling on the runway; a whole day stolen from our stay on the Insulae Fortunae, the happy islands of the ancients... Coming back it's the same old lark: the hostesses have resumed work but the go-slow is still on; "huelga, huelga" is the Spanish word. Bright and early at the airport with hearts aching in the tropical sunshine and the same thing all over again, loitering about, waiting and fretting in stuffy lobbies for hours and hours and so it goes on and on.

I'd lay down life and fortune for those down-at-heel stewardesses and those poverty-stricken pilots and co-pilots in distress but why must we, Hungarian tourists, suffer for the crimes of their exploiters? Some of us may have spent years just looking forward to these few days and will probably never have another chance of getting as far as the Canary Islands again. So, when the plane finally does take off and the pretty senoritas in

their pretty uniforms begin to serve snacks and soft drinks on pretty trays I decide to order an extra cognac not included as part of the modest menu; a Spanish brand as a token of my esteem for the Hispanic people. It tastes good, especially after all the fuss and bother, so I repeat the order and invite the young man sitting behind me, a sailor on leave whom I've chummed up with, to have one on me. Time flies by quickly when one is thus occupied; our plane is ready to land, the girls walk down the aisle collecting the fees for our extra consumption.

When one of them reaches my seat I spread my hands apologetically.

"I can't pay, I'm sorry. I'm on strike."

She gapes at me, astonished.

"What? What do you mean?"

"On strike. Huelga. I'm a fiscal employee and we've stopped working. I'm not allowed to accept or hand out money while the strike is on."

"But what kind of strike are you talking about?"

"The same as yours. For higher wages, for better working conditions."

"Have you any written proof of this?" she asks suspiciously.

"But of course," and I hold up the mimeographed copy of the tour schedule from the Budapest Tourist Agency, in Hungarian.

She examines it minutely, brows knitted. By now the rest of them have joined us, the whole crew has collected around my seat.

"If you can't pay then why did you order a drink?"

"Because I like cognac."

"But if you haven't any money... !"

"I do have money," I say and pull out a whole sheaf of banknotes from my pocket. "And the moment the strike is over I will send you the price of my drinks. In pesetas, dollars, or forints, whichever you wish."

"And how long do you think the strike will last?"

"It's hard to say. As soon as we achieve complete victory." The captain arrives, leaving his cabin for our little group.

"Why must you do this to us? We were against our strike."

"And I was against ours," I protest, "I objected to it most strongly. But I was voted down; the majority always wins, you know..."

They confer in an undertone among themselves; I understand enough Spanish to be able to guess that they either have to make an official report or foot my bill from their own pockets. As the former would be much too complicated and lengthy a process for the price of three cognacs they decide on the latter. Naturally I can't sit back and see them do it so I let them in on the joke.

"All right, it was only a joke. Here's the money, how much do I owe you?"

Great sighs of relief.

"You were kidding?"

"Of course. A practical joke."

"You're not on strike?"

"I wouldn't dream of it. Besides, where I come from there's no such thing as strikes."

"Why? Aren't you allowed to strike?"

"We don't want to," I explain. "We're in power, why should we strike against ourselves?"

"What is your line of business, if you don't mind my asking?"

"I think I've already mentioned it. Finance. Banking."

"So you're a bank manager."

"Oh no! A simple messenger, that's me."

"Kidding again? You are joking, aren't you?"

"Not at all. I'm serious this time."

"You mean in your country it's the messengers and the office clerks who are in power?"

"Those and others too. The whole people."

"And what about the trade unions?"

"They are for the government. They act on behalf of our interests."

"And you never go on strike?"

"We'd be crazy to. We'd be paying for it out of our own pockets!"

"You are lucky."

"Aren't we just."

THE AERIAL

Things have certainly begun to look up for D. lately: this summer he negotiated the sale of two castles by the Loire and a housing project near Charenton came through as well. But, as always, he still spends every afternoon having coffee on the Rond-Point with H., who he first came to Paris with in the good old days of yore. H. has tried every known method of making money from selling vacuum cleaners to joining a group of acrobats, from dealing in stamps to opening a matrimonial bureau but nothing ever works out for him; he is so long and thin and forlorn that you only have to look at him to get heartburn instantly. One of his ways of earning a modest income is to hang around the card-games at the coffee-houses frequented by Hungarians; one of the more affluent players usually hires him to sit beside an opponent and turn his luck away from him.

D., who is short and fat and constantly on the boil, finds this lanky lump of incarnate failure necessary for his self-respect; listening to H. lamenting over the day's discomfitures peps him up no end and confirms his own successes. After such a cure he pays for his compatriot's coffee and brioche, gives him five or ten francs as the mood takes him, then each starts off home; H. by the underground to the lodgings he takes by the month in Ivry, D. in his Hillman to Passy where he rents a small villa with a garden, listening all the way to the evening news on the radio.

One afternoon, however, as they were about to take their customary leave of each other, D. was most annoyed to find the aerial of the Hillman parked by the kerb broken off—demolishing cars is a favourite pastime of Parisian children too. The car was insured but D. detests repairs of any kind, considering the fuss one has to go through with the insurance and the loafing about at the workshop a waste of time; even more horrifying was the thought of having to do without his car even for an hour, having to hunt for a taxi or, horror of horrors, jostle on a crowded bus—without his car he felt like a hussar who has had his steed shot from under him. Most annoying of all was that he would not be able to listen to the news when, who knows, anything may have happened in the past two hours in the world... He tried the radio without the aerial but the interference was so great that it made the set crackle unbearably and it was impossible to understand a word of what the announcer was saying. Then H., who had at one time or other attempted something in the radio line, took the stub that was left of the metal rod on the right-hand side of the car between two fingers, replacing the aerial with his own body as it were; the crackling quietened, the voice of the announcer became louder.

"You see," he said with a touch of pride that he too could prove useful for once, "all you have to do is to hold it and you can hear it quite plainly ... Well, goodbye, I'll see you tomorrow, won't I?"

"Where are you going?" snapped D., "come back! Johnson's statement will be on in a minute."

"Well, hold it yourself," suggested H., "you'll be able to hear it just as well if you hold it."

"And how am I supposed to drive? I can't even reach it from behind the wheel. Do you think I've as much time to spare as you have? I'm expecting a trunk call from Stockholm! Come on, get in and hold that thing, you can take the underground home from my place."

So H. got in the car, wound down the window on the right-hand side of the car, stuck his arm out and held the stub of the aerial tightly between his fingers as they crossed the Avenue Montaigne and passed along

the Seine. They listened to Johnson making his statement, then to the new developments on Cyprus, and the rest of the news. When they reached the villa in Passy H. got out and went home... In the morning D. had to go down into the country on urgent business; he cursed all the way because he could not listen to the radio while he was driving. When he got back to Paris in the afternoon he could hardly wait to meet H.; he made him get in the car immediately and as he still had many things to attend to in town H. waited for him in the car. On the way they listened to the evening news, the commentaries, and the rates of exchange. D. had to leave town again the next day so he kept H. at the villa for the night, giving him the little room in the basement. In the morning they left for the country together... Since then H. has become a resident of the villa; D.'s conscience is satisfied since he no longer bestowes the five or ten francs on H. for the asking, and the arrangement suits H. too—his benefactor provides his board as well as his lodgings. He goes where D. goes, in Paris and in the country, holding the stub of the aerial patiently, conscientiously and he seems to be satisfied with his lot. These days he looks even lankier than he used to; his drawn face, battered by his times of need, has smoothed out and has a metallic sheen. In fine weather he can tune in to all the overseas stations.

HOME IS...

Arriving home after a long period of absence over the oceans crossed on the planes of many different airlines in Madrid I finally take the Malév flight that will carry me home, my first bit of Hungary. It must be a dull season for travelling or something: I'm their only passenger until Zurich. I am welcomed accordingly with due reverence, moreover they seem to have recognized me, so I am seated in first class; the trim stewardess plies me continually with edibles and drinks and even brings me a real espresso, specially made for the crew. I snatch at the newspapers she proffers even more greedily: they started out this morning from Ferihegy with all the dailies, fresh from the press. How strange: as if the time spent abroad was suddenly erased from my life I am transported into the exciting present to pick up the thread where I left off weeks ago. I run through the obituaries first, then sports, keeping the thrilling home affairs for last: who visited which district and why. My Hungarian heart is all a-flutter, who knows, tomorrow perhaps the papers will say: F.K. in the eleventh district again!

Her little chores done with, the young lady lights a cigarette and sits down beside me.

"I'll tell you something if you tell me something."

"Well! And what do you want me to tell you?"

"Who did you write that new short story about, you know, the one in which that company of drunks..."

Patiently I begin to explain, as I have done on many similar occasions, that a writer does not simply copy life directly but summarizes, filters, mixes, and blends, taking an element here, a trait there to mold and shape his figures and so on and so forth. The gracious young stewardess is no longer very interested, her attention wanders; reality is so much more boring than a juicy piece of gossip...

"And what was it that you wanted to tell me?"

"It wasn't me who told you, mind."

"No, no, of course not."

"Well, it's only that... don't think it forward of me but you're going to get seen to when you get home."

"Get seen to?"

"It wasn't me who told you!"

A sudden warmth assails me, I am struck by an anticipatory whiff of the good heavy air of home. I order another whisky and sprawl back comfortably in my seat, pleasantly tingling in expectation. After all my ranging and roaming I feel that there is a place where I belong. Home is where one gets seen to.

PAROLACCIA

I finally found it in Rigutini-Bulle's big Italian–German dictionary. It comes from *parola,* with a pejorative, that is, a disparaging suffix (the Italians have those too). It means: *gemeines, häßliches, zotiges Wort, Schimpfwort, Beleidigung.* That is, foul, obscene language, insult, abuse, curse.

There is an elegant and expensive restaurant near Rome that is known by the name of Parolaccia. As the guests step in they are greeted by the waiter with a shower of abuse, beginning, say, with the company director:

"So you're here again, you old bastard, are you? Who asked you here anyway? Where'd you nick that old rattletrap you call a Jaguar, eh? Come to stick your snout in the trough, have you, want to stuff yourself, is that it? Well, sit your fat arse down in that corner and we'll find you something to swill."

The director beams. Next in line is the silver-haired countess, bedecked with jewels:

"And who's this old whore then, pensioned you off at the brothel, have

they? What kind of rotten luck brought you here? Hard times down at the whorehouse? Well, sit yourself down, you old bag of bones, if you can stay in one piece that long. Can you still chew? Or are you afraid of losing your false teeth?"

The countess beams. And they pay the extra charge blissfully.

There's the difference, you see. Here at home we can get the same service anywhere and there is no extra charge.

HOME AGAIN

I stop for a quarter of an hour at Magyaróvár to buy my first packet of Kossuths and drink my first cup of home-brewed coffee. Sitting in the small coffee-shop, savouring old familiar flavours, Hungarian words spoken at the next table catch my attention. My head jerks up with the reflex of delighted recognition and I ask:

"Are you Hungarian?"

"Yes," they answer, a little surprised.

"So am I!," I say, full of enthusiasm.

"So what?"

Translated by Eszter Molnár

KÅROLY BARI

POEMS

Translated by Laura Schiff

THE WANDERING GYPSIES

Dawns press their towers on our shoulders
grab the mane of the razor, fog-yawning wind.
The sharp smoke of poverty chokes us
as we carry our goddesses in creaking wagons—
ragged, stroked by violins, fire-thighed—
who give birth by ditches, spirits,
enchantresses of the road.
Washing in dew, drying with lily of the valley leaves,
they sing dreams on our eyes, night after night.
Snap their whispering skirts against the black
flutter of crow wings that scratch the dark.
Crow shadows creep through the trees to steal,
then trade kerchiefs for kisses.
No wild dogs guard our wagons, only curious owls
hoot from the wagons' shafts.
The ancient, unwritten, seven-sealed laws
have baked hard our hearts. We are Gypsies,
we roam the earth in canvas wagons
from ice-crying winters to sweat-soaled summers.
Gypsies so shrivelled they've forgotten their age,
scrape the coals of fires for treasures,
slip hairs from dead cats into their enemies' bread.
The dust of the road clings to our faces.
Endless prairies dream of stars, shiver behind our back.
Our carefree kids strike the red zither of joy all day.
Our carts have grown to the stone roads.
The cries of our worn-out horses flap in the air.
A glare beats, streams like flags over villages.

The peasants drain the heartbeat of gold wheat fields
to build walls around their houses
while we struggle in wagons between
the squeaking, rusted points of the compass.
Lightning-charred stumps crouch by the road.
At night, a swimming moon rests in the soot branches.

WINTER NIGHT

The dogs of winter howl
Insane ice teeth chew the spine of white fields
Branches die, drop in the snow
Cold hills pound a breast of snow with spiked sighs
The trembling green pines are growing crystal beards.

The snowdrops' grating night
A final white shimmer
Under the forest fences deer let tears flow
The moon sits and watches from the shaking antlers.

SPRING

Spring wouldn't stop showing up
on black scum nights.
The slut stars screamed in her face,
The Frost Prince still hung on
with his sick fingers.
She just breathed
and his stinging robe of snow
vanished from the world.
She sat down to rest
by the ditches.
Flowers bloomed beside her.
She smoothed her tangled forests,
her meadow lap,
with a sunbeam comb.
Rattling bone branches,
blood-drained leaves

ran from her, scared.
Terrified,
because around them
the green life was beginning
to squeeze the throat of the earth.

MY MOTHER

Carved from the heart of the earth
she will always be true to its furrows.
Loneliness' mute wolves knock every night at her door,
she lets them in and cradles them in her bed.
Pitchfork-clawed cats chase the cold in her yard,
scramble down the well for the moon, pull it up
and hang it in the kitchen for light.

My mother sits in her kitchen
a flower struggles in her fist,
the moonbeam hooked on the wall
nibbles on her braid—
her tight bun shines.

Under the window, wild roosters
crow in the dawn from fire-welded throats.
And my mother just sits.
Do you see her?
And her son who weeps alone,
doesn't eat—
his tears soaking his poems
soaking his poems, his poems.

Carved from the heart of the earth
she'll hide herself one day in its furrows.
I'll find her and tear from her face with my teeth
the petrified stone kisses.
I'll sharpen the plough she's left me
on her bones.

A WINTER'S TALE

Short story

by

SÁNDOR TAR

Hermán, the railwayman, called the stop for the third time but no one got off and there was no one waiting to get on. The train hummed black and dirty against the white, snow-covered countryside; from time to time faces appeared at its frosty windows, eyes peeped curiously through the breath-clouded panes. High above, among the snow-heavy clouds, crows circled slowly. Come on, what are you waiting for?, the driver shouted, aren't you going to let me go? The bus hasn't arrived yet, called back Hermán and looked around anxiously. The driver swore, his words lost in the strengthening rumble of the engine. The train jerked impatiently. Hermán shrugged his shoulders and lifted his signal. All right!, he called unnecessarily, and with a discouraged flip of the hand started off to get back inside. As the last carriages passed the station building, a battered old bus pulled in shakily; the doors swung open and a boy jumped out, hastily deposited two cans of milk by the wall and dashed off after the train. Hey, stop, shouted Hermán. András! András! You'll go under! He looked on horrified as the boy caught the bar by the door of the last car but one, swung himself onto the steps and waved back cheerfully. Damn, said Hermán to himself and shook his head in disapproval. He lifted the cans and took them inside; Szikszay, the carter would come for them and take them to the creamery. Turning to see the last of the train he shook his head once more.

András stuffed his cap into his pocket and leaned far out to let the wind tug and ruffle his blond curls, then drummed on the door. Two boys grinned at him from inside, waved to him, then struggling through the crowd on the platform, dragged the door open and pulled him up off the steps. Hello, hello, they said, you were nearly left behind! Good morning, said András loudly and looked around him, proud. What about the last time then when I jumped on at the bend? His cheeks were crimson, burning

from the cold and he was panting happily. On the platform, cold and stuffy from the smoke of many cigarettes, the passengers stood pressed together and silent. András looked around. Is Vera here?, he asked quietly. She's drifted inside, answered one of the boys and took out a packet of cigarettes. András's face clouded over, the other boy was shuffling a pack of cards. Want to join in?, he asked András, who shook his head dejectedly. She could have stopped here—like you. Don't bother your head about it, the first boy said to console him and blew a great cloud of smoke up high, put his foot up on the door-handle; a thick aluminium cross swung on a chain from his belt down to his groin, let's play, he said, and his friend began to deal the cards on to his knees. They played without speaking, squinting into the smoke, stopping now and then to look at each other and burst out laughing. The loser would then shake his head and fish for small change in his jeans. The train rattled and rocked monotonously; in the dim light strange shadows flitted across the faces, someone would move to ease a limb gone numb and so the rest would stir and yawn, suddenly there was a commotion among the crowd, someone shouted "Let me through! I have to go to the toilet!"

András listened to the indignant quarrel which followed with weary disinterest, Oh my God, came a woman's voice, do you have to squash me to death! It's terrible, she said, squatting by the door, terrible. She was breaking off large pieces from the cake she was holding in her hands and stuffing them far back onto her molars, opening wide a gap-toothed mouth. It's terrible, she said again with her mouth full, beside her chickens cackled in a basket. In front of the communicating door a very bent and thin old man in a heavy black coat stood slumped againts two old women, his waxen face indifferent, almost lifeless, it seemed he wasn't even breathing, do you call that living, asked the gap-toothed woman, turning to him, now tell me, can you call that living? Crumbs rained on her thick fur coat. The old man did not answer, just stood staring in front of him with half-closed eyes, we're taking him to the doctor, said one of the old women, though... She left the sentence unfinished and made a discouraged gesture with her free left hand. The gap-toothed woman stopped her chewing to look through screwed-up eyes at the old man.

He's ready, she said finally, that's a man who is ready. You can always tell when they're ready. No use taking them anywhere. You know the worst thing is that he lets himself go completely, continued the old woman from behind her thick scarf, and you can guess how hard it is for us to carry this here heavy body. The gap-toothed woman nodded and stuffed another piece of cake into her mouth, oh God, she said, oh my God. The other

old woman stood silent and smiling, her face red and puffy, tears trickled slowly from her inflamed eyes, look at him, continued the first woman, just take a good look at his legs, see how he's got them stretched out, he isn't even standing on them, we're holding him up, well, so tell me... You should have gone inside, someone interrupted, he would surely have got a seat inside, a sick old man like him.

Yes, came other voices, why don't you go inside?

Oh, dearie me, we wouldn't be able to get off in time! Why, only the other day the train took us on to God knows where because of the crowd, goodness, said the gap-toothed woman, dear goodness gracious me!

He won't even walk, continued the old woman, you have to carry him like a child.

Suddenly the chickens began to cackle and flap their wings frantically, the woman packed them back into the basket, keep quiet she said, come on, give us some peace now, and once more the platform was quiet except for the clatter of the wheels, András looked out of the window, gaunt frost-covered trees and bushes flitted by; those in the distance seemed to be following the train, drowsily he felt the sausage in his pocket become flat with the pressure of the bodies around him but there was not enough room to draw away. There's nothing really the matter with him, he heard later, except that he's lost the will to live, now my sister there is really ill. Seriously ill. This one, she said, pointing to the other old woman, why only last night she threw everything up, everything. The woman in the fur coat got up, groaning, Jesus, my back! She swept the crumbs off her coat and adjusted her scarf, I never take chickens home from the market, she confided, to someone, never. In the end I sell them for what I'm offered. God knows the diseases they'd pick up from the other stalls, I'll not take them home to the rest. I bought two hundred off the hatcher this spring an' what I sell's my spending money. She sucked her teeth loudly, then yawned. Dear God, she said, dear goodness gracious me.

The train reached the suburbs, the rattle of its wheels quietening to a rumbling murmur as it passed tenements and derelict warehouses, András yawned and tried to stretch his cramped limbs, we're there, he said, I was just about to drop off on my feet.

One of the boys wiped at the window and looked out, oh no, we haven't even reached the depot yet, they put the cards away to be ready.

Would someone please help us, said the old woman, we can't lift him off by ourselves!

There's plenty of time, someone said, the train's still moving! Voices were raised and there was a rush for the door as the train hooted and the

brakes gave an ear-splitting, strident shriek. The boys tore the door open, jumped off the still moving train and made for the subway, see you, András called after them, I'm stopping here a bit longer.

People rushed by him, he stood anxiously stamping his feet on the asphalt, the trains still spouted out their load, a milling, swarming mass that surged towards the subways, scurrying, loitering, carrying boxes and bags, shouting to friends, in the middle of this mass, a short, dark man without an overcoat on sauntered, hands in his pockets, a lighted cigarette between his lips, a frozen spittle glistening on the bare wood of the violin he carried under his arm. From time to time an icy wind gusted through the crowd. After some time András saw Vera with Rudi Kesszel. He called out her name, Vera, Vera, jumping up, the girl saw him, waved, and called back, see you there!, and drifted off laughing, among a group of women carrying bundles on their backs, Rudi Kesszel followed her holding his brief-case high above his head. For a few minutes longer András stayed where he was, confused and angry, then the thought of being late shocked him into motion and he dashed down the stairs, pushed his way through the jostling, noisy crowd, ran out through the station building to the bus which he just managed to catch, he was one of the last to get on, gerrout of me kidneys, someone grunted from inside as he shoved hard to let the doors close behind him. Just then the Waggon Works' siren sounded, quarter past, he thought, relieved. He had to be in at the workshop by half past five.

At half past five the workshop was cool and silent, he was the first to arrive, he switched on the lights and the drying kilns and turned on the steam for the vats. The tall, cross-eyed foreman came in a few minutes after half past five, deposited his things in his cubicle, put on a white smock spattered with paint and came out to shake hands with the boy, his hands were freezing, his lips purple from the cold, he inspected the preparations and nodded. Rubbing his hands together he took a quick look into the dyeing cabins, then together they opened the doors of the drying kilns.

All right, said the foreman, lets warm ourselves up a bit. They sat down on one of the racks in front of the kilns and a little later, as the warm air enveloped them, their heads drowsily nodded almost simultaneously. Portulácska, the gammy-legged charwoman found them sitting there every morning when she arrived with clinking buckets. The foreman would clear his throat, his face surly and dour and András, yawning, would go down to the washroom to begin the day's chores. We should come to work earlier, the foreman had once said to András, and have us

a real sleep for once. András had laughed but the foreman's face had stayed serious, almost dreamy. Take care with the crane, he had said later, it keeps jamming at the turns. András had watched him go in bewilderment.

The last to arrive was Esztike, called the Scooting Skeleton, an incredibly thin woman, Portulácska was waiting for her, all excitement, just think, she said by way of greeting, they took Géza away at first thing this morning. Esztike said good morning to the others and opened her drawer, Géza who? she asked finally, fixing her enormous eyes on the charwoman, my husband, of course, replied Portulácska, disappointed. Something to do with politics, she added later. He never could keep his mouth shut. That's just what I need, him put away for two years right when prices are going up and all... Esztike, the Scooting Skeleton, was no longer listening to her, she was taking her emery cloths and buffers from her drawer, opening the tap and waiting, her head turned, for her tank to fill. Her hand, like a bent and broken twig, rested on her hip. Should I tell the foreman?, asked the charwoman. What do you want to tell him for?, was the uncomprehending reply.

Portulácska looked at her, disappointed again, don't you understand, she asked, her voice weepy, no, replied Esztike, and she really did not.

The painters began to drift in one by one, greeting the women, opening their cabins, setting up the trestles and pieces scheduled for the day, the paint-mixers droned, the hum of the air-conditioner became louder and louder and in the cabins hissing beams cut across the pale rays of the wintry sun that strained through the mean little squares of the paint-splotched windows. András liked to watch the painters at work, spraying coloured streaks on the plates first horizontally, one under the other, then, turning the stools, vertically, the colours would glisten, fresh and clean and the painters would whistle or sing as they worked, they each had their favourites. Mister Bánát, for example, preferred "Proud castle of Krasznahorka;" Galambos, not long out of the army, sang marches, "Hey Schoolmiss" or "The Battery is off," and even Mister Venyige sang, though he was the duffer of the team. The foreman himself never sang but he sometimes stopped in front of Mister Bánát's cabin and listened to him sing, his face solemn and his arms crossed. The portly lady in charge of wages came in at half past seven, her smooth, sleek face sporting a never-fading smile, she would go to greet everyone in turn, a good morning, good morning, she would say, radiating the immaculate freshness of the purely and serenely fat, she always shook hands with András, hello beautiful, she would say, and lightly caress his cheeks, in the radiance of that rapturous gaze András felt truly beautiful, and stalwart to the hilt, for this he

loved the woman in charge of wages, but he loved her also for whistling "Hey Jude" all day like a man, and for smiling, just smiling as she whistled.

András liked his own work too. Everyone had to pass the door of the washroom and that door stood open all day, placing the fittings and plates into one delubricating vat after the other—alkaline bath first, then rinse, ferrodite bath, rinse again, phosphate bath, hot rinse, and finally the drying kiln, he could listen to the whistling of the woman from wages. He had a little overhead crane for lifting the containers from one vat to the other; the job was clean and easy, just running up and down the platform standing in front of the vats and he was left in charge of it all. Lye bubbled in a steaming vat by the entrance, he used this for boiling the paint off fittings the painters had botched and which could then be repainted, the floor and the walls were covered with yellowish tiles, running water washing down the splashes the chemicals made into the drains. He used a trolley for taking the clean fittings to the cabins and those to be cleaned back to the washroom, and so the day would pass, the only thing that vexed him was that he could not whistle "Hey Jude" himself, it was the foreman who had told him he had no ear for music, he had said, András, do you mind if I tell you not to whistle, you have no ear for music. And if you don't stop whistling we'll all go mad. All right. András liked the foreman and minded his words. Another time, the tall, stooped man had said to him, son, you could be a real good painter if you tried. If you want I'll make a painter out of you. András had thanked him but did not say anything else. They were in Mister Venyige's cabin at the time. All the painters' cabins had graffiti scribbled on their walls, most of them said MINE FOREVER, usually in red above the spray guns, but Rudi Kesszel had TRINK TRINK written on his wall and I WANT YOU in English, András copied that one down but first he asked what it meant. He would have liked to have graffiti on his walls too but the water would have washed the tiles clean.

Vera came up after eight o'clock with the first load in the goods lift, she had spent the time on the ground floor buying breakfast for the fitters, András arranged to be there to meet her at the end of the corridor while the fittings were in the rinse, hello, he said, as if passing by accident, he was terribly in love with Vera, so you've come, he said, pulling off his mask, the girl's black mane shone in the lift, Vera, Vera, András said and put his hands on her shoulders but she just laughed at him, she was stunningly beautiful, going around the painters and polishers for their breakfast orders she'd always be laughing, after breakfast she would sit shivering by the drying kilns, I'm cold, she told András, my hands are

always cold. Before breakfast she did the shopping for the shift, after breakfast, she was one of the polishers, András would gladly have rubbed the plates with emery cloths for her all day, dipping his hands into the cold water, but he had his own work to do, so he used the short breaks to hold her hands in his and blow on them to make them warm, that's so good, said Vera, oh, so good. I'd do it forever, said the boy, blushing, and caressed her water-withered fingers with his lips, and Vera laughed, behind them the drying kilns purred away and the air-conditioners hummed softly. András would have liked to touch her face but Vera was so beautiful that he was afraid of her, afraid to touch her, though they were standing behind the big trestles where even the painters could be found in company every now and then at lunch-break or when they ran out of material, András would sometimes hear laughter or whispers as he passed the trestles and it would always make him hurry back to the washroom, ashamed of himself, there he would take the hose and, lifting his head, would squirt a thick stream of water on his mask for a long time, the water drummed loudly on the plastic and trickled down his rubber apron to the tiles below his feet. What shall I do, Mister Pap?, he asked the lift attendant, a dried-up old man who spent the day smoking bleary-eyed in the dark den of the goods lift. He was the only one who knew that András was in love with Vera, dear me, the old man would say in his worn-out voice, shaking his head, dear oh dear and such a strong young man too. But even he couldn't say more. He'd ask for a cigarette and pay for it, I don't want nothing for free, he'd say, you know I mustn't buy a whole pack, I'm a chain-smoker and I'd have it gone in two shakes, I never know when to stop. My poor wife used to tell me, Alfred, she'd say, you never know when to stop. Never had a bite of food or a drink of water over what was enough did my wife, then she up and took forty sleeping tablets and died. I'll never know now why she called me Alfred when my name is Gábor. Leaning back on his tiny chair, he thought it over for a while, forgive me, he said at last, after a long period of silence, forgive me if I've offended you in any way. András blushed, of course you haven't, he said, of course not. He helped the old man load the heavier stuff; he usually tried to help everyone, but he never knew what to do with the coins the old man gave him for the cigarettes, please don't, he said, holding them in his palms, ashamed of himself, of course it never bothered Rudi Kesszel, Mister Pap, he'd say, I'll not think twice about this money, and he'd throw the coins into the bubbling lye where they'd be boiled down to nothing with a hiss, another time he broke a fifty fillér coin piece in two and gave one half back, saying, Mister Pap, that's

all it cost me. Mister Pap was not really interested; once he had paid the money he'd always look away somewhere far in the distance and once he told András that they would be coming to fetch him soon in an aeroplane and take him far from here at last. He asked András not to let on to anyone else about it and asked him for a cigarette.

Rudi Kesszel knew a lot of tricks, he could throw a coin up into the air then conjure it back out of different places, just reaching out for it and there it was. András envied him terribly and wanted to learn the tricks because Vera liked them so much, even the foreman had stopped to watch one time though he had said it was all a swindle. Portulácska was spreading wet sawdust on the floor so she could sweep up without raising the dust and she came over to watch too, Géza's sure to know how to do that one, she said, because he's been in prison, he's there right now only I don't know how long for. He was in the Szabadság restaurant when they came for him, she explained to Esztike, they said he had already got up on the table, he always wants to stand on the table when he's drunk to make a speech but it's a bit difficult for him as he's had a leg cut off. Rudi threw the coin up in the air, everyone followed it with their eyes. here it is, said the freckled boy, laughing, and pulled it out of Portulácska's ear. Dear Jesus, said the Scooting Skeleton, wringing her bony hands, I can't believe it, it's scarey. The woman from wages wasn't really interested; she was stacking papers in her cubicle and whistling "Hey Jude" beautifully, smiling at András every so often. András smiled back and in the end started to laugh and decided that there should be someone to whistle "Hey Jude" everywhere, someone you could smile at, on the train even, everywhere. He told Vera about it at breakfast when everyone was there and they opened the door of one of the kilns, even the foreman would come to eat with them though he never said anything, just munched away at his thin slices of bread and butter, he always looked older at breakfast, they offered him some of the tea they shared between them but he never accepted more than a small cupful. Mister Pap never left the goods lift, just opened the door and sat facing them, nibbling bits of bread from a plastic bag, if they spoke to him he would nod his head slowly and serenely, his eyes closed but he never said anything in return. The painters were given milk as a protective drink, András too because he worked with acid, the polishers didn't get any but András always gave his milk to Vera, she never had anything else, just tore the plastic milk-bag open at one of the corners with her tiny teeth and drank the cool liquid down in slow small sips. András usually had sausage or salami or hash for breakfast; he would have given some to Vera but she never wanted

any, she was as slim and as supple as a young willow, her waist so slender you could reach round it with your two hands.

At half past twelve Mister Venyige dropped his spray gun into the paint and got his mouth full of resin. He wiped at the acrid, stinking mess sticking to this tongue and teeth and palate with a cloth and everyone went over to him and have a good laugh, Vera laughed so hard she had to lean on András and so he could put his arm around her waist, he was so happy that he wished Mister Venyige would drop his gun into the paint every day. In the end Mister Venyige rinsed out his mouth with some thinner and that put an end to it as far as he was concerned, but they were still laughing when they went out into the street and even as they got on the thirty-one bus which they took to go to the station, Rudi Kesszel played the scene again, retching, his hand in his mouth up to the wrist. They still had some time to spare before their train, Rudi Kesszel asked Vera to come and have a drink with him in the milk-bar but Vera said she hadn't any money, of course you have, Rudi said, throwing a coin up in the air, they watched it soar, even Rudi, here you are, he said, taking it out of her hair, you see you do have money after all, they laughed and strolled through the waiting-room a couple of times and even András did not put on his cap though his ears were freezing out in the street.

An enormous crowd droned in the waiting-room, long queues stood in front of the booking-office, the news stand, the snack-bar, everywhere, the loud-speaker boomed continually and as the trains arrived and left, hordes of people packed the doorways, a noisy, happily munching bunch of students had occupied the area around the vending machines, a determined-looking little boy stood by the telephone booth, guarding a great heap of packages. Vera began to play with the time-table indicator while Rudi Kesszel bought a ticket to Tiszacsege from the slot-machine though that was not where they were going, he gave the ticket to Vera who said that it was a stupid thing to have done and that they should take it to the booking-office and get the money back, but Rudi threw the ticket up into the air and everyone looked up to see where it went, the ticket had disappeared, it stayed up in the air, said Rudi, and they laughed, how do you do it, Vera asked, Rudi Kesszel looked at her and said, I'll tell you if, and there he stopped. If what, asked the girl, Rudi leaned over to whisper something in her ear that made them both blush, András lingered by them dejectedly, we'd better be going, he said, the train'll be in soon. They started walking towards the exit, Rudi did a few dance-steps in his high-heeled boots, then threw a coin up in the air and cried Hey Presto! pointing after it with his other hand, those nearest to them, then almost the whole

crowd in the waiting-room stood looking up, pointing, asking questions, Rudi pivoted around and took out the coin from between a railwayman's buttocks, the people standing by them laughed loudly, Vera laughed with her hands pressed tightly to her breasts, then the signal went and the loudspeaker began to announce departures and stops, lets hurry, called out András, we might still get a seat! They ran down into the subway.

There were no free seats but they managed to find a place to lean against on the platform, Rudi Kesszel was the only one who did not lean against anything, he told stories, play-acting all the while, did you see that, he said, I fooled the whole station, they were out of their minds! He twirled the end of his long scarf, I'm going to buy a radio on Monday, he said, a Pluto, its only just come in, it's a portable, a radio and telephone in one. How'd you mean, a radio and telephone in one, Vera asked, a family got on the train, husband and wife and two ten year old boys and a little girl of about four or so, she was sitting on her father's shoulders, a red pompom on her bonnet, they were loaded up with packages and looked uncertainly for places to sit, then they too settled down on the platform. A paper boy hurried through the carriages shouting out titles, fresh crowds of passengers arrived while others wandered from carriage to carriage. In the throng András tried to stay within touching distance of Vera but Rudi Kesszel was also pressed close to them and he had twice whispered in her ear and they had laughed. At last the train pulled out with a jolt and the little girl stitting on her father's shoulders let out a peal of laughter. There were some people running after the train, András watched them through the window to see whether they'd catch it or not but they didn't, then they passed one of the benches and sitting on it with his head lolling was the old man of that morning, the talkative woman beside him holding a handkerchief up to her face, a bit further on the other old woman sat strangely stiff and lop-sided, her face covered with a scarf. She's dead, said András, surprised, why, I saw her only this morning! Who's dead, Vera asked, but Rudi Kesszel whispered something in her ear and putting his hand on her shoulder stepped even closer to her. I came up on the train with the old woman who... András answered half-heartedly, but Rudi Kesszel interrupted in a loud voice, is it you who stinks of cows, he said and, wrinkling his nose, leaned to sniff at his hair. Someone laughed, András looked at Rudi, then, without thinking, slapped his face. It made a loud crack and a strange silence followed, Rudi Kesszel's face turned blood-red, the pale imprint of each finger standing out. For a moment it seemed as if he would strike back, but then his eyes brimmed with tears and he turned away. András blushed too, he was terribly ashamed of

himself for hitting someone smaller than himself. Vera turned away too, then the connecting door opened and an old man with a violin came in, said good afternoon, and tucking, his instrument under his chin began to play and sing "Mother, dear lady," slowly the uproar died down, inside the compartment a middle-aged woman stood up and sang the song through, stern-faced, beside her a drunk was sleeping with his head lolling down into his lap. András looked out of the window with a sinking heart and by the time the song was over Vera had disappeared.

His bad mood lasted through the evening, at home he hardly spoke, finishing his chores in silence he said he wasn't hungry and went to bed without any supper. His mother woke him up at half past three, get going, she said roughly, the light from the hall shining into the room. The boy dressed drowsily in the cold and dark, they kept cows and bulls and pigs, his mother set off across the court-yard with clinking pails and lighted lamps and the boy followed her. Inside the stable it was steamy and warm, the air stuffy and pungent. His mother hung the lamp on its nail and coughed, András began mucking out, brought in fresh straw, mother, he said suddenly, I have something to tell you. What's bitten you then?, his mother asked without turning round, she was washing a cow's dugs with warm water, I want to get married, András said. And I want to leave here. I don't want to stay on the farm. What, his mother said, slowly turning her head, you want to do what? I'm going to leave, said the boy. I want to get married I can't be doing this forever, can I? You are going to do what, his mother said again, getting up from beside the cow. I'm going to leave, said András, his voice choking a little, I'm going to leave! He did not stop shouting this when his mother cut him with the whip, I am going to leave here, he cried, shielding his face with his hands as the whip cracked and cracked again, they stood glaring at each other and she called him a dirty tramp who'd leave his widowed mother for some hussy or other, your blood's on the boil and there's a bone in your leg, isn't that so, you scoundrel, you blackguard, you good-for-nothing, you!, shrieked the woman, infuriated beyond measure, and not caring where the blow would fall, down came the whip with each word, I don't care, I'll still go, shouted the boy, then, when he could no longer stand the pain, he ran in to the bulls where his mother did not dare follow him. I'll see to you, just you wait, the woman screeched after him, I'll have your brains out but I'll not be mother to a villain! The bulls snorted, pawing the ground, nervous from all the shouting, they tugged at their halters, moaning, saliva dribbling from their mouths and one of them, in a burst of fury, pitched into the manger with its horns. András kicked him on the

nose, whoa, he said, whoa, and kicked him again. He was trembling with excitement.

He washed quickly and left the house without saying goodbye to his mother. He walked by the cans of milk set down at the gate but he hadn't gone ten steps when he turned back for them and, picking them up, ran towards the bus-stop. He only just managed to catch the bus and had a time of it finding room for himself, and the two cans, inside it was full of smoke and the radio was on. He did not speak to anyone but as they neared the station the usual excitement came over him, stuffing his cap into his pocket and gripping the handles of the cans he waited tensed-up for the bus to stop, he saw the train pulling out of the station, the bus stopped with a jerk, the doors opened and he started to run in the snow that came up to his ankles, stop, stop, he heard Hermán shout, throwing down the cans he broke into a run again and caught up with the train, grabbing hold of the bar by the door of the last car but one, he jumped up on the steps and waved back to Hermán. He panted a little, then leaned far out to let the wind tug at his hair and drummed on the door. Inside someone was standing with his back to the door, it was Rudi Kesszel. He knocked again, shaking the latch but it was locked from the inside, Rudi Kesszel was fidgeting about and as he lifted his arm András saw Vera, she was laughing, you could see they were talking to each other, then Rudi Kesszel took out a coin and threw it up in the air, Vera looked up and András saw from outside that the coin was still in Rudi Kesszel's palm, held tight at the base of the thumb and forefinger, of course when he turned down his palm you couldn't see anything, so it really was a swindle, thought András bitterly, he just pretends to throw the coin up! The train was going faster now and an icy wind tugged at his coat, a cloud of minute snow-flakes stirred up by the wheels whirled into his face as he stood sadly holding on to the bar by the door. He didn't knock again.

Translated by Eszter Molnár

INTERVIEWS

ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY IN HUNGARY

A Conversation with György Gonda, Secretary of State

In the last thirty-five years large-scale industrialization has changed the face of certain regions of Hungary. New industrial zones and towns have been established; increased mechanization and the use of chemical fertilizers on a large scale have brought fundamental changes in agriculture as well. As a result, environmental pollution has grown and has even attained critical levels in some places. At the end of 1975 9 per cent of the country and a population of about four million were affected by air above admissable levels of pollution. The increase in the number of motor vehicles (at present there are nearly a million cars in the country) has spoilt the air of the cities and has increased noise levels. Growth in production and consumption has led to the accumulation of wastes.

Steps were taken earlier to safeguard the environment. Such measures were the Land Protection Act of 1961, the Water Economy Act of 1964, the Building Act of 1961, the Decree on Nature Conservation of 1961, the Order in Council for the Protection of the Environment of 1973. By the mid-seventies it had become obvious that concerted action based on overall administrative, economic, and technical regulations was needed.

In 1974, the Council of Ministers appointed a Council on Environmental Conservation with the task of coordinating and supervising work related to the protection of the human environment. At the same time uniform, overall regulations were introduced; the National Assembly then passed the Environment Protection Act in 1976.

In 1977, the Council of Ministers set up the National Office for Environmental and Nature Conservation. The Office was created as an authority with national jurisdiction to coordinate and supervise pollution control and to direct the environmental programme. Additional ordinances issued by the Council of Ministers in 1979 regulated the functions to be exercised by the ministries and authorities with national jurisdiction in the field of environmental protection. While implementing the Council of Ministers' decision, it appointed environment and nature conservancy commissions to the executive committees of county councils and the district councils of the capital city as advisory and supervisory bodies.

In 1980, the Council of Ministers drew up a Paper on Environmental Conservation with supplementary requirements. This document is practically the programme for action on the Environment Protection Act. It lays down that environmental tasks must be integrated into the economy. Environment management is an essential requirement.

Q: *What is the environmental programme facing the Hungarian national economy?*

A: Care should be taken, first of all, to prevent nuisance and danger. The environment has only a limited toleration of

extraneous matter. An essential task is to use technology which involves little waste, to recycle the unavoidable wastes, and to neutralize properly unusable waste materials. The principle has become accepted that new factories are to be set up and operated with technology which protects the environment. And existing factories must introduce continually, at the latest when being reconstructed, technology which does not damage the environment. Where this is not feasible, suitable steps should be taken to isolate the problem.

Natural resources must be used with foresight and economically. Our agro-ecological potential has been assessed through the help of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and other agencies.

Q: *What are the most important problems in environmental conservation in Hungary today?*

A: Applying the law has brought some modest initial results. Our attention is focussed on these points. One of our most important objectives is to increase our agricultural production, thus environmental protection does not have the aim of limiting production. But there is a problem frequently caused by the storage of artificial fertilizers and chemicals, by the absence of care and discipline in work and supervision.

Along with the industrial development of the country, especially with the growth of the chemical industry, the quantity of dangerous wastes has grown. It is estimated that about 300,000 metric tons of waste accumulates in the country every year and endangers the environment (water, soil, and so on). Such a quantity had not been planned for earlier.

Q: *Both agriculture and mining involve considerable damage to the environment. How is the land protected?*

A: In 1980 there were 6,627,000 hectares under cultivation. Half of this land is unsuitable in some way. In the past 15 years 16,600 million forints were allocated for protecting arable land, mainly to improve the soil. The amount of land not cultivated is partly made up for by using fallow land and land no longer in use for mining, transportation, and so on.

There are nearly 1,000 mines in operation in Hungary. Considerable tracts of land are taken up by pits, by opencast coal and bauxite mines, and by quarries. Coal, hydrocarbon, and ore mining have a special recultivation fund set by when the mine is in production. Similar funds are set up also when quarrying raw materials for the construction industry. However, many exhausted mines owned by agricultural co-operatives have not been put back in use due to a lack of funds for recultivation.

Q: *Both underground and surface water is becoming more and more polluted. Our largest lake, the Balaton, is no longer its old self. What is being done to stop or reverse this process?*

A: Protection of surface and underground waters is controlled by the National Office of Water Economy. The greatest pollutants of waters are human settlements, industrial works, and agricultural concerns. In the past five years a total of 12,100 million forints were allotted to investment on sewage canals and treatment in human settlements. In 1975 the large majority of our surface water resources, including the entire Hungarian reach of the Danube, had a medium level of pollution.

Samples taken from 408 locations have found a considerable degree of organic pollution, and in the water of waterworks located on the main rivers heavy metals have been detected, but only the lead content came near to critical limits.

Because of the geological structure of Hungary, a considerable quantity of our water is taken from underground. There is a warning in the fact that, according to the surveys of 1977 and 1978, 736 human settlements had conditions dangerous to

public health because of the nitrate content in their water. In 190 of these, good water had been restored by 1980. However at the same time additional settlements had become endangered by continued nitrification. As a makeshift solution, pregnant women and babies have been provided with bottled drinking water.

Q: *What causes water pollution?*

A: The principle cause, I would say, is the different speeds at which public utilities are providing a water supply and sewage piping. There is also a shortage of sewage treatment works, and there is the effluent coming from areas without drainage. By the end of 1980 about 56 per cent of all dwellings had been connected to the water system but only 34 per cent to sewerage. A recent large-scale increase in the water supply has not been accompanied by adequate purification and disposal of sewage. Drinking water is always in urgent demand, but insufficient attention is given to waste water.

This is one of the greatest problems facing pollution control in Hungary. In 1979 only one-third of the water discharged by industry was properly treated. A considerable amount, 78 per cent, of the liquid manure and effluent of livestock farms was stored without being treated. The problem of filtering sewage has not been solved in the city of Győr on the upper reaches of the Hungarian Danube. Although 83 per cent of all sewage-water is carried off by public drains all over the country, in 1981 only 19 per cent of it was given any treatment and only 13 per cent was given biological treatment. The lower reaches of the Danube are contaminated by rivers and canals which join them to the industrial areas.

Q: *And what about the Lake Balaton situation?*

A: The waters of the Balaton are endangered by eutrophication which follows from the enrichment of vegetable nutrients (nitrogen, phosphorus) dissolved in the lake. This has led to a large accumulation of algae and weed in the water with the ensuing unfortunate effects. The greatest factor in the pollution of Lake Balaton is the river Zala which brings with it some 30 to 40 per cent of the phosphorus and nitrogen to be found in the lake.

Between 1975 and 1980, 480 million forints were spent on sewage disposal and treatment in the Balaton region, as a result of which 29,000 cubic metres of sewage per day are now being purified there. Even so, however, waste water is carried off from only 18 per cent of the dwellings supplied with drinking water in the settlements within the drainage area.

The sewage purification which has been developed is still not being exploited to its full capacity. This is because its high costs dissuade people from making use of it. In addition, drainage is not being installed at a rate sufficient to the needs.

Recently two programmes have been formulated to handle the water problems of the Balaton region, but their effect is not expected to make itself felt for some time. We hope our work on Lake Balaton will be as successful as that on Lake Velence where we have been able to reverse an advanced stage of eutrophication and to improve the water of the lake.

Q: *What can you say about the quality of air in Hungary and the factors involved?*

A: The degree of air pollution has been measured in 40 human settlements since 1976. As was to be expected, this public health survey has shown that respiratory disease is growing where industry uses coal and thus is adding sulphur dioxide to the air.

Our aim is to decrease solids pollution by 15 to 20 per cent. In spite of considerable efforts, dust pollution has increased in certain inhabited areas.

Since gas heating was introduced in Budapest, sulphur dioxide pollution has diminished. In the Nagytétény factory of Csepel Works the lead foundry went out of operation, and last year refuse burning in the open was banned at the Graboplast factory in Győr. Fluorine pollution has decreased at Kecskemét, Ajka, Szolnok, and in the surroundings of Peremarton. Newly built residential areas and housing estates are heated by a district heating system or by heating plants.

Carbon monoxide, soot, and dust pollution has increased with growing traffic in built-up areas.

Polluted air is found in the Borsod industrial area in Northern Hungary, Budapest and the regions of Dunaújváros, Salgótarján, the Zagyva valley, Gyöngyösvisonta, Vác, and Ajka. Approximately four million people live in these areas.

Recently, because of the energy crisis, we are again using a growing amount of solid fuels, and these fuels with their sulphur content are increasing air pollution.

Q: *Part of mankind's heritage are plants and wild animals. This heritage is threatened with extinction by civilization and by unreasonable management. How can the living world be protected?*

A: For protection the living world is divided into two large categories: cultivated plants and domesticated animals on the one hand, plants and animals growing and living in a wild state on the other. The protection of cultivated plants and animals bred to stock has been extended so as to cover all the species important to agriculture. The number of species considered as field crops and vegetables will exceed 30,000 by the end of the current plan period. The genetic stock of fruit-bearing crops began to be assessed and listed as late as 1979–1980, and the genetic stocks of valuable trees have been totalled at 401. Indigenous and acclimatized species of domestic animals have also been preserved.

A collection of stocks of micro-organisms important to agriculture has been built up. At present there are 2,542 stocks listed. Measures have been introduced to protect species of plants and animals growing wild. Protection is partly feasible through the preservation of habitats. At the same time, we have begun to work out methods of maintaining and restoring preserves and habitats, to survey and record the assets and the ecological state of the conservation areas. With their importance to science in view, 2,300 domestic species of wild-growing plants have been assessed as to the extent they are at risk. As a result, 342 plant species are scheduled to be preserved. The draft on parks, arboretums, and botanical gardens of nation-wide importance was drawn up in 1980.

Twenty per cent of all conservation areas have been so designated mainly because of their fauna. They serve to protect and preserve 319 bird species and 96 other species of vertebrates.

Following the Environment Protection Act several important measures were introduced for wildlife protection. The National Office of Environmental and Nature Conservation has worked with the county councils to designate the habitats of protected animals. Since 1977 it has been forbidden to use strychnine against vermin and the use in game-keeping of any other poison dangerous to protected animals was banned from 1981 onward. A promising programme has been adopted to save the Great European Bustard population, which is of international importance. The study of the populations and the ecological role of predatory birds has begun. As a result of conservation the decline in populations of increasingly protected species has been halted; the stork population, which had been on the decline for several decades, has now slowly started to increase; the number of Great White Herons, in danger of extinc-

tion since the turn of the century, has risen sixfold in 20 years to reach 200 breeding pairs now; the number of bustards has increased by about 13 per cent and is now nearly 3,400.

An area of 1,612,000 hectares is forested in Hungary. Afforestation has added 500,000 hectares to this in the past 35 years. Forests cover 17.2 per cent of Hungary's total area; large problems arise, especially in more densely populated areas, because of soiling and the garbage, rubbish, and debris.

Q: *What will happen to the areas unprotected by nature conservation policies?*

A: More than 90 per cent of Hungary's territory is not protected today and never will be. It is necessary, however, to preserve as much as possible the natural constituents of land not declared a conservation area, to safeguard the character of the scenery. Just as, for the sake of our health, we try to preserve water and air from pollution, similarly we have to preserve the beauty, tranquillity, and cleanness of our natural environment, which has evolved over thousands of years. Regulations to help preserve unprotected areas have already been worked out.

Through the Environment Protection Act scenic areas of outstanding significance are protected by nature conservation measures. Scenery is protected by establishing national parks and conservation areas. At the end of 1980 the preserves numbered 665 and covered 430,000 hectares. The total area of the three national parks is 121,000 hectares, 28 conservation areas cover 264,000 hectares, 102 nature reserves of outstanding significance cover 26,000 hectares. The reserves of local importance number 532 and have an area of 19,000 hectares.

We are trying to present the natural and cultural assets of the nature preserves at the same time. Scenic roads, study paths, exhibition spots and exhibition rooms, lookout towers, rests and parking-lots have been made available, in the Hortobágy and Nagykunság National Parks, in the Sághegy, Ócsa and Pusztaszer Nature Reserves. The Szemlőhegy Cave in Budapest and the Ipolytarnóc Reserve will be open to visitors before long.

The use of land and farming in general in the preserves are restricted; in view of the importance of agricultural production, only as far as restriction is reasonable and necessary. Nevertheless, nature conservation often conflicts with economic interests. One cause of tension is that the preserves are not controlled by the nature conservation agencies even in the best established areas (except for an area of 10,000 hectares that has most recently been drawn up).

Q: *The man-made environment has to take conservation into consideration too. We can hardly boast of beautiful or aesthetic residential estates, and there are plenty of shanties in Hungary's holiday areas. What changes are to be expected here?*

A: An essential environmental element of our human settlements is the more than 450,000 new dwellings built during the past five years. The plans were intended to create a healthy, noise-free, aesthetic environment for living with spacious public parks nearby. However, for reasons of economy, the basic environmental objectives have often been pushed into the background. All the same, fine results have been achieved in several towns in protecting and restoring local monuments of historical value (in Eger, Kőszeg, or Sopron to name but three towns).

The most serious environmental problem in the majority of our towns is caused, of course, by the manufacturing industries in and among and polluting the residential areas. Budapest has improved in this respect. Public parks in towns have been considerably developed during the past five years. The increase in park space per inhabitant in Budapest and in the five big cities shows the essential differences. A number of cities have

made use of good natural conditions and have tried to improve the environment by establishing parklands and leisure centres (for example Kaposvár, Nyíregyháza, and Szombathely). Large parks and woods have been laid out on the initiative of local communities. But plants growing in the cities, usually along main thoroughfares, are gradually affected by air and soil pollution. Wanton and meaningless damage and vandalism, which works against this important community initiative, is unfortunately not rare.

Much has been done, mainly in the cities, to maintain the tidiness of human settlements. We have no up-to-date decontamination equipment coupled with material recycling in operation in Hungary as yet. A very modern refuse burner started to operate in Budapest in 1981.

Public sanitation has developed but has not yet reached the level needed by our social and economic development. This is particularly true of the treatment of rubbish. There are many dumping places and unauthorized refuse dumps which contravene public health and pollution control regulations. The basic conditions are not perfect, organization is unsatisfactory, and social behaviour leaves much to be desired. So the work of keeping public places tidy does run into serious problems.

Q: *In countries richer than Hungary the use of rubbish and low waste technologies have been in existence for a long time. Hungary is a country poor is basic materials and energy thus it would be reasonable to exploit all apportunities to economize. Do we make use of them?*

A: We still have many opportunities here. About 70 per cent of production costs in industry here comes from materials. But only 2 to 3 per cent of all material consumption comes from secondary raw materials. The re-use of secondary raw material in Hungary is far below that of countries industrially more developed than we are. This is partly due to lack of interest. Considerable results are to be found, for the time being, in the utilization of iron and steel scrap. Recycling here is roughly 90 per cent. Some progress has been made in the collection of waste paper, although this amounts to only 26 per cent of all recyclable quantities. Much poorer results are found in the cases of, say, non-ferrous metals or synthetic materials. There has been progress in retreading automobile tyres.

The government has taken steps to improve the situation. The plans are that in 1985 the proportion of secondary raw materials in all material consumption will be 4 to 4.5 per cent, though this is still rather low by world standards. Using secondary raw materials, good though the results may be, is just the first step on the road of development. It is better when we modify or apply a new technology in order to make use of more of available raw or basic materials and energy. Domestic activity here is just now beginning to get under way.

Since it is very important for engineers to approach properly the tasks before them, we are organizing an international service course on this topic for university teachers.

Q: *How is environmental control integrated into economic life? How much has been assigned to this purpose in the past five years?*

A: The economic effects of pollution have not yet been worked out in detail. The same is true internationally. Our present system of regulators focusses on the responsibilities of those causing pollution both when investing in new projects and when developing already existing facilities.

The Environment Protection Act means that new investment in Hungary must include the necessary facilities for pollution control. These costs must be met out of the investment fund. Extra investment to control pollution can be financed by the development funds of the enterprises themselves. Certainly this often precedes investment

in pollution control. Some investment projects are subsidized out of a pollution control fund. This is a modest form of incentive.

Fines are a specific means of preventing and compensating for damage. Experience shows, however, that fines are not enough. At the moment the penalty system is being updated and this is expected to make the responsibility of the individual more enforceable.

Totalling the outlay on environmental control over the last five-year plan period is difficult because of incomplete information and statistics on the environment and because the pollution control element in new investment cannot be calculated separately. The available data for the years 1976 to 1980 show that 5,500 million forints were allotted to soil improvement, 24,500 million forints to water quality control, 500 million forints to nature conservation, 3,000 million forints to waste collection and use, 5,000 million forints to air purification.

Q: *How do Hungarian scientists approach environmental protection?*

A: Research on pollution control was included in the national research programme in 1972. Since 1978 the National Office for Environmental and Nature Conservation has been in charge of the special programme. The money available for research in this programme was 130 million forints. About 40 per cent of this sum went towards air purification, another 40 per cent to protecting the residential environment and to purifying and recycling waste materials. The remainder was used for research on other (mainly ecological and biological) subjects.

Several important research results have been achieved; protecting ecosystems and developing gene banks is a good example. Research on air purity includes the design of a computerized model to help locate industrial establishments optimally from the point of view of air quality. A method of using the ashes and cinders from Budapest refuse burning to supply the building trades has been worked out. And a procedure has been devised to recycle the electrolytic solution of galvanic baths, so that savings can be made in imported raw material.

The survey on Hungary's agro-ecological potential, under the guidance of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is an organic part of our research into environmental and nature conservation. The results here as well as helping production are important for conserving the assets of the natural environment as renewable resources.

Q: *What is the present state of environmental legislation and enforcement?*

A: In 1976, after the Environment Protection Act; the Council of Ministers adopted a decision on revising the legal regulations applicable to pollution and, if necessary, complementing and modifying them. The threshold values of pollution and damage harmful or dangerous to the human environment were also to be fixed. The prevention or termination of noise, vibration, and radiation harmful or dangerous to man or the human environment was to be regulated. The responsibilities, functions, and authority of the organs of the state in particular domains of environmental conservation were regulated as a whole in 1979. It was more or less then that environmental matters hitherto unregulated became regulated.

In 1981 the Council of Ministers considered a draft for controlling discharge of dangerous wastes and the decontamination of such waste material; the draft proposed measures to fix the functions of the authorities. Regulations on noise abatement will come later.

The revision of existing legal regulations has also begun. The penalties on sewage have been made more severe; fines on drainage are being brought up to date.

In spite of all this activity in the wake

of the Act, codifying pollution control has been slower than the problems ahead warrant.

From 1976 up to now a total of 27 persons have been convicted of acts against environment protection; since 1979, when the new Penal Code came into force, 23 persons have been found guilty (19 of them were fined, and 4 were imprisoned). Prosecutions for damaging the environment have been brought less often than one would expect.

The Civil Code of 1977 covered acts threatening the environment in the category of acts involving increased danger. However civil cases of this kind have been very rare, all in all some 40 such were conducted between 1976 and 1980. The penalties imposed were in general far too light, amounting to only a fraction of the damage caused to the national economy.

Q: *What is being done to educate and inform the public?*

A: Environmental protection is not part of the school curricula in Hungary. However, in primary and secondary education, the natural science subjects provide basic information on environmental control. These subjects are not continued with in all secondary schools. In most vocational secondary schools neither biology nor geography is taught, and these students learn far less than they ought to about ecology. Education on the ecology is much better in the *gimnáziums* which teach biology—including ecology as a special topic—as well as physical and economic geography.

Another positive feature is that training in pollution control engineering is provided at five universities in Hungary.

Important for us too is our participation in intergovernmental organizations like the Environmental Protection Council of the CMEA Committee on Scientific-Technical Cooperation, the SAEP of the UN, and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

A number of Hungarian scientific institutes and research centres have engaged in scientific-technical cooperation within the framework of CMEA.

Hungary participates in Unesco's "Man and Biosphere" research programme. As a result, five districts which were reserves earlier have since been declared biosphere reserves.

In 1979 Hungary acceded to the Ramsari convention on wild-waters of international importance.

Among the countries neighbouring Hungary or in our vicinity, we have so far concluded bilateral agreements on pollution control with the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. Agreements have been prepared for conclusion with Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

Of the capitalist countries, we have so far signed a bilateral agreement on this topic with Sweden. We are now preparing to sign a Hungarian-Austrian agreement on pollution control.

ANNA VÁRKONYI

"I WRITE TO FIND MY WAY HOME"

The last interview with János Pilinszky

Q: *"Everyday God." How do you experience faith and God in your everyday life?*

A: Actually this seems to be an easy question. Yet it is difficult. Feast days are undoubtedly of an extraordinary significance. One can see that to create a holiday is the most difficult thing. I was still a child when Mothers' Day was invented. I have been unable to take it seriously ever since. It's impossible. It is one of the most difficult things in the world to create a feast day. Nevertheless, one feels that an encounter with God, for example, is the real thing if it remains valid not for the duration of a feast day but for always. So one asks whether the real thing should perhaps be to arrive at some kind of an everlasting feast day? Because there is something tormenting in weekdays—now of course in feast days too. In both cases it is something else that is tormenting. In the holiday it is actually the lost feast day that hurts, the paradise lost. This is how we stand with Christmas today, and with other feast days as well. We have the anguish of some paradise-lost over them. And as for weekdays... what is tormenting in them is that something we call alienation. Somehow I have the feeling that we have lost our weekdays and feast days at the same time. That is why the question is such a very difficult one.

I have the feeling that in seeking God we cherish a dual hope: partly to recover feast days, but at the same time, and that is at least as important, to recover weekdays. To re-establish two lost concepts. What actually has become lost? It is terribly difficult to find the answer to that, and I think theoretical solutions can be of no use here, only experience. In *The Brothers Karamazov*, which I am just now reading again, it is very beautiful that the Starets never tells the believer anything else only 'this is true, my dear, because I have experienced it.' One then feels that it is true. One has to accept it from the lips of that man simply because the way in which he maintains his relations to people and things, and speaks about experiencing, makes one feel that the level of his experiencing is higher than one generally assumes it can be. With him experiencing does not merely mean that something happened to me, or I saw it, but he really lived through and experienced things.

But to return to your question, I think one of the most important factors in our struggle for God is that we suffer from a lack of reality. Because there are facts, and facts are not identical with reality. It happens with neurotics that they actually feel irritated by facts, by a table or a chair: why it is here if it does not express anything, if it is utterly empty and senseless? What we consider reality in the world is none other than a heap of facts. Their reality-value and the meaning of reality fluctuate. A table is now reassuringly real, as if it were laid for a holiday, now it is completely meaningless, or even unbearable. A holiday in the final analysis is none other than a fact that has become fully saturated with reality-content. Then we feel it to be festive. Then the encounter between the perceiver and the fact gives birth to a real external reality, a true external reality. But one has to work hard for that. As soon as our willingness and strength for that begins to decline within us, reality becomes empty and we are standing in the middle of a dreadful shop-window or a furniture storehouse. In a matter of seconds our room may thus turn from the festivity of a well-laid table into a furniture

This interview appeared in the December 1981 issue of the Catholic monthly *Vigilia* and had been recorded shortly before the poet's death in May of the same year.

storehouse, indeed a dreadful furniture storehouse, so dreadful that we would be better off without it. I have to return once again to God. I was given a religious upbringing and, as Simone Weil writes, for a religious man it is even more difficult to be religious because he is conscious of being religious. So conversion is even more difficult for him than for one who does not have this consciousness. For a time I fell away from my religious upbringing. That was my course.

I took along a pile of books with me to war. And I kept throwing them out of the railway carriage one after the other. Every book became anachronistic. But the gospels underwent a miraculous metamorphosis. I would dare to say that it was no longer a book but a faithful dog. That is, not a great adviser but some warm devotion. It was as human as only a dog can be—or a God.

Q: *Were was the carriage headed for?*

A: That carriage did not exactly know where it was going to, and so it kept going for a month and finally arrived at Haarbach. That was on the fringe of the German collapse. Luckily I fell ill, my feet became terribly swollen. Then they put me into a stable, at last among peaceful animals. But my company was ordered to the airport near the village, where there were more than 200 shell-holes, which they, together with Belgian prisoners, had to darn. It was there that I first saw prisoners from a concentration camp. Now you may ask how I got into the war? It happened towards the end. I was sheltering X. [At János Pilinszky's request I am withholding the name of the actor.—R. F.] By that time Budapest was almost completely blockaded, and the poor man became frightened. Someone asked me to hide him. I was too young to be suspected. Mine was the last safe flat for him, as his friends were all under suspicion. I admired him greatly for his performance in *Henry IV*. He was of great promise. I was called up, and he said to me, 'The army is now the safest place, Jancsi, go.' That was how I got into the war. But I got back too, and I had seen fantastic things.

To return to the 'everyday God,' that kind of experience of God is somewhere able to charge weekdays and feast days alike, and indeed in a way by putting the sign of equality between the two.

In my youth, and even later, I was at risk. Pathologically so. I've told you once about visions and hallucinations. I know that one should not play with these things. One should not play with insanity. A good example, and at the same time a gripping example, of this is how Attila József clung to logic. It's enough to take a look at his poems, isn't it? At some points one encounters logic wound up to its tightest. At the same time that logic has such a vibration which cannot be equalled by flirtation with any sort of insanity. There is a lot of this too in these poems. I was, and presumably still am, a person terribly at risk, so that what I am trying to do through literature or writing is to find my way home, even though I cannot deny the shadows that loom over my very self, for I do have to face them... ! This is at the bottom of everything: to find my way home. Here, I think, it is not everyday reality that helps but those aspects of reality which I have just spoken of: the extent to which facts become saturated with reality-content. In actual fact that 'everyday God' of which we are speaking, does really exist, and strangely enough it is perhaps none else than Reality itself.

The thing is that we may know of part of the world, and this knowledge of ours may expand, but it always remains limited. Yet every man communicates with the world in its totality. One should not underestimate the reality of that communication. It is of at least the same value as our knowledge about the world. We simply communicate with it, we permanently communicate with it, and in that sense faith has no exempted role within the intellect. Perhaps, indeed

in all likelihood, a child or an idiot communicates with the totality of the world much more deeply and directly, even though he cannot provide any special information on it. I have known persons who without practically any intellectual help maintained an utterly friendly contact, as it were, with the reality of the world. That produced a wonderful result in them. I have in mind one of my aunts, who died recently at the age of 91, and who as a child fell on her head and did not learn to read and write. Her behaviour pattern was the following: if she saw someone crying, she too started to cry. She never asked why the other one was crying. And if someone arrives at that stage, I think it makes no difference whether he does so with or without his intellect. The best thing about the intellect was said by Chesterton to the effect that a lunatic is a man who has lost everything except his brains. That's what comes into mind, in connection with the 'everyday God.'

Q: *Is poetry an occupation for you, or a vocation?*

A: I do not think of myself as a poet. I could not even live as a poet. I need to be able to live completely as a civilian. Sometimes I am thinking in terms of poems, I am very fond of them, at least of some of them, sometimes I write poems, but I simply could not write if I thought myself to be a poet. It would hinder me above all in writing. I could work in a kitchen, or play football, or do anything if I thought of myself as a poet, but there is one thing I could not do—write poems. That is why it is difficult to answer this question. Because in this question I am bound to start out from myself.

I do not know how others feel and how they have settled this question in themselves. Kosztolányi said: 'Poetry does not need to have poets.' If I want I can put it like this: Jesus is so much a poet *par excellence* that the thought does not even emerge in me. Because the term philosopher is usually used for some eccentric, it is applied to a caricature of a philosopher rather than to the real ones. Kant was Kant and not Herr Professor. That would sound almost pejorative, or rather that is already stylization. I think if one applies the word poet to someone, one does so by way of common consent. Otherwise this denotation cannot even be used. I have often thought that the really great writers were not good stylists, at least up to a certain era in history. I think they have become good stylists since the arrival of the terror of scientific thinking. I cannot say of Shakespeare, nor for example of Homer, that they were good stylists. Since the spread of scientific thinking, writers have controlled themselves in their style in the same way as research scientists try to control the various phases of their work with microscopic slides, testing of materials and test tubes. That gives writers a certain narcissistic attitude. It is since this development that we can speak of good stylists. In that sense Jesus is by no means a poet, and yet he is such a great poet that he has influenced in a certain sense every poet—through his paradoxes, his fantastic transpsychological insight into human character, his penetration to the very roots of existence. In that sense he is a poet, as his knowledge stems not from his experience—such an amount of experience cannot be gained in 30 years—and it is also not through his own experience that the real artist often knows an amazing amount about the world. One cannot say that a real artist is omniscient, but he knows an enormous amount.

Jesus says: 'Blessed are they that mourn.' That is a paradox. But one immediately feels that it is not a paradox formulated by a man of letters. There is no room for any play with form here. It is not marked by the vanity of formulation either, though when coining paradoxes one almost inevitably falls into this error. Jesus is above that, while man, and hence a poet too, is unable to eliminate that vanity.

Q: *Ady himself is perhaps a telling example of that.*

A: Yes. He is a good example of that. Attila József is a shivery being, he has not much energy left for vanity. For pride yes, but not for vanity. He had good reason to cry out 'what are you doing to me!' Somewhere that exclamation was very deeply justified. It is not the whimpering of a pampered man. I actually have been thinking a great deal about Ady, as it was he, together with the French symbolists, who opened my eyes to poetry. That is why I would not like to pass any judgement on him.

Q: *A genius of Ady's calibre cannot really be judged.*

Ady in a certain sense was one of the last people who still lived the life of the 'great poet, great man.' Today there is less and less chance of such a life. The position is better now. There is simply no space for it, and that is a very good thing. I think, and I have already said so somewhere, but now I can say it again, that very many people do write today, and write well. You see less and less of the kind of dilettantism which was in my youth still thriving. Somehow the thing today is that the sheer number of manuscripts virtually hamstrings the kind of development and movement of writers that existed in the past, in other words the development of a 'great poet, great man' in Victor Hugo's sense. That would be comical today. But in the same way that cars paralyse traffic, book publishing to a certain extent puts an end to reading and publishing. Because if I publish in a way that no one reads what I publish, then I have not published at all. I have the feeling that we shall inevitably return to the kind of anonymity of the medieval builders of cathedrals, who were splendid artists and did find a place for themselves—a place to live and work in as artists. Bach was not as conspicuous as were the nineteenth-century poets. He still resembled the cathedral-builders much more closely. I have the feeling that essentially everything will remain in manuscript form and only those will write who have been really and inevitably predestined to do so. And they will share their works with their friends, or manuscripts will perhaps spread like folksongs do. I wouldn't dare to make any prophecies on this, but I do not preclude the possibility of such a state of affairs. A revaluation in any case is sure to take place.

Q: *Is yours a religious poetry? I might also ask, to what an extent do you consider the religious charge fundamental in your poetry?*

A: I am very careful instinctively, because poetry is not a sermon. And because of that no kind of faith can be anticipated. That does not expressly exclude poetry religious in theme—I am thinking of medieval hymnody. It does not preclude it, but the poem, the hymn too, is a finished thing. It is finished, but the religious content comes from somewhere else. A poem is religious not from what it expresses thematically. It is religious in the same way as Gregorian plainsong is. I may say the text, and then the melody, which is religious anyway, carries religious thematics. Strangely enough, Gregorian chant, although it is religious by its very nature, is not particularly festive. It sounds the same on a weekday and on Sunday. At the time the two were still one, and Gregorian plainsong could still cope with both weekdays and holidays. Because it was for prince and pauper alike.

With a poem I concentrate my attention on the fact that the poem cannot be religious in any way that is different from my own religious charge at the given moment. Neither more nor less, and in a certain way it is better to use less rather than more—the very stage I am just in. I consider poetry a confession rather than a sermon. I am always afraid to impose a thematic message on a poem. I am always afraid because I fear

that this would be hypocrisy. I cannot really judge the amount of the religious charge in a poem, but for me it means to have reality as naked as possible. Although poetry consists of words, those words in it are no more than a melody which is very hard to define. A melody which perhaps only means that the world reveals itself somewhat more than before, and things begin to speak. I always wish to address at the same time those who are religious and those who are not. More exactly, those who believe themselves to be religious and those who claim themselves not to be religious. Because it is not certain whether those who think of themselves as believers are in fact so, or that those who think they are not believers, really are nonbelievers. It should be enough to refer to Jesus who says, 'Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name?... And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you.'

Jesus certainly was the meekest being having ever lived among us. That was the trouble with him. Because who were the Pharisees? They were moralists. And what does it mean to be a moralist? A moralist demands of us that we do no evil. Never. He requires very few things of man, but he requires them continuously. Jesus knew that this was impossible. Partly it leads nowhere, and partly it is impossible, as man is not a continuous but a dramatic being. At the same time Jesus also says that one sinner who repents is worth more than two just men. I see the basic significance of Jesus, of course, in this sense, precisely in those teachings of his which confront moralists.

Let us take the case of the labourers in the vineyard. Those who have worked for seven days receive the same wages as those who report for work on the last day. Jesus asks: 'Did not thou agree with me for a penny?' Those who have worked for seven days answered, yes. 'Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?' If I give a week's share to one who has worked only for one day, that is the right of my love. The right of the madness of love. It is not a legal question. The labourers in the vineyard were wrong in trying to turn love into a legal question. That is like the case of Antigone, who wants to give the same burial to her treasonable brother as to the hero. I am no anarchist—because that already borders on anarchy—but was most deeply affected by these recognitions: that love is more important and something greater even than the law.

Q: *Have you lived through this fundamental love within your own life? Could you succeed in living accordingly, in thinking accordingly?*

A: In terms of practical life that is almost impossible. Nevertheless I think that although I have not succeeded in living it through, the fact that I have recognized that love is superior to everything has influenced my life. In the same way as the waking state influences dreams. I have the feeling that even Jesus did not fully succeed in living this through in practice...

Q: *According to Robespierre, Jesus defined sin for ever and so we shall be sinful for ever, as by our own standards we cannot even evade it.*

A: Yes. That is true. At the same time he is also the Jesus who, when asked how many times one should forgive, answers: 'Until seventy times seven,' which in the idiom of the time meant always. Always, and everything. Jesus' teaching and life have led me to the recognition that love is the greatest power.

Q: *Is there anything of which you think it may be important in the understanding of the teachings of Jesus, in living them through?*

A: If I can say anything, it is that one should never, under no circumstances, criticize anyone or anything but oneself. I know this is the maximum, the absolute.

In our age it may be perhaps worthwhile to reverse the saying according to which one should consider one's neighbour as oneself, and rather say that one should consider oneself as one's neighbour. Let us be as hard on ourselves as we have been on others. Let us criticize ourselves to the same extent as we criticize our neighbour. Even the most clumsy and imperfect practice of that kind of attitude does indescribably more good than the sharpest criticism. I may criticize someone in the best possible way, and I will only become more unhappy and unbalanced almost in proportion with my criticism. But if I criticize myself, if I am sharp towards myself, a kind of peace is born within me. Tolstoy seemed to be right in saying that even self-defence is not justified.

Let me add something here. About the most important commandment, Thou shalt not kill. That problem ought to be solved for good. And indeed, in its most virulent aspect, in the question of war. There are no justified and unjustified wars. There is no war of self-defence either. There is no such thing—not according to Jesus' interpretation! The truth of course is, and that is strange enough, that one who really does not want to kill, can even go to war and he will not kill. So even the clumsiest practice of Jesus' teaching yields incredible results. That is why I am a believer. That is why I can be a believer. Within and without we need peace. Peace.

Rezső Forgács

MEPHISTO: A SELF-ABSOLVING CHARACTER

A conversation with István Szabó

István Szabó's Oscar winning film, *Mephisto,* was shot from the script he wrote with Péter Dobai from Klaus Mann's novel. The cast featured Klaus-Maria Brandauer, Rolf Hoppe, György Cserhalmi, Krystyna Janda, Ildikó Bánsági, Karin Boyd, and Tamás Major, and Lajos Koltai was the cameraman. Szabó's previous film, *Confidence,** was premiered in January 1980, and in February won a prize at the West Berlin Festival. Shown at the festival was another Szabó film, the West German production *Der grüne Vogel* (The Green Bird), which has not yet been seen by Hungarian audiences.

Q: Klaus Mann's Mephisto was published in Hungary in a single edition in 1957, and it met with no particular response, only a few people read it. How did you happen to choose that particular novel?

A: As a matter of fact, the novel first appeared in Hungarian as early as 1945, but actually I didn't discover it myself, but the producer who asked me to make *The Green Bird* drew my attention to it.

Q: What was your West German film about?

A: The Green Bird is a love story, and it is about compromises. I hadn't yet completed *Confidence* when a series of my films were shown in Federal Germany, and that prompted a West German producer to ask me to make a film with him. He came to terms with our Interconcert, and after we

* See *NHQ* 79.

completed *Confidence* in Hungary, we shot *The Green Bird.* It was financed by private capital in extremely simple circumstances, and that, I think, went a long way in teaching us, the cameraman Lajos Koltai and myself, how to work under restricted conditions. We undertook to shoot the film for a given budget, and the producer simply had no more money at his disposal. So whenever we felt the need to change something during the shooting, we had to find the cost out of the basic budget at the expense of other scenes. I may say with some irony that we were bound to learn how to build a house out of exactly the material and money originally available for it.

Q: Do I detect a touch of resignation or malice in what you are saying?

A: I have no reason for malice or resignation. The film was given the category *Besonders wertvoll,* which counts as the highest artistic category in Federal Germany (meaning that it is advertised as an "especially valuable" film), which was obviously pleasant news for both of us.

Q: Let's return to the story of Mephisto.

A: When I read the book, I took to it immediately, since I saw in it the possibility for an extremely exciting film. This was even though up to then I had never made a feature film based on a literary source, only from my own scenarios. For a long time I had wanted to find out what it felt like to be a director, in other words, what it felt like to make a film where you use your energies not in drawing up words, dialogues and situations but exclusively in the production. And Klaus Mann's novel also coincided with an old conviction of mine that you cannot or, rather, should not, make a film from a truly perfect literary work, where you have a masterpiece; the most perfect possible statement of its message is the book itself, so you only have to read it. In my opinion more suitable raw material for a good film is in a literary work which in its conceptual material is exciting and original enough but for some reason is still not a first-class literary work.

This Klaus Mann novel deals with an extremely exciting and instructive subject, but the treatment lacks permanent value. It simply narrates events, often just sketching them, without any real conflict of fully developed characters. And when the story arrives at what the plot considers as the most significant historical phase, Klaus Mann can only rely on his imagination, as he wrote the novel in 1936 in exile. The story is about the life of a highly gifted actor, who begins his career as a member of a small-town company. He is in strong sympathy with the left-wing movements in Germany in the second half of the 1920s. His friends are also left-wing-minded intellectuals, and so he often takes part in artistic and political actions, in which he can also assert his exceptional talent. He soon gets to Berlin, where his stage career is increasingly successful and he continues to support left-wing movements. Then Hitler comes to power, he becomes frightened and thinks he must get out of the country, but he is called back by his adoring public, and after that, with a clever adaptability, he soon wins the sympathy of the Nazis. He becomes the protegé of one of the highest National Socialist leaders, and his career soars upwards irresistibly. He becomes the manager of a theatre and later is appointed as the Intendant of the state-run theatres. He is fully aware of what he is doing, but always fabricates ideologies for himself to explain his acts, not only to justify himself but to consider himself the protector of human values. He sometimes speaks his doubts within a small circle, but even that is somewhat of a histrionic production. All the same, he actually does save a few people, of course people who are close to him, and so he feels he can safely believe that he has done everything humanly possible. In short,

Mephisto is the story of a strange man whose career has much to tell us.

Q: What you say seems to indicate that the story is one of those works which illustrate different versions of the relationship between the actor—or the artist in general—and power.

A: This film is not about actors, nor about the power versus artist relationship. The film wants to portray a single character. It wants to speak about the existence of characters or, rather, bad characters, or more exactly still, of the bad sides in many people, which drive them to push themselves to the fore at any cost, under any conditions, to make themselves successful. It is a natural thing to feel secure and well if one is being loved and recognized. But to acquire everyone's love, everyone's support, the affection and support of every political regime, every political group, and in order to achieve that to be en garde night and day, to make oneself adaptable by the second to manœuvre to find out the latest direction to turn in, to eternally examine which way the wind blows—this is a dangerous thing.

The protagonist of this film is one of those people who are always supported and accepted by everyone, only able to live successfully and in success, only willing to walk on the sunny side of life, and so his really exceptional talent and positive value can be put at the service of any evil interest. He allows the bad side of his character to rule his decisions. Yet because his abilities could make him an essentially valuable man, he is in eternal doubt and often despises himself. But his doubts, his self-contempt and his nostalgia for the good are not strong enough to overpower his desire always to be in the limelight, to get success, to get to the top. So he explains his steps to himself, he's always ready to fabricate a self-absolving ideology.

Q: Klaus Mann's book and the film take place in a specific historical period and place, the Germany of the 1920s and '30s. What do you think makes the analysis of that specific historical period timely?

A: What we wanted to analyse or characterize was not the historical period but this specific character. And I think the historical situation outlined in the novel can illuminate such a character with the sharpness of a spotlight. As the example is exact, it allows a sharp and exact analysis of the character. Those were extremely hectic years, with sudden twists and situations which obviously made it possible and necessary to make choices. Since then history has produced scores of situations in Europe and throughout the world in which this individual story could take place. It is still doing this even today, you just have to open a newspaper or watch the news on television. In our half of the century events speeded up greatly and one has to cope with many different situations in a single lifetime as a normal state of affairs. So it is small wonder that in such a world an attitude similar to that of our protagonist's has become rather general, whatever the contents. And if that is the case, it must be pointed out, it must be analysed.

Reviewing my film *Confidence*, you wrote that I seem to want to deal with public therapy in my films. I felt surprised by the term which was not sure to be meant as a recognition, because I felt that I myself had been unable to formulate my endeavour as exactly as that. The expression became a challenge for me, it put into words what I would like to do to deal with public therapy. This film also would like to do just that. And the technique of therapy is to identify the disease of the character, to call attention to the forms of its appearance: to make certain features of the protagonist sympathetic so that the viewer can identify with him, and when his emotions are changing towards the hero with whom he has identified himself, when he comes into opposition with his own earlier emotions and

prejudices, when he discovers similar traits in his own character—that may be of some help.

And although in the film the phenomenon occurs in the area of grand politics, and so we have discussed here its forms of appearance only in that context, the disease itself can be found in smaller communities, in the teaching staff of a school, in a factory, an office, anywhere where petty group interests enforce themselves, by making use of talents which want to prevail always and at any cost, while always wanting to feel secure and protected, and always, under all circumstances, accepted.

Q: In other words, if I follow you correctly, Mephisto is trying to be a portrayal of careerism.

A: No! This is not simple careerism. This is the portrayal of the permanent state of readiness of a gifted man, to be able to exert himself at any time and in any situation, and if he is offered a role by history for which his humanity is insufficient and he still accepts it, even his talent will turn against him.

Q: I would like to return to the historical period you have chosen. What do you think may be the reason for the international fashion for recalling the period—Cabaret or The Serpent's Egg—to name but two obvious examples.

A: I cannot assess the reasons, but it is certain that fashions in themes have never been accidental. The European bourgeois seems to have lost their sense of security because of the history of recent years. They are frightened and tired of terrorism, economic crises and failures, the changing and uncertain political order. There are many who think, and indeed argue, that someone should come, a "strong hand," who puts his foot down and makes order. This situation in Western Europe therefore shows a superficial resemblance to the Germany of the 1920s and '30s. There must be something, perhaps the atmosphere, which gives rise to certain associations, to similar public feeling, and that might explain this thematic vogue. But from the point of view of our film, I don't consider this typical or of interest at all, and this part of the analysis is so utterly superficial on my part that I'm almost ashamed of it.

Q: Let us return then to your career. Your first films, The Age of Daydreaming, Father and Love Film, were described by critics in Hungary and abroad as subjective, lyrical autobiographies of your own generation: later they ascertained that with your 25 Fireman Street, and particularly, Tales of Budapest, you intended to expand the sphere of depiction into an allegorical and social autobiography; while the extremely restricted psychological drama of the two characters in Confidence came from a need for a definite change of theme and style. What considerations influenced those changes?

A: Incidental changes in style are never deliberately prepared as a result of a determination, they are more the natural consequences of changes that take place in the world around us, consequences which I myself only register subsequently. Although I'm only thinking about this now that you've raised the question—and so I'm improvising—I feel that in the early 1960s, when I started film making, and by and large up till the early 1970s, I, and not only myself but all of us, were interested in the human relations of great historical changes, of great steps. Don't forget our experience was of the high historical combinations which we ourselves had lived through; and this experience we shared with our audience. So we justly felt that we had many things to tell each other about this common experience. And so, by and large up to the mid-70s, we thought our main task was to draw conclusions from those experiences and to sketch

the ideas which followed from them. That was followed by a relatively long and calmer period free of historical tempests. Now it is already also in the past, and it brought the problem of everyday living to centrestage, later still the problems of the individual: questions of coexistence, human relations and personality. We even had time left to deal with what happens if two people love each other, but ... or one loves the other, and... or again, the other cannot stand the first, but... So we started to speak in detail about the problems of private life.

Q: Does that mean that you consider it logical, a natural development, that both in the cinema and in literature we've came to a period which is usually called by the critics the phase of privatisation?

A: If the crop of a period, as a whole, makes up such a picture, there obviously must be some natural development behind it, and I'm also sure that when people are occupied with vital problems of existence, private troubles don't take priority. Now it seems the world has once again come to such a phase—and not only our little world in itself but the whole wide world around us—now we feel again to our cost to what a large extent our own life is determined by the movements of the world, so that once again we are paying attention to the effects of more comprehensive steps too... What I want to say is that although in each case I myself decided the theme and the scenario which I used in my films, yet I have to see how basically and directly my choice of subjects, all my steps have been influenced either by the world at large or the microcosm around me. To tell the truth, I think that every really successful work contains, along with the tiny movements of the microcosm, the mysteries of the great historical spheres of motion, and we as film makers are always trying to approximate a completeness in that sense. However, this is very hard to achieve, and it is not merely a question of intention or will, or lofty goals—unfortunately.

István Zsugán

FROM THE PRESS

THE CHANGING IMAGE OF SOCIALISM

Reading Western press reports on the Hungarian success story makes one proud and sceptical at the same time. The achievements of the Hungarian economy are evident, but the difficulties are practically impossible even for an objective observer, and especially for a biased one, to size up on the occasion of a single visit. It is difficult to make clear to an English journalist or a French student, to an American pharmacist or a Dutch electrician, what makes a Hungarian citizen happy or unhappy. The trends which are giving cause for concern or doubt crop up plainly in political debates of various forms and importance and with varying success. These have been appearing for the past ten to fifteen years in the press, on the job, and in political organizations at local and national level; since the reform of the system of economic management was introduced, trends in economic and social policies have also become more complex, conflicts of interests have come to the surface. Politics has to do more than say yes or no to unexpected developments, it has often to decide between conflicting group interests "by keeping the equilibrium of society in view." The quotation is from an article "Social policy, reality, socialism" published in No. 2 of 1982 of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical and political review of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. It was written by Valéria Benke, a member of the Party's Political Committee and editor-in-chief of the periodical.

Her starting point is that "Socialism is a system which ultimately promotes equality in every sphere of society, in the division of labour and the distribution of incomes, as well as in the style of living and in culture." Let us take the distribution of incomes as an example. As a token of equalization, the differences in family incomes must be reduced. "But the resources of social policy and the real basis of any development are secured by raising labour productivity and by an increase in performances, the principal motive force of which is distribution allowing for the differences between performances. And this gives rise to inequalities." What is the basis for income differentiation today? And, for example—this has also been a subject of discussion—does poverty on a social scale exist in Hungary?

Real incomes rose by 220 per cent between 1960 and 1980. During the same period there was an enormous increase in the number of families in the higher income brackets; "the incomes portion derived from social measures," allocations other then wages (the size in real value does not appear in the text), increased almost fourfold. At the same time one million people, whose per capita income is below 1,700 forints a month, live in Hungary today: most of them are old, single, retired people or people with large families. Classes and strata have come closer together, while new inequalities occur within certain strata not only because of

income differences but according to the number of dependants in the family. Or incomes are determined too narrowly by the form of job and age and, far less often than they should, by qualification and performance.

Thus inequalities are reproduced, though in different form. To reduce and properly regulate them would be, says Valéria Benke, a task for social policy.

A subject frequently discussed is the housing situation. "In our days this causes the greatest social tensions even though housing supply has improved greatly," writes Valéria Benke in the second part of her study. Yet the existence of a housing shortage today is unquestionable. But how big is it? The number of people to 100 rooms was 250 in 1960 and 150 in 1980. At that time two-thirds of residential dwellings had only one room, now the ratio of flats with two or more rooms is 70 per cent. The number of families living in 100 flats was 108 in 1980 and will be 103 at the end of the sixth five-year plan (1985). However, since families have fortunately become smaller in the past few decades, as several generations no longer live together, this in itself augments both the absolute and the relative housing shortage. Because of migration from rural to urban areas there is a huge shortage of flats in Budapest and the larger towns, while there are vacant dwellings in the country.

The view more frequently being heard is that the housing supply ought to be placed strictly on a market basis. However, people satisfy other demands through purchase. Besides, only 25 per cent of all dwellings are centrally allocated with rents subsidized by the State, the rest are personal property and are in practice subject to market conditions. It is worth considering, on the other hand, that decontrolled rents might force lower income families or those with many children to move to low-rent, substandard, flats. Neither this nor the absolute right to give notice (and thus detract from personal security) can be the aim of Hungarian social policy. According to Valéria Benke, the solution is "to strengthen the elements of interestedness to the detriment of forms of allotting," but this should be compensated for by a "social subsidy which takes into account, first of all, the number of children (dependants), the decisive influence on the situation of families." Eventually society's resources can be better mobilized towards building and maintaining homes; furthermore, "the proper publicity of town and communal development, the implementation of a reasonable kind of democratism and local autonomy would make it possible to avoid many mistakes and could enrich our settlements with many good features. This requires greater autonomy for the (local) councils in deciding more freely the questions of housing development... and housing management. That is, the economic basis of autonomy must also be strengthened. All this would be a great step forward in the development of socialist democracy."

With a balanced social policy and more elastic public administration, therefore, a great deal can be done, despite a slow-down in the increase in real wages, to preserve the standard of living at the present level, and this is a declared aim of the HSWP. This aim is being met by increasing the part of national income available for consumption. The real solution, however, can only be a programme of economic development. Where is the reserve that has to be mobilized when the ratio of investments is falling? Valéria Benke cites a few facts: "the Hungarian national economy consumes as a rule, though with different ratios in the various sectors, about 20 to 25 per cent more material and energy for producing a unit product than the more developed European countries do. And, unfortunately, also much more live labour... A great burden to us is the undue length of time spent in carrying out investment projects... the high level of reserve stocks..." It is up to local and national policy to change these existing

tensions into active energy. On the one hand, it has to improve the conditions of innovation in enterprises and specialized research institutes. On the other hand, it has to eliminate, as far as possible, faults in plant management and in cooperation within the enterprise. And, most important of all, the need to economise has to be strengthened with a view to making better use of material and intellectual resources.

Indispensable for the change would be a modification of the price system and that means an increase in consumer prices. This is a bitter pill. How long and how far prices go up is dependent on the world market trend and also on the size of domestic development inputs. For this very reason, to make changes in the regulation system is inevitable (another bitter pill); also inevitable is the continuing democratization of economic management and taking steps to see that economic incentives assert themselves better within the big enterprises. What is still needed is improvement in the collectives' ability to make decisions and in their readiness to communicate; a bolder policy on wages is also needed so that "our enterprises and institutions should better reward good performances in technical, economic and scientific research," in other words, the diploma alone will not be sufficient. All these simple and basic principles can easily disappear in practice. One reason for this is that the "undertaking of local and personal conflicts" is still feared in Hungary today. It is a task for the political bodies, including party and trade-union organs, to give the necessary political and moral support to such developments, rarely free from tension and conflict. A further reason is that a performance of demonstrably high value should have the principle of higher remuneration accepted within the producing respective enterprise itself... Social equilibrium cannot be maintained by equalizing what should not be equalized. One must not equalize the situation of a well-managed business with that of a loss-making one, the position of a man who does good work with that of one who just works. This obstructs solutions to economic problems and diminishes the scale of values in people's eyes.

Finally, Valéria Benke raises the question: "...what will happen to socialist ideas as a consequence to our changing economic conditions and methods, may not socialist perspectives be lost?" Another formulation of the question: "how far does our image of socialism—which has an important orienting, behaviour-forming and even mobilizing role to play—stimulate the necessary transformations?"

There is justification for the question because it has always been customary to associate socialism with a system of stable and usually low prices. "For this our own agitation is also to be blamed," writes the editor in-chief of *Társadalmi Szemle.* "We have referred less frequently to security and full employment (which has been an insoluble problem even for the richest capitalist countries). An important, yet insufficiently emphasized, result—experienced by a very large number of families—is social mobility: the individual and collective opportunities, ways and forms of changing residence and rising in position."

"But there are results which have stood the tests of time and produce an enduring effect, and of which people are well aware," states Valéria Benke. "Such are: working-class power; the system's striving for social justice; the circumstances of life; the progress attainable in the field of training and education. An important element of this is the organization of education and training in such a way that it guarantees employment, as against capitalist society which is unable, and is unwilling by nature, to take responsibility for this. An accepted fact of value is distribution according to work, the social allowances added to family incomes, the right of people to security, to work, to culture and, last but not least, to peace, as well as the fact that their implementation is guaranteed not primarily by

their being declared but by the character and development trends in society." In the wake of social change the image of socialism has a number of elements which did not exist before or existed only in vague form. Such are, for example, incentives and socialist democracy. The two are inseparable from each other because "the functions of socialist democracy include the recognition of individual and group interests, promoting their expression, the conciliation of interests and the forming of compromise so as to establish the cooperation required by common aims and tasks, together with the right of collectives to reconcile their interests to the public interest." Valéria Benke states that political leadership in Hungary today is seeking a synthesis of activities whose purpose is to create equilibrium, to reconcile interests, but which solve contradictions and tensions at the same time.

"Economic laws cannot be escaped. Their negative effects on people's consciousness are equally ineluctable, but we are not helpless in this respect. Our historical task is to identify them as best we can, and to learn how to dispose of them in accordance with the aims of our own society." The endeavour of socialist society to provide security and protection to work collectives and to its own members seems to prevail still much more strongly than the main basic principle of distribution: to each according to his work..." "Stability and protection... socialist value... But it is wrong to apply protection to a degree which has as a consequence that we have protected bad products, unorganized work and poor management." In order to carry out the necessary changes with minimum social disruption, we need openness together with a sense of stability. And with all this in view, "we have again to think out the relationship of socialist ideas and the new economic conditions on several points. And then perhaps our ideas and our reality will be unlikely to come into conflict."

J. S.

"ENTREPRENEURIAL SOCIALISM" AT THE EXPERIMENTAL STAGE

The Liska Model

Not only has general interest in economics grown since the late seventies but certain economists have gained personal popularity. Ten to fifteen years ago it would have been inconceivable for a radio talk by an economist or financial expert to be talked about the following day; or that the great lecture hall of the Budapest University of Economics should overflow with people wishing to attend a public discussion. This is exactly what sometimes happens on Wednesdays, when Tibor Liska's theory of entrepreneurial socialism is the topic of discussion.

"A fanatic in his intention to improve things and the energy he devotes to his measures, he represents his conviction to the extreme, with agitative vigour; in short, he is a prophet and daredevil who is often—and wrongly—not taken seriously. Even though his proposals sound utopian, his views are always thought-provoking and to the point," Jenő Bársony, a senior researcher of the Business and Market Research Institute writes about Liska in the monthly *Valóság* (1981/12). Liska earned his fame as a prophet not only by his vigour and style but also by

the fact that his views, which in the sixties had seemed bewildering and had been received with raised eyebrows by the authorities, have in time proved to be only too realistic, becoming part of official economic policy.

It has become clear in recent years that Hungary can only find a way out of the maze of economic problems if the country returns to the basic principles of the 1968 reform of economic management. Liska however went beyond what was practised until now, he wishes to reform not only economic planning, the system of management, the organization and functioning of the economy, but socialist ownership itself. The notion of what he calls entrepreneurial socialism has crystallized during the weekly research debates held by the Enterprise Research Group of the Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. The Group's work was given support by the Economics Department of the Central Committee of the HSWP. Towards the end of 1981 articles analysing in a more popular form the theory and experimental practice of entrepreneurial socialism appeared in the press, following publications intended for economists. Since then Liska has appeared on television, and several newspapers have interviewed him. Jenő Bársony's article in *Valóság* seems to be the most comprehensive of all. Although it is difficult to explain the idea succinctly and clearly (Liska himself remarks someplace that certain details have not been clear to economists either), let us follow Bársony's analysis and take a look at the main points.

Firstly: "Social ownership of the means of production must be secured in order that nobody—not even the state or any bureaucratic group on its behalf—can expropriate them and thereby enjoy certain privileges (monopolies of disposal)."

Secondly: money and the market are needed for prices to move freely in accordance with the requirements of demand and supply.

Thirdly: (what is perhaps the most important of all) freedom of competition must be guaranteed. The principal instrument of the latter is democracy, i.e., a political struggle against existing and recurring privileges. "One of the main sources of socialist equity is the right of free competition for social positions." And the criterion of effectiveness in competition "can only be the service rendered to society." This is what is feasible only amidst genuine commodity and money relations.

Fourthly: "Enterprise is an authentic social attitude in socialism." To be more precise: it ought to be. According to Liska, capitalists and private entrepreneurs find their limitations in their private property. Managers, the entrepreneurs of our age are also compelled to enter the service of the state or the owners of capital. On the other hand, the big undertakings of socialism—the organization of production, industrialization, the establishment of large agricultural concerns, etc.—are menaced by bureaucratic planned economic management." The manner of becoming effective may thus get a feudal character: "obtaining, on the basis of reliability, a place in a decision-making hierarchy, securing an office, i.e., belonging to the élite, that has the power to dispose over things."

In Liska's idea the essence of socialism is that "it enables everyone—freed from the limitations of private property—to make use of the opportunities of enterprise." That is, "everyone must have the right and the means to employ their working capacity in a businesslike manner on the basis of social ownership, thus unfolding their creativeness." That is why the writer Gyula Hernádi, a friend, and himself an economist and planner in the past, could say that "entrepreneurial socialism guarantees the highest degree of human freedom." Deep down—as Jenő Bársony remarks—Liska looks on his system "as the world model of the future."

A basic category of Liska's is "personal social property." Social, inasmuch as no one (neither public authorities nor entrepreneurs

nor communities) can expropriate it, and it can always be owned and used by whoever makes the most of it for the benefit of society.

What is the value of a unit of social property that becomes the means of personal enterprise? Liska uses four different concepts of capital value: 1. The actual value of the property assets (buildings, equipment, machinery) at the time of their being taken into personal ownership. That is, the sum for which they could be sold at that time. The entrepreneur has free disposal of this value; but if, for any reason whatever, he backs out of the enterprise, he has to surrender it or to pay up. 2. The minimum fictitious capital value of the existing social property, that is the sum for which the body representing society is at first willing to give up the assets for the enterprise, i.e., a sort of reserve price. This is determined by the prospective profit. 3. At an auction the highest bid fictitious capital value is the "equilibrium price of operating a unit of social property." Liska calls the fictitious capital value formed by bidding, overbidding and bidding downwards "plan-market value." Personal social property is therefore, in part, working capital used for production and management (its size and composition are in effect the private business of the producer); in part, it is fictitious capital (this is the most important aspect of it) which represents the profitability of the enterprise. Two orders of magnitude of this are the reserve price and the plan-market value. 4. The difference between the latter or—in case of bidding upwards—that between the new and the earlier plan-market value, is called moral capital. The self-regulating element of the system is the equilibrum rate of interest. It is at this rate that the entrepreneur pays interest (on the fictitious capital value) to the cashier of the system or to its bank. Liska thinks the equilibrum rate of interest will help to check inflation and to pass on cyclical fluctuations.

Underlying the working of the system is the plan market of entrepreneurs, a field or process resembling Stock Exchange transactions in shares, where every unit of social property has its market price. At the start this is the reserve price, thereafter it is always the highest bid. If, therefore, somebody bids over the price, the entrepreneur must either accept this value (and pay interest on it) or give up the enterprise to the rival bidder. There is also self-bidding (to avoid overbidding by others) and, in case the profitability of the enterprise is declining, the entrepreneur can bid downwards, at the cost of his own moral capital, to the level of the highest bid of others. In this way every unit of social property can always reach the hands of whoever expects, or undertakes, to make the most of it.

The stock of an individual undertaking is constituted by the human resources composed of two parts: social inheritance and moral capital. Social inheritance is the quota per head of population of the totality of the existing means of production as well as of the infrastructure (national wealth). At present, socialist society expends on every member considerable sums in the form of social benefits or low-priced services (education, health insurance, organized holidays, pensions, etc.) in addition to wages. According to Liska, such allocations are often of a wasteful character, the hotbeds of corrupt practices. He proposes that every national, upon his/her, birth should be given the average sum of the allocations due for a lifetime, and that the cultural, social and communal institutions should be drawn into the plan-market competition. In their lifetime everyone could use up only the interest paid on this social inheritance and they would pay themselves, out of that sum, disability allowance, the old-age pension, holiday contributions, and possibly unemployment benefits. Part of the social inheritance, on the other hand, would serve as initial capital for starting a business. (In this regard, too, Liska's views are close enough—if not in

content, at least in form—to the economics of neoliberalism). Another financial resource of the undertaking is the "special-purpose credit obtained from social savings," i.e., a "converted deposit" with which anybody may join in an enterprise. This sort of resource is similar to a share in capital stock, with the difference that the entrepreneur is solely responsible for his economic decisions. The "supporters" (depositeurs) are charged with no responsibilities; the entrepreneur, if he suceeds in his enterprise, yields up the part due to them of the increment of moral capital.

The state would of course play a much smaller role than it does today. Liska intends to entrust the management of social property to the banking system operating on a business basis. The task of this system would be to perform certain functions of a trustee (to fix the reserve price, the carrying out the auctions, etc.), to keep a record of the changing plan-market values, to arrange the distribution of incomes, to protect and administer the social inheritance, to provide for the (automatic) granting of credit, to collect the savings of society, and to define the level of the prevailing equilibrium rate of interest.

Many questions, of course, arise in this connection. For example: What will relations be like between the entrepreneur and his employees? What will be the guarantee of protection of the latter's interests? Liska holds that this is a sham problem, for essentially any function can be coped with "in a business-like manner;" everybody is an entrepreneur; the entrepreneur of a larger unit builds upon the individual entrepreneurs. The compulsion of performance would make them dependent on one another.

Jenő Bársony emphasizes that in this system the entrepreneur, in his capacity as master, would think of social property as his own. Subordination would cease to exist. Productive efficiency would increase considerably. Innovation would practically become a sort of compulsion. Man's readiness to be enterprising would find its place lawfully, without distortions. Talent and performance would win better appreciation. In sum: the forces of production would develop better.

At the current level of socialization of production, however, it is not probable that, within the span of a human life, small businesses could spontaneously organize themselves into larger enterprises, not to speak of economic concerns active in the field of energetics, electronics, space research, etc. Bársony does not believe in the automatic regulating role of the money market and the capital market. He does not find it reasonable to turn cultural, social and health institutions into enterprises since here performance cannot be verified as it should. He doubts that the Liska model could be realized in the near future, owing to the absence of the preconditions for its functioning: "commodity-money relations, integration into international market relations, effective democratic competition." What is more, those whom Liska, following the utopians, ought to win over to "the revolution against bureaucracy," i.e., to a radical reform "are those whose leading role is rooted precisely in these relations and who identify the given system of economic planning with socialism itself." Bársony mentions also that "some even question whether society is already mature enough for such a measure of independence and responsibility as is presupposed by the entrepreneurial system." Liska is aware of these difficulties and pins his hopes on the "tactic of small steps." He expects that, in the course of experimenting, the tendencies of enterprise will effect a breakthrough and, in the meantime, the circle of those interested, of those wishing to engage in socialist enterprise, will widen.

An experiment of this kind is reported on by Julianna R. Székely in the weekly *Új Tükör* (No. 45 of 1981). Her report appers under the heading "The Courageous Men of Szentes." The young chairman of the Szentes farmers' cooperative says: "I was tending

towards greater independence and more personal financial interests by myself. Then I heard a lecture by Tibor Liska here at Szentes. It turned out that he and his group had for many long years explored the same train of thought. We met late in spring this year. It was as if we had been loking for each other." After long-drawn organizing, calculating and negotiations with the Ministry, and leading officials of local, county and national authorities, the sale by auction took place: ten production units belonging to the cooperative—lorries, tractors, poultry-sheds—were given over to enterprise. However, as the chairman also said, "now the human factors and conflicts really come into light. Tremendous constructive energies were released, the entrepreneurs are statisfied and hopeful. But the opposition—a good many honest, hard-working people committed to socialism—protest with passion demonstrating that this is not only an economic, but a political and ideological experiment." "It may be that I am behind the times. It may turn out that I am mistaken," a brigade leader says. "If I prove to be, I will admit it. But now I say only that we have been bamboozled. Somebody comes up with big promises, some scientific hokey-pokey, and we at once upset things as they are. Knock to pieces what we have created in thirty years of persuasion and agitation? Start the wedding-feast all over again because the band was out of tune or the dance has gone awry? I admit that things have not all been for the best. But things can be mended! If there is trouble with wage levels, or maybe something else, let us do something about it! Let us not promptly give up cooperation and democracy and hand things over to the entrepreneurs!" Julianna R. Székely then asked the chairman how he will manage to persuade those who are opposed. "They will be persuaded by life, by the facts. By the experiment—if it succeeds. Sensible, honest people can be won over to a sensible, honest cause." Then, virtually echoing Liska's axiom: "They will find that socialist common property remains intact. Only its management will be better and more efficient."

In an interview given to *Magyar Ifjúság* (No. 5 of 1982), the weekly of the Young Communist League, Liska stated his views on the Szentes experiment. "It has gone . . . farthest. At a competitive auction, property valued at three million forints was eventually put up with a reserve price of ten million, with an obligation to pay 20 per cent interest, and it was taken up by entrepreneurs for fifteen million. Since then further entrepreneurs have overbid this sum. Thus the property going into enterprise will pay bounteously in a year." At the beginning of this year there came into force legal regulations which make it possible for small businesses (co-operatives, enterprises, economic associations) to get organized and function more freely.* "Do you feel you have won?", the interviewer Ferenc L. Gazsó asked. Liska showed cautions: "Not at all. What has now begun, only in small businesses as yet, is a sign of sobering up. It would be a mistake, however, to expect too much of it. We may consider it a more significant step forward when large enterprises and cooperatives will have been organized into higher-level socialist undertakings. For the time being we can only talk of an isolated experiment which will hardly stir the still water of the labour market, and yet this is the real terrain of freedom for the enterprising or freer competition, and this is where a positive breakthrough is needed."

Besides the Szentes experiment most strictly applying the recipe of the reform theory, Liska's principles have been put into practice, with some modification and in a more restricted form, in two other places: in another agricultural producers' cooperative and in a model farm. Five more experiments are in preparation or planned; and the system of contractual operation

* See András Tábori: "Small Businesses in a Socialist Economy," *NHQ* 86

(transfer by auction, to private persons of a large number of specific shops and public catering units), which was introduced in 1981, also contains a few elements of the idea.

Although there are many who dispute the feasibility of the whole of Liska's ideas, even opponents admit that diagnosis points to the weak spots of the Hungarian economy. Liska has suceeded in what only few economists have done: he had made economic theory the concern of the public. This in itself perhaps creates better conditions and gives good ideas a better chance.

János Széky

BULLETIN OF HUNGARIAN STUDIES

Five years ago, in August 1977, nearly a hundred experts on literature, linguistics, and ethnography gathered in Nyíregyháza to lay the foundations for the International Association of Hungarian Studies. These scholars of Hungarian, Finnish, American, French, Russian, Japanese, and Turkish origin represented the international community of those engaged in Hungarian studies. At the time of the founding of the International Association emerged another demand; this was that results in special fields relating to Hungarian studies, to wit on the history of Hungarian literature and culture, language, and ethnography, should be communicated in a regular scholarly publication. From this, the yearbook of the Association, *Hungarológiai Értesítő* or the Bulletin of Hungarian Studies, was born in 1979*. It appears in Hungarian, its general editor is literary historian Miklós Béládi, deputy general secretary of the Association, the editor is literary historian József Jankovics; the ethnographer László Kósa and the linguist György Szépe are on the editorial board. The Combination enables the Bulletin to survey the three major fields involved: history of literature, linguistics, and ethnography. The task and role of the publication is more or less identical with those of the reviews *The Year's Work in English*, or *The Year's Work in Foreign Languages*.

One of the problems facing Hungarian reviews and especially scientific reviews, is that the abundance of books and other material means that they are practically unable to keep pace with new achievements and to record, let alone review properly, all relevant technical books. Hungarian ethnography and literary and language studies have developed considerably in recent years: research students, university teachers, critics, and essayists have added an ever growing number of original studies to the corpus from year to year. In addition, Hungarian studies have greatly expanded abroad. Of the countries bordering on Hungary Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union, each have a sizeable Hungarian minority and they all have a rich cultural life of their own based on old traditions. These minority cultures contribute to Hungarian studies through the work carried out in the philological faculties of the universities in Kolozsvár, Pozsony and Újvidék, and in other establishments producing much both in research and in published results. There are valuable contributions from other universities and establishments outside Hungary as the result of the efforts of Hungarians

* *Hungarológiai Értesítő*. Published annually in one volume, by Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

living in Western Europe and overseas. It is very difficult to survey all these publications and the problem of methodically reviewing them has not yet been solved. The Bulletin of Hungarian Studies has set itself the task of surveying Hungarian studies both in and outside Hungary through the form of book reviews, bibliographies, and brief notes.

Thus the material of the Bulletin is divided into three parts: the greatest part of each volume contains reviews on books dealing with Hungarian literary history, linguistics, ethnography, and cultural history. These are short reviews with no attempt to give a critical analysis or appraisal; the scientific subject, methods, and results of the works are under review. The second part of the Bulletin publishes an annual bibliography of Hungarian studies of literature, linguistics, and ethnography; the third part carries news about conferences and events in the field and the work of the relevant groups in Hungary and abroad. The supplement lists the leading bodies and the membership of the International Association of Hungarian Studies.

So far three volumes of the Bulletin of Hungarian Studies have appeared: Volume I, published in 1979, reports on the year 1977, Volume II, published in 1980, deals with the work of 1978, and numbers 1 and 2 of volume III, published in 1981, contain a bibliography for Hungarian studies of 1979. Reviewing works published in 1979 will be the task of the next Bulletin. The three volumes published are promising, the Bulletin is sure to play a major role in the propagation of Hungarian studies on a wider scale and has become an informative work for all those who concern themselves with the fields involved.

BÉLA POMOGÁTS

THE CARE OF DIABETIC CHILDREN

The incidence of diabetes among children under 14 is relatively low in Hungary. The ratio is 50–100 cases per one million inhabitants but even this means that some 700 or 800 children suffering from diabetes are in need of care. In addition to diagnosis and differentiated treatment continuous care means, as with all chronic diseases, the performance of special tasks. Aside from those cases starting in infancy, diagnosis is made easier by the fact that diabetes in childhood erupts rapidly, often stormily, and shows very marked and serious symptoms. The child suddenly starts to eat and drink a lot, then loses appetite and weight. At night urine is passed often and in large quantities. The parents, and those in contact with the child, notice these changes quickly, regard them as a health problem and contact a doctor. Medical examination in hospital, if necessary, in most cases only confirms the illness. However, treatment and care depend upon the child's individual potentialities and local conditions determine the possible strategy. The commencement of the illness is only the beginning of a process in which problems are heaped upon problems, both medically and socially. The child becomes aware of a chronic disease and has to remain under medical supervision: life is restricted by rules, medication and diet are needed, and unexpected minor illnesses awaken anxiety and fear. These events naturally also disturb the child's environment, parents and family, and involve the many tasks of special care. The regular routine, the pattern of the child's life changes, and relations to other children and adults take on special

features. The child's living space narrows down, self-confidence diminishes, inhibitions may be developed, and the disease may endanger both biological maturation and development of personality: disharmony in both is frequent. Solving these problems involves complex, extensive medical and social tasks.

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Lajos Barta, Professor of Paediatrics at the Semmelweis Medical University, set out to deal with this problem in Hungary: Professor Barta's special field has been childhood diabetes since the second world war. In the sixties he visited the USA, and in Boston saw for the first time a summer camp organized for diabetic children. Back in Hungary he started to apply this experience. Following his preparatory work the Budapest Childrens' Clinic organized a two-week summer camp for 36 diabetic children in 1966; this provided important experience for the experts taking part. They found that the summer camp had a beneficial effect on both the metabolism and the psychical conditions of the children. In 1980 48 children could go to a summer camp, in 1981 the number had risen to 111. In these provincial camps specialists, psychologists, nurses, laboratory assistants and educational experts observed and examined the children. Barta and his collaborators published their findings in *Orvosi Hetilap* (Medical Weekly).* They confirmed the findings of other research in Hungary and abroad: as a result of the camp the daily insulin requirement dropped from 36 to 27 units for girls and from 30 to 21 units for boys. With the improvement of their sugar-metabolism their assimilation of fat also showed a marked improvement. Apart from these biological changes the awareness of illness also diminished markedly: the children learned to take care of themselves and their feeling of inferiority diminished. In the two-week camp dietary conditions were optimal: everything was cooked in vegetable oil and the children ate six times per day: breakfast, elevenses, lunch, afternoon snack, supper, and a supplementary supper. For physical exercise the camp leaders organised games, dances, discos, tabletennis and other tournaments.

For visiting parents Dr. Barta and his collaborators organised consultations and information-sessions. They exchanged information on their experience and arrived at the conclusion that dietary habits differed extremely, not only between nations, but between family and family, and from community to community.

The pioneer work of the collaborators of this Clinic relied on the constant and multifaceted research of previous decades. Dr. Barta and Dr. Pál Gegesi-Kiss, the former head of the Clinic, synthetized the studies and their findings in their book on childhood diabetes. Since its first appearance in 1956 the book has been revised several times and is still the up-to-date basic work on the treatment of infant and children's diabetes in Hungary.

One of the two Budapest Paediatric Clinics caters for about half of Hungary's diabetic children; several provincial towns have also care centres (Miskolc, Debrecen, Pécs). Specialists in the field maintain close and regular relations with each other on questions of healing and treatment; they are in close touch with specialists in neighbouring countries and their contacts with specialized institutes in the West are also expanding. Hungarian television broadcast two reports on summer camps for diabetic children in 1980 and 1981. These aroused nationwide interest. In Hungary these summer camps, meals, accommodation and so on are entirely free of charge.

LÁSZLÓ IVÁN

* Dr. Lajos Barta, Dr. Mária Molnár and Mária Tichy: ***Diabeteses gyermekek táborozásának befolyása az anyagcsere állapotra.*** (The Influence of Holiday Camps for Diabetic Children on their Metabolism). ***Orvosi Hetilap,*** 1981/20.

IN FOCUS

EASTER MONDAY IN TRANSDANUBIA

In Hungary it is a universal habit, even in the cities, to sprinkle the girls and women on Easter Monday, to make them fertile throughout the coming year. In places where the tradition is kept properly, sprinklers get in return the gift of colourfully painted and decorated eggs. But in some villages of Transdanubia, Western Hungary, the young men, the lads, and even two or three year old boys go around the village with whips plaited of twigs, and flog the girls and young women. The rhyme they recite says that the purpose of the beating is the same as that of the Easter sprinkling, it ensures that a girl's "hands are diligent, her legs dancing," and that she will not suffer boils in the year to come.

During the 18th century peasants were settled into this region from the western part of what is now Slovakia. In some villages the Slovak version of the rhyme is still known, in others only Hungarian is used. In some places, only a small number of Slovak families settled into the larger Hungarian population, but the tradition became integrated into the local "village culture," and has thus remained alive for more than two hundred years.

The area from which the custom originates and where it is still alive is an eastern band through Central Europe, German and Austrian territories, Moravia, Bohemia, and the western part of Slovakia. It was brought to Hungary by the settlers from this zone. In the more distant past a religious origin can be discerned, as in the Middle Ages the spouses had to remind each other through flogging that they should be celibate before making their Easter communion. There also exists a link with other traditions of flogging and whipping, including some which are connected in other places with the carnival.

Lukács, László: *Húsvéti korbácsolás* (Easter flogging). *Ethnographia,* 1981. Nos. 2–3. pp. 374–399.

T. H.

THE PORTA SPECIOSA IN ESZTERGOM

A few fragments of red, blue and white marble, a painting made some 250 years ago, and a description. This much has remained of the main entrance to the three-nave cathedral of St Adalbert built in Esztergom, the capital city of the Árpád royal family. The entrance was built at the end of the 12th century and for its beauty used to be called Porta Speciosa, the Brilliant Gate. In its upper, semicircular field the unknown master sculptured out of marble slabs of different colours delicately fitted together St Stephen, the first King of

Hungary in the act of offering Hungary into the protection of Mary. Under this, on the architrave he placed King Béla III and the Archbishop Jób, the builders of the church, and on the two sides prophets and saints. All this was done by incrustation demanding enormous skill: on the red marble foundation the place for some details of the figures was chiseled out, and exactly carved white and blue marbles were fitted into it.

A new mosaic piece has now been added to the dispersed fragments of this important work of Hungarian Romanesque. In the wall of an Esztergom cellar a marble fragment has been discovered, at the bottom of which some fingers of a stretched out hand may be seen beside the damaged features of a young male head and on the other side is the fluffy trunk of a lamb. This small fragment carried an important meaning in an outstanding place: it represented at the highest point of the gate the divine hand conferring a blessing, surrounded by angels, and Christ, God's lamb. The scroll of St John the Baptist, carved on the left side of the gate is inscribed with *Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, miserere nobis!* It was not difficult to identify the fragment from the painting made of the gate, and so its origin is beyond doubt.

The church began to decay slowly after the Turks had ravaged it. But the beauty of the Porta Speciosa, which had remained intact, was so radiant even in the 18th century, that it was intended to build it into the basilica then being constructed (as happened to the renaissance Bakócz Chapel). Then, on May 2, 1764 the Turkish minaret standing next to it collapsed and smashed it. Today its brilliance must be restored from dozens of fragments.

Horváth, István: *Ein weiteres Fragment der Esztergomer Porta Speciosa* (A further fragment of the Porta Speciosa of Esztergom). *Acta Archeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae,* Vol. XXXII. 1980. pp. 346–362.

Á. N.

A SUBVERSIVE REYNOLDS PORTRAIT

This study by Géza Galavics investigates in an original way the relationship between a work of art and the public; the source for the study is a report to the King Emperor. The work is the portrait of Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orléans, by Joshua Reynolds (1785), which is still in Buckingham Palace and contemporary etchings of which were popular in Hungary. The man informed against was the wealthy and popular Baron László Orczy, one of the major figures of the aristocratic conspiracy against Joseph II (1789–1790). It was Orczy who organized a mounted escort in gala uniforms for the Hungarian Crown when it was brought back to Buda from Vienna in 1789. The supreme military commander of Hungary reported in 1793 to Leopold II who had succeeded his brother Joseph, that Baron Orczy had earlier kept the portrait of the Duke of Orléans wearing a Hussar uniform in a room of his Buda home, though it was no longer to be seen in his present house in Pest. This was a dangerous matter, since exactly a month before the date of the denunciation, in January 1793, the Duke of Orléans had voted for the death of Louis XVI in the Convention.

The author's analysis makes it clear that there was every justification to consider the Reynolds painting, bearing in mind its majestic style, the heroic figure wearing a Hungarian Hussar uniform, rising into the clouded sky, to be the symbolic expression of the mood and political ambitions of the nobility. It is known that Orczy saw many similarities between himself and the Duke. The Duke was the commander of the French Hussars raised from Hungarians. Around 1790 the political ideas of Orléans and Orczy were similar. Orczy too wanted the assistance of the National Assembly to clip the powers of the sovereign. But the Duke, Philippe Égalité, as he drew nearer to the

Jacobins was no longer considered as model by Orczy; this may have been the reason why the denunciator did not see the incriminating portrait in the Baron's house in Pest, in 1793.

Reynolds' portrayal of a male figure in a Hussar uniform was so effective that it was widely imitated. The Lord Lieutenant of a distant county, for instance, had a portrait of entirely similar composition painted for the gallery of his ancestors. However, the provincial painter considered Reynolds' view too bold, he kept hardly anything of the pathetic heroism of the original painting, his portrait is more reticent, more rugged, natural, and its approach archaic. Politically the Hungarian nobility may have been bold in those times, but their taste was generally backward.

Galavics, Géza: *Egy Reynolds kép mint politikai szimbólum a 18. század végi Magyarországon* (A Reynolds portrait as a political symbol in Hungary at the end of the 18th century). *Történelmi Szemle*, 1981. No. 2. pp. 252–261.

G. G.

THE ENDGAME OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR

"Was Hungary an unwilling satellite or the last satellite?" These opposing views are the starting point for the latest article by the historian György Ránki. J. F. Montgomery, who was then the United States minister in Budapest, a witness to and participant in the Horthy regime's tentatives towards the West, chose the first definition in the title of a book he published in 1947. But Hungary was usually mentioned after the war as Hitler's last satellite, and in Hungary in the early 50s and even later this became the official view, the basic tenet of political journalism and historiography, of what was actually taught in schools.

In testing these two extreme views, Ránki establishes that these are not merely formulae of ex post facto self-justification or stigma, but express genuine trends which existed in Hungarian politics during the Second World War. In other words, the two together provide the full truth. What the author is exactly looking for is the explanation: "what is the reason that although Hungary was the first to try to get out of the war, she was the last to finish the movements of disengagement from the Germans?" His thorough discussion discloses that the main reasons lay in the country's strategic position and her worsening relations with her neighbours following on the Trianon Peace Treaty.

The article appeared at a time when this question, and especially its social and human aspects, had suddenly come to the fore in Hungarian intellectual and literary life. In recent years, several high-ranking Horthy officers have published their memoirs, there have been films, television interviews and a series of reports investigating the Hungarian attempts at getting out of the war, the reasons for the weaknesses and the relative achievements of the Hungarian anti-fascist resistance, the massive help given to Polish refugees, the humane treatment of French prisoners of war. A recent documentary novel by a young writer, András Simonffy, attracted great attention.* In this he sets in its historic background and relates the story of his father, who belonged to the anti-German wing of the Hungarian officer corps, but was treated after the war not as anti-fascist resister, but as an enemy, a man of the old regime.

The story was obviously considered as symbolic by most readers and received with a certain satisfaction. Public opinion in any nation does not react happily if it is incessantly reminded that the country came out badly even in comparison to all its neighbours during that crucial test of peoples. In the post-war years, and especially during

* See *NHQ* 85

the Rákosi regime, instead of facing the past realistically, an attempt was made to inject into the nation the largest possible dosage of guilt. But only the prosecutor was heard, there was no case given for the defence.

What began a few years ago, is an entirely understandable process of self-rehabilitation by the nation, which today—also understandably—is carried out primarily through the pen and the screen. One participant in a discussion on Simonffy's novel, Miklós Béládi, was able to claim that in Hungary literature often adopts the tasks of historiography. But the less popular but necessary task of finding the balance devolved on the historians present; they had to point out the deeper reasons for the failure to turn against German fascism. In Hungary—in contrast to the occupied neighbouring countries—a patriot was not necessarily an anti-fascist. For this one had to be consciously a democrat or a socialist. This is why the anti-German moves within the army and the state apparatus remained isolated and halfhearted. As Gyula Juhász said, this system was able to adjust a bit to the right or to the left, but was unable to carry out a sharp turn. The international situation and territorial interests chained it to the Germans, and the system's origin in counter-revolution prevented the turning to the Soviet Union which was a precondition for getting out of the war. This paralyzed the capacity to act not only of Horthy, Bethlen, or Kállay, but also of much more resolute anti-German elements. More is involved than repeated or coincidental blunders. From this derives the heart-rendering contradiction between the martyrdom of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, General János Kiss and many officers, the acceptance of great risks by innumerable honest Hungarians, and the picture that the country showed to the outside world.

Ránki, György: *A német–magyar kapcsolatok néhány problémája, 1933–1944* (Some problems in German–Hungarian relations, 1933–1944). *Valóság,* No. 9. 1981. pp. 1–18.

Kompország katonái (The soldiers of ferry-land). Miklós Béládi, Tibor Cseres, Tibor Erényi, Gyula Juhász and the author discuss András Simonffy's collage novel. *Életünk,* No. 1. 1982. pp. 31–41.

G. L.

MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION

The Hungarian Sociological Society held in 1981 a scientific conference on social groups living in a state of multiple deprivation. Although the National Planning Office and specialists had dealt with these questions earlier, this was the first occasion that the problems found a forum for discussion from several angles.

According to István Huszár, Head of the Institute of the Social Sciences, who gave the introductory lecture, persons or families are deprived when their opportunities to satisfy their needs, their living conditions and their opportunities in life are substantially worse than those for the majority of society.

The section of the population whose monthly income was below 1200 forint per capita numbered over 700 thousand in 1977. Huszár defines two large social groups in the low income stratum: pensioner households, and the unskilled worker and agricultural manual groups. In the latter group, families with three or more children are in an especially difficult situation. Although in the past twenty years income inequalities have diminished both as between the main occupation groups and between town and country, disadvantage in income for the families bringing up children has not been reduced in comparison with the childless and families with a single child; this is despite the fact that the amount of family allowance and other population policy allocations have considerably increased.

Deprivations caused by housing conditions affect those living in cramped and

poorly equipped residential housing and also young families who find it very difficult to obtain living quarters. Educational deprivations primarily affect approximately five per cent of children who do not complete the eight forms of primary school, those who attend auxiliary schools, and the Gypsy population. Huszár stressed that the deprived must not be identified with the Gypsy ethnic group, since a considerable portion of the latter are not among those with a low income, and the low income stratum is much more numerous than the ethnic Gypsy population.

An important group is that of children at risk, including those in state care. The lecture also dealt with disadvantages in old age, with the situation of the chronically ill and disabled, and finally provided data on the number and composition of those finding it difficult to adapt socially, deviants.

Especially grave problems exist in cases where deprivations are multiple. Huszár assumes that multiple deprivation will exist as a problem in the coming decades too, though the relative weight of the factors causing deprivation may change. Consequently, moderating the deprivations, providing support for this stratum cannot be dramatic in effect, but requires great perseverence and a great deal of time. State and social help are both needed. Some deprivations may be mitigated by social monetary allowances, health and educational measures. But at present we do not yet have available a complex concept of welfare policy and its instrumentation through which reproduction of the deprived situation can be limited. This is not the least of sociology's tasks.

After this introduction, the conference discussed in five sections questions connected with deprivation. These were: the role of the social structure in the creation and multiplication of deprivations; 2. the role of income, housing and the settlement environment in deprivation; 3. deprivation at various stages in life (families with young children, the old); 4. educational deprivations; 5. deviance as the cause and consequence of social deprivations.

Huszár, István: *A hátrányoshelyzetűek Magyarországon* (The deprived in Hungary). *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1981. No. 6. pp. 89–100.

Böhm, Antal (ed): *Vita a többoldalúan hátrányoshelyzetű csoportokról* (Debate on multiple deprived groups). *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1981. No. 6. pp. 100–109.

R. A.

DEFENDING THE VILLAGE

Hungary inherited from the past a very unevenly developed pattern of settlements. Until 1945 she had a capital city, Budapest, a true metropolis, but she had no other modern large city. In the first 10 to 15 years following the Second World War, little was done to mitigate these regional inequalities. Rapid industrialization could be achieved at the lowest cost in the already existing large industrial concentration—Budapest. However, the drawbacks of this regional development soon became manifest: manpower reserves became exhausted in Budapest, the infrastructure became overburdened, a grave housing shortage developed. For these reasons, the goal of decentralizing economic development was formulated around 1960. Great emphasis was laid on developing five important cities in the country, to allow these to become counterweights to Budapest. The pattern of settlement plan adopted by the Government in 1971 went further: in addition to the high priority urban centres it marked out medium priority centres (some of which had already achieved city status, other townships were marked for development into cities). The purpose of all this was for every part of the country to have a centre exercising urban functions so that no area of the country would lack a city. The plan further set out those villages which, as low priority centres were to prove basic supplies and services to the surrounding villages.

Both studies analyze trends observed since the adoption and realization of the plan and the shortcomings which have occurred. The biggest problems are seen at the village level. Here progress has been unsatisfactory, and in certain areas a regression has even occurred. György Enyedi points out the disproportionate and increasing urban concentration of communal development. For instance, in 1979 cities used up 88 per cent of the country's total communal development fund (42 per cent by Budapest alone) even though 47 per cent of Hungary's population lives in villages. Consequently, the majority of the villages designated as lower priority centres made insufficient progress, and those with a population of under one thousand actually declined. Their population diminished and became aged, their basic services (including schools) became more remote from urban basic services. Consequently people living there have to put up with a number of handicaps.

The progress made by some small towns and townships chosen for development into cities has not been entirely satisfactory either. Larger cities, especially county seats often received too high a share of the development funds.

Recognizing these shortcomings, the Government modified in 1981 the earlier settlement development plan. György Enyedi stresses that it will be necessary to decentralize decision making on settlement development, to increase opportunities for city and especially village councils to find finance and exercise initiative, so that development of the infrastructure can be less uneven and adequate basic services can be provided in the smaller villages too.

Kőszegfalvi, György: *A magyarországi településrendszer helyzete, fejlődésének sajátosságai, fejlesztésének feladatai* (The situation of the settlement network in Hungary, characteristics of its progress, tasks for its development). *Demográfia,* 1981. Nos. 2–3. pp. 218–242.

Enyedi, György: *A magyar településhálózat átalakulási tendenciái* (Transformation tendencies in the Hungarian settlement network). *Magyar Tudomány,* 1981. No. 10. pp. 727–734.

R. A.

HUNGARIAN ENTERPRISES ON THE REFORM PATH

It is a commonplace among East European economists that in discussing the economies of these countries, the authors speak of a centralized and a decentralized model. In the former the plan instructions flow from the centre of economic guidance, in the latter the market relations of autonomous enterprises help to explain the functioning of the system.

Schweitzer boldly breaks with this bipolar theoretical construction and claims that—at least in Hungary—since the end of the fifties we have been able to witness the gradual realization of a third model or type, in which elements of both types have to be present, but not with determining force. There is good reason why—and this is amply illustrated by the author—the ideology and theory of the model can be reconstructed from the writings of some Hungarian economists.

The new type, which is called by Schweitzer "economic guidance relying on enterprise responsibility for supply," assumes that the enterprises are merged in such sizes that they enjoy a monopolistic position on the market for a range of products, and that they can consequently be made responsible for efficiently assessing demand for a given range of products and for producing enough to satisfy this demand. In its own field, the main repository for planning is an enterprise which has a clear range of products, and which has no competitor.

However,—contrary to expectations—the monopolistic enterprises with a large range of products have encountered similar problems in planning as central planning used to in the plan precept system. Central

planning by its very nature could not cope with the wide assortment of goods, the demand for small series, the quality, after-sales service, supply of spare parts. In contrast, in the system of economic guidance relying on enterprise responsibility for supply, the planners of the large enterprises disregard all this because the interest of the large enterprise in a monopolistic position is to produce the largest possible series of the smallest possible number of products, and there is no competition to induce it to accept the additional costs which a wider range, constant improvement in quality, good after-sales service and spare part supply would involve.

Schweitzer's hypothesis is not only interesting because he endeavours to generalize symptoms which are to be seen frequently in practice, but in so doing he may have a very fertile impact on economic thought. But it cannot be excluded that his ideas will be used by those economists who in their analysis of the past quarter century are trying to reduce the importance of the reform of 1968 and who like to stress the—according to this reviewer, imposed—idea of unbroken progress and a troublefree process of reforms lasting since 1957.

Schweitzer, Iván: *A vállalati szervezet és a gazdasági mechanizmus néhány összefüggése* (Some interconnections between enterprise organization and the economic mechanism). *Közgazdasági Szemle*, 1978. Nos. 7–8. pp. 807–816.

M. L.

IONS AND SOLUTIONS

Although the first quantitative theory on electrolites, that is solutions capable of conducting electric current, is nearly one hundred years old, we are still not able to satisfactorily interpret their behaviour.

The chemist thinks in models. He makes assumptions concerning the structure of the material to be studied, and compares the results of calculations based on these assumptions with experimental values. According to assumptions made by the Indian scholar J. C. Ghosh in the final years of the Great War, ions take up a strict order in the solution, just as in the crystals of solids. The Ghosh-theory, called the lattice-model, has long been replaced by the Debye-Hückel theory, according to which the positioning of the ions is characterized more by smudging than by localization. In recent years the—now statistically interpreted—lattice-like model for electrolites has again become popular. This would seem to be another example of how science evokes by reviving, under the influence of new ideas, an idea which was thought to have been superceded.

The international effort in reinterpreting electrochemical facts includes some outstanding Hungarian scientists. The work of Imre Ruff, Professor of Inorganic and Analytical Chemistry at the Eötvös Loránd University, and collaborators have greatly enhanced the capacity of the lattice model. In the model they make assumptions concerning the interaction between ions situated, in the statistical sense, on points of the lattice, calculate the pair correlation functions characteristic of the interaction, and draw conclusions on the thermodynamic properties of the system. Their models offer alternatives, especially for the explanation of the behaviour of concentrated solutions with strong electrolites.

The work of József Liszti (Chemical University, Veszprém) and Lajos Mészáros (Electrochemical Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) carried out with Imre Ruff, on the non-linear dielectric behaviour of liquids, is partly based on Ruff's work on the lattice model.

Journal of Chemical Soc. Faraday. Trans. Vol. 77. pp. 1189–1202. 1981. Journal of Chemical Physics. Vol. 74. pp, 6896–6901. 1981.

P. É.

SYNTHETIC SEX HORMONES

Gonadoliberin (in the scientific literature also known as Gn-RH) is the brain hormone regulating the secretion of the gonadotropic hormones in the pituitary gland. Gonadotropic hormones control not only egg maturation and ovulation in women but also spermatogenesis in men. Thus, gonadoliberin plays a key role in controlling sexual and reproductive functions. The hormone was discovered in the US in 1971 by A.V. Schally for which he and his two fellow researchers were awarded the Nobel Prize in Medicine in 1977. For the past ten years the Institute of Biochemistry at Semmelweis University Medical School, Budapest has been collaborating fruitfully with Schally in synthetizing new, chemically modified derivatives of gonadoliberin. These derivatives, called competitive inhibitors, have the same structure as gonadoliberin, bind to its specific receptor molecules but—in contrast to natural gonadoliberin—do not initiate the release of the gonadotropic hormones.

The screening of new compounds has revealed that the new gonadoliberin analogues have long lasting inhibitory potency on gonadotropic hormone secretion which is very advantageous in the drug control of male fertility. As a result of this research, a number of synthetic substances have been tested in humans (both in females and males) with promising laboratory results.

C, Spona, J., Seprődi, J. Teplán, I.: Inbibition of LH-Release by Synthetic Analogues of LH-RH in Rat Pituitary Cell Culture. *Peptides* 2:65–73, 1981.

Gonzalez, Barcena, D., Kastin, A. J., Coy, D. H., Nikolics, K., Schally, A. V.: Suppression of gonadotropic release in man by an inhibitory analogue of LH-RH. *Lancet* ii: 997–998, 1977.

J. H.

WITHOUT WORDS

This new theoretical approach to the old question of the unconscious is an elaborated and expanded version of a paper presented at the International Symposium on the Unconscious, organized by the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi, in 1979. After reviewing the various definitions of the unconscious by Freud and his disciples at different phases of the development of Freudian theory, the author points to the fact that unconscious can be conscious only through words: the unconscious psychic content is not accessible to verbal expression. With the help of observation from the psychoanalytic process, theoretical elements taken from different philosophical schools (Wittgenstein, Russell, Korzybski's general semantics, among others) and models of human memory the regulation of behaviour and experience is described as a complex, hierarchically organized cognitive system, a semantic structure. The conscious in this model is strictly connected to verbally expressible meanings and anything that cannot be clad in words is unconscious, since it is not integrated into the semantic structure of cognition. The unconscious content however corresponds to certain past experiences and constellations of meaning stored in the memory and can thus be retrieved by, for example, the psychoanalytical method of free associations, by the analysis of dreams, and so on. The author points out that Freud's primary concern was not so much to found a new psychology of the unconscious, but to understand the functioning of the conscious ego and to treat disturbances in this functioning. The semantic theory of the unconscious derives from the very same concern and has some relevance to the practice of psychotherapy as well as to the theory of how the human personality functions.

Buda, Béla: *A tudattalan szemantikai elmélete* (A szavak és a fogalmak szerepe a viselkedés sza-

bályozásában és az énműködések szervezésében). A Semantic Theory of the Unconscious. (The Role of Words and Concepts in the Regulation of Behaviour and the Organization of Experience.) *Pszichológia*, 1982. No. 2. pp. 47–65.

B. B.

PARADENTAL AILMENTS

Common dental ailments which lead to the loss of teeth are divided into two large groups: caries and paradental ailments. In the fifties epidemological surveys were carried out on the frequency of paradental ailments, but no uniform method was used for these surveys. More exact diagnostic criteria were needed to make comparisons valid. Such a method, called the index-number method was applied in Hungary for the first time in 1953, mainly to the gums of children. A substantial step forward came with the use of the screening method of epidemological surveys advocated by WHO and used in the Far East. From the multi-index system, by then in widespread use, K. Sally and I. Gera developed a new method for the rapid screening of the Hungarian population in groups. They applied and adapted three kinds of measurement indices: the oral hygiene, the gingival, and the paradental indices. Consequently it became possible to register the degree of gravity and intensity of paradental ailments, and to define the early symptoms. In 1973 it was established in the examination of 454 textile factory workers that not a single entirely healthy paradent was found. According to a survey made in 1975, among 1130 pregnant women only 10.8 per cent healthy paradents were found, and in 89,2 per cent of cases gingivitis was diagnosed. According to a screening of 454 primary school children in 1976, 84,3 per cent had gingivitis, and 50 per cent of six year old children had inflamed gums. Epidemological surveys indicating the intensity of paradental ailments produced indices showing that the deterioration of oral hygiene was generally parallel with the gravity of paradental ailments. Dr. Jolán Bánóczy, Director of the Dental Conservation Department of the Semmelweis University Medical School is a leading theoretical and practical expert on these widespread dental diseases. Her comprehensive treatise also offers advice, and emphasises that the worldwide accent is on the complex prevention of paradental ailments. The treble index system, developed in Hungary, ensures this and is a remarkable achievement by the Hungarian health service.

Dr. Bánóczy, Jolán: *A paradentopátiák etiopatogenezise, klinikai lefolyása, a gyógyítás és megelőzés eszközei*. (The ethiopatogenesis of paradentopathies, their clinical course, the instruments of cure and prevention). *Orvosi Hetilap*, 1982. vol. 123. No. 7. pp. 387–393.

L. I.

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Ethnographia—the quarterly of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society

Acta Archeologica—a quarterly of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Történelmi Szemle—a quarterly of the Institute of Historical Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Valóság—a monthly of the social sciences

Életünk—a literary review published in Szombathely

Társadalmi Szemle—the theoretical and political monthly of the HSWP

Demográfia—a quarterly of the Committee for Demography of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Central Statistics Office

Magyar Tudomány—a monthly journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

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

Pszichológia—a quarterly of the Institute of Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Orvosi Hetilap—a weekly for medical practitioners

SURVEYS

ISTVÁN KARDOS

DARWINISM TODAY

A Discussion by Hungarian Biologists

The 18th April saw the 100th anniversary of Darwin's death. By December 1981 150 years had passed since he set out on his journey around the world to collect the materials on which he was to base his fundamental treatise. During his life and after his death, Darwin stood in the crossfire of controversy for having made a discovery of ideological importance. For some years silence seemed to surround Darwinism, but recent years have seen vigorous arguments, especially on his theory of evolution. Among the many, I select one, from a lecture by Colin Patterson at the Museum of Natural History in London, where he said: "As it turns out, all one can learn about the history of life is learned from systematics, from the groupings one finds in nature. The rest of it is storytelling of one sort or another. We have access to the tips of the tree; the tree itself is theory, and people who pretend to know about the tree and to describe what went on in it—how the branches came off and the twigs came off—are, I think, telling stories." (Quoted in Brian Leith: "Animal, Vegetable or Mineral...", *The Listener*, 8 October 1981. p. 390.) Patterson set off a lively debate, but neither his opinion nor the question mark he adds to the theory of evolution derived from or attributed to Darwin appear to be unique. Thus it has seemed worthwhile to sound out several leading Hungarian biologists.

I put my questions to Professor Gábor Vida (head of the Department of Genetics, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), Professor Vilmos Csányi (director of the Laboratory of Behaviour Genetics, Eötvös Loránd University, Gödöllő), and Professor Géza Tóth (head of the Chair of Biology at the postgraduate school of the National Institute of Education, Budapest).

István Kardos: Do you think that this debate about the Darwinian theory is justified, is there a topical reason, or has it flared up just now by chance?

Gábor Vida: It is typical, since in the development of any branch of science it is from time to time necessary to compare newly discovered data with earlier hypotheses. This ensures the development of the theory. Darwin's great discovery is the scientific theory of the origin and evolution of the species. The essence of its starting point is that in the natural populations of every species variation and reproduction, accompanied by natural selection, ensure permanent adjustment, inadeptedness. This revolutionary claim became very popular in the second half of the last century and, in the beginning serious conflict only arose when there was an attempt to extend these theses to man. The first debates which were genuinely scientific took place when there was an attempt after the turn of the century to reconcile the laws of Mendel and other fundamental laws of genetics with Darwin's earlier doctrines. Then biologists

divided into two camps: the Mendelists and the Darwinists. The Darwinists were then mainly taxonomists and biometricians (interestingly, today the situation is reversed), who were able to observe continuous variation in nature and tried to interpret this through the process of evolution. From another side, the geneticists of the period, such as De Vries, Morgan and his collaborators found that inherited change was not continuous but occurred in jumps (mutations), and this appeared to contradict Darwin's earlier observations. For some time the two extreme views were opposed to each other, and the contradiction was only resolved when, on the one hand further genetic research confirmed that mutation was often not a great leap but a small change which could be explained by disturbing environmental influences and hence did not interrupt the process. This was also confirmed by the discovery of polygenic inheritance. On the other hand, the Darwinist camp also tried to argue through the support of empirical methods which were more convincing to the Mendelists. Before then, only Mendelians had thought in experimental systems. They had tried to make most environmental conditions uniform, so as to obtain a more unequivocal answer to the question put in the experiment. As is well known, in nature many kinds of forces exercise their influence simultaneously, and this can muddle the causal interpretation of phenomena. Finally, the two kinds of views approached each other to the extent that towards the end of the thirties a synthetic theory of evolution could appear in Dobzhansky's book: *Genetics and the Origin of Species.* The title itself indicates that genetics and Darwinism can be reconciled. This happy symbiosis lasted for rather a long time. The Darwin centenary of 1959, by which I now mean the 100th anniversary of the first publication of *The Origin of Species,* took place during this happy state of affairs. However, in the sixties genetic and population-biological research brought results which again put a question mark to the neo-Darwinistic synthesis. This opposition was joined by a further group in the seventies: some paleontologists and systematicists. They were of the opinion that the thorough stratigraphic examination of the fossil finds refuted the hypothesis of gradual or slow transformation as interpreted by the Darwinistic or, even the neo-Darwinistic, concept.

Géza Tóth: Let me go back for a moment to the 19th century. In point of fact, the evolution theory, which we link to Darwin, has appeared in Lamarck's *La Philosophie Zoologique.* The tragic fate of this work is well-known and is partly explicable by its being very difficult to read. The book appeared in France in 1809, and the *Origin of Species* came out a generation later, in 1859. It had a resounding success. The storm around the book went far beyond biology, and positions taken for or against Darwin were those of a confrontation of ideological views, since the original Darwinist concept formulated the historicity of the living world. But Lamarck must not be forgotten either, since Lamarckism became also an ism, as Darwin's work did, and survived for a long time.

Vilmos Csányi: I am one of those who also believe that the essence of the Darwinian concept was that the structure of creatures now living is the result of a long historic process. The question is, what explanation for this do we expect from the theory of evolution? If we expect it to reveal exact events, that it should tell through which precise steps a given species developed, almost from generation to generation, then we are expecting something of the order of asking a physicist to deduce from the location and speed of a molecule in a gas which may be observed at a given moment, the events going back many hours or days which brought the molecule into its given location. To this question the physicist would have to answer that

he is unable to do this although he knows the laws governing every single step. I believe this to be the root of the problem. By blending the Darwinian concept and genetics, we discovered those elementary processes, those elementary laws which influence the origin of the species, the development of the living world, but this knowledge does not make it possible to discover the exact history of events in a concrete case, but permits us only to predict the behaviour of the whole system. If we interpret modern evolution theory as a theory which is able to offer a certain knowledge about the whole system of the living world, then we ask our questions in an entirely different way and expect the answers somewhere else.

Popper said about twenty years ago that the evolution theory—by which he meant the neo-Darwinistic theory—was not a genuine scientific theory but a metaphysical construction, which was unsuitable for prediction. If, according to what has been said, we expect that this prediction should describe retrospectively the exact movement of concrete structures, then his statement is true. But if we put the question in terms of a system's theory, how the living world changes, how its structures fit each other, what future movements can be expected in this system, then we are able to set out a great number of predictions and these may even be checked experimentally.

Tóth: May I join in by stating that Darwin's oeuvre may ultimately be considered as a paradigm which broke through an attitude, a static view, which he made dynamic through his theory of evolution. I don't know whether I can use the analogy—since the laws of nature have been mentioned here in which both coincidence and necessity play a role in the processes—that this is in fact a game of bridge played in the past, in other words, impossible to reconstruct. If I say that life originated three thousand five hundred million years ago, then the process cannot be repeated in the context in which it occurred. This is not what biologists expect from their experiments; they want to learn the laws of nature; it is not the exact hands and card play of a game of bridge played in the past that interest scientists but the rules of bridge as such, and these rules are accessible to them; in this case we do not present a request to nature to which no answer is possible. The rules of the game of bridge are like the laws of nature, and these can be recognized.

Kardos: Returning to Patterson's finding or, claim, rather, that everything that refers beyond the top of the tree to its branches, its saplings, cuttings, and the arms of the tree is but a fable, does the Darwinian theory of evolution satisfy the progress of the theory of systems, or does it perhaps impede it?

Csányi: There is an essential point here. The theory elaborated by Darwin was also a kind of simplification, since it extrapolated out of the extremely complex factors some very essential ones; but it also contained numerous oversimplifications which would not be permissible in today's science. He did not, for instance, take into account the feedback effect of evolutionary change, namely that the organism, while it changes under the influence of the environment, becomes itself part of the environment, and by its own change induces changes in the environment. This, in turn, reacts and so on. In a simple system, in which constant environmental conditions exist, it is very simple to explain also the exact changes of the structures. A number of such models have already been made. I am thinking, for instance, of Eigen's DNA evolution models, the computer simulation of which brilliantly confirms the thesis that if we define certain environmental conditions, the influence of these on an evolving structure can be described perfectly. But the problem is that the actual, the real system is not so simple, there are feedback processes in it,

the organism itself is also its own environment, and therefore changes of a much more complicated system must be predicted, in which the concept entirely disappears as to what is the organism, what is the environment, since the living world itself is the most essential environment of all its own constitutive elements. In other words, we are facing here a system which is fed back on itself, the laws of which we do not yet know sufficiently. We now begin to recognize that a system of such a type is concerned, and a genuine new evolutionary synthesis will arise when we have recognized the evolutionary laws of the systems fed back on themselves, and then we again can return to the question whether the fate of the individual structures can be predicted, and if yes, to what extent.

Tóth: First, I would like to go on from what Professor Vida said, but I would add that the precondition for the development of population genetics was the recognition of the Hardy-Weinberg rule on the frequency of genes in various generations on a population at the beginning of the century. That rule was then set in respect of ideal populations, just as the laws of the behaviour of gas were set for ideal gases. Its discovery was of great importance because through the Hardy-Weinberg rule we recognized the internal, inherent properties of the population as such, and if we take away any parameter from the ideal population, we can separately examine its effect. For instance, we are aware that in the ideal population the number of individuals is infinite. If, for instance, this criterion does not apply, but let us say a population minimum occurs, and for instance two individuals each land on different islands, in this case it can be assumed that if 64 pairs of individuals of entirely identical genetics are crossed on islands, and bring about, for instance, only three progenies, then already a divergence occurs among the islands. For instance, on one island a gene becomes fixed, while on another island another gene becomes eliminated due to chance. All those differences would increase among the islands until there is an adequate number of individuals to permit the laws of population genetics to apply in accordance with the law of great numbers. What is involved here is that the Hardy-Weinberg rule representing population genetics also discloses the internal inherent properties of the population. Of course, an ideal population exists only very approximately. (It can be confirmed that mere chance already leads to divergence.) The other question is or, rather, my second comment is a question to Professor Csányi. To what extent would he say that external and internal determinants play a role in evolution, to what extent can properties already existing in a living being restrict the range of possible changes?

Csányi: In the debate on evolution it was always very important that we should define in some way the extent of determination between organism and environment. Extreme arguments existed. One view, which was perhaps still represented by the classical geneticists Weismann and Morgan, claimed that in the properties, links, and evolution of the living being it was the internal determination which was decisive, since the genetic material fixed all the information necessary for the full development of the living being. This was opposed by a view which stressed the environment, which saw the motive force of all change in external environmental conditions. I believe that this organism-environment dichotomy must be resolved by the modern theory of evolution. Every organism has an environment, but if we count the various environmental factors we find that this environment is to a decisive extent a living environment, and the so-called physical factors, temperature, insolation, chemical materials, and the like count only to a rather small extent. From the functional aspect, the construction, movement, and links of the living beings are determined decisively by other living beings. If we narrow our investigations

down to the cell, then the opposition of environment to organism is justified, and then we can claim that the structural information accumulated in the entire earlier history of the organism is in essence the genetic material, and it is the interaction of this with the environment which determines the functioning, history, and fate of the organism. By the environment we mean of course the entire living world. But if we look here for the real determinants, we find that this dichotomy disappears, the living world as a whole determines its own evolution, because it is its own most important environment. Consequently, within the living world it is always the internal contradictions which advance evolution; a perfect internal determination exists which appears in the case of the cell, of the individual organism, as a sort of environment.

Kardos: I should like to return to the basic problem. Is the argument, which has been begun now by the taxonomists and which attacks what they see as existing shortcomings of the Darwinian theory of evolution, justified? How does the possible obsolesence or contestability of Darwin's theory of evolution influence their work?

Vida: I wouldn't say that everything in their attack is fair. Their choice of time to attack is critical because what is called the neo-Darwinian concept has been under attack from other sides too. A group of population geneticists expressed doubts on the importance of evolution through adaptation. This area of evolutionary theory came under fire and the cladists also contributed. They tried to turn this uncertain condition to their own advantage. If somebody is insufficiently informed on evolutionary theories, if he does not know or understand the population genetic models, which at present attempt to describe or to interpret approximately the phenomena of evolution making tremendous efforts and making use of a tremendous mathematical apparatus, he may be inclined to reject the whole thing claiming that the models are unnecessary, because they cannot give an adequate answer to the questions of evolution raised.

For a taxonomist the goal is to draw up an adequate system. The question of what basis to adopt to draw up this system is something else. The living world can be classified from a merely pragmatic point of view, plants can be divided into those which are useful and those which are not. This has obviously nothing to do with evolution. But it is possible to make a nonphylogenetic system in a less trivial way too. In the sixties such modern methods already existed, for example numeric taxonomy, which—taking a maximum number of characteristics into account—expressed the similarities in dendrograms. Earlier it was fashionable to develop a system based on evolutionary history, which was believed to reflect evolutionary interconnections. But, in fact, with most concrete derivations we do not know whether they in fact do or do not reflect evolutionary connections, because we lack the evidence. However, we cannot expect the evidence from the theory of evolution, but only from paleontology or taxonomical research. Today we are already in possession of methods through which we can compare genetic material adequately, and from such estimates of similarity we can obtain a much more objective picture of the relations in the history of development than on the basis of arbitrarily chosen external morphological marks.

Tóth: Does it not worry the paleontologists that—as we have heard—evolution occurs on the level of population, but paleontology uncovers only individual, sporadic finds, and the material of finds does not provide a picture of the population which then existed, which can be reconstructed—I believe.

Kardos: Of course these individuals are not necessarily chance phenomena.

Vida: The sample which is uncovered by the paleontologist is not a chance sample but it is not a characteristic sample

either. Any kind of fossilization requires adequate circumstances for something to remain, and this process is very selective. At the same time it is also obvious that it is probable that only the most frequent species will become fossilized, and that rare species will not. And here there is a very important aspect. We know from modern theories of population genetics that rapid evolutionary transformation can often occur in a reduced population. While one species is transformed into another species the size of the population is very small, and in this case fossilization is very unlikely. Consequently, there are many cases in succesive geological strata where one species disappears and then suddenly another species appears—without any transitions. This phenomenon also has another biogeographic explanation. Specialization mostly does not occur in one and the same place. After migrating from one place, a species is transformed and then may return later as a new species. But the paleontologist examines the local series of strata and there again finds that the species replace each other in jumps. This does not necessarily mean that there one species transformed itself abruptly into another, as many paleontologists have recently argued in refutation of the Darwinian concept; the phenomenon is probably simply an artifact, the interpretation of which is no problem when applying an adequate knowledge of the evolutionary genetics which we possess today.

Csányi: To continue along this line of thought, a modern theory of evolution should not only deal with the genesis and origin of species, since we are well aware that the organization of the living world is on several levels or storeys, levels of the gene, the cell, the individual organism, the species, the population, or the ecosystem. The evolution of ecosystems influences at least as decisively as the fate, origin or disappearance of the individual species, but this may only be reconstructed by discovering the functional connections, and for this we lack adequate tools at this moment. Consequently, a genuine order of descent can be formulated by simultaneously taking into consideration events which occur on all levels. At the beginning of the evolution of biology, taxonomics could be built up without taking into consideration phylogenetics, but modern taxonomy cannot contradict phylogenetics, although it is to be recognized that it is also possible to have a taxonomy independent of phylogenetics. The question is whether it is really useful. We shall argue for a long time how some concrete evolutionary step occurred, and here taxonomy can also be used; however, taxonomy will not replace the doctrine of evolution, and in my view it cannot be in contradiction to it.

Kardos: What has been said does reveal that the arguments around Darwin became acute primarily because of progress in the biological sciences. This is something which exists and is to be experienced in the history of every science. I would like to ask your views on the latest or anticipated discoveries in genetics. Can they be expected to influence the theory of evolution?

Vida: Recent advance in molecular genetics has led to almost spectacular new discoveries. The organization of the genes of higher plants and animals, the evolutionary aspects of split gene character are for the time being unclear. It seems that the parasexual possibilities in the transfer of genes do not exist only in laboratories. All this will modify our views on evolution, but not radically. I hardly believe that the fundamental hypotheses must be thrown out altogether, but that only the parameters must be revised. For instance, the concept of mutation—which appears in evolutionary models as a Greek letter (μ)—has been modified considerably in biology and in population genetics.

There is another very interesting phenomenon which is also essential for its evolutionary aspect. The often repeated, mul-

tiple copies of genes made a new mechanism possible (see "Evolution and Variation of Multigene Families," by Tomoko Ohta) in connection with evolutionary adaptation and random neutral changes. The redundancy of certain genes can at the same time explain phenomena such as stasigenesis, in which the morphology of a species remains unchanged over many generations and even over millions of years. If the genetic information exists redundantly, and also—as had been proved—a mechanism exists which is able to maintain this multiple condition in an unchanged form, this can ensure that living fossils, which existed many million years ago, should still exist today.

There is another interesting recent discovery which may perhaps modify the theory of evolution. Jumping genes are able to pass through the chromosome from one point to the other with the help of certain elements. Through a modification to the concept of mutation this can also be interpreted. It is still a mystery, on the other hand, why there is a difference between the putative number of genes in most higher plants and animals and the quantity of DNA necessary to code for them. There is a great lot more DNA in the cells than should be according to our present knowledge. It is imaginable that the evolutionary mechanism in this phenomenon may be connected with entirely different unusual phenomena, to which, for instance, Crick directed attention recently by introducing the concept of the "selfish DNA." In sum, these genetic discoveries influence to some extent our ideas on evolution, but not on the level of the fundamental mechanism.

Kardos: It is not by coincidence that arguments around Darwinist theory arouse such great interest. I believe this to be connected to the fact that the theory of evolution is not merely a biological problem but its validity and importance extends to almost all natural and social sciences.

Csányi: We have been able to observe two trends in recent years. One is that the other natural sciences have also discovered historicity of their own subjects; for instance, classical physics, which is in a certain sense the physics of momentary phenomena, nowadays seeks explanations for how some phenomena or changes occurred. Whether we consider geological phenomena or, for example, phenomena connected with astronomy, the evolution of the universe, the phenomena have also a history, which explains and brings about the condition which is explained by the laws of physics, but by themselves the laws of physics are insufficient for a full understanding of the condition which has come about. As may be seen, a trend is being developed in the other natural sciences too which would like to deduce from the present condition the chain of events, their sequence and history, and this is generally called research of an evolutionary approach. This is fully justified, and in this the effect of biology on the other natural sciences can easily be proved. Another trend, which may perhaps be called the generalization of the laws of evolution, examines all those phenomena which have occurred as consequences to the classical biological evolutions. We can today interpret this study of evolution as a system theory which deals with systems in which there are structures, in which structures appear and disappear and are able to influence the probabilities in each other's genesis. If these basic conditions exist, we may speak of an evolutionary system. The living world fully satisfies the criteria for such a system.

At the same time, in the behaviour of animals, in the functioning of the central nervous system we also find phenomena which indicate that an evolutionary system functions there too. Structures which regulate behaviour come about and decompose in the brain of an animal which has a nervous system, these structures react on each other and they are influenced by the environment of the animal. This is why an increasing number of researchers into be-

haviour have begun to interpret the behaviour-regulating system of the brain as an evolutionary system. We seek analogies, common laws, which describe the movements of the brain in the same way as they have been seen in the case of all biological evolution.

The other sphere is the evolution of society. We mentioned at the beginning of this conversation that the concept of evolution did not in fact emerge first in biology but in the social sciences; up to now the social sciences have not disposed of sufficient or exact observation, of a sufficient mass of data which would have made the elaboration of a genuine evolution concept possible. But again we consider at present that of the forces moving society concepts and ideas play a very important role which—accumulated in the brains of the individuals—influence the activity and behaviour of individuals, and in their interaction the entire movement of society. We are looking for laws which—from the functional interaction of individual ideastructures—lead to some conclusions concerning the total movement of society. Here the same tremendous unsolved problem exists, as it did when we tried to explain from the interaction of genes the entire evolutionary process. It is likely that we are facing two systems of an identical type, identical laws are at work, and we would like to find, compare and apply these laws.

Finally, I should mention that a meta-evolutionary trend has begun to take shape, which deals with abstract systems and their mathematics, in which the properties characteristic of the simplest evolutionary system may be found, to wit, the formation of structures, their decomposition, replication, and the laws of these systems are being sought. It was a mathematician of Hungarian origin, John von Neumann, who set off this research by elaborating the theory of the self-reproducing cell-automaton. This research may have an important role in the area of learning automatons, various cell-regulating systems, and the application of artificial intelligence. We hope that the research in various areas may lead shortly, perhaps even in our lifetime, to a synthesis, to an entirely new theory of evolution, which will be able to encompass all classes of phenomena in common laws. I consider my recent book, published in 1982 in English by Akadémiai Kiadó, to be a step in this direction: Vilmos Csányi, "*General Theory of Evolution.*"

BALÁZS LENGYEL

WRITING FOR CHILDREN

In Hungary, there is no sharp division between books intended for children and young people and those for adults, especially where literary values are concerned. Writers, of course, do take into consideration age groups and adapt to the interests, experience and receptivity of young people but what one can certainly not say is that artists write for adults and craftsmen for young people. However, it is also true that books for the young do not have the esteem, the success nor the press coverage as books for adults. Nevertheless, children's books of high reputations or standards are recorded as such in the literary consciousness and thus contribute to the Hungarian literary scene.

The popularity of writers is often based on their best-selling books for the young. There is a flow between adult and juvenile literature not only downwards, which makes

masterpieces like *A Christmas Carol* and *Robinson Crusoe* reading matter for children; however, the movement can be upwards too; Saint Exupéry's *The Little Prince* has been one of the largest successes in the past ten years. Nor is Erich Kästner's *Emil* popular only with young readers. To take a Hungarian example: the uncontested success of the complicated, avantgarde and thought-provoking poetry of Sándor Weöres (his books of poems are published in editions of 20,000 and even 50,000) can be partly explained by the fact that in the past twenty years or so every school-child has learned his splendid poems for children by heart.

The aesthetic standards of those Hungarian books for the young which shade into adult literature and the higher than usual prestige they enjoy are not the achievements of the present. It may be surprising to say so, but all this is the result of the dogmatic literary policy of the years after 1948. Those lucky writers who, throughout the world, did not have to experience Zhdanovian cultural policy, should thank their lucky stars every day for having been so spared. My contemporaries, the generation of writers now sixty have not been spared: this policy either compelled them to silence or caught them in the Zhdanovian net. Apart from translation there remained only one outlet for them: to write books for the young. Those writers who today more or less represent Hungarian writing abroad, such as Iván Mándy, Magda Szabó, and Miklós Mészöly, or the poets Sándor Weöres, János Pilinszky, and Ágnes Nemes Nagy, were only able to publish translations and books for children in that decade in Hungary. This transformation of the majority of our best writers—the above is not a complete list—into writers for children resulted in a boom in children's literature in the fifties, determined its still valid aesthetic and influenced how we assess childrens' writers. Another result was that those writers who wished to carry out this false policy with honest intentions realized that if they wanted to get their ideas and message across they had to abandon that trivial, earthbound didactic pseudo-naturalism which had been set before them as the model to be followed. In contrast to the practice of both the recent and remote past, the aesthetic impact of juvenile literature emerged as the condition for its ethical, ideological and pedagogical effectivity—quite simply, a book had to be good reading.

However natural this may seem now, this was quite something under the constraints of our literary policy, if for no other reason than that literature directed at children is a fairly new genre everywhere, not much more than hundred years old. The genre had emerged as literature from the cocoon of pedagogic advice and rhymed tags about good manners or how to wash yourself.

In Hungary there had been some attempts to develop this genre (on the part of writers as good and as well-known as Ferenc Móra): some masterpieces did appear, such as *A Pál utcai fiúk* (The boys of Pál Street), by Ferenc Molnár, which has been translated into every major language, or *Légy jó mindhalálig* (Be good onto death), by Zsigmond Móricz, one of the greatest of Hungarian writers. Nevertheless it is no exaggeration to say that children's writing became a real literary genre in the period after 1948. This date certainly marks the beginning of common forms of expression in adult and juvenile literature; it rejected the old belief that there was the old tree of adult literature alongside the sapling of juvenile literature. Both are off-shoots of the same tree.

What does this mean in conceptual language? Literature uses everyday language to say things which could not be said if everyday language were not utilized artistically. So it uses and abuses everyday language: this is especially flagrant in modern poetry. This abuse is art or, more precisely, the idiom of artistic expression which

changes with the ages. It is neither healthy nor fortunate if the idiom of our age in adult literature does not penetrate juvenile literature. There should be no sharp difference between the two forms of expression: the children of the 20th century should not only read books written in the manner of the 19th century, for our century has greatly transformed the forms of artistic expression.

So in the last twenty odd years the task facing writers of children's books in Hungary has been to make this literature up-to-date, to modernize it as far as possible within the framework of its given genres and potentials.

The many difficulties in achieving this appeared when they set about modernizing the genres used in writing for children. Here, all the problems emerged sharply: obsolete traditions, conditioned tastes, the impact of the regressive tendencies of an outmoded world outlook.

A new idiom for the youngest

The difficulties and achievements merit detailed evaluation within each genre. Let me start with the genre where we have achieved a complete breakthrough: poetry for children. Strange though it may seem, poetry is today the leading genre in juvenile literature: it is extremely rich and popular, individual volumes appear in editions of thirty to forty thousand, anthologies in editions over 100,000 copies. (We have a population of ten million.) This poetry addressed even to the youngest children uses the same devices and idioms as that written for adults. This is not limited to the impact of Sándor Weöres, that poet of genius who has offered children a series of brilliant poems conceived from linguistic, rhythmical and intellectual playfulness, elements of folksongs and surrealism; quite a number of excellent poets have, partly from necessity and partly from choice, discovered or found themselves in poems written for children. Some, such as the late Zoltán Zelk, tell children about their own proletarian childhood, and elevated bitter memories to lyricism through sympathy and humanity; others, such as Károly Tamkó Sirató, the militant avantgardist of the 20s, have crated a playful word magic through a sparklingly witty handling of language. Some objective, intellectual poets have revealed their repressed childish humour and created truly lyrical verse by developing material and ideas not utilized in their work written for adults. (Ágnes Nemes Nagy is a good example here.) This list could be extended as I have mentioned only a few of the pioneers: I have not mentioned Lajos Kassák, who created the Hungarian avantgarde movement early in the century, or Lőrinc Szabó, an outstanding lyrical poet of the mid-century. And there is, of course the younger generation from which mention must be made of István Kormos, Ottó Orbán, Sándor Csoóri and of the excitingly original Dezső Tandori.

There is only one conclusion I would like to draw from this tremendously successful renaissance in lyrical poetry for children: the 20th century poem generally rejected or resisted by conservative tradition strikes the child's imagination directly through its bold, fantasy-liberating associations and linguistic playfulness. Children enjoy this poetry which, to them, says much more than the old type of poetry, which was scarcely more than rhymed and rhythmical prose.

Let me now consider another genre, the tale. This is much more traditional, given the fact that the folk-tale has been the basis of children's literature for a very long time, indeed it was once the literature for children. Folk tales are of course always being printed in large editions: not only Hungarian folk tales but naturally also the tales and fables of other peoples from German, French and English, to those from neighbouring countries to African, Asian and even American Indian folk tales.

But what about newly created stories, how can the ancient genre be enriched? And how can the new story be modern, for today? Certainly not by putting the eternal fictional elements and motifs into a sort of kaleidoscope and turning them around. This would be impracticable. So the pioneers in the field have done something quite different. From the folk-tale they have taken the naturalness with which it steps from the real to the imaginary, they have taken its means of dealing out justice; these they have applied to modern life and spiced with the surrealistic and the grotesque. These stories remind one more or less of the folk tale (sometimes they are even the persiflage of their own genre). Here are the names of some of the many excellent storywriters: Miklós Mészöly (as I have said already, he is one of our best contemporary writers), Ákos Tordon, Margit Petrolay, Ágnes Bakó, Ede Tarbay and, last but not least, Ervin Lázár, a born story-teller, who has used all the means available to modern poetry and created a new and original fairy-tale world. Sándor Török, another writer who was pushed into the background, has written a very popular series of stories on love and benevolent providence which redresses everything: in his miracle world justice is done and recompense made—children create such a world in their imagination and develop it for themselves.

Traditional forms: adventure novels, girls' novels, historical novels

Moving from lyrical poetry towards prose (the tale has one foot in the lyrical camp) we find that difficulties accumulate. How can one up-date forms as resistant to change as the novel for girls, the novel of adventure and the novel of manners written for older and younger children? To transform them, both in outlook and technique, becomes increasingly complex. Here, although the problem is important, I can only touch upon it.

Novels for girls specialize in the emotional problems of adolescents. Notwithstanding every intention of equal treatment, it must be admitted that the genre has a realistic psychological base. The world of thirteen and fourteen year-old girls is very different from that of their male coevals. However, the once fashionable conventions, represented by Marlitt, Courths-Mahler or the Swiss Johanna Spyri, their attitudes and their manner of representation, have lost all validity today. But the recognition that adolescent girls have a sovereign interior life of their own still applies, and the genre has produced some works of lasting value such as Erich Kästner's *The Two Lotties.* In Hungarian, Zsuzsa Thury's *A tűzpiros üveggömb* (The fire-red glass ball) gives a good representation of this interior world, although with a flashback into the past extremes of war. Some writers have managed to set their work in a present of great social transformation and of socialist institutions, and describe this interior life successfully. They have avoided the sentimental tradition which used to determine this genre but have not destroyed the genre itself—in the given conditions this is quite an acrobatic feat. I should mention here Magda Szabó, whose writing for an adult audience is well-known in several languages: her novels for children: *Mondják meg Zsófikának* (Tell Sophie), *Születésnap* (Birthday), *Álarcosbál* (Fancy-dress Ball), *Abigél* (Abigail) are new in tone and technique. Katalin Nagy, with her *Az intőkönyvem története* (The Story of my Progress-, Report Book) and *Próbarepülés* (Test Flight), follows more or less in her footsteps as does Éva Janikovszky in her two books.

Éva Janikovszky merits separate mention in connection with the modernization of the genre. Working with the cartoonist László Réber, she has discovered or, rather, invented an entirely new genre: the Janikovszky–Réber picture book. In these humorous works the child speaks of itself and the world, criticizes the bizarre contradictions and amusing pressures of the world of

adults. This picture-book series is a sort of sophisticated distorting glass with the child standing in the middle and the family behind it: by looking into this mirror we may have a good and thought-provoking laugh at ourselves.

The most-read juvenile genre is of course the novel of adventure. The favourite authors of thirteen year-old Hungarian boys have remained the same for the last fifty years: Jules Verne, and the German Karl May. Their continued prestige is maintained by two qualities in children: their thirst for adventure, and their thirst for knowledge. The two are closely related and exist almost in a symbiotic relationship, even though we adults would like to give priority to the thirst for knowledge and therefore range ourselves with Verne (who is a much better writer) while our children vote for adventure and thus for Karl May.

Adults do not read always because of a desire to experience literature, they read because they have a headache, or are bored or simply want to kill time. So they take up a thriller, a spy story or some other light reading. Besides, the enemy and opposite of literature is not light reading but bad literature which claims to be good. The adventure novel provides precisely this form of entertainment to the young. We, the critics, may say of course that there is no magic in inventing interesting and adventurous stories and that the interest of the adventure novel lies not so much in the twists and turns of the plot but in the author's skill in clothing the skeleton of pure action with observation, a valid experience of life and knowledge of man and his world. Verne, for one, communicates plenty of knowledge and offers grandiose world-visions: the globe, the depth of the seas, space flight. This genre and its writers are hardy: adventure novels in Hungarian—with a few exceptions—are no better and no worse than others of the genre written anywhere else in the world.

The genre has stamina but it is dynamic too, even if in a direction different from that encouraged by the critics. Adventure is now set in space and the genre has become science fiction. It may rise to literature—this depends ultimately on the quality of characterization—or continue to wallow in the unchanged stereotypes of the genre with only one novelty: the setting. Science fiction has become popular among the young in Hungary, and it exhibits the same good and bad qualities it does elsewhere.

Our next genre, the historical novel, is problematical. Its broad field covers entire world history but of course Hungarian history has priority here. This genre is deeply attached to tradition: ever since its early emergence it has been a means of shaping national consciousness, attachment to the past, and love for one's country. At the same time it quite naturally colours our feelings towards our neighbours. Let me speak openly of the delicate questions involved: people who have been living beside one another for many centuries guard about each other many good and many bad memories. In the Middle Ages Hungary was a strong, large and independent country. In the 16th century there came the Turks, then the Habsburgs, and in the course of over two centuries of defending itself the country was drained of blood and depopulated. Other people settled or were settled by the Habsburgs in the deserted areas. One of the consequences of this, among others, was that after the first world war Hungary lost two thirds of her territory and over half of her population under the Trianon peace treaty. Hungary became a small nation, a small people with a great past. Nor has history spared us in the years afterwards.

Hungarian historical novels written for the young in the inter-war years reacted to these events and, in the spirit of the established political order, usually supported chauvinism and territorial revision. This was not so with the adult historical novel which can boast of such classics as the trilogy of Zsigmond Móricz, *Erdély* (Transylvania). In an attempt to make a reconciliation with

our neighbours, also victims of history, after the liberation it became impossible to continue this tradition. So the dialectical and objective attitude in historiography became the guideline for writers of historical novels. In the years of dogmatism, however, historiography took too a sudden turn and for some time interpreted Hungarian history solely from the viewpoint of the class struggle. In the fifties, when the outstanding writer Áron Tamási perforce became a writer of childrens' books, he produced *Hazai Tükör* (Home Survey), a work of lasting value; the same applies to one or two works of István Fekete and Rózsa Ignác, pushed into the background for the same reasons.

Later, when a more balanced view of history gained ground, some good historical novels did not limit themselves to the hitherto favourite periods of fighting, such as the peasant-revolution and war of 1514 or the struggle against the Turks or the struggles headed by Rákóczi in the 18th century, and the anti-Habsburg Revolution of 1848–49; they also described other periods in the remote and recent past, such as medieval Hungary or the social changes in the 20th century.

The historical novel for the young involves, of course, not only questions of attitude to history but, as with other genres, literary problems. The traditions of the past are insufficient.

Stories about the present

The last genre is what, for lack of a better term, I would call the novel of manners. It is set in the present and describes the contemporary world of children realistically. Along with lyrical poetry, this is the genre which is most developed in Hungary, although its development is far from being without problems. The children of today can be characterized only if the society of today in which they live is also outlined. But the picture of society as suggested and prescribed by official literary policy in the fifties was not realistic. Readers were aware that what they read was not true. (This was euphemistically called the voluntarist mode of representation.) Because of this, the works of well-meaning but misled authors lacked authenticity. Those who set their scenes in the recent past in a determined moment, fared better and wrote on heroes in the struggle against fascism or on the rebuilding of the country after the war. An example here is László Hárs who later, when the atmosphere changed, wrote many good books for children. But the finest writing of the period was produced by those who, driven out of adult literature, gained a foothold in juvenile literature where they could unfold their personality and creative sovereignty relatively undisturbed. I mention first Iván Mándy, one of our best contemporary fiction writers, and his series on a little boy nicknamed Csutak. One of the finest in the series, *Csutak és a szürke ló* (Csutak and the Grey Horse) has been published in several languages. Csutak is a dreamer, a blundering little champion of justice whose sound instincts, fears and natural humanity accidentally always make him come down in favour of humanity and decency. Ham-fisted and expecting humiliation, his ability to organise the reparation of injustice and cruelty surprises even himself. He saves a grey horse destined for the slaughterhouse, acquires a play-ground for a group of children, and redeems a little girl from the humiliating loneliness of ostracism. His daydreams include visions which slip from reality: he dreams with open eyes of putting things in their place and making this world different. It is almost amusing that in that period of theses and programmes designated by literary policy, Mándy ignored them totally and created a "positive hero" who actually did find his way into the hearts of young readers.

Two other writers produced fine books on

the relations of nature and man, where prescriptions do not apply. István Fekete's popular novels on animals are read by everybody; Miklós Mészöly's *Fekete gólya* (Black Stork) is also a fine specimen of the genre where nature is a life-long experience and adventure—the eternal theme—appears in a work of high quality.

These were, by and large, the peak achievements of those contradictory fifties. In the sixties social and literary conditions had changed, reality stopped to discredit the writers' ethical position; gradually the consensus on good and bad, which is absolutely necessary for the aesthetic and the ethical impact of literature, became established between writer and reader. These years marked the beginning of the boom in books for children in Hungary. The writers, untroubled by prescriptions and not compelled to look over their shoulders, identified in turn the facts and the social and ethical problems which shaped the life of the young. From lively conflict at school (Zsuzsa Kántor wrote good novellettes here) to crises provoked by parents' marriage problems, to the far from easy lessons of first attempts at love (in the novels of Miklós Vidor), real life streamed at last into these novels; they have dealt with children's homes, juvenile gangs, the ethical conflicts of the children of well-to-do functionaries with their poorer classmates, and many more real topics. (Tibor Szántó, Sándor Somogyi-Tóth, Domokos Varga, Anna Dániel, and other authors).

The form of the novel has also been transformed: most writers have modernized their tone, narrative technique, structure, and language. Unsophisticated clichés have disappeared, plots are brisk, well-built, and purposeful, and end with a catharctic effect, without falling into the moralistic preaching expected by pedagogy in the past. These novels want to influence readers through their aesthetic effect and move them to change their life.

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A summary of this brief survey of children's literature demands an emphasis on an idea I have already touched upon: although it is true that some writers turned to writing books for the young under duress rather than spontaneously of their own free will, their work has borne fruit and the beneficial effects have continued the radical change in the circumstances. From being forced initially into juvenile literature some writers developed a liking for the genre and continued to write in it even when the difficult period was over. In the free atmosphere in which they were able to approach the world of children, their works elevated the aesthetic value of the genre above the general industrial standard which prevails throughout the world. In the last two or three decades Hungarian juvenile literature has attained levels in form and content from where its readers, grown to adulthood, may make the transition into adult literature smoothly.

GYÖRGY BÁLINT

LARGE AND SMALL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS

Half of the population of Hungary live in family homes. Their houses are generally surrounded by gardens, and farm buildings are not too far from the houses. Market gardening and rearing livestock have been traditional in these gardens.* It would have been a grave mistake to let these opportunities, and the enthusiasm of the people who live there go to waste just because large-scale cooperative and state farms had been established and have taken over the bulk of production. Experience has proved that a reasonable division of labour could be developed between the large farms and the small producers by leaving the production of vegetables which can be economically produced, at the technical levels attained, but at the same time encouraging small producers to produce those which are not at all, or only rudimentarily mechanized, which require much manual work, increased care, considerable production traditions. Thus small-scale production and the large farms are not in competition, or when they are, they stimulate each other.

While on the subject of small producers, we should not ignore the hundreds of thousands of gardeners, who spend their leisure time on their week-end plots, invigorating body and soul, while producing goods for consumption, breaking fallow ground, and beautifying the environment. These soil-turners come from every strata of society.

The description above lies behind the fact that small-scale production became decisive in the production of several vegetables and much livestock. In the country currently half the pigs, one-third of beef and dairy cattle, and 70 per cent of poultry are raised on small farms. Small producers grow half of the fruit and wine grapes and 40 per cent of vegetables. Some of the produce which is particularly difficult to harvest comes into commercial distribution almost exclusively from household farms; thus, for instance, small producers grow 80 per cent of cherries, 90 per cent of berries, and 70 per cent of early vegetables. Of animal products, small farms produce almost all rabbit and pigeon, honey, feathers.

Only a part of what the small producer grows or rears goes into commercial distribution. Part is consumed by the family directly without transport and storing losses. Thus the old truth that the cheapest product is what is produced locally is vindicated.

The present prosperity in small-scale production derived from numerous economic factors. Yet the major role, within the framework of agricultural policy, which determined the direction of development, was played by enterprises (consumers' and producers' cooperatives, and state farms). They helped small producers so as to supplement their own major objectives and to increase the efficiency of the means made available by society. The Minister of Agriculture, Jenő Váncsa, underlined this at the December 1981 convention of cooperative farms: "Large farms became the decisive factors in the rapid development of household and auxiliary farms." He pointed out that they provided 3.5 million tons of fodder, tens of thousands of breeding animals and services to small producers worth 2,000 million forints in a single year.

There are three examples I would like to

* It should be remarked that, besides these privately owned gardens, hundreds of thousands of 1–2 acre household plots exist, allotted by agricultural cooperatives and state farms. The article deals with both.

cite which will demonstrate the ways experienced, well-managed General Cooperatives for Consumption and Marketing (ÁFÉSZ) cooperatives and state farms assist small producers. These examples should show how the large units integrate the activities of the small cultivator and stockkeeper and so promote the ever more valuable market for products of reliable quality.

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The Cooperatives for Consumption and Marketing play an extraordinarily important role in the economic life of rural areas. There is hardly any township or settlement, where there is not at least one cooperative general store, or buying post. Many of the ÁFÉSZ have achieved, excellent results in coordinating the work of and cooperating with small producers. One of these operates in the Mezőkövesd district.

This cooperative has been operating in its present form since 1967. There are 12,000 full members and 1,300 part-time workers in the cooperative and the turnover in 11 settlements of the Matyó district is of 1,200 million forints. The cooperative runs 119 retail shops and 60 catering establishments (restaurants, cafés, cake-shops, snack-bars, drink shops) in a district where sociographers tell us that many lived in utter poverty between the two world wars.

This ÁFÉSZ is also very active in buying storing, packaging vegetables and fruit; it processes meat into products of high quality and distinctive taste in its own plant; it pickles cabbage and gherkins, manufactures soda-water, and operates distilleries. They have a hiring service for household and garden appliances, their laundry service is a boon for housewives from all over the district; they run a car service station, and they are about to open a new and modern caravan park.

Organizing the work of specialized agricultural groups is an important function. Twenty-five such groups with 2,300 members come under the supervision of the cooperative. These include groups involved in swine-breeding and raising, vegetable, fruit, chicken, rabbit, pigeon and egg production, and bee-keeping. The vegetable-growing and pig-rearing groups deserve a closer look.

Members of the three specialist vegetable growers' groups receive most of their income from glasshouse vegetables. The ÁFÉSZ helps even in setting up through a 40 per cent subsidy towards the purchase of the steel frames and plastic sheets needed to build the glasshouses.

The president of the ÁFÉSZ, Imre Farmosi, recently won an Eötvös Prize which is awarded to specialists for outstanding results in production development. Farmosi points out that the producers are happy to observe their agreements with the cooperative, partly because this benefits them financially and partly because the personal relationship with the cooperative is good. In any case, the agreement is safer and better for the producers than selling their products privately locally or farther afield.

There are always those who lack sufficient capital to start up. These are able to raise money from the National Savings Bank; the ÁFÉSZ guarantees the repayments of these loans, and even advances interest payments to the Bank.

The ÁFÉSZ grew 1.5 million lettuce, kohlrabi, tomato, paprika, and gherkin seedlings in its own 3,200 sq.m. modern and heated greenhouse; they sold these to the members. The result was that the products they later purchased from the members were uniform in quality and easy to market.

Eight qualified horticulturalists are employed to ensure that modern methods are known and used; they regularly visit growers and give them advice on production, plant protection, and marketing. They keep constantly in touch with the appropriate section of the Budapest Horticultural University, whose director, András Somosi, and staff frequently visit the market gardeners of Mezőkövesd.

The six specialized pig-farming groups

are the largest in membership. The 17,000 pigs they raise annually are processed in the cooperative's own plant. Their distinctly seasoned meats, fresh and smoked pork and ham, are justly popular and not only in Mezőkövesd itself, but in the shops of the entire region.

The ÁFÉSZ of Mezőkövesd and its district is a good example of how the efforts of small producers are integrated into the activities of a large unit; many similar ÁFÉSZ operate in other parts of the country.

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During the past two decades, cooperative farms have become important factors in Hungarian social and economic life; the country's agricultural economy depends primarily on their work. Ever since the cooperative farms were reorganized as a reaction to the earlier mistakes, they have paid special attention to their members' household farms. These are between one and one and a half acres in size and the families are at liberty to produce and distribute what and however they wish. A general practice developed whereby the tract of land allotted to household plots was fertilized, ploughed in the autumn with the machinery of the cooperative and put under maize in spring if the membership desired this. Maize no longer needs hoeing or other traditional processes; it is sprayed and harvested by machine and brought to the members' homes by the cooperative—all for a charge. In this way it gradually came about that members of a cooperative now receive a quantity of maize commensurate with the average yield and size of their plot—or, if they so choose, the money equivalent.

In recent years there has been more and more demand on members to use their household plots to produce whatever cannot be economically produced in large-scale farming. Cultures traditional and characteristic to particular districts (onions, garlic, horse-radish, red paprika, vines, apricots, peaches) are therefore grown in areas where they find optimal soil and weather conditions. Thus the need for cooperative farms to lend assistance in organizing plant and animal production by their members (and other villagers outside the cooperatives) became the more important.

The Red October Cooperative Farm of Ócsa has a considerable reputation in the country for its willingness to initiate. This cooperative some time ago took on to organize the new business of raising pigeons. After a few years of preliminary work, they established the Columba Pigeon Production System, which the Ócsa cooperative farm now manages.

Pigeon-breeding in this area is new, only a few families living on the outskirts of the capital had earlier played around with these birds, mostly as a hobby. Only some of these pigeons were bred for the table, most (generally homing pigeons) were kept for sport or show.

The cooperatives' alert executives saw opportunities in the production of pigeon meat. They thought that these birds could usefully fill lofts usually empty in the local family houses; dove cotes could thus be built with minimal investment, using waste materials and do-it-yourself methods.

Pigeon meat has never been popular in Hungary and was used—if at all—to make a stew for sick children. Nor has there been any methodical breeding. Naturally the local breeds which have developed in semi-wild conditions were not suited to intensive raising. Thus the project began by importing pairs of the Utility King, and later the Autosex Texan breeds—developed in the United States—from Italy. The Columba system organizes the production of pigeon for the table in a belt approximately 30 km wide around Budapest. Currently they are in touch with about 1,800 producers; producers keep from twenty to two hundred breeding pairs each. The producers have a contract; they receive breeding birds, for which they have to pay 40 per cent on

delivery and the balance within one year. The breeders are obliged to sell some of the birds raised to the system; they are free to sell or consume the rest. The system provides technology, regular veterinary advice and control, and fodder. Events are also held at which breeders can compare experience.

In 1980, the Columba system bought from their breeders 213 tonnes of this low-fat, calory-rich, easily digestable meat (which is regarded as a first-class diet) and more than 400 tons in 1981. The entire production in the country is estimated at 1,000 tons. The system sells all its production abroad, two-thirds of it to Italy, and the balance to Arab countries. Pigeon is also in demand in France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Scandinavia.

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State farms started to integrate production from small holdings later than the co-operative farms, because they had greater difficulties with their wage system. However, the process accelerated during the preparatory period before the Sixth Five Year Plan (1981–85); there was a quick succession of statutes, which not only make possible but actively assist broad integration, coming into force from the second half of 1981.

The Deputy General Manager of the National Centre of State Farms, Balázs Herpay, has some points to make on the necessity for integrating small-scale production.

There are several branches of agriculture where large-scale production is not economical. In these, small-scale production must be given the green light.

Small-scale production is elastic and must be exploited wherever the market demands sudden change.

Products which require intensive labour and particular care cannot really be stimulated by interest relations. Well-organized small-scale production is preferable in these cases.

The funds from the state for investments in large-scale farms are limited.

Finally both individually and especially in groups, the small producers can economically operate equipment which is no longer suitable for large-scale production through obsolescence.

State farm managers obviously preferred organizing production by their own workers, especially since the introduction of the five-day week had increased the time available for household farming. Workers on state farms have the use of one quarter to one half a hectare as part of their earnings (depending on the number of their dependants). They used to grow maize on this land—just as members of cooperatives did—using the methods and machinery of the state farm.

The feeling that labour-intensive products should be grown on these plots became dominant here too. But, the counter-argument ran, if maize will no longer be available from these plots, there could be problems in the fodder supplies for privately raised animals.

Production of maize on private plots could thus be discontinued only when maize for pork became available in the fodder stores. This situation has recently been achieved, so the way to the production of high-value vegetables, flower seeds, medicinal and other herbs, or other labour-intensive crops is now open.

The year 1981 saw a new feature in the operations of state farms: the farms are letting vineyard and fruit plots to their workers in place of household plots. This meant extra profits to enterprising lessors and to the state farms too. The older, dispersed, rather out-of-date plantations did not have to be cleared and thus could stay in production longer. The state farms are also seeking to establish plantations on land not suited to large-scale farming methods by using specialized groups of workers. In these cases, members of the specialized groups are

expected to contribute their work and a contribution to the cost of planting.

Stables and sties where large-scale production methods are no longer economical are now similarly utilized. Units suited to 80–100 cattle or 200 swine were handed over to collectives of workers on several farms.

It is not only workers on the state farms who can participate in these production projects: anybody who lives in the neighborhood, has the time, and the determination can join in. Generally the state farms provide what is necessary to animal rearing: fodder, transport, production, and veterinary supervision; they also market the animals as they market their own. Some of the state farms are already buying fifteen to twenty thousand fat pigs from the small producers they have assimilated.

There is the obvious question: would these different forms of production within the farm interfere with its management. In practice doubts have been dispelled since there are substantial differences between state farms in fundamentals, technical equipment, and management standard. For instance, lucerne is harvested by complex machinery, dried artificially following laboratory analysis, ground to meal or pressed into pellets in more highly developed farms. Yet in others, hay is made by hand, turned several times in drying, carefully stacked in order to give high-grade, rich, green hay to calves to further their growth. In this latter case, the apparently out-of-date, labour-intensive method is more efficient, therefore no less modern than the mechanized whereby we finish with lower-quality products.

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So these are the ways in which the ÁFÉSZ, the cooperative farms and state farms came to work with small producers. They have in common the aim of adding to the amount of produce ready for market of for processing. This cooperation between the "private" small producer and the large farm is actively supported by the state. Since resources of all kinds are being efficiently employed, the benefit is mutual.

GÉZA JESZENSZKY

THE TIMES AND ITS IMAGE OF HUNGARY BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

It might surprise readers of *The Times* to hear that once this paper had a "Hungarian policy." In the twenty-five years preceding the Great War *The Times* printed news about Hungary nearly every day. Between 1894 and 1906 it published eighty leading articles on Hungarian affairs. Add that in the 1890s the paper was an admirer of Hungary, past and present, but in the early twentieth century the daily reports became increasingly critical.

At the turn of the century our world was much smaller, that probably explains the extensive coverage given to Hungary. There were only something like fifty countries as against the present hundred fifty, but attention concentrated on the Great Powers: Great Britain, Germany, Russia, the United States, France, Austria–Hungary, and perhaps Italy and Turkey. Whatever one thinks about the position of Hungary in the Dual Monarchy (the views range from semi-colonial dependency to a Hungary-dominated Empire), the fact is that

Hungary formed close to half of one of the five European Great Powers, and this Power was widely regarded as the pivot of the European system of states. The readers of *The Times* could not be indifferent to what went on in Hungary, especially when this affected the structure, integrity or the very existence of the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. In addition, the name Hungarian still had some sentimental appeal owing to memories of the Revolution of 1848–49, and there were also the supposed similarities in English and Hungarian constitutional history.

In the history of the English Press the fifty years preceding the Great War are often called "the age of the editor", considering the position held and the political influence exercised by the leading papers and journalists of the time. At the end of the nineteenth century *The Times* stood out among its rivals in authority and prestige, though no longer in circulation; its readers were rightly regarded as the truest representatives of official Britain, the editorial and correspondence pages both reflected and moulded contemporary opinion. That *The Times* successfully beat its rivals in foreign news coverage was due mainly to its correspondents in the major capitals. These men acted like diplomatic envoys, maintained intimate relations with all influential persons and reported not only for publication but also confidentially for the information of *The Times* Office at Printing House Square. Under the foreign editorship of D. M. Wallace, and especially under his successor, Valentine Chirol, and when Moberly Bell was the Editor, *The Times* was a firm supporter of the Empire and of an imperialist foreign policy. It showed a growing awareness of German power and the possible German threat to British commercial, naval and colonial interests. In European affairs the paper stood for the *status quo*, for the maintenance of the balance of power, and for the preservation of its central bastion, the Habsburg Monarchy.

William Lavino, a friend of Hungary

The Times recognized the political importance of pre-war Vienna by sending there some of its best men. William Lavino, an unassuming, modest man of Dutch extraction, was the correspondent from 1892 to 1902. He was a liberal in political philosophy and strongly anti-clerical. Although he accepted the then widely held view about the importance of Austria–Hungary as the key to the European equilibrium, the political conditions prevailing in the Austrian half, the decline of the German liberals, the insoluble nationality conflicts, the hegemony of the reactionary aristocracy, and the growth of the Social Democrats and the anti-Semitic Christian Social party, led him to repeated outbursts of pessimism regarding the future of the Habsburg Monarchy. All the same Lavino was unwilling to reconcile himself to the inevitability of its doom, especially as its concomitant would have been the strengthening of Russia and Germany. He was looking for a force which could stabilize the tottering Danubian Empire, and found it in Hungary, with her impressive economic development and political stability, her parliamentary system and liberal outlook. For *The Times* the Compromise of 1867 assured the existence of a friendly Central European Great Power and met the legitimate claims of Hungary for autonomy, within the framework of a politically attractive system, that is a constitutional monarchy. These considerations made *The Times* a supporter of Dualism, and even of a Hungarian dominance within it, for forty years.

The firm commitment to the Dualist arrangement led *The Times* to oppose any movement aiming at its weakening or undermining, whether it came from Austrian aristocracts, jealous of the power of Hungary, or the wishes of the Hungarian gentry, the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry for still greater autonomy, e.g. for economic independence. It was only natural that when the

Hungarian government introduced a series of bills aiming at the regulation of the relations between the Churches and the State in a liberal spirit, Lavino and *The Times* used powerful language in defence of the Bills against the Ultramontane Court and the aristocrats that intrigued to bring about not only their rejection but also the fall and disruption of the Hungarian Liberals. "The Hungarian Ministry has been fighting for the right of the State to manage its own affairs as against the Church of Rome, for the right of the people at large to assert their convictions as against a powerful and reactionary aristocracy, and for the right of Hungary to reject the interference in her internal affairs of cliques having their headquarters in Vienna." (October 11, 1894). Lavino also helped to block the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister's plan to replace the existing Triple Alliance with the revived League of the Emperors of Russia, Germany and Austria, for which liberal Hungary was always a stumbling block, and thus earned the gratitude of leading Hungarian politicians.*

People in Budapest must have been even more flattered the following year when *The Times* joined in celebrating the thousandth anniversary of the Hungarian settlement, and in the leading article of May 8, 1896 contrasted the performance of Hungary and Austria. "On the whole" Hungary represents "the success of the liberal ideas which they (in Austria) abhor, and she adds to her offence by proving that by their aid she can march to increased population and prosperity." Lavino's favourable opinion was reinforced by his visit to Budapest during the Millennial Festival. "The marvellous development of Hungary must be seen to be believed. They are a fine people and deserve every possible encouragement."**

In 1897, when parliamentary government became impossible in Austria as a result of the conflict between the Germans and Czechs of Bohemia, the prestige of Hungary further increased. On the occasion of the visit of the German Emperor to Budapest in September 1897 *The Times* declared that the centre of political gravity in the Monarchy was clearly shifting to Budapest, the capital of politically homogeneous Hungary, where the leadership of the Hungarians, "who have always shown a remarkable instinct for constitutional policies... is practically unchallenged." (September 23, 1897, leader) This favourable moment elicited from Lavino an important comment: Hungary, "led by a group of exceptionally able statesmen, all of them of the moderate liberal type, ... has developed into a model constitutional State." (December 2, 1897)

It might be surprising that this compliment was made during the premiership of Baron Bánffy, noted above all for his intolerance towards non-Hungarian national minorities, but "the particularist tendencies" observable in Hungary had little appeal to *The Times*, a strong opponent of Irish Home Rule. This does not mean that Lavino condoned illiberal acts. He critized the legal proceedings against the militant national minority press, and the introduction of official Hungarian place-names in areas inhabited by national minorities, and he welcomed concessions like the amnesty accorded to the authors of the Rumanian Memorandum. Similarly the Vienna correspondent condemned the Hungarian Government for action against the striking harvesters in 1897, called the 1898 Agricultural Labourers' Act "unjustifiable, stringent and severe" (December 16, 1897), deplored the "drastic, repressive measures" against agricultural socialism as inconsistent with the principles of liberal government (February 17, 1898), and warned the Hungarian liberals of the dangerous consequences if their liberalism becomes an empty slogan (July 1, 1897). For *The Times* Liberalism was more important than democracy (June 3, 1895), and it feared that the open class-policy of the Hungarian government would

* Lavino to Wallace, December 9, 1894, and April 25, 1895.

** Lavino to Bell, May 30, 1896.

"afford their Clerical, Reactionary and Social Democratic opponents a welcome opportunity..." (July 1, 1897).

Lavino was forced to return to the defence of the Hungarian Ministry when at the end of 1898 the clerical and the independentist opposition initiated a joint campaign to oust Bánffy. Arguing on the basis of parliamentarism *The Times* could only condemn a parliamentary minority imposing its will upon the majority by means of obstructive tactics. The remedy seemed obvious: to follow the example of the House of Commons in dealing with the recalcitrant Irish members. The disorder in the Hungarian Lower House shook Lavino's confidence in Hungary: hardly a year after his memorable praise he had to go back on his words, "Hungary can no longer be regarded the model constitutional State of the Continent." (January 12, 1899). A leading article pointed out the serious shortcomings of Hungarian parliamentarism. It was possible for the Opposition to bring down a government without the corresponding duty of assuming responsibility by forming an alternative government. (February 21, 1899) But *The Times* refused to believe that the unwelcome symptoms were signs not of a passing illness but of organic disease: it would have meant the death sentence of the existing political order. "The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy would be an event of greater import to the European State-system as a whole than anything which has happened since the downfall of Napoleon." (December 15, 1898, leader) Therefore when Kálmán Széll temporarily succeeded in restoring the stability of Hungary, the paper once more hoped to see "the transference of the centre of political gravity in the Dual Monarchy from Vienna to Budapest," as Hungary was "coming to be recognized as the predominant partner." (September 27, 1899, leader) The warm words used by the Hungarian Prime Minister about England during the Boer War added to the popularity of the Hungarians, and were acknowledged by a leading article on December 13, 1901. In the next year Lavino left the Vienna post "in high repute". Hungary, too, stood in high repute.

The conversion of Wickham Steed

When Lavino was transferred to Paris his place was taken by Henry Wickham Steed, the former Rome correspondent. The successor was most unlike his predecessor; while Lavino shunned the limelight, Steed was a man of the world. He ran a large house where he entertained diplomats and politicians, played golf in Marienbad with his sovereign, corresponded with foreign ministers as their equal, but above all he was a serious journalist remarkably proud of his profession and of his paper. He declared himself a radical in sympathies, showed understanding towards the Labour Party version of socialism, but the most fundamental element of his political creed was imperialism, the belief in the inherent righteousness of British policy. His experiences as a student and a journalist in Germany convinced him that the greatest danger for the British Empire lay in the ambitions of Germany, both overseas and in Europe.

For Steed Hungarian affairs mattered mainly through their foreign political implications, though sometimes the excitements of Hungarian political life carried him away. For a long time he hoped that Austria-Hungary could be prevented from becoming a tool of German policy, and he came to Vienna with a feeling of mission to improve relations between the two minor partners of the Triple Alliance. During his first years in Vienna he seems to have accepted all of Lavino's views concerning the domestic affairs of the Monarchy, notably that the national movements tend towards separation and consequently they are dangerous for the peace of Europe, and that the best guarantee for the independent ex-

istence of the Monarchy lay in the Dualist system, and in the influence of Hungary. His first impressions of the Hungarians were also very favourable. As he put it, he must have contracted some "Transleithanian microbe*", the love of Hungary, from his first Hungarian friends, Polyxéna Pulszky, the daughter of a leading Hungarian emigrant of 1849, and her husband, a prominent archaeologist.** In contrast with the unbearable social and political atmosphere of Vienna, "In Budapest, men and women spoke freely and had ideas of their own... Parliament was a reality, the true centre of a strong constitutional life, not a piece of make-believe as in Austria. Moreover, Hungarian public men spoke like statesmen. Some of them, notably Count Stephen Tisza, even struck me as being statesmen. In any case, they stood head and shoulder above the Austrian level."***

In his first four years in Vienna Steed's despatches dealt mainly with internal Hungarian affairs, and with the relationship between Austria and Hungary. His early "Hungarophile" attitude was severely tried, however, by the growing activity and influence of the Hungarian Party of Independence, which led to a crisis between Hungary, Austria and the Crown over the neuralgic point of the Dualist system, the joint Austro-Hungarian Army. The Hungarian parliamentary opposition made the voting of more recruits and money for the development of the Army (dangerously lagging behind in the international arms race) dependent on the granting of "national concessions", i.e. the establishment of a separate army with Hungarian as the language of command, by which the Hungarian character of the State could be ensured and imposed on the non-Hungarian national minorities. On April 22, 1903 *The Times* in a long leader called the demands of the Hungarian Opposition injurious for "all sections of the mixed population over which the Emperor Francis Joseph rules", and possibly "a grave peril to European peace", while emphasizing the many political and economic advantages of the connection between Austria and Hungary. Steed, too, thought it a folly to advance the separate Hungarian claims, as "the future of Austria-Hungary is largely bound up with the development of the Magyar State, which seems destined increasingly to become the pivot of the Habsburg realms." (September 1, 1904)

The first premiership of Tisza held out for British observers the hope that he might curb the obstructive opposition and restore political stability, therefore Steed welcomed the coup of November 18, 1904 when Tisza "deliberately violated the letter to save the spirit of Parliamentary procedure" by changing the Standing Orders of the House. (November 21, 1904) The leading article of December 14 expressed the hope that the electors would approve Tisza's conduct. In the January elections, however—in the absence of the usual government pressure—the Liberal Party lost its thirty-year-old majority. Steed, like everybody, was surprised, but soon decided to accept the new situation, and, knowing that the Independentist leaders did not really want to separate from Austria, advocated the revision of the 1867 Compromise in a way that would correspond to the wishes of the Hungarians. "For 1848 is as dead as 1867, and 1905 must graft the best features of both on to a new body of dualistic jurisprudence." (February 1, 1904) But when it turned out that the King categorically refused to accept the conditions laid down by the Coalition of the former opposition parties for taking office, the *Times* correspondent accepted this reality, too, and began to urge the Hun-

* The two parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were often referred to as Cis- and Transleithania, the River Leitha (Lajta) being the frontier between them.

** Some letters written by Steed to the Hampel-Pulszky family are held in the Manuscript Department of the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. Fond VIII/2346 and 2698.

*** Steed: *Through Thirty Years*... Vol. I, p. 197.

garians to make a compromise, i.e. to acquiesce in the royal will. Printing House Square took up a similar attitude in a leader of February 9, and repeated it on April 17. The latter article is worth quoting as it is a good exposition of the traditional image of Hungary, held by the majority of the British ruling classes prior to the events of 1905. "There is no people on the Continent of Europe which has more constantly commanded the sympathy and the respect of Englishmen than the people of Hungary. In the struggles to assert their hereditary right to constitutional freedom within the limits of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and to develop institutions which should be at once the bulwark and the organs of ordered liberty amongst them, they have commanded our admiration and enjoyed our moral support. It is for that very reason, because of our old friendship and our genuine regard for a chivalrous race, devoted, as we believe, to political ideas not dissimilar from our own, that we are watching with extreme anxiety, not unmingled with uneasiness, the course of the great constitutional crisis which prevails at Budapest." Showing a remarkable interest in "the abiding welfare of Hungary as a progressive kingdom and her reputation as a model of constitutional government" *The Times* once more called upon the Coalition to suspend their demands, and combined it with a warning: "Separated from Austria, Hungary would at once sink into the rank of a second-rate or third-rate power, which might, indeed, enjoy such internal institutions as it pleased, but whose national independence and position in the world would lie at the mercy of powerful and aggressive neighbours, who have keen appetites for territory and for trade, and but little liking for constitutional liberties, whether at home or beyond their border."

When in June 1905 the Norwegian Parliament declared secession from Sweden many people thought that Hungary would soon follow suit. Printing House Square intensified its barrage or warnings, and Steed pointed to the great possibilities inherent in the Austrian connection: "Hungary has waxed far under Dualism... Political predominance in the Dual Monarchy and largely in the Balkans, the gradual growth of a national industry all the healthier for wholesome competition, constantly increasing influence over the army, and, through the army, over the non-Magyar races of Hungary, all these factors of strength were within the nation's grasp—and it seems eager to spurn them in order to chase the phantom of the language of command." (June 23, 1905) The perspectives were exaggerated, but expressed the hopes of many people in Hungary, including István Tisza. Steed, who a few years later became such a keen supporter of the non-Hungarian nationalities, here raised no objection to any "Magyarizing" scheme, and even proposed an ingenious method for its advancement: "As soon as a Hungarian government should have diffused the knowledge of the Magyar language throughout the country by means of the schools it would be easy to make Magyar the language of service and instruction in all regiments recruited from Hungary." (July 5, 1905)

In order to break the obstinate Coalition, József Kristóffy, the Minister of the Interior in the Fejérváry caretaker government, suggested the introduction of universal suffrage, thus supplanting the barren "national" lengthy reply is probably the best key to the apparent change in his attitude to Hungary, and explains how he came to endorse the cause of the national minorities in Hungary. After assuring Chirol that he was only "against the policy of the Coalition", and that his views were shared by many Hungarian patriots, he disclosed the secret plan of the clerical anti-Semitic party of Lueger and the Archduke Franz Ferdinand to smash Dualism altogether, rousing the national minorities in Hungary. Then Steed himself began to ponder over this plan: "Indeed I am not at all sure that the F. F.

policy is not the best antidote to Pangermanism, though the application of the antidote may involve the smashing of the Magyars..." But the break with the Hungarians was not easy for their one-time friend. "Now we have done our duty by the Magyars in warning them. Presently we even find ourselves compelled to look sympathetically on the Austrian Clericals who with their scheme of universal suffrage intend to break the back of the Pan-Germans by letting the 12,000,000 Austrian Slavs exercise their rightfully predominant influence over the 9,000,000 Austrian Germans. But it will be a dangerous, reactionary business at best, and I shall not cease to be sorry for my friends the Magyars who after all have a certain sense for progress and liberalism as we understand it."*

This letter coincided with a series of articles in which Steed summed up the history of the crisis.** The concluding part shows that by this time the Vienna correspondent had lost his illusions and recognized the real issues waiting to be dealt with behind the facade of a spectacular capitalist development. "Though outwardly her capital and her chief cities present a twentieth-century aspect, the spirit of her people is fifty years behind that of Western nations, and the texture of her administrative garment is but roughly woven. A hundred pressing problems await attention, especially that of emigration and its causes. An extension of the suffrage alone cannot solve these difficulties, but it can let new blood, new energy, and new light into the Legislative Assembly, by which they must be treated, and it can break the fatal predominance of the ignorant and selfish caste now almost exclusively represented in Parliament and hitherto all powerful in the country. It seems almost futile to hope that the overbearing domination of this caste can be pacifically broken, unless its more enlightened elements recognize the perils to which they are exposed and take the lead in opening the gates to those outside the pale. But, whether they do so or not, the pale will sooner or later be broken through." As Steed's opinion was still in the making, and his conclusions based on internal developments were not yet supported so forcefully by considerations of foreign policy, he could still close the article by reaffirming: "when all things are considered and all chances weighed, the conviction must remain unaltered that the maintenance of Magyar hegemony in Hungary is eminently desirable." It took only a few more months of "national resistance" proclaimed by the Coalition for Steed to make the final step and in a private letter to Leo Amery*** to denounce Hungarian supremacy in favour of a federal solution of the nationality problem of the Monarchy, which admittedly involved "the death of Dualism and the smashing of the Magyar State".

Thus in a few months—under the pressure of the constitutional crisis and influenced by the unreasonable and Chauvinist attitude of the Hungarian Coalition—Steed turned from an ardent champion of Dualism and Hungarian hegemony into a convinced opponent. Equity and the impartial weighing of the facts undoubtedly had a share in his conversion, but the incapacity or unwillingness of the Hungarian ruling classes to perform their task of being the stabilizing and liberalizing factor of an independently acting Austria–Hungary must have been at least as important a consideration.

It was only a question of time before Printing House Square adopted the line of this correspondent. The solution of the crisis in April 1906, on terms not dissimilar from those Steed had been advocating for a year, greatly increased his prestige in London. After some conciliatory gestures Steed resumed his critical tone in his reports on the activities of the new Hungarian Ministry based on the Coalition. The London Office

* Steed to Chirol, October 6, 1905.

** Austria–Hungary at the Parting of the Ways. October 5–6–7, 1905.

*** Steed to Amery, February 25, 1906.

again had to tone down his wires and refrained from endorsing his conclusions in leading articles, until the tragic shooting incident at Csernova in October 1907 forced them to abandon their reserve on November 1. By that time Steed had already made himself an expert on the nationality problem following a number of tours in the Slovak country, in the Southern Slav districts, and in Galicia and Transylvania. Wherever he went he established strong personal links with the local national leaders, Masaryk, Supilo and Trumbic became his friends. But Bell and Chirol still had misgiving about the "anti-Hungarian" line of Steed, and they were joined by Lavino from Paris. In July 1908 Bell called Steed "a firebrand of the most dangerous type", who had completely alienated the Hungarians, "one of the few nations that stuck by us during the Boer War".* But Steed still had a decisive card, the growing anti-German feelings of his compatriots, the increasing belief that a war against Germany was inevitable. If the British public, used to harsher methods in the colonies, was not indignant enough over the treatment of the national minorities in Hungary, they might be more sensitive to the alliance existing between the Hungarians and Germany. In this respect Steed's position was unequivocal: "The Magyars, if working harmoniously with the other Hungarian races and the Austrian Slavs, will be strong enough to act as an effectual brake upon the House of Habsburg if it should ever wish to side with Germany against France and us in a European war. If, on the contrary, the Magyars are at loggerheads with one half of the Hungarian population they will not only be reduced to impotence at the critical moment but will suffer under the enmity of the 20 million Austro-Hungarian Slavs who, as opponents of Pan-Germanism, are on our side but who, without the Magyars, are as sheep without a shepherd... The Magyars are beginning to react against the foolishness of their present leaders and I am convinced that within two years we shall see something like a *modus vivendi* between them and the non-Magyars."**

These expectations failed to materialize, and Steed came to write off the Hungarians for good. After the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina he was inclined to write off the Monarchy as a whole, and his reports dealt mainly with European foreign affairs. Steed saw that the intensification of tension between the Powers was leading to war, which would be fatal for Austria-Hungary, but he no longer minded. He left the criticism of domestic Hungarian affairs to R. W. Seton-Watson, to some extent his disciple. At *The Times* Lord Northcliffe, the chauvinist new owner, was willing to accept Steed's pro-Slav views, and by 1911, with the death of Bell and the retirement of Chirol, Printing House Square lost those who still cherished the image of a sympathetic, liberal Hungary. At the end of 1913 Steed's old ambition began to be fulfilled, he became the head of the foreign department of the paper, and five years later Northcliffe appointed him Editor. For ten years Steed's views came to dominate the Central European policy of *The Times*.

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The present article grew out of a paper read in December 1975 at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London. It forms part of a larger project examining the change observable in the British image of Hungary in the decades preceding the Great War. A fuller version with references appeared in the June 1976 issue of the Hungarian journal *Valóság* (pp. 94–104) and a detailed study, "Hungary and *The Times* during the political crisis of 1904–1906" was published in *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 21, 1975, pp. 377–410. Its writing was made possible

* Bell to Steed, July 10, 1908.

** Steed to Bell, July 14, 1908.

by a grant of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which enabled me to study the Lavino and Steed Papers kept as part of the New Printing House Square Papers at the Archives of *The Times*. For permission to use them I am indebted to Mr. William Rees-Mogg, then Editor of *The Times*, and for scholarly and practical help received throughout my research work in London to Dr. László Péter of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, and to Mr. Gordon Phillips, the Archivist of *The Times*. The correspondence quoted here is from the above-mentioned collection, the other quotations are from the respective issues of *The Times*. Most of the background information concerning *The Times* and its correspondents is from the official *The History of The Times*, Vol. III. *The Twentieth Century Test. 1884–1912* (London, 1947), and from H. W. Steed, *Through Thirty Years, 1892–1922.* A personal narrative. (London, 1924).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

PORTRAITS FROM THE BIOGRAPHY OF A GENERATION

Gyula Hernádi: *Kiáltás és kiáltás.* (A Cry and a Cry). Magvető, 1981. 237 pp.; Mihály Sükösd: *A törvénytevő.* (The Passer of Judgement). Magvető, 1981. 269 pp.; József Gáli: *Szúnyogok és nemeskócsagok.* (Mosquitoes and Herons). Szépirodalmi, 1981. 201 pp.

We have lived to see the fifties become a fashionable and popular literary subject: the years that we call, in a long-standing euphemism, the period of the personality cult in Hungary. When no other theme or subject presents itself urgently or powerfully, the fifties, like a great horn of plenty, are always there to delve into. There is no doubt that much happened then, that there is plenty to write about in the Rákosi period; the subject has long preoccupied both writers and film directors. Indeed, I find I am hard put to mention offhand a literary work that expresses the spirit of the age with the lasting validity that Károly Makk's film, *Love*, had—not even the short stories by Déry on which the film was based. Literature, then, has been laying siege to this period, not readily digestible or accessible as it is; the subject acts as an alibi for some or an evasion for others, and only the surface of the events is touched upon by many writers. Subjects that must be written about are not easily exhausted.

Gyula Hernádi's novel, *A Cry and a Cry*, published in 1981, is ostensibly a product of this wave. It seems to fit into the prolific line of literary pieces that evoke the age of "illegalities" through stories based upon the individual one personal fate. To judge by his style and the scripts he has written for Jancsó, Hernádi obviously favours a parabolic style through which the concrete elements of the plot convey a message and represent a universally valid truth. That he uses the fifties as a medium might thus seem opportunistic. However, Hernádi wrote the novel twenty years ago, when the subject was not only not fashionable but so delicate, especially in Hernádi's trenchant and unambiguous handling, that no publisher would touch it. (There is no indication that it appears after a delay of two decades—readers are after all interested in the text rather than in the circumstances of its genesis). But a work of art of lasting value must hold its own outside the context of its conception—indeed its permanence is often established by posterity. Yet in judging Hernádi's work it would be unfair and unhistorical not to take into account his pioneering audacity, somewhat eclipsed by the delay in publication; the more so as the book, is not a masterpiece that can afford to forgo due historical credit.

It is a love story, the story of a love affair which is at once the refuge and the tragic offence of the two main characters. Its hero, G., is a drifter, a sensitive man who spent years—the decisive years of his youth—in a Soviet prisoner-of-war camp. On his return home he has been unable to find work suited to his talents and now vegetates as a sixth-rate clerk in a Budapest canning factory. His job holds no interest for him and he has no contact with his

work-mates; outside the factory walls he is just as solitary and uprooted, spending his hours after work hanging around the streets, returning to a cheerless furnished room only to sleep. All this, apart from some rudimentary information, is not gleaned from a precise social or psychological analysis, but is slowly instilled through Hernádi's characteristic surrealistic images, organized through the logic of metaphoric description. The reader continually comes upon clusters of vision-like metaphors which, through associations of ideas which can be described as cubist or surrealistic or, in the title of a collection of his short stories "dry baroque," express rather than describe his malaise. The metaphors do not act as an entry into the visions of the characters, they are not used to project streams of consciousness. The visions, metaphors rather then images since they are abstract and not at all descriptive, are simply narrative devices, strange formations that signal interior action from the exterior; they do so hieroglyphically, in the manner of abstract or baroque art or in that of the descriptive technique of filming much favoured by Hernádi.

The exterior action or plot runs as follows: strolling on the streets one day G. meets a colleague from the factory whom he has never particularly noticed as a woman before but is now suddenly struck by her beauty. He makes her acquaintance as if she were a complete stranger but, though both are naturally embarrassed and troubled by a strange sense of foreboding, they spend the night together, walking along the factory and warehouse-lined banks of the Danube, stopping to sit and embrace and finally end up in G's dingy room. At dawn the woman reveals that she has a lover, a man she has met in the factory and later discovered to be a captain in the secret police; for services rendered he has found her a flat and now blackmails her, has her watched, knows of every step she takes: "On the nights he doesn't spend with me his car stands outside the house, the chauffeur waiting to see when I come home..." The lover is now in hospital and she has to visit him every day. Passion, coupled with an ardent desire for desperate flight, convinces them that if only they were to leave the next morning for two weeks in the country and there, as if on an idyllic honeymoon, live only for each other, they would be delivered from their nightmarish fears and find unalloyed happiness. The attempt is made; they travel to a mountain village and tensely try to find relief in nature and the fulfilment of their love, but the phantom they have banished to the realms of almost paranoid nightmares, the captain or, rather, his henchmen, strike. The woman is carried off and G. is beaten to within an inch of his life. In the next twenty-four hours he is twice more beaten insensible and ends up in a lunatic asylum, a helpless wreck, supposedly the victim of a drunken brawl.

Hernádi's novel is a depressing, ruthless book, heated by the intense bitterness of that double (if not multiple) cry in the wilderness signalled by the title—a bitterness so intense that it moves the reader even today. But the apparently gratuitous accumulation of abstract metaphor continually interferes with the progress of the realistic plot, which in itself is relevant or, seems to be relevant; plot and metaphor rarely manage to blend satisfactorily. In a mechanical alternation of trivial dialogue and hieroglyphic forms the characters never really come alive. Hernádi's visionary abstractionism does not appear to be adequate to portray motivation or human nature. He seems to have recognised this himself; in his later work he has used the method, and is still using it, on subject matters of a more abstract nature.

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The publication of Mihály Sükösd's novel, *The Passer of Judgement*, must also have

been delayed since the author has thought it necessary to indicate the date of its writing, now half a decade ago: 1972–76. This indication seems justified: the historical consciousness that it portrays is symptomatic of the beginning of the seventies, and the book reads more as a documentary of the period than as a timeless work of art. In addition to writing fiction, Mihály Sükösd is a columnist and essayist, primarily interested in sociology and literature, interests that leave their marks on this book.

The passer of judgement is János Méliusz, a judge who must take a decision on how to administer justice in a case of incitement to disaffection which takes place at approximately the time the book was written. The offenders are a group of six young people, led by Jakab Berzi, aping the western student revolts of the sixties. The chapter entitled "Jakab, or the youth of a leader," an ironic allusion to Sartre's story, gives the reader Jakab Berzi's past. Berzi, born in 1948, child of a family of intellectuals with rather irregular habits, is "a little fiend at eight," "melancholic at fourteen", and "reads two books a day and leafs through four more" at sixteen, "laying the foundations for an incomplete but imposing education for his age." Faithful follower of his masters, a child psychologist and a family sociologist, Jakab eventually decides they have become part of the establishment and deserts them, turning against them to found a group of his own. His revolt is mostly ideological but just before he is taken into custody he is almost ready to turn thought into deed, that is, to launch on subversive activity based on principles gleaned from the slogans of the European protest-waves. By authorial insinuation this becomes known through the speculative ruminations of the judge who initially is acquainting himself with the facts of the case; he has no precise information and has not yet formed a definite judgement. What Jakab Berzi and his friends actually did, and to what extent their activities can be described as subversive according to the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic, is never clearly defined. The ruminations, reveries and conjectures of the judge—if these are to be read as his—are more concerned with the motives and aims of the group, as they are to be discerned from the documents or, rather, with the possible results if these aims had been realised. The reader knows only of the existence of these documents—it is never quite clear whether the facts that make up the reader's total knowledge came from these documents, narrated through the judge, or came from the author, above the judge's head.

The basic narrative is thus unstable. The respective viewpoint and knowledge of the judge, who is involved, and of the author, who is not, are often disturbingly mingled It is not clear whether the additional evidence, or the essay-like confessions built on it, or the apparent legal offences contained are to be read as part of the judge's mental process—that is, as inserts from the author—or as quotations of uncertain legitimacy, which would be justifiable only if they were coherent in the narrative frame. Though witty and pertinent, the critical remarks on the Hungary of the seventies, and especially on its intellectuals, uttered or supposedly uttered by Jakab Berzi, are ineffectual in themselves, even if they are more convincing than what vaguely appears to be the point of view of the judge. The improvised variations on the theme of social upheaval, hostage taking, protest meetings, hippy communes may be interesting (though hardly probable), but are not arranged into a compact, rational narrative structure, and do not complement the figure and memories of the judge.

Though most of the explicit information relates to Jakab Berzi, his actual or supposed deeds, his views and illusions, the hero of the book, in the author's presentation, is, however, the judge. This Méliusz, we gather from the memories set out in his monologue, himself experienced ideological

dogmatism, utopianism, and the drastic making of history in the fifties. Not directly, it is true, but through a friend of his who unmistakably reflects on Jakab Berzi; a friend who fled the country in 1956 and committed suicide in London, apathetic and deranged. This friend, however, is a schematically drawn, lifeless figure, and the judge is composed partly of the trappings of his office and his way of life, partly of his clichéd musings, such as those on the past prompted by this friend; he too is also an abstract, constructed figure, an illustration of the author's thesis, expressed by the motto taken from Bacon: "An acre of land in Middlesex is worth more than a duchy in Utopia. The smallest realised good is worth more than the most glorious promise of the impossible..." Could this be the creed of the seventies, made wiser by the fifties? If such was the author's intention and design, and that is disputable, they must be seen as ineffectual when the good realised in the book is merely the rejection of the promise of the impossible; when the promise of the impossible, as has so often happened in history, calls truth as a witness, even if in a naive and childish fashion.

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Gyula Hernádi was born in 1926, Mihály Sükösd in 1933—József Gáli, who died last year, was born in 1930. For all three the fifties meant the beginning of their career as writers. József Gáli's Mosquitoes and Herons, the story that gave its title to the collection which so abruptly became a posthumous work, deals in part with those early years; but whereas Sükösd looks back on them from the seventies, Gáli approaches them from the forties, from his childhood and antecedents. All the short stories of the collection are biographical and conjure up the image of a strange and austere childhood. The delicately balanced idyll is suddenly transformed into infernal horror. József Gáli was a Jew, and in the Hungary of the beginning of the forties this in itself was enough to leave a grown man with memories of the inferno instead of the usual childhood idyll. But the Gális were, if you like, lucky for a while. The father was a doctor, the superintendent of a TB Sanatorium and privileged as a member of the provincial intelligentsia, he was left in peace for a comperatively lengthy period in his remote country town. Looking back, even to the time the persecution of Jews began, what arise in memory are images of bourgeois prosperity and grimly humorous country life painted with grim humour.

One of the best pieces in the book, a sarcastic garland of anecdotes entitled "Head-words from a dictionary of autobiography," treats almost casually, and thus all the more appallingly, the fate of the members of a respectable country doctor's family:

"THE GREENGROCER'S: In the camp you meet your father. He gets there before you do on his eventful road. He is a doctor, so he becomes a barrack-doctor. When somebody gets diarrhoea he makes them take a wooden spoonful of white powder in case the person in question is burnt to cinders for loose bowels. One time he learns beforehand when the powers that be are to come to make a selection. To make a selection, that is, to pick out. A few years later you too will pick out the rotten paprikas from the sound at the greengrocer's. In the camps from time to time the crates were emptied of those who had begun to rot alive. For example, they would drive a pile into the ground, nail a lath to it, and those who could walk under the bar without bumping their heads proved themselves hybridpaprikas, freaks. At fourteen you are sure to walk under it but your father has hidden you in the latrines. A long trench runs the whole length of the barracks and under the planks used as seats there is an iron pipe. Your father ties you to this iron pipe by your two wrists. And you hang there. You hang there all through the morn-

ing, waist-deep in excrement, pickled in the stink of chlorine and other smells so that you will wear well and be able to bear living."

The boy survived the camp and the "SEXUAL ETHICS" chapter in the autobiographical dictionary bears eloquent testimony to the fact that his sense of humour has also survived. "They say it changes with age. It is possible that this is generally true but it does have constant persistent constituents. When you leave the camp a place is found for you at an old tailor's in your old home town, owing to the good offices and financial assistance of a distant relative. The tailor is an ardent breeder of pigeons and rabbits and feels fully responsible for you in return for your keep. Responsible to the point of regulating your hormone-household. One fine day he says to you: 'You've reached the dangerous age. The time has come for you to try what every boy must go through; it's only natural. But without moonlight and without getting the clap. I'll take care of it. Moonlight is bad for your education and the clap is bad for your health.' That night in your room you find a well-fed member of the opposite sex, of undeterminable age. The basin is full of water, the bed is made; unmistakable signs of solicitude. Flight is sometimes the most successful mode of revolt. The next morning the tailor finds the member of the opposite sex alone in your bed, the window is wide open and a sheet of an exercise-book is pinned to the quilt with the following words: Fuck her yourself!"

Though the narrator and his tribulations still act as a framework for the title story, the period of persecution that began in the forties and continued in the fifties is evoked through a characteristic career. Imre Szűcs, like the narrator, is a Jew with a Hungarianized name, and in the beginning served as the latter's friend, mentor and boxing coach. It was clear even then that he would survive the war—which he did. Unscrupulous, a turncoat, quick to see advantage, he knew how to benefit from even the one characteristic that brought death to most of his companions—his Jewishness. He turns communist and in the fifties we see him riding in uniform in a black official car. What's going to happen? the narrator asks his friend. "'A revolution, perhaps,' he replied, watching the ducks swimming about on the lake, 'and we'll be locked up by those we raised to power.' 'What about Imre Szűcs?' 'He'll be allright. He's a flunkey and he'll be a flunkey all his life.'" But without the Imre Szűcs's of this world that which had to happen could not have happened.

Poor József Gáli did not prove to be as hardwearing as his father wished. Suffering and hardship strengthen the body but they can also kill. József Gáli had a serious heart condition and could not bear living for longer than his fifty-one years. He was twenty-one when, in a fine start to a literary career, he received a high award—almost without lifting a finger. That unmerited prize, awarded as mere window-dressing, was followed by almost thirty years of penitence. For almost thirty years József Gáli tried to prove to himself and to the world that he really was a writer. He was duly imprisoned "by those he raised to power." For many long years he made a living translating; he continued to write, and occasionally a piece would be published. But the real proof of his talent is in this collection, suddenly posthumous. As a story-writer he is peculiarly malicious, ironic, not afraid to experiment with the morbid; he swings freely between impudence and pathos. He could have been more; he could have done more than this thin collection. But he could not bear living any longer.

Miklós Györffy

IMPRESSIVE FIRSTS

István Géher: *Mondom: szerencséd* (I'm telling you: you're in luck), Szépirodalmi 1981. 108 pp.; Szabolcs Várady: *Ha már itt vagy* (As you are here), Kozmosz, 1981. 59 pp.

These two volumes stand out even among the many interesting volumes of poetry of recent years. Although both are first collections, they contain work which is mature rather than the tentative verse one expects from first collections. In their general direction, philosophical view, and even in the depth of writing, they are related to each other. Unusually, both authors are greatly influenced by the twentieth century innovators in British and American poetry; in effect, they are using poetic and technical innovations which have by now been assimilated to English language verse.

There is another point of comparison between the two: both poets have written very little poetry in proportion to their ages and the amount of their other activities. Naturally, quantity in itself is not significant, it is the approach behind it which is more important; both writers see poetry as so important that it applies to every minute; the creation of poetry is for them a peculiar and complex occasion whose complexity has to be made perceptible in every poem, again and again. The momentum of their poetry for me comes from the very fact that they are always able to make it perceptible. Poetry itself is a contradiction; it is threatened in the modern world and has even to contest the case for its own existence. And to be able to convey all this with an experience and force that is lyrical and true is the great merit in what Géher and Várady have written.

István Géher, who was born in 1940 in Budapest, is a well-known lecturer in English at the University of Budapest and has been an erudite and successful intermediary for English and American literature; the arrival now of this volume is doubly surprising. Géher did not follow the occasionally difficult path of sporadic publication in periodicals, he has simply come out with a collection. These poems—he tells us—were written between his 30th and 40th years, the voice consequently heard is obviously consistent; we are not dealing with early attempts or a poet's development. What we have before us is the production of a poet who is mature and ready. Géher's characteristic is an illusionless, gloomy yet unstrained handling of questions on the philosophy of existence. He does not deal with the concrete event, the concrete experience or sentiment, nor even his own feelings on these. He is concerned, frequently, with the most serious and general basic questions, those which have been topical in literature for many hundreds of years. (For me, the great depth and value in his poetry comes from the actual fact that he handles them.) These basic questions often find bitter, disappointed answers; the handling is quite without strain, elegant—he is at home with them, as it were.

The most general experiences are conveyed by him through an expression that is momentarily personal. The world and the expression of it are at his disposal through cultural tradition. Hamlet's questions are being continuously restated with persuasive force and surprising invention (especially so in the pieces addressed explicitly to Hamlet). His Hamlet and his Hamlet-like questioning, however, are in a world where the opportunity for the individual to act is painfully limited, where time stands still, without a role, even within the hero (or the poet). Géher's writing is characterized by the unity of undertaking and abandoning, a duality which can be looked upon as his

theme too: at every step he is dealing with failure (the failure of human life) and the forced admission of the necessary limitations of man. Some of his poems reflect different approaches to this topic, though they are not concerned with any kind of psychological observation. Here is an illustration, perhaps enjoyable even in prose translation, from one of his best poems, typical of the whole volume in its cast of mind:

"He who conceals himself / is now rejoicing. / The season teaches to live with need. So, / know your place: it's under cover. / The rest throw away from your heart. / Losing becomes you. Throw it away, bury it. / Give it up / I tell you: appreciate." *Délivasúti canto* (The Southern Railway Canto, prose version.)

Géher, the teacher, cannot or will not conceal his scholarly background and motivation; his writing (and its availability to the reader) presuppose a great deal of outside knowledge which must be brought to bear. Géher demands that his reader experience the mental and cultural adventure involved in the actual composition, and more than once that he unmask the structural technique itself. Moreover, language itself has a large role: there is much play with destroying language, as it were, breaking down grammatical and conventional restrictions in everyday speech; there is extended exploitation of ambiguity in words and in their various cultural and historical restrictions. To take only a few examples how he uses language in this way: there are pieces containing two languages (Latin and English insertions), there are archaisms, reconstructions of old language strata (of both Hungarian and English material), there is fragmentary sentence construction, there is alternation of word order involving change in meaning, there is even a playful use of orthography, with words and letters omitted, and so on. Because of all this, the majority of these pieces cannot be read aloud or declaimed in the traditional way. These techniques in using language—and the philosophy of language behind them—define his poetry. On the one hand, difficulties in understanding are involved, and he relies on an aware reader; on the other hand, much is untranslatable. He makes use of the echoes of older poetry as a constant system of reference: a need to know the great classical works lurks behind the disintegration in his poetry. Within the narrow limits of today, classical work cannot be created, yet the standard references he applies to himself are no less than the pillars of European culture, from the psalms to the symbolic figure of Hamlet.

Géher feels repugnance for the romantic illusion of originality: his poetry—so the sleeve notes explicitly inform us—"is calling up the memory of the figure of the medieval poet taking shelter." He does not wish to assert his personality to the detriment of other poets or works. What he has to say will be clarified by its relation to other work. Therefore, he can revive the mediaeval *cento* form, now virtually unknown: for him, as for the old centos, it is not the originality of borrowed or original lines, but the method of dovetailing them which provides the staggering and often pleasant novelty—in the primary sense of the world—and this is, in fact, his characteristic.

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Szabolcs Várady (born in 1943) was looked upon as one of the most talented of the poets who emerged in the sixties; although he publishes infrequently, what he has written has not gone unremarked.

This small (his first) collection is his production—and his silence—of the last twenty years. His is a silence which can be measured in years but it can also be heard in the poetry itself. As a translator and a publisher's editor he has been responsible for the appearance of some excellent work; now as a poet, he has brought out a deservedly well-received collection. To my mind Várady's silence has contributed much

to his poetry: there are few books of such uniformly high quality, where every poem, as it were, stands out. Even making allowance for the fact that some emotional change can be experienced in the poems—set out in chronological order—across the time-span the uniformity of the voice, the continuity of the poetical approach surprise and indeed fascinate.

He assembles the themes and basic motifs of his poetry in a way that makes clear their roots in human relations. The detail and acute observation make for descriptive verse which retains many traditional elements in comparison with some of his highly thought of contemporaries. The forceful influence of classicism is in most cases perceptible: he starts with a concrete event, a scene, a personal experience, and transforms them through a psychological and philosophical processing or detailed analysis in such a way that the poem itself becomes a living object. For me the essence and force of Várady lies in the great pains taken over the intellectual (though not necessarily the rational) aspect of his analyses rather than in emphasis on the experience itself.

Várady does not allow the experience itself to dominate, instead it is the outcome of reflection which dominates and it is this which is personal. Insofar as experience can be interpreted, it is important; only interpretation gives value to experience. Perhaps his best known poem—excellently translated into English by W. J. Smith—*Székek a Duna felett* (Chairs above the Danube)* can illustrate the interconnections: the grotesque memories inspired by recollecting an experience. In this poem, two young poets moving house carry two chairs across a large bridge in Budapest; they sit down in the middle of the bridge for a cigarette. This sets off a chain of thought on the changes that have come with time since the incident; the immutability of the unimportant incident is ironically contrasted with the complex and rapid changes that more important events have since brought about on the two protagonists.

Várady looks at his world with subdued irony: the sharpness of his approach, the approach itself, is determined by the way he contrasts the circumstances of everyday life against metaphysical principles. His melancholy, his irony are brought about by looking at a world which he also absents himself from. For him the world is one of deficiency, yet apart from this world, there is no other possibility of existence and thus it has to be put up with. All of Várady's poetry can be interpreted as a later, disenchanted version of stoicism; even the title, "as you are here..." has something of this in it.

Self-examination is predominant; he tries to determine—with all the precision of philosophy—his own position, his circumstances, his own soul. Though no single psychological view is characteristic of him, there is a collision everywhere with general questions. "Since it is often playing tricks on me / that which we call soul for want of a better name." I would emphasize here the conscious and intentional presence of self-examination, so clear and precise that even a comparison of Várady with the classics seems justifiable to me.

One of his first influences, the excellent poet István Vas, perceptively pointed out a couple of years ago Várady's similarities with Latin poetry; the observation seems fully verified here. The intellectual precision of Várady's poems, the serene irony, the bitter knowledge of reality, the explicit and outspoken opinions—all are the heritage of the classical Latin tradition. Occasionally the poet himself alludes to this, as in the excellent, ironic poem addressed to Horatius or in the paraphrase of *Animula, vagula, blandula...* In other places we can detect formal similarities, especially in the complicated yet classically clean periods, in the accurate use of language. His versification and

* *NHQ* 63

use of language do not distort grammar: he achieves poetic quality through traditional means, his is a poetry of traditional techniques, of closed forms, through more closed forms. A renewal of metaphors and metaphorical constructions is everywhere seen: his descriptions are enriched by the use of metaphors which are conjoined from very distinct fields of life and registers of language. Thus a peculiar harmony of metaphor and language occurs. He often combines emotive images with banal everyday language resulting in an imitation of harmony. Perhaps the close of an important poem will be enough to make this clear.*

* See the translation of the full poem in *NHQ* 85.

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

Dead still. (Tr. W. J. Smith)

The closing lines of a Várady poem seem to come to a conclusion and the quiet resignation that sounds through them is in itself a point. If this is true, the above lines will give an accurate reflection of the book as a whole.

István Margócsy

SOCIAL POLICY IN THE MAKING

Zsuzsa Ferge: *A Society in the Making; Hungarian Social and Societal Policy 1945–75*. Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middx. 1979, and M.E. Sharpe Inc., White Plains, N.Y., 1980. 333 pp.

"In social science there is no neutral act," writes Zsuzsa Ferge in her disarmingly frank introduction to this book. Presumably such a forthright author could only be disappointed by a "neutral" review. This reviewer is unable to conceal his satisfaction with the fact that a wide-ranging and well-written work about Hungarian society by the outstanding Hungarian sociologist of her generation is now reaching a wide audience in Great Britain and North America. Zsuzsa Ferge's book deserves the closest attention; it should be more widely acknowledged that Hungary's successes in recent years are the product not only of astute economic management but also of the consistent implementation of what Ferge calls a societal policy. In giving a sympathetic but critical outline of this policy she gives the English reader more insight into the structure of Hungarian society than any sociologist has yet managed for any other East European country. Indeed, if taken together with the collection of articles published in *The Sociological Review Monograph 17* in 1972 and with the standard work by András Hegedűs, *The Structure of Socialist Society*, published in Great Britain in 1977, this volume leaves the Western reader with an understanding of Hungarian society that is truly comprehensive, that leaves no sensitive area unexplored. This does not mean that all the questions are adequately resolved by any of these authors, or that Hungarian sociologists speak with one voice on all controversial issues. Likewise I hope that it is possible for a non-Hungarian reviewer to maintain a critical approach to Hungarian society similar to

that of Zsuzsa Ferge, whilst often disagreeing with the particular conclusions which she draws.

She opens with an explanation of the key term societal policy: it is used in a special, wide sense to encompass social or welfare policy in the Western sense, and also the goals of long-term structural change and the transition to a higher form of socialism; structural policy is suggested as a synonym. The first part of the book discusses the theoretical principles and concepts on which the policy is founded. The ultimate objective is the self-realization of every individual (cf. Marx, Lukács), societal policy is charged with creating the conditions which will make this possible. The reduction of social inequalities is one of the most important conditions, but Dr. Ferge considers that societal policy remains one-sided if it concentrates exclusively on the sphere of distribution. Instead she proposes a model of social reproduction (cf. Bourdieu) which requires one to consider complex processes of interaction in the reproduction of mankind and in the production and reproduction of goods and services. Relations of production are grasped not simply in terms of ownership but also of power: there is of course a tendency for the social importance of ownership to make it "the foundation of power," but she recognizes that those in effective control over production may not be the formal owners. Thus power is the means of linking different social groups and classes, whilst knowledge is a most important factor in power decisions. Dr. Ferge goes on to outline the emergence of social policy, commenting on the role of non-economic institutions in pre-capitalist societies (cf. Polányi) but claiming that societal policy in her sense can develop only after the appearance of capitalist society and an autonomous domain which we call "the economy." In socialist society the policy must be geared to the long-term communist goals, but at the present stage of development (at least in the case of Hungary) this does not mean that one can dispense with social policy in the narrower sense, as a palliative which corrects potentially dangerous tendencies of the economy. Zsuzsa Ferge notes various criticisms of societal policy in contemporary Hungary, including the view that there has been in general too much emphasis on economic efficiency, and the view (held by Kálmán Kulcsár amongst others) that priority should be given to a careful assessment of economic interests in the longer run rather than (as is the case today) to short-term planning.

The second part of the book deals with "the transformation of the basic relations of the social division of work" (the last phrase of this title betraying the most irritating infelicity of a generally excellent translation). Dr. Ferge regards the abolition of private ownership as fundamental to the general process of transforming socio-economic relations in Hungary, but she does not assume that this leads necessarily to fully-developed, authentic socialist ownership. She gives a sensitive account of management control, but is less perceptive in considering the problems posed by advanced industrial technologies. Even if the threat of excessive job fragmentation and monotony is less urgent than it is in the West, the danger of such alienation is there, and a societal policy concerned with the long run must surely face it some way. It is pointed out that the state guarantees citizens the opportunity to work, and that the individual has a duty to take advantage of this opportunity, since this should be his prime source of income, and society will not tolerate those who violate the norms of the socialist labour market. However as usual the author is well aware of the criticisms levelled against official policy and she admits that there is some underemployment, in Hungary as in other socialist countries. Discipline is weaker than it is in the West and the negative consequences of low productivity in the white-collar sector are particularly serious. Nevertheless few will disagree that these are

the lesser evils compared with the tensions which would be brought about by open unemployment.

The role of women in the contemporary division of labour in Hungary is discussed in some detail and related to the division of labour within the family. Dr. Ferge gives a good account of the child-care allowance which Hungary pioneered in 1967 and assesses it in the light of the need to secure the general economic emancipation of women. Clearly the popularity of this welfare provision indicates that women find it attractive in present conditions and Zsuzsa Ferge is right to emphasize that no Western country guarantees the female worker her old job at the end of protracted maternity leave; but she is also aware of the drawbacks of the scheme in its present form, of continuing *de facto* discrimination against women on the job market that is only aggravated by arrangements which place the major responsibilities for bringing up children firmly on women's shoulders.

Part Two closes with a discussion of the "relations of knowledge." The elimination of the élitism of the old school system has only created a new set of problems to be solved, and Dr. Ferge takes a cautious, middle-of-the-road position on the need to discriminate positively in favour of workers' children, whilst somehow not diminishing the chances of the more privileged. She notes in passing that repeated attempts in the past to implement such policies have come to little in practice.

Part Three contains the most substantive chapters of the book, more than a hundred pages on the subject of income distribution, and centralized redistribution by the authorities wherever the working of the market principle is inappropriate. The comparisons drawn with Western countries are dubious because of the data available. Dr. Ferge is honest about this, and proceeds to give a valuable outline of wages policy in Hungary from the end of the 1940s. The basic principle of remuneration accordingnto work done has never been altered, but the early correction of pre-war inequalities led to excessive levelling that in turn required correction in the early 1950s. Since then the emphasis has varied according to short-term objectives, but by the middle of the 1970s the main criteria behind wage differentiation were quite explicitly and systematically defined. Zsuzsa Ferge believes that the statistics show a general reduction of inequalities between social strata, but she points out the problems still awaiting a solution. In addition to providing equal opportunities for women there is also a need to remedy the grievances of particular occupational groups, such as teachers and nurses, whose material remuneration has fallen relatively over the years. There is a further difficulty concerning the pension system: although the author's "humanist" standpoint leads her to reject the earnings-relation principle she is realistic enough to admit that present conditions in Hungary do not permit the practical implementation of an alternative, flat-rate principle and thus of "universal" old-age benefits. The dichotomy between universalism and selectivity is further examined in several interesting contexts, and again the author suggests that a solution lies in a compromise—in this case the recognition that universal schemes are far too costly, coupled with an insistence that the criteria of selection promote genuinely socialist goals.

An examination of consumption, the final stage in this model of the cycle of reproduction, is the main theme of Part Four. The history of socialist price policy in Hungary is briefly reviewed, and special emphasis is given to the economic reforms of 1968 and changes in the basis for calculating consumer prices. Consumer price increases have been gradual and have always been accompanied by flat-rate compensatory payments, thus tending to reduce income differentials. Of course any detailed enquiry into consumption leads back to distributive issues before long. Dr. Ferge observes the

application of the principle of universalism in subsidies to culture and in the health service. She is also convinced that a reliance on the market principle is not the best way to tackle the housing problem, but once again she hedges her policy recommendations: "... Housing appears to be a clear case where an increased utilization of central funds and non-market redistribution offer the only sound solution—although this may safely coexist with a limited market."

No brief summary can do justice to the richness of the contents of this book, it will be used as a mine of information by any serious student of Hungarian society after the Second World War. Moreover I have tried to show how carefully Zsuzsa Ferge qualifies her conclusions on all controversial matters; she is a committed social scientist who yet never slips from the highest standards of scholarly objectivity. If there is any element of disingenousness in this book at all it arises out of the author's repeated references to Western criticisms of socialist societal policy, and a rather too simplistic classification of these criticisms. She distinguishes between a "leftist" approach, which tends to detect an excessive degree of economic differentiation and undue "consumerism" in Hungary, and a "conservative" approach which stresses the opposite—excessive egalitarianism at the expense of efficiency and untramelled market principles. Her book can then be read as a *tour de force* which illustrates the one-sidedness of each of these two approaches, whilst admitting that both have elements of truth in them. Can every issue be resolved pragmatically by adopting some middle course? Will such policies lead in the long run to a higher form of socialism as living standards rise? Zsuzsa Ferge's book is entitled "A Society in the Making," but although this is then explicitly a transitional stage, there is not much evidence to suggest secular trends leading in a socialist direction. She is wise to refrain from offering easy answers where there are none to be found, but I think she is wrong to give the impression that a coherent societal policy with a long-term perspective has actually been applied in Hungary over the last few decades, and wrong to dismiss all critics as either leftist-inspired or conservatives. For example her rejection of the market principle in the case of housing, quoted above, is susceptible to a critique from both leftists and conservatives if it can be shown that centralized redistribution has non-egalitarian consequences comparable to those of the market it is designed to replace. However, when all is said and done events on the European stage since this book was published only confirm its timeliness. Social policies must contain inequalities without contradicting the imperatives of economic rationality. In Hungary in recent decades they have done so with great success, but as far as the grander design of societal policy is concerned, this reviewer remains a sceptic.

C. M. HANN

"ACCELERATING TIME"

A non-fiction paperback series

1.

It takes time to discover what is evident, that is what seems evident immediately after (but only after!) it is realized. Now, for instance, it seems quite evident that a series of non-fiction books *had* to be started in Hungary in the mid-seventies, consisting of rather slim volumes that had nothing in common but that that they are fascinatingly written about fascinating subjects.

Not that the concept of non-fiction would

have been unknown in the Hungarian pubishing business before the mid-seventies, up to the birth of this series. Indeed, there was a good number of non-fiction series, but they all suffered from thematic limitations. Experienced publishers know well that any restriction of genre turns into a strait-jacket sooner or later. And a series is good when it is able to contain just about anything. If there is any criterion for series, it should be based on diversity, on the omnivorous nature of the series. Well, are not the reading public, the sum of the readers omnivorous?

What is necessary for a series of books on such universal topics? Primarily, it must be the publisher's enterprise. Magvető Publishers of Budapest showed no lack of this, which is a bit surprising, since they handled mostly fiction until 1975, the year they started the series. But the flair for enterprise in itself does not guarantee success; so the next condition is sufficient demand by readers. Purchasing power could be taken for granted, since book prices are still very moderate in Hungary even though they have nearly doubled since the start of the series; the average price for the colourful, well-printed paperback in the series was only about 12 forints (30 cents) in 1981. The readers' demand was such that market research was not necessary to check that the world-wide boom in non-fiction would apply to Hungary as well.

The title for the series came from an essay by the Hungarian physicist, György Marx, published in the sixties: he expressed the penetration of the modern physical world image, and the results of modern physics in our everyday life through the phrase "accelerating time." The choice of Accelerating Time was fortunate, since it implied both modernity of subject matter and a certain sense of urgency. The would-be reader is almost compelled to buy in case he misses the informations offered to him.

Finally, enterprising researchers and experts are also needed to write the books.

2.

Perhaps it will be worth going into some details here, since there is little doubt that the authors themselves are the first but most important of the steps involved in publication.

From its very conception, the series was aimed at a broad cross-section of readers. Because of this, impossibly abstract or convoluted writing (and those authors unable to write otherwise) had to be rejected. On the other hand, many scholars or scientists in Hungary feel uncomfortable when asked to write a popular item, or to lecture to a non-professional audience. First, they have to change their normal thinking and terminology; secondly, they feel open to the criticisms of "underselling" their knowledge, of looking for success in fields unbecoming to real scientists, or of seeking the esteem of the layman, not their fellow professionals. The result is that many first-rate scientists frequently refrain from publishing anything on their research, apart from what is written up for their professional journals or in hefty tomes. The mid-length work, precisely the size of the Accelerating Time series, is not very attractive: one usually must put aside or delay the completion of some more voluminous work, in order to get on with this.

Yet, if the prestige of the forum is high, then these arguments or excuses are largely countered. And this forthcoming series had another ace up its sleeve. (It had already won prestige, even for literature, by reprinting some shorter works of György Lukács and Gyula Illyés.) This ace was the reliance on journals!

Those learned authors, who value the propagation of general knowledge, who enjoy making contact with the general reading public, publish studies in the general (or, in Hungary, in literary) journals. Usually they invest rather heavily in time for these studies, thus relatively little persuasion is needed by the publisher to get them to expand and develop their articles; the length

of a medium book is soon achieved. Most of the books in Accelerating Time have been brought out this way. There was a journal-size study to start with, and the book followed. The original study also acts as a sort of preliminary advertisement for the later book, since it has usually created a stir when published (which in turn has led to the publisher's offer).

For centuries, literature has been the main vehicle for national and political selfexpression in Hungary. Through social and economic backwardness, political dependence, and the scarcity of channels for declaring political interests, the leading writers of Hungary, poets, have always considered themselves more than simple authors, but as mouthpieces of the nation; they have always been aware of a mission given them by the latent public opinion of the country. (The lion's role of literary men in the explosion of the 1848 Pest revolution is well known abroad.) Hence the centring on literature, in Hungarian public life and also the concentration on literature by the first volumes in Accelerating Time. (Some ten to fifteen books have been published annually under the series' cover, originally an abstract pattern, since 1981 a colour photograph.)

György Marx's book on elementary particles, or that of Albert Szent-Györgyi on microbiology, stood out in the flow of works on literary, fine arts, and historical topics published in 1975. There were books on the healing practices of South American Indians, on neuro-biology, on anti-Semitism among the 1976 volumes, and on genetics and the theory of relativity in 1977. But the series really only found its legs in 1978; by then works on palaeo-zoology, history of technology, social psychology, cosmology, quantum-mechanics, Zen Buddhism, the history of mathematics, superstition, and molecular biology all naturally fall into place among the others. To risk an analogy: it is not a fancy-dress ball if only a few people wear costumes; it becomes one only if it is colourful enough. The series crossed this threshold of colour in 1978.

3.

Readers had to wait, however, until 1979 for what I consider the series' most important breakthrough. The recognition that made this possible was that contemporary Hungarian reality with its hidden or clear movements and structures was just as interesting a subject as essays on the arts, and literature, which touched upon current life only inolviectly. Two young authors analysed the inferiority complex of professional people in the evidences, the soul-paralysing effects of "provinciality." This subject is of particular importance in Hungary, since the ulture of provincial towns seems dull compared with that of the capital city. In this same year, an outstanding Hungarian sociologist focused attention on the hidden operation of "social traps," than a psychological report was published on the group-dynamism of theatrical life (that is life backstage).

Only one short step had to be made from here to the recognition that the true identity for the series could be achieved by reinterpreting the concept of the essay. Because of our national and political role of literature, the essay used to be seen as a secondary or analytic genre in literature, as some sort of servant of literature. The English or French pattern of the essay, the way Bacon, Montaigne, or Pascal cultivated the genre was alien to Hungarian (in spite of important exceptions between the two world wars). The human interest choice of subject and treatment—and I am not thinking of pretentious journalism, of course—no doubt takes away from the loftiness of the essay, yet this is the very way it can rely on being human-centred. Exalted treatment of lofty works does not affect everybody; but a rigorously drawn picture of some general human phenomenon, of literary and scientific

value, this is what people see as vitally important to themselves, this is what will move everyone without exception. From being the private affair of literature and art, the essay had to become a matter of public interest in Hungary.

It is no surprise that the most successful volumes fit exactly into this category. Sexuality, eating, death are more or less constant and pivotal in the lives of all of us. Obviously, Miklós Miskolczi's *Színlelni boldog szeretőt?* (Acting the happy lover?) just had to arouse wide interest, had to become the best of best-sellers. Published in 1981, it deals with extramarital sexual relations among metropolitan professional and white-collar people using the methods of the descriptive sociology essay of sociography. Miskolczi is not a keen supporter of marital fidelity, but observes and describes clearly many of the problems of an extramarital sexual relationship based on mere sympathy, and nothing else. But the main merit of his book is that it refrains from value judgements, and this provoked the dislike of some conservative readers. Based on tape-recorded interviews, he demonstrates the reality of extramarital affairs, and leaves the reader to pass judgement. His work makes it apparent that public opinion on extramarital sex has begun to change in Hungary, not least because women are now demanding equal rights for themselves in Hungary too, not only in work (46 per cent of the workers were female in the mid-seventies), but also in love, and its joys.

Tibor Csupor's *A táplálkozás paradoxonai* (The paradoxes of eating, 1979) surprised readers by going far beyond the portrayal of the hungry regions, so well known from the press, to give a full review of the history of human nutrition, of tastes and tasting, culinary art, even of over-feeding—in outline of course, but rather apt outline at that. One of his arguments, for instance, threw a new light on the history of the European population of the North American continent. He describes that food production increased and child mortality decreased in Europe simultaneously. But the demographic explosion was not accompanied by a more equitable distribution of food resources. Thus, emigrants left mainly Western European countries in the first half of the nineteenth century, and those from the eastern and middle parts of Europe began to dominate only after the eighteen-sixties: they were driven by hunger. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy alone gave one and a half million immigrants to North America at the turn of the century. The difference in food consumption is widest between the rural and the urban population in the various strata of present-day Hungarian society. Strangely it is people in the country who eat less healthy food, owing mainly to their preference for the fatty items of the traditional rural diet. Thus the "cultural accessability" of foods weighs more heavily than actual accessability in Hungary today. We can no longer accept his premise that the rural diet is unhealthy because of disruptions to the food supply in small settlements. The real reason seems to be rather than even if they produce fresh, healthy, vitamin-rich foods, country people prefer to sell these rather than enjoy them.

Ernő Kunt's *A halál tükrében* (In the mirror of death, 1981) is one of the most successful books in the series. The very recent popularity of death as a subject could have led the author to an easy solution; he could have produced a digest of the very many books on the subject. Instead, he provided a rounded, profound essay abounding in originality of thought. Almost all the typical aspects of death have a place in his concise book, from burial customs to the latest problems of medical ethics relating to euthanasia, from death-centred poetry to suicide, from incurable illnesses to the experience of clinical death. The author also writes on the popular belief that totalitarian dictatorships have a beneficial effect on the human psyche: the number of suicides,

neuroses, even of psychosomatic illnesses seems to decline during such periods in a society. This well-established empirical fact often gives rise to declarations on the benefit to people of doing as they are told. Hence they do not engage in dangerous introspection or speculation on their fate.

Kunt reverses this reasoning, and says that freer, more democratic forms of communal coexistence demand more self-discipline than do violent dictatorships, or morally unrestrained times of war. Therefore, the number of suicides increases in peacetime, in a democratic atmosphere because of self-imposed restrictions on the personality. It seems more individual suicides is the price that must be paid for holding society itself back from suicide.

Kunt's reasoning towards his view on whether doctors should tell the truth to people suffering from terminal diseases is rather apt too. The medical practitioner should suggest no more or less hope, or hopelessness, to his parient, than he himself can also help the patient digest! (According to a survey, about 80–90 per cent of Hungarian patients want to know their prospects, yet only 20–30 per cent of all of medical practitioners, and no more than 6 per cent of hospital doctors communicate fatal diagnoses to their patients.)

4.

I pointed out above that the series found new vigour around 1978 through its sensitivity to current Hungarian social problems. Let me refer to two examples here. Ágnes Hankiss 1978 A *bizalom anatómiája* (The anatomy of trust), deals with lies, confidence tricks. Readers could learn a lot from the case histories collected by the young researcher from court documents. She demonstrates ingeniously, for instance, the fact that confidence tricksters invariably include a fragment of truth in their stories. One of them, for example, cheated his victim by showing his expertise in the field of bank credit regulations. He also claimed he was manager of a savings bank branch office. The victim fell prey to his own faulty syllogism: A savings bank manager must be conversant with credit regulations. My man is fully conversant with them. Ergo, my man, as he says, is a savings bank branch manager.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Elemér Hankiss's *Társadalmi csapdák* (Social traps, 1979) is where he talks about the abuse of social cooperation. Having listed a number of social traps based on a lack of social cooperation, which can be demolished later only with a good deal of consciousness, this is what he says about a rather frequent social trap in socialist societies: "If the cooperative will of people is used up within a community too often and needlessly, then the reserves of this will may dry up completely beyond a certain point; and then repeated demand for cooperation, even when reasonable, will be met by indifference, then by aggression, and even in the optimal instance only by enforced cooperation of low efficiency, carried out with bad grace." Thus not only people who refuse to cooperate, but others, who too often mobilize theii cooperative, can fall into the same trap. The second part of the book is on tipping in the process of which the most dangerous phase occurs relatively soon: this is the fall in the average standard of services, or rather its conscious lowering by those who receive tips. While once upon a time, better than average, or reasonably expectable, service was received in return for tips, in this new phase tips are almost obligatory even for average services. Another social trap of the best type. There is no way out of it for the time being.

This same social problem that affects so many is analysed from the economic aspect in Iván T. Berend's *Napjaink — a történelemben* (Our days—in history, 1980). He writes that for occupations where tipping is impossible, where it is difficult to earn any

side-income (such as the teaching profession) the whole occupational sector may be degraded, may lose social esteem. Yet it is even more important from the economic angle that the minor by-ways of earning income may broaden into major highways, and this may frequently interfere with the fundamental aims of the state. We should like to add to this that such a struggle between secondary and main occupations may sometimes exert some healthy push-pull force on price and wage movements and on the more efficient utilization of labour; this may even contribute to the success of the Hungarian economy on the world markets.

This leads us to the most substantial piece in the collection of Iván T. Berend's essays, on the twentieth-century history of the relations between the Hungarian economy and the world market. (The author, in conjunction with György Ránki, has dealt with the economic history of Hungary and Eastern Europe in several publications). In this essay he tells of a so far little-recognized advantage of the post-Ausgleich Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (1867–1918), whose value may have been doubted: the relatively large domestic market of the Monarchy provided a protective shield against the competition and the upheavals of the world market. Yet, when this conglomeration disintegrated, the most important exporting sector of the Hungarian economy, wheat production, collapsed immediately. Hungarian agriculture and the developing industry did all they could between the two world wars under the opening foreign trading conditions to establish new exports (for example, tomato juice), or to broaden the existing (for example, wine); however no *structural* changes occurred. Hungary's isolation from the world market was made even more complete by the bilateral trade agreements made with fascist Germany and Italy, and by import restrictions.

Large-scale industrialization began after 1945, but the structure of exports was not and still is not really modern, owing to the isolation of the socialist markets from the world market as a result of the cold war. Although a sector that oriented itself towards the world market did develop, the whole of the Hungarian economy delayed rather than allowed the assertion of world market demands.

Hard words, but precisely such are needed under the hard conditions of world market competition. There is nothing more important today than that society, the public, should clearly see the situation of the Hungarian economy, that they should realistically assess the possibilities. The straightforwardness of some of the volumes in the Accelerating Time series, their freshness, their immediate relevance may also assist in this. The increasing interest in the series demonstrates that there is a growing stratum in Hungary of those who want to face up to reality, want to know the position of Hungarian society as well as possible.

MIKLÓS HERNÁDI

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Hankiss, E.: Társadalmi csapdák (Social traps), 1979. 141 pp.

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All published by Magvető, Budapest.

KNOW THYSELF

Péter Popper: *A belső utak könyve* (The Book of internal paths). Exercises in self-knowledge. Magvető, Budapest, 1981. 198 pp.

"In India and Babylon, along the Kirghiz steppes and in the African jungles, in the deserts and ceremonial centres of South America, and the villages and metropoles of Europe, there has always been a quiet, shady place, a tent or a room, a shrine, a cloister or the seat of an oracle where two people came together to discuss their common affairs: one asking for help and the other trying to help. The methods may seem to have been different, but—in the different manner of expression of the given culture, and from different aspects—the message has been always the same, reverberating up to the present day that what the inscription at Delphi expressed so exactly, Know Thyself!"

The quotation comes from the introduction to "The Book of Internal Paths," which was recently published in Budapest in a popular paperback series called "Accelerating Time." A second edition is due to appear soon. The author, Péter Popper, is a psychologist in his late forties, who began publishing in the late 1960s. Articles in scientific journals were followed by books. His first major work was *A kriminális személyiségzavar kialakulása* (The Development of Criminal Personality Disturbances). Dr. Popper has been for many years a university lecturer, head of the Educational Section of Medical Psychology at the Semmelweis University of Medicine, and the editor-in-chief of *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle* (Hungarian Review of Psychology). He has been to India on several occasions, to study the various yoga schools on the spot, and he also aims to produce well-written books of popular science. His work on actors and acting in *Színes pokol* (Colourful hell), which appeared in the same series in 1979, is both more and less than the traditional form of science for the general public. The book made quite a stir and even created controversy among theatre people and the general public as well. The author argued—and illustrated his point by statements made by eminent Hungarian actors and his own experience both as a theatre-goer, and "behind the scenes."—that real actors represent no more than two types. One type is the Comedian, who is very fond of costumes and grease paint, as "the more perfect the make-up the better one can hide behind it and the more safely the character can be formed." The Magician, the other Popper type, feels reluctance to use either make-up and costume. He shows his own face to people. "He would prefer to act naked if that were possible."

But the psychologist, or in this case the typologist of actors, did not confine himself to make-up versus nudity when he contrasted the Comedian with the Magician. The real value of the book stems from the colourful and minute observations that many critics have also found to the point even when not accepting such an excessive separation of the two types, or temperaments. As in real life, types and roles often overlap in the theatre too.

"Colourful Hell" created a storm, even if not a fierce one; "The Book of Internal Paths" appears to appeal to many readers. Since the war, Popper's book is among the very first works of psychology in Hungarian intended for the general public and to produce a practical self-knowledge and insight into human nature—hence its general appeal.

Self-knowledge is a demand that has existed from the time of Delphi to the present day. And indeed today, in our accelerated and accelerating tempo, there is a particular need for methods with the help of which one may retard at least half an hour in one's overcrowded and overdriven

day. The author has it that the enormous pace of our life in itself does not enfeeble the psyche but that the problem lies rather in the scattered state of mental and intellectual forces. It is against this that self-knowledge is needed, a major part of which is knowing how to select. While one has a great deal of really important things to do—important for the person concerned at least—one's time and energy are often frittered away by business that is often of no importance even to the person himself. The author therefore considers it important to arrange into a practical system the methods of self-knowledge that have developed in various ages in "jungles, ceremonial centres, and metropoles." Drawing on relevant chapters from Erich Fromm, Erving Goffmann, and Igor Kon, he points to five fields. They are the development of thinking and the development of will, the fact that selfcontrol can be developed in the expression of sentiments and emotions, the development of a disposition towards the positive, and finally impartiality of judgement, and related to that, the changing of one's view point.

Let us add that the work which expresses a great deal in a few words, has also profited from Béla Buda's *Az empátia* (Empathy, 1978, Gondolat, 346 pp.), which in a certain sense was a pioneering work even internationally. "Empathy" is about that learnable faculty the essence of which is the power of projecting one's personality onto the object of contemplation, thus fully comprehending it, and the role of this faculty in modern spychology and modern life. Related to it there is the emotion-free technique, that helps to observe and understand other people's non-verbal metacommunications and systems of expression. But Dr. Popper's realm is auto-empathy.

Since the subjects of inner life—which in their (non-mechanical) entirety offer a totality of self-knowledge—are organically interrelated, their integration obviously calls for exercises which are also structurally connected with each other, help one another, and control one another. The author of "The Book of Internal Paths" calls on his readers to keep certain cyclic alternations in the exercises and to pursue them with a consistent regularity over a longer period. ("Both irregularity and starting and then finishing with the exercises may also have an unfavourable effect on our mental stability.")

According to this small handbook, the essence of the exercises whose purpose is to aid concentration is for the person to place a simple object before himself once a day, under calm conditions, and enumerate the distinctive features of the object in his mind. One knows from other works too how difficult, but at the same time how healthy the result can be if one tries to coordinate one's free-ranging associations, directing them onto a given point.

As far as the development of will is concerned, the simplest thing, which also lays the foundations for further, more complex exercises, is to perform a certain act once a day, always at the same time. This may even be some triviality like turning one's ring round one's finger, or reciting lines of a poem that is close to us.

To be able to adequately control spontaneous, involuntary expressions of one's emotional state, first, at least for a week, one should aim consciously, for example, at not making faces, not hurling things or swearing, and also not to over-react in jubilation. The expression of sentiments and emotions can become the means of intentional communication only after one has trained oneself with the help of such elementary and secondary lessons.

For a start, a full week has to be assigned to developing a disposition towards a positive outlook, with recurring periods fixed for the exercise. The essence of the exercise is to try to reflect on an event or communication that elicits a dissaproving judgement and then from a different point of view, to seek for some positive content in it. Such reflections linked to concrete events, and

possibly also using catch phrases, will, or at least, may, teach one not only to consider one's narrow interest in an event. Such an attitude in the final analysis is against one's own interests. These exercises teach one that nothing is self-evident and nothing and no one should be pigeon-holed.

The book devotes a special chapter to methods for developing attention and memory which, with other features, are indispensable to building self-control. Without a highly developed sense of attention and memory it is also inconceivable to "seize the day;" this may not be identical with the enrichment of self-control and self-knowledge, but it is part of the "internal path" without which it is impossible to create a sensibly harmonious relationship with the outside world and with our own selves. Concentration, expanding the memory, and lengthening concentration all call for "cyclic" exercises. It is also part of our mental hygiene to play back, at least in the evening, the film of the day, using a more and more highly developed self-knowledge, and in the interest of getting to know oneself even better, a process that can never reach its end. It is not enough to be able to list the events, one has to learn to see and practice seeing the motion pictures of all those with whom we had dealings during the day, and equally how we ourselves might have appeared in pleasant, awkward, blissful, or shameful situations.

"The Book of Internal Paths" consists of fewer than 150 small pages. Dr. Popper expects much, hard and disciplined work from us, and even if one only completes a fraction of it in the spirit of Know Thyself, one shall expect somewhat more of oneself.

Gábor Antal

THE NEW HUNGARIAN CRIMINAL CODE

Much to the surprise of some Hungarian scholars, there is considerable international interest in the new Hungarian penal code. The United States, for one, is so interested in the new code (Law IV of 1978) that the National Technical Information Service in Washington D.C. translated and annotated every section and sub-section of it in a volume of 813 pages. When the Eötvös Loránd summer university held a ten-day course on the new criminal code in Budapest in July 1981, twenty-four legal scholars enrolled from ten countries, six of them Western ones. Hungarian legal experts from the university and research institutes delivered lectures that were simultaneously translated into English and Russian for the participants. In addition to the academic sessions, excursions were arranged to the Institute for Juvenile Delinquents, the Municipal Court, and the Institute of Criminalistics.

As an American criminologist, I was doing research on the new penal code and in particular, on the revision process. The codification itself and its decision-making mechanism within the Ministry of Justice were the focus of my research. To carry out this work, I interviewed twenty-two individuals: eleven from various universities, three from research institutes, three from the Ministry of Justice, one each from the Hungarian Jurists' Association, the chief prosecutor' office, a lawyer in private practice, and two justices on the Supreme Court. Besides these interviews, I read articles in *Magyar Jog* and also in *Jogtudományi Közlöny*

published during the six years over which the revision process took place.

The first Hungarian criminal code was the *Csemegi Codex*, Law V of 1878. and XI of 1879. From that time, historical and political circumstances prevented the creation of a more modern code until 1961. This socialist criminal code enacted after several years of preparatory work, was considered adequate for a decade and a half. However, throughout this period, as social, political, and economic philosophy and circumstances evolved, refinement and alteration of the code became necessary. Thus in 1966, 1971, and 1974 amendments and addenda were made part of the original 1961 code. By the time of the 1974 reforms, it had become obvious that a revised penal code would not only make the law tidier, but would also allow further revision. Recodification began in 1974, resulting in the new penal code, Law IV of 1978.

Enacted in 1979, the new penal code aims to be both more realistic and more rational. It attempts to simplify and clarify laws by removing antiquated provisions or paragraphs where legal practice has been modified. The general orientation of the penal code revisions from the 1961 code were in the direction of decriminalization and depenalization. Influenced by both international academic consensus and national research findings, some of the changes incorporated widely-held progressive attitudes into the new law, for instance: sentencing differentiation according to dangerousness; classifications of recidivists; use of fines as an increasingly popular penal measure (especially since economic conditions have improved in Hungary); use of probation and educational-corrective labour as non-prison alternatives; recognition of the negative effects of imprisonment; and reliance on advances in medical science to treat alcohol problems and further differentiate among excusable mental conditions. Decriminalization in the law has been an evolving process. In the course of regulating social existence a variety of legal regulations are available. Criminal law was principally used in the 1950s whereas now it is seen as a last resort after civil, administrative, or labour law. The number of criminal acts has been considerably narrowed by transferring them to some other legal agency.

Because Hungary is a small country with a limited pool of researchers, scholars, and policy-makers, the people in this specific arena were likely to know each other, allowing communication and influence to flow through informal as well as formal channels. In addition, a socialist, centralized government has the advantage of being able to control and implement decisions that may not be publicly supported. There is an elaborate process in which individuals at all levels can have input through a public debate on the final draft bill before it ultimately goes to Parliament for adoption, but the influence of citizen participation is perceived as minimal by most legal scholars and the central organization is accepted as the primary authority.

Trying to ascertain where the directive dictating the need for penal code revision was first perceived, brought up the question of the role of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Only two of the twenty-two interviewed discussed the role of the Central Committee in the recodification process. Interestingly, none of those from the Ministry of Justice nor those who were on the Codification Committee acknowledged any role played by the Central Committee. Yet its input was reported in the two interviews as quite substantial and helpful in providing revision guidelines. The neglect by others to mention the Party may be explained by the fact that Hungarians like to think of themselves and their work as independent, within the socialist legal ideology which is taken as given.

Most of the subjects said the criminal code revision was initiated by the Ministry of Justice which deemed that it was time to make the law more relevant and coherent.

But the two dissenting interviewees indicated that policy-making of this magnitude starts at a higher level. This would be the administrative section of the Central Committee where questions of state and law are dealt with. Its yearly programme would act as a preparatory committee. This committee may include ministers or deputy ministers and elaborates its programme in terms of general guidelines. However these guidelines are conceptualized in a political framework—not necessarily a legal or practical one relevant to what work to do. This ideological layer is crucial in determining the direction and extent to which further work in the area need go. The guidelines are strictly worded opinions of the Party itself, although they may include diverse instructions on reason and motivation for change, direction of change, and actual changes that are needed. At this point the ideological statements and instructions go to the relevant Ministry (for example, Ministry of Justice), where the appropriate department appoints a committee to begin the work. The Codification Committee, chosen by the Ministry of Justice, is the state body that continues to interact with the Party. The actual substantial decisions are made jointly in these two committees where most of the members belong to the Party, in addition to also being members of a university, scientific academy, or governmental ministry.

A university professor remarked that although the ideas originate in these two committees, they are often the "expected" ideas that are put forward since neither committee acts like a "brain trust." Discussing where innovative ideas originate, a director at one of the research institutes illuminated the informal communication channels that permeate government–academic relations. Kálmán Kulcsár, director of the Sociological Institute, indicated that since he knew the Minister of Justice from his university days, his institute could propose research ideas directly to the Ministry of Justice, as had been done on several occasions. Those that were discussed and considered interesting, were approved in the form of a commission for the Institute to do the research. Thus if research institutes take the initiative and act aggressively in suggesting relevant and important research topics, the Party stimulates actual academic and scientific work. Informal relations between institute directors and governmental ministers can be an important factor in facilitating understanding and contact, although they are not decisive.

The Institute of Social Sciences is the research institute of the Party itself. The Director of this institute is also a member of the Central Committee. A director of one of the Hungarian Academy of Science research institutes admitted that occasionally when they feel a positive outcome is very important, they forward their proposals or recommendations to the Institute of Social Sciences to be put forward by them. This kind of manipulation by the academic community indicates their full comprehension of where the power for decision-making lies and how the game is played.

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Changing the Hungarian penal code was clearly motivated not by a crime wave, but by changes in ideology and attempts to clarify the law, since crime statistics indicate that Hungary is an extremely stable society. The percentage of crimes per year and types of crime has remained virtually the same for the last 15 years. Even the homicide rate has remained around two hundred per year over the past two decades. Property crime accounts for the majority of criminal offences (60 per cent), although of insignificant average damage of 2,000–3,000 forints. Crime is increasing or becoming more serious only in traffic-related crimes, juvenile crimes, recidivist crimes, and some increase in violent crimes.

In addition to refining the purpose of punishment to special and general deterrence,

the penal code stresses education as the most effective means to its stated goal, while down-playing the factor of retribution. One aspect of the educational objective is increasing minimum short-term sentences from 30 days to 3 months, based on research showing that 3 months is the least time necessary for the prisoner to benefit from the educational objective of incarceration. A second reason for the change is the evidence that short-term imprisonment usually has more negative consequences than positive ones due to the socialization process called "prisonization." The law and legal practice now attempt to avoid prison sentences whenever possible. About 50 per cent of those sentenced had their sentences suspended. In other words, about three-fourths of all punishments imposed did not result in deprivation of liberty. In an effort to make the law ultimately more closely connected to reality, sentencing generally is moving in the direction of non-prison alternatives. One of the members of the main Codification Committee described fines as the "central sanction of an up-to-date criminal policy," and in fact, they account for about 46 per cent of all sentences. Although the changes do away with very short periods of incarceration, even prison sentences tend not to be long compared to American penal practice. Of the 25 per cent of convicts who do go to prison, one half of the sentences do not exceed 6 months and 80 per cent do not exceed one year.

The process of depenalization, as shown here, and decriminalization characterize many other portions of the code and even reflect ideological changes. Economic decision-making associated with justifiable risk was decriminalized so that making economic decisions will now only have economic consequences. Instead of criminal sanctions for economic mistakes, Hungarians will suffer the more realistic sanction of economic deprivation. As the economy becomes more decentralized, removing criminal penalties from the risk of normal economic trade becomes a crucial step toward achieving free market conditions. The reduction from a criminal sanction to an administrative one is an example of the kind of alleviation that permeates the new code. For example, crimes are reduced to offences, offences to infractions, measures replace penalties, and secondary punishments may be doled out without the primary ones that heretofore were also required.

In the preparatory phase of the codification work, the Ministry of Justice commissioned about a dozen reports from research institutes and university faculty members working in their fields of expertise. In some cases the suggestion for the research originated with the researcher, usually through an informal contact with one of the authorities at the Ministry of Justice. The studies that were explicitly used in the codification process have not yet been published, but articles relating to the work were printed in *Magyar Jog* and *Jogtudományi Közlöny*. Some researchers had no direct contact with the codification process, yet were able to recognize areas where their previously published results were incorporated into new formulations in the code. This can be seen, for example, in Dr. Katalin Gönczöl's work on violent crime, recidivists, and the probation supervision after-care programme. Dr. Gönczöl was never personally consulted though the changes in the code substantially reflected the results of her research.

One of the most controversial areas, which caused a major debate in both the legal literature and the university, concerned habitual criminal detention. Articles on this topic have been published over the past twelve years and in 1975 a statute was enacted allowing preventive detention. Habitual criminal detention under Hungarian criminal law means a restrictive confinement from two to five years *after* a loss of freedom sentence has been served. Its aim is to protect society by further incarcerating individuals who, as habitual criminals, are felt to be still dangerous and anti-social. Since

this rule could be applied somewhat arbitrarily with determinations being predictive and subjective, many academic researchers and professors had hoped that the new penal code would have omitted it. Yet it was retained in the final version, causing disappointment among the scholars. The statute dealing with preventive detention is an exception to most of the changes that were made. The retention of this law and its incorporation into the criminal code is a non-progressive and academically frowned-upon measure.

Legal scholars, researchers, and university professors who were involved in the codification process generally felt that a revision in the penal code was necessary, that the changes were good and comprehensive, and that although there was necessary compromise on certain parts, the recodification was a success. However there was some dissent from this view. Legal scholars not involved in the recodification and many practitioners (lawyers) felt disappointed with the version of the code. Most of these individuals either felt the changes did not go far enough or, in retrospect, questioned the need for a revised code at all. "Overcautious" was one way used to describe the revision. One lawyer said that the general part alterations were so minor as to be insignificant and that the changes in the special part, in the sanctioning system, were too much a result of scientific academic influence.

On the other hand, the academics consider the practitioners as a group to be a conservative lot who would rather retain the *status quo* than alter their *modus operandi*. The changes in the sanctioning system (daily item fines, probation alternative for adults, and preventive detention for example) all call for judges to relearn the law and incorporate it into their judicial actions. Two years after implementation of the new code, academic scholars are still complaining that many of the measures have yet to be utilized to their full extent. Probation has hardly ever been given as an adult sentence; day fines are often calculated backwards from determining the fine amount under the old law and dividing by the number of days to determine the daily amount, and so forth. Therefore after two years, the Ministry of Justice has had to plan a seminar to explain once more the new procedure to legal practitioners, judges, prison directors, and professional social workers.

The Hungarian legal authorities are very anxious that their new laws accurately reflect what is done in practice and that what is done in practice also reflects the new law. In essence, one of the aims of the new criminal code is to institute a system that would impose more control over the way the law is applied. A good illustration of what the Codification Committee wanted to curtail is in the mitigation of punishment. The *Csemegi Codex* established a tradition that strict punishments enumerated in the law would be systematically reduced in practice. This technique became such an innate part of sentencing that the punishments listed in the code came to be devalued and disrespected. Stronger punishments were meted out anticipating that mitigation would follow. After the 1961 code was put into effect, mitigation came to be used in about 70 per cent of the cases. The new code attempted to define and inflict more realistic penalties and reduce the use of mitigation, which is now down to about 13 per cent of the cases. Mitigation is only to be used in exceptional cases. The struggle to gain more control between what is specified in the law and what practitioners are able to do is also reflected in the most recent draft of the United States criminal code. There shorter prison terms are mandated with no early release on parole allowed. Thus the sentencers (the law and the judges) have more control over what really happens to the criminal.

In the recodification process of the penal code, legal experts and academic scholars seem to have played an active role as advisers. Research was used as the basis for some theoretical alterations and informed aca-

demic opinion influenced others. Because the penal code is, in part, an ideological and theoretical document, the role of the scientific adviser is possibly greater than in a law that need only be as utilitarian as possible. When the Hungarian law on criminal procedure, for example, was revised in the early 1970s, practitioners were given the most influence over the changes because they were affected most directly. In the penal code, however, the practitioners were often overruled in favour of academic recommendations as reflected by the extensive changes in the sanctioning system. Above all, however, changes were made in line with Central Committee directives from the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to make the new code a progressive document, incorporating and keeping abreast of developments in the United States and Western as well as East European countries. Most of the people interviewed thought that although the code was comprehensive for 1979, probably within the next 20 years it would need another revision. Since the law is necessarily based on and reflects political, social, and economic values and conditions, the Hungarians perceive their near future as continuing to advance at a steady pace.

NANCY LISAGOR

THE CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

Tibor Simó: *Társadalmi tagozódás a mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezetekben* (Social stratification in agricultural cooperatives) Social Sciences Institute of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Budapest, 1980, 249 pp.

This is a study of some fundamental questions on the Hungarian peasantry today. Who is a peasant, what does peasantry mean, what are the social characteristics of the people working on cooperative farms today? The work examines all this in historical context, and treats in detail two major groups of questions, namely the structure of the peasant farm, and the social conditions in a village which determine the peasant way of life.

In examining how the structure of peasant forms developed, the study offers a concise picture of the way peasant farms changed over farm subsistence and semi-subsistence farming to commodity production, and the extent to which this transformation has changed the system of division of labour in peasant farms. This transformation went together with a large-scale differentiation in peasant farms, but the author finds that "the main road of differentiation followed from the fact that while the distribution of the land has remained essentially unchanged, some peasant farms have remained mostly self-supporting subsistance farms, and some have increased their income, not by purchasing more land but by changing from a farm into an undertaking, turning more and more from a semi-subsistance production to market production."

The author finds that the decline of the small and middle peasant farms played only an insignificant role in the differentiation of peasant farms: this view calls for some further clarification. Simó bases his finding

on statistical data (which he includes); however, these data screen a number of factors. (The author himself calls attention to the fact that "at the same time the data provide no answer as to how the proportion of small and middle peasant farms has changed".)

This question was dealt with by other research workers for example by Gyula Rácz in *A magyar földbirtokosság anyagi pusztulása* (Financial Decay of the Hungarian Landowning Class). According to Rácz's estimate, the number of small farming families who went bankrupt between 1870 and 1900 is 105,000. The statistical data on the division of land do not demonstrate this process, as they also include changes due to the sub-division of holdings following inheritance.

From all this it might rather be said that while differentiation did follow from semisubsistance units, more and more becoming farms producing for the market, the process went together with a considerable decline of small and middle peasant farms.

For the development of social conditions in the village, the author primarily relies on the work of Ferenc Erdei, and underlines the closed nature of village society that was characteristic of earlier periods. This closedness was reinforced both by a feudal-type social structure and by the marked subsistance character of economic conditions. There were very few opportunities to break away from the peasant way of life since the channels for social mobility were extremely narrow.

After the land reform of 1945, this closedness became considerably looser; very many of the great numbers of agricultural labourers were given land and so joined the ranks of landed peasantry. It should however be added that the new smallholders, with their rather small plots, for the most part did not increase the number of commodity producing farms. In the first half of the 1950s, the introduction of a system of compulsory deliveries further hindered intensive development of commodity production.

This phase of development could necessarily only be transitional. There was an urgent need to establish the framework for more advanced commodity production in agriculture. This was later carried out through the organisation of large farms.

Various methods of production and varying economic and technical levels affected the form of co-op farms in this first period. So to a large extent did the fact that various cooperatives included a wide range of layers of the peasantry; there was also an important factor in the rather clear dividing line of the time between permanent and seasonal workers. The author follows up these processes through national surveys and data from surveys conducted in two co-op farms.

Household plots and subsidiary farming are of great importance to Hungarian agriculture and to those who work on cooperative farms as well. The author gives a detailed description of the social relationships of household plots and subsidiary farms and the significant role they play. The controversy here has only fallen off in recent years. To assess the role of small farming, the author correctly starts out from the fact that this form of farming is widely spread not merely among people working in co-op farms but among other layers of society as well; indeed, the number of small farms owned by industrial workers is considerably greater than the household plots of co-op members. This means that every measure affecting small-scale farming, directly concerns the overwhelming majority in society.

The extremely important role of subsidiary farming is also seen from the fact that about one third of the value of agricultural production comes from these farms. Even more significantly, these small farms have on organic relationship to the large agricultural cooperatives: large farms tend to concentrate on what can be mechanized, while the small farms tend to go in for what is more labour intensive. It is also

significant that the incomes from small-scale farming are crucial in bringing the income of villagers, including cooperative members, up to or near to that of workers in other layers of society.

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In the second part of his book, Tibor Simó surveys in detail the factors that determine social divisions among members of a cooperative.

He first examines the position of members taken against the amount of land they contributed to the co-op farm. One of the main conclusions he draws from his research here is that the larger the plot of land owned at the time of the setting up of the co-operative, the greater the chance of becoming a leader as compared to that of someone coming from parents who were landless or farming a smaller plot. At the same time, a larger proportion of those belonging to the latter group have higher educational levels, and that made their future chances more favourable." The other important finding is on the financial position of a family. Accordingly, the larger proportion of those who entered the co-op with a larger plot of land, today figure in the lower income brackets; a smaller proportion are in the higher income category than those who initially entered with smaller plots or with no land at all. This clearly reflects a far from unequivocal effect of the old structure. Most of those who were independent peasants and their descendants have been unable to retain their earlier, more favourable position (then expressed in amount of land owned); some of them have undoubtedly maintained their more favourable position derived from the former structure, and have even improved on it.

The rate of social mobility both among generations and within the present generation, indicates a radical growth in the proportion of people who did not begin their working life in agriculture, many of whom came to agriculture from families of industrial workers. This bears out a growing openness compared to what has been traditionally typical of people working in agriculture. But the rate of this growth of openness is not equal across the various layers of agricultural workers. This is because there is a general feature which can be expressed by saying that the more favourable the social position of the layer one examines, the higher is the ratio of people coming from another, non-agricultural strata, within that layer. Accordingly, the layer of leaders and intellectuals is the most open, followed by that of skilled workers; the unskilled workers and old-age pensioners are the most closed of the layers.

Also worth mentioning is the fact that the openess of the different groups of people working in cooperative farms is growing through mobility by marriage as well. There is a noticable increase in the number of "mixed" marriages between co-op workers and those working in other, nonagricultural branches, which not only results in a growing openness of the various layers working in agriculture, but is also leading to a social composition which is considerably more heterogeneous.

One of the most interesting chapters of the study produces a detailed picture of the division among cooperative workers according to the character of the work they do. Here the chapter has a feature which is methodically new and significant. The author does not examine manual workers in cooperatives according to the grouping traditionally used in social statistics, "of agricultural physical occupation" and "non-agricultural physical occupation"; instead he takes qualifications as the principal criterion, and only within these does he examine the extent to which the work resembles traditional agricultural work.

Taking their origin, their income and way of life as a basis, the skilled physical workers are found to belong to the "most

urban" layers in cooperative farms (along with leaders and intellectuals). The author clearly demonstrates the growing significance of that layer when he says that "this is the layer which is technologically proficient, and so without them nothing much can happen in the cooperative any more."

On the other hand, unskilled physical workers, the old-age pensioners in particular, are those whose work most closely resembles the old peasant work. These social groups are the most closely linked to the co-op farm, and to their village in general; in their case their lack of skills (in the case of pensioners their age) greatly restricts any possibility of choice. Following from the character of the place they occupy within the system of the division of labour, the way of life of these groups most closely resembles the former peasant way of life.

One can only agree with the author when he says of pensioners that "this generation has paid, and is paying the highest price" for the changes. There is considerable justification for the growing demand for further institutional solutions which will improve their disadvantageous position.

Agrarian leaders and intellectuals have played a great role in bringing about results in Hungarian agriculture in recent years outstanding even by international standards. These results could only have been achieved because the more difficult economic conditions in agriculture mainly worked towards keeping the most efficient people in their place. Another contributory factor is that within the managerial intellectual layer as a whole, that in agriculture is the most open and includes the largest number of people coming from other layers.

Today, under the more difficult economic conditions within the economy as a whole, these factors are of particular significance, and the positive experience of agriculture can be utilized in other fields as well.

The study examines a number of further points of view—school qualification, income, age, and so on to consider almost all the major components of the subject. It is not merely intended for people interested in agrarian and village sociology; the empirical facts and the conclusions drawn from them are intriguing and useful to the non-professional reader who is interested in social issues as well.

István Harcsa

THE WORLD MARKET AND POLITICS

Gabriella Izik-Hedri: *Külgazdaság és külpolitika* (Foreign economic relations and foreign policy). Kossuth, 1982, 200 pp.

Barely a year after the publication of her *Magyarország a kelet-nyugati gazdasági kapcsolatokban* (Hungary in East-West economic relations) the author has come up with another book of timely interest. In the introduction she undertakes to explain, briefly but in some detail, important notions required for the study of the subject such as the concept of international relations, the theory of peaceful coexistence and types of international conflicts. She states that economic power relationships are basically decisive in international politics, but this does not mean that the priority of politics could not prevail in international life (to prove this, she refers to a number of examples from the history of East-West relations).

She establishes that the principal line of conflicts runs between the socialist and the capitalist systems of society, but she deals also with other conflicts, including those which exist between socialist countries.

Examining the interactions of the spheres of international life, the author specifies the following as the most important new features: the internationalization of the economy is particularly dynamic; this internationalization has brought with it a more and more complex inter-relationship between security and economic affairs internationally; the process of East-West détente is burdened with tensions.

She then analyses in detail how these changes have altered the internal conditions and mutual relationships of the three main groups of states in the world.

The dilemma of the Western system of alliance is that Western Europe, on the one hand, is seeking equal rights in its relations with the United States of America and, on the other hand, is showing a greater interest in the development of East-West relations than its North American partner. Because of the growing conflict between the Atlantic and the European view some Western experts speak of a transatlantic crisis; the author looks closely at these conflicts, though perhaps neglecting a little the community of fundamental strategic interests (demonstrated for example by the decision on Euromissiles).

Discussing relations between capitalist and developing countries, the author points out that the West is primarily interested in keeping the developing countries as dependent partners under the aegis of the world capitalist economic system. At the same time a particular aim of the countries of Western Europe is to consolidate, against the United States and Japan, their own special relations with their former colonies. The book sets forth in detail the efforts made with this end in view and identifies the ensuing conflicts.

On questions involving the socialist community, the author emphasizes that, in addition to the continuity of the main strategy directed towards safeguarding peace, "the pressure of adaptation to the increasingly difficult world political and world economic situation requires new approaches." She states that the rapid industrialization that has taken place within the framework of CMEA has not been accompanied by a similar development of readiness to adapt to the world market. These days the tasks of socialist integration are growing both qualitatively and quantitatively. The author points to the following new requirements: strengthening of direct cooperation between economic units, development of cooperation in planning, increased enforcement of the commodity and money relations, development of cooperation on third markets, coordination of trade policies, modernization of integration mechanisms and institutions, and more effective cooperation between the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA.

For the author all this is necessary if the socialist countries are to achieve in the world economy a place commensurate with their role in world politics. That is why two priorities of socialist policies in the decades to come will obviously be military détente and the economic consolidation of the socialist community.

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The second chapter is on the world market. The author states that the world market can be regarded as a dialectic unity within which different subsystems are working. The most important of these are the capitalist and the socialist market, but there are other subsystems, too, such as the developing countries' market and the multinational companies. The central idea of the chapter is that the world market is not neutral. The author surveys the main types, causes, appliers, dimensions, and effects exerted upon external trade.

She examines separately what is done by integration and by the multinational companies.

In keeping with its character, the book deals primarily with politically motivated economic pressures. It establishes that the U.S. administration, in spite of the failure of earlier embargo policies, again desires an embargo policy so as to bolster a change in foreign policy in the latter half of the seventies. Gabriella Izik-Hedri examines two manifestations of this trend: the prohibition of technological transfer, and the grain embargo.

Examining the policies of the European Community, she says that the reason why the EEC is unwilling to enter into an agreement on multilateral cooperation with CMEA is that its aim is to get CMEA member countries to conclude separate agreements, thus dividing them from the Soviet Union.

In her analysis of the present state of East-West economic relations, the author reaches the conclusion that the asymmetry of external trade and the commodity pattern of trade has not changed considerably; the interest of Western Europe in importing raw material and energy has increased; interest in large-scale cooperation deals has slackened in the United States, while in Western Europe it is wavering or selective; political interest in economic connections has slackened in the United States and is wavering in Western Europe, and the possibilities of a trade policy settlement have diminished.

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The book does not confine itself to ascertaining the difficulties; with regard to the economic policy to be followed by the socialist countries, it makes concrete proposals for, among other things, export development, credit policy, encouraging projects of production cooperation, as well as for restoring the balance of trade and payments.

The third chapter investigates how international political and economic conditions act upon the open economies, those for whose development the external economic environment is also a determining factor. It deals in detail with the effects of the socialist and the non-socialist environment and then looks into the changes in the system of external conditions. Analysing the effects of the socialist environment, the author finds that "foreign policy interests and external trade interests cannot always be brought into harmony in the short run" (an example is the case of aid to countries of socialist orientation) and "this is the origin of most of the contradictions inside the socialist community come from." She underlines at the same time that "to a socialist country with an open economy, cooperation within CMEA continues to be of vital importance both for its supply of raw materials and energy and for its exports."

Where the effects of the non-socialist environment are concerned, the author comes to the conclusion that "a considerable number of the results achieved during a favourable period are resistant to a change for the worse in circumstances."

Her conclusions on the changes in the system of external conditions include some that are worth noting. In the case of the misguided economic or internal policy of some CMEA countries, growing difficulties in their trade with the West may lead to internal tensions which can tie up assets which would function as protection against damage from the outside. In the developing world the economy can occasionally back up the political actions of socialist countries only by making great sacrifices. It would be a mistake to expect that the potential of the Soviet Union alone can permanently be relied on as a protection against the injurious effects of the world economy. The socialist countries with open economies have to break out of the vicious circle in which they have insufficient means

of increasing their economic efficiency and, as their economies are not efficient enough, they are unable to acquire the necessary means.

Beside the identities of socialist development the differences too have come to the fore. The process of economic integration, however, requires harmony in the national economic policies, otherwise the effects may cross one another not only in the EC but in CMEA, too. Under socialist conditions it is easier, in principle, to coordinate economic policies. In present-day practice the aim can be to unfold a sort of complementarity of socialist economies to the effect that it should at the same time give rise to internal processes aimed at increasing their efficiency.

Examining the factors of economic security the author states: "...defects in the security of external trade in no way justify autarkic ambitions. Nothing can challenge, even today, the validity of the Leninist thesis that a country which renounces mutually advantageous trade, and subordinates its interests to military and political strategy, is bound to lose. Consequently it is no illusion to expect that economic cooperation also acts upon political relations or can resists many politically motivated restrictions."

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Having adduced such international evidence, the author comes to the problem area which interests the Hungarian reader most of all, the concurrence of external trade and foreign policy. She presses for emphasis to be put on the complex approach which was formulated in the HSWP CC resolution of October 1977, but which has not been satisfactorily put into practice, and for the improvement of institutional systems. She calls attention to the requirement that planning should concentrate not on the national economy alone but on the conduct of the totality of social processes, taking into account the correlations of economics and social politics.

She holds the view that a more effective concurrence of foreign policy and external trade can be established only through a complexity of approach. Of economic and political decisions taken on Hungary's external trade, the book emphasizes several. Work has begun to further the convertibility of the forint, the effectiveness of Hungarian tariffs has grown, legal regulation has facilitated the establishment of foreign enterprises in Hungary, improvement in the supply of economic information on Hungary has also contributed to Hungary's being able to join the International Monetary Fund, Hungary, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, has made easier the issue of visas and has created opportunities for tourism and employment abroad; international scientific cooperation of value to the national economy has been expanded; Hungary assists the developing countries through exchanges of experts.

The book deserves credit for making use of extensive information to confront Marxist and non-Marxist theories, indicating their points of contact and their contradictions. Over and above the matter in hand, it describes the correlations of other aspects of international relations and social development.

György Réti

ARTS

THE HISTORY OF HUNGARIAN PHOTOGRAPHY

A puzzling exhibition

In the first exhibition of artistic photographs in Budapest in the autumn of 1907, more than a thousand of the millions of pictures taken to date were shown in twelve exhibition halls. This is more or less the same number which in 1982 represents 140 years of Hungarian photography.

I wandered several times through the somewhat confusing passages and labyrinths of the exhibition, in moods wavering between enthusiasm and dismay, respect and exasperation. I lingered before the ingenious, though often puzzling, exhibits and tried to deduce the principles behind the selection and arrangement of the material and, indeed, behind the environment it is housed in. I should mention, by the way, that the organizers have been working for many years on compiling a representative collection of Hungarian photo history; this in itself is sufficient reason to suppose that they must have been aware of the hopelessness of the enterprise right from the beginning. It is impossible to collect and arrange a basic collection out of all the photo material filed or just stored in different institutions and establishments both in and outside the country. Although the names of André Kertész, László Moholy-Nagy, Paul Almásy, Lucien Hervé, Robert and Cornell Capa, Brassaï, and other world-famous photographers may seem familiar to the public, all but the first two are absent from this exhibition whose aim is to offer a representative view of the history of Hungarian photography.

The complementary settings were intended to create unity in the arrangement. Their designer, the graphic artist György Kemény, is a specialist in exhibition mounting—among other things, he has designed the exhibition on the Hungarian cinema at the Beaubourg Centre of Paris. This time he filled the halls with playfully ironic objects and object-ensembles, flirting a little with pop and conceptual art. Here an old bicycle leans against a brick wall, there the interior is Art Nouveau, there a neon-light advertisement. This concept lifted the photos exhibited out of their original context and—especially in the case of old photos—enhanced the superficial effect of the material on the spectator. Rapid obsolescence is common in those branches of art—film, photography—which are highly dependent on their technical development. The designer has emphasized the anachronistic effect; by so doing he jeopardized the seriousness of the exhibition and has made it even more difficult to arrive at any historical attitude.

By the way, a historical view could be followed more or less only in the first section of the exhibition: the organizers drew a limit rather arbitrarily at 1945.

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Hardly two years after Daguerre and Niepce published their discovery that it was possible to fix a picture on an iodized silver plate the Hungarian József Petzval invented the adjustable objective.

In the mid-nineteenth century the prevalent genre in Hungarian photography was still the portrait, at first academic, then later romantic. When plein-air gained ground in painting, the genre-photograph and landscape began to spread in photography; by the end of the century, they were replaced by pictorialism, one of the most important trends in the history of photography, one which by using various technical processes, tried to compete with painting. This first period in Hungarian photography lasted until the 1920s and boasted masters such as József Plohn and Károly Divald, the painters Miklós Barabás and Mihály Munkácsy, the physicist Loránd Eötvös, the ethnographer Balázs Orbán who photographed the landscapes of Székelyföld in Transylvania, Pál Rosti who photographed in Latin America, or György Klösz who chronicled the growth of Budapest at the turn of the century.

In the second great period, which started with the 1920s, there were essentially three trends which alternated and competed with each other—they characterized Hungarian photography.

The transition between the two periods was in the form of what was called the "soft-lined" photographic style (Iván Vydarény, Jenő Dulovits), which gradually gave place to the Hungarian style which for the first and last time in history made Hungarian photography world-famous. The chief subject in this style was what I call the sunny side, the beauties of Hungarian folk-life. Rudolf Balogh, Ernő Vadas, and their colleagues used strong contrasts and much back-lighting; they created a school which had many followers all over the world—their influence can be seen in some of the work of André Kertész or Paul Almásy, otherwise outside this trend.

Hungarian photography had what I call the socio-photographic approach in opposition to this style between the two world wars. Those working in this way formed part of the circle around Lajos Kassák (1887–1967), one of the great figures of the Hungarian avant-garde, equally outstanding as writer, poet, graphic artist, typographer, essayist, and literary organizer. Lajos Tabák, Lajos Lengyel, Sándor Gönci (Frühof), Kata Kálmán, Kata Sugár, and others expressed a leftist social commitment and criticism through their suggestive portrayal of the poverty of peasants and workers.

Interestingly enough, the spiritual roots of the third great movement, photo avant-gardism, do not stem from the constructivists around Kassák, but from the Bauhaus. Here László Moholy-Nagy worked and it was he who invented contact-photography (without a camera) and was the first to apply it to artistic ends. Later called rayogram after the surrealist Man Ray, the process spread world-wide.

This second period ended in the forties and fifties, although its impact is still alive.

After a time of regression for reasons other than artistic, the present period in Hungarian photography (which could be called pluralistic) started in the sixties; the term expresses a peaceful coexistence of genre, reportage, picture essay, sequence, medial photography, commercial photography, and photo-graphics. A slow process of polarization seems to have begun between the more conventional artists and those who are experimenting with the newest forms; however the necessary perspective is lacking for a judgement at the moment.

This fragmentary sketch confirms the supposition that a single exhibition, a single article is insufficient to a comprehensive survey of the 140 years of Hungarian photography. Such a survey would require several decades; hence this particular exhibition, *Tény-kép* (Fact-Picture), cannot be more than what Susan Sontag calls every photo collection: an exercise in surrealist

montage. All the same it has proved beyond doubt that photography as an art and as a social phenomenon merits more attention than it has so far received in Hungarian culture.

ANDRÁS FÁBER

RECAPITULATION AND FULFILLMENT

Endre Bálint's photomontages

The figure on the left in a photomontage, *Mr Eichmann, or of the dead, speak both good and ill*, starts off as a monk holding a rosary in his clasped hands, becomes a statue carrying a dove's nest, and a bloody, bird-eyed head of a predator in human shape. Another Endre Bálint montage, *The bad shepherd and the mourning mothers*, builds up the monstrous figure of the protagonist out of at least four elements. With a powerful visual logic the artist recreates, using photographic slices from various sources, through virtuoso transitions and contrapositions, the chief administrator of the nazi final solution, a character in which was blended deceit, suave sanctimoniousness and hypocrisy. A conceptual approach is impotent when trying to approximate the pictorial metaphor discussed above. For lack of a better way, it falls back upon verbalizing the bizarre pairing of the components—the feminine leg in black stockings, the dessert soldier resplendent in full war attire, the bound-up lamb, and the mutilated wounded or dead figure.

All the elements above are characterized by their contrast, but the composition out of which we have taken them itself sprang from elements filled with at least that much tension, straining against each other. The Eichmann figure could hardly have achieved its full value and meaning without the other side, the helpless chickens gathered under the gravestones, just as the lament of the mourning women is needed as a complement to the destructive activity of the bad shepherd. Such a binary composition not only presents the participants in tragic, dramatic conflicts in an unambiguous and articulated form; it also suggests the polarity of the artist's thinking, the dialectics of his world-view.

The first major group of Endre Bálint's montages dates back to 1958. The artist selected the motifs of interest to him out of several *Paris Match* and *Life* magazines, and the compositions on view are the result of cutting and glueing. Most are characterized by their observance of the law of gravity, architectonic construction and static security: the elements which form a closed, large-surface unit are placed at the bottom, while at the top are the small hovering, dynamic forms, circular shapes and diagonal elements. Tension arises occasionally between the two spheres as in *Fear of the knife*. The motifs of the pedestal—the dried, cracked soil, the Arab back-street alley with its inhabitants, the pecking chicken—represent everyday, physical reality; above them, connected to the watching little girl, hover a few objects lifted out of their ordinary environment and functions—window, knife and twisting drapery—which embody the world of dreams and fantasies, of anxieties and fears.

The dress-like quality of these truncated objects and unusual situations, and this uncommon form of presentation which generally abounds what is grotesque, frivolous and ironic, arouses more than curiosity,

bewilderment and scandal. With a peculiar language which tends towards both comedy and tragedy, Bálint formulates the major problems of man and the world: his preoccupation is with the different faces of death, the vision of catastrophy and devastation, the degradation of the male and female roles, agressiveness and defenselessness, militarism and prostitution. The form of photomontage permits equally the sensual, concrete effect and the spiritual abstraction; as such it has the form proven itself as an excellent framework for this kind of experience. Naturally it is not without interest that this material should have come into the hands of an artist who is sensitive to conflicts and contradictions, who has sharply and mercilessly revealed the appalling dual nature of reality.

The montage-group of 1958 came about in a period that was very favourable to the concentration of creative energies. A residence in France between 1957 and 1962 gave him the perspective he needed to confront himself, his previous work, and the world. A period of search and of artistic preparation continued for some years and finally led to final fulfilment. His earliest, pre-war works had been built up of planes marked off by strong contours, sometimes recalling Béla Czóbel's fauvisme and sometimes Chagall: after the war, Bálint was not convinced of their value and burnt them. In the second half of the forties, his career was marked by influences exerted by two study trips to Paris (1946, 1947) and especially by Braque. However he did not go further than recapitulating the formgiving principles of Cubism, there was little inner content or conviction. The unfolding began in the early fifties with a nostalgic reinvention and repainting of his pre-war pictures: the old style, acquired from others and never really assimilated was replaced by a new one, he had begun to learn pictorial vision and language again with all that this implied, at first in faltering, clumsy and hesitant composition. Bizarre motifs—gigantic-tailed fish, bird-like monsters—nightmares appeared on his canvases, the poetic pictorial metamorphosis of phenomena and the surreal associations which point toward his mature period. Bálint was now really able to absorb and understand, to continue the work of a very close friend and artistic influence, Lajos Vajda. At first this was at the level of imitation and formal following but later there developed a mastery of the essential, of the method. Motifs, freed from their realistic context to become constituents of a dream-like world, were now subordinated to two dual principles: the surrealistic stream of memory and consciousness, and the principles of architectural composition.

The montages were essentially made according to the same structural and compositional ideas as his paintings of the same period, their associative and modelling mechanism is the same, but there appears a difference in the character of the elements of the picture. All that on the canvas was transposed and communicated through an abstract filter as motifs, are present in their sensual concreteness in the montages. Bálint transforms the photographic details by cutting and truncating to fit them to his own world, but their relationship to each other and to the vision they have been made into is still pregnant with tensions. The homogenizing colour mediation and the poetic and pictorial transposition of the paintings are absent: the realistic and the abstract clash much more violently.

Montage appears again in the seventies in the artist's work. Now with an established œuvre behind him, Endre Bálint starts by making a kind of by-product, and these pieces are of a narrower horizon and less comprehensive subject-matter than the earlier work: they mostly concentrate on some characteristic theme or on a convergence of moods. The leading motif of the 1974 works, chiefly black and white, is death, human devastation. Again and again, Bálint formulates the problem which torments

Mihály Munkácsy: Studio photo for the painting "Death cell" (1869)

Ferenc Veress: Railway embankment between Bánffyhunyad and Sztána, 1872

Count Mihály Esterházy: Count Kinsky jumps, 1885

József Kossak: Klára Küry, the actress

Kata Kálmán: Child eating a slice of bread, 1931

Tibor Csörgeö: Sunday morning in the village, 1936

André Kertész: Towing at Tiszavalka, 1919

André Kertész: Route march, 1915

Mór Erdélyi: The poor moving house, 1910

István Goszleth: Stage, around 1885

Károly Escher: Valse, around 1940

Károly Halász: Private view, 1975 (from a series)

Aladár Székely: Dezső Szomory, the writer, 194?

József Pécsi: Nude, 1930

Endre Bálint: Confessional—stuck on top
(collage, 50 × 65 cm, Paris, 1959)

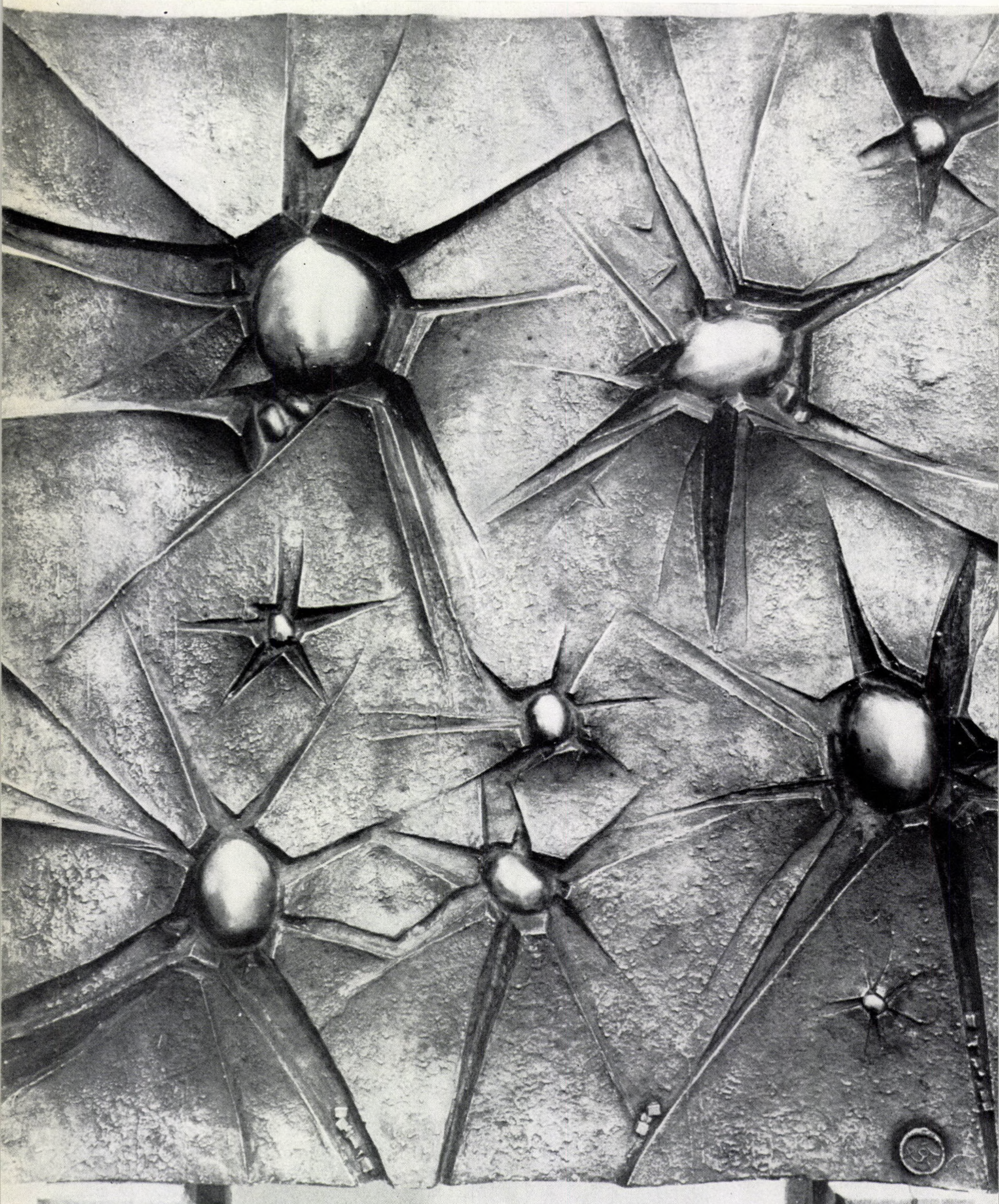
Endre Bálint: Mr Eichmann or, good or ill about the dead
(collage, 50 × 65 cm, 1959)

Ferenc Kovács

Ferenc Kovács

Endre Bálint: Sex bombing (collage, 50×65 cm, 1959)

Endre Bálint: Under blue lights (collage, 50×65 cm, 1962)



Ferenc Kovács

Amerigo Tot: Homage to the seed (bronze, 1982)

him—the annihilation of life, the cataclysm of aging—by painting the sombre ritual of mourning, the bier, the laid-out corpses, and the monotonous line of the living in their gathered cloaks. No longer is he looking for the contrasts or the frivolous and bizarre effects of two decades earlier; now he is emphasizing the unity of mood in the montage elements, their coherence, the tragic and dramatic atmosphere, and he seldom adds any ironic or lighthearted reference.

In contrast the 1978 montages, the *Polonaise* series, the *Livestock, Log-Rolling*, feature pictures from old fashion magazines or wallpaper samples and ads. After the pathetic autocracy of mourning and death they are more relaxed in their jocular, profane tone and subject-matter, a bigger role is given to the paper or cardboard sheet; static arrangement, concentration and coherence are replaced with irregular composition and free rhythmic pattern.

After these intermezzi of opposite emotional charge, the series *In memoriam Lili Ország* (1980) is in every respect a synthesis. This is a work recapitulative both in conception and motifs: the series lines up the elements and techniques, the striking and grotesque pictorial metaphors, and it also gives, through them and by them, a picture with a claim to totality of man and the world. Many kinds of motifs and components are found in these picture-cavalcades: the historical and cultural legacy, civilization and underdevelopment, misery and haughtiness, youth and old age, physical violence and spiritual wealth. Life appears in all its complexity, without concealment; yet this time all of its phenomena find their proper place. It is the summary of an artist at his apogee, and like all such work, it suggests catharsis and harmony.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

AMERIGO TOT RETROSPECTIVE

Tóth as a family name is among the most common in Hungary. The fourth volume of the Hungarian Art Encyclopedia has more than twenty entries on Hungarian sculptors and painters called Tóth. But the largest of these is devoted to the Roman artist Amerigo Tot, whose original name was Tóth Imre.

Because of its commonness the name is often spelled the old way, with *th*. This should not be pronounced like the *th* in tooth, nor is it in any way related to the Egyptian god of wisdom. It simply means a kind of Slav.

Many Slavs were scattered through parts of Hungary, in the Southern part of the Hungarian Plains of instance. Tóth was the name given to those who moved into a Hungarian environment from a Slav area. Which did not necessarily mean that they were Slavs; they could very well be a Hungarian family that had lived for a time in a village where Slavs were in the majority. In the old Hungary the nationalities and other ethnic groups mixed for centuries.

Imre Tóth's mother was of Italian ancestry, the descendant of a master builder who had settled in Hungary. If genes carry the love of classic art, then the origin may lie in them. His paternal inheritance, on the other hand, is the love of irregular things. For his father was a gendarme during the Horthy régime, but the kind of man who kept getting into trouble with his superiors for his leftist ideas. He was hardly the usual gendarme for those times.

Nor is there anything of the bourgeois orderly fashion around Amerigo Tot. Nothing could be established by bureaucratic procedures. Not even whether he is to be regarded as an Italian or a Hungarian sculptor. Because of his mother's family and of his works in Hungary, his local reputation and connections, he qualifies as an Italian sculptor of Hungarian origin. His age—he was born in 1909—qualifies him for honorable retirement. Instead he works and travels tirelessly, and entertains in his Via Margutta atelier with his own excellent cooking. His friends are often three or four decades his juniors; which may be instrumental in maintaining his youth, as may be the devotion with which beautiful young women respond to Amerigo Tot's expert sculptor's glance. Some of his graphics are hymns to female beauty similar to Picasso's drawings of around 1950, though Amerigo Tot's own line is simpler. (For instance, he indicates the meeting point of thighs and trunk with a few convergent lines, dissolving one of mankind's oldest symbols in such lyricism.)

His half a century of work has been spent under the spell of both the Renaissance ideal of beauty and of abstraction. Few sculptors in our century can display such a broad scale. And all this has today come together in such a way, that the apparent contradictions seem in hindsight foreshadow today's synthesis.*

In the spring of 1982 Amerigo Tot had an exhibition on the banks of the Danube in Budapest, in a 19th century Romantic building, the newly restored Vigadó. Among the exhibits was a largescale work in preparation, the *Seed*, a huge bronze wall-decoration intended for the University of Agricultural Sciences sited on a former Habsburg estate in Gödöllő. (This small village near Budapest is famous not only for its Baroque manor: in the early part of our century an arts and crafts settlement based on the principles of William Morris and John Ruskin** was active here, and today it is one of the most versatile cultural centers in the country, rivalling the capital city with its many modern exhibitions.) In *Seed* the forms of plant life seem to break out from the cracked strips of parched land. Seeds as abstract form in Tot's sculptures dates back to 1970, bat here it is more than just form—it is at the same time a realistic representation in the classic sense, only the modest plant which raised man out of the animal world, enabling him to be more than a cunning predator, is enlarged to huge and symbolic proportions.

The artistic journey which has led to the synthesis of abstraction with the Renaissance zest for life in *Seed*, began in 1927 in the Budapest School of Applied Arts. He had shown an artistic sensibility from childhood, modelling fairy-tale characters in clay; after completing his secondary education he became interested in graphics, not sculpture. So he associated himself with Sándor Bortnyik***, who had created a small Hungarian Bauhaus in his Budapest free school called The Workshop; here he passed on what he had learnt himself in the Bauhaus in Germany.

At that time Bortnyik was making a success of his advertisements for Modiano cigarette paper. Imre Tóth helped print them at the Piatnik factory, well known for its playing-cards. He mastered the tricks of the reproductive techniques, and applied for admission to the Bauhaus as a qualified graphician. He also became associated with Lajos Kassák****, who had, as a poet, novelist, and artist, gathered a circle of young and active artists around himself. This circle was called the Labour-circle, after the name of Kassák's magazine. In 1919 Kassák had many disputes with the Communist leadership then in power, and with Béla Kun personally, and subsequently the relationship between the avantgarde Kas-

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** *NHQ* 70

*** *NHQ* 54, 68

**** *NHQ* 28, 54

sák and the Communists who supported traditional art, was not untroubled; nevertheless, in the eyes of the Hungarian authorities before 1945 Kassák and his group were much too red. Before leaving for Dessau the young Imre Tóth, his career barely started, had spent three months in jail.

Anhalt, the German state to which Dessau belonged, was one of the citadels of the extreme right in the Weimar Republic, and the local authorities had no more sympathy for the "Jewish-Communist" Bauhaus than the Hungarian courts for Kassák's Labour-circle. By that time the school was no longer under the direction of Walter Gropius. He finally had enough of constant petty interference by the authorities; he was succeeded by Hannes Meyer, who harboured Communist sympathies and subsequently worked in the Soviet Union and in Mexico, and afterwards with Mies van der Rohe, the creator of the monument to Liebknecht and Luxemburg. At first the young Amerigo Tot did not join in the lively political debates at the school. During his first year he was especially influenced by Paul Klee, withdrawn in his own world, and by another Hungarian, László Moholy-Nagy,* who was not only a good friend of Kassák's but in his versatility recalled the great organizer of the avant-garde in Hungary. Among Tot's colleagues was the young György Kepes, who as George Kepes became one of the best-known explorers of visual language in America.

In the spring of 1931 Klee left the Bauhaus. For a while Tot continued to paint under his spell. A robust constitution enabled him in his search for poetry for his pictures, to engage in romantically hard physical labour during holidays—he worked as a sailor.

The Bauhaus was first driven out of Dessau, state support was withdrawn and, finally, the school was closed. Tóth went to Dresden, where he came under the patronage of Otto Dix, the painter of great expressive powers of the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Thus he was able to exhibit his first works, along with Kokoschka's, in the famous gallery of the *Brücke*.

After Hitler came to power, Dix was considered an *entarteter Künstler*. In the early spring of 1933 the Gestapo wanted to arrest him and Tot was one of the disciplies who helped their master escape. For this he himself was imprisoned by the Gestapo, then interned in a concentration camp. In those times the death factory engineers were still learning their trade, so Tot managed, with the help of friends, to escape and went on foot to Italy through Czechoslovakia and Austria. In November 1933 Tot, who had previously lived off odd jobs, was granted a state scholarship, and also some space on the Via Giulia, in the building of the Accademia dell'Ungheria, the keeper of a great tradition.

The Accademia dell'Ungheria in Rome had at that time many residents from Hungary, who were fascinated by the "novecentist" style of the Mussolini era to such an extent, that modern Hungarian art history includes a whole "Roman school" in the thirties. The pale light of novecentism left Tot completely untouched. The disciple of Moholy-Nagy, explorer of new ways in art, experimenter with new materials and with abstract shapes, was now fascinated with the spell of ancient and Renaissance Rome.

During his studies Tot became the assistant to Angelo Zanelli, one of the creators of the Victor Emmanuel equestrian monument in Rome and a follower of the classical tradition. Tot also tread in the footsteps of tradition, but he was as much attracted by the irregularity of Etruscan statues as by the serenity of Mediterranean harmony. His first major works, the *Three Widows* carved in wood, the *Antique Smile* in terracotta, the *Man's Head* in granite, or the series of dancing *Maenads* cast in bronze all reflect this attraction to minute irregularities which sets

* *NHQ* 57, 76

off his work from the neo-classical creations of the period. Even those works, which at first glance seem to paraphrase old and proven themes and compositions, are filled with tension and intellectual excitement; a *Beethoven Portrait* with a swollen face, a girl with a severed head—now called *Salome,* now *Judith*—a *Last Judgement, Last Supper* or *Crucifixion* in reliefs, in the quattrocento manner, but still different.

Among the portraits from Amerigo Tot's first decade is the bust he made of *Alexander Lenard,* the Hungarian writer who lived in Rome around 1940, and who later, in an obscure Brazilian valley, among German farmers speaking a three hundred year old German dialect, translated *Winnie-the-Pooh* into Latin.* Lenard was a man with irregular features, with a strikingly high forehead and a moustache which hid his mouth. Such a portrayal is an extraordinarily difficult task for the sculptor. Tot succeeded by retaining the unusual proportions and by placing into the head the forms of his previous, idealized portraits of poets and philosophers. By the late thirties Tot was already well-known. So much so, that he even won a Hungarian commission, which was not, however, fulfilled: he was to make a statue to Imre Madách, the author of *Az ember tragédiája* (The Tragedy of Man); but the Second World War intervened.

Tot was an antifascist. In a relief depicting the *Last Judgment* he had placed Hitler and Mussolini among the damned in hell. But it was not only through this Michelangelesque method that he tried to square accounts with his enemies. Using his knowledge of the area and the language, he undertook dangerous and secret missions for the Comitato del Liberazione Nazionale after 1943. It was no wonder that the end of the war was for him the artistic fulfilment of the *joie de vivre.*

This *joie de vivre* appears in among other forms through profane symptoms as a proliferation of women with full limbs among his bronze figures. Their ancestor, a sunbathing beauty wearing a hat, put her plaster dress back on in 1940, and only took on her final shape after 1945, along with other related figures. These primeval, beautiful and large women visit each other—the sculptor made naturalist casts of the wall and the door; they are common and fallible; yet there is in them an otherwordly feature, through which they lose their weight without losing their corporeality, their feminity. Renoir's beauties were once able to produce this miracle.

Closely related to the large-bodied bronze women are the variants of the *Pebble Woman* (mostly bronze, too). The order of shapes abstracted from the Renaissance ideals, sometimes approaching the world of Henry Moore, became more and more exciting to Amerigo Tot's artistict instincts. In parallel with the *Pebble Women,* composed of large shapes, the variants of the *Retired Wrestler,* with their crumpled faces and ears were born, as did experiments in which the shapes and proportions of a few rocks set on top of each other come together to form a plastic sign, an abstract sculpture. This kind of experimentation in the fifties was only a detour, and was connected to the fact that between 1948 and 1952 Tot was the manager of a ceramics store.

The greatest success of Tot, the abstract artist, was a wall decoration, the gable ornament for the Termini Station in Rome. The surface of various depths decorated with refined zigzag lines bought recognition to the artist, and also influenced his later abstract sculptures, *The Eyes of the Earth, The Ears of the Earth* or *His Majesty the Kilowatt.* (A copy of the latter is on the North shore of Lake Balaton, in front of the Baroque abbey of Tihany.)

In the late sixties Amerigo Tot and Hungary rediscovered each other. Tot created the *Csurgó Madonna,* a late masterpiece of his Renaissance style for his native town. The abstract sculpture to the memory of Komarov, the ill-fated Soviet cosmonaut, now at

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the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts—in the collection of foreign artists—and there is a copy in Pécs. This sculpture had an enormous influence on monumental sculpture in Hungary after 1969, both on sculptors and those who commissioned them.

The first large show of Tot's works in Budapest and other larger cities in Hungary was organized in 1969. His popularity was confirmed in a book published on him in Hungary by Máté Major. Tot made the reliefs for one of the walls in the Hungarian Chapel in Rome—the chapel in St. Peter's presented by the Pope to Hungary.*

The noble material of bronze has always been a favourite of Tot's. But if he felt like it, he used any material. He did not mind transforming a world war bunker into a huge sculpture. He struck medals out of precious metals, and in a composition in his newest Budapest show he has made use of the wooden grave headboards of old Hungarian cemeteries—the *kopjafák*—and an ancient linen-press.

Amerigo Tot's œuvre is far from complete. Nevertheless it is possible, from the perspective of half a century, to draw a balance, to outline its major features. Optimism and openness, courage and respect for values—these words seem to characterize Amerigo Tot, who never thought in terms of the demands of a manifesto, but rather in terms of works, of material, form, and needs of the people who assimilate them; he is not ashamed in the least of not creating for a narrow circle of connoisseurs, or for some shady posterity, but rather for the largest possible number of his contemporaries. Their number most likely includes the traveller shooting a hurried glance at the façade of the Termini Station, or the Hungarian country folk, who joyfully recognize in the *Csurgó Madonna* the first experience they had of sculpture in their childhood at Mass.

ANDRÁS SZÉKELY

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WORD AND PICTURE

Endre Nemes in the National Gallery

He was born in the south of Hungary, though his childhood milieu does not seem to appear in his works. Perhaps it has not even touched him? Yet it is in Czechoslovakia, a foreign country (in Kassa, which was mainly Hungarian-speaking at the time), where he lived as a child, and later in Prague that he began to write poetry in Hungarian. Then in Prague he became a caricaturist, studied painting and—in an entirely foreign milieu—he wrote art criticism in Hungarian for the Budapest *Magyar Újság*. Then he travelled to Paris, Helsinki, Sweden, Norway, and Sweden again. It is no wonder that he writes, looking back upon his life: "I have never been a man of words, verbality has never been my line." It is impossible to acquire six languages in seven years on the level he would have liked, with the desire to write on art and compose poetry. And when we add that earlier, in Vienna, Nemes tried to study philosophy, the way of life, the future of a young man so sensitive to culture, education, the visual arts, and literature, is clearly before us. Consequently, visual expression was the only possible means available to Nemes at the end of the thirties—the decisive period

of his development. But we must forget that the original experience behind the picture is not immediate visuality but a vision already integrated into art and subjects which can be formulated verbally.

The source of these paintings—contrary to the declaration of their author—does not spring from a desire to reveal the inner events of the mind, nor the exterior facts of his life. The main experience of Endre Nemes, which influenced his whole life, was the discovery of European culture. To express his memories, his dreams, his feelings and teaching he uses as a source art, and art only, whether it be baroque architecture, renaissance engravings or perspective studies. The further material of his works is metaphysical and mainly surrealist literature and painting, the motive-world of Chirico, Dali, Max Ernst. He uses this visual storehouse even when he expresses his most immediate experiences. There are the clumsy drawings of his youth, the early paintings which reflect the cubist and metaphysical influence characteristic of visual arts in Prague in the thirties, then a pause of more than ten years in the fifties and the great harvest of the sixties: the material of Endre Nemes's restrospective exhibition is astonishingly homogeneous, even though his manner of painting, its characteristic forms and colours have constantly changed from period to period.

At the beginning, for example, he worked with dark and pale earthy colours, but in the last twenty years the vivid and transparent colours of acryl paints have characterized his work. There were periods when graphics and periods when painting were more important. As a young man he preferred a smaller scale, now we find him using more than one large composition. The critics distinguish four periods in his working life. Yet nearly all his successful pictures, even the earliest, are metaphores which are easy to express in words: their source is poetic, verbal, literary and of course cerebral. In *Melancholy* (1941) the human shape of the objects placed in the armchair, the pendulum clock in place of a head, the book on the knees illustrate the idea that human qualities are being mechanized, man himself is becoming alienated from his own life and feelings. It is the background which gives actuality, time, and space to the scene; the horse struggling in a bare landscape, the aeroplane cleaving the air evidently indicate the fact that the catastrophe of war will make our world look like this.

The *Prague Madonna with Umbrella* (1938) relates similar fears: almost like a schoolboy's puzzle the map of Europe on the wall is darkened by a shadow, but it does not seem possible that either the small sad Madonna related to and emerging from the town, or the umbrella held shyly by her side, can protect Prague from the shower—which is going to be a shower of bombs, as the reappearing aeroplane indicates. For the sake of historical accuracy we have to add that hardly any bombs fell on Prague—rather more did fall on Budapest, Warsaw, and Dresden. The *Prague Bride* (1938) has a similar meaning—the bride is waited for by an objectivized, mechanized prehistoric monster made up of wheels, bars, and geometrical figures, which reflects the influence of Picasso enough to make us recognize in it war, symbolized by the Minotaur. Other examples might be mentioned: straight chains of association produce the more mature works in Endre Nemes's later period: the scenes of *The Slandered House* (1968).

The seemingly mysterious visual associations of the man with the kerchief over his mouth (the being sentenced to involuntary numbness), the woman approaching from the distance (dressed in black, to justify our presentiment of evil), and the house placed on the table (open for public inspection) are in fact members of a well-known symbolic system. It is the technique of cutting and collage which allows the painter to dispense with the steps of logical thinking and to make sudden switches.

In *The Pantheon of Pioneers* (1963) the two

groups of people apparently lost in the vast hall, the enormous finger-print and the lines of a hand—so like an aerial photograph—can be directly translated: inventors have left a mark on their age, their fate is written in world history, the engine, wheels, screws, astronomical telescope, helicopter, airship, as they rise up and into the future to begin a separate life, leave behind their creators and mankind. Of course his pictures are not always so clear, their meaning is not always so obvious. Sometimes the visual form produces another form independent of the underlying notion—it is multipled by the painter, he returns to it again and again in more than one picture. These motives disrupt and, by all the principle of visuality, abolish the chain of ideas. So the hipbone of the skeleton becomes a skate in *Skaters* (1968), then the curved ruler used by draughtsmen. In spite of the ambiguity in his pictures we can disagree with the painter's declaration that these "absurd representations" contain requests which do not always become visible and so "something very important remains hidden." I think that in most cases the essence does come to light, that is, the picture has no hermetically sealed, unapproachable layer, and that the associations are not "directed by experiences embedded in the subconscious."

Endre Nemes is an artist who has gained recognition throughout Europe. He has been exhibiting regularly from the age of twenty-six, and he has had more than thirty one-man exhibitions, among them the Lund and Göteborg retrospective exhibition in 1963, the 1968 retrospective exhibition in Czechoslovakia and the 1973 Göteborg and Budapest exhibitions. His work has been discussed in important art publications, he is the recipient of prestigious prizes, such as the Gold Medal of the First Graphic Biennale in Norway and the Sixth Tokyo Biennale. He has had important architectural commissions, and he can look back upon valuable work as a teacher over several years. His work is to be found in celebrated public collections from Sweden to the USA. This is the second time that the Hungarian National Gallery has attempted to assess his œuvre in an exhibition of almost three hundred works.

MÁRIA ILLYÉS

CONTRARY APPROACHES

András Baranyay, Attila Joláthy, Károly Kelemen

András Baranyay is the kind of painter whose tool is the camera. This in itself is no more than stating a fact, a fundamental one, though; but more interesting is Baranyay's technical "how," all those things which make this painter different from the photorealists.

A graduate in painting from the Academy, he had founded a lithography workshop and had practised this technique enthusiastically. Pop Art arrived in Hungary when he graduated; the formal language of lithography is excellently suited to this style. Later he used photography in his lithographic work, he learned to take pictures. "I realized," he says, "that lithography and photography are secretly related. Daguerre was not only a photographer, but a lithographer too. I am not interested in professional photography, not even on the level of an André Kertész. I hate snapshots, I work with an old collapsible Voigtländer

with a low-power lens, which means long exposure in any event." The reproduction shown of a Baranyay painting was made by a professional photographer. During the exposure-time of the old camera the model could not help moving, Baranyay would play on this, he would even put several negatives in the enlarger, he won't keep to any rules of the photographer's craft. If something is under or over-exposed, he would leave it that way. He would chemically produce a rosy tint, use reducing agents, paint with a brush over the photograph or draw on it with coloured pencils, or again he would scratch the negative. He would destroy his picture like a *décollage*, on the other hand he would add details which were never in the photograph. Baranyay says: "A photograph can be transformed as much as a lithograph, they are both chemical processes. This has been known since the mid-nineteenth century. I haven't invented anything." Somebody else would be happy to invent something. He "is unostentatious even in his modesty." These are the poet Dezső Tandori's words in his book on Baranyay.

The artist has exhibited diligently since 1964. He is a regular participant at the Cracow and Ljubljana graphics biennales, has appeared at the Second British International Print Biennale in Bradford (1970) and also in the exhibition of Hungarian Graphics at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (1973).

The title of the exhibition at the Helikon Gallery in Budapest is "Still Lives". In fact, in place of the earlier series of self-portraits, Baranyay's obstinately recurring subjects are fruit, his own hand occasionally reaching in. A narrow confine. The photographs copied onto unglazed paper are now mostly coloured, but even the uncoloured ones have more or less been manipulated, which has nothing to do with photography. His works are generally untitled, except for the series of still lives with pears, which bear a title borrowed from the composer Eric Satie: "Trois morceaux en forme de poire." The first is the interlude of a plate with four pears and a hand reaching in—the picture is enclosed in a further, smaller square by a cellux frame glued onto a panel sheet. Strong pastel colours complete the picture beyond the photograph. On the next sheet the blessing protecting hand covers the still life composed of a pyramid of four pears, on the third the hand is already holding one of them. Still life of apple and lemon, a group of thick, cheap drinking-glasses, the hand reaching in everywhere—the artist's hand—this *pars pro toto* self-portrait fragment is, then, included with the still-life accessories. At other times an untidy table with papers, a hand leafing through a date-calendar, a paint-box, tubes, in a disorder appearing entirely uncomposed: just like the ancient Roman "unswept floor." Here the colouring is no more than a shade, the painter's—not graphic artist's—colouring is more and more dominant, with the pale pink background and the highly finished surface, the brushwork, the fine shading, at other times the apparently tangled "scribble-scrabble" of colour pencils. These colours are sombre, but also solemn in their scantiness and it is only in relation to this that we can sometimes perceive an occasionally introduced rainbow-coloured spectrum as sparkling.

The two poles of the Baranyay still life: one, the calculated chance shifts obtained with the help of techniques such as long exposure, the time-shot; the other, the conscious composition of the model or the objects before shooting. The dynamic element of the Baranyay still life, the shifted arms, hands determine a simultaneity different from that of the futurists. These are static stills for all that, derivatives of time brought to a standstill. For time here is not a factor introduced from the outside, but rather a basic feature of the image. Its laconic presentation hides reticence, the artist seeks totality through this very attitude and he is likely to find it. As Dezső Tandori writes in the work referred to earlier: "...these

works are not about representing artistic problems, but about the authenticity of representation."

András Baranyay seems to have revealed the art of painting which was believed to have gone under. His predecessors, his spiritual relatives are not photographers, but rather Zurbarán, Chardin, Goya, likewise Cézanne and even Francis Bacon. This is the family tree I see in these works, at a photography exhibition, where I least expected it.

*

During his prolonged stay in Paris, worldwide currents have touched Attila Joláthy more directly, his peculiar colour dynamism has taken early shape. His very colourful oil and acrylic paintings came closer and closer—in the sixties—to geometry, but at that time the characteristic features of his painting were the marked curved line, the serpentine strips. At the Helikon Gallery in Budapest he has only exhibited his newer works. In this, his second, artistic phase he has sought for the order, discipline of sharply outlined straights and angles, crying halt to his serpentine dynamism, he now expresses movement through his colours and colour-groupings only. He has grown bored with the limitations of staying within the plane and has started—still within the field of the canvas—to construct bodies, first according to the correct laws of axonometry, later with the elegance of linear perspective. He unfolds his message with a perspective distorted in a deliberate way: his painted objects are a kind of cubes, of pseudo-buildings, they hover on the canvas like astronauts in a weightless state. His paintings of the past few years have slowly grown into a regular cycle.

Geometrical Space (1979) is the prototype, and the representative of its group, it is characterized by its lyrical colour mood and its hard lines. Nearly always Joláthy uses broken, muted colours, pale blue, pinks, dots of white. *Knossos* (1979) dawns from a cobalt blue background, white, yellow, lavender planes intersect razor-sharply and —in this one painting—not only at right, but at obtuse angles, as if certain elements in the painting were imitating the stonework of a Renaissance building. The colours of *Approach* (1980) are even cooler: blue-green is dominant. *Zikkurat* (1982) is a paraphrase of the ancient Mesopotamian temple fortresses, like a summing-up of the previous year's work. *Glass Towers* (1981) is a new step. Its cool-coloured planes alternate with those imitating plexi, appearing to us as translucent, when they are only painted. This cycle of paintings constructed into the picture-plane, of *trompe l'oeil* obejcts, is ended by a real object, the *Centre* (1982). We do not sense the "jolt" of the jump, this "sculpture" is no foreign body among the painting exhibits, our eyes do not even sense at first that this spatial creation represents a different art form.

"I would complicate space," declares the artist, "until this becomes seemingly unreal reality. Or conversely: a spatial construct pointing towards the future, which is based on an aesthetic, generates calm, and is still dynamic at the same time. This duality is what I seek." Not in vain. In these meaningful, complex constructs Joláthy is able to graft together the cold logic of the technological object with a human—non-computer —sensitivity.

*

The artist Károly Kelemen has proceeded from photo-realism. I could even say that he has not abandoned it. He does not photograph his environment, does not choose chance amateur images or news-story photos for his models, but reproductions rather, the reproductions of more or less well-known works of art. "The images appearing in the reproduction are my personal acquaintances [said Kelemen in an interview], and are much closer to me than a flesh-and-blood human being. I make friends

with them, they're my friends. I kidnap them, so I can talk to them intimately, so they be mine only, that I may corrupt them rape them..." Earlier Kelemen's objects had been cutouts from magazines, art books, and lately—playing-cards. At the young artist's exhibition in the Dorottya Street Showroom (this is not his first, he has already won the Golden Palette prize at Cagnes-sur-Mer in 1981) we saw nine cards. Different kinds, some not unknown even among laymen (Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter), or older cards decorated with hunting scenes, oriental genre-scenes. The Kelemen paintings have preserved the naive—sometimes not so naive—charm of the original wood, copper, or steel cut figures and scenes. Kelemen enlarges these cards—by projection obviously—and through this intervention alone he takes an attitude. He multiples the palm-size card to nearly two square metres, as when the movie frame is increased on the screen by the rays of the projector. Enlarging is not nearly the end of the artist's work, on the huge panel he outlines the projected image in pencil, graphite, pitt chalk, then he shades it with lines, a network of lines, in a virtuoso manner. His drawing remains a drawing, strictly colourless: black, white, and grey. He continues and intensifies his intervention procedure with the help of appropriate erasers: hard, soft, or even with plasticine, erasing from the texture of his drawing long, seemingly-arbitrary, generally vertical expression-lines. These are like the impression left by blades of grass, or like wounds made by a sword-stroke; I was unavoidably reminded of Hans Hartung's categorical gestures. The "eraser-paintings" —Kelemen has christened his genre himself—these high-handed streaks which yet reveal such sensitivity and delicacy, give a new structure, in fact a new negative drawing, where the erasure is equal in value to the black pencilmark. The fact that we happen to be looking at a card exhibition is—I think—both incidental and decisive. There is no nostalgia—and yet there is. "My works are existential, not painterly gestures," says the artist elsewhere. "They have nothing to do with painting. All I want is to show my relationship—or rather the lack of such relationship—with images."

János Frank

ENGLISH INFLUENCE ON HUNGARIAN ROMANTIC ARCHITECTURE

In the eighteen twenties and thirties a new architectural style appeared on the continent: Neo-Gothic, known as the Gothic Revival in England. This movement originated in Great Britain and made headway, virtually in every country of the Western World, in the middle of the last century.

In Hungary the Gothic Revival in its full-fledged form came on the scene around 1840. That marks the beginning of what is called the Romantic period of architecture in this country. This period lasted until about 1870, when a number of other "neo-styles" also became fashionable—the most widespread being Neo-Renaissance—to flourish side by side with the Gothic Revival. In Hungary this is termed Eclectic architecture, and it can best be compared with the High Victorian phase in England.

Between 1840 and 1870 styles of medieval origin or inspiration prevailed in Hungary. The most important was Gothic of course,

Tamás Révész

AMERIGO TOT: THE MADONNA OF CSURGÓ (BRONZE, 1969)

Tamás Révész

AMERIGO TOT: AN IDEA IN BRONZE FOR A BARTÓK MONUMENT IN NEW YORK (1967)

Károly Szelényi

AMERIGO TOT: PEBBLE WOMAN (BRONZE, 35 CM, 1946)

Tamás Révész

AMERIGO TOT: VILLAGE WOMAN (BRONZE, 1946)

Ferenc Kovács

Amerigo Tot: Sitting women (silk screen, 42 × 60 cm, 1981)

then came the *Rundbogenstil*, that originated in southern Germany and was based mainly on Romanesque and early Renaissance architecture. There existed as well a less significant orientalizing mode and what was called the National trend. The most prominent representative of the latter was Frigyes Feszl, whose masterpiece, the Vigadó in Budapest (1861–1865) is an eloquent manifestation of the desire to create an indigenous Hungarian style. Other architects of the time, such as Miklós Ybl, Antal Weber, Ferenc Wieser, József Pán, Hugó Máltás, Ferenc Brein, designed buildings that show no great deviation from the general European pattern. The output of Hungarian Romanticism is relatively modest, especially compared with the prolific Neo-Classical age that preceded and the Eclectic period that followed and partly overshadowed it.

Up to now research has found very little evidence indicating direct connections in the field of architecture between England and Hungary for this period: it seems likely the new style arrived here through Germany and Austria. Between 1840 and 1870 Hungarian architects were trained mostly in Buda, Vienna and Munich, few of them travelled to England after the completion of their studies. According to our present knowledge, no British architect was commissioned to design a Gothic Revival building in Hungary.

There were, however, a handful of Hungarians, predominantly aristocrats, who had the means to visit Britain to acquire first-hand knowledge of current English architecture and buy English architectural books. No wonder the first English-inspired Gothic Revival buildings in Hungary were country houses of the nobility.

Count István Széchenyi, a leading statesman of the time, was an admirer and promoter of all things English. He even wrote a long essay on English style country-house building, *Pesti por és sár* (The dust and mud of Pest), but it is, belying its title, devoted mostly to domestic architecture. The reform-minded count wrote this essay between 1837 and 1840, preceding the actual construction of any English-inspired country houses in Hungary.

Surveying Hungarian country houses Széchenyi came to the conclusion that they were inadequately built both as regards practicability and style. In a typical Hungarian country house, he says, the corridors and the oversize main staircase take up too much space, yet thereby easy accessibility to rooms is not assured. The division of the floors is illogical, the flight of rooms open into one another to form an enfilade. These homes are deficient in practical arrangement and lack cosiness, says Széchenyi, using the English word "comfort." He recommended the English way of house construction: the hall, dining-room and the library ought to be on the ground floor, the bedrooms upstairs, the servants' rooms in the attic. The hall and the staircase should be styled and furnished just like the other rooms, in order to preserve the unity of "comfort" in the house, and apart from the main staircase another, a smaller one is needed for the staff. Every member of the family should have his or her own bedroom undisturbed by others, an arragement incompatible with the traditional enfilade; what is more, Széchenyi argues, in Britain even the servants have their own rooms which they need not share with anybody else.

Széchenyi paid attention to a number of technical details, too. He mentions for instance that in Britain the houses often rest on a layer of concrete, thus damp can be eliminated and it is not necessary to build a cellar. He calls the new material by its English name, "concrete," in contrast to the French word *béton*, which later became current in Hungarian. He also praises another English invention, the water-closet. A number of pages of the essay are devoted to methods of heating. Széchenyi recommends open coal fires which can provide long-lasting heat and are smokeless if high quality coal is burned.

Széchenyi was interested not only in the practical aspects of building, he cared for

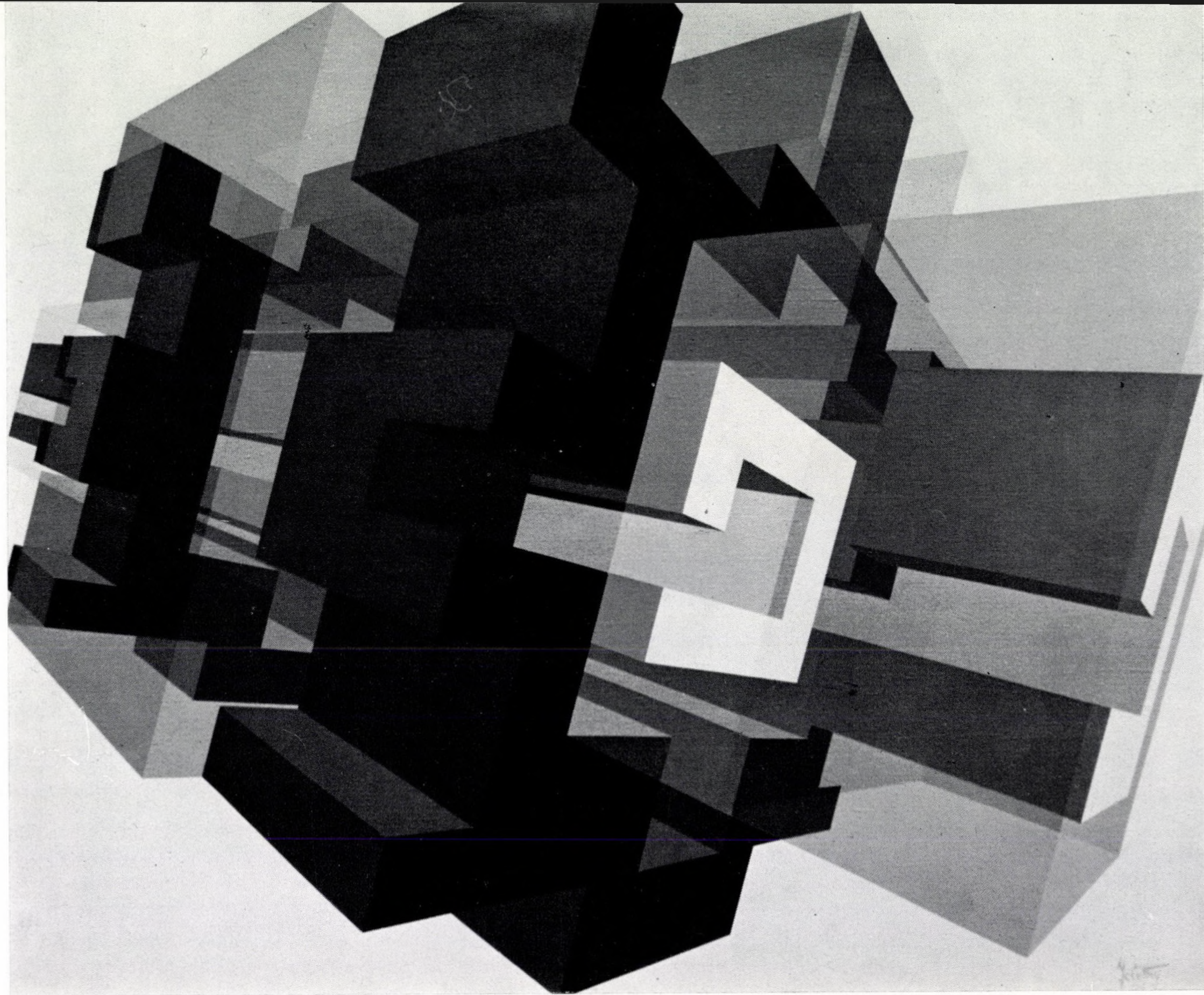
architectural style as well. For him usefulness and style cannot, however, be divorced: the latter should stem from the former. On purely practical grounds he disputes the perennial validity of the four classical orders, the traditional rules and forms of architecture handed down by the ancient Greeks and cultivated and propagated by the Italians. The forms of the house should be determined only by function and not by ancient prescriptions. The classical, or as Széchenyi called it, the Italian, style is unfit for the Hungarian climate and does not relate to the history of the country, while the Gothic style fulfills both requirements. Here the argument of course became somewhat vague; Széchenyi spoke of the "north Asiatic Gothic pattern" and the "Scythian" nature of Gothic; however, it is clear from these passages that he was trying to formulate the idea of a national architectural style, which should be neither Russian, nor Italian, nor German. The English have taken to building Gothic style country houses, he argues, a practice that has the advantage that such a house can be easily enlarged, a number of annexes can be attached if necessary, and this will make the building look even livelier. The Italian-inspired classical house on the other hand has to be strictly symmetrical, its rigid system would be disrupted by any addition. The application of the Gothic style in country-house building in Hungary may be premature, Széchenyi warns, the new mode should not be adopted undigested, first national, i.e., public, buildings should be in the English manner.

This, however, did not happen. From the early eighteen fourties onwards, English-style country houses and chateaux appeared in Hungary, preceding public buildings in the towns. Between 1840 and 1844 the crenellated Gothic Revival chateau of Count Emánuel Zichy-Ferraris was built at Oroszvár to Franz Beer's design; the client's wife was an English lady, who had a decisive say in the choice of the style.

Count János Keglevich had his medieval castle at Nagyugróc remodelled between 1844 to 1850. The count's architect, Alois Pichl, in deference to his client's wishes, supplied a Gothic-revival style design, which was partly based on English engravings. It is not known for sure where these engravings had their origin; we know that Keglevich owned a number of illustrated books, descriptions of foreign towns and countries, among them a 25-volume work by J. Britton and E. W. Brayley: *The Beauties of England and Wales* (London, 1801–16), illustrated by some eight hundred engravings; perhaps Keglevich and his architect drew inspiration from them. Nagyugróc Castle, a four-towered building, with battlements complete with wood-panelled rooms, marble fire-places and Gothic pendants, has a definitely English air.

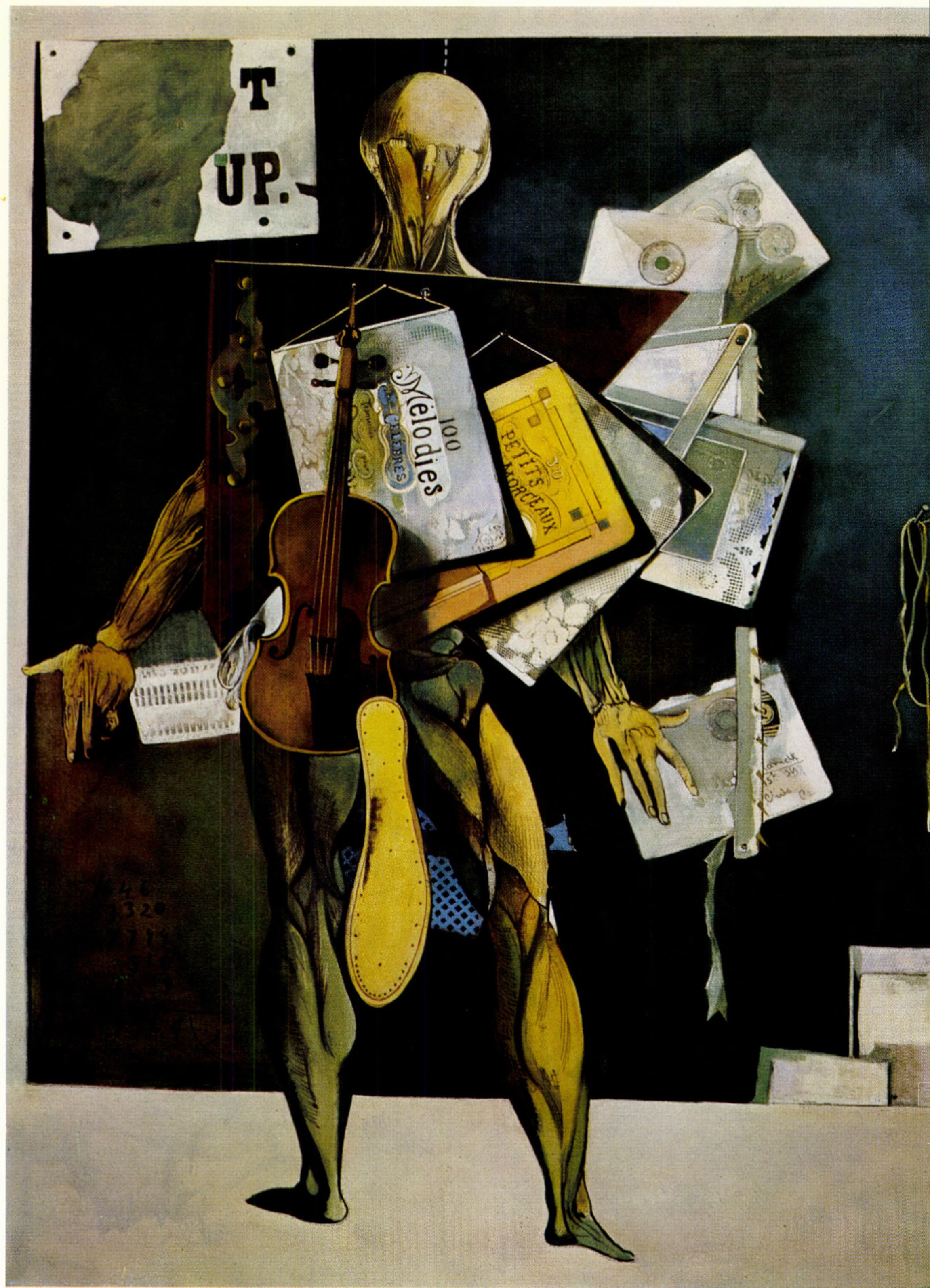
An Anglophile aristocrat, Count Sándor Erdődy, owned the castle at Vép in Western Hungary. He travelled a great deal in Britain and elsewhere. Ferenc Pulszky has related that "wherever our host travelled, by means of a few strokes of the brush he sketched, in watercolours, the most beatiful, most characteristic spots. In the reception room we happily turned the leaves of the bulky volumes in which the large sketches are bound, and became acquainted with the romantic parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, Upper Austria, and Switzerland. . . .In the library," Pulszky goes on, "there are not only Hungarian books but all the best works of English literature." Thus it is no wonder that Count Erdődy had his old castle at Vép refaced in the Tudor style: angular dripstones were attached above the windows and the spired towers were converted into square, crenellated bastions. The design for the alteration was prepared by an Austrian architect, Johann Romano in 1846, but in 1868, when he wanted a greenhouse in the garden, Erdődy turned to an Edinburgh architect, David Lowe, for the plans.

The above-mentioned buildings at Oroszvár, Nagyugróc and Vép can be termed castellated structures. In the eighteen fifties



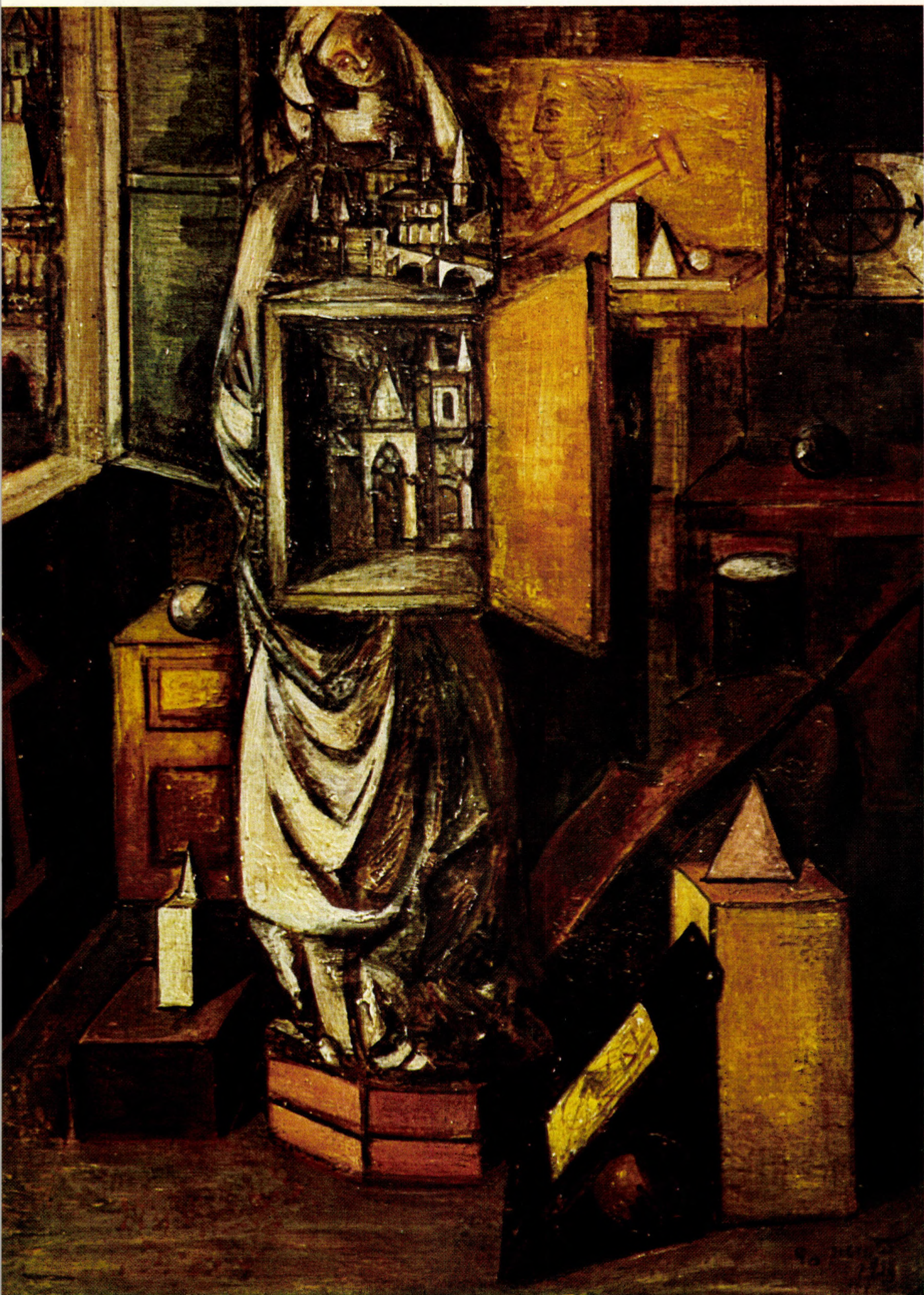
Sándor Szélelyhidi

ATTILA JÓLÁTHY: THE GREAT MACHINE (ACRYLIC, 100 × 120 CM, 1981)



Mihály Szabó

Endre Nemes: A hundred famous melodies (litograph, 63×45 cm, 1980)



Mihály Szabó

Endre Nemes: Madonna of Prague (tempera, canvas, 81 × 58 cm, 1938)

György Makky

▲ András Baranyai: Pencils (coloured photo, 30×40 cm, 1982)

András Baranyai: Three pear-shaped pieces (sepia photo, colour pencil 29×34.5 cm, 1982) ▼

KÁROLY KELEMEN: TAROT IMAGES IX AND XVI
(160 × 141 CM EACH, 1982)

Gábor Ruzsonyi

NAGYUGRÓC. The castellated country house of Count János Keglevich
Alois Pichl, 1844 to 1850)

BOGÁT-SZOMBATHELY. The manor-house of Count Dénes Festetich
(between 1856 and 1860)

József Sisa

Tamás Mihali

BUDAPEST. Detail of the Parliament House building (Imre Steindl, 1884–1904)

and sixties another English-oriented mode appeared in Hungary: cottage architecture. A group of cottages were built in western Hungary, at Szeleste, Bogát (now a suburb of Szombathely) and Püspökmolnári; here again English books and drawings may have transmitted the new mode. In the archives of the Festetich family there is a set of drawings of cottages by William Burn. The sheets are dated 1855, the time the first English style cottages were erected in Hungary. In a famous novel, published in 1845, *A falu jegyzője*, (The village notary) by *Baron József Eötvös*, a fashionable type of Anglomaniac is described who builds himself a house on the approved lines as laid down by Loudon in his widely popular *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (London, 1833).

In his novel Eötvös, unlike Széchenyi, offers an unfavourable and even ironical criticism of the English country house and its Hungarian imitation. Like Széchenyi, he also mentions the English word "comfort," but in his view English comfort means just the opposite of the notion: a lack of comfort. The English have their special ways to achieve discomfort, he says, perhaps the most important is the absence of symmetry both inside and outside the house; what is a most natural and flexible arrangement for Széchenyi, seems to Eötvös confusion born of extravagance. Coal-fires in iron grates, warmly recommended by Széchenyi, are regarded as a nuisance by Eötvös because of their pungent smell. He also disapproves of inside wooden staircases calling them a fire hazard. The Gothic style is for him an apt simile to describe the anachronistic Hungarian constitution and the backward condition of the country, but certainly not one fit for imitation.

Yet the fashion for English-style country houses caught on, an increasing number appeared all over the country. The Gothic Revival slowly became the appropriate style for other kinds of building as well, like churches, public buildings and town houses. Many of the latter displayed a clear English cottage or castellated character. (E.g. Augusz House in Szekszárd, or the Officer's Pavilion in Komárom.) To illustrate the general acceptance of the new movement, it suffices to mention Károly Gerster. When, in 1857, he applied for membership of the Pest Builders' Guild, he had to design an educational institution as a masterwork—as stipulated in the document—*in dem englischen Adelsitz- oder Elisabethen-Styl.*

Thus Hungary, like several other European countries, followed the English lead in the middle of the last century. Different English-oriented architectural trends appeared here, though they arrived mostly indirectly; actual contact between the two countries was sporadic and limited in most cases to country-house building. It should be noted that this was the time of the Hungarian 1848/49 revolution followed by years of Habsburg repression, a period when money was short and foreign travel restricted. In spite of these historical conditions, however, at no time before 1840, or after 1870, was English influence so strongly felt in Hungarian architecture.

After 1870 the Gothic Revival was anything but extinct: new and even bigger Gothic buildings were erected towards the end of the century, culminating in the Parliament (1884–1904) on the Danube in Budapest. This enormous building surpasses in length even the London Houses of Parliament (950 and 935 feet respectively), it is one of the largest and most sumptuous Neo-Gothic structures anywhere. Yet Gothicism in Hungary shows a marked difference before and after 1870. Before 1870 it was essentially picturesque in character, hence its telling epithet: Romantic. After 1870 Gothic Revival architecture matured, i. e., it gained a great deal in archaeological accuracy but, at the same time, became rigorous and lost the spontaneous charm of the earlier period.

József Sisa

THEATRE AND FILM

MADHOUSE

Carlo Goldoni: *Le baruffe chiozzotte;* Peter Weiss: *Marat/Sade;* Paul Foster: *Elizabeth I:* Peter Shaffer: *Amadeus;* Sarkadi–Bródy–Szörényi: *The Ballad of Kőműves Kelemen;* Gyula Hernádi: *Dracula*

Towards the end of the 1981–82 season, the state of the Hungarian theatre seems to be one of great commotion. A long and sometimes acerbic debate on the nature and function of the National Theatre for months foreshadowed the radical change that was to take place sooner or later in the artistic management and structure of the Budapest theatre companies. Decisions were reached by the end of March: the National has come under the manager and principal director of the Várszínház, which in turn has become the repertory theatre for the National itself; the Józsefváros Színház, up to now a satellite of the Várszínház, has became independent, while the Katona József Színház, the National's satellite has become an independent theatre under the Nemzeti's former principal director. Almost certainly, the measures will continue to be argued over for quite some time.

Although those changes may seem to be the private concern of the Hungarian theatre, they have to be briefly outlined here since they have had repercussions on almost all Hungarian theatres. Actors in quite a few other companies have a direct or indirect interest in these re-arrangements, and a certain amount of uncertainty and confusion arose in several places. Some theatres abandoned the staging of some or all of their scheduled productions for the season; both actors and directors are preparing to embark on the new season with a clean sheet. In all this upheaval it is hardly surprising that recent months have not seen too many premières, nor, particularly, many outstanding productions.

Nevertheless there have been a few of high-quality. Tamás Major, the miraculous old man of the Hungarian stage is now in his 73rd year, and during his 50 years in the National as company manager and principal director, found himself at the centre of much controversy and criticism. Wisely he has turned his back on the din of battle and accepted an invitation from the Miskolc company to stage Carlo Goldoni's comedy, *Le baruffe chiozzotte,* not widely known in Hungary and recently a failure on another Hungarian stage. In the 1960s, Major was Brecht's Hungarian apostle—he created a storm over his Brechtian productions of Shakespeare but found much support among younger audiences and actors. Since retirement he has devoted his unflagging energy to comedy, concentrating mainly on Molière and Goldoni. He no longer uses plays to illustrate and expound an artistic theory or topical political idea; it is his current views as actor and director which concern him. The racketing, multicoloured, splendidly organized and fluent production of the Goldoni play has as its predominant element the relationship between the local notary, Isidoro, a stranger from Venice, and the hard-working people of Chioggia. The girls and women, for ever falling out with one

another, the men, equally ready to wrangle, make up for a permanent madhouse in the port of Chioggia. But Isidoro, instead of being driven mad himself as the helpless arbitrator in this non-stop wrangling, delights in seeing all this as a sort of director, sometimes even heckling his "actors;" ultimately he smoothes away all troubles, helps the quarrelsome lovers find happiness and urges the riotous married couples to live harmoniously. Major doubtlessly modelled the figure of the notary on himself, with a great deal of self-irony; it is no accident that he cast one of his favourite actors, a former student, in the role. The actor, young Péter Blaskó, does possess the ability to indicate that the real master is not the notary, seemingly propelling events according to his own whims; the real hero is the tireless, inexhaustible people, amiable even in their failings. Isidoro merely shuffles the cards at hand, and then observes with gusto the familiar, yet always exciting run of the cards. Instead of kings, queens and knaves, it is the fishermen, lace-makers and pumpkin vendors that keep turning up. In the end the notary does the wisest thing: he too loses himself in that colourful vortex—bustling, and all-conquering, life itself.

Major is now our oldest active director; János Ács, at Kaposvár, is among the youngest. So far he has been both timely and deft in almost all his productions (recently his *Midsummer Night's Dream* was an outstanding production). Now, with Peter Weiss's *Marat/Sade*, Ács has once again opted for a play which has also featured in Peter Brook's repertoire. However, this time too his production has nothing in common with the reading of the British director, whom Ács reveres as his master.

The outward appearance of the production offers nothing unusual. The wooden bars of the mental home with its hydropathic treatment, emphasize the prison character. Ács uses water perhaps somewhat more drastically than usual. Although the visual spectacle is unified, expressive and symbolic, it still provides a suitable frame and medium for the individual dramas which take place in the mind. The Herald is here a quiet, painful, sometimes cynical narrator, who suffers from the fact of knowing in advance the course of events and having no power over them. He thrusts his hand into the pocket of a buttoned-up coat—with his closed bearing he stands clearly apart in mien and manner both from the ragged, half-naked in-patients and from de Sade, Marat and Charlotte Corday, dressed up for their parts.

The chief characters in the production are the people—the patients—of the Charenton asylum. Ács creates a series of brief, effective scenes for each of them—in some cases virtual solos—which make absolutely clear that they have been locked up not for mental illness, but for political activity, the threat to established order from their revolutionary mentality. By now all of them have really been driven to madness or, at the least, to apathy by the knowledge that they have been locked up in full possession of their reason. They had differed from the passive and submissive masses in that they possessed active force, eagerness and faith; this is the deviation, the social, historical and psychological "case" that has to be punished. Perhaps people is not the exact word for them, it would be better to call them the very best of the people, the potential leaders and catalyzers, now silenced and made harmless. In portraying the individuals and the community, which almost unconsciously organizes out of these individuals, Ács creates polyphonic, dense moments on stage; he uses the idiom of associations to refer to certain concrete events in recent Central European history (the 1956 events in Hungary, the Polish situation which has been becoming more and more acute over the years). Yet his purpose is not to analyse concrete events, because even if he does approximate to fact, it is the abstract, the model of general value which is presented.

Eroticism and sexuality are woven through the whole production. Since normal forms of physical love or legalized bonds cannot develop within the asylum, and since de Sade's lengthy imprisonment or Marat's illness derive from sexual exigences, Ács forcefully and pertinently demonstrates the mental deformation of the characters through this system of symbols. Suppressed or perverted sexuality is an expression of oppressed creative power—of a fertility which literally sinks into the morass on a stage which becomes increasingly sloppy and awash in water.

At the end of the play the walls of the asylum collapse, but the interpretation does not indicate a triumph, the awakening of the patients to consciousness or praise for the revolution. People languishing in captivity for this length of time are no longer capable of winning freedom for themselves or others. But pressed together into a single mass this crowd will sooner or later obviously try to make use of its strength and exact revenge for its sufferings. The Herald stands apart out front holding a single flagstone torn from the road; he sobs.

In contrast to Peter Weiss's concept, this production does not depict Marat's victory over de Sade, over the individualism of de Sade. The conception János Ács has rendered perceptible, grief raised to an experience, derives from a conviction that our age has no valid and effective system of ideals and personalities which can govern events. Certain world views may have features which are valuable, but they are rejected by the world because of their abstract nature.

The blinding tragic light which radiates from the *Marat/Sade*, also gleams in flashes in the first Hungarian production of Paul Foster's *Elizabeth I* in Szolnok; the light is less intense, less pure, as both play and and interpretation are more modest. Ellen Stewart was recently in Budapest, where she gave a well-received lecture and an extemporaneous practical briefing. These might have prompted the selection of the Foster play since its production by Ellen Stewart's company in the La Mama Theatre was a success. But in the absence of an off-off-Broadway here in Hungary, this bantering play which ridicules history and declares war on commercial Broadway in all its forms, seemed to be affecting originality rather than being original and to be trying to be funny rather than actually being so.

Water, even if only in a glass, is fascinating on stage. How much more so if the jets of a fountain dance or water gushes from the therapeutical pipes of a mental home. In *Marat/Sade* the water caused no great stir. It was called for as an integral part of the play, a means of expression that had to be included. In *Elizabeth I* the designer conjured up an entire pool on stage, and the actors were frequently wallowing, drowning and splashing in it. The decisive naval battle with Spain was also fought out there in the form of a water-polo match accompanied by much whistling and waving of flags. A clever production concept, but it was not carried through consistently enough for it to be organic to the performance: it stood apart from the production and had a separate life ot its own. (The actors kept running backstage to dry themselves.)

After these three productions in the provinces let us turn to some in Budapest which had been much anticipated. First to the Vígszínház. This theatre tends to obtain performing rights to hits from the English speaking world relatively quickly: this has been the case with Peter Schaffer's *Amadeus*.

Joseph II, Habsburg emperor and king of Hungary, is known in Hungarian history as the hatted king because of his unwillingness to have himself crowned in Hungary. He has had a mixed reception by Hungarian historians, some objecting that his progressive decrees offended against the Constitution, others that he withdrew all but one not long before his death.

That was obviously of no interest to Shaffer, but it is naturally of interest to a Hungarian audience. At first sight *Amadeus*

does somewhat seem to have been turned into a Hungarian piece: the portrayal of a former ruler. The impression is the greater since the actor playing the king, László Tahi Tóth, now nearing forty, has been confirming his talent with increasingly mature performances. His splendid Joseph has shifted the accents of the elegantly executed, accurately interpreted production. (On the whole it refrains from any attempt at a new reading.)

How does the play came across as a whole? The text has a good sense of style, and displays a really superior dramatic technique, it is flexible in idiom and cleverly distributes the elements of effect. The validity of the onesided battle between spontaneous, natural genius (Mozart), who is ignored, and single-minded, ruthlessly motivated and assertive mediocrity (Salieri) goes beyond the age and the individuals. The play is not lacking in remarkable talent, but has nothing to do with real greatness.

The Vígszínház surprised a mainly young audience with an interesting première in its smaller theatre, the Pesti Szınház. Hungarian rock has at long last been given a home of its own and Hungarian rock life has livened up in general (in concerts, publications and visiting performers). The Pesti Színház invited two very widely known figures from the rock world, Levente Szörényi and János Bródy, members of the Phonograph Ensemble, to put on a guest production. The scenario is based on an incomplete play by the late Imre Sarkadi, a highly gifted member of the post-1945 Hungarian literary scene. Sarkadi made a stage adaptation of *Kőműves Kelemen*, a folk ballad well-known all over Europe, about the tragedy of the immured woman; superstition calls for human sacrifice: masons build an unprecedentedly huge castle and mix in the remains of Kelemen's wife into the mortar which keeps the walls standing.

Szörényi and Bródy turned this into a rock-musical and director László Marton has provided black-and-white lighting effects and a splendid choreography, a closely-knit young ensemble. The whole is an indictment against human sacrifice. They assert that even the highest goal cannot justify intentional human sacrifice and especially not that based on the deception of superstition. And also that the misleading promise of "the greatest," "the immediate," the "never-before-seen," easily produces, because of the heroic nature of the task, discord, failure and fear.

The Vígszínház has done much to create a modern musical stage, and with *Kőműves Kelemen* has found another production that can count on a long run. This "rock-ballad" shows a favourable facet of the Hungarian theatre today (which, looked at from the angle of other productions, seems to show a more disheartening picture nowadays).

The only reasons to mention *Dracula* are its pecularity, its incredible ineptitude, and the fame of its creators. The writer Gyula Hernádi and the director Miklós Jancsó—whose films include, among many others, *The Round-Up* and *Private Vices, Public Virtues*—have for a few years also been working together for the stage, and have the intention of organizing an independent company. At the moment, to use their own expression, they are offering 'jokes,' their "plays" are without rhyme or reason, though ribaldry, joketelling and insulting the audience—"mental patients"—are abundant; in the intermission the audience is offered sandwiches and champagne. All this, of course, for astronomical prices, at least by Hungarian standards. As a genre, it might perhaps suit a night club or an open-air stage in summer, where it might even be enjoyed by an audience making no aesthetic demands, and willing to submit themselves to an evening whose concern is *épater le bourgeois*. Hernádi and Jancsó perhaps also wanted to find out the extent to which an audience is willing to accept without complaint a shapeless mess. Talent is occasionally discernible. Now they have moved into a

lecture hall for a late-show, *Dracula;* under the conditions of theatre, the undertaking is exposed, the sloppiness becomes too obvious. Seeing the Hernádi-Jancsó show in the middle of the night, you can yawn your head off. Or foam with rage.

TAMÁS TARJÁN

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE PÉCS FILM WEEK

Films by Péter Gothár, György Szomjas, Gábor Koltay, Marcell Jankovics, Attila Dargay, Pál Schiffer, Géza Böszörményi

Two years ago, my report of the 1979 Pécs Film Week ended on a note of praise and hope: Péter Gothár's first feature, *A Priceless Day* (Ajándék ez a nap) augured the rise of a serious new talent. It is deeply satisfying that Gothár's second feature film *Time Stands Still* (Megáll az idő) lives up to the promise of the first, and that it surpasses it in technique and style. Technique and style are key terms in regard to Gothár. As in his first feature, where the desperate longing for a flat sparks off the action, once again his subject is ordinary enough: the growing up of two boys whose father had left in 1956.

Gothár had first attracted attention with television productions: Kroetz's *Upper Austria*, Mrożek's *The Police*, and an original play, *Imre*, written by Géza Bereményi, who also wrote Gothár's two features. This, of course, means co-authorship; the dialogue is by Bereményi, but the shooting script, on which staging, pacing, and camera angles depend, is Gothár's own. Many of Gothár's thematic and stylistic preoccupations are already mapped out in *Imre*. A funeral provides a suitable framework for a parade of his cast, revealing their weaknesses in spite of all their efforts to create a dignified impression, by a series of distorted close ups and revealing asides. This sense of caricature, emphasized by the distortions of the zoom lens, is repeated in *A Priceless Day*, where the ironic, caricaturing tone of the film is suddenly changed near the end, as the heroine and the wife of her lover have a relaxed, tipsy evening together. In *Time Stands Still*, the moments of emotion are interwoven with caricature from beginning to end. The young hero's adolescent sensitivities are seen straight whereas the people around him tend to be satirized, although they acquire a sincere pathos as the hero—and the audience—comes to know them.

Apart from the distortions of his original shooting style, Gothár's editing is also unusual in European films. The nearest comparison would be Robert Altman—he too uses cuts not merely to show where one scene ends and another begins, but also to suggest that the past scene could only lead to disaster, and the next scene ought to postulate a new universe. But the fact that it is not a new universe, but grounded in the same disaster which had just taken place, off-screen or on-screen, makes the audience predisposed to think that we are captive in the disaster area commonly called life. *Time Stands Still* begins with the end of the 1956 fighting. After burying a rifle and throwing away his revolver, a man tries to persuade his family to make their escape on a departing Red Cross truck. The wife refuses to depart, and even though she is willing to let the older boy go, both sons

choose to stay. Gothár is clever at the visual formulation of verbal clichés. He shows that the children grow up too fast by a series of still frames, as they stand looking down from their flat at the ruins of Budapest. Then the film slowly takes on colour, and the picture framed by the window comes to life, around 1964. The elder boy would like to get into medical school; the younger suffers the usual growing pains of adolescence; but the film is saved from being an insufficient *Bildungsroman* by a cleverly understated, but quite explicit, political dimension. The father's defection had made their lives difficult; only as their stepfather's rehabilitation progresses from seedy, furtive attempts at finding work to a leading position, can he help the older boy to a place at the university. None of the grown-ups are free of the burdens of the recent past: the teacher who is supposed to transform their crumbling old school into a showplace copes, at home, with a husband crazed by the confusing turns of his political career. The assistant headmaster is a vestige from the fifties, a party appointee whose presence is still a threat. It is he who tries to destroy the precocious, idolized school rebel, whose Elvis haircut and manner hide a brisk intelligence. The idea of defecting to the West is never far from the boys' minds, but more as a boyish adventure than a political act. Of the actors, Dénes (István Znamenák) strongly resembles the young Jean-Pierre Léaud; the school hero Pierre (Sándor Sőth) looks like a younger James Dean, and Vilmon (Péter Gálfy) will grow up into a Woody Allen. Naturally, a director of Gothár's visual sensitivity is aware of these resemblances; in fact, he uses them deliberately, just as his car-theft scene and the drive around the Balaton are a reference to *American Graffiti*. These are not acts of "hommage" nor imitation. The director is signalling that this generation, the teenagers of the sixties, are no longer cut off by the intricacies of language, geography, or politics. They have entered the Global Village of Marshall McLuhan: they have more in common with teenagers anywhere else than with Hungarians of other generations. In other words, the "youth revolution" was beginning to affect Hungary.

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Two of the films shown at Pécs were a direct, unashamed concession to this youth culture, and to the fact that it needs its own nourishment: *Bald Dog Rock* (Kopaszkutya) and *The Concert* (Koncert). *Bald Dog Rock*, directed by György Szomjas, tells the story of a rock group which, although its members are well over thirty years old, has an enormous juvenile following. The narrative element resembles those four or five films which each year tell about some British or American group: how they started by playing imitative music, how they suddenly found their own sound; here, the lyrics play as important a part as the sound. Finally, the group is split, like all groups always have been, by disagreement on where exploitation and commercialism begins; whether it will, or in this case, a TV show will, divide them from their most fervent admirers, and betray their allegiance. Mercifully, Szomjas eschews the other stock component of tales about groups: none of his characters succumb to drug addiction. Apart from this, the film offers little that is new to the foreign critic, although a Hungarian audience may well find novelty in its positive attitude towards the music, the musicians, and the readiness with which the film acknowledges, or even asserts, that pop, beat, and rock, and all their variations, are a universal teenage right.

The nostalgia which is to be found in Gothár's film, for an imaginary golden age during the 1960s, and which in Britain attached itself to the Beatles, belongs to two legendary groups in Hungary, the Illés and the Omega. The Illés group broke up in 1973; some of its members proceeded to

found the Fonográf, and their singer, Zsuzsa Koncz, continued her career as Hungary's leading vocalist. In their heyday, beat and rock and pop groups were barely tolerated. If they were employed in films at all, it was to show that even the young people who identified with them, and wore casual clothes and long hair, could still be decent, hard-working citizens.

In 1981 the scattered members of the Illés and Zsuzsa Koncz reassembled for a single memorial concert. Starting with their single rehearsal, their concert was filmed by six of Hungary's leading cameramen, under the direction of Gábor Koltay. The film, *The Concert*, is a superb record of this event: reflecting its high moments and the nostalgia, as well as the inevitable changes that time has wrought. Both the leading vocalists, Zsuzsa Koncz and Levente Szörényi, have retained their charisma. Furthermore, as the publicity handout writes: "the big hit numbers of old have stood the test of time." They certainly have. The two biggest hits of *The Concert*, bringing a lump to every throat in the cinema as much as they did in the Sports Hall, have stood the test of one and a half centuries. The *National Song* ("Nemzeti dal") was written in 1848, and *Europe Is Quiet* ("Európa csendes") in 1849, both by Sándor Petőfi. *The Concert* seems more exportable than *Bald Dog Rock;* but this may be merely an effect of the special quality of the Illés sound, which is different from any other in the world; while the music from *Bald Dog Rock* resembles some of the British and American groups of eight or nine years ago; it sounds outmoded, but not yet ripe for nostalgia.

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For an even younger audience, there were two full-length animated features released last year: *Son of the White Mare* (Fehérlófia) by Marcell Jankovics, and Attila Dargay's *Vuk*. Both directors have made full-length animated films before; these are the second major work of both, aimed at consolidating not just their own careers, but the Pannónia Studio as a new source for the animated feature film. Dargay managed to improve on his first, *Mattie the Goose Boy* (Lúdas Matyi) by shedding the human characters who could as easily have been played in a live-action film. He now created a lovable set of cartoon characters in the anthropomorphic little fox Vuk, his family, mentors, and enemies. It is unfortunate that *Vuk* appeared in the same year as the Disney Studio's return to animation with *The Fox and the Hound*. However, allowing for the slower pace and larger amount of dialogue, *Vuk* stands up well to the comparison. While there is more action, even violent action, in the American film, the character of Vuk is more child-like, and therefore intrinsically more easily identifiable for children. Seeing it with its proper audience of four-to-ten-year-olds, in a Budapest cinema, it was quite obvious that the film's charm and humour is right on target.

The same experience, of a Budapest cinema on a Sunday morning, left me puzzled about the response to *Son of the White Mare*. The children were well-behaved, but far too quiet. There was no laughter or excitement; the hero, a Superman-figure, failed to engage their self-image or their emotions. Moreover, the symbolism of the story is not particularly attractive: the hero has drawn his supernatural strength from his mother, who nursed him for seven additional years and expired as a result. Is matricide the price of strength? Then, sheer physical prowess, or anti-ecological acts like uprooting trees or breaking up rocks, seems the test of a leader, and establishes his superiority. Is might right? The thought obtrudes that the film-makers based their whole work on a misconception: they aimed to give general validity, to universalize a Hungarian folktale. But film is a dramatic art, as well as a visual one: it needs an individual, a personality. From such figures,

myths grow, and animation has been even more successful than the live action film in creating such myths over the past fifty years: Betty Boop, Bonzo, Mickey Mouse, Mr. McGoo... Bonzo has faded, Betty Boop is a camp cult, but the others have not lost their appeal or fame. In past years, the Pannónia Studio has produced such characters too: Gusztáv, or Mazsola, to name but two. And little Vuk may well join them; but the *Son of the White Mare* is too anonymous, too amorphous. The graphic style is likewise uncertain, veering from barely stylized humanoid figures with haloes of light like stray saints, to abstract transformations of shape and colour which, while attractive in themselves, fail to sustain any dramatic tension, or flow of narrative.

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Of course, it is impossible to do justice to the twenty-odd films of 1981 in one brief survey. Many of the important works, like István Szabó's *Mephisto* and Miklós Jancsó's *The Tyrant's Heart*, have been widely reviewed by now. Péter Gothár's *Time Stands Still* ranks with them as a film to reach international festivals and attract much interest abroad. However, I should like to mention two more films, one documentary feature and one social comedy, which deserve wider showing than is usually accorded to these genres: Pál Schiffer's *Probation*, and Géza Böszörményi's *Heart Troubles*.

Schiffer's *Probation* (A pártfogolt) is patently reportage; but good reportage is achieved by two separate processes: first, by observing and recording the relevant, and all the relevant, aspects of a story or a situation, and secondly, editing to prune away anything repetitious, self-evident, or trite. As in his last, widely acclaimed documentary feature, *Gyuri*, once again Schiffer focuses on a young man, perhaps still a boy, in underprivileged circumstances. Returning to the scene of a 1970 documentary, *Black Train* (A fekete vonat), Schiffer searched out the children of the itinerant workers who featured in the earlier film, and found that the seven-year-old child whose inarticulate ambivalence towards the rare visits of his father proved one of the most heart-rending moments. Jancsi Kitka is now in a juvenile prison, from where he is discharged on parole, and placed in the care of a probation officer. It is not a critic's task to judge whether the film is a fair picture of the rural poor, or of one particular probation officer, but merely to opine whether the boy is interesting enough, as an individual and not as a case, for a feature-length film? He is a pleasant, well-intentioned boy, but reckless and restless; this may well be a consequence of his unsettled home background, his lack of opportunities for working near his home and his probation officer. His tribulations are in scale with his capacities; they are all an outcome of his situation, and his obvious lack of self-discipline. The probation officer is gentle, goodnatured and patient, but he cannot replace the shortcomings of the boy's education, or supply him with motivation to succeed in the face of loneliness and difficulties. The film probes at the missing links between the boy and society, without blaming anyone in particular for his isolation. Only at a huge rock concert does he find a sense of release, of communion, as he is absorbed in the powerful ritual of the wild music. But this is transient; and leaves the viewer with a sense of loss, an involvement in the boy's failure to break from the trap of ignorance and poverty.

Géza Böszörményi's *Heart Troubles* (Szívzűr) works the other way: it distances ordinary, everyday life with the exaggerations of comedy, using humour to rock back and forth between sympathy and alienation. According to the first principle of comedy, there is nothing seriously wrong with any of the characters: the hero is a handsome young doctor who arrives to take up his first practice in a remote village. The village is surrounded by a military firing range (like most of the world). The carpenter

stands on the roof, studying the flight of birds, but repeatedly distracted by the erotic moments glimpsed through the surgery window. The villagers seem like the usual comedy team: two schoolteachers, on the hopeless prowl for husbands, or failing that, lovers; the athletic coach, drawing on past glory and current sexual conquests; the venal councillors, the insatiable patients, all form a world in which everyone is fine; where all they lack is attention, affection, and a sense of belonging. This need could, in a Bergman film, assume tragic proportions; but Böszörményi sticks to the more pifficult mode of comedy, by presenting all his characters as seen, not from outside or from within, but with the belittling effect of local gossip. No man is a hero to his neighbour, no woman is Cleopatra to the other women in the street. *Heart Troubles* has an occasional memory from the Czech comedies of the sixties, and this is emphasized by the presence of Jiři Menzel in the role of the village carpenter who tries to fly heavenward, but, like Icarus, falls to earth.

Other critics may choose other films as their favourites. It must have been a good year, all in all, to offer such diverse choice.

Mari Kuttna

MUSICAL LIFE

HAYDN'S ESZTERHÁZA

The Influence of Architecture on Music

Let me establish at the outset: I have no ambitions as an art philosopher or as a psychologist, I am simply a musicologist. Nevertheless, two and a half decades of Haydn research, the major part on music history, biographical iconography, analysis of style, and historical topics in quite regular professional channels have accumulated a few curious conjectures on which I am not in a position to discourse objectively. Conjectures such as these, however exciting they may be, and despite the vast amount of indirect data, unfortunately will never be verified factually. At most they may be submitted as hypotheses, pre-eminently to non-musicians, because a musician will react automatically to any non-musical explanation with suspicion.

One of my conjectures of this nature is that sometime around 1768–1772, at the time when Haydn was obviously a mature composer, between his 35th and 40th years, an architectural object had a most curious and powerful effect, perhaps unique in music history, on a musical intellect. I have in mind the new complex which Prince Miklós Esterházy ("The Magnificent") had erected by then, the palace on the site that had arrogantly been named Eszterháza. I am convinced that this famous building, with dimensions overpowering in its environment, but even more because of its intricate, symmetrical form, exerted a subconscious influence on Haydn, his sense of proportion and form. Let me give some concrete musical instances. First, there is a striking search for balance prevalent in the multi-movement architecture in a certain group of Haydn's string quartets. Then there is the passionate exploitation of potential combinations for symmetry and asymmetry in the articulation of music. Thirdly, there are the quasi-architectural procedures which manifest themselves through the reshaping of the recapitulation sections of musical forms. Finally, the sharply delineated articulation constantly present in the growth of a piece written by Haydn, and the rhythm of alternating dense and transparent textures which, in spite of the eighteenth-century conception of musical forms such as *Klangrede,* and consequently, a deliberate articulation of musical "sentences" according to rhetorical principles, often assume in Haydn's case a definite architectural-structural feeling of form and space.

In normal circumstances not even the mightiest building, oppressive in its symmetry or dimensions, evokes a feeling of phobia or causes a change on the reflex level. If we approach an architectural object infrequently, only as visitors seeking pleasure, if this object is in a town, that is in the topographically and socially interrelated pattern of an urban environment, then the experience is unremarkable. It would never occur to us to suspect anything of the sort among the Mannheim composers, or even

the Sanssouci musicians living beside the small town of Potsdam. In the large towns of the eighteenth century, in Paris, London, or Vienna, palaces are in effect reduced to human proportions.

Indeed there is not a sign in Haydn that the years he spent mainly in Vienna from his eighth to his thirtieth year left any trace of the architecture of the imperial city on his composing. Only one of the reasons for this is the fact that the majority of palaces and outstanding churches which Haydn saw, or viewed from the street, were jammed amid twisting streets, in an environment of rows of largish houses within the walls. (For example, the Esterházy palace, in the Wallnergasse is symmetrical and impressive only in the contemporary engraving,[1] nobody could have actually seen it so because it stood in a narrow street.) Quite likely he had reason to go on to the walls, through the field left empty around them for defensive reasons (the *Glacis*), and beyond to the houses in the suburbs. But the young composer was engaged in making up for the deficiencies in his education, and making a name for himself in all kinds of society in Vienna with a chameleon-like adaptability. The church, *Gassenhauer* serenading in the street, the *Hanswurst* puppet stage for popular entertainment, piano instruction in bourgeois families, playing chamber music in the aristocratic salons—all this demanded a clever adaptation to the many local musical fashions. The more we learn about the kinds of music fashionable at the time of Haydn's emergence, the clearer it becomes that there was hardly anything of an original and personal Haydn style before 1760. This is best shown in the authentication and dating problems posed by the compositions of the 1750s.

Then in 1761 Haydn was engaged at the court of Prince Esterházy in Hungary, where as a consequence he spent the major part of the three decades to 1790 in the countryside rather than in Vienna. I believe that even the Kismarton (Eisenstadt) period (1761–1768) was out of the ordinary, because Haydn was a court composer in a particular aristocratic isolation, in a state within a state. The princely line of the Esterházy family inherited its largest Hungarian estate as a *Fideikomiss* (entailed estate), which was one of the sources of the ruling prince's double alienation. The rigid loyalty to the king of his forebears—the price paid for the more recent grants of land—made the Esterházys unpopular in the eyes of the majority of Hungarian nobles. On the other hand, the Esterházy prince, especially Miklós, Haydn's master from 1762 to his death, in 1790, went his own way even where the Vienna court was concerned. The time he spent in Vienna was only that which was absolutely necessary, and in his own Schönbrunn, he devoted himself to his interest in architecture, the arts, music, and theatre, making his own court a rival of the Vienna court itself.

Kismarton must have set off strange reflexes in Haydn. The contemporary etchings should be sufficient for us to notice that the fortress-like *Arx* surrounded by a moat, a seventeenth-century fortress-like palace, almost unbalances the picture.[2] The small town within the walls, the ghetto on the other side, and everything close to it, all have a service function to the palace. It is not difficult to imagine what it must have been like for Haydn, whose house stood in a neighbouring lane, to step onto the bridge leading to the central entrance day after day, at the same hour. We are familiar with the stipulations of his contract; we are familiar with his duties as a composer. Being the Kapellmeister of the Esterházys, the key word for Haydn's new situation, was a novelty both for his internal and external life. The sense of complete security

[1] The famous engraving by J. G. Ringlin after S. Kleiner, see Somfai: *Joseph Haydn: His Life in Contemporary Pictures* (Budapest, London, New York, 1969), p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 26–28.

and a daily schedule regulated down to minor details, a feeling that a metropolitan environment, the diversity of the people on the street, the inextricable network of relationships resulting from social and financial conditions recede and the individual (Haydn) communicates directly with the lord of the palace were all something new. From a topographical point of view physical existence was determined by the palace, which was not a mere symbol but an object of architecture to be approached and traversed daily.

It was in these years that his private life evolved its system of habits which Griesinger recorded: "Haydn attached great importance to order and regularity in everything... he dressed completely as soon as he rose in the morning... a habit he had adopted in earlier years when his Prince often called him unexpectedly." It was in these years that he became an adept diplomat, in his own interests, or in those of the musicians under his protection. He was able on countless occasions to win the prince to his side, even against Rahier, the Steward of the Estate. Moreover, even in his music his contemporaries notice the striking orderliness, "His movements have beauty, order, clarity..." (*Wiener Diarium*, 1766).

But the architecture of the Kismarton palace was at work as one of the components in all this, indirectly at most.

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Eszterháza (in its former spelling *Esterhāss*, *Esterhaz*, in Haydn's letters mostly *Estoras;* the official name of this Western Hungarian village is now Fertőd) was converted from a hunting lodge into a brilliant centre for courtly life, similar to Versailles. This was done in an area unsuitable for agriculture; the land had to be reclaimed from the swamps of Lake Fertő close by. The weather, with its fierce wintery winds from the plain and the spring humidity, completely ruined the voices of star singers brought to the opera company; the region was, in short, harsh and cruel. Out of this environment, as a surrealistic vision, the palace began to rise in the middle of the 1760s. It was quickly completed and made habitable by 1768. The substance of the park, the theatres, the dwellings of the musicians had been finish considerably earlier and the outbuildings were added within the next decade and a half. Apart from the palace there was nothing there...

Was the Viennese *Baumeister* Melchior Hefele responsible for the additions and reconstruction of the original Anton Erhard Martinelli hunting lodge of 1721 or did the ideas of Prince Miklós play their part, was Eszterháza ultimately intended to be the Hungarian rival to Versailles, or to Schönbrunn—these are questions for art historians to decide. The plan was rather original in the horseshoe-shaped *cour d'honneur*, with the famous iron gate in the middle of the open semicircular arch. What is also striking is that the wings of the palace to the right and left of the outer stairway facing the entrance gate are not shaped angularly, but are rounded in a rococo manner.[3] This is one of the elements to play a part in this unique spatial experience. Although the palace has only 126 rooms and the large rooms along the axis of the building (the *sala terrena* on the first floor as well as the famous salon and the music room above it on the second floor) are small compared to those of Versailles or even of Schönbrunn, the palace of Eszterháza still gives the impression of overwhelming size.

That the scale of the whole complex seems to be so much larger is due to the vast expanse of the park, the number of exquisite buildings standing in it, including an opera-house and a puppet theatre, all these add cunningly to the impression. From the balcony on the garden façade spires are to be seen in front, to the right and the left at a great distance over the horizon. It is

[3] Bird's-eye view (a sketch) of the palace and the ground plan of the building: *ibid.* pp. 42–44.

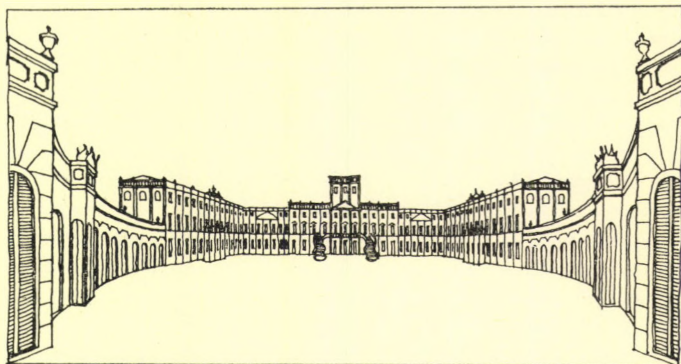

Fig. 1. The Palace of Eszterháza. The focus of perspective is higher than eye-level. (A sketch of F. Landerer's engraving from *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterház*, 1784.)

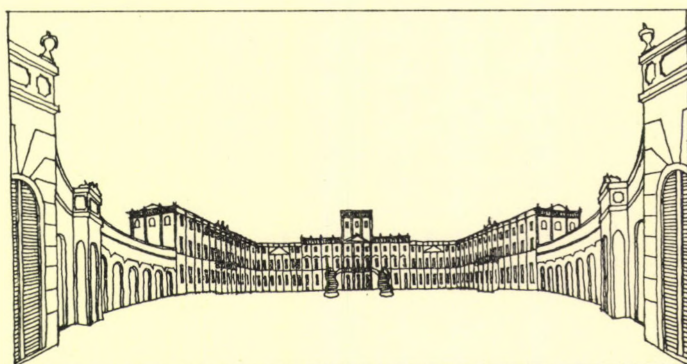

Fig. 2. The above engraving with the focus of perspective at normal height.

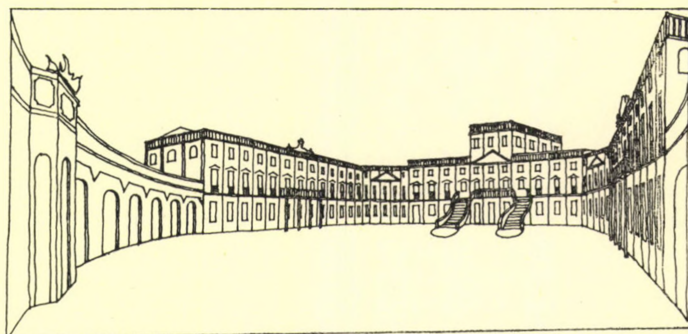

Fig. 3. A view of the palace approaching it from Haydn's house

however a lovely optical illusion: the steeples of the churches of the surrounding villages are neither excessively tall nor at an excessive distance.

Walking the path now which Haydn once followed daily at Eszterháza one realizes that considerable distances had to be covered while one is aware of the huge building growing constantly, in a kind of mass movement which results from the changing perspective. Coming from Haydn's house one finds the appearance of the building for a while rather insignificant, without a central axis of symmetry. Once the visitor enters the inner court, whether empty or swarming with people and horses,[4] the gravitational force of symmetry comes into play.

Walking along the axis of symmetry when proceeding along the walls, as Haydn probably did, our eyes discern incessantly, in a manner similar to the operation of the perspective-correcting system of a Linhof-type camera, the vertical lines, the deviations in height produced by perspective, and they experience the perfectly harmonious balance of the whole construction. The focus of perspective in contemporary engravings, much higher than eye-level, does not help much to show how evident this is.[5] (Fig. 1) With the focus at normal height (Fig. 2) the distance to the outside double stairway increases automatically. Approaching the inner façade we leave the axis and experience a series of different views of the mass of the building, as in, for example, Fig. 3 from each angle.

He advanced toward this colossal palace daily at least once, for nearly 25 years, usually on more than 300 days a year. For some time (I would think around 1768–1772) he must have been fascinated or irritated by it. Later he grew presumably indifferent to the building and even hated it, just as he did his whole stay at Eszterháza which cut him off from Vienna and in every way limited his movements.

What kind of psychological consequences could this relationship entail between the architectural object and the individual? Apart from being a symbolic expression of the power of Prince Miklós (evoking an uneasy feeling in some, and a sense of resistance in others, including probably Haydn) this immense building was an object of aesthetic value in which everything functioned in its proper place. Anyone who moved in or outside this building knew where he wanted to get to and for what purpose, he knew the kind of behaviour expected and the daily activities of his routine became clearly separated; most had an approximately defined duration, a rhythm. Of course there was a need for observing certain conventions, each meeting with the master of the palace is also a unique intellectual duel: the mode of entry and the manner of speaking the first sentence may have far-reaching consequences; this implies that an original, proper, witty idea can carry the day and also that brevity was of the essence.

I am fully aware that I am speculating in the abstract, still, every sentence above might apply concretely to a characterization of Haydn's music, covering specific features of his most important works around 1768–1772, the symphonies, string quartets, keyboard sonatas, and so forth. These are largely hypothetical ideas, on how the individual, here Haydn, reacts to the radiating force of the buildings, to the experience and disturbance of the sense of symmetry and of time. In order to relate these ideas to his music one ought to analyse a great number of musical examples, using various, partly unorthodox, methods for style analysis and the description of structures. The greater part of the analysis still remains to be done, although I might return to one or two examples of my attempts at

[4] The 1791 engraving showing Hungarian Gypsies playing music in the inner court: *ibid.* p. 60.

[5] The sketch is a simple representation of the engraving from *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterház* (1784), *ibid.* p. 45.

this type of work.[6] The most intriguing is probably an example that fits into the pre-compositional, planning phase prior to a given work, an example of how Haydn reached for the ideal balance of the inner movements in his string quartet sets op. 20 (1772) and op. 33 (1781) (slow and minuet, or minuet or slow) in the multi-movement form. Slow—Finale), exclusively used till 1771, counterbalanced its movements in a masterly way. In op. 20, however, Haydn began to experiment by changing the order of the middle movements and thus to look for the ideal musical balance. In the *Sun Quartets* op. 20 the second movement is slow if its key is minor or dominant (the time-signature is $^4/_4$, alla breve, or $^2/_4$), while the third move-

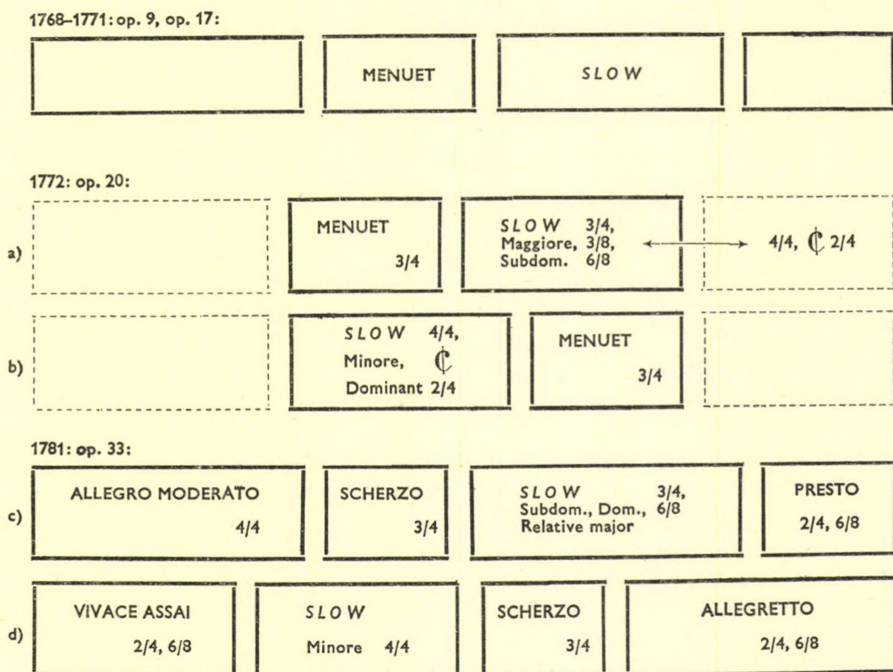

Fig. 4. The balance of the inner movements in *String Quartets* op. 20 and op. 33.

As the diagram shows (Fig. 4), compared to the average length of the four movements, the old type (first movement—Menuet— ment becomes slow if its key is major or subdominant (here the time-signature is $^3/_4$, $^3/_8$, or $^6/_8$). These two alternatives (see diagram *a* and *b*) reveal in themselves an astonishing consciousness and system unique in Haydn's time. Even more sophisticated planning is present in the *Russian Quartets* op. 33, because this set offers an alternative determining the characteristic features of all four movements (see diagram *c* and *d*). As is well known, these works contain really fast

[6] *Somfai:* "Vom Barock zur Klassik: Umgestaltung der Proportionen und des Gleichgewichts in zyklischen Werken J. Haydns," in *Joseph Haydn und seine Zeit* (Graz–Eisenstadt, 1972); *Joseph Haydn zongoraszonátái* (Joseph Haydn's piano sonatas) (Budapest, 1979), "Opus-Planung und Neuerung bei Haydn," in *Studia Musicologica* 22 (Budapest, 1980). etc.

scherzi instead of minuets. Now, the second movement will be *Scherzo* if the first movement is of the slower *Allegro moderato* type (whose metre is always $^4/_4$); in this case the third, the slow, movement is in some other key (subdominant, dominant, relative major) and the time-signature either $^3/_4$ or $^6/_8$; in contrast, the finale is extremely fast. The other alternative of op. 33 is a short opening movement (short bars in $^2/_4$ or $^6/_8$) in tempo *Vivace assai* to be followed by the slow movement (with long bars in $^4/_4$ time) in the very close relative key of minor. As the *Scherzo* has gone to the third place, the *Finale* is in this model relatively slow; *Allegretto*.

The sophisticated plan of balance does not exist for its own sake; the aim of the optimum arrangement is to ensure in the best possible way that the listener should come to enjoy all four movements refreshed, with keen senses—*varietas delectat*. Naturally, the fact that from the middle of the 1780s the traditional four-movement sequence became customary is another matter: nor, with some rare exceptions, did Haydn alternate the sequence of the inner movements in his quartets. At any rate, this is still only just one musical example.

The details and the musical demonstrations at the present stage of the investigations are perhaps not as interesting to the music-lover as the basic question itself: can architecture influence music? My claim is that in Haydn's case and, especially for a certain period of his life during his stay at Eszterháza, the answer is very likely to be yes.

LÁSZLÓ SOMFAI

KODÁLY IN ENGLAND 1913–1945

It is common knowledge that England played a significant role in Kodály's international reputation. His works found outstanding performers, a comprehending public, receptive analyzing critics, and publishers. It is also well known how much he drew upon English musical practice. In his music teaching he applied John Curwen's Tonic Sol-Fa method. In choral music he regarded practice in England as a prime model. He emphasized in his 1947 article "The National Importance of the Workers' Choruses": "In England development was nourished on an even older choral culture, so that in the twenties one could hear such difficult works being performed by workers' choirs as Handel oratorios and Bach's great *Mass*."[1] In the foreword written for an English book on him he stressed: "The high level of English choral-singing was for us a stimulating example [. . .]"[2] In what follows I shall endeavour to focus attention on the less familiar British associations, with emphasis not on Kodály the teacher, or ethno-

1 *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*. Corvina Budapest, 1974. p. 157.

2 Percy M. Young: *Zoltán Kodály, a Hungarian Musician*. Ernest Benn Ltd., London 1964. Foreword. A letter to the author from Zoltán Kodály. p. viii.

musicologist, but rather on Kodály the composer.

The English in fact could read of Kodály's music before they heard it. His name was first mentioned by the British musical press as far as I know in 1910 in reports on the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein* festival in Zurich, where Kodály's *String Quartet No. 1.* (op. 2) was presented on May 29. According to a report in the June 1910 issue of *The Musical Times* the work "was an interesting feature of the chamber music concerts," according to the unnamed reviewer the palm was, however, taken by Max Reger's *Piano Quartet op. 113*.

Michel Dimitri Calvocoressi, a musicologist born in Marseilles of Greek parentage, a London resident from 1914, one of the earliest experts on the new Hungarian music, and an unshakable adherent of Bartók's and Kodály's music, published a major study entitled "The Perplexities of the Modern Music-Tongue" in the March 1913 issue of *The Musical Times*. The following is an excerpt from the article: "Great interest attaches to the doings of contemporary Hungarian composers who, successfully striving to liberate Hungarian music from Gypsy and other foreign influences, have succeeded in creating a bright and independent school, a school that is undoubtedly the youngest in Europe, and is known as yet by a small minority only. They show themselves very daring, and their music is not of the sort in which one feels immediately at ease, also it will not be found as hard to deal with as Mr Schönberg's is. But if our music-lover takes up the works of Mr Béla Bartók or of Mr Zoltán Kodály, it may safely be predicted that he will be in no hurry to lay them aside." (p. 160).

In 1913 Michel D. Calvocoressi sent the following report from Paris: "After a long interruption the *Société Musicale Indépendente* has resumed its concerts. The first evening, devoted to the works of different schools, proved remarkably interesting and instructive. It began with a 'cello sonata by Mr ZOLTÁN KODÁLY (performers Mm. A. Casella and Alexanian) who is with Mr BÉLA BARTÓK at the head of the modern Hungarian school. Mr Kodály, until now, was known to the Paris public solely[3] by a set of pianoforte pieces 'ZONGORA MUZSIKA', which has been played at the same Society, three years ago, by Mr Teodor (Tivadar) Szántó—daring bewildering little pieces, the purport of which seems at first most recondite, but which on closer acquaintance prove as delightful as they are original. They may be given as typical instances of what Hungarian music of today is. Other no less characteristic specimens are to be found among Mr Bartók's pianoforte music. The 'cello sonata, though instinct with absolute originality, is less forbidding; and perhaps, the would-be students of modern Hungarian music will do well to begin with it and, let us say, Mr Béla Bartók's string quartet. A remarkable feature from the more technical point of view is the easy, simple way in which both instruments associate. In that respect Mr Kodály has achieved a high feat of workmanship."[4]

This was the first commentary offering analysis in English on Zoltán Kodály. The London public was soon able to meet his music as well. In the April 1914 issue of *The Musical Times*, among the reviews of the London concerts I found the following brief report: "The concert given by Mr. Franz Liebich at the Aeolian Hall on March 11, drew attention to the music of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, two 'nationalistic' Hungarian composers. Their songs and pianoforte pieces showed that a national idiom and free modern treatment can unite with excellent

3 Calvocoressi most likely was unaware of the fact that in the programme of the Festival Hongrois arranged—true, it was for a narrow circle—in Paris in 1910, March 12, Kodály's *Sonata for 'Cello and Piano* was included.

4 *The Monthly Musical Record*, 2 June 1913, p. 150. Quoted by Young, pp. 55–56.

results. Music of Debussy and Ravel helped to make up the attractive programme. (p. 259)." I know from another source that Kodály's *Sonata for Cello and Piano* op. 4 was performed at this concert, but I have not been able to reconstruct the rest of the programme, nor have I managed to learn anything more specific about the performers of the *Sonata*. As Kodály's piece was still unpublished then—it first appeared in print in 1922—one of the performers, at any rate, had to have had contact with the composer himself.

In any case, the outbreak of the First World War made development of international contacts in music impossible, and in the years following there was no continuation of this first Kodály presentation, nor even any possibility of it.

Early appreciations and a Bartók first performance

Between 1910 and 1914 it was above all Béla Bartók who smoothed the way for an international career for the retiring Kodály, the latter being prone to withdraw into his workshop. This was even more the case after 1919, after the downfall of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. Kodály, whom the reign of White Terror made individually responsible for the working out of a democratic programme for music, had to fight for his very existence, let alone for the dissemination of his works abroad.

In 1920–21 musicians in England wrote to Bartók, seeking contact with him; Philip Heseltine—a composer using the pen name Peter Warlock, a writer of works daring and innovative in tone and editor of the musical periodical, *The Sackbut*, made inquiries to Bartók about his works, and asked him to write an article. Here is part of Bartók's reply of 1920, November 24, written in French: "Before ending this letter, I should like to draw your attention to an outstanding Hungarian composer: Zoltán Kodály. It is unfortunate that up to now he has been able to publish only two of his works; but starting this year his works will be regularly published by Universal Edition. One of his published works—a string quartet—was presented in Zurich on the occasion of a *Tonkünstlerfest*, where Mr Delius, whose 'Brigg Fair' was also performed there, was very pleased with it. I sent a review of his most recent work—a string trio—to *The Musical Courier* in New York, which appeared in the August 16th number."[5] Heseltine visited Budapest in April 1921, where he became acquainted with Bartók and Kodály and their works.

At the beginning of the 1920's Bartók regularly informed *The Musical Courier*, published in New York, about the first performances of Kodály's works and obviously his articles were also read by musical experts in England. He consented to the publication of his article "The Relation of Folk Song to the Development of the Art Music of Our Time," (of which there were several variants) by *The Sackbut* in the June 1921 number (Vol. 2. No. 1.). After a discussion of folk music influences on Stravinsky, Bartók reported on Kodály: "The majority of the works of the Hungarian Zoltán Kodály, which may be called the apotheosis of the old Hungarian folk music, furnish a second and moreover a satisfactory example. As a young Hungarian critic aptly remarks: 'Kodály having discovered in the peasant music of the Hungarians, that is of the Székely (Transylvanian Hungarians), a language appropriate to his specifically Hungarian thoughts, he did not apply himself to it as to a scientific proposition but learnt the language and spoke it as one speaks one's mother tongue.' Kodály's technique lacks any striking sensational novelty, but he is a master of form and has something thoroughly individual to say—

[5] The letter was first published by Denijs Dille. Four letters by Bartók to Philip Heseltine, *Muzsika* (Hungarian Music Review), September 1965, pp. 1–8. The French text of the quotation is on p. 2, the Hungarian translation on p. 5.

two factors which always ensure perfection in creative work."[6]

At the beginning of 1921 Cecil Gray sought contact with Bartók in a letter; as the editor of the music journal, *The Chesterian*, he also requested an article from him, and he indicated that he intended to pay a visit to Budapest for the purpose of making direct contacts. Gray stayed with Kodály between May 21 and 31, in 1921, and thus made his acquaintance of the works of the two Hungarian composers.

Bartók's article "The Development of Art Music in Hungary," appeared in the January 1922 issue of *The Chesterian*[7] (New Series, No. 20). English readers, although knowing practically none of Kodály's works, first obtained a comprehensive picture of the composer at this time. The article discusses the discovery of Hungarian peasant song and Kodály's role as a composer and at the end Bartók gives a characterization which is valid to this day:

"Something more must be said about the general character of Kodály's music. A strong, broadly flowing melodic invention, a complete grasp of construction, and a certain leaning towards hestitating disintegration and melancholy are its outstanding features. The expression of reckless revelry and wild intoxication is foreign to his individuality, which is of a predominantly contemplative nature. These very qualities, which deprive his work of all superficial sensations, make it comparatively inaccessible; his thoughts are expressed with too much simplicity and freedom from pose to dazzle the majority of hearers, and the true value of his work can only be recognized by those for whom not the outer coating, but the inner humanity is the thing that matters.

Kodály's music, it must be particularly emphasized, is not "modern" in the current sense of the word. It has nothing in common with atonal, bitonal or polytonal tendencies: everything remains based upon the principle of balanced tonality. Yet his musical language is entirely new and expresses musical ideas never heard before, thus proving that tonality is not yet completely exhausted."[8]

These important conclusions of Bartók's were soon followed by Kodály studies from British music historians. Philip Heseltine published an extensive essay entitled: "Modern Hungarian Composers," illustrated with music examples, in the March 1922 issue of *The Musical Times* (pp. 164–167). Writing about Kodály (p. 166) he notes: "The influence of Kodály will probably make itself felt not so much through his compositions as through his genius as a critic and as a teacher who is able to give sympathetic encouragement and sound instruction to the rising generation of composers and executants. But his recently published chamber music is of very considerable interest. (...) Of the four chamber compositions recently issued in the Universal Edition—a *Sonata for 'Cello* (unaccompanied), a *Duo for Violin and 'Cello*, a *Trio for two Violins and Viola*, and a *String Quartet* (No. 2)—the most remarkable is the *'Cello Sonata*, a veritable *tour de force* of immense technical difficulty but of compensating musical interest which is wonderfully well sustained throughout its three movements." It is curious that in the musical score review column of this same issue of *The Musical Times* Heseltine—under the initials P. H.—gives a detailed analysis of Kodály's *String Quartet No.* 2 (p. 187): "(...) Zoltán Kodály's *Second String Quartet* (...) is particularly interesting, not only for its intrinsic merit, but also for the enormous

[6] Ed. László Somfai: Documenta Bartókiana 5., Akadémiai Kiadó Budapest, 1977 pp. 105–106.

[7] The Editor cannot refrain, with all due respect to the high achievement of Kodály, from drawing attention to the omission, due to the Author's modesty, of a still more important name. — This note no doubt stems from Cecil Gray, the editor of *The Chesterian*, and is connected with the fact that Bartók's study does not contain even so much as a reference to his own activities as a composer.

[8] Somfai op. cit. pp. 136–137.

advance it shows upon the first *Quartet*, written eight or nine years earlier—an advance not towards conformity with the current musical jargon which is summed in the vague word 'modernity', but, on the contrary, towards a more direct and personal style of expression." M. D. Calvocoressi's extensive article—"Zoltán Kodály"—appeared in the April 1, 1922 issue of *A Monthly Musical Record*. The author analyzes Kodály's music partly from his memory of the Paris concert, and partly on the basis of the newly published scores. His essential realization: "Persistent repetition of a pattern, whether rhythm or melodic arabesque, is a feature particularly conspicuous in Kodály's music. Many contemporary composers of all schools resort to the device freely, but none in so noticeably wide, nor with more interesting results. The truth is that musicians of today utilize many elements which preclude conventional forms of working out, for instance, motives whose character does away with all possibility of building up developments upon the contrast between tonic and dominant, of resorting to certain formal types of variation, inversion, and so forth."[9]

Cecil Gray's large-scale study on Kodály, illustrated with music examples, appeared in the 1922, May 1 issue of *The Musical Times* (pp. 313–315). Gray's analyses, valid to this day, are headed by conclusions no less essential: "The fact that (Kodály) already enjoys a certain legendary and shadowy reputation among *cognoscenti* without his work being known is in great measure due to the constant association of his name with that of his compatriot and contemporary, Béla Bartók, whose works are relatively familiar. This association, though doubtless inevitable, is not at all to Kodály's advantage, all the less so because there are at first sight sufficient resemblances between them to justify it, and even to warrant the inference that Kodály is only a follower or imitator of Bartók. Nothing could be further from the truth. Such stylistic similarities as do undoubtedly exist are not the result of the influence of either composer upon the other, but are simply the outcome of wholly impersonal and extraneous influences through which both have been nurtured by identically the same conditions, and have reacted to precisely the same artistic stimuli, particularly that afforded by the distinctive idiomatic peculiarities of Hungarian folk-music. But there the resemblance ends. Although both speak the same language to a certain extent, they express totally different order of ideas and emotions. Their personalities are quite distinct from each other, and this, after all, is the only thing that really matters. (...) Although Kodály's utterance is highly coloured by national peculiarities, the quality of his thoughts is markedly personal, and a comparison of his music with that of Bartók reveals more contrasts than similarities, more points of divergence than contact."

Cecil Gray was the first to translate one of Kodály's vocal works, the song cycle marked op. 1—*Songs on Hungarian Popular Words*—into English. The translation, and excellent it is, was commissioned by the Rózsavölgyi Music Publishers of Budapest and it appeared in 1923. *The Monthly Musical Record* (Vol. 53, No. 628, April 1923, p. 111) marked the appearance of the novelty with a short unsigned review, quite probably by Calvocoressi: "This semi-miniature edition of these sixteen little songlets, artistically bound, size 8 inches by 5, at least supplies something which really looks pleasing in a singer's hand. The music is an elaboration of the direct folk-style."

Gray, as did Bartók, Calvocoressi and Heseltine, presented in his analyses a composer fairly unknown in England. It is true, that when his study appeared, the first London presentation of Kodály after the First World War had occured. Béla Bartók, introduced along with his own works on March 24, 1922, at the London Aeolian

9 Young quotes the full text of Calvocoressi's Kodály study. Appendix 2, pp. 203–207. The place quoted: pp. 205–206.

Hall, the Lento movement of Kodály's cycle of *Nine Piano Pieces* (op. 3), and the piece entitled "Epitaphe" of his *Seven Piano Pieces* (op. 11). It was also he who performed five movements from the above mentioned cycles by Kodály on December 10, 1923 at Wigmore Hall.

For the development of Zoltán Kodály's connections in England, the international modern music festival in Salzburg between August 7 and 10, 1922 was probably even more important than the performances under Bartók's wing. At the opening concert of the Salzburg series the members of the newly formed Amar-Hindemith String Quartet (viola: Paul Hindemith) performed Kodály's *Serenade for two violins and viola* (op. 12). More important, however, than this première was the fact that in August 1922 the composers who had gathered here from all parts of the world formed the International Society for Contemporary Music. This was the first international music organization to be modern even in the contemporary sense; they elected as its president Edward J. Dent, the outstanding British musicologist, Kodály was one of the founding members of the ISCM, and ties of close friendship marked his relationship with Edward J. Dent, as we know from their letters.

Kodály's first literary collaboration in England dates from this time. For the handbook, *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians,* edited by Arthur Eaglefill-Hull he wrote a study length entry on Bartók and articles on Ernst von Dohnányi and Theodor Szántó. It is most likely that he collaborated in this volume at the suggestion of Bartók, who had been in contact with Eaglefill-Hull from the autumn of 1922. The handbook appeared two years later, on the editorial committee were Dent, Calvocoressi and Henry Wood who was to be the conductor of numerous Kodály first performances. Most likely the English text did not come from Kodály; we have no information on when he ecquired his knowledge of English, though even at the end of 1930s he still corresponded with Professor Dent in German, and with Calvocoressi in French.

The Success of the Cello Sonata

From the autum of 1922 Kodály's compositions were heard in England in concert and very soon afterwards over the BBC. Up to 1945 I have reliable data on more than a hundred performances in England, and it is more than likely that further performances will come to light and considerably add to this figure. It is obvious that for Kodály's international recognition, the frequency of performance in Britain and his reception there were of extraordinary importance.

The earliest presentations were linked with the names of Hungarian performers. In 1922, on November 11 the Léner String Quartet introduced the *Serenade* (op. 12) in London's Grotrian Hall, and in that same month the Hungarian Quartet led by Imre Waldbauer, the *Second String Quartet.* (This is not to be confused with the later, and world-famous, Hungarian Quartet led by Zoltán Székely.) In 1924, on February 13 Jenő Léner and Imre Hartmann introduced Kodály's *Duo for Violin and 'Cello* (op. 7) at the London Contemporary Music Centre, and on February 29 the Hungarian Quartet performed the composer's *First String Quartet* (op. 2) at the Aeolian Hall.

By this time, however, Kodály's music had drawn the attention of British performing artists. In London, at the February 5 recital of 1924 in the Contemporary Music Centre one of the most important 'cellists of the time, Beatrice Harrison, performed Kodály's *Sonata for Solo 'Cello* (op. 8), the third Kodály first performance in London within a single month! Typical of the success of the *Solo Sonata* is the fact that Beatrice Harrison again played it in London in 1924 on May 8, and regularly performed it in other large cities in England, and also

on her tours abroad. Music critics, as we have seen—acknowledged Kodály's art from the start, but as far as the true living impact of the musical works, that is, their performance, is concerned, Kodály's music, through Beatrice Harrison, was turned from a Hungarian into an English cause.

It is true that the *Sonata*, after warm appreciations by the analysts purely on the basis of the notation, evoked great admiration in British professional circles when it was first heard before an international audience at the first ISCM festival organized in Salzburg by Edward J. Dent, on August 7, 1923. Edwin Evans, a noted London music critic, reviewed the Salzburg festival in the September 1923 issue of *The Musical Times*. The critic writes on compositions by Darius Milhaud, Francis Poulenc and Charles Koechlin, and continues as follows: "They were followed by one of the sensations of the Festival. Kodály's *Sonata* is a work of transcendental difficulty, exploring to the limit the resources of the instrument, always in a musical way. It is long, and perhaps its slow movement is a little discursive, but the *Finale* disperses this impression and leaves one breathless." (p. 636).

Evans also followed the progress of the work in London with attention. "Miss Beatrice Harrison, who played it for the Contemporary Music Centre, was happiest in the lyrical slow movement, which is full of poetry not unmixed with a tinge of the dramatic quality in which the first movement is so strong. Here, and in the exuberant, dance-like *Finale*, we could have wished for an even stronger accentuation than she gave, but it was a first performance, and the immense executive difficulties would naturally occupy the foreground of any player's attention on such an occasion. These Miss Harrison appeared to overcome with the greatest of ease, and when she repeats the work doubtless she will give a stronger impression of its power, which is remarkable in a work written for an unaccompanied stringed instrument." (*The Musical Times*, March 1924, p. 259). Hearing the second London performance our critic notes: "Miss Harrison's grip to it has also improved. She makes it live more effectively than on the first occasion, and it is no small feat of 'cellistic virtuosity." (*The Musical Times*, June 1924, p. 552).

The success of the chamber music, and of the first Kodály songs which reappeared in concert halls of England again and again from 1922 on, and the composer's personal contacts in Britain, resulted in the first publishing contacts as well. In 1925 the Oxford University Press decided to add music to its lists. M. D. Calvocoressi advised the OUP whose music editor was Hubert Foss. On May 11, 1925, he conferred in Budapest with Zoltán Kodály on the publication of his works in England. In that year the first two volumes of Kodály's cycle of Hungarian Folk Music appeared in a Hungarian–Austrian–English edition *(Hungarian Folk-Songs for Voice with Piano Accompaniment)*, and also went into the OUP catalogue. The English translation was by M. D. Calvocoressi. Who was to be the translator was quite likely in doubt for a time as Calvocoressi wrote to Kodály in 1924 (his letter has no precise date), with some reproach that the Hungarian publishers Rózsavölgyi had commissioned Cecil Gray to translate the folk songs into English. Calvocoressi was also the English translator for the OUP of Kodály's earliest choruses for children "*Two Children's Choruses from Hungarian Folk Tunes and Nursery-Rhymes.*" Warm reviews of what were reckoned as the first English editions appeared in *The Musical Times* (of the choruses by W. R. Anderson in the 1926, June 1926 issue, p. 618, and of the Hungarian Folk Music by a critic with the initials T. A., whose identity I have been unable to establish, in the 1926 August issue, p. 719). The works, available in notation provided with English translation, did not—at least for a time—attract wide attention. Very likely this was the reason the OUP did not under-

take to continue publishing Kodály's later children's choruses and the 10 volume series of Hungarian Folk Music.

The reception of the Psalmus Hungaricus

However much success Kodály's chamber music attained in England, this genre by its nature could not achieve a real breakthrough for the composer. We have reached 1926 in our chronicle. This year is one of decisive importance in Kodály's success. Three years before he had completed one of his most important compositions, the *Psalmus Hungaricus* (first performance in Budapest, 1923, November 19); the score had been published in 1924. In August 1925 (the date August 30 can be seen on the postmark) Calvocoressi writes to Kodály about his translation of the *Psalmus* into English. It is given its first performance abroad in Zurich, on June 17 and then 18 in 1926 at the fourth ISCM Festival. The world's musical press receives the work with unanimous ovation, and a year later the *Psalmus Hungaricus* is heard throughout the continent.

The first performance in England was organized by Edward J. Dent. I quote from his letter to Kodály, dated 1927, March 9, written in German: "Since I reside now permanently at Cambridge as a professor of the University, I have recommended your *Psalmus Hungaricus* to the attention of the Academy's Music Society, and our conductor, Dr Rootham, my colleague, would be willing to present the work here. The chorus is quite good and intelligent, it will approach the work with great understanding. First I should like to ask whether an English translation exists; if not, I would be pleased to translate it myself, and I would see to it that the characteristic Hungarian rhythms prevail better than in the German version. This can be done quite well in English (...)."

From this it becomes obvious that Dent did not yet know of Calvocoressi's translation, but he must have learned of it soon. On November 14, 1927, he writes to Kodály: "(...) Our committee was not very satisfied with Calvocoressi's translation and I prepared a new one (...), which follows the style of the old English Bible and better conforms to the Hungarian rhythms as well (...)." Dent expressed his pleasure that Kodály would be present at the concert, and he informed him that the orchestra was to be the London Symphony Orchestra, "the soloist is to be Frank Mullings, an opera singer who frequently has sung Tristan and Otello, an exceptionally intelligent man."

The English first performance thus took place on November 30, 1927, at a concert given by the University Musical Society in Cambridge. Contrary to plans, Kodály himself conducted the work, the chorus-master, Cyril Rootham passing the baton to him. This was the first time that Kodály conducted in England. The work was first heard in London in 1927, on December 4, at a BBC studio concert. The Wireless Chorus and Orchestra were conducted by Stanford Robinson, and the tenor solo was sung by Parry Jones. Ten days later the work was presented at the Queen's Hall in London, on December 14, at a concert of the Philharmonic Choir under the direction of Kennedy Scott, with Steueart Wilson, as the soloist.

Even in the history of British music, it is unusual to find such frequent performances of one and the same 20th century musical work directly after its first performance in England. Let me note that from 1928 on it was performed in every major—and many a smaller—town in England at least on one occasion, although the reviews of the performances were not unambiguously favourable.

F. B. (Ferrucio Bonavia), *The Musical Times*, 1928, January, p. 75: "The performance of Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* at Cambridge (the first in England) proved

an event of surprising interest. Interest indeed is not a rare ingredient of musical performances; but it is seldom a wholly musical interest, as was the case at Cambridge. In the *Psalmus Hungaricus* one sees Kodály completely free from the obsession of those moderns who write music as if they hated it, and anxious only to go as far as they possibly can from musical traditions. He shows his modernity clearly enough in his treatment of harmony, but there is not a chord in the whole *Psalmus* that should cause annoyance to grammarians. The music is robust, and even violent, but so is the theme which represents King David calling upon Heaven to avenge his wrongs and smite his offenders. Such sentiments cannot be adequately expressed in the methods of the 'bread-and-butter-Miss'. Dissonance here is not only justified, it is necessary, since it stands for a world that is out of tune: for a mind distressed. That is why we did not resent the fact that Mr Frank Mullings was so frequently 'off' the right note. Perhaps the effect was intended. Certainly the famous singer who commands the highest fee obtains some very striking effects by some such dodge. The chorus sang exceedingly well and credit should be given to Mr. Rootham, who undertook the onerous task of preparing them. Kodály himself conducted, and obtained a remarkable ensemble."

In this same issue of the periodical a critic initialling his review C (perhaps it was Gerald Cooper) reported on the London performances with less enthusiasm (p. 69): "The B.B.C. Choir's performance of Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* which was the first in London, came in for severe criticism, but that of the Philharmonic Choir under Mr. Kennedy Scott, at Queen's Hall, on December 14—the first concert performance here—was of a festival standard. The work makes an immediate impression by its picturesqueness and passion. It is a cry from the heart, painful and angry. Although Kodály is admired by Mr Cecil Gray, his Psalm will affright no one. In fact it has just the qualities of spontaneity and exotic colour that Dvořák's admirers will take to. There is a limp in the principal tune, which may become rather trying with familiarity. Mr Steueart Wilson sang the important solos excellently."

L. Dunton Green wrote a brief review for the German periodical *Die Musik* (1928, February, p. 392) and gave an ambiguous appraisal of the work: "Kodály's *Psalmus Hungaricus* made a splendid impression (. . .) There is no doubt that the work belongs among the finest choral works of our time, although it may be ranged in our age in a technical sense only conditionally. True, it does contain a few polytonal spots, on the whole, however, it is strongly rooted in tradition. Its new and vigorously individual inventiveness does not divert it from this either."

From these first reactions it can be discerned how the *Psalmus* altered Kodály's position in the new music of our century. The reviewers leave no doubts about the worth of the work, the fervent dramatic character of its expression captivates them just as it did the audiences of the first performances abroad. What was in doubt, however, was whether the work could be ranged among the manifestations of modern music at all. It became an object of suspicion through the fact itself that it scored tremendous success upon a first hearing, whereas the majority of contemporary works—and in this only Stravinsky' was an exception—then, just as in our days—had to run a gamut before they achieved recognition. Moreover, the world heard the *Psalmus Hungaricus* when the unity of the representatives of new music had disintegrated; when Schoenberg and Stravinsky had spectacularly broken with each other, Bartók had embarked on new paths and the idea of the one-ness of new music, embodied in the establishment of the ISCM, became problematic. It is hardly a coincidence that the *Psalmus* was the last Kodály work included in the ISCM Festival

programme. The 1941 New York nostalgia festival of the ISCM had a well-known Kodály opus (completed in 1918), the *Second String Quartet* but this does not affect our argument.

Kodály and the BBC

After the success of the Psalmus Hungaricus His Master's Voice accepted M. D. Calvocoressi's suggestion that it should make recordings in Budapest of the finest pieces of the Hungarian Folk Music cycle, with Béla Bartók as pianist and the best Hungarian Kodály singers. Thus we owe the first recordings of Kodály works to English suggestions.

The new position of the composer is shown by the places in which Kodály works were first performed in England. The first English performances of four of his works took place as part of the popular Promenade Concerts series (Queen's Hall): the *Háry János Suite* on August 23, 1928, *Summer Evening* on September 16, 1930, *Galánta Dances* September 22, 1934, *Ballet Music* 1937, August 24. All of them were performed by the BBC Symphony Orchestra, with Sir Henry Wood conducting. Kodály himself conducted the *Háry János Suite* in September 1937, at one of the Prom concerts. It should be noted that in those days not one Schoenberg or Bartók work was performed at the unusually popular Promenade Concerts.

The BBC, which in its International Concerts cycle first broadcast a Kodály composition on October 5, 1926 (a public concert at Grotrian Hall) firmly supported his works. The Hungarian Quartet performed the *Serenade*, and Mária Basilides sang some Kodály songs. (We have already mentioned the BBC Psalmus production.)

The BBC broadcasts grew more frequent from 1930 on. On November 24, 1930, Béla Bartók presented the piano version of the *Dances of Marosszék* in a studio concert; the orchestral version was first performed in England by the BBC Symphony Orchestra with Sir Henry Wood—also in a studio—on March 29, 1931. The first English performances of Kodály's *a cappella* choruses were also heard on the BBC, on a programme by the Wireless Singers on April 22, 1932, conducted by Stanford Robinson. The review of this first performance I have come across does not contain the title of the Kodály work, it only states that Hungarian folk song arrangements were included in the programme.

The BBC did a great deal to disseminate the *a cappella* choruses, outstanding in Kodály's oeuvre. Under the direction of Cyril Dalmaine, on June 25, 1933, the Wireless Singers performed the mixed chorus, *Mátra Pictures*, in a BBC broadcast. In August 1935 Trevor Harvey led the BBC Singers in performances of the motet, *Jesus and the Traders*, and the chorus, *Too Late*, in first performances. On January 12, 1936, Kodály himself conducted the BBC Singers, and he made recordings of the women's choruses *Whitsuntide*, and *The Angel and the Shepherd*, and of the mixed chorus with organ accompaniment, *Pange Lingua* (with John Wills at the organ). These recordings—if they have survived—have great documentary value, as no recordings by Kodály of these choruses are known to exist! The Budapest University Chorus, conducted by Viktor Vaszy, on its way to the United States, gave a half-hour studio concert on December 29, 1936, at which it introduced a few folk-song arrangements and his composition, *The Ruins*. On March 6, 1937 the BBC Singers, conducted by Leslie Woodgate, sang the chorus *A Birthday Greeting*, and on July 29, 1937 the same choir under the direction of Trevor Harvey gave the first performance there of *Annie Miller*.

The BBC gave the British public *The Spinning Room*, Kodály's one-act opera made up of Hungarian folk songs. It was broadcast on May 26, 1933, the chorus and orchestra being conducted by Zoltán Kodály himself. The translation was the work of M. D. Cal-

vocoressi. This sound recording is also an invaluable document because Kodály never again conducted *The Spinning Room,* and this performance is the only sound document for his conception of the work. The BBC broadcast the Kodály one-act opera from the Budapest Opera House on February 26, 1937.

Hardly six weeks after its first performance Kodály's *Te Deum* was introduced in Britain over the radio on November 16, 1936 in a performance conducted by Adrian Boult. On September 12, 1937, with Kodály conducting, and John McKenna as vocal soloist, the BBC broadcast the orchestrated first and third pieces of the *Three Songs* (op. 14) (English translation by Steueart Wilson). Keith Falkner introduced through the BBC, on March 3, 1939, Kodály's early cycle of *Sixteen Songs* (op. 1) in Cecil Gray's translation.

Of Kodály *a cappella* works the motet, *Jesus and the Traders,* became the most popular in England. The work became well known in Edward J. Dent's outstanding translation. Soon after writing it, Kodály sent the score of the motet to Dent. His Cambridge friend thanked him for it in a letter dated 1934, November 23. "I shall attempt to do a good translation of it," he wrote, and he indicated that he was looking for choirs to perform the work. Dent continued his efforts to pave the way for Kodály's works in England. In August 1938 he went to Hungary in order to see an open-air performance of *Háry János,* because he wanted the complete work staged in England. He wrote with resignation to Kodály, on January 15, 1939 that his attempts had not met with much success, because, "the Sadler's Wells is too much an opera house, and the Old Vic is too much a theatre". (So far as I know no English opera company to this day has made Háry János part of its repertory, whereas the suite made up of its orchestral pieces has continued to be popular for more than half a century.)

The third important consequence for Kodály of the success of the *Psalmus Hungaricus* was that this work brought him into contact with the Three Choirs Festival. At this festival, in 1928 in Gloucester, Kodály conducted the *Psalmus* on September 6. On December 4, 1928, Ivor Atkins, the choir master of Worcester Cathedral, commissioned Kodály to compose a new work for the festival to be held next year at Worcester. The composer planned a new work with the title *Peoples of Israel,* but he never composed it. For a much later Three Choirs Festival Kodály prepared a work which to a certain extent was new, the orchestral version of the *Missa Brevis,* the first performance of which he himself conducted at Worcester on September 9, 1948.

In September 1937, the Three Choirs Festival became virtually a Kodály festival. On September 8, at the head of the London Symphony Orchestra, the composer conducted the *Galánta Dances,* the next day the first concert performance in England of the *Te Deum* (soloists: Isobel Baillie, Mary Jarred, Heddle Nash, Keith Falkner), and on September 10 the *Jesus and the Traders* motet. At the following year's festival in Worcester, Kodály again conducted the *Te Deum* (September 8) whereas it was rather rare in the history of this festival for one and the same work to be heard two years in succession.

The Three Choirs Festival had a very great influence on Kodály's extensive music education programme, on plans he worked out for the revival of the Hungarian choral movement. During the 1920's he had written that he desired to give the Hungarian choral movement the same artistic standards that he had come to know in England.

Up to the end of the 1930s the most important British conductors regularly performed Kodály's compositions. Here is an incomplete list of names: John Barbirolli, Adrian Boult, Hamilton Harty, Malcolm Sargent, Henry Wood. His chamber music was constantly in the repertoire of the Griller, Hirsch, Stratton, Waleson String

Quartet. Instrumental soloists and singers in England performed Kodály works more and more frequently. After 1935 a dozen English amateur choirs learned *Jesus and the Traders.* His works had by now moved for good from the exclusive programmes devoted to the music of contemporaries and concerts intended for a narrow circle to the programmes of regular subscription concerts. From 1927 on Kodály himself visited England yearly, with few exceptions, in order to conduct his works.

War Years, Boosey & *Hawkes as Kodály's Publishers*

From 1938 on his relations with England changed substantially. From the Three Choirs Festival at Worcester until 1946 he did not travel to England. During the dark years of the Second World War Kodály did not undertake any kind of journey abroad, because he was not willing to go to Hitler's Germany, the country he could have visited. Where he would have gone willingly, he could not go. After the Nazi occupation of Austria, however, Kodály just as Bartók, sought a music publisher for himself in England, after managing with great difficulty to free himself from his Vienna publisher, the Universal Edition, which had been merged with a fascist agency.

We know Kodály's problems and views through a Bartók letter of April 13, 1938: "As regards my own affairs, I must say that things are not very good at the moment because not only my publishing house (U. E.) has gone Nazi (the proprietors and directors were simply turned out) but also the A.K.M., the Viennese Society for performing rights, to which I belong (and Kodály, too), is also being 'nazified'. Only the day before yesterday I received the notorious questionnaire about grandfathers, etc., then: 'Are you of German blood, of kindred race, or non-Aryan?' Naturally neither I nor Kodály will fill in the form: our opinion is that such questions are wrong and illegal."[10]

Just as Bartók, Kodály also found a safe haven from which to circulate his works in Boosey & Hawkes, the London music publishers. Such a turn in affairs was due no doubt to the circumstance that several outstanding members of the Universal Edition staff found new work at the London firm, after their forced exile in 1938 (for example, Alfred Calmus and Arnold Schoenberg's eminent pupil, Erwin Stein).

Willem Mengelberg, conducting the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra, introduced Kodály's newest work in 1939, on November 23, entitled *Variations on a Hungarian Folk Song* (The Peacock) on the jubilee of the orchestra. The performance was broadcast by the Dutch Radio, and then two telegrams arrived at Kodály's home.

London 4103 38 24 1134 Zoltán Kodály Andrássy utca 89 Bpest All of us deeply moved by your beautiful variations last night undoubtedly one of your finest works BBC wish to perform as soon as possible letter follows sincere regards to you both Hawkes

London 4040 16 25 1029 Professor Kodály Andrássy utca 89 Bp Lon XI/25 1250 Performance made wonderful impression heartiest congratulations awaiting reply and manuscript Calmus

The Second World War made the London performance impossible. The *Peacock Variations* were first heard over the BBC only on February 27, 1946, with Ernest Ansermet conducting; the score with a 1947 copyright appeared in London; however the two telegrams indicate the interest in them.

Typical of Kodály's popularity in England was the fact that the London *Times* correspondent at The Hague reported on this

[10] *Béla Bartók Letters.* Collected, selected, edited and annotated by János Demény. Corvina, 1971, pp. 267–268.

event. My knowledge of the article comes indirectly from an article in the 1941/3 issue of *The Music Review* by Ernest Chapman, a staff member at Boosey & Hawkes. The lengthy article appeared under the title "The Musicians' Gallery. Current Musical News and Comments." Its writer mentions Kodály's newly introduced work, the *Concerto*, on page 259, and on page 261 he writes at some length about the Hungarian master:

"I have reports of two new orchestral works by Kodály. The first is a large-scale set of variations on a Hungarian folk song entitled *Fölszállott a páva* (The Peacock has Flown), composed as a tribute to the Concertgebouw Orchestra on the attainment of its jubilee, and first given under Mengelberg in Amsterdam on 23rd November 1939. I was fortunate enough to hear the performance over the wireless, and, although the reception was imperfect, it was sufficient to convince me, that this was one of Kodály's finest achievements. A notice from The Hague correspondent of *The Times*, published a few days later, was also very favourable. The theme, equally simple in colour and rhythm, is followed by sixteen cleverly contrasted variations embracing a wide emotional range. The work does not, perhaps, mark any new advance in Kodály's art, although it has all those indigenous qualities which have won for him a high international reputation. The orchestration in particular, seemed very individual, and on more than one occasion the sheer beauty of sound and colour was such that it was a little difficult to keep the critical faculties focused on other important elements. The second new composition is the (...) *Concerto* for orchestra, written for the fiftieth anniversary of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and first performed under Frederick Stock on 6th February, 1941. Designed to exhibit the characteristics of the various instrumental groups and the abilities of the performers, the work is said to be of a vivacious and exhilarating nature."

The first Kodály work published by Boosey & Hawkes was quite likely the *Hymn to King Stephen*, in a mixed chorus version, with a translation by Nancy Bush. The February 1940 issue of *The Music Review* (Vol. I. No. 1) marks the appearance in the "Music Received" column. The copyright of the *Te Deum* which became so popular in England is dated 1939, but the real publication was most likely of a somewhat later date. At any rate, W. H. Mellers had his extensive *Te Deum* analysis entitled "Kodály and the Christian Epic" published in the April 1941 issue of *Music and Letters*, illustrated with music examples—hence after familiarity with the publication (pp. 155–161). The conclusions of the analysis in a knowledge of the complete Kodály oeuvre are assessed by Mellers as follows:

"What makes the *Te Deum* so remarkable a composition is, I am inclined to think, its polyphonic texture which implies a clarification and in a sense a deepening of Kodály's emotional processes. In the largely homophonic *Psalmus Hungaricus* Kodály seemed to have expressed consummately all that he had to say in his direct folk-founded technique, and it seemed to me unlikely that he could develop further along those lines. He would either have to stop composing, or to repeat himself, or to become relatively factitious, or to evolve a new manner. In view of the specialized manner of his music upbringing the last of these alternatives seemed improbable, and many of the later choral works, not to mention the instrumental ones, did seem to betray a disturbingly synthetic quality. But in the *Budavári Te Deum* Kodály, without sacrificing any of the spontaneity and passionate simplicity of his mode of experience, incarnates it in a polyphonic technique of surprising flexibility and power, and in so doing presents to us the essence of this experience with a lucidity and a depth that he had not, in the magnificently vital songs and the *Psalmus Hungaricus*, quite approached. Its simplicity, more so even than the simplicity of the songs, is here its

strength, and it is a serene smiling simplicity such as we shall look for in vain in almost all other contemporary music of anything approaching a comparable power (...) Although Kodály may compose other music as good as the *Te Deum,* I doubt if he will write any better; and I am pretty certain that he will have no successors. Because of, rather than in spite of, his technical fluency in the *Budavári Te Deum,* he is, in the history of European music, the last great naïf."

It is a strikingly curious contradiction that while Kodály's new London publisher issued his works one after the other—after the *Te Deum,* in miniature score format in 1942 the *Háry János Suite* and the *Dances of Marosszék,* in 1943 the *Galánta Dances*—his compositions were only heard quite rarely at concerts. I have reliable information about only six Kodály presentations in England between November 1941 and February 1945, of which three took place at the Boosey & Hawkes recitals in the Wigmore Hall. Here on November 8, 1941 John McKenna sang Kodály songs, on February 26, 1944 Norina Gemino and Harry Isaacs performed the *Sonata for 'Cello and Piano,* and on October 7, 1944 the Fleet Street Choir presented a few Kodály choral works. In 1942 the BBC broadcast a Kodály opus, at a concert of the Birmingham University Musical Society; on February 24, 1944 George Roth and Hely Hutchinson played opus 4; in February 1945 a Kodály orchestral work was presented in Worcester, and on February 3, in Glasgow, the Choral Union and the Scottish Orchestra, conducted by Wilfred Senior, performed the *Te Deum.* A point of interest about this latter performance is that Kathleen Ferrier sang the contralto solo of modest scope. (All data are from *The Musical Times.*)

It would be rash to explain the modest number of the presently known performances by the fact that a state of war existed between England and Hungary from December 6, 1941 on, because obviously it was no secret in London either that the consistently anti-fascist Zoltán Kodály had nothing to do with the war. The warm, friendly reviews of the new Kodály music issued in England otherwise leave no doubts about the fact that the musical opinion of England was perfectly aware of the Hungarian composer's sentiments and his political persuasion.

To bear out my assertion—though it is possibly superfluous—I quote the review of the miniature score of the *Dances of Marosszék* by Ernest Hermann Meyer, a communist composer-musicologist who went to England as an exile from Hitler (*The Music Review,* Vol. 3, No. 4 November 1942, p. 302): "Similarly to Bartók, Kodály has evolved a strongly personal style out of Hungarian folk-song and folk-dance. But Kodály is gentler, dreamier, more melodic and less daring and militant than Bartók, that great interpreter of modern times mentality. The *Marosszék Dances,* an early work of Kodály, are based on Transylvanian melodies, some of which are very old. These tunes are true "music of the people" which are especially noteworthy for their interesting rhythms: gracefully dancing, impatiently stamping, sometimes extremely complex, sometimes going aggressively and stubbornly against the beat. Apart from the curious tonality of the "Gypsy scale", the rhythmic element is absolutely dominating in these melodies. The composer-arranger was therefore fully justified in basing the treatment of the ensemble (wood, horns, trumpets, percussion and strings), on harmonic accompaniment and sparkling, colourful orchestration rather than on contrapuntal interest. The score is as transparent as glass. There is not a single superfluous or doubtful note in the spare but masterly writing."

I think it quite likely that my data on Kodály's music in England during the war years are still deficient. The principal source of my information, *The Musical Times,* which in earlier years offered very detailed news baout the musical life of the whole country,

considerably reduced its circulation as the consequence of the war economy; one consequence of this was necessarily a restriction on its columns devoted to news about concerts. For a complete picture it would be necessary to engage in further research and to look through concert programmes and daily newspapers.

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The reception of Kodály in England in the years and decades following the Second World War could be the theme of a bulky volume. He was, and is still esteemed to this day as a twentieth century classical composer. Perhaps the most important tribute was that from Sir Arthur Bliss, on June 3, 1960, in London when he greeted Kodály on the podium with the words: "The voice of Kodály in music is the voice of Hungary."

JÁNOS BREUER

Note

The author herewith expresses his thanks to Zoltán Kodály's widow, Sarolta Péczely, for permitting him to study the correspondence in the composer's papers, and to the Hungarian Ministry of Culture, for making it possible for him to study abroad so as to gather the documents.

NEW RECORDS

ROSSINI: MOSES. Soloists, Hungarian Radio and Television Chorus, Hungarian State Opera Orchestra/Gardelli. Hungaroton. SLPX 12290–92.

GOLDMARK: THE QUEEN OF SHEBA. Soloists, Hungarian State Opera Chorus and Orchestra/Ádám Fischer. Hungaroton. SLPX 12179–82.

HAYDN: SEVEN LAST WORDS. SALVE REGINA in G minor. Soloists, Budapest Chorus, Hungarian State Orchestra/Ferencsik. Hungaroton. SLPX 12199–200.

HAYDN: SEVEN LAST WORDS. Tátrai Quartet. Hungaroton SLPX 12036.

SCHUMANN: STRING QUARTETS, Op. 41. Takács Quartet. Hungaroton. SLPX 12314–5

In spite of the sheer quantity of operatic music which has been poured on to gramophone records in the last twenty or thirty years, there are still plenty of fine operas—including quite a few that are well-known—that have still not been recorded, or at least not thoroughly, or to the highest modern standards. Two recent Hungaroton issues illustrate this rather strikingly. Goldmark's *Queen of Sheba*, the best-known of his six operas, has apparently never been recorded commercially before in anything like a complete version; and Rossini's *Moses*, though there is an LP recording, now appears for the first time in a proper stereo version. There are good reasons for Hungarians to feel a special affection for both these operas, quite apart from their intrinsic merits. Goldmark was himself Hungarian by birth, though he spent his working life in Vienna; as for *Moses*, this had its first performance outside Italy in Budapest in 1820,

two years after the Naples première. Admittedly that was an earlier and substantially different version of the work from the one which has now been recorded. *Moses* (originally *Mosé in Egitto*) was one of the operas Rossini revised for the Parisian stage in the late twenties, and the revised version, being fuller, is now standard. Hungaroton have followed the makeshift old Serafin recording by sticking to the Italian text (which is a readaptation of the French libretto proper to this version of the opera), and making judicious cuts, including Pharaoh's scene with his son Amenophis in the second act, and the ballet music which Rossini added for the Paris performances. This may all seem mildly regrettable, but hardly of major significance in comparison with the music we do get, and the generally high quality of its performance.

Rossini's *opere serie* are still far from widely known, but they are important. They are one link in the chain between eighteenth-century Italian *seria* on the one hand, Gluck and French revolutionary grand opera on the other, and the middle period dramas of Verdi, which they startingly anticipate in a number of particulars. For instance, the solemn, hieratic quality of the choruses in *Moses* must surely have inspired Verdi, not only in an early work like *Nabucco* but even to some extent in *Don Carlos* (think of the Inquisitor, and the monastery scenes). Of course one has to distinguish between historical importance and musical interest, and the fact that Rossini influenced composers as diverse as Beethoven, Schubert, and Verdi, needn't necessarily condemn us now to interminable revivals of *Semiramide* or *La gazza ladra.* But *Moses* is rather a special case. The semi-oratorio subject-matter seems to have inspired Rossini to step outside the display-aria framework, and for an opera of its time *Moses* is surprisingly free of empty coloratura (more so in the French than the Italian version). Instead it assembles page after page of imposing ensemble writing, much of it superbly scored for an orchestra whose peculiar sonorousness recalls those typical moments of religious visitation in eighteenth-century opera where the trombones would intone and the atmosphere become hushed and ritualistic. More conventional are the love-interest scenes, which introduce a personal dimension to the Israeli-Egyptian conflict (Pharaoh's son is in love with Moses's niece, so has a more-than-political interest in keeping the Israelites back). Though dramatically important, these scenes are musically no more than entr'actes between the big set-pieces, while Rossini's depiction of the pagan and villainous Egyptians as a group must be reckoned a failure; they are about as menacing as Doctor Bartolo, and a good deal less amusing. It was a limitation of Rossini's melodramatic technique that he sometimes fell back too readily on the note-spinning "crescendo" style of his great *buffo* works. But such passages are not a major blemish on *Moses;* they merely highlight the splendour of its finest music.

This splendour is admirably brought out in the new recording, conducted with great flair and exuberance by Lamberto Gardelli. Much care has obviously been devoted to the balancing and sonority of the choral tableaux; the singing of the Hungarian Radio and Television Chorus is memorably powerful and impassioned; and the all-important title role is strongly taken by József Gregor, a bass with a decisive vocal presence (we meet him again as the High Priest in *The Queen of Sheba*). Of the other leading soloists, I was most impressed by the two women, Anais (who has to choose between the unpleasant but presumably attractive Amenophis and the no less unpleasant and highly unattractive Sinai desert), warmly sung by Magda Kalmár, and Pharoah's wife Sinais, a sympathetic mezzo role taken here with much sensitivity by Júlia Hamari. János B. Nagy's Amenophis also shows excellent *spinto* qualities, though surprisingly for such a voice his bottom register is colourless, with no real projection below about G.

As a biblical opera, *The Queen of Sheba* is considerably freer with its source-material than *Moses*. Mosenthal's libretto avoids the solecism of an affair between Solomon and his "oriental" visitor, but instead turns her into an unscrupulous seductress who fastens on Solomon's susceptible young minister, Assad, tempting him away (as Amenophis does Anais) from the path of truth and righteousness. There are the faintest hints of the erotic atmosphere of the *Song of Solomon* (Assad's betrothed, Sulamith, might have been suggested, in name if not nature, by the Shulamite in that poem), and even of its text, in the final line of the opera: "Der Freund ist dein, im Reich der ew'gen Liebe!" But for the most part the story is pure fantasy, setting the seductive aroma of Middle Eastern nights against the unshakable faith and wisdom of Solomon (no mention of his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines), and giving Goldmark the opportunity to indulge what was clearly his greatest strength—a genius for sensuous harmony and orchestral colouring of a vaguely oriental cast.

Though the result is a long and sometimes sprawling work (more than three hours of music, taking four records), it holds the interest, thanks to its variety of colour and a certain genuine excitement in the struggle for Assad's soul, an issue which assumes much greater weight than the equivalent battle for Anais's loyalties in *Moses*. Dramatically, the work's obvious weakness lies in the one-dimensional character of Solomon, and in the shallowly vampish motivation of the Queen of Sheba herself—the character develops little depth or dignity. Still, it held the stage for some years after its first production in Vienna in 1875. It was in the Viennese repertory during Mahler's time there (1897–1907), and he conducted it many times, apparently with mixed feelings, finding the first two acts enchanting, "especially the scene in the temple:" "the music of the Ark of the Covenant is really great, there is something of the Old Testament in its power and splendour," but "the rest is superficial, the orchestral and instrumental points... useless." Mahler's opinion of Goldmark may have been soured by the Viennese anti-Semitic lobby, who accused him of "serving up the inferior work of a Jew, who was nothing but a poor imitator of Wagner and Meyerbeer." Certainly Goldmark was an eclectic figure, whose textures and harmonies have a Wagnerian sumptuousness but whose melody often suggests the squarish cut of grand opera, even at times Verdi. But it may be worth mentioning (without making too much of the point) that the temple ritual in *The Queen of Sheba* anticipates *Parsifal* by some years, and that Wagner certainly saw Goldmark's opera in Vienna in 1875–6 (Goldmark was with Wagner when the 15-year-old Hugo Wolf importuned the master in his Vienna hotel). One wonders whether, despite Newman's deprecation of Goldmark, Wagner was not impressed by certain scenes in this ramshackle but withal rather talented operatic debut.

In any case the recording will be welcomed by anyone with an enthusiasm for late romantic opera. There is a great deal to admire in Ádám Fischer's excellently paced conducting of the seduction scenes, which are almost always exquisitely scored, with a technique that admittedly owes a lot to Wagner's *Tondichtung* manner (Forest Murmurs, the love-scene in *Tristan*, etc.). The playing, by the Hungarian State Opera Orchestra, is very refined, and the recording good (apart from some minor oddities of balance, particularly concerning the harp). And the opera is strongly cast. Siegfried Jerusalem is in radiant voice as the poor, doomed Assad, cursed with a sensuality that forever undermines his best intentions, and Klára Takács manages a plausible Queen of Sheba, happily at her finest in the beautiful scene with Solomon where, in her efforts to save Assad (for her own bed, of course), she unwittingly reveals her passion for him. There is also strong support from Sándor

Sólyom Nagy as Solomon and Veronika Kincses as Sulamith, among others, and indeed the only real weakness of the recording is in certain choral passages where intonation drifts.

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Intonation is also occasionally a problem in the recording of the oratorio version of Haydn's *Seven Last Words of Our Saviour on the Cross* by the Budapest Chorus and Hungarian State Orchestra under János Ferencsik (there are even slight variations in pitch between adjacent numbers, which may be due to a failure of editorial coordination). To get my grumbles out of the way, the performance is further slightly marred by an excessively resonant recording, which tends to make the texture stodgy and inert. All the same this is an impressive and moving account of a powerful work, probably the best form of a score Haydn arranged in a number of different ways, including for string quartet (see below) as well as for the full orchestra used in the original liturgical context in Cadiz Cathedral in the 1780s.

The *Seven Last Words* began life as a sequence of orchestral movements designed as reflective interludes between a series of short sermons on the gospel texts. The quartet version is more or less a straight transcription of these movements, together with the introduction and the so-called "Terremoto" or earthquake Allegro which describes the rending of the veil of the temple and other upheavals marking the exact moment of Christ's death. But when he arranged the work as an oratorio, Haydn not only added the sung texts (often as extra polyphonic lines superimposed on the existing music), but also inserted short unaccompanied settings of the "last words" themselves, and composed a superb interlude for wind band to replace the fifth word "Sitio" ("I thirst"), which he presumably considered too pithy to set to music as it stood. The choral version is thus the one with the most music in it. It is also the one which seems best to fulfil the underlying intentions of the work, and which best allows the music literally to "speak" its thoughts. This arrangement dates from 1795 or 1796, and has a text by van Swieten, with whom Haydn was about to collaborate on *The Creation*.

As Ferencsik's performance shows, the work makes a fine, solemn oratorio, for all the potential monotony of its succession of slow movements. It gives strongly the impression of a beautiful series of neo-classical panels, a kind of statuesque polyptych for some stately baroque altar. It cannot readily be fitted on a single disc, so Ferencsik takes two and uses the fourth side for an earlier and less profound but nevertheless attractive setting of the *Salve Regina* (1771).

The slightly shorter string quartet version does fit on one record, which makes it a less expensive proposition. But on other grounds I would not recommend the Tátrai Quartet's performance to anyone without a special interest in either Haydn or the quartet genre. In this more etiolated form the music makes a much reduced impact on the senses, while intellectually of course the format offers less than Haydn's classical quartets of the period (for example, opp. 50, 54, 55). Naturally there are many passing felicities even here. I cannot feel, however, that the Tátrai are quite at their best. Pushed tempi and a tendency to curtail long rests give the performance a slight quality of impatience which is at odds with its reflective character. No doubt a slower, more relaxed performance would risk more. But it would also stand to gain more.

*

I feel a quicker sympathy between players and music in the Takács Quartet's two-record set of the three Schumann quartets op. 41, that extraordinary flash of genius which typically illuminated his life for the

single summer of 1842 and was then extinguished (so far as the string quartet was concerned) for ever. Although not as polished as the Mendelssohn quartets (one feels that Mendelssohn's admiration for the Schumann works was not without a certain condescension), they are endlessly fascinating as music, rich in typically Schumannesque eccentricities, intimate details of melody and harmony and indeed form (no. 1 may be in "A minor" but the first movement is largely in F!), and completely devoid of that smooth predictability which tends to limit perspectives in Mendelssohn's own chamber music.

The Takács performances catch to perfection the freshness and immediacy of these three works. Their lyrical playing is enchanting, shapely and expressive, and particularly well suited to the F major quartet (the real F major, that is), with its poetic, songlike turn of phrase. At other times the players are not wholly innocent of rhythmic liberties—perhaps sliding over an important anacrusis, or, like the Tátrai, clipping the duration of a rest; fractional beats quite often fall foul of their liking for a fluid rhythm, and I must say that on the whole I regard this as a good fault in music of which it is particularly true that the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life. Less attractive is the occasional passage of heavy tone, making the counterpoint a shade thick. In short these are not exactly "model" performances; but they are musicianly, vital and enjoyable —which is after all no small matter.

STEPHEN WALSH

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ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See "The Socialist State and the Churches," *NHQ* 66, "Workdays and Prospects," 71, "Historical Contemporaries of the Present," 73, "Intellectuals in a Socialist Society," 75, "A New System of Values," 77, "The Social Responsibility of Hungarian Science," 78, and "The Responsibility of the Mass Media," 84. See also Paul Lendvai's interview in *NHQ* 82.

ANTAL, Gábor (b. 1922). Journalist, on the staff of *Magyar Nemzet*, a daily, since 1945. Has published collections of articles, including *Egy szál gyertya* (A single candle), 1968. Also a broadcaster. See his interview with Imre Hermann in *NHQ* 85.

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SZÉKELY, András (b. 1942). Art critic, a graduate of the University of Budapest. Worked for years as reader for Corvina Press, now on the staff of *Új Tükör*, an illustrated weekly. Author of *Spanish Painting* (in English, 1977); *An Illustrated History of Hungarian Culture* (in German, 1978); and a life of Kandinsky (in Hungarian, 1979).

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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.

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