NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

75

Peace — Common Interest of all Peoples — *János Kádár*

Intellectuals in Socialist Society — *György Aczél*

Letters and articles — *C. P. Snow, Hortense Calisher, J. C. Trewin, Maurice Goldsmith*

East-West Economic Relations — *József Bognár*

Theory and Existing Socialism — *János Berecz*

Lukács in 1919 — *Béla Köpeczi*

Poems and Fiction — *István Vas, Lajos Mesterházi, István Csurka*

The New Hungarian Quarterly

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This issue went to press on June 19, 1979

SEVENTY-FIVE

It is a moving experience to sit at this desk, given to me twenty years ago by Corvina, the initial publishers of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, writing down the figure 75. It is a narrow desk, small, not good to look at either, but I did not mind. I knew that the publisher thought, as I put it already in the preface to the 25th and 50th numbers "we were not sure whether there would be a second issue." Any old desk would do for such a short time. Meanwhile the Lapkiadó Publishing House took us over, but I stayed true to my desk. Most of the time there is not even room for my elbow, it is covered in manuscripts, proofs, newspapers, magazines, books, in Hungarian, in English, and in a few more languages. Order is the alpha of editing, but untidiness is its omega. Another way of putting it might be that order means having a sense of proportion, and not deviating from it one iota; this is relaxed by an untidiness I should like to call poetic. Could it be that my desk is a symbol of my editorial principles and practice?

(Passion and a sense of proportion.) These twenty years and these seventy-five issues do not merely permit but so to speak demand a certain subjective tone on the part of the editor. For instance, owning up that I follow the editorial principles of no lesser person than Thomas Mann. Most think of Thomas Mann as a writer only, not as an editor. It has ever been my ambition to prove that these two skills—should I say arts or crafts—are the Janus face of each other. Thomas Mann edited *Mass und Wert* in the thirties, in exile. In his introductory article he said that, as an editor, he would be guided by a dual principle: passion and a sense of proportion.

These words, and this dual principle, are in front of my eyes, literally. I wrote them down on a piece of cardboard and tacked it up on the wall opposite the old desk, in the original German: *Leidenschaft und Augenmass.* Without passion one cannot go on doing the same job for twenty years, starting afresh every three months as if one were doing it for the first time.

(The editorial office.) I should put all this in the plural. There are human activities which carry the stamp of individual work and yet can only be imagined as collective activity. Editing a periodical is obviously one of them. NHQ is made by the whole of its editorial staff. I am thinking of my friend and deputy Zoltán Halász in the first place. We have spent almost half our adult lives together convinced that only our desks have grown older. In the course of the years one really gets to know the other person, his thoughts and their associations, till one becomes like the two men in the Budapest story who no longer told jokes and anecdotes to each other, merely mentioning a number sufficed to raise a laugh. We play ball with ideas and ways of making them come true, and with the names of authors and the articles they have written, in much the same way. Zoltán Halász is not only a journalist and editor who is familiar with every trick of the newspaperman's trade, as much at home in economics as in archeology; he knows how to handle the refinements of lay-out and unpredictable printers. On two chosen territories, the history of Hungary and the splendours of the table, he is an expert, not only an expert editor. His best-selling historical novels and his books on Hungarian paprika and Hungarian wines speak for themselves. An article in the present issue: "Tokay and Tokaj" delves deep into his store of knowledge of both subjects.

Miklós Vajda is the literary editor. On a Hungarian paper—and this is very much a Hungarian paper though it appears in English—this implies much more than selecting the literary material. In Hungary literature, particularly poetry, means more than for other nations whose history has been less adverse. It has proved a much more organic part of public life, sometimes in bold reconnaissance, sometimes fighting rearguard actions, than in countries where English is spoken. Hungarian literature cannot be separated from history, and contemporary literature equally cannot be separated from the history of our own days, that is social conditions and politics. Miklós Vajda only joined us after the first five—and he has now carried out his duties in the production of seventy issues with a consistency keeping in mind long term perspectives, and a care for detail which applies to every single issue. In practice this has meant that in almost twenty years he has looked after the preparation of rough translations of hundreds and hundreds of poems, annotating each line and each word, semantically, historically and ethnologically, allowing the English or American poet-translator with no Hungarian to produce translations that are both true and equal in standard to the original. It is Vajda's unique achievement that he managed to find English and American poets of high reputation and that these translated the best of Hungarian poetry of our day. That in itself

justifies the existence and need for *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. Not only patriotic passion prompts me to say that but also the editorial sense of proportion. Proof between hard covers is to be found in an anthology *Modern Hungarian Poetry* edited by Miklós Vajda and introduced by William Jay Smith, selected from the pages of NHQ and jointly published by Columbia University Press and Corvina in 1977.*

That NHQ has been accepted by English readers is largely due to the kind of English in which it appears. One might even say this is the secret of the paper's success. Most readers will be aware that articles are written in Hungarian—except of course those by Americans or Englishmen and László Országh, a member of our editorial board—and the articles and short stories are then translated into English by Hungarians. That grammatical errors and idiomatic infelicities are nevertheless rare is largely due to the two language editors, of whom Rudolf Fischer is the permanent one.

Starting with this issue his name will appear on the paper's masthead. For almost twelve years now he has, in practice, read every article at least in proof, doing his share of the editing of typescripts, which often involves rewriting the translated text, turning English words into English.

He was hired in 1967, as the result of an advertisement. The unforgettable Noel Field, the paper's first language editor, a victim of the cold war and *malgré lui* one of its celebrities and symbols, was getting ready to retire. It was precisely through NHQ that this puritan served with all his strength and devotion the cause of peaceful coexistence and understanding amongst nations. The idea of advertising the position in *The New Statesman* and *The Times Literary Supplement* occurred to us, which seemed bizarre in the Hungarian context. We could not believe our eyes: there were over two hundred applicants. Sixty were selected and sent a translation, naturally without the Hungarian original, since the language editors do not have to know Hungarian, asking them to improve the English of the text. Forty returned the corrected text and we shortlisted twelve. I travelled to London to interview them, allotting three days to the job and two hours to each.

I saw Rudolf Fischer first. After half an hour's talk I knew he was our man. (I nevertheless interviewed the other eleven as well.) I responded to his manner, and modesty. I felt that he wanted to start a new life with his young wife, that they did not think of the job as a one-year adventure; and not only because he had his roots in these Carpatho-Danubian regions,

* The poets whose translations appeared in NHQ are listed hereunder in alphabetical order: Bruce Berlind, Tony Connor, Donald Davie, Alan Dixon, Robert Graves, Michael Hamburger, Daniel Hoffman, Barbara Howes, Ted Hughes, Jascha Kessler, Herbert Kuhner, Thomas Land, Richard Lourie, George MacBeth, Kenneth McRobbie, Edwin Morgan, Peter Redgrove, Laura Schiff, William Jay Smith, W. D. Snodgrass, Charles Tomlinson, Richard Wilbur, Frederic Will.

leaving his native Transylvania to attend school in England, then emigrating to Australia with his parents, so that English became his first language, but also because this part of the world interested him. He had lately taught English in Greece, until he was given the boot by the colonels, which also aroused sympathy.

"Here is my hand, not a pig's trotter," I said, and when he looked at me in astonishment, I explained this slightly old-fashioned saying. This is what Hungarian peasants say when shaking hands on something. It would be his job to find the English equivalents of expressions like that. We settled on a year. He is now, as I said, in his twelfth year with the paper. His sensitivity to language, his attitude to his work, the breadth of his interests and his encyclopaedic knowledge make him irreplaceable. Over the years he has become part of the intellectual life of Budapest. His familiarity with it is shown by his notice of a book on the life and work of Gábor Devecseri, his poet-friend, who died eight years ago.

A second language editor alternates, usually year by year. The position is at present occupied by Jerry Payne, who teaches at the Heriot-Watt University in Edinburgh. Dr. Payne's study of the works of György Lukács established a contact with Hungary which soon thickened into friendship, a knowledge of the language and sympathy for the country and those who dwell in it. He wrote the review of István Kardos's "The Human Faec of Science."

His predecessors in the alternating post included Bertha Gaster, Ruth Sutter, Charles Newman, Julie Robinson, Peter Szente, Frank Lipsius, and Mario D. Fenyo. Bertha Gaster does not really belong to this list. She came back again and again, over the years, putting her mark on the language and style of the paper. Arguments are still settled by referring to what had been her way of putting things.

The editorial staff of NHQ is not large. Ágnes Széchy learnt to walk as a journalist after the war, at *Új Magyarország*, a weekly which in a certain sense was one of the ancestors of NHQ. She is responsible for the art section, a responsibility which is much greater than the amount of print devoted to the subject would lead one to imagine, since it covers the selection of illustrations. Every reader first looks at the pictures. Ágnes Széchy does her work with the swing and staying power that made her a champion figure skater as a girl. This sporting background explains why her article in this issue is on sport.

Bori Liszka, the editorial secretary, has also not appeared on the masthead up to now. Only half the introductory sentence applies to her, only order and a sense of proportion. (There is of course passion in her interest in

making Hungary and things Hungarian known, that is in what gives NHQ its meaning.) Everything passes through her hands. Hungarian manuscripts, translations into English, proofs. This is the seventy-fifth issue but no manuscript has ever been mislaid, no translation has been late, and proofs have always been returned to the printers in time.

Emőke Pintér recently joined the staff, the music section is her primary concern. Kati Könczöl types correspondence to five continents, in English and Hungarian. She joined the staff a dozen years ago, sat for her secondary school leaving certificate as a night student, married, and bore two children which means that for half of the dozen years she stayed at home, enjoying three years of child care leave for each boy, known colloquially by the acronym *gyes*, pronounced "dyesh". (There I go again, even here spreading information about Hungary, the usual *déformation professionnelle.*) This is where Adrienne Gáspár comes in: as a youthful granny she replaced the young mother, and has kept on coming in since when needed. Last but certainly not least our Girl Friday, Teri Kristály. We all know how essential good strong coffee is to all editing, particularly to Hungarian editing; making her the linchpin of our team.

The collective subjectivity of this jubilee number justifies I think that I tell the story of the conception, gravidity and parturition of a typical issue. Conception is much like that of journals that appear in the language of the country and the editors. The editors meet, and meet again, and many times more, racking their brains, though of course these conferences are much more like good conversations than medieval torture. A plan for the following issue somehow coheres, for the next two issues as a rule, the first with the appearance of finality, the second largely a bouquet of as yet unfulfilled wishes.

(The editorial board.) These plans are submitted to the editorial board. Its meetings are the most memorable and most enjoyable occasions, within the editorial process. Members were and are recruited amongst the best known personalities of Hungarian intellectual life. The departed include men who have made their mark on the literature and even the history of mid-century Hungary. I am now already bold enough to presume that our readers have some familiarity with Hungary and therefore feel certain that they know I am not exaggerating. What symposia those were in the early sixties when Ferenc Erdei argued with László Németh about the transformation of Hungarian society; that is one of the men responsible for the success of Hungarian agriculture with one of the most universal Hungarian minds. The latter carried on his debate with Erik Molnár regarding

the interpretation of Hungarian history and national feeling at meetings of the editorial board. Erik Molnár, like Erdei, served as a member of the government for many years but he was also, and chiefly, a historian. The debate thus took place not only within historiography, it was part of history itself. How could one forget the intellectual bouts fought by László Bóka, the novelist and literary historian, that Proustian forties and fifties personality, respectfully teasing Áron Tamási, that great writer and quiet man, who could erupt on occasion. We were all moved by Bence Szabolcsi, the musicologist's, reminiscences of Bartók and Kodály whose friend he was. Imre Vajda, one of the fathers of the 1968 economic reform, not only gave us the benefit of his immense knowledge but also of his rich, often bitter and difficult, but always rationally loyal, experience of the Hungarian socialist movement which went back to 1918. The last to leave us was Lajos Jánossy, the physicist, an authority on cosmic radiation.

These seventy-five issues covered a long period. Just how long these twenty years were is borne out by the fact that of the original thirteen members of the editorial board (we were not superstitious) only five debated the draft contents of this seventy-fifth issue. I do not have to introduce József Bognár, he is after all the most frequent contributor to this journal. He has written on the 1968 economic reform which he helped to prepare; the position of developing countries, stable international cooperation, East-West economic cooperation, the relationship between international affairs and the economy, the quality of life, the end of one era in the world economy and the beginning of a new one, the changing of the guard in the world economy (to translate the term Professor Bognár coined in Hungarian), are amongst his subjects. Thirty-three articles in all. NHQ flatters itself that these not only exemplify József Bognár's international reputation but also contributed to it.

László Országh is another member, the great English scholar, compiler of *The Országh;* there is no need to add "dictionary" in Hungary. NHQ felt special pride in the news of the award of a C.B.E. to him. Bruno Straub represents the natural sciences, writing down his name gives one twinges of guilt; science is an aspect of Hungarian life which is not reported or discussed as extensively as we think it should be.

Our consciences are all the clearer regarding poetry and art, the fields which István Vas and Anna Zádor represent on the editorial board. Since Vas will only read these lines in print I have no hesitation in saying that he is amongst the major European poets of our day precisely because his verse, like Kodály's music, is so unmistakably and typically Hungarian.

Anna Zádor is the grand young lady of Hungarian art history. Past

seventy she is younger than the youngest, than her students, her spiritual children who are also her friends. In her company, which I often enjoy outside editorial conferences as well, I feel rejuvenated, a student once again. For seventy-five issues now she has kept a jealous eye on the NHQ art section, making sure that Hungarian painting and sculpture, past and present, were worthily represented.

New members have stepped into the shoes of the departed. Let me start with a man who had been midwife to the journal at its birth. Gábor Vályi was literary manager of Corvina Press between 1950 and 1960. Together with Imre Cserépfalvi, general manager of Corvina at the time, he was largely responsible for the fact that this journal got off the ground in those difficult post-1956 years. His successor, being responsible for the publishing of this journal, is Norbert Siklósi, whose name can be read on our masthead. Vályi is now the Parliamentary Librarian, and writes with engaging self-irony on his present job. The others are (in alphabetic order): Tibor Huszár, professor of sociology at the University of Budapest, one of a generation who graduated around the time the NHQ started. Dezső Keresztury, one of the doyens of Hungarian literature and of intellectual life as a whole, historian of literature, a past head of Eötvös College, the Hungarian École Normale Supérieure, the first Minister of Culture of post-liberation times, but primarily and chiefly *poeta doctus*, a modern humanist both in his works and in the charm his person radiates.

In these days of specialization Béla Köpeczi, Deputy Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, is an exception that does not prove the rule. He has a scholar's interest in and knowledge of history, as well as of Hungarian, Rumanian, Italian, and French literature. Having just mentioned the École Normale let me add that Köpeczi has attended the institution in the rue Ulm. A favourite subject of his is the relations with France, and exile in that country of Ferenc II. Rákóczi, but as a Marxist historian he is equally at home in the Hungary of 1919. Do read his "Lukács in 1919" in the current issue.

There is some justification in the claim—with a certain Hungarian penchant for overstatement which we have tried to steer clear of— that our country is a great power in music. Its ambassador on the editorial board is András Pernye, professor of the history of music at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, and a television personality, the journal's regular record reviewer. Egon Szabady once again writes on a demographic subject. He is one of Hungary's leading authorities on vital statistics, and, as Deputy President of the Central Bureau of Statistics, responsible for their gathering. The declining and later reviving birthrate has been a matter of considerable

national concern these twenty years. Szabady concisely reports on the situation in the age of contraception and induced abortion.

The reason why Sándor Szalai has only been a member of the editorial board for six years, since NHQ 50, is that he spent the years before that in New York as one of the directors of UNITAR. I could not otherwise imagine starting this journal without him. Sándor Szalai is the person in Hungary I have known the longest. We were in the same class in primary school. When I was sweating at multiplying fractions Szalai was already juggling with logarithms, by the times I stuttered my first German sentences Szalai had the whole of Faust off by heart. Nevertheless he became neither a mathematician, nor a literary critic but—need I say it since we live in the twentieth century—a sociologist.

(Jubilee discussion.) The editorial board which discusses draft plans of future issues naturally talked over this seventy-fifth issue as well. So much was proposed in the course of a long, fruitful and jolly debate that, at one fell swoop, we settled NHQ 100 and 150 as well. *(Vivant sequentes!)* It was decided that every member of the editorial staff should write for NHQ 75 and that we should ask writers abroad to contribute as well. A second decision was to invite János Kádár who had written "Whither Europe?" for NHQ 50 to contribute to NHQ 75 as well. The editorial board also expressed the wish that this request be repeated when the hundredth issue is out together to which—and here I quote the minutes—"the editor added his personal wish to write the relevant letter in six and a half years' time."

As regards contents the most important decision was to take a good look at the introduction to the first issue, establish what our aims had been and what we managed to realize of them. This obvious way of tackling things was then rejected, since this was what the writer of these lines had already done in NHQ 25 and 50. What we proposed to do instead was to look at the first issue as a whole, the table of contents and the individual articles, then going on to try and produce an issue which harmonizes with them.

The idea was beautiful, so beautiful that it almost tripped us up. It would have been splendid to commission László Bóka's article on style and the new public once again, now, twenty years later when the children of the new public of old are listening to music, reading books, and going to the theatre, that's if they do. It would have been interesting to raise the problem of two cultures once again as József Fekete did in the first issue, C. P. Snow's notions having had a considerable impact in these Danubian lands. If we had wished for articles on these two subjects of the proper depth, and

worthy of their predecessors we ought to have commissioned them eighteen months, and not six months, before going to press.

What happened was that, as so often, life proved stronger than the plan, and since this journal wishes to reflect life we really ought not complain. I could also say, looking at my guiding star which confronts me across the desk, that a sense of proportion proved stronger than passion. Nevertheless something survived of the original draft plan, a fair bit of it in fact.

(Gravidity and parturition.) Before drawing attention to some of these aspects let me return to what I have apparently interrupted, to the story of the conception, gravidity and parturition of this issue. Conception came to an end with the decisions of the editorial board. One of these was that, after twenty years, it was high time that the editor be directly presented. It was decided that this was best done by publishing a translation of the transcript of the portrait film, or rather television interview, which had already appeared in the monthly *Valóság.* Vilmos Faragó had faced the cameras with me on the occasion of my sixty-fifth birthday. Faragó had been one of the authors of the first issue; a happy coincidence, or omen, one might say.

Gravidity can be divided into two stages, editorial and printing. There is no need to describe what is done at every periodical: commissioning articles, hurrying authors, reading manuscripts. At the NHQ real hard work starts where it ends at papers published in their own languages. The Hungarian manuscripts are put into English by translators who are not members of the staff though most have been working regularly for NHQ, over many years. Readers will be familiar with one or another name, I however append a full list allowing the so far nameless to leave the ranks of the anonymous: László T. András, Péter Balabán, the late Barna Balogh, István Butykai, Erzsébet Csicsery-Rónay, Mátyás Eszterházy, István Farkas, the late Péter Fenyő, Gyula Gulyás, Lili Halápy, the late Elek Helvey, László Jakabfi, Éva Polgár, Éva Rácz, Károly Ravasz, Péter Sebestyén, Sándor Simon, Mária Steiner, Elisabeth Szász, Margaret Varga, Ágnes Zádor.

Bori Liszka, the editorial secretary, bargains with the translators concerning the date when they deliver. Bargaining is literally necessary since everything is naturally done at the last minute. The language editors then read, correct and improve the English. This means that the translation has to be retyped. But what if the correction leads to a shift in emphasis or some other change in meaning? That is what Kitty Havas is for. She compares the translation with the original, with the meticulousness of a textual critic.

The manuscript is still not ready yet. It has to be copy-edited by László

Boros for the printer, the i's have to be dotted literally. All that remains to be done is for the final text—in English—to be reread by the literary editor, the deputy editor, and the editor. That is the signal for the headings battle as well. It often turns out that an article's heading looked all right in Hungarian, or in the first English version, but in the context of the paper as a whole it just will not do.

Finally, the minute before they close, the typescript reaches Kossuth Printers, that is Lajos Kovács who has handled our paper's manuscript from the beginning, seeing it through the various departments of the printing office. That is when the second stage of gravidity, lasting four months, starts. Hungarian printers are overburdened, their equipment is relatively out of date, but the fact that the text is in English while the typesetters, compositors, and proofreaders are Hungarians is the rub. Galleys and pageproofs are read again and again by members of the editorial staff. The mistakes we do not find are sure to be discovered by Ottó Beőthy, Parliamentary Librarian Emeritus, our senior copy checking editor. After every set of proofs I feel more and more convinced that, during his years as a librarian, he not only read every book but also remembered them all. All our remarks are then transferred to a master copy by Miklós Rátz, a senior typographer who of course reads the proofs himself. Let me add for the benefit of those who are gluttons for technical detail that we are given three sets of proofs. The fourth is then marked by our *imprimatur.*

By that time we are in it, up to our necks, preparing the next issue. For example, not long before writing these lines, on May 2nd 1979, we put our imprimatur on NHQ 74. Priting schedules this summer fortunately made it possible for this 75th issue to appear somewhat earlier, in August, reaching readers sometime towards the end of that month. They may then admire the somewhat changed, jubilee cover of journal, designed, as the covers of all issues are, by Klára Pap, except for the first few, the work of Vera Csillag.

(Tasks and aims.) It springs in the eye that János Kádár wrote the article which leads this jubilee issue. There are some no doubt who are surprised that I did not draw attention to this fact right at the beginning of this preface. Regular readers, however, will, after seventy-five issues be aware that this is not how things are done in Hungary today. I will I hope, on the other hand, be forgiven if I note, expressing our pride and joy, that János Kádár is not in the habit of writing special articles for the jubilee issues of periodicals. I do not think the exception is being made to honour the diamond wedding of this journal and its readers, it is an expression rather

of the importance which the country's governing bodies accord to peaceful coexistence.

This is the guiding thought of János Kádár's article. The title *Peace: — the Common Interest of all Peoples* already points in this direction. He starts with war and peace amplifying his point by talking of his own life: "I experienced the Great War when still a child but took part in the Second World War as a militant antifascist. I saw the fruit of the labours of the Hungarian working people being turned into ruins and burning to cinders, and saw hundreds of thousands of my fellows perish in the service of alien aims, men whose lot in life had been only poverty and the trials of inhuman labour for the benefit of the few."

János Kádár goes on to refer to his personal experience which confirmed his conviction that meetings by the leaders of countries with differing social systems successfully help to improve the international situation and to consolidate détente. He has travelled to capitalist countries on official business on seven occasions.

Readers will notice the difference in the way he discusses the 1960 journey to attend the UN General Assembly in New York and that to the Helsinki meeting fifteen years later: showing how a small country could increase its weight and influence step by step. He lists his journeys to Finland, Austria, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France, mentioning with special emphasis his visit at the Vatican and his talks with Pope Paul VI "of happy memory." János Kádár goes on to discuss what some observers from the West often throw doubt on: the active part taken by the Hungarian government in decisions on international policy, stressing in this connection that Hungary has always made, and will always make, its voice heard in the interests of the good cause, détente, peaceful coexistence, and peace.

In the second part of the article János Kádár describes developments in Hungary, emphasizing the importance of the widening of socialist democracy and of the strengthening of a national unity which includes every section of society. He refers also to the fact that religious people in Hungary no longer have irreconcilable problems of conscience arising from the confrontation of state and church.

The end of the article is a plea for détente.

György Aczél discusses the role of intellectuals in socialist society. He surveys the history of the relationship between Hungarian intellectuals and the labour movement, the working class and the Party, pointing out the stages of development, the progress made and the traps and tripwires on the way. It is only natural in Aczél's view, that constructive criticism of

social conditions should be considered a necessary element of democracy within present-day Hungarian politics since, in recent decades, socialist intellectuals, have become a social force tied to the people as a whole, with no desire whatever to become alienated from it. This serves as a basis from which György Aczél attacks a nihilist approach to the Hungarian society of the day. His starting point and his sole subject is the situation in Hungary, but the very concreteness of his argument should arouse interest wherever the relationship between the working class and intellectuals is an open question.

An article on "Theory and existing socialism" which János Berecz published in *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, deals with the broader, international aspects of the question. A slightly abridged version is included in the *From the Press* section of this issue. Berecz makes his point in a most essential debate carried on week after week, and month after month in the British, French, Italian, German and American press, to what degree is the experience of existing socialism valid in non-socialist countries. The creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism, the importance of the national factor, Eurocommunism, and proletarian internationalism are the key-words.

(In the light of the first issue.) The table of contents of the first issue is reproduced as an illustration to this one. Readers so inclined may compare and establish to what extent we have harmonized with chords then struck, as was our original plan. Gyula Ortutay then wrote on the living Széchenyi. Ortutay is no longer amongst the living, we are however publishing an article by Zoltán Kenyeres, on Széchenyi, on the occasion of the new publication of his journals.

Imre Vajda then wrote on Hungary's economic consolidation between 1957 and 1960. Strictly speaking every issue since has contained a sequence, mostly signed by József Bognár. In the present issue he remembers Imre Vajda by way of introduction to a discussion of the political and security factors in East-West economic relations, thus serving the better understanding between nations. He put forward new ideas as well whose validity points beyond the frontiers of the country precisely thanks to their novelty and daring.

Gerd Bíró contributes his own sequel to Imre Vajda's original article. He writes on the contemporary Hungarian situation, certain new features of economic policy and certain continuing difficulties that have not been overcome yet. The article exemplifies a feature this paper has always insisted on, that pink spectacles be discarded, that what troubles one be mentioned, often

with more stress than one would expect from a journal which, in its language of publication, shows that it is meant for a public abroad. In other words we wish to stay true to the Hungarian style of doing things, even in English.

Two short stories also help to dispel these misconceptions: "Scrape" by Lajos Mesterházi and "LSD" by István Csurka. Both, as it were offer a backhand view of contemporary Hungarian life. Mesterházi died while we were working on this issue, after a long and painful illness borne with heroic equanimity. He was the most committed of the writers of his generation. This story seems in a lighter vein, almost a chatty, humorous sketch, but by the time one reaches the end one becomes aware of the tough, biting satire and of the social reality at the back of it. István Csurka as usual excels in the naming of characters; the anti-hero's name in his "LSD" literally means Philip the Daring.

József Tanner wrote on a cooperative village in the first issue. The second collectivization of Hungarian agriculture was completed around the time when this paper began publication. The changing features of the Hungarian countryside offer proof of the success of Hungarian socialist agriculture, not to mention numerous articles in the world's press. We really intended to publish an article under the heading "A cooperative country". I must ask readers to be patient, the intended author was unable to meet the deadline. "Hungarian society in the seventies" in the *From the Press* section briefly refers to the progress made, particularly Tibor Simó's article on the structure of the peasantry which is there abstracted. The article as a whole, which covers *Társadalomtudományi Közlemények* 1978/4, is in itself a concise picture of Hungarian society today, pointing to achievements, but not neglecting anxieties.

Rudolf Andorka, a sociologist and demographer, discusses much the same subject in a thorough analysis of the long-term development of Hungarian society. Though of course more broadly and scientifically based the article nevertheless recalls a piece Vilmos Faragó published in the first issue on the building of a club in a working class district. Andorka uses a wealth of figures to present changes in the social structure, the process of urbanisation and its consequences, the marked improvement in economic conditions starting with the second half of the sixties, demographic changes, the changed relationship between town and country, the conditions of social mobility, drawing the conclusion that an analysis of all available indices shows that an essential process of modernization has taken place in Hungary since a start was made on the socialist transformation of society. Additionally social relations show a clear trend in the direction of equality.

This process is man-centred, a type of development which was given priority in the programmatic debate of the 1978 Unesco General Conference. Kálmán Kulcsár, who was a Hungarian delegate in the social science discussion, reports on this. His article shows the openness Hungarian culture and Hungarian scholarship show to worldwide intellectual trends, that Unesco is often banging doors which Hungarian scholars have already opened.

(Linguistic barrier.) I cannot tell whether C. P. Snow reread the introduction to our first issue where we referred to it, but anyway he mentions a "peculiarly tough linguistic barrier" in an article he contributes to the present one. Lord Snow writes that NHQ "made us less ignorant." Praise always does you good, but we are still a long way from a breakthrough. The barrier is still there though in recent years we have got closer to gnawing our way through particularly as regards verse.

Translations is the daily bread of NHQ, translating verse and elevated prose is the wine that goes with it. It is a great feeling to act as midwife when a Hungarian poem is reborn, and to see the new-born babe in print in our paper. István Vas published part of an English journal in our first issue, this time he appears as a poet, his real self as a writer, in Daniel Hoffman's translation.

J. C. Trewin, one of the many friends abroad of this paper, continues his praise of things theatrical in Hungary which he started six and a half years ago in NHQ 50. The paper's regular theatre critics are far more critical of what is performed on Budapest stages, but this is as it should be.

The annual Budapest Film Week took place while this issue was being conceived. The article by our regular film critic József Tornai, a noted poet, has been held over for reasons of space, but two professional visitors from abroad report on it: Mari Kuttna who has, incidentally, done a stint as language editor on this paper besides doing a number of translations, and Graham Petrie, who is English born but teaches in Canada. Their writings show that Hungarian films have managed to break through that tough barrier which has proved so impermeable to literature. Why? "Vera's Training" and "The Stud Farm" have travelled the world on celluloid, could it be that Endre Vészi's and István Gáll's fictions on which they are based are without interest to readers?

Or is language not the chief, or certainly not the only barrier after all, in the way of knowledge of a nation's literature and life spreading throughout the world, but also those petrified images, those cold war stereotypes which survive here and there? Or is the present no longer appropriate? Can we make a start on using the past tense? This is the subject of Hortense

Calisher's Letter from US. It tells us that the new world wishes to get to know that old and nevertheless newer world of which Hungary is also a part.

Science, like music, fortunately enjoys a common international language so that the tough barriers more easily make way to shared experience and mutual familiarity. What I have in mind is Maurice Goldsmith's contribution, and the importance of personal relationships, of friendship, in the mutual knowledge of each other of nations, societies and countries.

In the first issue we were still finding our way as regards Hungarian art, as this art did itself, in those years that followed the cold war and the personality cult, looking for new wine to put in new bottles. In the first issue we published sculpture, graphic work and coins by Béni Ferenczy, already reckoned one of the classics, at that time still amongst the living. Illustrations, both in colour and black and white, have since become a normal feature of each issue. In the current one we recall the painter Lili Ország, who died recently, and go on to discuss the experiments and achievements of the studio of young artists, in a richly illustrated article. True, we do not now publish anything by Béni Ferenczy but a fortuitious coincidence has arranged a memorial exhibition of his twin's, Noémi Ferenczy's, tapestry at this time.

(A kind of summing up.) Drawing up a balance, deciding what, and how much, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* realized of the objectives it set itself in the first issue: may I leave that to the reader? To make it easier for him we are offering an aid: in a separate volume, we are publishing a *Readers' Guide* to *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. This book provides an analytical table of contents to all seventy-five issues, from 1960 to 1979, with an index of persons at the end, to make things even easier for readers. Csaba Varga and Ágnes Liptay compiled it. It will be supplied to readers on request, and automatically to subscribers, on the occasion of this jubilee.

While writing I was thinking hard of a way to conclude this survey. Then I found it right in the material of this issue, at the end of Hortense Calisher's article. I shall use her words without quotation marks, I feel them to be my own: NHQ means hope and a bridge.

We meant it to be that at the start, and it is still that now.

I. B.

PEACE — THE COMMON INTEREST OF ALL PEOPLES

by

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

I

History bears witness that wars wreak increasing havoc and that, in the lives of countries and nations, peaceful and productive times advanced the cause of civilisation, and furthered the progress of mankind. Today, in the age of nuclear weapons of unprecedented destructive powers it is becoming even more obvious that the prevention of a new world war, and the preservation of peace, is an existential interest of humanity.

The longing for peace of the nations broke forth with greater strength than before following the dreadful suffering experienced during the Second World War. Thirty-five to forty years ago the masses, though differing in ideology and in their political views confronted, with great determination, the supporters of armed violence who threatened the nations; all the same almost twenty years were needed before the recognition that the cold war led to a dead-end gained ground among responsible politicians as well.

A new world situation had taken shape. The socialist system had gained world-wide importance and the classical colonial system had fallen apart. In such circumstances those leading circles in the capitalist world which faced up to reality were forced to take note of the fact that the nations wished to determine their own fate, and that a growing number wished to live under some other social system, governed by different principles. They had to recognize it was a vain illusion to count on threats, sabre-rattling and weaponry to modify this world-wide process.

Following the Second World War a new chapter opened in the history of the Hungarian people, and developments in our country took a road the essence and programme of which can be succintly expressed in two words: socialism — peace! The Hungarian people, in the course of history, frequently experienced the ravages of war. For more than a thousand years our homeland has been along the banks of the Danube and Tisza, in the centre of Europe. Its geographical position has surely made it one of the

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

In Hungary hostility to war and love of peace is one of the most forcefully effective political factors. Hungarian Communists have therefore always considered it a solemn duty to make their own contribution to the cause of peace. It is our conviction, and a fact recognized by a great variety of countries, groups, and persons, that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic serve the strenghtening of peace and détente, directly or indirectly with every single deed that is part of their international activities.

2

The cause of peace can be served in a number of ways. International conferences have an important role in this activity, as do bilateral talks on the occasion of official visits. My own experience has strengthened my conviction that meetings by leaders of countries with differing social systems can successfully aid the improvement of the international situation and the consolidation of security. It is part of the heritage of the distant past, and of the cold war years, that even the nations of Europe do not know each other well enough, what is more, owing to distortions that spring from prejudices they entertain false views about each other's lives and conditions. We are therefore not only in favour of the meeting of responsible leaders, but also of honest information, cultural exchanges, and mass tourism because these too help bring the nations closer to each other and serve the cause of peace.

The delegates of the Hungarian People's Republic are commissioned to represent and further the cause of friendship and cooperation between nations and countries on every platform. I have myself, on seven occasions, travelled officially to a number of countries as the representative of the Hungarian people. In October 1960 I was a member of the Hungarian delegation and as such I addressed the 15th Session of the UN General Assembly. Fifteen years later, in 1975, I was present at the closing stages in Helsinki of the historical Conference for Security and Cooperation in

Europe. Whenever the situation demanded I also took a direct part as a responsible office holder of the party in power in particular events of our country's bilateral contacts with the West.

I undertook trips abroad in addition to numerous meetings and discussions in Budapest with responsible politicians from capitalist countries.

In 1973 I was President Kekkonen's guest in the Republic of Finland, a state which maintains a policy of positive neutrality, a country and people linked to ours by traditions of friendship and kinship. The following year I visited neighbouring Austria, a neutral country, and then in 1977/1978, three NATO member states, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France. When in Italy, bearing in mind that the defence of peace, and the service of other basic shared interests, in our view, and in that of the 2nd Vatican Council, made the dialogue, and a possible joint stand, of religious people and agnostics desirable, I called on the Vatican and had important talks with Pope Paul VI of happy memory. These journeys expressed changes in the position of my country, the Hungarian People's Republic, as well as in international affairs.

In 1960, the year of the XV. session of the UN General Assembly, the possessed of the cold war still, disposed over relatively large reserves of strength. The angry response on the part of international reaction after progressive forces in Hungary took the upper hand following the suppression of the 1956 counter-revolutionary mutiny, was still in full swing. Essentially, however, there were signs at the General Assembly that the time had come for the governments of the capitalist countries to abandon their policy of passive and active isolation towards Hungary. Contrary to the intentions of right-wing forces, the meeting in fact meant a turning point in the international position of our country.

The fundamentally different atmosphere prevailing at the 1960 UN General Assembly and at the 1975 Helsinki meeting is evidence of the essential changes in the world political situation and in the international position of our country. The capitalist states had still been able to turn the UN General Assembly into a platform for cold war rhetoric directed against our country as well, but after a passage of fifteen years the Hungarian delegation was able to participate in the preparation and closing stages of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe as an equal and, let me add, as a recognized constructive factor.

It filled us with pride in Helsinki that Budapest, the capital of our own country, had been the place where that preparatory work took off, in which the Hungarian government took an active part and which, in 1975 achieved tangible, meaningful and clear shape in the Finlandia Palace. It had been

in Budapest, in March 1969, that the Political Consultative Body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization issued its appeal urging the convening of a conference designed to serve the peace and security of this continent. Six years later thirty-five countries, differing in size and strength, with differing social systems, differing policies and ideologies, but with equal rights and owing an equal responsibility to preserve peace and consolidate security, gave an affirmative answer to this initiative by accepting the joint Final Act.

The visits to Finland, Austria, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France were judged useful by the hosts as well, they served the interests of both the Hungarian people and of the inhabitants of those countries, helping to develop bilateral contacts and thus contributing to the cause of peace and the progress of détente both in Europe, and generally. The experience of negotiations confirmed that mutually advantageous and useful cooperation was possible between countries with differing social institutions, and even such as were part of different political, economic and military alliances; as long as the parties to such negotiations were guided by the desire to discover shared interests and by a sense of responsibility.

Since the existence of the Hungarian People's Republic, the country's relations with its allies, the socialist countries progressing along the same road, and with the young nation-states liberated from the colonial yoke have been developing organically and without a break. This was followed, with some delay, by the normalization of our relations with developed capitalist countries. By now, however, our political relations are settled in this direction as well. It should also be said that this normalization was produced by a meeting of our intentions and those of the given other party. Fundamentally the result was made possible by three factors: achievements in socialist construction at home that have received international recognition as well, furthermore a shift in international power relations favourable to the forces of socialism, progress and peace; and finally, the gaining ground of the ideas and policy of peaceful coexistence.

The international affairs of the almost thirty-five years which have passed since the Second World War show a world-wide advance of the forces of social progress and peace as a continuing process, a clear and obvious trend that no one can gainsay. The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic proved as successful as it did precisely because it was in accord with this trend, coinciding with the longing for peace of the nations, and the real interests of all countries.

Hungary is not a large state, it covers a mere 93,000 sq.km. inhabited by slightly more than ten million people. We are a sober people and well

aware that Hungary on its own cannot be a determining factor of the international situation. But we are present where the affairs of the world are discussed and we can and will speak up to serve the good cause.

The consistency of an open and honest foreign policy based on firm principle contributes to the international standing of the Hungarian People's Republic. This means in the first place that it is unambiguously clear where we belong and which our objectives are. It is generally known that Hungary is a member of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and of CMEA. We are also members of the United Nations. We bear that in mind, that is the foundation of our policies. As I mentioned above our friendly good relations with our allies, the socialist countries, are the cornerstone of our international activities as a whole. We support the peoples of the former colonies fighting for their freedom and development; and wish to deal honestly with the developed capitalist countries on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence, endeavouring to cooperate with all those responsible leaders who take a realistic view of factors that endanger peace, and themselves desire to further détente.

A clear position, based on matters of principle, has its own importance. The countries of the world, when dealing with us, know precisely what they can expect. There can be no misunderstanding concerning the side we are on. Our policy does not wobble, we have proved it that the world of the Hungarian government can be counted on. The long experience of our Party shows that such a policy best accords with the interests of the Hungarian people, our international allies, and all others we deal with. The advantages are not transitory or merely apparent, but lasting, and as a result our country is properly judged and esteemed by other states. That is why we wish to continue with this policy in the future.

We owe our international standing to our noteworthy achievements in the building of socialism; domestically, the country stands firm. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Hungarian Government and our people are all aware that work well done within the frontiers of the country is the primary foundation of effective foreign policy activities serving peace and détente.

3

In our country, socialist Hungary, the possibility that an individual should expropriate the fruits of another's labour has irrevocably come to an end. The working class stands firm, the power of the working people, the lawful order of the state, and the domestic situation has been stable for over

twenty years. Our people have recognized that socialism embodies their true interests. As a result our progress has been unbroken and dynamic and we successfully build the society of advanced socialism.

As a result of historical developments Hungary happens to have a one-party system. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which represents the Hungarian working class, that is broad sections of the working people is, at the same time, the governing party which expresses the interests of the whole of society. It interprets its duties as service of the people. The two basic features of this policy are unshakeable firmness on questions of principle, and a high degree of flexibility in practice. Our party, as the governing party, must in the first place look after the interests of the people as a whole, that is the interests of society as such, while concurrently registering and coordinating the interests of different classes and sections which still exist. We consider it one of the major achievements of the post-1956 period that the party, employing a sound working style, restored the respect in which it was held, regaining the confidence of the masses, securing the support of all working people. The party did this by liquidating the distortions and breaches of the law which cast a shadow on our system, making a programme its own which expressed the true features of socialism, making long-term perspectives evident, and ensuring a rise in standards of living.

The party manages and organizes the large job of socialist construction but it proclaims that a socialist society can only come into being as the work of the people as a whole. Socialism cannot be brought about without allies, without the support and active cooperation of the masses. For that very reason the ongoing improvement of relations with the masses is a matter of principle for the party and a basic political question. At the present stage of development the party's sound policy of alliances provides a considerable impetus to its leading role, as does the systematic work which Hungarian Communists do helping to widen socialist democracy.

The strengthening of socialist national unity is one of the most important guarantees of reaching our set objectives. As led by the working class and its party, the political alliance hammered into shape within the Patriotic People's Front expresses the productive unity of every class and section of society, of men and women who differ in ideology; members of the party, and those outside; the faithful and atheists; and members of the country's national minorities, in the interests of the shared socialist objectives. We think it a great achievement that the intellectuals as well, following the Hungarian working class and the peasantry, have enlisted in the service of the people and the cause of building a socialist society.

An important factor in this is the special care our Party takes to ensure the conditions for undisturbed creative work.

The constitution and the practice of state authorities ensure freedom of worship for everybody in the Hungarian People's Republic. We have ever considered it most important that honest religious citizens, doing a fair day's work building our country, should not be faced with irreconcilable problems of conscience by the confrontation of state and church. As the result of protracted patient work settling the relationship between the state and the churches, a religious citizen can now, at the same time, be committed to social progress and socialism, and be a faithful son of his church. In practice this manifests itself in the respect in which the state holds religious feelings, freedom of conscience, and the autonomy of the churches. At the same time the churches respect the constitution and the laws of the country, and the faithful perform their duties as citizens.

The service of the people is the essence of socialist power, and democracy is its tool. The example of our own nation bears evidence that the democratic nature of a system is not decided by the number of parties; what matters is who holds political and economic power. Since our socialist state serves the interests of all working men and women, institutions as well are accordingly more democratic than in any other type of social system. The same goes for the exercise of power. The socialist social order is truly the democracy, of the people, it is therefore objectively the most democratic system in human history so far.

Though we have not reached the peak of our progress yet by a long way and we know not only of achievements but also of anxieties and jobs to be done we can nevertheless confidently tell the world that human rights and duties form a harmonic whole in our country, and that a constructive atmosphere and mutual confidence between the leadership and the masses are characteristic of life in our country. This fact forms the principal home base on which our peace policy relies, which is so effective on the international scene. The efforts of our peace policy at the same time react on developments at home, creating favourable circumstances so that our nation can live in peace, security, and among improving living conditions.

4

The world is at the cross-roads. Whether humanity will take the road to peace or to a world war is being decided. In Hungary the cause of peace and of socialism are linked directly and concretely, because under the

circumstances of war, or even a tense international situation, it is impossible to do truly effective constructive work. The Hungarian People's Republic therefore puts its full weight behind the fight for peace, exploiting every opportunity to prevent the outbreak of a new world war, and in support of disarmament and international détente. Peaceful coexistence is not, by us, interpreted as a mere absence of war, but as a comprehensive mode of existence of countries with differing social systems which presupposes normal political relations, the widest possible economic and cultural cooperation, personal contacts, and mutually advantageous agreements.

It can be observed these days in connection with détente that a number of capitalist politicians and ideologues confuse what is of the essence and what merely a phenomenon, thus wrongly interpreting the international situation. Some of them have reached the conclusion that peaceful co-existence and the process of international détente unilaterally favour the socialist countries, and are therefore unfavourable for capitalist countries, causing them difficulties. To tell the truth, the roots of the present, and far from small, problems of the capitalist countries should not be sought in outside factors. History bears witness that such difficulties cannot be overcome by cold-war or war-like methods. The waxing of international détente is equally in the interests of capitalist and socialist countries.

It goes without saying that cooperation between the countries of the two world-wide systems does not affect the existing important theoretical, political, economic, or social differences, and even points of opposition. The competition and struggle necessarily based on them does not, however, exclude a relationship that accords with the principles of peaceful co-existence which serves the existential interests of mankind.

Hungary, as a medium developed country with modest material re-sources, is interested in multilateral—especially economic—cooperation between states. Not only our well-known economic position urges us in that direction, so do our principles and convictions. We firmly believe that extensive economic cooperation strengthens political contacts, and that an improving political atmosphere favours economic cooperation which, as long as it is based on mutual interests and equality, serves the welfare of every country and nation.

Immeasurably large arms expenditure is these days the biggest burden on the world economy. We therefore think it most important that the arms race, which demands such huge sacrifices, should come to an end. It is in the interests of every nation that Soviet and American, Warsaw Pact and NATO forces should never meet on the battlefield. SALT II and the other agreements we hope will follow are not only militarily important,

inasmuch as they put a break on, or call a halt to, the arms race, but they may well have a major effect on the international political situation as a whole.

Ill-intentioned calculations that a potentiation of the arms race can create insurmountable difficulties for the Soviet Union and the socialist countries is an illusion and evidence of a criminally narrow angle of vision. History has its lessons, one only has to remember. The intention already once ended in failure, soon after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, when the intervention of many capitalist countries, coordinated with the activities of the enemy at home, was not able to destroy the young Soviet state that bore the burden of the Czarist heritage and of starvation following the ravages of the Great War, not to mention other difficulties. The Soviet Union successfully stood the test of the Second World War as well when Fascism, strengthened by appeasement and the myopic policies of leading circles of the capitalist countries, attacked it after threatening to sweep a number of western bourgeois democracies off the board. The community of socialist countries that took shape in the post-Second World War years, successfully wrestled with the Cold War tribulations forced on them by the capitalist countries, though they were much less developed then, having to reckon with incomparably more unfavourable conditions. A final comment before I leave this question: the countries building communism and socialism wish to live in peace and they would love to devote to other objectives the sums spent on arms, but everyone must reckon with the fact that they hold the achievements of socialism and liberty as the highest, and that they are ready, and able, to defend these at all times, and under all circumstances.

The calm attitude and wise policy of the Soviet Union are reassuring for the nations. Its efforts in the cause of peace also express the desires and endeavours of the Hungarian nation, we therefore consider their support as our fundamental objective. Like the other socialist countries, however, though systematically maintaining our policy of peace, we cannot abdicate our right to take good care of the independence of our nation, and the defence of its socialist achievements.

In general raking over the past leads nowhere, a look back is however useful if you wish to learn something. Experience shows that the cold war only benefited the narrow circle of arms-industry monopoly capitalists for whom the arms race was profitable, for everyone else it only meant trouble, and its failure has already been proved once. It would not therefore make sense to replace cooperation by divisiveness once again, since this once before led to a dead end.

Political and military détente and progress in disarmament go hand in hand with a strengthening of confidence thus creating favourable conditions for the solution of every other question as well. These days there is a lot of talk about human rights. In my own view the most basic human right is the right to life. War and the danger of war offend this most basic right of man which is only, therefore, assured by peace. It is also obvious that given international tension and in an atmosphere where threats prevail, every state issues tougher regulations concerning law and order. When there is no feeling of security countries react more sensitively even over petty matters, and such questions grow to dimensions that are greater than their importance. When, however, states feel secure, conditions at home are more harmonious as well, and it is easier to establish international contacts in every field. Those therefore who truly care for human rights must fight for normalized interstate contacts, for détente and for peace.

In our own days the socialist countries and international mass movements expressing the will of the peoples and serving peace are waxing in strength everywhere. It is my profound conviction that the dwindling number of cold warriors are no longer able to force the world to change course, deflecting it from the road of détente. Humanity is looking forward to a more peaceful world. The Hungarian People's Republic, lined up with the socialist countries and progressing along the same road with them, is putting all its strength behind furthering this cause. We are confident that in the future as well we will find trustworthy opposite numbers amongst those responsible leaders in the capitalist world who have a sense of reality, and fellows amongst the peace-loving forces fighting for aims identical with ours. Peace is in the interests of every nation, we therefore have a common and magnificent mission: service in the cause of peace.

Kádár János
1979 VI. 12

ISTVÁN VAS

POEMS

Translated by Daniel Hoffman

BEETHOVEN'S OLD AGE

This is not in German, nor in the tongue
Of another barbarous tribe held together
By creed and secretion, nor in the intelligible Latin
Of order and loveliness in which they flatter you—
These sounds, in unspoken speech, you must understand this.

But I have made music unmusical for you,
In me art conquered itself,
Vanity, coquettry, prostitution.
This should tickle nobody's itches,
Make nobody's guts tremble
Nor stir those to dance who are frigid.
Let no lofty impotence
Sublimate its failure through this.

And in A-minor, nostalgia's noble key,
Like Mozart when he wanted to sob sweetly.
But noone should sob for me, noone
Should say of me, the poor deaf man.
This torment is not my concern,
This death not my death,
This viola chills the tears welling up in the eye,
This Quartet in A-minor refutes A-minor,
This saturation lays everything bare.

You must answer this, this you must answer to,
And question upon question, charge upon charge
And why, and why, and how could you do this?

And suddenly the melody sweeps clear, and I could do that too,
But I don't want to continue it, we are not singing.
I challenge you and, if you don't reply, I'll disqualify you,
And the violin strives, the viola grates,
And the cello moans: an answer must be given.

JUST BECAUSE

Fragment of an old diary

Just because that electric current between us
And around us and within us blew
All the fuses, and the charred wires
Poked out of the walls, and, beyond repair,
It never flowed again, for we had never,
Learned to handle it—just because of this?
Because neither blood nor name can entitle us
To any relationship at all—
Though when did I have half as much to do
With my other, my father, my younger sister, all
Blood relations? Just because
After that
It is not for her body any more?

Because she redeemed me then? Because
From what she gave me, I couldn't save
Even her beauty? Just my life, my sanity—
Is it just because of that we have no right to know,
Nor even to hear of one another?
When I hear her name all I can say
Is, 'By the way, what has become of her?
How is she? Do you ever see her?'
And when I die, we'll not be able to exchange
A few last words with one another.

And when she'll die, I'll follow
Her coffin, bringing up the rear
Of the crowd as if by chance.
And that part of my life is sunken

Like that Breton cathedral, and in vain
Every day its bell tolls down there.
Once in a while, I hear it
From the bottom of the sea.

THAT TOO IS AN ARS POETICA

From the Conversations of Einstein and Heisenberg

That, too, is an *ars poetica,*
The world, *nature,* the phenomenon,
Is unimaginably complicated.

It must be diminished—you see? Reduced
To simpler forms. Or when
A little child says 'ball'—the number
And variety of sensory impressions,
Phenomena, he compresses into that word!
Or should we actually believe
that the *ball* exists?

It is true enough, the laws of nature
Are simple. And that simplicity
Is a strictly objective characteristic.
Nature itself it is which leads us
To wonderfully simple, beautiful
Mathematical formulae.

What are you saying, *Herr Kollege?*
Among the conceptions of physics you list
Beauty, and form?

Yes, *Herr Professor.* Have you never
Been confounded by the simple
Almost frightening totality
Of complicated relationships, the way
Nature spreads them out before us?
Well, after all, these forms always

Find us unprepared when suddenly
They disclose themselves. What's more, I believe
That laws are born from forms.

Is that possible? That space-equation
Could then be even simpler... more elegant
Which will not be easy to achieve.
For you can't really overlook that all
Possibilities to come,
As well as hope, are indispensible elements
Of human existence.

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INTELLECTUALS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

I

In the course of the building of socialism the Party's relationship to and the alliance of the working class with intellectuals* has been consolidated. Further progress demands that time and again the Party and the working class must ask themselves, and the intellectuals: what does our age demand of this alliance, how can it be fostered, deepened and strengthened? In what direction should one proceed? What must be seized as the most recently discernible specific feature of intellectuals.

The continuation of the established policy towards intellectuals, the safeguarding of the epoch-making achievements and their considered development are in the interests of the entire nation.

Party practice in this respect is guided by tenets of Marxism–Leninism, being routed in scientific socialism. The role and function of intellectuals are discussed, as everything else, in terms of an examination of reality. The Party has rejected ideas fashionable in capitalist Hungary, proclaimed by the then ruling class, which in order to enlist professional people in its service, argued then that they were part of the middle class, a manipulation designed to alienate professional men and women from the people. The latter thus tended to think of intellectuals as part of the ruling class, not admitting those using their minds as a section of the working people. The Party also ceased to look on intellectuals with a jealous eye, as was customary in the years of sectarian-dogmatic distortions, and also in the same way, fought against revisionism which, misleadingly, proclaimed the political leading role of intellectuals, so to speak blaming the working class for the earlier distortions.

What then was the starting point in 1945?

* The Hungarian term *értelmiségi* is both the equivalent of intellectual as well as referring to those doing work requiring academic qualifications. For reasons of convenience the term intellectuals is here used except where the context excludes it. *(The Ed.)*

Intellectuals have, from the start, played a major part in the Hungarian, as well as in the international, revolutionary working-class movement. Hungarians doing professional work, making the cause of the working class and of the people their own, carried out important tasks in the most difficult years. They were active in the political, economic and ideological struggle, they fought in the years of legality and illegality, took part in the organization of strikes, in armed resistance and in other forms of antifascist resistance; the names of quite a few are today engraved on the roll of the martyrs of the working-class movement.

It is also true that the professionals of old were a socially and politically heterogeneous and strongly polarized section of society. The hypocritical "Christian-National" ideology of the Horthy era influenced a great many. A few shared in the power of the class of oppressors and enjoyed the privileges; a greater number accepted this power, but many of them, wherever they could, kept clear of the establishment. They, some more consciously and others less consciously, sought more humane values. The most class-conscious amongst them faced up to the counter-revolutionary régime. There were professional people and intellectuals, and in no small numbers, who could not see their way clear to joining the working-class movement, and its revolutionary wing, but nevertheless sympathized with its aspirations. Entertaining and cultivating the more radical of the bourgeois progressive reform ideas, somehow in contact with the trade unions and the Social Democratic Party, or joining the populist writers in their social criticism, or just simply being humanist in an inhuman age, they took the side of the antifascist forces and thus did a service to the cause of progress.

What then was the objective in 1945? To fight to win over the better part of the old professional people and intellectuals ideologically and politically, and at the same time to begin to train new intellectuals drawn from the ranks of workers and peasants. This renewal was of great help both to the people as a whole and to the intellectuals. Towards the end of the forties, the children of workers and peasants attending people's colleges, trade secondary courses or universities, were trained in the professions while they were politically active: the real difficulties of this transformation were at the time covered up by sectarian dogmatism, the achievements were queried by those who cheered for the opposite side who did not see things clearly. When we did our job, perhaps we knew less than we should have known that, in Gramsci's words, "We shall have to surmount tremendous difficulties if we want to create a new professional man—also for jobs requiring the highest qualifications—from a social group which has not traditionally developed the appropriate attitudes."

Not only the will of young workers and peasants, but also the assistance of some of the old professionals was needed to surmount these difficulties.

Today we are past the frictions between old and new professional people. The vast majority of intellectuals who came from working class families have stood the test, welding their own experience of the class struggle, class consciousness and socialist commitment to the skills and knowledge of the old professionals. Most of the latter found their place in socialist Hungary and espoused the aims of the new society.

What makes a man old-fashioned or conservative these days is the backwardness of his way of life and the obsoleteness of his ideology, and not the date on his diploma.

The fruitful and promising process of creating new intellectuals as well as the eager adjustment of the old professionals to the building of socialism were disturbed for a time by the harmful manifestations of what is called the cult of personality, illegalities and sectarianism in politics, and dogmatism in ideology. The temporary retirement and disillusion experienced also amongst some of the intellectuals—and certainly not merely amongst those who had qualified before the war—and the spread of dangerous revisionist views were largely a reaction to such errors and distortions. It must be said however that a fair number of the most extreme revisionists, some of the intellectuals, were recruited among men and women who had joined the working class movement for careerist reasons, and who had been extremists as sectarians and dogmatists as well. The age of the personality cult and the counter-revolution were a severe shock to the people as a whole including the intellectuals.

In the strengthening process of consolidation based on the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Leninist policy a whole range of doubts and reservations had to be overcome. As experience in general convinced the well-intentioned that order and legality in the country would be restored under the guidance of the HSWP, that political and moral norms would be reorganized under the aegis of hard work and not in that of empty phrases, intellectuals who still vacillated also took part in public affairs, doing their bit of the job to be done, answering trust with trust. Thus a body of socialist intellectuals came into being which is socially and politically united though perhaps not in every respect.

II

The importance of the professionally qualified has steadily increased in recent years. Even the figures bear this out. Counting only university graduates—although the number of those doing professional work is much

greater: in 1950 82,000 held university or college diplomas, by 1978 their number had grown to 400,000. Structural changes are even more important. The number of graduates from technical and agricultural universities rose more than sixfold, that of economists increased sevenfold; in 1930 there were about 11,000 qualified teachers in the country, while in 1978—when still there was talk, and not without reason, of a shortage—they numbered 148,000. The number of those academically qualified as artists was 968 in 1938 and 8,600 in 1978.

This change in the role of the professions, affected all those doing professional work and intellectuals as such. As against mythmongers who allotted leading intellectuals the role of prophets, moving ahead of the people as a biblical pillar of fire, intellectuals today are conscious of their proper place, knowing that the respect they have earned can be measured by the rewards their work and counsel have earned. They know how much they are needed in the fight for social progress, the advance of the people, the future of the nation, in short: for socialist growth. The social leading role of the working class and the Party's policy of alliance made and still make it possible for greater masses than ever before of intellectuals to feel and work in this way, with a wider and freer scope for action than ever before.

Socialist intellectuals are a force attached to the people as a whole which does not even try to get detached from them. They contribute to the enforcement of the social leading role of the working class inasmuch as socialism has changed their social structure, and most essentially in the sense that they have become allies and companions-in-arms of the working class. Today the professions are already united by family ties with the working classes. More than 70 per cent of all Hungarian families are mixed, their members include workers, peasants and intellectuals alike.

In the past intellectuals who only sympathized with socialism were called fellow-travellers. This expression has gone out of Hungarian usage almost unnoticed. A man who for twenty to thirty years has laboured for the new society, and has shared work, anxieties and joys with workers and peasants, is no chance fellow-traveller but a real mate, a comrade in arms. Many of both the old and the new intellectuals are members of the HSWP and active in political work.

Concurrently with historical changes intellectuals have changed their ways of thinking. The majority no longer require that—as good specialists and factors of intellectual-economic value—they should be handled with special respect and attention, but they demand to be considered equal in care, responsibility, trust and function, enjoying confidence and being

able to share in the tasks. They want to give up neither the right to criticize nor responsibility. They wish to have a home not only in the laboratories of science, in the arts, in therapy, in teaching, technology and jurisprudence, but also in Party organizations and Party committees, in the Patriotic People's Front, and in the trades unions. Today many intellectuals who are not Marxists but who support socialism, and the Party's policy, already share this responsibility and this intention with the majority.

The isolation of professional work and thus of those who do it has been reduced also by the ongoing process of growth of the share of intellectual activity in the daily work of technically highly qualified members of the working class and the peasantry. Where skilled specialists control and improve the highly automated or computerized processes of production it is difficult to decide whether they are horny handed toilers or professional men and women in the conventional sense. They work as a turner operates a lathe, but at the same time they are specialists who understand the mechanism of the processes taking place behind the switch-board. It has been proved that this process impairs the prestige of neither side. The consciousness of intellectuals, like that of the working class, is strengthened by any step which reduces the difference between manual and intellectual labour.

III

In recent years an epoch-making change has taken place in the formation of the socialist consciousness of intellectuals. Social and political events and the experience of travel abroad have brought intellectuals closer to understanding the real meaning and significance of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Intellectuals today, unlike their predecessors, have for the most part travelled widely and have experience of the world; what is more, they are able to think in global terms and to act accordingly. They travel on holiday, or officially, they work as specialists far from their country, and they are active factors in the socialist community which determines also the progress of their own people.

The appraisal of the role and potentialities of democracy has undergone a similarly favourable change in the thinking of intellectuals. The performance and general feeling of intellectuals, like those of all workers, are equally inseparable from the social guarantees of free and responsible thinking, that is, from the improving practice of socialist democracy. In socialist democracy there is no room for the sham liberty in which bourgeois power, opening the sluice-gates of ideological anarchy, fails to

distinguish between real social problems and the confusion of fallacies. Intellectuals see ever more clearly and recognize that the Party desires constructive, illuminating and clarifying discussions which promote genuine progress.

IV

A fuller identification with socialist society on the part of intellectuals does not imply proclaiming praise of socialist conditions from the housetops. The overwhelming majority hold the constructive criticism of social conditions to be an indispensable element of democracy, regarding the right to criticism as natural at the same time rejecting the nihilist negation of the existing conditions, the disparagement of achievements or their patronising condemnation from outside. The overwhelming majority includes those who—aware of the fundamental interests of the country, of the requirements of development, of the interests of socialism as well as of their own interests—think and criticize and mostly act by identifying themselves with this society and its aims.

There are some who, repeating the ideas of bourgeois ideologues, speak of the leading role of intellectuals and thereby enhance in the last analysis the marginal consciousness of those who do not wish to be integrated with socialist society, choosing to stand outside and thus placing themselves on the fringe of society.

The majority deems it absurd and anachronistic, even a mistake, to revive —as is done by some—the political myth about the leading role of intellectuals, or their coming to power, when the prospect offered is the progressive elimination of differences between classes and sections of society. Those who today proclaim the sterile consciousness of intellectuals as being above the mêlée exclude themselves from the tide of collective progress. Standing apart cannot be a basis for fertile intellectual constructive work. All this conceals the sloth of those who do not want to take part in the great and complex historical activities of the community, who at most point at others. A proof of the political mentality of Hungarian intellectuals and of their historical maturity, is that they increasingly ridicule those who shout from the touchlines at a time when every constructive person acting in the spirit of progress can have and does have a chance to play the ball. This is meaningless barracking, you cannot really see the fouls from the terraces, you certainly cannot see them straight. The inner determining processes remain completely hidden from outsiders.

V

In the present, complex world situation it is up to intellectuals to keep a firm hold on principles, to insist on profitable production and on caring human relationships. Only by satisfying such requirements can one stand up for Hungarian national interests at this particular stage of the international revolutionary working-class movement.

These high requirements can be satisfied only by those who do not follow the leader like religious fanatics but who consider themselves to be citizens with responsibilities in their own work. What is needed is that as large a number as possible of thinking people capable of taking decisions should be typical of various fields. To think, to doubt, to decide in healthy circumstances is possible only if clarifying discussions, exchanges of views, opportunities for collective thought become normal features and not sensations of everyday life. Every place of work, and every intellectual workshop must ensure that discussions be real and not pseudo, that they be dominated by real and important problems of communal life and not by passions or personal conflicts. Bringing such discussions to a successful conclusion means utilizing everything in them that is a contribution to the solution of one or another problem, everything that cements the unity of those who belong together; and it also means being open about what still has to be done.

Special duties await Marxist intellectuals in the continued progress of Marxist–Leninist theory. In contrast with the damaging practice of the personality cult and its revisionist mirror image, in today's socialist society ideology is not the right of privileged persons to sound fine phrases, a right which ordinary people had to concede; the progress of ideology is the right and responsibility of the community. Ultimately practice will decide what is progress and what is a stepback, what is revolutionary thought and what is opportunism. Not even the leading bodies of the Party reserve the right to monopolize ideological progress, but it is their duty to the movement to examine from time to time the ideological conditions, summing up the results and pointing out what is damaging. The results attained in practice can be stabilized, sound processes can be made permanent and really continuous, only if the theoretical foundations are secure, if practical development and its theoretical grounding, its generalization, are in harmony. This work cannot be performed in a modern way without taking into account the international achievements and experience of Marxist ideology.

Current international and Hungarian conditions mean exceptionally difficult tasks for intellectuals. We have reached a stage where there are no models and no patterns for what has to be done.

The world economic situation and the internal development of Hungary demand much of technology, economics and agriculture. The usual routine work is not enough if the Hungarian economy is to become internationally competitive, and internal development is to become continuous and secure. The economic tasks of our days may open up opportunities for intellectuals in science and industry.

In judging past and present processes and analyzing their social and economic aspects, an answer must be sought to new demands manifesting themselves at a higher developmental level, to working out ways of life worthy of socialist man. This offers not only the social bodies and social sciences but also the arts an opportunity to mould society.

A specifically new chance and obligation is indicated by the new demands which developing society and man make upon engineers and artists, medical practitioners and teachers in respect of health and educational services and the better planning of housing estates and their surroundings, homes and their furnishings. All this is also a fight against conservatism, indifference or adventurism, but society and the professionals within it can hardly expect a more difficult yet more beautiful task, a wider and more life enhancing option.

To sum up: in the recent past Hungary has managed to move from the satisfaction of elementary needs to the building of the new and superior society of developed socialism creating more complex demands and striving to satisfy them. This applies to the process of becoming a socialist man, to the big questions of how to live and what to live for in addition to that of what to live on. In raising these questions correctly and answering to the point, in creating the relative harmony of material-intellectual existence and the system of related demands, an extremely important role is played by intellectuals. Now that number fetishism has to be discarded once and for all, the time has come also for qualitative and innovative work in all fields of socialist construction, for a new trial of intellectual strength. The issue is not isolated economic tasks but the totality of a nationwide job. There is need for a kind of work and attitude capable of innovation which blazes a trail, with great intellectual force for what is new and stands for qualitative change in this complicated situation.

VI

Marx said in 1856: "Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance. All our invention and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in

stultifying human life into a material force."* Under socialist conditions, on the other hand, science and the arts develop on the ever brighter warp and woof of the ever richer culture of the community. The contrast between material and intellectual life is growing dimmer, the life of people is not being reduced to something determined in a material way.

The correlation between education and knowledge, between training and socialist conduct, between self-assurance in public life, conscious readiness to act and ability to decide is unequivocal and undeniable. Hungarian intellectuals can see and do see for themselves that the best—because the justest—way to develop the mind, education, democracy, and the personality is socialism. This is why they have identified themselves with the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. They know from experience that the working class is an organized force without whose victory professional people cannot expect the materialization of their finest hopes, and loftiest ideas. Identification means the chance and obligation to fight together and mutual frankness that improves cooperation.

This joint action secures the basis for the further elaboration and implementation of a programme of national progress leading to new heights and opening wider horizons. The vital issue of realizing our prospects is the progressive and continuous elimination of the division between manual and intellectual work—in the words of Marx and Engels: the genuine division of labour. This is an historic task which presents itself, so to speak, the moment that the socialist revolutionary transformation begins, but which really assumes central importance only at a certain stage of development, in the light of the scientific and technological revolution. This process has to be forced through not against intellectuals but with them and for their sake.

Intellectuals of our age can reach the peak of their possibilities only if they understand that the new culture is born differently, not only through individual and original discoveries. The already discovered truths and the already created values have to become public property, the property of the community, in such a way that they become the foundations of joint action. To help more and more people, hundreds of thousands and millions, to take possession of their own reality—this is an historic feat, perhaps greater than the discovery of some new truth.

It is the privilege of the workers of the intellect to do their part in this historic transformation.

* (The original English text is in Vol. 1., Marx/Engels Selected Works in three volumes, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969. p. 500.)

POLITICAL AND SECURITY FACTORS IN EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

I am dedicating the piece that follows to the memory of Imre Vajda, who was equally great and unforgettable as a scholar, public figure and friend.

Imre Vajda was the first to discuss the problems of East-West trade in the pages of NHQ, being prompted to do so by the autumn 1961 session of the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

These problems have essentially shifted owing to the passage of eighteen years at a time of accelerated dynamic development. The complex phenomena of a new epoch in economic history have questioned many of the hypotheses which determined our approach that time.

Imre Vajda's example and intellectual courage however still points the way for those who do research in the social sciences. Scholarship need not fear the absence of historical perspectives, its frontiers can after all be stretched not only backwards in time but forward as well.

In this age of forecasting there is no need to stress how right he was.

The modernity of methods does not depend on the time when various ways of approach were discovered or spread, but on the degree to which they keep up with changes in the world which elicit human action as a response.

In this multidisciplinary age there is no need to explain how right he was.

I have met few scholars and public figures in the course of my long career who integrated their faith in socialist ideals and progress with an unbroken conviction that the East and West must come closer to each other, and cooperate, to such a degree.

The laws of probability tell us that it was not chance that death caught up with him in Alpach, in Austria, at a conference where he was working for such contacts.

The writer of these lines who was not only fourteen years but—in this

rushing world—a whole age younger, admired most of all the way Imre Vajda was able to integrate the wisdom, understanding and patience of old age with the unbroken faith and always dissatisfied, and ever renewing energy of youth.

The problems of East-West trade—like any other complex world economic problem—can be approached in a number of ways. I mention the possibility of alternatives in order to place my own starting-point and endeavours in the context of other possibilities. East-West economic relations have their own history and criteria. Their problems can therefore be approached by setting out from the system of economic interests, the resources and intentions of both parties. Such an approach is well known and even conventional, therefore its scope and limitations are familiar. There are occasions, however, when there is good reason for examining this system of relationships in terms of its function in the world economy, the role it plays in the world-wide division of labour, and the effects it exerts on other systems. The question is likely to arise how the actual role is related to what is the needed optimum, and also whether the gap between the actual and what is needed retards the solution of decisive problems. This approach will make it possible to include, in addition to the interests of both parties, a large number of facts which, though highly important, have as yet no specific interest system and structure of interests underlying them.

Economic relations can be approached on a purely economic basis. This means accepting an attitude that is, in my opinion, somewhat technocratic, that politics is the business of politicians and security that of politicians and soldiers. Therefore, it is argued, in the course of economic analysis one merely has to refer to politics or security, there being no need to include them in the analysis. They are, in any event, in the view of many, insufficiently precise to be included in an economic analysis.

This is not the place for a detailed methodological debate. I will not criticize other methods but confine myself to showing why I consider my own to be sound and justified. In my view politico-economic and security factors have to be considered in a system of interactions. In terms of this it is evident that the various components of external economic actions (economic, political and security considerations) both precede and follow each other in time. If political and security issues are ignored or handled in a static way, one may give rise to the impression that a given economic result or situation was due exclusively to economic factors. This would

Based on a lecture given to a Round Table Conference in Vienna in April 1979.

amount to attributing effect mechanisms to them which they do not, in themselves, possess. The inclusion of political and security factors in the external economic processes also appears to be justified by the prominent role in the establishment of external economic relations always played by states. This sphere of their activity has further expanded in the past 25–30 years. Finally, one must also take into account that it is not only economic factors that are undergoing profound changes, here termed the end of an era in the world economy and the beginning of a new one, but the political and security factors as well, partly as a consequence of their own internal forces, partly due to the economic factor itself. As a result, the impact of the political and security factors on the economy also changes as even the effects of an economic origin do not appear in their original forms after they have gone through the specific mechanisms of the political and security spheres.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to place economic factors in the context of a whole made up by them in conjunction and interaction with political and security ones.

Alternatives may also arise depending on whether, in forecasting these economic relations, emphasis is placed on existing, persistent and influencing factors, or rather on changes in them. In the first case, economic relations are considered as continuous processes which grow organically under the impact of certain influencing factors and within certain limits. This growth is associated with certain cyclical phenomena. The change is given in that case, since growth itself implies change, and the structure is subject to transformation. Thus economic policy objectives also change, but the number and quality of those new elements which are outside the normal world of growth phenomena is small.

Placing emphasis on changes is, however, justified in cases where

a) the "internal" positions and policies of the national economies (integration organizations) participating in the relationship are radically transformed;

b) the possible system of the international division of labour essentially changes;

c) the external environment of the economy, the interrelated weight of politics, security, world population, various political and economic regions undergoes fundamental changes.

In this paper, therefore, my starting points are the world economy, that is the presentation of a system of interactions and emphasis on change.

In this the other component of the antagonistic pair will not be neglected. Economic processes, as they take shape in real life, always arise from a specific combination of old and new elements. The future is always made up of the

expanded elements of the past—in this sense continuity always prevails—yet there are periods in economic history and in the history of mankind as such when the new elements appear in such a quantity and of such a quality that they also permeate the old processes and compel everybody to take new decisions.

The new stage in relations and the seminal change in the world economy

As we move from one economic era to another, East-West economic relations have entered, in a historical sense, into their third stage. The first period covers the cold-war years in which the possible scope of economic relations was directly regulated or restricted by political and security factors.

In the 1960s, a new period began in East-West economic relations as well. Development often halted and temporary setbacks also occurred. The opening of the economy was not complete since the political and security limitations persisted—openly or in the background.

The accelerating flow of technologies and know-how, of commodities and services did not extend over economic relations as a whole since various prohibitions or the possibility of them continued. Political and power conflicts abated but did not cease, and the political-security structures built up in the cold-war years persisted, though the range of their activities was greatly curtailed.

Both parties mutually and tacitly acknowledged that the expansion of relations was mutually beneficial. In two very important spheres however earlier considerations (stemming from security and political structures) still remained in effect with slight modifications. The first was the degree of dependence and the second the transfer of technologies with possible alternative uses.

The minimization of dependence was interpreted in the West in the sense that in respect of vitally important energy sources and raw materials eastern imports were not allowed to exceed 15 per cent of total consumption. Inasmuch as such imports began to approximate that ratio, the fuels and raw materials concerned were to be obtained from other sources.

When it came to alternative technologies, supply was tied to high licence fees. This meant in practice that normal exchange built on the principle of mutual benefits could not come into being.

Both parties expected that an expansion of commodity turnover would be beneficial, and that an economic opening would mean more risks and, potentially, more social dangers for the other.

Within these limitations—the existence of which made itself felt still more by temporarily growing political tensions—mutual economic interests did not prove to be sufficiently strong to make comprehensive trade agreements possible. As a result, there is no comprehensive agreement between the CMEA and the Common Market even today, though the latter has concluded commercial agreements in the recent past with about 60—70 countries, while the Soviet Union has not yet been accorded—at the time these lines were written in February 1979—the most-favoured-nation treatment in trade with the United States.

No doubt, substantial results were achieved in the second period, too: the volume of trade turnover multiplied, new forms of cooperation were developed and, in addition to trade in commodities, production, financial and scientific and technical cooperation agreements were concluded, consultations relating to bilateral economic policy and development ideas on a bilateral basis were held, and the share of East-West trade increased within world trade.

But the non-economic restrictions on expansion provided evidence that the form of mutual economic opening chosen, with internal structures left unchanged, and without definite mutual commitments, that is in the absence of agreements on trade policies, entailed the danger that in the case of increasing political tensions steps would be promptly taken to curb developments without any possibility for countervailing forces inherent in long-term mutual interests and in firm commitments by both parties effectively offsetting them.

The third period of East-West economic relations is connected with a series of events amounting to a seminal change. We look on this seminal change not simply as the resultant of forces bringing about economic changes (acceleration or deceleration of growth), or of cyclical changes, but as the conglomerate of interdependent, fundamental, long-term changes which will basically influence the world economy for decades to come. But experience has taught us that the economy in the narrower sense of the term is able to take note of even profound and long-lasting changes only through its own signalling system (in terms of prices, wages, profit, currency exchange rates, fall in the purchasing power of money, terms of trade, supply, demand, shortages, etc.). This, however, is connected with the fact that the various economic systems and mechanisms are confined primarily to the adaptation of short-range effects, while the most appropriate method of long-range reaction on the economic (and non-economic) borderland has not been solved yet even by theoreticians. The fundamental changes referred to extend not only over the economy but also over the relationship between

man and nature which also has important economic factors, though it is essentially a biological problem.

It follows from the interdependence of economic, political and security factors that these great changes also have their political and security aspects, and that the resulting situation brings to bear an essential and steadily increasing influence on the system of internal and external circumstances and conditions, on the basis of which the political and security institutions* can formulate their policies.

Finally, I also wish to point to the fact that at the present point of time (in the late 1970s) the above-mentioned changes have not yet unfolded to their full intensity and extension, and that the political and security systems have just begun a comprehensive analysis of the situation. There is nothing surprising in that since economics is the fastest and the most dynamic of all forms of movement, while politics and security—the structures of which are usually more rigid and of an earlier origin—as a rule, adjust themselves to changes more slowly. One should emphasize however that between the economic system, on the one hand, and the political and security systems, on the other, a conflict has arisen, more serious than customary, which has led to a crisis of international economic relations. This crisis—of which I shall have to say more below—has other motive forces as well. One just has to think of economic phenomena, such as the decrease in the rate of economic growth, or the contradiction between the economic system and the adequate provisioning of the rapidly growing world population. This major change includes both factors that extend contacts and such that restrain them, it however entails more powerful constraints making for economic cooperation as regards East-West relations as well. Nevertheless the dynamism of these relations has somewhat slackened in the past two or three years, two factors being largely responsible. One is political hesitation and uncertainty on the part of the West regarding contacts that can and should be established with the East; in other words barriers that once again present themselves in the political and security sphere.

The other brake is manifest in the CMEA countries. Much will have to be done there, changes will have to be made, in structure and organization, to allow them to produce economically commodities for export that can be successfully marketed under oligopoly conditions so as to balance their growing import needs. This, naturally, requires a period of time in which effects that spring from the political and security sphere help, and at least do not hinder such major economic readjustment.

* What is here meant by security is national security. I shall not be concerned with problems relating to law and order within states and systems.

The seminal change and the relations of national economies

It is common knowledge that in the 1960s national economies developed organically, rapidly and securely. Since the seminal change, however, barriers to economic growth inherent in the natural systems, in the obsolescence of the growth types known before, in external economic relations as well as in the opposing requirement systems of the economic and political-security factors have increasingly appeared. These limiting factors have led to the slowing down of growth in the developed capitalist and socialist countries alike. Inflation in the developed capitalist countries and disequilibrium (primarily in the external economy) in the socialist countries act as retarding forces. In the developed capitalist countries, the existing system of the instruments of growth—based on Keynesian theories—feeds inflation to a greater degree than growth itself. One could argue that there are signs that, at present, the macroeconomic system of guidance and management is not fully functional in developed capitalist countries. In the socialist countries, import-intensity per unit of growth has increased to such an extent that under the present circumstances, in the given structure and under the prevailing conditions of economic policy, as well as owing to a slower rise in the import-intensity of the developed capitalist countries, it can no longer be covered by exports. There is no doubt that the absence of economic equilibrium is closely related to the slow implementation of certain requirements concerning structure, quality and efficiency. (Let me note in parenthesis that the contradiction between import demand and export opportunities is also connected with the terms of trade which have greatly deteriorated for countries suffering from a shortage of fuels and raw materials). What is needed in the socialist countries is that they having until now joined in the world economy primarily from the import side, should fit in with it from the export side, too. Facts of economic history, such as the economic blockade between the two world wars and the embargo policy, which made the establishment of relations difficult and extensive for the Eastern European countries even from the import side, are responsible for the present-day situation. Under present conditions adjustment from the export side calls for mutual cooperation since economic wars—unlike in the past—have to be avoided in the future.

It should also be emphasized that in the course of the development of the two economic systems increasing importance has to be attached to external economic relations as the national economies vigorously demand the benefits, opportunities and gains derived therefrom.

Compared to the earlier state of affairs, the mutual dependence and

responsiveness of particular economies have greatly increased. The system of mutual dependence and determination, that is interdependence, results partly from the natural-biological systems, partly from economic relations. Obviously, interdependence in itself means that the movement and development of the economies are the outcome of a conscious or accidental interaction of a great many factors, and thus the economies and the economic relations themselves have become much more sensitive than at any time in the course of economic history. The effects of interdependence on both parties are a new feature the importance of which is in no way lessened by the asymmetry which still prevails in East-West economic relations.

But the question justly arises whether the requirements of the system, that is the fact of interdependence, are in harmony with real international economic relations. An answer will first have to consider the economy in the narrow sense of the term to include, afterwards, also the effects of the political and security systems.

There are at present over 160 national economies and divergent, that is potentially conflicting, socio-economic systems in the world, and the interests of the different economies and their levels of development exhibit tremendous disparities. A growing problem arises from the fact that the international economic system suitably perceives only wants that are covered by purchasing power. This constitutes a serious problem at a time when economies consisting of hundreds of millions of people have no, or hardly any, purchasing power.

In their present form, existing international economic relations are unsuitable for the nurturing of the global, long-term action systems arising from the requirement system of interdependence, which decisively influences future development. Let me note in passing that the weaknesses of the institutional system can be mitigated to some extent by a concerted action system aimed at a definite, specific purpose, but such coordinated models of action presuppose far-reaching agreement not only in respect of a concrete specification of aims but also of the implementation of action. The need for far-reaching agreement applies exclusively to the action concerned, but one should not forget that the aims, means and effects of the action systems of this type are widely ramified, and thus implementation in the course of operative work requires high-level and completely unambiguous cooperation.

Dangers of instability in relations

The uncertainties of the international division of labour and of the world economy are also reflected in a study, prepared under the auspices of the UN

by a team headed by Wassily Leontief, on the future alternatives of the economic processes and on the basis thereof on the expected demographic, economic and environmental state of the world in 1980, 1990 and 2000. Their analysis conducted with the help of a considerable mathematical apparatus, forecasts that, in the period between 1970 and 2000, taking the world gross output to rise by an annual 4.8 per cent, world trade can be raised by 6 per cent per annum. It should be noted that in the period between 1960 and 1970 both gross output and the growth rate of world trade were higher (the latter by 10–11 per cent!).

But forecasts so far analyse and project—in consonance with their task—exclusively those relationships which are here classified as belonging to the economy in the narrow sense of the term. It should, however, be pointed out that the potentialities and possible results of such insufficient development are made still more uncertain by the effects deriving from the political and security sphere.

Two very important changes are taking place in the system of international political and power movements.

a) There are powerful tendencies and endeavours to replace the "bipolar world system" (a term taken over from the study of politics) by a "five-polar" system, in which the Soviet Union and the United States continue to remain the strongest countries ("real" superpowers) but the other three, China, Japan and Western Europe (regional great powers), will also have one or another attribute of the superpowers, and thus they may have a substantial influence on the development of international political events either directly (in the regions concerned) or indirectly, through the interrelationship of the two superpowers.

b) In addition to the five-polar system there are also over 160 states and about 16 regions, and thus the possibility of local, national, minority or tribal conflicts has strongly increased. In the global system, conflicts of this nature may be transformed into a world problem, and may further complicate the interrelationship of the participants of the five-polar system.

Account must be taken of the effects which the international political system, consisting of many, potentially conflicting units globalized in the five-polar system, exert on security policy ideas. As shown also by past experience, the effects deriving from the political-security system have always retarded and restricted the desirable, that is economically rational, development of international economic relations.

It is impossible as yet to give a full account of the consequences and alternatives of the security considerations in the present situation as the here described system of international political movements is still in the

process of unfolding. Nor is it quite clear as yet how the balance of power between the USA and the Soviet Union should be assessed within this rather complicated system of movements. It has come to be called a balance by mutual deterrence, and embodies a certain combination of the factors of cooperation and rivalry. The problem to what extent and in what form the security sphere accepts the system of mutual dependence or recognizes the danger that exists in its preventing or hindering the formation of the necessary, rational, patterns of behaviour is no doubt decisive from the economic point of view. Increasing mutual dependence can change into an element of balance which, by direct or indirect understanding, will be left out of the scope of rivalry, but it may also induce reflexes with consequences leading to individual countries making efforts to diminish their own dependence by a peculiar combination of political and military means on the grounds that else, if a given element of the situation should change unfavourably for them, they might be in for danger. Therefore, unfortunately, in the world today, given various factors and resources of imperialism, one must still reckon with actions, that is sources of real danger, motivated by the intention to reduce dependence one-sidedly, such as political intervention in the life of countries on whose economic behaviour the interests of certain stronger countries depend, the establishment of military bases to secure commercial sea routes, and the like. The here outlined action system is, however, dangerous not only politically, but also inflicts heavy economic losses on the world as a whole, making the acceptance of the system of mutual dependence, which is a precondition for any real economic development, difficult if not impossible.

A development of international economic relations in keeping with other prevailing conditions and in harmony with the world's needs, is therefore at present handicapped by the following factors.

1. That needs are at present registered only through the market. 500 million people suffer from starvation or malnutrition to a varying degree but this does not mean that there is not, or cannot be, oversupply in the grain market.

2. The slowing down of the growth rate of national economies due to disequilibrium.

3. Political and security effects which also made themselves felt in the 1960s (the indirect rejection of the principle of mutual dependence, the temporary blocking of the export of developed technology, the use of trade to serve political ends, etc.).

4. The inevitable change of policies and ideas concerning the international political and security system and the uncertainty and consequences

resulting therefrom (the change-over from a bipolar system to the multipolar one and the resulting balance-of-power problems as well as the intricate "globalization" of the regional conflicts in an institutionalized world).

5. The spin-off effects of the uncertainties, tensions and regional conflicts which aggravate the general atmosphere.

Sizing up the effects, weight and nature of these limiting factors leads to the conclusion that the crisis of international economic relations will be intensive and long-lasting. This is because account must be taken of the presence of factors deepening and expanding the crisis in all phases, ranging from the national economic problems to regional political conflicts, as well as of their self-reinforcing impact.

Ways of alleviating the crisis in international economic relations

Hence, the problem arises both in respect of the world economy as a whole and of East-West relations: what can and must be done in order to stop the crisis leading to a breakdown.

Those responsible are aware that crises deriving from the trade cycle are relatively easy to eliminate within particular economies by taking certain political and economic measures as the natural forces of the economy also work in that direction. If the consumers buy less, or the entrepreneurs invest less today, this behaviour will change after the lapse of a certain time because the reserves of the consumers are limited and entrepreneurs are also aware that well-invested resources yield more than a build-up of liquidity.

But there are no established methods as yet for dealing effectively with complex, secular, international economic crises as the package deal of economic policy is drafted not by a world government, but by 160 national economies reacting separately to a given situation, each setting out from its own system of interests and potentialities.

The efforts of individual economies and integration units made in awareness of their own interests and capabilities will continue to play a decisive role. Yet what constitutes, in the last analysis, the basis for establishing economic relations are individual economic activities consciously complementing each other, while governments or the contracts and recommendations of international organizations only ensure better conditions for further developing those activities. In this sense, the interested parties have to build their common efforts on an already established basis which was still an effect yesterday but will tomorrow become a condition for approximating to the next objective.

It also appears to be justified to point out that the internal state of economies stimulates and compels efforts to expand East-West trade as well. This is because the growth-promoting effect of trade with partners outside the integration area has become reinforced and intensified. An economy which ignores that effect diminishes its own growth potentialities. The economies of the European socialist (CMEA) countries have arrived at a stage when it is imperative for them to adjust themselves to the world economy with which they have been linked up so far primarily on the import side, on the export side as well. This has well-known historical reasons: the economic blockade of the Soviet Union after the revolution, the embargo imposed on the CMEA countries after the change of regime and extending at that time over 50 per cent of the usual commodities of international trade. But this type of growth established under such circumstances has already become outdated, while development has created new and wider possibilities. The interests of both parties in developing relations are also increased by the fact that the CMEA countries have become indebted, and debt servicing or the repayment of credits call for surplus exports and more economic relations of every sort. Finally, tripartite cooperation schemes appear as new potentialities which are sure to play an important role in the world economy in decades to come.

Considerable significance will belong to cooperation schemes progressing under the auspices of the Economic Commission for Europe in environmental protection, energy supply and transport. Of course, these recurrent and substantial forms of cooperation cannot be regarded as substitutes for those agreements on trade policies the conclusion of which is badly needed. These new forms may become even more valuable if the cooperation schemes taking shape now will prove suitable in practice for promoting the expansion of mutual dependence.

Finally, it should be mentioned that during the past one and a half decades relations have developed not only in terms of quantity but also as regards their organizational forms and frameworks. The new forms of established relations (new in respect of East-West relations) such as the growing activity of the European socialist (CMEA) countries in the international money and credit market, joint ventures or cooperation agreements, tri- and multilateral forms of cooperation, associations created on a vertical basis, ranging from research to marketing, various skeleton cooperation agreements; different forms of long-term cooperation—all testify that the common basis—on which the essential major tasks of the future can be built—is already strong and extensive today in comparison with the past. According to the report of the European Commission for Europe (ECE),

in mid-1978 the number of joint ventures in operation was 239 in the capitalist, 13 in the socialist and 73 in the developing countries, and multilateral cooperation schemes have already been established with the participation of 7 (4 capitalist, 2 socialist and 1 developing) countries. The number of East-West cooperation ventures is already close to 2,000, an outstanding result despite the fact that the number of high-volume cooperation contracts is still rather low.

Forms of cooperation built on such economic interests and already accepted in practice or expected to expand will play a very important part in East-West trade in the future as well. These forms often came into existence with a view to experimentation, and a relationship was sometimes established before the theoretical basis for further development was laid. But today, there are already beaten tracks, not only with precedents but with certain methods of solution applied on a massive scale and successfully put to test. The new forms of relations, in addition to having proved economically efficient, have also expanded the framework of cooperation and have forced back the limits that political and security considerations have set to cooperation. They have proved in practice that they do not entail unbearable political or security risks.

I am not saying this because I think that political and security considerations necessarily lead to rigidity or inflexibility. Within every society different but interrelated interests systems exist simultaneously. In this respect, politicians and the representatives of the security sphere are responsible for the existence and balanced growth of their nations, and this responsibility is very great. I understand and accept that, yet I wish to stress that economic changes are very rapid and, as a result, policy concepts are susceptible to speedy outdating. Therefore it is necessary for us to understand each other and to treat each other equitably. Greater flexibility will be needed in the future. This flexibility is indispensible even if we justly suppose that what an economist considers to be flexible is entirely different from what, say, a soldier does.

Let me stress once again that economically motivated relations, whether they have just started or are already established, constitute a firm basis for further development. They can be intensified substantially in quantity and further enriched in form: moreover, they are also suitable for lowering barriers erected for political and security considerations.

While emphatically underlining this, I also wish to point out that, in the present situation, it is imperative to take new decisions on political and security issues in East-West relations and in the system of international economic ties in general if the exacerbation of the crisis or a possible

collapse are to be avoided. Only a thorough analysis of the common political, security and economic spheres and the approximation of the way of thinking of these different logical systems are likely to yield a decision which helps the solution of today's serious problems possible.

The security aspects of the new world situation

The new political and security decisions cannot, of course, be taken one-sidedly as no party is willing to disarm if the other continues arming. Hence, such decisions can only be bilateral (agreements between two military alliance systems on reduced, equal security), or general (agreements covering all or the overwhelming majority of states).

But bilateral or universal agreements presuppose the understanding and acceptance of the fact that in our time—particularly in the decades to come—the balance among political, security and economic factors will change. These factors are independent in the sense that each has its own specific logic, system of interests and way of operation. They are in a close mutual relationship, may well come into conflict with one another, and also reinforce one another. These interactions strengthen and will further intensify; a rapprochement is bound to take place in the future. Their mutual relationships and structures are determined by the past. Present experience suggests that more integrated decisions will be needed. In our own time, security in the classical sense is threatened both from the political and the economic angle, and this process will still strengthen owing to many outdated political and social structures and economic underdevelopment. It logically follows that any security system is unstable and insecure which withholds economic energies from the political and especially from the economic sphere on such a scale that problem-solving in its own sphere becomes very difficult. But security in the wider sense also involves a well-balanced political situation and an economy capable of successfully solving its problems. In a war situation the economy constitutes the material background, and politics the moral and intellectual background, of the security sphere. It follows that a security system which already in peacetime unjustifiably withdraws too many moral and intellectual factors from politics and too many material factors from the economy necessarily finds itself in a dangerous position and diminishes security in the wider sense of the term. What material resources are then withheld and what potentialities are restricted by the security sphere in the international economic system and in the national economies?

1. Reference has already been made above to the fact that the policy concept radiating from the security sphere rejects the idea of mutual dependence and prevents the flow of the latest technology to alternative uses.

2. Owing to the balance by mutual deterrence which grew out of the security concept as well as the intensification of the armament of the developing countries, the world's armaments expenditure is 400 thousand million dollars today or 7 to 8 per cent of the sum of national incomes.

3. As a result of the more acute arms race, a specialized military industry has been created within particular national economies*, with the best innovative forces and skills concentrated within it under much more favourable conditions than in the civilian economy (the absence of economic efficiency is not an excluding factor in development, and the degree of risk-taking is considerably smaller). As a consequence, defence industries have achieved a key role in technical progress, but—owing to their closed character and the special use of their products—they cannot perform the leverage role which should devolve on a key industry.

No doubt, in case these material and intellectual resources were put to more sensible use and restrictions were reduced, more favourable conditions could be secured both in the national economies and in the world economy as a whole.

Since questions of this nature can only be settled on an international basis and by agreement, the issues relating to the development of East-West connections should be clarified at one of the conferences devoted to discussing the problems of European security.

The system of guiding discussions between the Common Market and the CMEA cannot be recommended for this purpose since the United States is not a member of the Common Market. This circumstance does not of course mean that there is not every justification for placing the discussions between the Common Market and the CMEA on a solid basis all the more so as, in the course of recent years, the Common Market has already concluded successful commercial negotiations with over 60 participants in world trade. It would be hard to understand if, owing to various diplomatic difficulties connected with the question of status, these two economic alliances—whose interrelations have a great influence on the operation of world economic relations—were not able to agree on a formula with the help of which successful discussions could be conducted on the general regulation (in principle) and the concrete implementation (in economic policy) of the system of relations.

* This phenomenon was already referred to by President Eisenhower when he spoke of the potential intertwining of the military-industrial complex.

However, a comprehensive and long-term solution of the problems of East-West trade in today's complex world economy embedded in the circumstances of mutual dependence, advancing or suffering set-backs, is possible only in a wider context. This is because the general atmosphere (including the political factors) and the system of conditions of East-West trade exert a powerful influence on the economic relations of the developing world, relations which have so important a role to play in the economic development of these countries. The developing world also constitutes a most essential energy and raw-material basis—primarily—for the developed capitalist countries, and a very important market (partnership in the division of labour) for both the capitalist and the socialist world. Finally, it is in this three-polar system of relations (East-West-South) that the greatest contradiction of the world economy today—the economic gap between the developed and the developing countries—has to be resolved with great meticulousness and determination. Coming close to this requirement from the economic (and not only from the political and security) point of view provides the precondition for the establishment of a well-functioning world economy.

It follows that in addition to the North-South and East-West negotiations a World Economic Conference is also needed with the aim of approximating to the increasingly sensitive problems of the world economy in their full complexity, i.e. bearing in mind the impact of the political and security factors on the world economy. It would be conceivable and even expedient, if the discussions and negotiations already in process (on the North-South and East-South relations) constituted a section each of the World Economic Conference.

The complex character of the Conference (i.e. the inclusion of the political and security factors in the analysis of world economic interconnections) is justified by the fact that science (as an indirect productive force) and the economy (which utilizes and speedily spreads scientific discoveries through economic competition transmitting them in the form of commodities and services to hundreds of millions of people) have brought about in their accepted and supported action system complex linkages of interactions, mutual interests and dependencies which the international political and security structures, subject to modifications only to a minor extent and motivated by different considerations, have not fully taken into account yet.

While emphasizing the necessity of an integrated approach, I should also

like to point to the predominantly economic questions, the handling of which calls forms of action and behaviour that are better coordinated on the international level.

1. It is highly important and, in many respects, of decisive significance, for national economies and the world, hence, for mankind that the external economic factor should be able to perform its growth and development-promoting function. But the condition system for making this postulate effective has become much more difficult to implement. There are 160 national economies, most of which claim to build a specific structure (a phenomenon resulting partly from the relationship, not yet sufficiently a clarified, between the notions of nation and economy, economists usually tend to substitute state for nation). The share of manufactured goods in commodity exchange is increasing,* which presupposes from the very outset a higher degree of cooperation and a more extensive division of labour.

2. It would be of decisive importance if complementary structures were formed, or else a dynamic development of foreign economic relations will not be possible, with the result that the structures developed will not be economical. But the formation of structures can be influenced by the market only *ex post*, after they have assumed the shape of supply. It follows that in the interest of the new division of labour development policies will have to be harmonized, presupposing a more vigorous and better planned form of cooperation.

3. The significance of what are called global problems, which can be solved only on a world or regional scale, is increasing. (Ecological problems, the dangers of technology—military technology in particular—the world food problem, overpopulation, non-renewable resources, the biological and geological dangers of development, etc.).

These problems cannot be dealt with by the usual mechanisms of world trade, or given the present structure of interests of national economies.

Hence it is obvious that along with establishing joint or coordinated action systems, new mechanisms will also be needed. If, inasmuch, these are brought about, the current structure of the world economy (the relatively large number of national economies as centres of decision) will not constitute an obstacle to a successful approach to the solution of the global problems.

4. There are indications that an increase in the number of regional conflicts and political disturbances can be globalized in two respects. They affect the powers in the five-polar movement system of international

* According to Wassily Leontief et al. in the year 2000, the share of manufactured products will be 86.4 per cent as against an annual 65.4 per cent in 1970.

politics as they disrupt a regional balance of power making up part of the world system. Furthermore, the international extremist organizations (ranging from the New Left to the various left and right wing terrorists groups) also want to play an active role in events. Both effects upset established instruments of economic growth, and the order of international economic ties as well; doing so in a highly sensitive world economy, the possible collapse of which would have very serious, if not fatal, consequences.

Therefore, it is necessary to formulate such common principles of regulation as could ensure—also in the case of political disturbances and conflicts—the continuity of international economic relations. (It would of course be much better if the outbreak of political disturbances and conflicts could be prevented, but this is possible only if common understanding on a wide basis could be secured on the part of the most influential participants in world politics.)

I am aware that I have dealt with the issues of East-West economic relations in an irregular form. The discursive character was meant to express that processes emerging in a sophisticated system of interactions can hardly be approached realistically with the conventional methodology of subject studies.

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AN ECONOMIC POLICY FOR THE EIGHTIES

by

GERD BIRÓ

Briefly describing the economic situation of Hungary one can say that while a remarkable rate of economic growth could be maintained in spite of the considerable deterioration in the terms of trade, efforts to restore the foreign trade equilibrium have so far produced no noteworthy results. In addition to the worsening of the terms of trade which caused Hungary to lose 9–10 per cent of national income in recent years, the fact that sales prospects on convertible-currency markets have considerably declined, also proved a contributing factor.

Furthermore, especially in the past two years, Hungarian firms have made substantially greater investments than originally planned and have raised stocks to an excessive degree, something that sped up the growth of imports and slowed down that of exports.

Adjusting economic policy

This is why it has become necessary to adjust economic policy in 1977–78. The first results were manifest in the national economic plan for 1979. This fixes the growth rate at 3–4 per cent, lower than before, earmarking the greater part of it for exports.

Economic growth has thus been subordinated to equilibrium, which is now given absolute priority.

This does not mean restriction, but a considerable change from the halcyon days, when the annual average rate of growth was 6.8 per cent (between 1966 and 1970) and 6.3 per cent (between 1971 and 1975).

The growth rate planned for 1979 is 4 per cent for industry and only 3 per cent for agriculture, while the investment outlays estimated at 202,000–206,000 million forints correspond to the level of the preceding year.

The rate of growth envisaged in the building industry for 1979 is only 1 per cent, which in all probability will make it possible to ease the tensions between demand and supply in this field. This is an important advantage in reducing the rate of economic growth from 5–6 per cent to 3–4 per cent.

In this connection it should be taken into account that the value of building operations in progress in Hungary amounts to 700,000–800,000 million forints, which is nearly four times that of this year's investments. If in a few years' time the volume of unfinished investment projects could be reduced by 20–25 per cent, i.e. by an amount of almost one year's investment, then the essentially more concentrated investment activity would considerably contribute to improving the efficiency of the economy.

The importance of this problem is enhanced by the fact that investment resources can be only moderately increased in the future. There will be no way of suddenly raising the accumulation ratio in national income as was done in the years following

the Second World War, because the present 25–27 per cent ratio of accumulation is pretty high even by international standards.

At the same time, beside the possibility of relatively more moderate growth in the sources of accumulation, the economy will be in need of growing resources, since costly investments will be required by the modernization of productive bases, the increased utilization of domestic sources of raw materials, furthermore by the construction of gas and oil pipelines, the extension of the infrastructure and the enforcement of the requirements of environmental protection.

This change in economic policy calls for a new point of view with regard to the assessment of the rate of growth. It is evident that the growth rates of gross material output and of national income cannot be assessed independently of external and internal equilibrium and of proportionate growth.

Therefore, especially in the present intensive stage of development, it is an obsolete conception to regard the quantitative growth rate as the decisive characteristic of progress and to consider desirable the maximum utilization of capacities independent of the ratio of costs to output.

Thus, economic growth accelerated at the expense of the external trade equilibrium obviously aggravates the problems caused by the deteriorating terms of trade and the sales difficulties on world markets.

The interconnections of growth and equilibrium present themselves with particular acuity in a foreign-trade sensitive country such as Hungary, where a decisive part of products must be sold on export markets and where the satisfaction of consumer demands and of domestic producers is to a considerable degree dependent on imports.

In fact, the annual rise of 3–4 per cent in Hungary's national income becomes effective in such a way that every single per cent of growth raises the imports from Western, i.e. convertible-currency, countries by 1.3 to 1.5 per cent. When, on the other hand, the annual increase of national income is 5–6 per cent, then every single per cent of growth involves an increment of more than 2 per cent in Western imports.

It is evident therefore that the acceleration of the rate of growth has excessively increased imports to be paid for in convertible currency, so that exports could not keep pace.

This is why it proved necessary to slow down the rate of growth. From this point of view the 1979 plan already indicates the circumstances which will presumably determine Hungary's economic policy during the first half of the eighties. The task is to channel the Hungarian economy into a new course of growth so that, probably from the mid-eighties, development can again be sped up while ensuring a foreign trade equilibrium.

Modernization of the product structure

It is therefore necessary to modernize the product structure to a considerable extent and, thereby, to improve competitiveness and efficiency. This implies the need to join increasingly in the international division of labour and to accelerate the technology transfer.

Bearing in mind that structural and qualitative requirements come into prominence instead of quantitative growth, the selective development of the economy, industry in the first place, can be made effective to an increased degree. This means that economic policy has undergone a change which is favourable to the promotion of efficiency.

Economic policy thus facilitates the differentiation of the rate of development in the microsphere of enterprises and cooperatives. The possibility of speeding up the rate of growth will open up to those enterprises which, through the acceleration of the modernization of their products and the improvement of marketing, will be able

to increase their exports to convertible-currency countries. The National Bank of Hungary extends credits to enterprises first of all for projects which can be put into operation in 1980 at the latest and which will augment the stocks of competitive export products. At the same time the credit policy of the National Bank of Hungary makes the financing of the circulating assets of firms subject to more stringent conditions than heretofore with a view to encouraging them to diminish their unnecessarily large stocks.

The aim is, by taking effective demand increasingly into consideration, to improve cooperation between firms and to reduce the shortage of labour, making it possible to supply additional labour to enterprises which produce more profitably than the average.

This means also that the utilization regardless of cost of existing productive capacities is impractical and there may be cases in which it is more advantageous not to use capacities than to produce unprofitably.

The productive capacities thus released have to be used for increasing the production of component parts. In recent decades in Hungary the growth of the background industries of semi-manufactured goods and component parts has been insufficient, and this situation has contributed to the import of such commodities already amounting to approximately one-quarter of all imports from convertible-currency countries, with a detrimental effect on the trade balance.

The needed qualitative changes in the efficiency of economic activity necessitate certain changes in the system of management as well.

The system of management

The revision of the system of management is based on the guiding principles of the economic reform introduced in 1968. The reform which came into force on January 1, 1968 considerably increased the independence of Hungarian enterprises. They decide their production patterns and the state guides them by economic means, using price policy, tax and credit policy for the purpose.

In management the principal changes will probably consist in the strengthening of the normative character of regulation, in the substantial reduction of exemptions, and in applying discrimination in favour of enterprises producing more profitably than average.

The long-term principles for the future of the price system have been worked out. A close connection between domestic and foreign-market prices is planned so as to make it possible to introduce competitive pricing.

The basis of competitive pricing will be input prices determined by the world-market import price, and the output prices by world-market export prices. By making the export prices the standard of competitiveness, price adjustments are primarily intended to provide orientation for a structural policy that augments the export potential. It is planned to introduce competitive pricing of this sort in industry, but not in agriculture, at least for the time being.

The agricultural price level can in fact be maintained only because of the budgetary price subsidies of chemical fertilizers, plant-protecting agents, and equipment. Purchase prices would have to be increased by 27 per cent in order to make the input price tally with the world-market import price; and price relations would develop which radically differ from the relative prices prevailing on the world market.

The tax reform coupled with the price adjustment provides for the abolition of the asset engagement charge which so far had to be paid on fixed assets tied up in production and for a reduction to half of employment taxes and social insurance rates amounting at present to 35 per cent in the aggregate. The rate of operating profit will also be

reduced to half and thus bring the self-financing capability of enterprises into harmony with the current potentialities of the Hungarian economy.

As a consequence there will be a slight drop in factor cost, making it possible to approximate the commercial exchange rate of the forint to the non-commercial rate of exchange.

Price adjustments are expected in the first place to strengthen the rational attitude of enterprises. Concurrently the restricted issue of purchasing power in production will orientate enterprises towards increasing exports to convertible-currency countries.

The said changes in economic policy and management are a constructive reply to the challenge due to the change-over to the intensive stage of economic development coinciding in time with changes in the world economy resulting from the worsening terms of trade and the current buyers' market.

This finds expression first of all in a concentrated effort to promote the prompt growth of tendencies which ensure balanced development, accompanied by wider participation than hitherto in the international division of labour.

The primary task is not to change the sectoral structure but to modernize the product structure within the particular sectors. In a small foreign-trade oriented state such as Hungary, this is now and will presumably be for a long time to come the most important prerequisite for economic growth. It can be realized first of all by narrowing the production pattern in an effort to optimalize participation in the international division of labour.

Hungarian economic strategy is thus not merely a constructive but at the same time an attacking reply to the challenge produced by world-market changes. Within a policy of industrial expansion this means first of all the growing necessity of selective development, in the course of which the possibilities of international cooperation have to be taken into account to a greater extent than before. In the immediate future Hungary, while increasing in its exports the proportion of goods of higher value and with a higher processing content, has to increase in its imports the share of modern equipment and of licences and know-how.

In carrying out these tasks Hungary can reckon on a number of important favourable factors.

First of all socialist economic integration within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance will probably continue to accelerate and will thereby secure, to an increasing degree, the international background indispensable to balanced economic growth. It is obvious that stable and dynamic markets in the rest of CMEA member states have enabled Hungary, by making use of the international division of labour, to develop industries and products which are competitive also on non-socialist markets. Participation in the socialist economic integration is therefore a prerequisite for selective industrial development as well as for an increase in efficiency and international competitiveness, but does not in the least mean isolation.

An equally important factor is that Hungary is relatively well supplied with skilled labour, and that the Hungarian economy possesses production capacities whose ongoing expansion and modernization will considerably increase competitiveness.

Hungary's scientific potential also furnishes a sound basis for the use of the imported scientific and technical know-how of great importance for the acceleration of technological progress. This is therefore a notable source of growth as well. Hungary devotes 17,000 million forints a year, more than 3 per cent of national income, to research and development. For this reason scientists were in a position, during the first half of the seventies, to further the establishment of modern petrochemical and computer industries and to score remarkable successes in the pharmaceutical industry,

electronics, plant breeding, protein research, and geological exploration.

The improved system of management has also contributed to the more effective implementation of economic policy. Mechanical engineering and food production make the greatest contribution to long-term foreign-trade strategy.

Industrial production in Hungary increased eightfold between 1950 and 1977, but that of mechanical engineering grew thirteenfold in the same period.

Export growth in 1978 was due to the export of machinery. It accounted for 55.5 per cent of exports to other CMEA countries, and 21 per cent of exports to convertible-currency countries. At present 42 per cent of the output of the engineering industry is exported. In 1978 such exports to convertible-currency countries rose by 20 per cent compared to the preceding year and totalled US $600 million in value.

For the period of the fifth five-year plan (1976 to 1980) 61,000–64,000 million forints were allotted to investment in the engineering industry, half of which serves to increase exports to convertible-currency countries.

It is also of great importance that for the period of the fifth five-year plan 8,900 million forints were appropriated for the development of backing-up industries, i.e. for the expansion of the manufacturing of anti-friction ball-bearings, cables and wires, electronic spare parts, and an additional 2,700 million for the enlargement and modernization of the capacities of foundries and smithies. As a result the engineering industry will register a considerable rise in its capacity and productive efficiency and, moreover, it will be increasingly able to make use of world-market tendencies which ensure more favourable sales potentials on the market of semi-manufactures to new exporters.

In the next fifteen years it is planned to raise machine exports to convertible-currency countries to four of five times of the present level, to a value of approximately US $3,000 million.

Hungarian agriculture and the food processing industry have remarkable advantages which should promote their contribution to the long-term objectives of foreign trade. Hungary's share of foodstuffs in the world exports amounts at present to 1.5 per cent, which is precisely double its share of world trade as such. The most important difference between the commodity structures of Hungary and world trade is that, while the proportion of raw materials and sources of energy in Hungary's exports makes up only 6.1 per cent and is five times as great in world trade as such, the proportion of foodstuffs in world trade is far less than half of their share in Hungary's exports.

Wheat yields per hectare in Hungary have risen to more than 40 metric quintals as against an average of less than 14 quintals in the years between 1934 and 1938.

Hungary's share of poultry exports in world trade is 13 per cent, the country ranks first or second in Europe alternating with the Netherlands. Per capita meat production is planned to rise from 95 kg at present to 130 kg in 15 years' time.

All this illustrates the possibilities of raising the exports of food, within 15 years, second only to mechanical engineering in the long-term external trade strategy, to three and a half times their present level.

Hungary makes great efforts to ensure that foreign trade promotes the realization of these objectives.

In 1978 alone, for example, 11 bilateral or multilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation were concluded with other CMEA states. It is worthy of attention that one-third of the Hungarian exports to CMEA countries are already transacted on the basis of such long-term agreements. The efficiency and competitiveness of Hungarian industries, such as the construction of buses and rear-axle casings, or telecommunications and the computer industry, as well as alumina and aluminium production,

and a number of sections of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, are based on agreements governing the transaction of already 53 per cent of the machine exports to other CMEA member countries.

It ought to be said at the same time that the current economic problems facing CMEA member states have similar features. For this reason identical spheres experience bottle-necks, making it more difficult to purchase the base and raw materials needed for the expansion of production and diminishing the possibilities of expanding the exchange of competitive products.

As regards trade policy towards the West special significance has been given to an agreement with the United States concerning the mutual application of most-favoured-nation treatment, an agreement which opens up a new chapter in economic relations between the two countries. High and highest-level meetings in 1978 also furthered the broadening of economic relations in other respects. In 1978 Hungarian enterprises and Western firms concluded 53 new cooperation agreements, including 31 concerning the engineering industry.

*

The new features outlined above presuppose and facilitate a potentiated participation in the international division of labour. Efficiency presupposes, particularly for a small country, the exploitation of economy of scale options offered by international trade.

Greater differentiation will furthermore allow the most efficient enterprises to grow faster than heretofore, helping them to become more competitive on international markets. The brake on domestic purchasing power due to that on investments will be an incentive to management to keep a closer eye on the world market. Changes in economic policy as such, and particularly in price policy, will act in the same direction. Their purpose is after all to bring managerial calculations, and hence strategy, closer to the realities that govern world markets.

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LUKÁCS IN 1919

by

BÉLA KÖPECZI

I

Lukács's activities in 1919 have provoked many arguments, due in part to his controversial ideological evolution and his somewhat unexpected decisions, and in part to his actions and the views he held. The counter-revolution vilified him and all the policies of the Council Republic. Gusztáv Gratz, Jenő Szathmári, or Cecile Tormay[1] considered the cultural programmes of the dictatorship of the proletariat to have been anti-national, Jewish or obtuse avant-garde experimentation on the part of a narrow-minded intelligentsia. Praise from the bourgeois radical Oszkár Jászi did not mean true recognition either. He maintained that the cultural policy supported by Lukács "was directed at the creation of a new public spirit, a mass creed and a mass morality. This was the aspect of the Council Republic which brought out the most appealing features of the new order. There was undoubtedly something grand and almost comforting in the seriousness and enthusiasm with which the dictatorship of the proletariat grappled with cultural affairs. All the evangelical fanaticism was restricted to a small elite, and their new religious mission was to propagate the sciences and the arts; of course, only in the socialist, Marxist, historical-materialist tradition. Other approaches would at the very best only have been tolerated in the higher reaches of the universities. Their aim was the creation of a new state religion."[2] As can be seen, Utopianism, religion and fanaticism—this was Jászi's opinion.

Bourgeois historiography in the main continues these two schools of thought to this day. The counter-revolutionary propagandist Victor Zitta,

[1] Gratz Gusztáv: A bolsevizmus Magyarországon (Bolshevism in Hungary). Budapest, 1921; Szathmári, Jenő: Das rote Ungarn (Red Hungary), Leipzig, 1920; Tormay, Cecile: An Outlaw's Diary: The Commune. McBride, New York, 1924. 233 pp.

[2] Jászi, Oszkár: Magyar kálvária, magyar föltámadás. Bécsi Magyar Kiadó, 1920. p. 137. — [German edition: *Magyariens Schuld, Ungarns Sühne. Revolution und Gegenrevolution in Ungarn. Übers.: Andreas Sas. Verlag für Kulturpolitik, München*, 1923. XV, 249 pp. — English version: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Hungary. King, London, 1924, XXIII, 239 pp.]

wrote in his book, wich came out in 1964, during Lukács's lifetime; "His measures, inconceivable under normal circumstances, were capable of being hidden only in the mind of an intellectual and moral delinquent with exotic and extravagantly grotesque tastes"[3]. The author falsifies Lukács's relations with the scientific and artistic world, identifies his programme which served the cultural enrichment of the masses with that of Hitlerism and accuses him of having provided circuses instead of bread.

D. Kettler, who in his book entitled *Marxismus und Kultur* investigates the views of Mannheim and Lukács in 1918–19, is closer to Jászi. He presents the affinity between the two in their views on culture and the cultural crisis, but recognizes that while the first only approached the problem from the cultural side, Lukács was also aware of the economic and social factors involved in the cultural crisis. At the same time he too reverses the thesis, alleging that for the Lukács of 1919 everything occurred in cultural categories and was only seen in a cultural context—even the political sphere lacked an autonomous character. But the author considers it a merit of Lukács that—in contrast even to Mannheim—he tried to carry out his views on culture in practice. "We see a complex attempt to demonstrate the relationship between the revolutionary process and the cultural crisis. His experiment has no millenarian features, he does not expect any miraculous and immediate change. He does not expect the rapid flourishing of a new culture."[4] He therefore recognizes Lukács's sense of reality and to a certain extent goes further even than Jászi.

Michael Lőwy's book entitled "On the Sociology of Revolutionary Intellectuals", was published in Paris in 1976. Its sub-title is: "Lukács's Critical Evolution from 1919 to 1929". The author tries to reconstruct the path taken by the Hungarian philosopher on the basis of thorough documentation and with reference to writings by Lukács so far little known in the West. He rejects openly reactionary distortions. Nevertheless, he does not consider Lukács's espousal of communism to be the result of a scientific analysis, but as "an act of ethical and political faith," and here again we are back with Jászi.[5] "In 1919 Lukács was nearer to the ethics of conviction than to the ethics of responsibility, i.e. he was more strongly exercised by the correlation between his own practice with political moral principles than by the effects of his own actions on objective reality." He claims that "as people's commissar he carried out his tasks like somebody who in his

[3] V. Zitta: Georg Lukács' Marxism, Alienation, Dialectics, Revolution. The Hague, 1964, pp. 98/99.

[4] D. Kettler: Marxismus und Kultur. Berlin, 1967, p. 49.

[5] ..."le passage au communisme relève chez lui d'un acte de foi éthico-politique." M. Lőwy: Pour une sociologie des intellectuels révolutionnaires. Paris, 1976, p. 168.

thoughts is constantly confronted by the great inquisitor," i.e. Dostoievsky's ethical problems. Lőwy deals little with Lukács's actual cultural and political activities in 1919, which he squeezes in their entirety into the category of leftist ethics. He recognizes however that "the experience of wielding power exercised a great influence on Lukács. His political thinking became richer, often more concrete, he began to outgrow the leftist ethic and —regretfully—to recognize the inevitability of compromise."[6]

I have not only quoted these views in order to pick arguments with them, but also to show what a lot Hungarian historiography still has to do to analyse the 1919 Council Republic and to make it properly understood internationally. Here I shall only describe Lukács's views and actions concerning the theory and practice of culture. I cannot undertake to examine these activities from the point-of-view of his whole ideological evolution or of the Hungarian Republic of Councils as a whole.

2

Lukács was already a well-known aesthetician and literary critic when at the end of 1918 he joined the Communist Party of Hungary, which was formed on the initiative of Béla Kun and former prisoners of war who were full of enthusiasm for the ideas of the Russian Revolution.

In 1969, in his volume published under the title "My Road to Marx," Lukács recalls his intellectual (largely philosophical) evolution of that period as follows: "My philosophical starting-point was the examination of the problems concerning the connection between ethics and aesthetics. As I have already explained several times, the foundation of this evolutionary stage was my seething dissatisfaction with the way Hungarian life was becoming capitalized and gentrified. This was also the foundation of my unconditional devotion to Ady, without of course ever seeing the way out of this situation in the importing of Western civilization as the leading ideologists of the Hungarian left did. It would of course hardly have been possible then to call me a socialist—with the exception of French radical syndicalism I had a very negative attitude towards the socialist theoreticians whom I knew then. However, for all my theoretical confusion, I still saw the only way out of the cultural contradictions of the time in the revolutionary abolition of the status quo."[7]

[6] Op. cit. p. 177.

[7] Lukács, György: Utam Marxhoz. Válogatott Filozófiai Tanulmányok (My Road to Marx. Selected Essays on Philosophy). Budapest, 1971, vol. I, pp. 11–12.

In respect of aesthetics and ethics he was primarily under the influence of Kant, but tried to shed this influence early on to go on and accept Hegel's philosophy of history. Hegelian philosophy did not satisfy him from the ethical point-of-view since Lukács never considered the idea of compatibility with reality to be valid, i.e. the view according to which moral imperatives lead to the actual needs of existing society. Inspired by Kierkegaard, by medieval Christian heretics and by oriental ethical philosophy, he attempted to lay the philosophical foundations for an ethic which surpasses the limitations of morality and law. This view gave rise to his interest in Dostoievsky, who raises ethical questions in the most stimulating and most radical literary form.

However, the political and social problems of the period induced him to examine the problems of the labour movement. Although he had read Marx, he was attracted in the beginning by the ideas of Georges Sorel and by the anarcho-syndicalistic Marx-interpretation propagated by Ervin Szabó. During the war he became acquainted with some of the writings of Rosa Luxemburg. He only read Lenin, particularly his "State and Revolution," in 1918.

In the postscript to the new edition of "History and Class Consciousness," and elsewhere too, Lukács emphasizes the contradictory nature of his development in this period, it represented a mixture of leftist ethics and an idealistic view of history. But he also points out that the Russian Revolution brought a transcendence of these contradictions.[8] However, this new recognition only gradually changed his thinking.

In December 1918 he published an article entitled "Bolshevism as a Moral Problem," in which he finds that there are two trends in Marxian theory, one of which is the sociological, which explains the past through class struggles, and the other a philosophy of history which "makes the proletariat the carrier of the social redemption of mankind, the messianistic class of world history." The dilemma which arises is the following: should the dictatorship of the proletariat be erected immediately, in the hope of creating the classless society and consequently the development of democracy, or should one wait for the new world order to come about, wait for the long time it would take for the majority of mankind to approve of the radical transformation of society. Lukács's opinion was the following: "Bolshevism relies on the methaphysical assumption that good can come from evil, that it is possible—as Razumikhin says in 'Crime and Punishment'—to lie our way through to the truth. The writer of these lines is not able to share this belief, and therefore sees an insoluble moral dilemma

[8] Lukács, György: History and Class Consciousness. Merlin Press, London, 1971 pp. IX–XXXVIII

at the root of the Bolshevik stand, while democracy—in his belief—only demands superhuman resignation and self-sacrifice from those who want to carry it through consciously and honestly. But this, even though perhaps it demands superhuman strength, is not an essentially insoluble question, as is the moral problem of Bolshevism."[9]

He changed this opinion after a few weeks which became clear from an article entitled "Tactics and Ethics," which was published in May 1919, but written before the proclamation of the Council Republic. In this article he points out that for a socialist the ethical problem is always strictly bound up with the given situation of the philosophy of history.

"The class interests which will bring socialism about and the class-consciousness in which they find expression signify a world historical mission—and hence, too, the objective possibility mentioned above implies the question: has the historical moment already arrived which leads—or rather leaps—from the stage of steady approach to that of true realization?" Science is unable to predict whether the moment has indeed arrived, and ethics cannot provide recipes for correct action.

"... ethical self-awareness makes in quite clear that there are situations—tragic situations—in which it is impossible to act without burdening oneself with guilt. But at the same time it teaches that even faced with the choice of two ways of incurring guilt, we should still find that there is a standard attaching to correct and incorrect action. This standard we call sacrifice." As can be seen, Lukács accepts the idea of the purely moral action, which so occupied Russian anarchists at the beginning of the century, and then he makes concrete reference to a novel by Boris Savinkov, where the writer explains this idea as follows:

"... only he who acknowledges unflinchingly and without any reservations that murder is under no circumstances to be sanctioned can commit the murderous deed that is truly—and tragically—moral".[10]

Lukács finally adopted the cause of the revolution, which of necessity meant for him the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship which must bring about the classless society by one historic leap the latter not being an end in itself but a means of moving towards communism. His joining the revolutionary cause implied the acceptance of the substance of Marxism, but with a particular, individual interpretation, primarily as concerns the political and ethical aspects.

9 Lukács György: A bolsevizmus mint erkölcsi probléma (Bolshevism as a Moral Problem). In: Szabad gondolat (Free Thought), December 1918. Re-published in: Történelem és osztálytudat (History and Class Consciousness). Budapest, 1971, pp. 11–17.

10 György Lukács: Tactics and Ethics, *in* Tactics and Ethics, Political Writings. 1919–1929 NLB London 1972, pp. 9–11.

In the Council Republic György Lukács was a Deputy Commissar for Education, and then Commissar. For some time he was also the political commissar of one of the armies sent against the Czech interventionists. Action by itself did not satisfy him, he also attempted to formulate the fundamental problems of the new society on a theoretical level, taking the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat into consideration.

On the 13th April 1919 he published an article with the telling title "The Moral Foundations of Communism." In this article he declared that at the given stage of development the principle behind every action is the class struggle, since the achievements of the struggle of the proletariat are threatened by the enemy. In spite of the pressures of the moment the question arises concerning the future: what will the characteristic features of the new society be, what will life be like for those living in it? Lukács asserts that we can only receive an answer to this question by looking at the ethical side. "The radical extirpation of class differences only makes sense if it has removed everything that separated people from each other: all ire and all hate, all envy and all arrogance. In a word: if the classless society is the society of mutual love and understanding. But the transformation of social and economic life can only lay the foundations for such a society, they can only create the opportunity; in order for it to be put into reality the people themselves must be transformed."[11] This change is to be promoted by culture and primarily by education, whereby education must always reflect the principle of full equality in spite of the implacable class struggle conducted at any given moment.

In an article published on 20th April 1919 he analyses the characteristics of revolutionary action, pointing out that the measure of this is the preference of the interest of the totality, i.e. the community over individual or group interests. The rule of the totality over the minorities carries in itself the concept of sacrifice. "All real strength is determined by the degree of willingness to make sacrifices. He who is ready to sacrifice everything, is invincible."[12]

Lukács's optimism was nourished not only by the domestic experience but mainly by his hopes for the world revolution. He believed, as he explains in his article entitled "The Tactics of the Victorious Proletariat," that the world would be polarized and that the struggle would be fought

[11] Lukács, György: A kommunizmus erkölcsi alapja (The Moral Foundation of Communism). In: "Az ifjú proletár" (The Young Proletarian). 13th April 1919. — Re-published in: Történelem és osztálytudat (History and Class Consciousness). Budapest, 1971, pp. 18–21.

[12] Lukács, György: Mi a forradalmi cselekvés? (What is Revolutionary Action?). In: Vörös Ujság (Red Daily), 20th April 1919.

by the international bourgeoisie and the international proletariat. The international proletariat would be victorious and would introduce its dictatorship everywhere in the world. What was true in Hungarian conditions, would be true elsewhere too. "Dictatorship offers the possibility and the pledge for the final victory. But the victory itself will in reality be only achieved by the clear class-consciousness and the conscious class struggle of the proletariat in the future."[13]

In the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat he attributed great importance to the relationship between the Party and the class. In his opinion the party structure was the first active step of the proletarian movement after the period of mere opposition; it was the first attempt at the transformation of the whole of society. Lukács points out that in Hungary the merger of the socialists and the communists was realized by the proletariat itself, and that thereafter the Party in the old sense of the word ceased to exist and only the unified proletariat existed. "The Party today is the expression of the united will of the united proletariat: it is the executive organ of the will which prevails in the new society and which is composed of the new forces."[14]

Since he attributed a very important role to class consciousness, he began to examine the role of historical materialism, and in one of his last articles —published in July 1919—he deals with the changes in the function of historical materialism. Surveying the historical evolution of Marxism he finds that historical materialism is valid insofar as the new society is still a mixture of the old and the new, and consequently the sociological interpretations of the old society can be applied to it. At the same time, what was the superstructure in capitalist society will become the base in the new society, and the base of capitalist society will become the superstructure. "The essence of the transition to socialism, of socialist construction can be summarized in the following way: the ideological elements, the human idea, the idea of the liberation and changing of man will become the dominating idea of constructive work and the economy will become merely a tool, a simple function of this idea."[15] Dialectical materialism ceases to be a sociological theory, and in the new society becomes the method of scientific research.

As we can see, Lukács exaggerated the role of subjective factors in histori-

[13] Lukács, György: A győzelmes proletariátus taktikája (The Tactics of the Victorious Proletariat). Népszava, 15th April 1919.

[14] Lukács, György: Párt és osztály (Party and Class). Published in: "Mindenki újakra készül..." ("Everybody Prepares for New Things..."). Edited by Farkas József, vol. 4. (from here on: MUK), Budapest, 1967, pp. 223–229.

[15] György Lukács: The changing function of historical materialism, in: History and Class Consciousness, Merlin Press, London, 1971, pp. 223–253.

cal evolution, idealized the function of the working class, underestimated the importance of organization, but at the same time accepted the principle of the class struggle and of the historical mission of the proletariat, as well as the necessity of the revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We have quoted Lukács's ideas, because these also formed the ideological and political basis of his cultural and educational policy concepts.

4

It is impossible for us to understand the cultural concept professed by Lukács at the time of the Council Republic unless we look at the debates which took place during the war in Hungarian intellectual circles. In the Sunday Circle, whose members included Lukács, Karl Mannheim, Arnold Hauser, Béla Fogarasi, Lajos Fülep, and others, culture was considered the only way out of the intellectual and moral crisis of capitalist society.[16] (In 1918 Mannheim published a study entitled "Soul and Culture", in which he explained this view, one also shared by Lukács.)

At the time of the Council Republic Lukács was of the opinion that the revolution was an instrument to bring about the rule of culture. He accepted Alfred Weber's theory, which differentiated between the concept of civilization and culture. In June 1919 he published an essay entitled "Old Culture and New Culture," in which he expounded his view on this distinction. In his opinion "the concept of culture (as opposed to civilization) includes all those valuable products and activities unnecessary for the direct preservation of life." Capitalist society is unable to ensure the evolution of culture in this direction, since the economy dominates the whole of life, man becomes subordinate to production, ideology and production contradict each other. In a communist society the planned and organized economy will terminate things being ends in themselves, since the social processes in which they operate are influenced by economic factors. Man's external and internal life will be dominated by human and non-economic factors. This functional change will pave the way for the new culture, which will lead to man's internal domination over his environment, whereas civilization only brought the external domination over nature. "Human autotelism is the sociological precondition of culture."[17]

In his article entitled "The Factual Taking into Possession of Culture,"

[16] Cf.: Novák, Zoltán: A Vasárnap Társaság (The Sunday Circle). In: A magyar filozófiai gondolkodás a századelőn (Hungarian Philosophical Thought at the Beginning of the Century). Budapest, 1977, pp. 300–376. A more extended version has since been published under the same title by Kossuth, Budapest, 1979. 306 pp. On the Sunday Circle see NHQ 47, on Arnold Hauser see NHQ 58.

[17] Lukács, György: Régi kultúra és új kultúra (Old Culture and New Culture). Internationale, 15th June 1919. — MUK pp. 470–480.

published on April 20, 1919 he states that the seizure of power by the proletariat and the nationalization of cultural institutions are only the first steps. "The placing of art treasures, theatres, schools, etc. in the hands of the proletariat is only the precondition for the creation of the new culture, for its real acquisition, for the era when all the products of culture will become the inner property of all workers. It is this true acquisition that education must bring about. "The process of interiorization will lead to the disappearance of the difference between physical and intellectual work... It should be open for any person at any time, in accordance with the external and internal development of his life, to find employment in society either as a physical or as an intellectual worker."[18] Thus culture is the main instrument for the radical transformation not only of society but of man in general.

This view helped bring about one of the most important aims of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the democratization of culture. A movement was started to eliminate illiteracy, the eight-year primary school was established. A workers' university was founded. All cultural institutions —libraries, museums, theatres—were opened to the people, concerts were arranged for the workers. It was chiefly this democracy that characterizes the cultural policy which was carried out so enthusiastically by the Hungarian intelligentsia, and of which Lukács was the principal spokesman.

Lukács tried to win the support of the most outstanding representatives of the creative intelligentsia for this policy. He asked the most outstanding writers, including non-communists such as the novelist Zsigmond Móricz and the poet Mihály Babits to guide literary life. Béla Balázs helped in the reorganization of the theatre. He—as we know—was later to become one of the world's most outstanding theoreticians of the film as an art form. Among the members of the music "directorium" we find Béla Bartók, Ernő Dohnányi and Zoltán Kodály.

In order to ensure the success of his policy he tries to create the proper economic and institutional foundations. In establishing the institutional system he took both questions of expertise and democratic principles into account—of course on the basis of the policies of the Council Republic. A unique institutional system was established which tried to draw on the experience of the French Commune, the Soviet state and some of the organizations of Hungarian progressive movements. The Council Republic —even in the difficult circumstances that obtained—provided considerable financial support for scholars, writers and artists.

As far as ideological and artistic developments are concerned he conducted

[18] Lukács, György: A kultúra tényleges birtokbavétele (The Factual taking into possession of Culture). In: Fáklya (Torch), 20th April 1919 — MUK pp. 205–206.

an open policy. The Commissariat of Public Education was accused by some right-wing social democrats of giving preference to artistic trends alien to the proletariat, especially to the expressionist Lajos Kassák and his periodical, *Ma* (Today).[19] Lukács published a statement giving his opinion on this question: "The Commissar for Public Education will not officially support the literature of any particular school or party. The communist cultural programme only differentiates between good and bad literature, and is not prepared to discard either Shakespeare or Goethe because they were not socialist writers. But neither is it willing to lay art open to dilettantism under the pretext of it being socialist. Communist cultural policy is to provide the proletariat with the best and purest art, and will not permit its taste to be corrupted by editorial politics, reduced to being no more than a political instrument. Politics is only the means, culture is the goal." It was very difficult to put this tolerant approach into practice in the conditions which were becoming more and more tense. In the same statement Lukács also recognizes the primacy of politics in cultural questions, but rejects the formation of artistic monopolies. "The political aspect will continue to be a *selective* aspect for a long time, but it cannot dictate the direction of literary production. It should only be a filter, not the sole source! The Commissariat for Public Education has not yet interfered with literary life: in the last resort it will entrust guidance to the organization of the writers."[20] And from a statement by Béla Balázs we learn that the writers themselves (they receive a commission from the Directorium of Writers for a period of six months) wish to exercise censorship, which they consider a necessity in view of the given situation.[21]

Lukács's tolerant but principled policy was considered by some influential leaders of the Council Republic to be an extension of the rigorous principles of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the area of culture and that it could be detrimental as a result. At the Party Congress in June 1919 the Commissar for Public Education, Zsigmond Kunfi, raised the question of intellectual freedom under the dictatorship and, opposing Béla Kun, declared that freedom could not be restricted in this area and that its absence had already paralysed intellectual activity.[22] Lukács answered very vigorously.

[19] Göndör, Ferenc: Who are those who want to dictate proletarian literature? Népszava, 16th April, 1919. — MUK pp. 171–174. On Kassák and Ma see NHQ 67.

[20] Lukács, György: Felvilágosításul (By Way of Enlightenment). Vörös Ujság (Red Daily), 18th April 1919 — MUK pp. 196–198.

[21] A Közoktatásügyi Népbiztosság irodalmi programja (Literary Programme of the Commissariat for Public Education). A statement by Béla Balázs. In: Magyarország (Hungary), 19th April 1919. — MUK pp. 199–201.

[22] Address by Zsigmond Kunfi on the first day of the National Party Congress. In: Népszava, 13th June 1919. — MUK pp. 460–461.

He declared that although the dictatorship of the proletariat was the rule of a minority, this minority was that of "the conscious, organized workers," who were acting in the interests of all workers. In this dictatorship criticism is needed, but criticism directed at the whole must be opposed, criticism "capable of arousing counter-revolutionary feelings in less conscious souls." Lukács continues: "There is no need to fear for the sciences and the arts. But it is impermissible for the organisations of bourgeois intellectual oppression in education and the press, to preserve their freedom. These must be transformed into proletarian organizations and we cannot tolerate viewpoints other than those of the proletariat being advanced in them."[23] In his reply Béla Kun took the same stand, adding that decadence in intellectual life was limited exclusively to those areas of culture which stand in the service of the bourgeoisie. And then he continued: "A new intellectual life, a new culture must come from the proletariat itself and I have faith in the creative power of the proletariat, and in the creative power which destroyed institutions and created new institutions in their place, I have no doubt that proletarian culture will flourish as well."[24] On this occasion Kun identified the avant-garde trend represented by Kassák and his group with bourgeois decadence.

Kassák publicly protested against this accusation and defended the autonomy of art against politics. Lukács himself took no stand in this argument, but we know that he was not in favour of the avant-garde.[25] His standpoint is explained by his philosophical views, his classical tastes, but also by the reaction of the working-class. Taking a stand in the polemics surrounding Kassák, the *Ifjú Proletár* (Young Proletarian) advises young workers to read Ady and Dostoievsky rather than the works of the avant-garde.[26] But there were workers who defended Kassák. All this proves that the debate on this question was open-ended and that there were different views on the orientation of the new literature and art among followers of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the relative freedom of literary expression—with the exception of the most reactionary—was

[23] Address by György Lukács on the second day of the National Party Congress. In: Vörös Ujság (Red Daily), 14th June 1919. — MUK pp. 461–462.

[24] (Reply by Béla Kun on the second day of the National Party Congress. In: Vörös Ujság (Red Daily), 14th June 1919. — MUK pp. 462–463.

[25] Kassák, Lajos: Levél Kun Bélához a művészet nevében (Letter to Béla Kun in the name of art). In: Ma (Today) 15th June. — MUK pp. 463–468.

Cf.: Hermann, István: Lukács György gondolatvilága (The World of Ideas of György Lukács). Budapest, 1974, pp. 120–122. See also József, Farkas: Proletárforradalom, avantgarde és tömegkultúra (Proletarian Revolution, Avantgarde and Mass Culture). In: Vár egy új világ (A New World Awaits Us). Budapest, 1975, pp. 10–29.

[26] Aktivizmus, avagy a kultúrájában forradalmasított ember (Activism, or man revolutionized in his culture). In: Ifjú Proletár (Young Proletarian), 20th July 1919.

a fact, and here Lukács carried out well-founded and principled policies, which even went beyond his individual taste.

Lukács was to return to the question of his cultural policies in 1919 many times. In 1952 he emphasized their openness, at the same time stressing that he opposed both rightist social democratic writers and Kassák and his circle who, he maintained, wanted to declare their ideas as the "official art" of the dictatorship. "The Commissariat tried to wage a struggle on two fronts, but it was not always able to carry out this fundamentally correct line properly and consistently."[27] He explains this by the weakness of the Party. He claims however that the assertion of the communist concept was successful in spite of social democratic attacks.

In 1969 he drew attention to the theoretical weaknesses of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, pointing out that the leaders of the dictatorship were only acquainted with a few of Lenin's writings. He expressed the opinion that cultural policy then had a very "broad popular base." "If the dictatorship of the proletariat has a cultural influence and tradition which can be built on, then it is precisely this popular base. By popular I mean that it united the country's best and most progressive forces while trying to preserve excellence—one only has to think of Bartók and other outstanding personalities—and to avoid everything that could lead to the bureaucratic administration of culture."[28] He confirms that the Council Republic enabled all artistic trends to develop, allowing none a monopolistic position.

It is open to argument how well thought out the cultural policy of the Council Republic was from the theoretical point-of-view, and by what strata it was supported. It remains, however, a fact that in this area the dictatorship of the proletariat achieved great things. Lukács's theoretical and administrative activities in 1919 are an important element in this not only from the Hungarian point-of-view, but also from that of the international labour movement, and even if we admit its idealistic features, we must consider it as a precedent for what we are doing today. Incidentally, Lukács's idealism came more to the fore in theory than in practice. In practical matters Lukács was much more realistic. The Lukács of 1919 can only be analysed if we remember that social reality, action and theoretical thought are all closely interrelated. The principles of the democratization of culture, of keeping the sciences and arts abreast of modern developments, of the freedom of literature and art, of relying on the best creative forces in the intelligentsia—all these principles are still valid today.

[27] A Tanácsköztársaság kultúrpolitikája (The cultural policy of the Council Republic). In: Irodalmi Újság (Literary Magazine), 27th March 1952, p. 5.

[28] Nyilatkozat a Tanácsköztársaságról (Statement on the Council Republic). In: Társadalmi Szemle (Social Review), 1963, No. 3, pp. 15–17.

SCRAPE

(Short story)

by

LAJOS MESTERHÁZI

"Don't just sit there gaping—step on the brake!" Her old driving-instructor used to employ blunt expressions like this: "You can always tell when there is going to be an accident. Something will be wrong!"

Bless the old boy's soul. It was he who saved her now.

Spinning along towards Hősök tere she noticed out of the corner of her eye that something was indeed wrong. That's not the way to approach a main road—is that yellow Skoda estate crazy? But she stopped gaping and braked. It was thanks to the four jammed wheels and their forward displacement of the centre of gravity that the car did not swing over to the opposite lane—it would have been a real mess. There was a hideous screech of crunching metal. A plump, sprightly gentleman emerged from behind the driving wheel of the Skoda.

"Oh dear, I must have been daydreaming. I don't know what's wrong with me." It was if he had just woken up. Traffic began to build up, somebody shouted to them to pull in to the kerb, somebody else suggested they put out their emergency triangle. In no time at all the traffic around them got going again, it was the midday rush-hour. No injured, no corpses, nobody bothered with them.

Lenke slipped across to the passanger's seat and got out on that side so as not to disrupt the traffic. The plump, sprightly gentleman was already surveying the damage. His face brightened up, perhaps just to put Lenke at her ease, but maybe because there really was not too much damage. At first sight it seemed that the front off-side mudguard of Lenke's Lada had twisted under the wheel, the shock-absorber had gone askew, the headlight and indicator were smashed to smithereens. The Skoda estate looked in a worse state: the whole of the front bodywork and both the lights were a write-off and a small puddle underneath indicated that the radiator was damaged as well.

"I have been stupid but lucky," the plump, sprightly man opined. "A little scrape, damage to the body-work, within reasonable limits, no personal injury, so let's forget about the police, my dear, I'll fill out the claim form."

He took out the documents from the glove compartment and lent down to write on the bonnet of the Skoda. Lenke examined the sad-looking metal that had twisted into the wheels. "I won't be able to drive on."

"We'll sort that out in no time. May I?" He rested his leg against the hub of the wheel and wrenched at the mudguard. "There we are!" He tested the wheel. "You see, there's nothing wrong with the axle."

He filled out the report and then said, "I am so sorry. I haven't introduced myself. My name is Kövér, Endre Kövér, I work for the 'True Path' cooperative at Orozd. He handed her his visiting card." I'll see to everything, my dear, the cost of repairs and all the arrangements. It's only natural, it was my fault. I simply can't understand, I've been driving for eleven years. Please get in, I'd like to make sure it goes alright."

He was a well-bred gentleman, wearing a respectable high-quality tween suit. As he bent down to kiss her hand, she could see the balding pate of his head. But he could have been no more than fourty years of age.

"Nothing like this has ever happened to me before. For some reason I was day-dreaming. Cares and worries, you know, when you come up to town..."

Or perhaps he had been drinking and this was why he was in such a rush to avoid the police? Who knows, perhaps he had been offered something to drink on an empty stomach. Lenke gave him her visiting card as well, with her home and institute addresses on it. The car moved off smoothly, the steering wheel did not drag, so fortunately the axle had not been damaged. In the institute car park the director's chauffeur grinned at her from a distance.

"Have we been in a little scrape, Doctor? I see you've been forgetting about other drivers' right of way!"

"Nonsense! I was going along Népköztársaság útja when someone drove into me from Bajza utca."

The chauffeur walked up to her and looked round the car. "A couple of thousand. But it'll be difficult finding anyone with the time to do it."

If only all her worries were cleared up so quickly! Kövér visited her in the institute that afternoon. "Here is my passport, dear lady, keep it as security. Could I please have your registration papers and the ignition key? I 'll take the car to my own man, he'll do it straight away. He's got a small private business and regularly does insurance work. It'll be hammered out

and sprayed today, and he's got Lada lights, so it'll be ready by the weekend. He's an excellent worker, I can guarantee that."

In his opinion labour and materials would run to two and a half thousand. He would have to pay a good deal more for his own car—he did not have comprehensive insurance.

"That's risking it."

"Well, yes, but, as I said, I haven't had a single accident in eleven years of driving. And now I need a new radiator, the fan is broken as well, and both headlights. The doors are off their hinges and one of the rear shock absorbers has gone."

"Was all that from today's accident?"

"Well, no. But the MOT is due next month. And, you know, if I am taking it into the workshop today... The brakes need adjusting and two spring plates. I'll be lucky to get away with ten thousand."

So he had somebody to do the work. Great relief. Lenke was in two minds whether to take his passport. Surely it would be taken as a lack of trust?

"Not at all, not at all! Please keep it here until I can bring back your car in tip-top condition. And if you could let me have a couple of lines giving me authorization... just a formality. Just to say I havn't stolen the car."

In his rush he had forgotten to bring his claim form with him. It didn't matter, he could fill up another.

The next day, Wednesday, he rang her up, at home. Wednesday was Lenke's day-off for her own research. "Could I come round and see you, my dear?"

"Is there anything wrong?"

"No, but we should have a talk."

Lenke only had that one day in which to make an abstract of an English scientific paper.

"Couldn't we discuss it briefly, over the phone?"

"Unfortunately not."

What could she do? "Please come at five!"

She made no attempt to conceal that she had things to do, so Kövér got straight down to business. "How much excess do you have to pay under your policy?"

"One thousand five hundred."

"Tremendous! My request would be that we charge our little accident to your account. It's a tiny matter. You fill in a claim, but I won't put you to any trouble, I can do it for you. My car will be repaired on your obligatory third-party policy and your car on the comprehensive policy. Of course

I will pay the mechanic the one thousand five hundred in your name. It won't cost you a penny!"

Lenke desperately tried to collect her thoughts.

"But, but... it was my right of way and you were the one who drove into me! How could it be my fault?!"

"That's no problem! There were no police around, no record, we'll just move the incident one corner further up the road."

"Further up the road?"

"You were on Bajza Street and I came from the right, from Benczúr utca. Do you know what they said at the insurance and what the mechanic's first words were? 'Somebody not giving way to traffic from the right again!' "

"But I wasn't in Bajza utca...!"

"It's a typical case. The off-side mudguard! A result of not giving way to traffic from the right. That's our good fortune! Do you know how big my bill will be? Ten thousand eight hundred forints! I'll give you one thousand five hundred and they'll repair it on your third party insurance."

"But the insurance people..."

"Leave that to me, dear lady! I'll fix it with the insurance. No trouble at all."

"I don't think it's legal..."

"My dear! How old is your car?"

"Four years old. But I only use it in town, it's hardly done fifty thousand. For longer journeys abroad we use my husband's car."

"And have you ever had an accident?"

"No. Not with the Lada."

"Well there you are then! For four years you've been paying the insurance for nothing! So it's not a mortal sin for us to..."

"Excuse me, but if it was you who caused the accident..."

"That's precisely what I'm trying to explain. Let us assume that you caused it."

"But how could I possibly have caused it when I had the right of way?"

"We'll move the scene of the accident forward one corner, my dear, just one tiny corner."

This fruitless to-ing and fro-ing went on and on, endlessly and pointlessly, until, fortunately, Piróth came home. Lenke, poor woman, found it impossible to lie. Even those white lies which are obligatory she spat out like dental detritus. But why is it we feel ashamed of it, why don't we confess: look, I can't lie. I don't even want to.

Kövér was at least as happy at Piróth's arrival as was Lenke.

"Your husband, wonderful! I think we men are more practical and will be able to come to an understanding in no time."

The professor of legal philosophy did indeed grasp the problem quickly and in all its implications.

"In plain language, Mr. Kövér, the fact is you wish to turn the accident to your advantage. Not only would you succeed in sorting out the damage to the two cars on the cheap, by paying the excess on my wife's comprehensive policy, but you would also be getting your car in shape for the MOT."

Kövér, plumper and more sprightly than ever, endorsed these words. "And in a way that is to the benefit of everybody concerned!"

"Come, come!" Piróth liked precise wording. "Not exactly everybody. Not to the benefit of the insurance, that is to say, the state. Am I right?"

"Haha! Precisely my own calculation. Over four years your lady wife has paid in more than eight thousand forints, without receiving anything in return. Now the insurance will be paying out a thousand. Because I'm paying the excess out of my own pocket, aren't I? In other words, even this way, the state is still making a clear seven thousand."

Piróth laughed. "Not entirely, Mr. Kövér. Instead of getting the two thousand five hundred from you, if my calculations are correct, the insurance will, all in all, be out a round twelve thousand. But that isn't the point. Insurance, Mr. Kövér, is a peculiar business. It's not like hire purchase or banking. My wife doesn't pay her monthly one hundred and seventy forints so that she will get it back one day. Indeed, those one hundred and seventy forints represent the monthly price of the risk the state insurance takes on our behalf. Do you understand? In other words, insurance is a business from which both parties either benefit—no accident, no claim—or lose."

"Yes, yes. Of course, I understand... But this concrete case..."

"The concrete case, Mr. Kövér, is: let me spell out precisely what your proposal here means. It is insurance fraud. A criminal offence. More exactly: since three of us are joining in with you and since the man doing the repairs is obviously in it as well, together, I fear, with an official from the insurance office, it is a conspiracy to commit an offence against public property."

Now it was Kövér's turn to laugh.

"If everyone were to take it so seriously..."

Piróth however did not laugh, he even raised his voice a little. "Look here, Mr. Kövér! If we had known each other for a long time, had gone to school together, had played conkers together when we were boys or whatever... And if you had known me for ages to be a fly operator, a scoundrel of some sort, then O.K., fine, you might come along with an offer like this."

"But my dear sir..."

"I'm talking now! To my knowledge, this is the first time we've clapped

eyes on each other in our lives. What's more, as far as I can remember, I have never been a crook. So there are only two possibilities."

"But, please..."

"I let you have your say, be so good as to let me have mine! There are two possibilities. A: you're an agent provocateur. B: you think this country is a moral pissoir, a place where you can simply wander up to the first stranger you meet on the street and ask him to go and help you rob the bank on the corner."

"Come, come, my dear sir, I was only..."

"Whether it's A, or whether it's B, I feel myself obliged to demand you leave my house at once."

"...only thinking of everybody's interest."

"Didn't you hear what I said? Leave my house this instant!"

The plump sprightly gentleman wavered for no more than a moment. He rushed off without a goodbye. A long mellow silence descended on the room. Piróth went up to the window, as if to convince himself that Kövér had left the street.

"Of course," he murmured, "the thing about the bankrobbery wasn't a good example. He lacks the infamy and the guts for that."

On Friday afternoon Kövér rang Lenke at the institute.

"Would you be so good as to take possession of your car, dear lady. It is in the carpark."

He was respectable and well-bred to the very end. Lenke took out the passport from the safe.

"No, dear lady, I would ask you to come down with me first, to take delivery of the car and to see whether everything is in order, whether the colour is uniform. I'll take my passport later."

The car was in order, the colour perfectly matched.

"Please sign the account. It also serves as a receipt. And here is your letter of authorization."

Glancing hurriedly at the account, she saw it was for two thousand five hundred and forty-seven forints and some fillérs. Kövér took his passport, thanked her for her good faith and kissed her hand. There was not a word out of place, not so much as a smile—nothing. He was the perfect gentleman. No, it takes the bewildering self-assurance of a Piróth, his almost inhuman unflappability to unsettle a man like this—even only verbally.

Lenke felt she had managed to bring an end to an embarrassing business. Somehow she also felt ashamed. She could not find a single word of apology or at least of mitigation and reassurance by way of a farewell.

But it seemed that after all she had not managed to bring it to an end.

A few days later, there was a woman's voice on the phone, the voice of the kind of woman who had completed her secondary school education with the mark "satisfactory." It came from the state insurance company and asked her to kindly present her comprehensive insurance policy and her latest receipt of payment at the company's Alibaba utca branch. But before she was able to answer, in her stupefaction, a confused debate broke out in the receiver and then the line was cut off. Two days later a man phoned her.

"My name is Sommer, the state insurance company. Excuse me, madam, but your registration papers are in your maiden name. My question is: is your comprehensive insurance policy in our branch in the second district also in your maiden name?"

What could somebody, desperately trying to collect her thoughts, do at a time like this?

First she answered: "Yes, of course," and only afterwards did she ask: "What do you need my insurance policy for?" By then, however, the caller had hung up.

In other words they were "fixing things," in spite of everything.

If she spoke to Piróth, he would certainly pooh-pooh it. Worst luck, she had dropped Kövér's original claim form in pulling out her handkerchief one day. It was proof of where the accident had happened, whose fault it had been and whose insurance it was to be charged against. To put it highfalutingly: proud defiance welled up in her patriotic bosom. Wednesday was her day off for research. Damn her research, she would give the scoundrels a geography lesson and show them that Hungary, whether they believed it or not, was still part of Europe!

In the Alibaba utca branch she went straight to the manager. He was not in. His deputy? In conference. They sent her here, there and everywhere and the only thing they could think of asking her was: where is the damaged car? It should be added, there were an enormous number of people in the branch office, whether because of the sticky November weather or simply because there were always an enormous number of people there.

At length a young lady made a thorough examination of the Kövér claim. "This is the Bajza utca scrape! Mr. Sommer is in charge of it."

And now it was pointless trying to go any further, they had put her in a queue. It was late afternoon before she got to see Mr. Sommer, who had been in constant demand all day long.

"But this is a closed case, madam."

"Yes, but I would like..."

"Did you have two scrapes on November 10th?"

"No, only one. But..."

"We have closed this case. Hasn't the car been seen to?"

"Yes."

"Is there some hidden defect?"

"No, there is nothing wrong with the car, but..."

"My dear lady, you can see how much work we have."

This unfortunately was true. Customers, telephones, scurrying about, bedlam.

"If you wish to lodge a complaint that the job was not done well..."

"No, it's been done, there's no problem."

"Then, I don't see what the trouble is."

Lenke just swallowed. "I would like the claim form back."

"Pardon? We file claim forms away. Please understand madam, the insurance only pays once for damages incurred!"

Her whole day-off had gone down the drain and with it the "proof." On her way out she had the feeling that they were laughing at her behind her back.

A long time after this, after the winter session of the National Assembly, the director of the institute spoke to her in the corridor. "The president of the 'True Path' cooperative at Orozd is working with me on the parliamentary privilege committee. I hear you had a spot of bother with one of their people?"

"True Path? Yes, a slight accident back in the autumn."

The director laughed. "My honourable colleague could hardly believe you were a pretty young woman, he imagined you to be some old harridan, a real old battleaxe."

His voice then grew softer and more serious. "My dear Lenke! He explained the matter in a rather complicated manner. I don't exactly know what it was he wanted. But between the two of you and as sincere good friends, it's not a matter of interest who is at fault and how... after all we're not so down-and-out that we have to worry about a miserable one and a half thousand forints of insurance money. Is it necessary for you, a senior research colleague in my institute, above all, is it necessary for Ákos Piróth to have some cooperative buyer or other vilifying your name up and down the country and even talking of an insurance swindle? Say nothing, Lenke. I know, I understand, the whole thing is unimportant but bear it in mind!"

I could make a long list of all the appropriate rejoinders that came into Lenke's head—afterwards. A long time afterwards. In the evening, the next day, even four days later.

But then she had nothing to say. She felt as if suddenly her scalp tingled with a huge charge of static electricity and as if she really were some old harridan.

Translated by Jeremy Payne

RUDOLF ANDORKA

HUNGARY'S LONG-TERM SOCIAL EVOLUTION

In the past ten to fifteen years statisticians all over the world have tried to describe changes in the most important social phenomena and processes by social indicators, similar to those of economic statistics which sensitively show changes in the economy. These should indicate the positive and negative trends, and built into social models they may be suitable also for the exploration of the cause of the changes. Thereby they may offer great help to social planning.

A system of social statistics which serves these purposes is being worked out in the Hungarian Central Office of Statistics as well. We apply a definition according to which any statistical data or finer index may be used as a social indicator which provides reliable and concise information on substantial social phenomena and processes, as well as on the approach to important social objectives; one which is preferably, but not necessarily, available in long time series and differentiated according to social strata and classes.

The direct aim of our work is at present to compile long time series of the selected social indicators, which go back at least to before the Second World War, but possibly to the end of the nineteenth century. Through these long time series one can evaluate the social changes which have occurred since the socialist take-over, applying a historic perspective. The other objective is the measuring of changes which have occurred in the past ten years, i.e. by and large since the beginning of the economic reforms, in order to make visible the secondary social effects of these reforms, the primary objective of which was to adjust the economy to the new conditions which had followed from achieving a higher level of economic development and the exhaustion of earlier labour reserves that had been drawn from agriculture and dependent women. In other words the aim is to accelerate the growth in labour productivity and economic efficiency which, after the exhaustion of the extensive reserves of growth, had become the main determinants of evolution.

Changes in the Social Structure

The facts and figures on the social structure provide the general framework within which the social phenomena and processes are analysed and evaluated. Consequently, the indicators of the social structure occupy a central position in the Hungarian system of social statistics. The main trends of the structural changes are expressed by table overleaf showing the breakdown of the economically active population (in 1890 including the retired) according to social classes and strata:

The pre-Great War figures indicate a rather backward capitalist society (the data

Social class, stratum	1890	1930	1949	1960	1970	1973
Working class						
skilled workers	17.0	26.4	11.2	15.5	19.5	21.6
semi-skilled workers			5.2	13.1	16.6	16.9
unskilled workers	27.0	20.8	12.1	14.0	13.0	11.6
agricultural workers			6.9	6.4	4.9	4.9
foremen		1.6	0.9	2.4	2.7	3.0
Cooperative peasants	—	—	—	12.0	17.0	14.6
Individually farming peasants farming						
less than a yoke	1.2	1.7	2.1	1.1		
1–5 yokes	13.0	12.8	16.3	7.5		
5–10 yokes	11.6	7.9	16.5	7.5	1.2	0.9
10–100 yokes	15.4	10.1	11.8	3.8		
Helping family members of the worker	.	.	.	.	0.4	0.7
White-collar workers						
managers and professionals		1.8	1.8	3.0	5.1	5.7
technicians and clerks	2.7	5.5	7.1	11.3	18.0	18.4
Shopkeepers and tradesmen	8.1	8.6	8.1	2.4	1.6	1.7
Landowners	0.3	0.3	—	—	—	—
Big and medium entrepreneurs	0.2	0.3	—	—	—	—
Sundry other	3.5	2.2	—	—	—	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

refer to the then area of Hungary; following the Trianon Peace Treaty the area of Hungary was reduced to approximately one-third of the earlier, and the later data refer to the present area of 93,000 square kilometres). Approximately two-thirds of society lived off the land. Approximately 40 per cent of the arable land was owned by big landowners. Approximately 40 per cent of the agricultural population were landless agricultural labourers. About one-third of the individually farming peasants too had so little land that they sought paid employment in order to supplement the family income. The number of non-agricultural workers was relatively small and consisted partly of day-labourers and household helps. Consequently, the majority of the workers were agricultural labourers, who were either paid by the day or indentured for a year at a time, mostly on large estates, and to a smaller degree on the farms of rich peasants.

The social structure of the Hungary of the inter-war period, although the post-Trianon area was economically somewhat more developed than the average of the earlier area, shows only relatively small

changes. The proportion of those working in agriculture diminished but little, the share of industrial and other non-agricultural workers grew slowly. Yet by then the working class made up half of the active earners, and if we add those peasant categories where the size of the farm was insufficient to maintain the family and so they also worked in paid employment (roughly those cultivating 3 ha and less), then the working class and the strata near to it formed a considerable majority in the Hungary of the time. The landowners and capitalists formed less than 1 per cent of society, and the middle strata (white-collar workers, independent craftsmen and shopkeepers, a few rich peasants) were relatively weak. This standstill of the social structure may have been due on the one hand to the economic stagnation of the inter-war period, and on the other to the survival of the semi-feudal agrarian structure.

After Liberation a radical land reform was implemented, and this turned the majority of the former landless agricultural workers into individually farming peasants. As a result, the share of the self-employed was never as high in Hungary as after 1945 including the time of the 1949 census.

Around 1949 the period of post-war reconstruction came to an end, and the country reached by and large the pre-war developmental level. In the first half of the fifties fast industrialization began primarily by attracting to industrial and other non-agricultural work the labour reserve that had been unemployed and not fully or not sufficiently or efficiently employed (hidden unemployed). The size of such reserves is indicated by the estimate that in the thirties agricultural day-labourers found work only on an average 150 days a year, and the work of the small-holder peasants could be used efficiently only for 200 days annually. Only industrialization promised a way out from this situation, which caused the poverty of the village masses and contributed considerably to the economic backwardness of the country. The socialist reorganization of agriculture began as a parallel process.

At the time of the 1960 social structure survey the period of extensive industrialization was still on and the increase of the cooperative sector in agriculture was in process. The social structure shown by these data reflects the fact that the non-agricultural population had grown vigorously, the working class had again reached one half of the active earners, but the proportion of those working in agriculture was still close to 40 per cent and among the latter there were more individual farmers than in the socialist sector.

In the mid-sixties economic conditions changed gradually. By 1961 the collectivization of farming was completed, and after that large agricultural investments and large-scale reorganization led to the outflow of considerable labour from agriculture. Within a few years the labour reserves available in agriculture were exhausted. Since then the further freeing of labour from agriculture has required large labour-saving investments to enable agricultural production to keep pace with the growing requirements of the population. The employment of women has also approached the level of the possible maximum. It was in such circumstances that the economic reforms were introduced. As a result of these the rate of growth became faster. The growth rate in national income had never been as high in Hungary as in the first years following on the introduction of the reforms. As a result Hungary reached, by the first half of the seventies, a relatively high level of economic development. This is reflected also in changes in the social structure. The ratio of white-collar workers and especially of professional people grew rapidly while the growth of the number of industrial workers stopped, and the number of blue-collar workers in the tertiary industries began to grow more vigorously.

When the contemporary Hungarian social

structure is thoroughly analysed one cannot be satisfied with the figures of the breakdown of active earners. It is useful to examine households and those living in them according to the social situation of all active members of the household. This is especially important because the number of mixed families and households is very high. Nine per cent of the total population, approximately one-third of the cooperative peasantry, and approximately one-tenth of the working class, live in households in which there are both worker and cooperative peasant active earners, i.e. in mixed households of the worker-peasant type. Another frequent type is the mixed household of blue-collar–white-collar worker composition. Fourteen per cent of the population live in such households, over one-sixth of the working class and one quarter of the white-collar workers.

The proportion of the town population grew parallel to rapid industrialization. But this was much slower than the increase of the share of those employed in industry and other non-agricultural branches, so that a considerable part of the population of contemporary Hungary continue to live in villages:

Year	Breakdown of the population according to dwelling place*		
	Budapest	Country towns	Villages
1870	6.0	20.6	73.4
1890	8.7	20.9	71.4
1930	16.6	21.8	61.6
1949	17.3	21.4	61.3
1960	17.8	23.4	58.8
1970	18.6	26.3	55.1
1973	18.6	27.3	54.1

* The types of settlement are according to the administrative classification in force in 1973. Since 1973 several villages have achieved the status of towns, and therefore the proportion of the town population has increased. Until 1949 the figures show the population that is present at the time of the census, and from 1960 the permanent population, i.e. those domiciled in the particular place. As regards the residential population, which takes a temporary residence into account, the share of towns is somewhat higher and that of villages lower. For these reasons and owing to the continued migration into towns, the breakdown of the residential population in 1977 was: Budapest 19.6, country towns 32.4, and villages 48.0 per cent.

The proportion of the town population cannot, of course, be identified with people living in an urban environment and living an urban way of life. If one were to measure this, one would have to count part of the village population with the towns and part of the town population with the villages. Using the administrative classification provides approximate data only when one examines urbanization, but this approximation does not differ over-much from the actual situation.

Although it is a universal characteristic of the developed societies that the proportion of the town population is lower than that not employed in agriculture, i.e. that many persons not employed in agriculture live in villages, in Hungary the difference is even bigger than elsewhere. The reason for this is that, since Liberation, many who stopped tilling the soil at the time of industrialization, taking up employment elsewhere, continued to live in villages either in their original homes or moving to villages nearer

to their new place of employment. This has had several important social consequences. The first is that today nearly half the working class live in villages, and the majority of the village population belong to the working class. The ratio of the latter is just about equally high in villages and in Budapest, and is only a little higher in country towns. The difference between the social structure of the towns and of villages is rather that in towns the other large social category besides the working class is formed by white-collar workers, and in villages by cooperative peasants. As a long-term trend in villages the ratio of active working class earners is on the increase, while in towns, and especially in Budapest, it is diminishing.

However, the majority of the industrial and other non-agricultural places of employment are in towns. As a consequence, a considerable section of active earners living in villages commute, mainly those belonging to the working class. In 1970, 20 per cent of all active earners in Hungary commuted daily, and a further approximately 6 per cent weekly (the latter had lodgings near their place of work).

Another important fact connected with the high proportion of the working class in the villages is the frequency of worker-peasant mixed households, and that nearly half the working class live in households which cultivate a small household plot or auxiliary farm and keep one or several domestic animals. In 1972 one half of Hungarians—the great majority of the village population but also some of those in towns—lived in households which cultivated a small farm. Less than half of these were household plots, i.e. land allotted to the members of cooperatives, the other half were auxiliary farms, which the state farms and other institutions gave their workers, or simply consisted of a vegetable patch and yard around the house. (Only 2 per cent were individually owned farms.)

But the peasant and the worker members of such households share in the farming work. Men in jobs spent an average 2–3 hours a day working on their farms, women somewhat less. Their output not only increases the income of such families, but—since approximately one half of the produce is consumed and the other half sold—also considerably contributes to the food supply of the urban population.

It should be added that household plots and auxiliary farms do not compete with the large farms. A certain sort of rational division of labour has come about. The large farms have specialized in branches of agriculture which are easy to mechanize, while the small farms produce a considerable part of the labour-intensive products. The large farms offer many kinds of help to household plots and auxiliary farms (for instance fodder, mechanical work, procurement and sale of produce).

These social indicators show that 1. since 1945 a major process of modernization has taken place parallel to the socialist changes, and 2. in the last ten years (1968–78) new structural trends have appeared, which can be considered the beginning of important changes of a new kind.

The structural indicators show trends in change. They cannot be interpreted as measuring the approach to some social objective. Below social indicators will be discussed which are unequivocally linked to social objectives.

Changes in the Standard of Living

A rapid growth in the standard of living and the moderation of the inequalities of per capita income, especially those which derive from reasons which are independent of the work done (primarily from the demographic composition of the families), are unequivocal objectives of economic and social planning in Hungary.

Income is one of the most important factors of the standard of living. Long-term growth is indicated by the fact that per capita national income has more than quad-

rupled since 1950. According to comparisons within the scope of the United Nations, per capita national income in Hungary was 40 per cent that of the United States and 80 per cent that of Italy in 1970. In 1969 per capita national income in the GDR and in Czechoslovakia was by approximately 50 per cent higher than in Hungary, but was lower by about 8 per cent in Poland. These are, of course, estimates which are dependent on the methodology of the calculation.

In respect of the differences in income much more precise figures are available. The per capita income of various social categories in the financial year of 1930/31 has been estimated. The average per capita income of the families belonging to the different classes and strata was the following in the percentage of the national average (=100):

Agricultural day-labourer	34
Agricultural contract worker	38
Peasant farming his own land, 1–10 yokes	43
Industrial day-labourer	47
Low-income artisan	60
Industrial, transport, etc. worker	71
Miner	80
Peasant farming his own land, 10–100 yokes	81
White-collar worker, higher income artisan	197
Entrepreneur and landowner	3,335

According to this estimate, the peasant, worker, and low-income artisan masses making up 81.2 per cent of the population received 44 per cent of total income, the white-collar workers and higher income artisans and shopkeepers, who made up for 18.2 per cent of the population, received 36 per cent of the income, the entrepreneurs and landowners forming 0.6 per cent of the population received 20 per cent of the income. This distribution was more unequal than that in the US or Germany at the time. Since 1962 the Central Office of Statistics has carried out income surveys in every five years. From these we know the monthly income (incomes of personal disposition including the money allowances) of households according to social classes and strata. If the households are classified on the basis of the social position of the head, then compared to the national average (=100) the average per capita income of the various classes and strata was the following at the time of the three family income surveys:

	1962	1967	1972
Managerial and professional	154	140	150
Technician	128	122	115
Clerical	119	111	108
Skilled worker	109	103	100
Semi-skilled worker	95	92	89
Unskilled worker	82	86	86
Agricultural manual worker	87	101	105
Retired	84	81	83

If the above figures are compared with those from 1930/31, it becomes clear that income differences between classes and sections have diminished considerably compared to capitalist conditions in Hungary. Then the income of the agricultural workers hardly approached one-third of the national average, today it is around the average. Then white-collar workers obtained twice the average, today even professional men and women earn only one and a half times the average.

On the other hand, only smaller changes have occurred since the beginning of the sixties. The most important among these is the faster than average growth of the income of agricultural workers and cooperative members. It should be added that after the last income census the wages of the skilled workers in industry and then of

other non-agricultural worker groups were raised centrally, so that since then the per capita income of the industrial workers and of those doing manual work in agriculture have by and large been on the same level and rising proportionately. After the socialist reorganization of agriculture the income level of agricultural workers and cooperative members caught up with, or approached, the income level of other classes and sections of society, and thereby the centuries-old handicap under which the peasant and agricultural worker masses had suffered, has, in essence, ceased to exist. This is an obvious development if one takes into consideration that open and hidden unemployment which had existed earlier in agriculture was eliminated as an effect of industrialization. Those working in agriculture are occupied all the year round (and their working hours are even longer than those of non-agricultural workers), their working conditions and the skill necessary for their work grew increasingly like those of industrial workers, and cooperative peasant and agricultural worker households receive a substantial subsidiary income from the household plots and subsidiary farms, as a countervalue for further substantial labour inputs.

Another important characteristic of the income differences is the gradual diminution of the income difference between technicians, etc., clerks, and workers. These differences would be even smaller if there were not substantially more dependents (mainly children) in worker households than in those of clerks. At the same time the advantage of managers and professional men and women over the other social categories has not only remained as it was, the gap between them and technicians and clerks has increased.

There was some anxiety that inequalities in income would grow with the introduction of the economic reforms. However, the share of *decile* groups in total income (in percentage) shows that only minimal changes have occurred since 1962.

Decile groups	1962	1967	1972
Lowest income group	3.9	4.1	4.0
Second decile	5.6	6.0	5.9
Third decile	6.5	7.1	7.0
Fourth decile	7.6	8.0	8.0
Fifth decile	8.6	8.9	8.9
Sixth decile	9.7	9.9	9.8
Seventh decile	11.0	10.9	10.8
Eighth decile	12.3	12.2	11.9
Ninth decile	14.6	14.0	13.8
Top decile	20.2	18.9	19.9
Highest 5 per cent		10.8	11.6

These figures should be interpreted as follows: while the income of some relatively high income groups (managers, some professional people) grew faster than the average, at the same time the income level of some categories which had lagged behind earlier (mainly manual workers in agriculture and semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the villages) also rose faster than the average after the reform. These two more or less balanced out. In addition, a social policy was successfully implemented ensuring that income differences caused by work done should rise while the differences caused by factors independent of the work should be reduced by social allowances. As a result money allowances, among which retirement pay and family allowances are the two largest items, have gradually increased their share in total income. As an end-result, income inequalities in Hungary, although not insignificant, are among the lowest in the developed socialist and capitalist countries.

In spite of the relatively equal income distribution, indices of living conditions show relatively large differences between classes and sections of society. The two most important items on which families spend their disposable income after their basic food, clothing, etc. needs have been satisfied, or for the acquisition of which,

or the improvement of the quality of which, they save, are housing and a car. The two can, of course, not be treated identically, not only because they satisfy different kinds of needs (housing is a basic need while a car is not), but also because there are many ways of obtaining housing. (68.4 per cent of the inhabited dwellings were personal property, 2.3 per cent belonged to housing cooperatives, 2.9 per cent were home units, and 26.4 per cent were state-owned in 1973.) It must nevertheless be said that the quality and fittings of the dwellings and the ownership of the car are specific to the objective living conditions of various social classes, reflecting stratification. The quality of dwelling is indicated by the proportion of those with bathrooms (in 1976):

	Proportion of persons living in dwellings with bathroom (percentage)
Manager and professional	92
Other white-collar worker	78
Skilled and semi-skilled worker	54
Unskilled worker	31
Cooperative peasant	33
Retired and others who are not working	31

The difference is even larger as far as car ownership is concerned (in 1976) as shown by the table in the right-hand column.

These large differences are explained on the one hand by the bigger income, wealth, and housing differences of earlier decades, and on the other, a role is played by the differences between the towns and villages (village dwellings are almost exclusively financed out of the resources of the owners themselves; among town dwellings on the other hand the proportion of rented flats owned by the state is not insignificant; further, in a considerable number of villages, there are no watermains and consequently the water supply of bathrooms must rely on wells, etc.).

	Number of cars per 100 households
Manager and professional	55
Other white-collar worker	30
Skilled and semi-skilled worker	18
Unskilled worker	4
Cooperative peasant	12
Retired and others who are not working	1

Social Mobility

In circumstances where incomes and living conditions are unequal and are likely to remain so in the near future, it is important to discover the chances of members of different classes and strata to enter the most favourable social and occupational categories. In other words: it is very important, for instance, how much bigger a chance the son of a professional man has to complete tertiary education and enter one of the professions than the son of a member of an agricultural cooperative. For this reason, the increase of the openness of society, i.e. the reduction of the inequalities in career chances according to social origin, is an important objective of Hungarian social planning.

The tendencies of social mobility can be discerned on the basis of the 1930 and 1949 censuses, as well as the figures of the social mobility surveys of 1962–1964 and of 1973. This shows that the global volume of social

mobility has grown substantially parallel with the transition from capitalist social conditions to socialist ones. The growth is primarily the consequence of structural changes, circular or "swap" mobility has hardly changed. But since the beginning of the sixties the mobility of men has not continued to grow, while that of women, which had been much smaller earlier, continued to rise.

However the growth of structural mobility does not necessarily mean the equalization of social mobility opportunities. Seeing that in respect of income and other matters the situation of managers and professional people are the most favourable in contemporary Hungary, the shaping of the chances of entering these sections were analysed as indicators of mobility chances. The chance of men and women from different classes and strata to enter the manager and professional stratum were calculated. We determined the 1939 and 1949 data on the basis of the retrospective biographies of the 1962–1964 social mobility survey, and controlled the data so obtained by comparing them with the 1930 and 1949 census returns. Taking the chance of the children of managers and professionals as 100, the chances of others were:

Social origin (social position of the father)	1939 man	1949 man	1962–1964		1973	
			man	woman	man	woman
Manager and professional	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other white-collar	40.8	57.1	50.7	46.9	45.1	43.7
Tradesman, shopkeeper	10.7	13.8	17.0	17.0	15.0	19.4
Skilled worker	4.8	9.6	19.1	5.1	17.6	16.3
Semi-skilled worker	3.6	7.8	9.6	4.7	9.3	9.5
Unskilled worker	1.0	5.5	11.0	4.3	4.2	7.1
Agricultural manual worker	1.7	2.9	4.8	3.1	5.1	4.0

Thus, the chances to enter the managerial and professional stratum have become much more even. In the case of men this evolution lasted until the beginning of the sixties, and since then apparently no substantial changes have occurred. In the case of women, where the inequalities of chances were still substantially bigger at the beginning of the sixties, inequality has continued to diminish.

These data refer to all—old and young—managers and professional people of the given years. Since the changes in social mobility conditions mostly occur from one generation to the next, and are less bound to historic periods, a more exact picture of the development of chances is obtained if the number of new recruits is examined from generation to generation, i.e. according to the years of birth. Since the signs of change in trends may be presumed in the case of men, on the basis of the 1973 survey the chances of men coming from different classes and strata of being, at the age of 30, a manager or professional man, were compared (taking again as 100 the chances of the sons of the managers and of professional people):

The inequalities of the chances to become managers and professional people have thus diminished until those born between 1923 and 1932, while in the following generation small signs of an increase in inequality of chances can be discerned. However, some

Social origin	Year of birth				
	Before 1902	1903–1912	1913–1922	1923–1932	1933–1942
Manager and professional	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Other white-collar	31.4	32.9	42.2	56.8	48.4
Tradesman, shopkeeper	12.8	1.9	8.9	22.0	13.7
Skilled worker	5.8	4.9	10.4	26.5	17.0
Semi-skilled and unskilled worker	3.6	1.2	8.6	15.5	9.3
Agricultural manual worker	1.0	0.9	3.7	8.5	7.5

reservations have to be added: 1. at the same time the chances became more even in the case of women, 2. in the course of the career of the older generation a further important mobility occurred after their 30th year of age, and it is therefore possible that amongst those who were between 30 and 39 years of age in 1973 (those born between 1933 and 1942) mobility will still change substantially. Nevertheless, these mobility indicators draw attention to the possibility of the beginning of a new tendency, which requires attention, and possibly also measures of social policy, mainly within the educational system.

The analysed social indicators show that since the beginning of the socialist transformations Hungary has gone through a substantial process of modernization, and in addition the social conditions have progressed towards equality. Since the mid-sixties the country has entered a new stage of economic and social development. Within the framework of these developments several new tendencies can be discerned. Some are favourable (like the increased social mobility of women), others may develop in the wrong direction (like the small rigidity observable in the mobility of men), and finally there are social phenomena where the expected or feared problems have not occurred (for instance, the distribution of incomes has not become more unequal). The long time series of the social indicators may offer assistance to the demonstration of these changes and through this to the formulation of adequate social plans and policies.

CROSSING THE LANGUAGE BARRIER

by

C. P. SNOW

Recently, I have been trying to remember what I knew about Hungarian literature before the Second World War. It was very little. In this, I think I can be taken as representative of reasonably cultivated English language readers. I had heard of the names Petőfi and Jókai, and had read, in translation, a little of both. I had seen plays by Molnár, who had had some commercial success on the London stage, and that was about all.

Hungary was a baffling country, obviously full of talent, as I knew from scientific acquaintances. But inaccessible for many reasons, including the peculiarly tough linguistic barrier. One had to accept there were many good literatures round the world that one would never know anything about at all.

For a good many English speakers, both in America and my own country, *The New Hungarian Quarterly* has made us less ignorant. It has certainly made us aware of some of the most eminent Hungarians of our time, Gyula Illyés, László Németh, Tibor Déry. Déry also reached the West for political reasons, but it was the NHQ who made us realise what a fine artist he was, just as it gradually became clear that Illyés was one of the best European writers of his time. The work of younger men also began to teach us, both its resemblances to Western literature and its differences. It has, I think, imbibed more French influence than Anglo-Saxon. So far as there are Anglo-Saxon comparisons, the Hungarian work I have seen is closer to American naturalism than to English realism (that is a technical point which would probably be interesting only to a professional). Anyway, in this respect as in others, the NHQ has enriched our education, and we are grateful.

I have concentrated on its literary impact. It is there that it has done something which no other publication has been able to do. Its economic and sociological articles are instructive, but to some of us not so novel.

Speaking for myself, I couldn't have picked up the literary information anywhere else. I have often wished we could learn something more about what Hungarians think, in critical terms, of their own writers and of Western ones. What parallels do they see? What discrepancies? It has always seemed to me a pity that Lukács wasn't more familiar with English nineteenth, century realistic novels. It would have given him a firmer basis for part of his theoretical case.

The NHQ has taught us much already. We are all in your debt. I hope you continue to make the debt increase.

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LSD

A story

by

ISTVÁN CSURKA

In September 1969, Fülöp Merész, member of the union executive of a cardboard box factory in Vác, unexpectedly came into possession of a considerable quantity of LSD. To be more precise: the said drug had been deposited with him. What happened was that in the summer of that year a number of the factory's livelier young workers had been to the West on a group tour organized by the Express Youth Travel Agency. These longhaired youths had brought back the LSD with them from the West. But, well brought up as they were, getting hold of it (they stole it) was one thing, actually daring to take it another. All they did was talk about it a lot and their constant boasting at the club that they had got some LSD was bound, sooner or later, to reach the ears of the factory bosses, particularly since some of their own children had been on the trip as well. Before long the affair was the talk of the town; the local luminaries thought it high time to put an end to it. But how? After all, there were no positive signs to betray the presence of LSD: the young people were just as absorbed in their smooching and just as devoted in the execution of their duties as they ever had been. Neither was there any solid evidence to be found in all their big talk. But the knowledge that there was LSD in the town, in the factory, was nevertheless unsettling. Thus it was that when tension had begun to reach such proportions that there was a danger of someone in Visegrád or Budapest getting to hear of Vác's LSD, Lajos Joó, chairman of the Vác cardboard box factory's union executive, summoned Fülöp Merész and said:

"Look, Fülöp, don't you think it's time we got to the bottom of this LSD business?"

"Certainly, Lajos," Fülöp Merész said.

Lajos Joó raised a warning index finger.

"Before it's too late."

"That's just what I've been thinking."

"Fülöp! During all the years of magnificent work you've put into the union and labour movements you've sorted out so many delicate problems—wouldn't you care to put your famous skills to work again?"

Fülöp Merész thought for a moment and then said:

"If it's the wish of the union committee."

"It is, Fülöp."

So Fülöp Merész had to go to the youth club and treat its leading lights to more than thirty brandies in order to possess himself of the "LSD secret." It wasn't easy to get a confession from them, but, unlike the LSD, they had no qualms at all about downing Fülöp Merész's brandies.

In any way, this sacrifice of his led Fülöp Merész to the discovery that the LSD did indeed exist, further, that it was intact and could be found in one of the pockets of Fülöp Merész junior's jeans—it had been there for months, in a small nylon bag. Fülöp Merész was amazed to hear this, the more so since his son had not taken part in the aforementioned trip to the West, but had been on a tour of the Soviet Union arranged at the same time. Thus it was completely out of the question that it was he who had acquired the LSD. The youths explained this, too:

"We gave it to him so nobody would get suspicious."

"Why, the little bastard," Fülöp Merész murmured to himself.

After this he went home, and, looking more than usually severe, said to his wife, who was just engaged in scraping the mould off the top of the plum jam:

"Did you know the brat had got the town's LSD?"

"I knew," she said.

"Then why didn't you say?"

"Better not to stir things up."

Fülöp Merész made no comment although he could think of a few suitable replies. He just stood there scowling. After a while he said:

"Where is it?"

"In the cupboard," she replied.

This was totally incomprehensible to Fülöp Merész, because in recent years jeans were the only things he had seen his son wearing and he couldn't conceive of his not wearing them now.

But his wife was ready with an explanation for this as well.

"He's been wearing smart trousers since he got his pay rise."

"Well, well," Fülöp Merész said, and went to the cupboard, got the jeans, poked around for a bit in the pockets and finally found the small bag. He took it out, held it up for closer inspection and showed it to his wife.

"Is this it?"

"What else would it be?" she said.

Fülöp Merész let out a deep, sad sigh as if to say 'What have I done to deserve this?' He looked at the bag for a while, turning it over in his hand. He had the feeling that he had been the victim of a bad joke and that this was not really LSD. 'Well, we'll see,' he thought, and said to his wife:

"What's for supper?"

"Paprika potatoes," she said.

"What? Not again!" and, whilst he said this, he wondered if you could consume LSD on top of paprika potatoes. He had already decided to take some straight after supper.

And he did take some. Just a dot. He went outside, looked into the distance, up at the starry sky. For the first few minutes he was preoccupied with the same thoughts as at other times: practical questions, philosophical problems, social matters. He was just on the point of turning round and going back inside with a 'Damned if this is poison,' when a lion appeared in the sky, slowly and majestically parachuting down towards the spot where Fülöp Merész was standing.

'Hallo, so it is after all,' Fülöp Merész said to himself grimly, 'All right, then. I'm ready.' Meanwhile, the lion had landed and was shaking off the parachute like a dog shaking the wet off its fur. With sleek, feline tread he padded slowly up to Fülöp Merész and stopped in front of him.

"Who sent you?" Merész asked.

"The National Trade Union Council."

"Headquarters?"

"Of course."

Fülöp Merész nodded impatiently, with the air of one who already knew what it was all about.

"Didn't they send a saddle?" he asked.

The lion shook his head.

"Typical," Fülöp Merész said, and rather reluctantly climbed onto the lion's back. "And where's the conference being held?" he asked the beast.

"In Kisoroszi," said the lion.

They set off. The journey was very short. But the whole area of what had previously been the town of Kisoroszi was now covered by a circus. The dome of the enormous big top reached to the heavens and the light radiating from it was so intense that it seemed to be humming. Fülöp Merész put the lion into a trot and, to the accompaniment of thunderous applause, they arrived in the arena. The big top was literally crammed with imperialists. Fülöp Merész did not just see this, he knew it instinctively, and therefore

did not allow himself to be carried away by the tumult of applause or the waving of bowlers and top hats, but fixed them with stern mien. He did not even dismount from the lion, in spite of all the latter's movements which unmistakably invited him to do so. When the ovation had subsided, Lajos Joó entered the arena from behind the curtains opposite, draped in a resplendent golden robe.

"And now I call on Comrade Fülöp Merész to deliver his address."

At this, the latter slipped off the lion's back and cleared his throat.

His speech was just as short as the journey from Vác to Kisoroszi. It is possible, in fact, that all it consisted of was this clearing of the throat, but of its success there could be no doubt. For after this speech the triumph of the world revolution was a foregone conclusion. Vanquished and dejected, the assembled imperialists staggered to their feet and, with bowed heads, slouched out of the big top. Outside, they requested Lajos Joó, one by one, for political asylum—to some it was granted, to others refused. After this, Lajos Joó came into the arena together with many friends and acquaintances from Vác, and one by one they congratulated Fülöp Merész on his expeditious and bloodless accomplishment of the world revolution.

"He should have been given the job long ago," somebody said in the background.

This is what gave him the greatest satisfaction of all, and he turned to Lajos Joó.

"Is there anything else, Lajos?"

"Not for the moment, Fülöp."

"Then perhaps I can go."

"Yes, off you go, Fülöp. We'll see to the rest now."

He just looked at the lion and suddenly found himself back at home, giving him a friendly pat on the neck.

"You could give it a bit of a scratch as well—and my tummy," the lion said.

"Anything you say," and he scratched as indicated. Whilst thus engaged he asked: "Are you going back to headquarters now?"

"Yes. And I'm in a hurry. I've already done thirty-five hours overtime this month as it is, and in the morning I'm taking a foreign delegation to Szoboszló. I'm constantly on the road and my digestion is all to pot."

"I know just how you feel. The body simply can't stand the strain. It's like that in all walks of life."

"Yes, well, I could mention a place where it's not such a strain," said the lion, who had begun to bear a remarkable resemblance to someone he knew. And when he stretched out his hand to him over the fence, that's

precisely who he was: Balog, the chauffeur from Kisoroszi, an acquaintance from his army days in the sappers. No more lion, no more circus, no more pageantry. And Balog was already moving off into the night, when he turned back, stepped closer to the fence, and said in an intimate tone:

"Can I ask you something, old chum? You know what goes on here in Vác, don't you? Is there anything in this story about there being LSD here?"

Fülöp Merész looked his erstwhile comrade-in-arms sternly in the eye and said meditatively:

"Have you noticed anything odd about me while we've been standing here talking?"

"No, not a thing."

"Well, there you are then, and there's some inside me right now."

"You don't say. And no hallucinations, no tingling sensations, no women, striptease and the like?"

"Who, me?"

"Then it's not LSD."

"No. Or if it is, then it's gone stale. You know what I think? I think the plain truth is that those young blokes were taken for a ride over there in the West."

"But they stole it, or so they say."

"Even so. They'd fall for anything, they would."

"Yes, well. Goodbye then."

"Goodbye, and all the best."

They shook hands again over the fence.

The following evening Fülöp Merész took some more LSD. Somehow, the whole affair still troubled him, chiefly because of the lie he had told his old comrade-in-arms, but also because the business of the world revolution had greatly excited him. He would have liked to hear the whole of his speech and the arguments he had used, and he would have liked it if the whole thing had not ended up lamely here in Vác. He even took two lots of the poison. He did not even go outside but thought he would sit in his favourite chair and wait for the lion to come to him. But now, instead of the lion, flowers rained from on high, all he saw was a great expanse of colour, he heard exquisite music, walked in a cave glittering with stalactites of all colours, and then there followed what the chauffeur had been talking about: female forms hovering before his eyes. Finally, the Good Lord himself approached him, holding his mother in his arms. His mother wore a magnificent white wedding-dress, its kilometer-long train billowing behind her.

After this, he took some LSD each night, for as long as the supply lasted. But the world revolution refused to show itself again. Thus, the Fülöp Merész who answered Lajos Joó's summons to give his overdue report on the outcome of his mission was but a shadow of his former self. He had lost weight and his hands trembled.

"Well, Fülöp. What's the real situation regarding the LSD?"

"There's no LSD in Vác," Fülöp Merész said, in a tone both resolute and sad.

"Thank you. That's what I expected to hear from you. And now let me ask you what you would like in return for your good work? I hear you incurred considerable expenses. What's it to be?"

"A passport," Fülöp Merész said firmly, fixing Lajos Joó with the slightly troubled but stubborn and unyielding look of the poisoned.

Translated by Jeremy Payne

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

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LETTER FROM US

FOR THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ISSUE OF THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

I promised you a letter from my country? A letter from my life would be less risky—more facts, some authority and no audience. I've no choice. My letters always turn out to be about both. I'm a particular kind of traveller. I travel in order to see US.

This doesn't at all mean that I don't see you. Rather, that I see and hear us both in constantly double-voiced dialogue and shuttlecock display, delivering ourselves of those transparent gestures and meanings which so often support or contradict a nation's architecture, politics and government, literature. That's why I'll want to see, and trust as much, your daily living as well as your monuments, your young people as well as your functionaries, your women and your university and grade-school teachers, in talk both elevated and ordinary. I'll see you for whatever time and scope is allowed, and meanwhile, ever sharper, my own compatriots and home. Often, the categories mix. In your daily living I may see—more symptomatically than in their own bluest sky—our monuments. It's not unlike what we do when we read each other's books, and magazines. The echoes I hear reverberate between your books, and ours, between you and your own books, and often precede language, or my lack of one.

And do you suppose you can suspect where my prejudices lie? Here's a fair description of them, in a man from the novel I'm now writing: "...a tenderness for the foibles of far places and peoples gripped him the minute he stepped over their borders, making the host people his always excusable darlings, and him their surefooted interpreter. He was always faintly explaining Americans over his shoulder to a savage interlocutor who could only be himself, and who gave them no quarter—tenderness to the foreigner not being involved."

This, I may say, is very American. But so is Texas brag. Many of the old clichés about us are still so true that you must forgive me for retinkling

them. Our size—it does not go away. We are various because of it, still. The question, "What does your country think of such-and-such?" still boggles me since first I went abroad twenty-five years ago, and gets much the same answer: "I come from one loudmouthed and influential strip of East Coast, but I can't speak for West Coast ideas"—now increasingly influential—"or for the Baptist South"—which has recently given us a President—"or, or—." And yet we North Americans do have a "universal gas-station" civilization which deceives both you and us. Nabokov, in *Lolita,* was not deceived, but amused. Out of this dialogue, between his Europeanness and our kitsch surface-horrors, came literature. Since we are very heterogeneous, we tend to think that literature can come from anywhere, and should come from everywhere.

We've gathered our nationality from just that. In London, that first week of mine so long ago, an actor received an answering roar on a line of Oscar Wilde's I'd never heard before: "Ah, America—her oldest tradition is that she's a young country." I think now of what enormous gestures we've made since, some of them world-shaking, in part to rid ourselves of that. We are now rid, I think, of over-subservience to *unexamined* European intellectuality—but again our own variousness has helped to keep us from being either parochial—at least in literary matters—or ungenerous. I think of how Europe's gifted writers, Brecht to Grass, Illyés to Konrád, to Ionesco, to name only a few, keep getting the widest welcome, as do the South Americans, Borges and Marquez, the Japanese, Mishima and Kobo Abe, and many more, from all over Europe and the East. As for ethnicity proper, I do have to say that I think us now more sophisticated there than you—again from being diverse. Recently a Yugoslav professor visiting here, when asked why the only "modern" fiction he reported on was still regurgitating World War II and the old partisan battles, replied, "Well, you see, we are ethnically very various—and we have to settle that first, before we can leave the subject." Perhaps he wasn't answering fully, but to choose that to say to an audience of American writers (PEN) is surely naive. For though everyone, if ancestrally scrutinized back to Adam, is an imperfectly mixed being, surely we as a nation are the most imperfectly polygenous yet conceived—compared to which the difference between a Serb and a Croat is that between a millimeter spelled with one "l" or two. If we had waited to resolve our ethnic problems—or indeed our racial ones, instead of conceding that a still-flawed present might be a worthy subject, we might never have had a literature. The past is a safer subject. But a literature that does not deal with the present cannot live.

What has helped us beyond measure to deal with ourselves is that we

had the luck to be writing in a major language. I shan't forget the ache I felt, for other writers, as this was borne in upon me years ago in the Philipines, as one after the other of that country of many dialects and colonially imposed languages asked my advice: "Shall I write in Tagalog?"—the language of Manila, "Or Visayen?"— a provincial language of much greater area. Or the Spanish compulsory in their past schooling? Or the English to which we had trained them? I could only give them my polyglib answer—that a new language of sorts, at least an English version of it, seemed to be forming, and fascinatingly so. But that's chancy at best, whereas the writers of my nation had in one sense been born world-citizens at one stroke. That has affected us beyond the mere opportunity of being widely read. It affects the language itself, and so the literature. A major tongue can be abused—as we do—and still toughen and grow. A minor one can tend dangerously to refine itself, and to settle for intramural beauties, or exchanges. Yet it can form its own seclusive strengths, sometimes behind, sometimes beyond, the barriers of mountain or sea, or of other realities.

I think of that when I read the NHQ. The position of Hungary in that respect, with its anciently honorable literary tradition, its haunting poetic one, is to me an affecting one, both in its tenacious conserving of that spirit, and its continued power to spawn—more than most Central Europe countries of some similar tradition—writers vital to the world scene. Such a Hungarian, once emerged, has no trouble being heard—not at least in the part of that world scene I cherish most. What do I mean by this? Well—now comes the letter from myself.

The world scene possible to a writer may have been, in some eras, truly inclusive. Presently, it is divided into certain spheres. In one, a writer is heard rather more magnificently in his or her own country than anywhere else—except perhaps in nations like mine. In a second sphere, the writer is heard everywhere but in the native country. In a third, a writer may be heard both at home and abroad, but with certain home-imposed restrictions. The fourth is, of course, the Nirvana of total dissemination—tactful examples of such being Shakespeare and Jules Verne.

There is of course a fifth and Stygian sub-basement, where the writer cannot publish at all. So various are the possibilities of literary experience that this category also subdivides. Writers can be prevented from publishing by being starved or jailed or exported, or silenced by decree. Or as in my own country, by the silent boycott of money. In our capitalist world, a publisher has the "human right" not to publish what won't profit him. Once, he preferred to say he was exercising his taste. Now that small independent bookshops and publishers vanish in favor of bookshop-chains and the cor-

porate takeover of the industry, commerciality is no longer apologized for—and a corporation doesn't feel the old obligation to publish literary books. This means that poetry and first novels of value but not deemed commercial can be in danger of not being printed, if no publisher will bother. Lately the government has intervened, mostly for poetry and the short story, not yet for the novel, in the form of the National Endowment for the Arts, which has subsidized hundreds of small presses and magazines, and like the British Arts Council, without in any way regulating content, except that the money has to be scattered geographically. This has produced some poor publications but also some *Lebensraum* for valuable work, to counteract the junk that is now commercially spewed—and has been a stimulus to public and popular interest. Our situation is now this: probably most fine literary work does get published, although, with a few exceptions, it is not nearly as well circulated as the bad. Most importantly, the recognition of literature as a cultural power, and even an incendiary one, doesn't pervade our national rubric as it does yours. Our writers are often well-supported by grants, public or private, or by university teaching, but our national ethos doesn't instinctively or pervasively give us a sense of our value and honor apart from other réclame—as often happens in Europe. Nor does it stamp us with national approval—which we would tend to suspect. In part, this all comes about because of our free right to express, which however takes no special bravery. Our poets therefore become cult heroes rather than national ones. Paradoxically—since we can say whatever we wish, this makes us not important enough to be shot for it. Some of us miss the spirit, if not the deed.

Each time I come to Central Europe, I'm whelmed by the formality, decorum—and above all, intensity of literary life—which I take to be the acknowledgment of what I got from my own quasi-European inheritance: that a book, as part of cultural thought, was sacred in essence—as a potential influence on life. We have that intensity, but a conviction of its importance doesn't much influence the nation. Writers, or literature, are not considered to influence life that radically. Nor can writer-society cohere, as it does with you, although the universities help.

Writers' Unions, which we do not have, whelm me in two ways. It must be deeply, spiritually restful, both to be honored for one's vocation by the nation at large, and to be able to meet in the company of one's kind as a matter of course. There we're wobbly and dispersed; we meet socio-professionally, fragmentarily, or even avoid—since done in that way it gives little nourishment. A Writers' Restaurant in each city* as I have met them,

* Except in Budapest (The Ed.)

how warm and lovely—and impossible for us, because part of a regulatory scheme. A sense that the government acknowledges the importance of literary life and statement, and that the populace does—to the extent that a book of poems can be published in an edition of 60,000 copies shortly exhausted—how stiffening to the spine. But to imagine myself in a state of affairs where even the most honorable colleague will have a committee voice in what I literally say*—whether this is done for the national interest, or mine—ah, what a stiffener there! I cannot believe that power or envy, or non-literary concern won't sometimes rule in the name of taste. We're not innocent of editorial changes, but it is always a matter or argument, and the writer has the last word. A sorry publishing situation still allows me to condemn or abjure it. The worst excesses of "free" enterprise still offer me air—admittedly often bad air, in which my work may ultimately die—but still, it's offered. So there it is—I can sometimes weep with pleasure at your reverence for the word, at feeling a solidarity with an attitude I crave—that literature should indeed influence life. Yet I can't believe, as I travel, that such clean, well-lighted literary streets do not sometimes sweep out the gold with the *dreck*.

So here is my double letter, with all the clichés known to us both. What it comes down to is that the literary spirit which animates writers of good heart and gifts everywhere must now operate in two worlds, each of which preserves and guards only one of the sacred healths which are both necessary to literature—freedom and reverence. What happens then, is classical. Authoritarian writing grows colorless: license pursued for itself or vain needs ultimately dead-ends. Meanwhile, the dissenters from either or both worlds may garner the energy, and the light.

My best wishes to *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, at No. Seventy-five a distinguished veteran of all this, a hope and a bridge.

Sincerely,

H. C.

* The Writers' Union has no publishing functions in Hungary (The Ed.)

SCIENCE POLICY IN HUNGARY

Some Memories of Personal Involvement

by

MAURICE GOLDSMITH

My involvement with science policy in Hungary is bound up intimately with Maurice Korach, scientist and humanist. He was a wise man, about that I have no doubt. He had an infinite charm, immediately apparent when first I met him in Budapest some twenty years ago. I consider myself fortunate to have been created by him as a friend. He was over twenty years my senior, but I never felt awkward or ill-at-ease when with him. The generation gap was non-existent, and that was true not only for me, but also, I saw, for teen-agers.

I remember well the first meeting. It was at a Congress of the International Scientific Film Association. I read a paper. When it was done, a slight, gentle person with a soft voice came to me and, introducing himself as the leader of the Hungarian delegation, said how much he had enjoyed my words. By the time, a week later, I was due to leave Hungary, we had set the basis for an intimacy which continued until the end of his days.

One of the matters we were much concerned with was public understanding of, and involvement in, decision-making in science and technology. It was about fifteen years ago that we sought funds for a journal of a new type—an inter-disciplinary review (perhaps the first of its kind) to present the problems of the day, e.g. urban decay, environmental pollution, and also the alternative solutions that were being suggested. We called it "Alarm and Planning." We were both optimists, with a simple faith in the inevitability of progress. But we were not naive. Korach was brutally realistic in his contempt for certain political opportunists. He, who had suffered in Mussolini's fascist jails, was not deceived by parade and circumstance.

Korach had a high regard for J. D. Bernal, one of the inspirers of the Science of Science Foundation (under which name the Science Policy Foundation began its existence in 1964). The Foundation has two basic aims:

first, to study science internally to seek to uncover its mechanisms of behaviour, for example its "laws" of growth; second, to study science in its external impact on society and its institutions. The former study is best exemplified in the work of an original member of the Foundation's Advisory Council, Derek de Solla Price, professor of the history of science at Yale University: he formulated the hypothesis that science has been growing at an exponential rate, at which it has been doubling every ten to twelve years, since the days of Galileo and Newton: so that there are always more scientists around at any one time than in the whole of previous history.

The social impact of science has expressed itself most clearly in a recognition that science plays a part in all fields of human, and governmental, activities: hence, the recognition that science policy is concerned with the development of science *for* policy, and science *in* policy.

The first meeting of the Hungarian Science of Science Association was held in Budapest on 27 May 1971. I was honoured by being invited to give the inaugural lecture. My subject was "Science Policy and the Predicament of Man." I lectured, also, during my stay at the Academy of Sciences and at the University of Veszprém. I recall how flattered I was that my own Foundation was the inspiration for the Hungarian body.

On 30 July 1971 Korach wrote to me: "Our Science of Science Association has prepared an edition of the *Tudománytani Szemelvények**, and we have given detailed references of your lectures and discussions in the Association and at the Academy." He informed me that "the Minister Csanády has given a very interesting lecture about the ecological problems raised by your communication, and we shall prepare a short resumé for you." I was delighted to learn, also, that I had been nominated a "titulary member" of the Hungarian Association. (I have wondered often since then about what happened. To this day I have not received a single communication from the Association, although on 17 November 1971 Korach wrote again to inform me that "in January we shall have a plenary meeting of the Association, and we have already decided the names of our honorary members The first one will be Maurice Goldsmith.")

However, the development of the Association went slowly. On 3 August 1972, Korach wrote me a very weary letter in which he complained: "I feel old and tired. I shall be happy to pass the business (that is, the presidency) to Professor Szalai." Alexander Szalai was well known to us. He had been one of our guests at a seminal symposium on "Decision Making in National Science Policy" we had organized with the Ciba Foundation in London in April 1967. He had read a paper on national research planning and

* Science of Science Excerpts. *The Ed.*

research statistics in "a relatively small country with a population of ten million... (but) by no means a country without long-standing traditions in research, especially in disciplines where pencil and paper could serve as the main tools of scholarly investigation."

In reply to a question about the mechanism for allocating scarce resources, he explained that they had experimented as follows: "We found it very difficult to decrease the amount of money given to any branch of science in comparison to a previous year, so we tried the following policy. Suppose that we are spending 1.3 percent of our national income on research in all sciences. There is a certain division of that sum between life, sciences, physical sciences, and so on. Then we say that we shall continue that division linearly as the gross national product grows, so that every branch gets the same proportion of the 1.3 percent. But if this percentage itself is increased, as it was from 1.3 to 1.4 to 1.5 percent, the increases to the branches correspond only to the increase in gross national product and the selected branches having an established priority for extra-rapid development. The decisions as to which branches should get such priority treatment are high-level political decisions, and are mostly taken by the Council of Ministers, and by the Central Committee of the Party in Hungary."

A recently elected member of the Foundation's Advisory Council is Iván Boldizsár. Why did we invite a writer to honour us? It is because from its inception the Foundation has been concerned with a *one culture* approach to problems, that is to regard science, the arts and humanities as separate fields of human endeavour, but all constituting *one* culture. We invited him to speak on the role of the artist in society, in a symposium in "Science and Social Responsibility," in London in April 1973. He delighted us with his insistence on "the right to culture," that is, as "an essential part of the dignity of man to share in the cultural heritage and cultural activities of the community."

He said, "If we ask ourselves 'Why do you write?' and if we ask ourselves why we ask ourselves why we write, then the answer is because at the same time we feel the playfulness of it and enjoy it, and we fear the responsibility and we enjoy that also." On this, Professor Sir Hermann Bondi, the distinguished cosmologist, and president of the Foundation, commented, "Certainly what stays in my mind at this moment are your last phrases—*playfulness and responsibility*—because they apply to the scientist just as much as to your profession. If either of them is absent, neither you nor we can work."

FROM THE PRESS, TELEVISION AND RADIO

JÁNOS BERECZ

THEORY AND EXISTING SOCIALISM

The international communist movement as a whole is today moving upwards. The transformation of the world, the transition from capitalism to socialism, has already become a practical reality in the historical sense. The task of revolutionary forces is to seek and find, simultaneously and under different circumstances, the proper answer to given situations. In this period a lively discussion arises about two issues: on the one hand, how valid accumulated historical experience is; on the other, how this heritage should be utilized and developed further in the interest of the realization of socialism. Such questions were discussed by a conference held at Sofia in mid-december 1978 on the theme "The Building of Socialism and Communism and World Development."

The shaping of policies

The ideas of Marxism–Leninism are always applied under concrete national conditions, that is first of all by those characteristic traits which have a bearing upon the historically evolved particularities of the given country. When charting its policy the working-class movement has to take into consideration the state of the productive forces of the given country, of its class relations, the extent of social and class conflicts, the accumulated intellectual values, the educational standard of the population, customs and attitudes, and even prejudices. The shaping of policies is influenced by the country's democratic traditions welded in fighting for freedom and in revolution, and by the role the working-class movement has played in its history, as well as by the degree of the ideological preparedness of the revolutionary class. Traditions are very important here. If the differences between progressive and conservative traditions are left out of consideration, if all sorts of traditions are lumped together, this may have a distorting effect on the implementation of the teachings of Marxism–Leninism.

Taking account of all this is a complicated task: the creative application of the ideas of Marxism–Leninism often takes place under surprising or unexpected conditions. Lenin calls this the painful experience of Marxism under the given socio-economic circumstances. Marx and Engels pointed out that people should test revolutionary theory in their own experiences making part of their second nature. In *'Left-wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder* Lenin wrote: "Russia achieved Marxism—the only correct revolutionary theory—through the *agony* it experienced in the course of half a century of unparalleled torment and sacrifice, of unparalleled revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, practical trial, disappointment, verification, and comparison with European experience." Lenin emphasized two further essential factors.

One is that, "thanks to the political emigration caused by czarism, revolutionary Russia, in the second half of the nineteenth century, acquired a wealth of international links and excellent information on the forms and theories of the world revolutionary movement, such as no other country possessed." Lenin thus deemed it important to be familiar with the revolutionary movement of other nations possibly making use of their experience. The other is that "Bolshevism, which had arisen on this granite foundation of theory, went through fifteen years of practical history (1903–17) unequalled anywhere in the world in its wealth of experience."

The Hungarian working-class movement also passed through a long phase of painful experience. The landmarks on this long road were victories and defeats, revolutions and counter-revolutions, creative experiments, dogmatic sins, reformist treason, and communist steadfastness; in the past two decades or more this road was chiefly characterized by the building of socialism. This is how the policy has evolved which, for more than twenty years now, guarantees the development of socialist society in Hungary.

Under the given circumstances and in its own way the working-class movement of every nation goes through the process of painful experience of Marxist–Leninist policy.

Common aims are carried out within national limits, and this at the same time distinguishes and, in a certain sense, may even separate the particular detachments of the working-class movement from one another. The revolutionary ideology of the working class is general, but in applying it the Party always has to take into careful consideration historically evolved national characteristics and must not leave the intellectual values of the nation, its progressive traditions, and the current situation out of account. "Theory can be realised by a people only insofar as it is the realisation of the needs of that people." Implementation, therefore, surely preserves the national values and continues the progressive historical traditions of the people.

There must be limits to how far this integration goes, of course: the working-class movement can also be endangered by the blind alley of nationalism. The absolutization of national values weakens the revolutionary character of policy, hinders consideration of general principles, and leads to serious mistakes. It is, therefore, highly important for the working-class movement of a given country not to oppose its revolutionary practice to that of others, but to achieve its just objectives against its own bourgeoisie. It is an important requirement for the movement to be guided by mutual solidarity in relations with the revolutionary movements of other countries and to be active in intensifying cooperation with them in the joint struggle against imperialism.

The creative implementation of Marxism–Leninism is the job of the revolutionary workers' party. It is generally recognized that the communist movement is international; it reflects and promotes world-wide processes. It is no less important that the Marxist–Leninist party is at the same time a national institution, too. Its organizational set-up is adapted to the national features even in multinational socialist countries, and to a certain degree it shows national aspects. Since social emancipation also takes place under concrete national conditions and circumstances, the party is able to make its general social objects accepted and to attain them only if they coincide with the interests of the large majority. As János Kádár said "our Party is a patriotic and internationalist party ... and, as the leading force of our society, it is a body expressive of national interests, heir to, and continuator of, all the progressive historical traditions of our country, trustee of all genuine values of our national past."

These two aspects of the character of the Communist Party are in harmony with each other but form a contradictory unity. The

conflicts can be avoided if it is stressed every time that the Marxist–Leninist party is a conscious political instrument of the working class, an instrument that operates under concrete national circumstances and is at the same time an embodiment of international solidarity.

Every Communist Party is rich in experience which may be generally utilizable or is of particular and limited validity. It also follows that the experience of every party must be approached with seriousness and responsibility. It is evident that the adoption of the practice of one particular party cannot be made binding upon other parties. Parties are completely equal and free in making use of experience. At the same time it is desirable to find the ways and means of summarizing the most general lessons.

The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties (1976) also formulated a common standpoint concerning a few questions of a theoretical character. The parties established, for example, that détente and social progress are interdependent, pointing out that the enforcement of the principle of peaceful coexistence creates the most favourable conditions for the forces fighting for social progress. The statements of the Conference regarding the principles and norms of the relationships of the fraternal parties can be evaluated as being of fundamental importance.

The creative application of the ideas of Marxism–Leninism, its further development and generalization are a living activity in the policy of communist and workers' parties.

It is creative application, the incessant comparison and combination of theory and practice, that result in their mutual enrichment and further development. Incomprehension or deliberate disregard of this process is reflected by dogmatic conceptions. This proclaims any theory or practical experience in a given concrete situation to be closed, complete, absolutely perfect, and describes it as valid everywhere and every time. Frequent recourse to quotations instead of making analyses is an external manifestation of dogmatism.

One must beware also of a new sort of doctrinaire attitude which absolutizes innovation. This professes absolute correctness of the new theses and conclusions, and the necessity of their generalization, in spite of differing national and social conditions. One can meet with the underestimation of general principles and occasionally also with their denial. For this very reason the creative implementation of the teachings of Marxism–Leninism means the rejection of dogmatism and revisionism in a fight on two fronts. Marxism–Leninism today means to the working-class movement not only the teachings formulated in works by Marx, Engels, and Lenin; decades of practical struggles, the class struggle of their successors, that is, the communist and workers' parties, are all integral parts of Marxism–Leninism and enrich its foundations.

Socialism and peace

It is fundamental to our age that capitalist society is being replaced by socialism. Concretely this always occurs in the case of a given nation, and as a process it covers the history of the whole of mankind. The struggle of the bourgeoisie and the working class is in the centre of these changes, there can be no compromise between them. In other words: it must be emphasized that the bourgeoisie cannot exist without the proletariat, but the working class can only liberate itself at the expense of the bourgeoisie, creating a society suited to its own nature.

The victory of the October Revolution and the more than sixty years' existence of the Soviet Union, then the emergence and development of the community of socialist countries have demonstrated this nature of the epoch-making change.

The most important social issue and

requirement of our age is the victory of socialist society; its most burning general human problem and requirement is survival, and the preservation of peace. The class struggle both under national circumstances and in the international arena has to be waged so as to avoid and prevent a thermonuclear world conflagration. This calls for a certain kind of cooperation between institutions of the opposing social classes, too. Cooperation, however, can have dimensions which do not rule out the realization of the socialist revolution. This fundamental determinant dialectic finds its expression in the teaching of Marxism–Leninism about the world revolutionary process and the principle of the peaceful coexistence. There is no other theory that gives a more suitable, more appropriate answer to the main questions of our age.

Our age is also characterized by the simultaneous presence, intensification, and interaction of two seemingly contradictory tendencies: internationalization and the growing role of the national factor. The development of the forces of production has stepped outside the national framework and has led to a general international division of labour. The scientific and technological revolution has accelerated this process and has made integration an objective tendency. Of course, integration prevails differently inside the two systems. Besides, in consequence of large-scale development and the ruthless capitalist waste of resources general human problems have arisen—such as, the overall devastation of the natural environment—which must be solved through international efforts. All this also exerts an influence on the relationship of the two societies.

The role and effect of the national factor did not decline but rather grew in conjunction with internationalization. The majority of states entering the international arena as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system have achieved independence from their imperialist oppressors in the course of the past twenty years. In the socialist countries the values of the socialist nation as well as socialist patriotism grow together with social, economic, and cultural progress.

In the national arena every fraternal party elaborates by itself the strategic aims and tactical moves possible in the given situation, thus it bears full responsibility for the charting and implementation of policies expressing the interests of the working people. The fraternal parties are, however, mutually influenced by their situation, their successes or failures, so that in the spirit of comradely solidarity they are interested in one another's experiences.

In the international arena every communist party aims at creating the best possible conditions for its own activity. In our age it is particularly obvious that the realization of the aims of every nation is largely dependent on international relations. It is inconceivable that favourable international conditions can be created individually, in an isolated manner, and it is likewise impossible to achieve these at the expense of other revolutionary forces.

It goes with internationalization and the growth of the role of the national factor that the correct interpretation of the criterion of independence and autonomy is of great importance for the international communist movement as well. This means in the first place that the given party defines its aims without interference from the outside and decides the means of their realization while being conscious of its own international political responsibility.

For Hungary friendship among the socialist countries in the joint struggle for common social objectives, and the harmony of national and international interests are a basic condition for the independence and sovereignty of the country. The independence and sovereignty of the country, the self-determination of the nation have all been accomplished in the joint responsibility assumed together with other nations, in the

joint struggle waged for great social and international aims.

Recently reckoning on touchiness where independence is concerned imperialism seeks to implant its own standards, trying to suggest that the measure of independence is distance from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and separation from the Soviet Union. One of their aims, of no minor importance, is to break up the international communist movement. The imperialists want to drive a wedge between the parties of the community of socialist countries, as well as between these parties and the communist parties fighting in capitalist countries. A further endeavour of the international bourgeoisie is to disrupt the anti-imperialist unity of the three main revolutionary forces of the age and to cripple their concerted activities.

The ideological offensive of the bourgeoisie is encouraged by the fact that the international activity of the Chinese leaders makes its influence felt in the same direction. What is most dangerous is that they wrap up their harmful designs in revolutionary phraseology, in the cloak of Marxism–Leninism, and this may mislead uneducated, instinctively revolutionary masses and the petty-bourgeois who are discontented with their situation.

The victory of the October Revolution was a triumph of the creative employment of Marxist–Leninist teachings on the socialist revolution. But the activity of the Russian Communists would have been paralysed by literal adherence to what Marx and Engels wrote about revolution. Leninist strategy also changed continually and was formed at every concrete stage in order to help the cause of the working class to victory; its aim was not the vindication of one or another thesis! The October Revolution was the first socialist revolution, classical in this sense, to break the chain enclosing the capitalist world, and it proved in practice the substance of the Marxist–Leninist revolutionary theory to be right and realizable. But, as is also emphasized by the Soviet Communists, it is not a unique and absolute example, it is not a model.

It was Lenin who held the differences in the realization of revolutions to be natural. The first Hungarian proletarian revolution won a victory under relatively peaceful conditions on March 21, 1919, and the Hungarian Republic of Councils was proclaimed. Lenin saw and welcomed the fact that "in Hungary the revolution was most unusual in form" .... adding: "but Hungary was an example of a revolution born in a different way."

Thus the October Revolution ushered in the era of transition from capitalism to socialism, an era in which revolution proceeds along several roads, in a diversified manner, as is demonstrated, for example, by the experience of the Cuban and the Vietnamese revolutions.

To date the socialist revolution has been carried out in a variety of ways, and each instance has added its experience to the general stock of theory. It is due to the proletarian revolutions which have thus far come out victorious and to the results of the building of socialist society that socialism today is not only a revolutionary idea, but also a socio-economic system in a number of countries. The existence and the strength of socialist countries are the principal basis of the world revolutionary process today. This was a unanimous conclusion reached at the theoretical conference in Sofia.

The established reality of socialism does not preclude but even renders possible a rich variety in the realization of further socialist revolutions. The question was also brought up as to whether "Eurocommunism" might be one of these possibilities.

It is rightly asked whether this notion means anything new in the application of theory. Santiago Carrillo wrote in his *Eurocommunism and the State:* "The policy and its theoretical attributes which provide the justification of Eurocommunism determine a tendency in the modern progressive

and revolutionary movement to adapt itself to the realities of our continent—though being essentially valid for all developed capitalist countries—and to accommodate the unfolding of the world revolutionary process of our age to these realities." The tendency formulated in this definition, however, is not an attribute of "Eurocommunism" itself, but a general requirement in the employment of the teachings of Marxism–Leninism. On the other hand, the conditions and the circumstances of the economically advanced capitalist countries, which determine the class struggle waged by the revolutionary working-class movement in the European capitalist countries, are different. This, however, does not justify the name "Eurocommunism"; all the less so since Europe does not mean Western Europe alone.

The situation is clearer if we examine the view that "We have to define a socialist society which meets the reality of our days, up-to-date production relations and many other changed objective circumstances. This type of socialist society is thus in many respects different from that which Lenin predicted. A kind of society which is free from capitalist exploitation but nevertheless profoundly differs from that which was born on the Leninist road." This formulation gives rise to reasonable doubts; for the realization of the idea of socialism is really peculiar to each individual country, but as concerns the essence, power and of property relations, two kinds of socialism profoundly differing from each other are inconceivable. Socialist society without such objective criteria is impossible. Jean Ellenstein in France goes to the extreme: "The Soviet Union is far from being a model or example, it is rather a counter-model," he argues. "Socialism, as we imagine it to be, exists nowhere. We do not know what it may be like, but we know what it must not be like."

Ellenstein's notions show a total absence of class consciousness, nor do they exemplify a historical approach. What he calls "socialism" is not the negation of capitalism, he and others like him only want to "surpass" it—while considering the absolutized institutional system of bourgeois democracy to be the criterion to judge things by—and they are opposed to existing socialism. They leave out of account that it is the system of "imperfect," or "incomplete" socialism that has changed power relations in Europe to such an extent that basically favourable international conditions have come about for the socialist revolution to take place in a peaceful and democratic manner in the capitalist world today. Peculiar to this point of view is that they deny existing socialism what they rightly demand for themselves; they reject the right of others to a historical path of their own, they judge the past of existing socialism by the requirements of the present and apply the standards of tomorrow to the present. But existing socialism in its present state is not yet complete, and the parties of the socialist countries start from this premise when promoting the growth of political, economic and cultural conditions, the state, socialist democracy, the whole institutional system of their countries; on the other hand, existing socialism can be evaluated only in the light of its historical path, in comparison with its own past.

Those who handle their ideas of socialism as if it were a question of practical experience are obviously mistaken. The possible experiences of tomorrow's revolutions deserve the same respect as earlier ones, but they are not actual, not historical as yet. Due attention is paid to the programmes the parties of capitalist countries have worked out at their congresses, and their theoretical merits are recognized, but their realization is still something that lies ahead.

These programmes will stand the test of comparison only once they are implemented in the practice of the struggle for their realization.

A point of danger has to be mentioned. In the course of searching for new answers (which are certainly necessary), of working

out the new aims and shaping the process of realization, the working-class movement may be infiltrated by attractively packaged bourgeois views and intentions. Leaders of several parties in Western Europe categorically resist the considerable bourgeois ideological pressure exerted to this end. Enrico Berlinguer has this to say: "To condemn history . . . is impossible and also useless. Man cannot negate history, neither his own nor that of others." Berlinguer is clearly aware what would go with the acceptance of one or another ideological proposition of the bourgeoisie, and with reference to this he pointed out the substance of the "ideological ultimatum" addressed to the Party: "If you do not reject Lenin entirely, if you do not break your contacts with the CPSU, they say you are not Westerners, you are Asiatics. And do you think they would stop at this appeal? Not at all. After the rejection of Lenin they would demand the rejection of Marx. After the break with the CPSU they would demand that we should declare: the October proletarian revolution was simply a mistake . . ."

In the future the developing countries will adduce very rich original and particular traits to the realization of the socialist revolution. Colonial oppression has left them with very serious contradictions as left-overs from the past. In most of them unbearable poverty, oppressive backwardness and massive illiteracy prevail. To top it all, social production is unorganized and lacks sound foundations, they are exploited by the large multinationals. In the meantime nations and states are born in conditions inherited at the time of the attainment of independence. This rough ground produces all sorts of theories and ideas containing many unreal elements. Fundamentally, however, two kinds of developmental conceptions have come into being: approval for capitalist growth and commitment to socialism.

The demand for socialism in the developing world is powerful indeed. In a historical perspective it is the only possible way out of the present impasse. But, largely under the impact of the varying social basis and differing ideological heritage, their ideas of socialism are very diverse. Lately the socialist orientation of development has taken on strongly marked features in a number of countries. With the aid of the international communist movement, especially that of the community of socialist states, the socialist-oriented developing countries have defended their independence against the imperialist attempts at intervention, and have achieved significant success in the establishment of the political organization of society, in the elaboration of plans for economic construction. But theoretically they have not yet received sufficient aid. The stages of their development will not be identical with those traversed by the socialist countries. They themselves are unable to provide an appropriate answer to every social problem. It is also the task of the international communist movement, and of the socialist countries, to complement many-sided internationalist support with ideological assistance. The conclusion reached by the Hungarian delegation at the Sofia Conference justly stressed: "With its example, and the experience of its solutions, existing socialism facilitates decisions concerning the road to be taken, but does not absolve the communist parties and revolutionary forces from the responsibility of independent choice and action."

Open debates

The proof of the soundness of the theory is in the practice of society. According to Marx: "The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question. Man must prove the truth, i.e., the reality and power, the this-wordliness of this thinking in practice." The political struggle consists only of "historical moments" when "They must understand . . . that the historical moment has arrived when theory is being transformed

into practice, vitalised by practice, corrected by practice, tested by practice..."

Social practice, that is the political struggle, furnishes continually new experiences. In changing reality experiences can lead to new conclusions; or rather, the changes in the world, in the conditions of struggle, make it necessary and possible to work out new postulates.

Social practice itself is a complicated reality. The testing of new postulates and the assessment of their practical worth, take a long time. This is precisely why it is right and necessary to compare the new postulates with earlier experience and other assertions.

In the communist movement comradely discussion is a consciously applied, highly powerful means of summing up experience gained. Every debate takes place in concrete circumstances. Of course, the debate also has subjective factors.

The history of the international communist movement and of the various parties is studded with debates which are necessary and natural instruments for the charting of policy. Today's exchange of views within the movement is formally fluctuating, passionate, and rich in content. The roads leading to socialism and the meaning of proletarian internationalism are outstanding among the subjects under discussion.

The development of the international communist movement is among the socio-historical conditions of the exchange of views. This also means that as a consequence of the ongoing succession of generations the communist movement undergoes considerable changes. Young party members still need time and much experience to follow Lenin's directive that they should be able "to transform Communism from cut-and-dried and memorised formulae, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programmes into that living reality which gives unity to your immediate work, and only if you are able to make communism a guide in all your practical work."

With the growth of the communist movement its social basis has also been enlarged. An increasing number of professional people and intellectuals are found in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties in many capitalist countries. A growing number of people who have not come from the ranks of the working class and who take part in the revolutionary movements of national liberation become Communists; the working class is often just in the process of emerging in their countries. These processes act upon the application and interpretation of Marxism–Leninism.

Various factors cause the international communist movement to undergo internal transformation. Established principles are reviewed in practice, new ones are born, or others become stressed. This internal development also entails debates within the movement.

The concept of unity is transformed. Its current interpretation has not yet been made entirely clear, but freely undertaken unity of action is generally present in the struggle against imperialism, for socialism, for national liberation, and world peace. The communist and workers' parties acting on their own determine by themselves what aspects of the common ideas and aims they undertake and how much of it all they carry out and by what means. The meaning of unity today is more complicated and unfolds in a complex way, but it can be valuable, enduring, and solid only if the individual parties undertake it freely, deliberately, on the basis of the realization of the revolutionary interest, and contribute their own independent activity to strengthen and develop it.

The interpretation and enrichment of the criteria of proletarian internationalism is also related to unity. The yard-stick naturally varies today, when every party decides its course and maps out its policy by itself. Some even maintain that internationalism boils down to the best solution of a party's own domestic problems. This narrows down the whole concept: all nations exist within the community of nations, and the inter-

national conditions of the effectiveness of any social force are especially important today, just as the importance of solidarity between the three main forces of the revolutionary process is also growing.

The said internal changes of the international communist movement also have concrete consequences in connection with the implementation of the majority and minority principle. Democratic centralism is still valid in the individual parties today. There was a time when this was also the case in multilateral contacts between parties. At joint conferences, however, any common action, concerted standpoint, proposition, etc. can only be framed on the basis of a general consensus. This makes common work and the formulation of standpoints more democratic. Of course, this situation requires great responsibility on the part of all fraternal parties.

It is absolutely necessary to distinguish between the ideological struggle with opponents and the constant debate taking place within the communist movement. Characteristic of the first is the confrontation of irreconcilable ideas. The essence of the exchange of views among Communists is the grasping of new possibilities for solving problems, the comparison of different experiences: what is important here is to make progress and not to vanquish the other side. For this exchange of views to be successful there is need for an outlook that strives after objectivity, that is constructive, and always serves the progress of socialism.

The occasional weaknesses of debates arise from the fact that at times there is little argument and analysis, that they are characterized rather by qualification and judgement. Thus socialist countries are sometimes criticized by a representative of one or another fraternal party, and then immediately react by calling this interference, pressure, or the application of instruments of power. This kind of sensitivity does no good to the common cause of our movement.

Debate is a two-way and many-sided process. The exchange of views within the communist movement is successful if mutual esteem and respect for one another prevail. Full equality of rights is a principle governing all kinds of inter-party relations, debate included. If in the practice of discussion some fail to apply this equality to the parties of the countries of the socialist community, this enables bourgeois ideological diversion to poison the discussion.

And, last but not least, the tone of the discussion is extremely important. Forcefulness has to manifest itself in the content, in the many-sidedness of arguments, not in adjectives. It is in this way that the tone of discussion will reflect the revolutionary spirit of the participants.

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The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its part endeavours to give Marxist–Leninist answers to new problems and new phenomena. The salient feature of this attitude and this activity, was formulated by János Kádár: "The twenty years of our Party have followed an unbroken line; we consider it our most important task to preserve the balanced principal line rejecting all rightist and leftist distortions, to develop it in a creative manner. This calls for a renewed elucidation and motivation of our fundamental principles, of our theory, for its continued development with the correct solution of the new problems presenting themselves in the work of construction." We regard this as the creative application of Marxism–Leninism which is the source of our party's policy and of our results. This is the foundation of the successful building of a socialist society in Hungary.

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A GENERATION OF SURVIVORS
A CONVERSATION WITH IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

Vilmos Faragó's television interview

I shall start off with what is just about a standard question though it is not biographical. Is there anything you are proud of? Was there something in your life, a situation or event, that fills you with pride, and if so, why?

This is certainly not a standard question and one I find pretty difficult since I don't think pride can be listed amongst my qualities, my weaknesses or virtues. I am certainly proud that though a lot has happened to me —I have written about some of those things in my time—I have managed to hold on to my sense of humour throughout. The grid of my life was curiously involved with that of the world. Thinking about this conversation I had wondered why I happened to be in Berlin on 30 January 1933 when the Nazis took over. Then, a few years later I found myself in Vienna when the Anschluss joined Austria to the brown manure heap. A year later I was in Prague when they occupied it. First time a student, on the latter occasions a correspondent. Will I continue? Readers of my fiction know I was there at Voronezh, part of the retreat from beginning to end, one of the twenty thousand out of a hundred and twenty thousand who survived. Then I was present in Vilmos Tartsay's home on 18 November 1944 when the leaders of the resistance movement, General János Kiss, Captain Vilmos Tartsay and Colonel Jenő Nagy were arrested and, in their company, I was taken to the Margit körút gaol. Will I go on? I was present at the Paris peace talks but before that I had founded a weekly, *Új Magyarország*, which people put up with, and even read. Then I was one of the founding fathers of Unesco at the first general conference in Paris, and I was there at Wroclaw, at the cradle of the Peace Movement. Meanwhile I was László Rajk's Under-Secretary and deputy at the Foreign Ministry and as such was part of Rákosi's entourage on trips abroad, for instance to Sofia, looking back like this makes me think of *A man prostrates himself on his past*, the title of a Canadian novel of my student days. I don't prostrate myself, I just look back on it with you and I think we can agree that I was terribly curious about what went on in this world, and the world was very kind to me. Let me start with a personal matter. I think I was born with a caul. I was always lucky, beyond my merits, and beyond the workings of blind chance. Though I have no faith in being born with a caul I must accept genetics. I think it is the odd meeting of paternal and maternal genes which was that luck which led me out of difficulties, particularly my mother's matchless, tender staying power. In the autumn of 1956 I again founded and edited a weekly, *Hétfői Hírlap*, which also had a pretty wide readership. In the past twenty years—I counted them and recorded the figure—, I attended a hundred and nine international conferences in just about every one of the world's capital cities and other metropoles; I have been to every country in Europe except for Portugal, I have been to both Americas, North Africa and Asia. I haven't kept a careful record but in this time I have given about five hundred lectures, talks and addresses, on Hungarian literature, and present Hungarian reality. After these five hundred talks I answered five thousand questions, most of them ill-informed and stupid, some of them ill-intentioned as well. Should I be proud of that? Pride does not bother me but you've given me a shot of its toxin, and it's beginning to work in me. Now that you've asked, perhaps I am after all proud that just because of these events I was always there whenever anything happened in Hungary in

the past thirty or forty years, and I have always tried to be of some use. I am also proud that "My deaths," a collection of short stories, ran to two editions and is still out of print. And also, and that's part of the caul, that I managed to make friends for a lifetime. The poet Sándor Sík was a second father to me, first he taught me at the Piarist School in Budapest, later he was my manuductor, to use on old fashioned term, guiding my first steps in literature, in those most receptive years of youth. There are things that he said that keep on reverberating in my ears. "This world is not my world, we want to make a new one to take its place" was one of his sayings, another was truly his slogan: "We want men to be more human, and Hungarians more Hungarian." If one pays close attention, one will notice that "we want to make another world" evokes something said by someone who does not need naming, whose place ideologically is a long, long way from Sík, who said that the world required more than description, it needed changing. The more human man and more Hungarian Hungarian on the other hand was there in a line by Attila József: "Give humanity to man, and a Hungarian character to Hungarians."* I will not list all my friends, but in the name of the others as well, I will mention one with whom the ties of friendship are oldest and closest, and that is Dezső Keresztury. He is my senior by six years which did make a difference at first, but we have now become more or less equally old. His strength of character and gentle implacability, his identity with literature and his humanity always meant more than friendship to me. He was and is a support, and I am glad that our paths will run together now that we are past our first sixty years.

Let me ask you something more unpleasant. Is there something you are ashamed of? Did you ever get into a situation you feel ashamed of now, looking back?

The question is no more unpleasant, but I will answer that one more briefly. I am ashamed I lacked the strength to resign when I realized that László Rajk was innocent, and that the case against him was a frame-up.

Resign from the post of Undersecretary in the Foreign Ministry?

Yes. I tried. I asked Rákosi to see me and, mentioning that I had held the post for two years already, I said I should like to resign. "You're out of your mind, chum." That's what he said. "Hereabouts you can't resign, you can only get booted out, and you know where you'll land if you get the order of the boot." I didn't resign then, I didn't insist, and nowadays this can create an odd impression, especially amongst the young. A nice sort of bloke, they might say, why didn't he talk back? But at the time anyone I talked to about it said I had gone mad. But now looking back, I nevertheless feel ashamed that I had to live with a known injustice, giving the impression that I approved.

Carrying on along that line, what this makes me think of is whether you wanted personal power, then or now, and had or have you any?

I was Undersecretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, not that of Home Security. Power is a concept with many levels. At that time too, the way I put it was that I possessed the shadow of the appearance of power, but I had a certain influence all the same, especially at the start. I was appointed in August 1947. I undertook the job since I felt I could be useful to help dispel Hungary's multiple bad reputation, and falsehoods believed about Hungary. My job was the central direction of Hungary's cultural and general propaganda abroad. But the exercise of power in the usual sense, the subject which agitated young writers in the sixties and today still, has always been utterly alien to me, and always will be. I'll quote a couple of Ady lines, asking to be excused for the somewhat too elevated tone: "Money has hurt

* A lame translation indeed but then there is no English equivalent of *magyarság*, the essence of being Hungarian, considered desirable by definition. *(Translator's note)*

and jostled me, and the beautiful humanities played their merry game, but all that really interested me as a poet was politics and love." Of course I am no poet, that's out of the question, and I don't think love is a subject that we propose to talk about today, but politics, public affairs, that has always passionately interested me. Since I would have liked to change the Hungarian reality I got to know as a student and in my young days, I found myself directly involved with politics, and not only indirectly as a writer.

You protested against our taking your Under-Secretaryship in the Foreign Ministry as power in the dark sense of the term, you would rather say you had influence. The fact is in hierarchical terms, I imagine, it was then that you were closest to the top. Now on the other hand...

That depends on the hierarchy. In my own view I stood right at the top when a book of my short stories "My deaths," was published and you, Dezső Keresztury and István Tamás noticed the book most favourably, because that had, truly always been my ambition. That made me happy, gave me satisfaction and caused me to feel at peace with myself.

That is a sort of trade hierarchy, but there is an administrative or political hierarchy, and according to that it was then that you got closest to the top.

Do you think so? Someone interviewed me then for a paper and asked how I felt. I said it's terrible if a man comes a cropper up top.

You did then. But here we are now, in the Conference Room of the Hungarian PEN Club. Here you are the President, the boss. How about listing some of your presidential and other offices?

Fortunately I am only President of the PEN Club but there are a number of institutions and organizations at home and abroad where I figure as Rear Admiral, or Commodore or Lance Corporal. I am Vice-president of the Hungarian Peace Council, and a member of the World Peace Council, and I have chaired a Unesco committee or two.

And what is your position there?

I'm a frequent participant. No rank, but if I call at their building in Paris they don't ask for identification. The gate-keeper recognizes my face, even if I haven't been there for six months. And what else is there? I am a member of the executive of SEC—don't ask—the *Société Européenne de Culture,* and there's not much more than that. Of course, I edit *The New Hungarian Quarterly* and, let me whisper it to you for it is published hidden from the public as it were, the monthly *Színház.* (Theatre.)

That is a beaut lot. I asked you what you felt proud and ashamed of, let me carry on in the same vein: what do you love and what do you hate?

Let the whole conversation be my answer to the first. Perhaps I'll say something about the things I love at the end all the same. I am glad to answer the second: I hate the whole idea of iron in the soul.

Iron in the soul? You say it so emphatically, as if you had no desire to explain what you meant by that.

It would be in vain to try and explain to those who don't understand, and those who do know what I am thinking about.

One of the critics has said that you are a member of a generation who had a stage-loft full of swords of Damocles suspended above them. Let me ask you when you were closest to death, to this likelihood of death shared by your generation?

I have written about survivors before "My deaths," indeed I wrote a play by that name, that was produced with middling success, and that's being kind to myself. I suppose the trouble was not only quality, but also timing. I wrote about the war and the resistance before they figured in public talk. Not that it was taboo, it was a sort of skeleton in the cupboard. People knew the skeleton was inside but they didn't like the man who opened the door. In fact every one who survived the war is a survivor. The generation of survivors, that's literature and its hinterland. Those who survived the war but are no longer with us are part of it, like Ferenc Erdei and József Darvas. But when

writing the men I thought about in the first place were those who could well be with us now but for the war: Radnóti, Antal Szerb, Gábor Halász, György Sárközi, Károly Pap, Béla Reitzer, most of them my friends, we worked together, sat in coffee-houses together, which I did rarely, more often we went for a stroll, and founded new journals. They died, and I could have died the same way.

At what point in time were you closest to that?

There were a number, that is why I called my book "My deaths." In action every minute is like that, only man is such an odd creature, he can get used to that as well. My father was in the Great War, from beginning to end. When I was off, he said, a sick man, half paralysed by his stroke: "Let me tell you, son, a bullet's got a nose. If you're scared you sweat and smell. The bullet picks up the scent and goes for you. So try hard, and don't get scared." Of course I was afraid at first, like everyone else, whoever tells you he wasn't afraid in a skirmish is telling fibs, or he forgets things. Some are like that. When I saw the others were more afraid than I, I somehow canned my fear, and very likely I didn't smell bad, for the bullets took a wide berth. And yet I was palpably close to death when, in an air raid, the teacher's house in a Russian village, at the side of a hill, where we were billetted, got a direct hit, but I didn't happen to be at home. Another time I had departed this life clinically, in the field hospital at Korosten I described that in "My deaths," I was pretty close to a less honourable departure from this life. I could't really say I was afraid. That's what we did twice a week, and the artillery on the other side of the River Don had all got the range of the roads we travelled. I was pretty close to this existential change in the gaol on Margit körút as well, where they took me to because of the Resistance Movement. I told the story once in writing that I owned a mother-of-pearl handled gun and I pulled the trigger of that, in Vilmos Tartsay's home, on a member of the "National Responsibility Bench," that gang of armed murderous nobodies, fortunately I missed or they'd have riddled me with bullets on the spot. The story was published by the monthly *Kortárs*, and then reprinted by the digest *Látóhatár*. I was in hospital at the time. One evening a young woman doctor came to my bedside. "I read that," she said, "and I really admire the force of your imagination." That always does you good, especially abed with a broken hip. I tried to smile sheepishly, as one does at times like that, and asked her what exactly she had in mind. "The way you invented that pistol business, that was great." I said that I'll accept compliments to my imaginative powers, but that story truly happened, just about from the first word to the last. She answered: "The things you are saying! We learnt at school that there was no Hungarian Resistance Movement."

What in fact was the position? It is accepted as common knowledge in Hungary that if there was any resistance, it was that of very few.

It was not the resistance of a few, but badly organized resistance. But we must think this right through, the whole age. First the terrain. There are no hills in Hungary like the Serbian hills, there is no Vercors to which partisan units could retire. I could mention there are no fjords in Hungary, as they are in Norway, but this terrain business is only the second level of the organizational lacunae. The first is that the country was educated in a false awareness of things for twenty years, one which was fed and maintained by an historical injustice called Trianon. The Trianon Treaty of 1920 was linked in people's minds with the English and the French, that is with Hitler's enemies. At the same time it was a tragicomedy of our history, or rather a bitter irony of it, that part of Slovakia and of Transylvania were returned to Hungary during the war by those who were the enemies of the Hungarian nation and of Hungarian interests. It was therefore terribly difficult to get people to understand at the beginning of the war what they really had to do. More

and more woke up to it, especially the rest of the Don army after the Voronezh defeat, men too who prior to that hadn't thought about the war and Hitler in the way those working and professional men did who made up the writers' group of which I was a member. Then only something got started. But there was a third reason too. There are no conspiratorial traditions in Hungary, of the sort that exist amongst the Serbs, French, Poles, and Norwegians, to give examples known to all who read, not to mention the Soviet partisans.

You are thinking about how one has to conspire, how secrets have to be kept, the rules of the game?

Exactly. Budapest has ever been the town of open secrets, it is that still. If you want news of something to spread all you have to do is to say to someone, and it could be your best friend, not to tell anyone else, and the story is sure to get back to you the next day. Excuse me for quoting myself again, but that's the source I know best. In my play "The Survivors," the progatonist says that he went into the Espresso on what was then the Apponyi tér, now the Felszabadulás tér, it is still there, and when he looked around the waitress asked: "You're looking for the Resistance Movement, sir? They've just left." If I remember right that happened to me. There was something extraordinarily childish about our organization, but great commitment too, at the same time. It hasn't been published yet, and we haven't talked enough about it yet, how many sacrificed their lives because they did something against the Germans, because they did not want to go on fighting in Hitler's army, or because they did not want to leave the country retreating with the Germans. I remember there I was on the Margit körút in Cell 92 on the third floor, and there with me were people like László Sólyom and Kálmán Révay, captains at the time, later generals, György Markos, the economist and journalist, and many others. Every dawn we woke to the slamming of doors. I asked why they slammed them like that, and Markos who had got there a week before, with soles beaten to shreds, asked me if I had gone mad. That was no slamming of doors. Those were rifle volleys from down in the yard where they were putting deserters up against the wall. That was a kind of resistance too. Not only those who had streets named after them were heroes. The delusion, one of the appendices of the personality cult period, that we alone were Hitler's last satellite, and that noone here resisted the German danger, German oppression, Nazism and Hitlerism, is simply bad history. Unfortunately what there was started late, the geographic conditions weren't right, and we organized it badly.

I am glad that here and now you had a go at rehabilitating what can be rehabilitated as regards the Resistance. Let me all the same get back for a moment to what you said about the childishness or naivity of the Resistance, the more so since one can draw the conclusion from some of your writings that not only the members of the movement but the victims themselves were also pretty naive in many respects. I am now thinking of the story on which your play is based, where you tell how you meant to save Antal Szerb, György Sárközi, and Gábor Halász, those three writers and intellectuals.

György Sárközi, Antal Szerb and Gábor Halász, three amongst the best young Hungarian writers at the time, men with a country-wide reputation, found themselves in Budapest as members of a Forced Labour Unit. That is the story you referred to. The Resistance Movement and their families as well tried to get them out on a number of occasions, using forged movement orders and a variety of tricks, and then they didn't want to come out. One could say naivity was the common denominator, but there was more than that. One said I won't leave my comrades, another that he was a writer and that he wanted to get to the end of this horror, and they all said, and this was the naivity, that they had a marvellous C.O., he taught Hungarian in the provinces, he knew their works. A fortnight later the teacher was relieved of his post, a month later all three

were dead. The three of them were sound citizens, respecters of the law, and they showed bad laws too much respect. That is how they turned into martyrs, the martyrs of history and of their own attitudes.

This switch is somewhat daring, but it occurred to me that perhaps this mentality, let's call it naivity, or good faith, this is much more complicated really, but wasn't the same attitude involved in the way we accepted the violation of legality of the so-called personality cult in the early fifties, or rather starting in 1949?

The switch is truly daring. One certainly can't declare these things to be equal or of the same kind. You didn't want to, and I am only doing so all the time, because my convictions and passions are involved. The violations of legality of the personality cult, you said. But the personality cult did not start with illegalities. The violations became possible because the personality cult was there, the violations were a requirement of the personality cult.

The consequence you wanted to say.

Of course. I rectify: Violations of legality were the consequence of the personality cult. Sometimes a man's tongue slips in the right direction.* Freud is right sometimes, perhaps I was not speaking nonsense a minute ago. It was a requirement as well. I did not mean to say it, but that's how it was. By the time Rajk was arrested, it had become possible to trample on the law precisely because what we so euphemistically call the personality cult, straight talk calls it tyranny and despotism, had already come into existence. And it came into existence as the Hungarian people truly laid the foundations of socialism, in the feverish years following the liberation, meanwhile unworthy masters produced this terrible cloud cuckoo's castle, the personality cult. I was Rajk's Deputy in the Foreign Ministry, we spent the night before he was arrested talking, till eleven, so I had a pretty close view. More than the person cultivated is needed to produce the personality cult. First you need a small group that gets the ball rolling, and then a large part of society that approves, and this is what happened in Hungary. When the indictment of Rajk and his associates, as they said in those days, was made public everyone was shocked, since Rajk was one of the most popular young leaders in the country. But could an honest man, a supporter of democracy, who longed for socialism, imagine at the time that this was not true? I could say that in the first person singular as well. If I had had doubts, and I could have admitted to them, this would have placed me at one swoop in the camp of those who up to then as well, from the moment of Liberation, had put no faith in the democratic regime, who rejected the lot, who did not want the land reform, or the new forint, or nationalization. There was then no other choice. What's more, in the atmosphere of the personality cult we all said, no, this could not be, that Rákosi did not know of this. If Rákosi said he was guilty, well he was guilty. I've tried to describe this in a number of stories, one appeared in *Élet és Irodalom*, under the title "You've only got one life." In the story I recall a day when I was still in the Foreign Ministry, I had a driver there, a peasant lad, whom as it happened I had met in the war too. One evening he said to me, Sir, I am not coming tomorrow. I said all right, I am sure you'll go home to your village. No, no, someone else will take my place. Why? Well you know, he said, these days they arrest the bosses, and in the drivers' room they say the drivers will get their turn as well. So I'd sooner send an older comrade in my place. I haven't been married all that long, we have a baby. The other chap can perhaps put up with it better, or he'll be more cunning. I said all right, go, and felt bad about it. Next day he appeared unshaven, with rings under his eyes and said: Here I am, my wife said to me last night, you've only got one life. I thought, yes I have only one life, and I came back. It seems

* Requirement = *követelmény*, consequence = *következmény*. *(Translator's note)*

he was born in a caul as well, they didn't take him away either.

I'll tell you why I keep on questioning you about this. Not only because you took part in these events, but because one can see that this period still excites you and occupies you. A lot has become clear, the state of our minds, the atmosphere of the whole thing. You also said now you had no other choice, that's how you summed up things...

That's not exactly right. We had no other choice—that's not right, because we did not feel we had a choice, one didn't ask, will I turn right, or left, we all went one way, the crowd pushed, public opinion took shape, the personality cult and that cunning fear had their effects. It took a long time before a man could raise his head and draw in fresh air, and that's when we really started to think.

You mean that we are not really responsible for those events?

I can't answer in general.

Well, do you personally feel any responsibility?

I do. Only those don't muddy themselves who retire into an anchorite's cave, or else the cynics. Those who participate feel dirty even if, personally, they could not help it. We took part in something, and undertook something. I feel the responsibility, that's why I keep writing about the subject. And also because our sons, and daughters, and grandchildren simply do not understand that age. Not so long ago we talked about this in the Joliot Curie Peace Club, in the company of really intelligent young men and girls, students and workers, that's what they questioned me about. They asked well, if you were Rajk's deputy, why didn't you object, why didn't you write articles to defend Rajk? I took a deep breath and tried to tell them what that age was like, what trumped up charges were. And then one of the boys, the one who asked the question, perhaps the most intelligent, one, said at the end: "Please tell us just one thing: Did Mátyás Rákosi believe that Rajk was guilty?" That's when I left off. After all Rákosi himself trumped up the charges, it was he who invented the whole thing, he said himself that it caused him many sleepless nights. There is a posthumous story about this, "Sleepless Nights" by József Lengyel, it's very beautiful. Fortunately our sons can't even understand—and I am quoting Ady again—"this abomination is a huge bog at the depths of our soul." Once, perhaps ten years ago, the young lady love of one of my sons was having Sunday dinner with us. The phone rang, I picked it up. When it rang again, I told my daughter to answer it, and even if Saint Peter was ringing on behalf of the Good Lord, tell him I'm out. But my daughter whispered something in my ear, and I went to the phone. The other girl then said: "Uncle Iván, and all your generation, you are so inconsequential." Dear girl, I said, I would have given five years of my life, and I'd still give them if this friend of mine could have rung me in the fifties. It was Imre Vajda, that outstanding economist, who spent five or six years inside. The girl then asked: "Why? Why was he in prison?" What do you mean why? He stole silver spoons. I thought she'd get the point. But she said: "Have you got friends who steal silver spoons, Uncle Iván?" I tried to tell her what happened, to explain things to her, how and why things happened. She looked at me in total incomprehension: "And why didn't your friend protest?" And then she said something—I've written about this before, my readers will forgive me, I hope, for repeating myself—which made my flesh creep: "Well you know then, that Rákosi must have been a better man, we learnt at school that when Horthy's bloodthirsty judges tried him he rose and placed the court and the whole regime in the dock. Why didn't your friend do that as well!" Because everything was arbitrary, the trials were secret, some men were locked up and their wives didn't know for five years if they were alive, they were completely isolated. Fortunately our children do not know that age, and if they do not know it, they must get to know it, the trouble is that evil sprouts again in men, not only good. It must be

rooted out of people's thinking so nothing like it will ever be repeated.

I wonder whether keeping up with the politics of the day doesn't force you, and writers like you, to change step too often, and doesn't this mean that from time to time they find themselves on bad terms with themselves, with their self of yesterday. Can a man like that stay on good terms with himself?

To start with I should like to argue the point with you on what is a writer with a role in public life. I don't think there are two kinds of writers. In Hungary a writer is traditionally not a private person. Poets and writers in less draughty corners of the world have a good laugh at our expense—they laugh at me for instance whenever I speak about Hungarian literature—because patriotic poems are still written in Hungary, about the country, the nation, politics. The greatest poets write about such subjects. There has been nothing like it in the West since Victor Hugo, anyone versifying in that way is simply not a poet. With us it's the other way round. In our country a writer or poet who is not interested in public causes, in the business of the nation, the country, the world, or—and I don't mind sounding over-solemn there—the cause of peace, is not accepted as a writer. I think there is only one kind of writer...

But this kind of writer exists as well, or doesn't he?

It is the business of writers, of all writers, in transitional societies—and when wasn't ours transitional—to find and sense, discover, and dream up what readers feel, suspect and think. We must find their longings, anxieties, hopes, joys, fears of death, passionate loves, intentions to change the country, or bitter withdrawals into their carapace. Find them, express them, write about them, and take them a step forward: that is the writer's business, that one step, that is what being a writer means, and that is what accepting a public role implies. Everyone who cultivates the acres of Hungarian literature, everyone who accepts that high status, is one on that question.

Let me ask you, a man who has published a great deal that belongs to one or the other literary genres, and also stuff that falls outside their scope, whether you have always told the truth in print?

I have always written the truth. That's a powerful question indeed. I have always written the truth, and checked it as well. In this way, for instance, in the past ten odd years, a volume by me which collects essays, articles, papers, television-talks, two or three years' output, appears every other year. These are republished without changes. These days I have been looking through my output of the thirties, forties, and fifties as well. There are articles I would not publish these days as they stand, without an explanation. But I did not write what I did not think true at the time. It possibly turned out later that public opinion as such was in error. But I never knowingly wrote anything which I did not think correct and true at the time. That is why this change of step is a more difficult question. What you are talking about is really the curse of daily journalism. That the reputation of journalism is so low in Hungary today, that my children, when at school, protested whenever their father was called a journalist, though I've always published in papers, and still do, is due to the fact that journalists sign their name to political mistakes, and that sticks in the public memory. Policies are amended and rectified later, but a journalist is stuck with what he has written, and what he thought was true, and people remember him as having told lies, though he only wrote what was required, and what he almost always thought was true.

I am convinced that even such a writer and journalist, keeping in step with the policy of the day, can be on good terms with himself because, if honest, he preserves some sort of moral permanence inside, even as he changes step, or his opinions, that does not wane in the course of the years but, on the contrary, waxes, and strengthens. I believe in such a permanent moral core. I wonder if you agree, and if yes, if you have such a permanent moral core, how would you put it into words.

I agree, but whether I've got one, is up to readers and critics to establish, looking over my output. If I were not convinced that I stood on moral ground, I'd turn somersaults with myself everyday, and that would be difficult, I could not stand it. I can't speak in the name of the others.

As far as I know you were only twenty, or perhaps not even that, when you already had a public role, and everybody knows that you were pretty important within the village research movement, in the organization of the movement as a whole, and you did not confine yourself to organizing, you wrote as well.

I was in my twenties when I first wrote on public matters. I looked at this again the other day, and I was surprised to see that, aged twenty-two, I prescribed a pretty long term programme for myself and my coevals. This will soon be reissued, and I am going to get a facsimile of the date, because neither I, nor my coevals, will believe that we saw things so clearly then, for we jointly worked out our ideas.

Can you imagine a young man of twenty-two now, who can formulate a political programme of national and international validity that has some credibility?

I can. I know young people of that sort in many places. Just take the Joliot Curie Club I mentioned, there are young people there who, if the situation demanded it, could equally well formulate their position, role, future, and work in Hungarian public life today. Only their position is much more difficult. We were in opposition, and it is much easier, more favourable, more pleasant, and more useful to be in opposition than not to be in opposition.

More useful as well?

From the aspect of attracting notice, certainly. But I'll go one step further still. This is difficult for every writer, particularly young writers, since I believe that every writer, really every intelligent person, is in opposition. In opposition to everything that is not right in the world, in his country, in society. That is those who lie back in satisfaction, giving up the fight for a better world, don't really deserve the rank and status of human beings. You asked me about my personal moral core a minute ago. I couldn't answer because the question surprised me a little. I've since hit on it: that, like the poet Babits, I have always sung the praises of never being satisfied. A searching and restless curiosity has always driven me, the desire to make use of it, once I knew it. This never be satisfied is a writer's attitude, but in a socialist society it is an attitude appropriate to the leadership as well, and I think that in saying this I am banging on open gates, as the Hungarian proverb has it.

It was this curiosity and dissatisfaction which, I imagine, made you join the village research movement.

Those who were twenty at the time soon formed a generational group and such soon came into being in many places in the country and outside its borders as well. Circles of young people came into being whose members were aware that Hungary was two nations. There was a known one, taught about in schools, visited by travellers from abroad even then, that was located in the 20th century, chiefly Budapest, and a little Pécs, and some Sopron. And there was another, an 18th-century country. Feudalism wasn't the right word for it. The world of large estates, with serfs like slaves, the world of the have-nots, the destroyed, the field hands, the dwarf-holders. That's what we called the country of a three million beggars. But they knew nothing of this at home in Budapest, it was not taught in schools.

But then we went out into the village, those of us who were townsfolk, and those who came from the villages, carried the news, and it became obvious that something had to be done. We read a lot of Széchenyi then, and a saying caught our eye: "I more thoroughly investigated the state of our country." We too decided to investigate the state of our country more thoroughly, and this produced the Sickle Movement in the Up-country, and the Art College of Szeged

Youth: György Buday, Gyula Ortutay, Miklós Radnóti, Ferenc Erdei, Béla Reitzer, Dezső Baróti, and Gábor Tolnai. I am happy to mention the names of some of my contemporaries of whom only three are still alive, Buday in England and Baróti and Tolnai in Budapest.* There were several focal points in Budapest, curiously enough along a Calvinist Church line as well, in the Soli Deo Gloria college. Imre Kovács studied there, and Péter Elek, who disappeared at the end of the war. There was another group which first really consisted only of Zoltán Szabó and myself, later Géza Hegedüs joined us. All of a sudden we discovered that we formed a generation. We wrote a few articles, and people took notice. Gyula Illyés contributed to this as well, he was a nationally known poet by then, both in verse, and in *People of the Puszta*, which was being serialized. János Kodolányi, in his book on the Ormánság region, also drew attention to the question. But there was no need to draw anyone's attention. The national misery, that national misery Attila József wrote his poems about, suddenly penetrated the public mind with such force that news about it were needed. Sociography, that is descriptive sociology, village research, was then a Central European and Danube riparian phenomenon. They experimented with it in every country, and Professor Gusti's village monograph movement in Rumania got furthest. I was always fond of organizing, so I organized a small trip to Rumania. László Németh, Dezső Keresztury, Zoltán Szabó, and I were off to familiarize ourselves with Professor Gusti's methods. There was another current as well in our intention, against irredentism and hurrah-patriotism, against national hatreds. We therefore first went to the Old Kingdom, the Regat, and only later to Transylvania, where everybody else went anyway. We studied Professor Gusti's system, using sociological methods, that is his scientific surveys. We took his questionnaires and his methodology home with us, and developed them further. The movement in Rumania was rigorously scientific, in Hungary it became primarily literary and political, since most of the village researchers and sociographers were writers. The sociologists, economists and ethnologists, like Ferenc Erdei and Gyula Ortutay, also knew how to write. We therefore started the first assault from a literary base. The first organizational manifestation of this was a team "Service and Writing Work Association" at Cserépfalvi Publishers, and I was the editor in charge, given the historical perspective we have gained I could say I was its head.

How old were you then?

Ancient. Past 23, in my twenty-fourth, but we were all of an age and Illyés and Kodolányi about ten years older. Cserépfalvi issued, as part of the "Service and Writing Work Association" series, Zoltán Szabó's "The Situation at Tard," which really opened the flood gates. Hundreds of articles appeared about it. It could not be ignored. Why not? Because we took questionnaires of the Gusti kind to the school and the teacher, I remember his name was Rózsa, and distributed them amongst the children. "What did I eat today? What would I like to be when I grow up?" Almost all answered: nothing for breakfast, bread and onions at noon, and soup at night, and that's how it was right through, amongst 60 or 70 children. The question "What would I like to be when I grow up" elicited the answer "pork-butcher and slaughterman, because I could eat meat, and have my fill every day." One girl only wanted to teach, and a boy wanted to be a pilot, "because then I would get away from this part of the world."

That was in the school at Tard?

Yes. This was the drop in the ocean method, and this was the original example of our sociological method. Later others used it in other villages. I went to the richest Hungarian village, to Décs, in the Sárköz region, and it turned out that the one-child,

* Gyula Ortutay died between the broadcast and publication in print.

well-to-do peasants really lived almost idyllic lives, but the 70 per cent agricultural labourers and dwarf-holders lived like dogs. Mihály Kerék, the economist sociographer, worked out that they spent daily 0.14 pengős, and whichever way we calculate, that's no more than 2–3 forints (10–15 US cents) a day for a family of three, four or five. That's what they lived on and it was only natural that death took its toll. No records were kept even of infantile mortality. We reported on that with the precision of social scientists and using the tools of men of letters.

And those of the photographer. Here on the table is your Tiborc, *a book whose reputation has not waned with the years. It would be interesting if we could hear how that was produced.*

Thank you. This *Tiborc* is beautifully bound in embroidered handloomed cloth. That wasn't mere decoration. We had the stuff woven and embroidered at Tard, by the wives of share-croppers. Our publisher Cserépfalvi bought it from them and had the books bound in the stuff, somewhat helping them in that way. I had learnt as a medical student that anamnesis was the first step and it didn't get you far without a diagnosis. The diagnosis, however—that was sociography and village research—was only the first step towards therapy. We tried, at least in this small field, to do a little bit towards alleviating the misery. Before *Tiborc* was produced two important books of the "Service and Writing Work Association" had already appeared. The first was "The Situation at Tard" I mentioned, the other Imre Kovács's "Silent Revolution." I'll get back to my own little corner in a minute, but there are more important things than that. These books appeared in 1936 and 1937. Early in 1937 another group was formed, a much better known one, "The Discovery of Hungary", at Athenaeum Publishers, with György Sárközi as series editor. Twelve of us, village researching writers, divided up the country. Ferenc Erdei got the Great Plain, Géza Féja the Stormy Corner, Gyula Ortutay County Szilágy, József Darvas another part of the Great Plain, Zoltán Szabó Nógrád and Heves counties, Jenő Erdős the Ecsed moor and its surroundings, Mihály Kerék—see, I've forgotten what he got, my brain doesn't get its proper blood supply anymore—and mine was the Western gate, Vas, Győr, and Sopron counties. Of all these the first appeared, Géza Féja's "Stormy Corner," and it sowed a countrywide storm. The storm, the scandal, the *lèse-nation* prosecution suffered by Féja, and also by Imre Kovács, because of "Silent Revolution," sold the books so well that Athenaeum issued another volume, Ferenc Erdei's "Running Sands," a classic by now. Their courage evaporated before it was the third's turn, perhaps that of the banking interests that backed Athenaeum, and the government too thought our radicalism to be a little excessive. At first they imagined they could use us to channel public opinion, but fortunately they were mistaken. The third volume, Zoltán Szabó's "Fancy Misery" was issued once again by the "Service and Writing Work Association," and with that the "Discovery of Hungary" series came to an end. It was 1938. The war was breathing down our necks, we could not continue with village research. I'll get back to *Tiborc* presently. We wanted to offer another kind of document as well, not just the written word, and Kata Kálmán took most moving photos for us of thirty-six rural and a number of city proletarians. The first was an unknown navvy. I wrote biographies to these portraits giving them the title *Written pictures.* I visited all except the unknown navvy, and I described their lives. The picture of a small boy grew particularly close to my heart. By the time the book appeared he had succumbed to gallopping consumption. By the end of '38 the movement had become impossible, many of us were given gaol sentences, and some actually did time, but we felt we had ploughed and harrowed the soil ready for the later major changes. Land reform became a commanding issue. Public opinion is something complex that resembles

the circulation of blood of a living organism. We injected some enzymes into it which could not be extirpated.

You mentioned a Hungarian prejudice earlier that all that wasn't fiction or belles-lettres was not literature. Let me mention another, that a village researcher worthy of the name must somehow spend all his life on rural rides, his whole interest and curiosity must be engaged by that one geographical and social point. To what degree that is a prejudice, and to what it means something else...

A pseudo-contradiction.

To what degree being a village researcher means something else is beautifully documented by your own example otherwise how come such a village researcher travels to Denmark, for instance, or starts to translate Kafka's stories, whose world is a long way indeed from the village research world, and it is even more questionable, in terms of that prejudice, what business a village researcher has with International PEN or Unesco, why does he travel from one pole to another, becoming, how shall I put it, a citizen of the world, a globe trotter, a man of all horizons...

I went to Denmark when village research at home became impossible, but a Kafka story was an added incentive. Kafka has two "greatest" stories, and as his translator I ought to know, one is "Metamorphosis" where Gregor Samsa turns into a beetle and the other is "Report to an academy" where a monkey tells how and why he learnt to speak the language of humans. "There was no other way out." After the suppression of village research I had no other way out but to go some place of which I could tell news, I wanted to write about a country where peasants did not live as in Hungary. That's why I went to Denmark where I first looked at the folk colleges, then the cooperatives, then I wrote a small book about it *The land of rich peasants*. The cover was playful, perhaps it wasn't serious enough. It was done on purpose. At that time the village research writers introduced the term "noble pulp." We intended the Danish book to be noble pulp, that meant that although it was available in Budapest and provincial bookshops, we sold it at fairs and *kernesses* in the first place. It's such a long time ago, I may be forgiven a little boasting: 42,000 copies were sold. I sang of what I had seen in beautiful *belcanto*. I translated Kafka in November and December 1956 in the state of shock of the time, largely at home. I did it without being commissioned. Then the caul came in again. In February or March I met one of the editors of Európa Publishers in the street. He asked me what I was doing. Translating Kafka, I said. So he said, they'd just been talking about publishing Kafka at last, permission had been given. Where was my translation? At home I said. I took it in next day and Selected Stories by Kafka were soon in the shops.

I'm told you translate from English as well?

I translated G. K. Chesterton, Richard Hughes and a little James Joyce, Joseph Roth from German, and Mauriac and Sagan from French. It was so long ago I hardly remember.

I imagine being multilingual gives you a sense of security on the road. How in fact did you achieve the rank and status of "roving ambassador" of Hungarian culture, which I've often heard said about you?

Together with others. It is a great honour but there are several of us. I am happy to name József Bognár, he is one of those friends for life I mentioned earlier, and then the late László Bóka. The style and title also fit Béla Köpeczi, and others as well. From an early age I have tried to think simultaneously in terms of the nation and the world, of one people, and Europe and that, in part, answers your question. One reason for becoming a village researcher was having seen other, more fortunate, more developed and more prosperous countries. I went about learning languages in a very deliberate way. Allow me to use the unbelievable fairy-tale like publicity of television to encourage the young to learn a language, and learn it well. I learnt three because, in my fifth year in the *gimnázium*, Father Balanyi told us that at the Trianon Peace Conference Albert Apponyi

rose to his feet and expounded the Hungarian position in three languages. I thought, well, perhaps there will be another war, and from that time on it was my ambition to be present at the peace conference and to say what I thought in three languages. Caul...

Yes, that's the caul too...

I was there at the Peace Conference and I put our just cause in three languages as well, with the same result as Albert Apponyi, I might say. In any case, I acquired this ability, and the secret of this roving ambassadorship is that a man should be able to talk and argue in three languages, but additionally he should know in Hungarian as well what must, and what can be said. And something else has contributed as well, that my wife is French and I'm therefore in the lucky position—the caul once again—that for thirty-five years now I have been seeing our business through her now already very Hungarian, but nevertheless very French and very European eyes, her country's as well as ours. This is a mutual process, an intellectual connected vessel which permanently inspires. We spoke about survival, I think all of us who did couldn't have done so without our women folk. István Vas has written a magnificient ballade about these women. This "French woman" about whom I wrote a story praised by you as well, under that title, has been a very good mate to me. Well, why do I do all this? Why do I like to travel? I am putting this question to myself now, since everyone asks me. I like to travel because I reversed the French saying a little for my purposes. According to the French to say good bye is always to die a little, well then to be off means to be born again a little. I am reborn every time I leave and every time I return. I am always on some sort of mission. I carry news of Hungary with me, I try to de-mist the prejudices about us, and at the same time I bring news from out there, of the great intellectual currents, and intellectual fads and fashions as well. This is an ever new adventure. My unquenchable curiosity is satisfied again and again, and I grant myself absolution by writing about it.

One last question. Don't you feel that something very important was left out of this conversation, something essential you would still like to say about yourself?

I now feel that I have said nothing. I feel that I shall go home and think of all I could have said. And it also occurred to me that perhaps I did not put things well, that the heat of the answer carried me away. I think that looking back on my life, the first sixty-five years—the second are starting now, aren't they—I was always the apostle of lost causes. I am not thinking of big things, fortunately the big cause I have backed with my life is not lost. But I always tried to help people, when they asked me, and when they didn't as well. Perhaps I have written less because I lack the implacability of truly great writers, towards themselves, their family, their country, and the world. The work, that's all that counts for them, nothing else. I often quote Gyula Juhász: "A poet or a writer is someone for whom words matter more than life." Life has always mattered more to me than words, and I have used words to make life more important for myself, and others. You asked what I hated, and then what I loved, and I skipped that, I love my fellow men, I approach everyone in good faith, I never presume of anyone that he wants to play me for a sucker and if they hurt me—and there's the caul again, for this truly is luck—I forget it. This is one thing I still wanted to say, the other is: you asked me if I always wrote the truth, and I answered yes with a clear conscience. I want to refine that a little. A volume of Montaigne, Gide's selection, a pretty old book, is always on my desk. Montaigne said when he was about as old as I am now: "I always wanted to write the truth, but I did not always dare to. Now that I am older, I am more daring." I don't think that the daring to speak the truth depends on your age, more on the age in which we live. That is why I feel that I dare more, and am more daring now, that I can better express the truth, and more of it,

than before. A man must reach a certain age to do that, he must see through illusions, experience a few things, see himself more clearly, and live in an environment of which he can say that he has a place there. I now live in such a world.

Translated from a transcript of the text of a television programme broadcast on Nov. 20 1977 in the First Programme of Hungarian Television, and published in the journal *Valóság* 78/4. The broadcast programme was edited by Rózsa Borus Hauser and directed by Tamás Czigány. Anna Czóbel was in charge of the cameras.

HUNGARIAN SOCIETY IN THE SEVENTIES

TÁRSADALOMTUDOMÁNYI ■ KÖZLEMÉNYEK

Tibor Simó: *A parasztság struktúrájáról* (The structure of the peasantry); Sándor Orbán: *A munkásság és a szövetkezeti parasztság közeledésének problémáihoz* (On the problems of the Closing Gap between workers and cooperative peasants); Ildikó Szpirulisz: *Az állami gazdaságok munkásai* (Workers on state Farms); Ferenc Kovács: *A munkásság és az értelmiség közeledésének vizsgálata* (Examination of the Closing Gap between workers and the professions); Tamás Kolosi: *Egyenlőség — egyenlőtlenség — életkörülmények* (Equality—inequality—living conditions). Five articles in the 1978/4 Number of *Társadalomtudományi Közlemények.* (Papers in the Social Sciences)

The basic structure of contemporary Hungarian society had crystallized by the early and mid-sixties; it was the result of changes taking place over a period of three decades. Little, however, is known about the changes which have happened since, about the finer nuances of differentiation. So papers and accounts that concern themselves with these phenomena merit our attention.

In the period between the two world wars all types of farms were present in Hungarian agriculture: well-developed capitalist farms, semi-feudal large estates, family farms, farms belonging to persons with "two" occupations, semi-subsistence farms which accounted for the majority of peasant farms, and subsistence farms in the more backward regions —writes Tibor Simó in his study on "The Structure of the Peasantry." On the one hand surviving precapitalist conditions hampered and reduced commodity and money relations, on the other hand the partition of peasant holdings preserved the master-peasant relationship and the defencelessness of the peasants. The level of development differed greatly from farm to farm, as did the level of commodity production.

The land reform of 1945 changed the structure of landed estates radically: the ratio of landless peasants decreased from 46 per cent in 1941 to 17 per cent. In 1951 agrarian production surpassed the average yield of the years between 1934 and 1938. No sooner had agriculture recovered when the bulk of agricultural incomes was withheld for speedy industrialization, especially the development of heavy industry. As a result of agrarian policy in the fifties agrarian production only surpassed the level of 1934–38 consistently since 1962 but by 1966 this growth had already reached 38 per cent.

The fate of the cooperative peasantry was closely interwoven with the fate of the cooperatives. Sándor Orbán writes in his paper "On the Problems of the Closing Gap between Workers and Cooperative Peasants": "Of the 4,000 cooperative farms established

in the process of reorganization there remained only 1,600 with an average area of 3,000 hectares each by 1976." In the seven years following 1968 the value of the fixed assets of agricultural cooperatives increased by a factor of two and a half, the value of their current assets by a factor of four. All these have brought about tremendous changes in the composition, intellectual and professional capacities and qualifications of cooperative workers. In the course of ten years the number of persons with higher or secondary education has increased five times.

This development implies that the characteristics of peasants in the traditional sense of the term have been disappearing. The nature of work on the cooperatives has also changed: its technical level is higher, and with regard to income, living standards, and the increasing similarity of direct and indirect environmental factors which determine the way of life there is a visible closing of the gap between workers and peasants. Industrial work plays a role in a growing number of activities in consequence of the growing use of tools and material. Economy of scale, industrial technology and organization, technological discipline, and the incomes of cooperative workers show a growing similarity to the conditions of industrial workers.

Socialist society integrates the former peasantry into a society which puts an end to the difference between the social classes. This trend manifests itself spectacularly in the conditions of state-farm workers in the seventies investigated by Ildikó Szpirulisz in her study "Workers on State Farms". These workers have in fact become organic components of the working class in the course of these years. From the mid-sixties onwards the state farms have become more and more like enterprises, industrial activity has gained ground in their commodity production, they have established and developed relationships of cooperation. The nature of work has also changed, a system of large-scale production has been introduced, a new type of qualification has become general, the channels providing for upward mobility have developed. It can be assumed that the nature of the work on state farms which combines industrial and agricultural activity is an intermediate step for peasants on their way towards becoming industrial workers, and it has facilitated their integration.

So all these papers confirm the closing of the gap between workers and peasants from many aspects.

With regard to the closing of the gap between workers and the intelligentsia the case studies conducted in the Lenin Metallurgic Works and the Diósgyőr Machine Factory allow us to conclude that the gap between industrial workers and the technical intelligentsia has remained characteristic—writes Ferenc Kovács in "Examination of the Closing Gap between Workers and the Intelligentsia." This gap is connected primarily with the nature of the work and the qualifications required.

The difference is not too significant with regard to the income and housing conditions of skilled workers and the technical intelligentsia. If the average wage of skilled workers is 100, the wage of the technical intelligentsia is 131. The differences in housing conditions, such as the number of rooms, are not too big either: skilled workers have 2.0, technical cadres 2.4 rooms. However, while most skilled workers live at an average level, almost as many unskilled workers live below this level as engineers and other technical cadres above it.

The overwhelming majority of workers are the sons of workers, but the fathers of over half of the technical intelligentsia were also workers: so this is a new intelligentsia. If we now look at mobility between social sectors we find that fewer manual workers acquire higher qualifications than workers by brain. Data on leisure and cultural activities also confirm that there is still a big difference between unskilled and other workers, respectively the intelligentsia,

whereas the characteristics of skilled workers tend to converge with those of the intelligentsia.

The investigations of Tamás Kolosi confirm the global findings of the previous studies but make some of their statements more precise. In his investigation "Equality—Inequality—Living Conditions" he finds that in the last 15–20 years some inequalities have become more or less permanent, at the same time some social sectors have changed their place in this system of inequalities.

A survey made in the Budapest IKARUS works showed that among the present leaders, members of the intelligentsia, more have an intellectual background than in any other social sector. Most of the skilled workers are the sons of skilled workers, the fathers of many un- and semi-skilled workers were skilled, unskilled, semi-skilled, or agricultural workers. A significant number had reached their present occupational sector as a result of upward mobility.

Tamás Kolosi comes to the conclusion that agricultural manual workers (i.e. peasants) have risen fast and that their present conditions are similar to those of non-agricultural skilled workers. On the other hand, there has been a remarkable closing of the gap between skilled and intellectual workers, while the gap between workers and the intelligentsia has remained.

N. Sz.

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SURVEYS

GÁBOR VÁLYI

THE JOB OF THE PARLIAMENTARY LIBRARIAN

Different people ask me about my work in different ways:

—My five-year-old grandchild, strolling in the park in front of the Parliament building: "And tell me, in this house, are you the king, just reading all day?"

—Friends, when told in 1971 that after nearly thirty years of considerably more nerve-racking work, I was appointed to the job, they asked: "And what are you going to do all day?"

—On a tour of the United States, an official of the State Department, which had invited me, talking over the proposed programme, started with a question: "Might I ask, in your country, is it political or professional points of view that play a decisive part when appointing someone to this office?" The answer to this, for a European ear, somewhat unusual and abrupt question, was a quick and also not really courteous repartee: "And in your country?" After some hesitation: "Both". The answer to this could be laconic: "In our country, as well."

—One evening it was almost eight, when on the way home, passing through the reading room, silence reigned; young people sat at every desk, about two hundred of them, absorbed in reading and studying by the subdued light of shaded lamps. In the smoking room the scent of orange peel blended with the smell of cigarette and pipe smoke. Many regulars, some familiar faces. One young man stopped me: "This late? What could you have been doing for so long?" I was tired, and only said: "Working," and would have continued but then turned around and asked: "But tell me, how is it that at home and at the university you youngsters are unruly, you grumble about parental authority, and rebel against restrictions, the quantity of compulsory material in the syllabus and its content; and against all kinds of rules; yet here you behave like well-mannered, model students thirsting for knowledge?" Without reflecting even for a moment, like someone who had prepared for an examination question, he answered itemized in points: "First of all I come here whenever I like, and stay as long as I like; here nothing is forbidden whose prohibition does not make sense; and finally here everybody shares in the same treatment: the teachers sit in the same kinds of seats as we do, get the same books and periodicals, and just as quickly as we." How simple it all sounds, but how difficult it is to accomplish.

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The library is more than a hundred years old, but students and teachers and general readers have been allowed to use it only since 1952. Before then it was not open to the public, only members of Parliament were allowed to use it; senior ministry officials had to have special permission; scholars and

university professors could use it only with a pass signed by the Speaker of the House for a specified purpose and duration. When the library was opened to the public it was reckoned that the number of readers would never exceed twenty or thirty a day. Today the average number of readers is two hundred and fifty a day, but it would be even greater if there were more seats.

In actual fact the head librarian has nothing to do with the traffic of readers; at most to receive some of the many friends and acquaintances acquired in the course of one's earlier life, who come to the library from time to time and feel an obligation to drop in, perhaps to demonstrate that they too read, and also to ask—instead of looking it up in the catalogue—whether the work of X. Y. the Icelandic philosopher of law, or the Chinese historian published in Leipzig or Amsterdam in the nineteenth century is in the library? One can't do a thing about that. One constantly preaches to the staff to help readers in a courteous and friendly manner, this is their job; therefore one cannot do otherwise, and since one can't possibly know everything one takes the visitor by the arm, to the catalogue room.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of those visitors, and especially telephone callers, who, having never visited a library in their life or having long forgotten their faint memory of one, believe that only the head librarian is able to satisfy their special demands. They are in the habit of asking assistance for themselves, their offspring, or the daughter-in-law of their family doctor, to register in the library to read a book, which otherwise is not only general practice, but also the right of every Hungarian citizen by law. There is nothing one can do about that, this is a small country with numerous undesirable conventions as well as many cherished ones; many people have numerous friends, and everyone always looks for someone who knows someone at a place where he wants a favour, whenever possible, the boss himself of course. Although everything is shown and explained to everyone, this still does not take up very much time, yet a librarian often wonders why libraries are still unknown territory for so many. This prompts one to make use of every opportunity to initiate as many as possible in the secrets of using the library, by telling of the library services in newspaper articles, in lectures, and over radio and television, and arguing that it is the business of the teachers to accustom pupils and students, in schools and universities, to use libraries when doing their homework, writing a paper or a dissertation, and when seeking source material or literature for a given subject. Visits and exercises are organized for first-year university students, who are shown the various kinds of catalogues, how they are to be used, what the most important reference books and bibliographies are, the value of a good subject index, how to use to good advantage such tools as Facts on File, etc. This is important; because every librarian and visitor to a library must have observed how hesitantly a person will enter the rows of file drawers of a catalogue room if he has not yet used a large library, how frightening and confusing he must find at first sight the mass of catalogue cards and files of computer indices. An important element in accustoming people to read, and to acquire a liking for the library, is that they be helped over this initial step in a pleasant manner.

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As it is commonly known an incredible mass of publications is issued throughout the world. It appears that the modest attempts at seeking to contain this deluge of paper within limits are doomed to perfect failure. This quantitative growth, with many superfluous publications among the many useful ones, goes on all the time. The situation is aggravated by the simultaneous increase in prices which grow perhaps even faster, first of all in countries

with market-geared economies. Increasing the stock of books is, therefore, a problem, although here it is eased somewhat by the fact that the Parliamentary Library receives Hungarian publications belonging to its collecting sphere free of charge, and, as a depository library all the documents of the UN and its agencies, automatically; a considerable part of the publications of the socialist countries on an exchange basis, and in the same manner also the Parliamentary documents of numerous countries. A large number of Hungarian and foreign libraries, and even a few book distributors, offer books that are superfluous, or placed at their disposal for publicity purposes, and the addressees may choose at will from these lists, which thereby serve as further sources of acquisition without cost. Primarily only books and periodicals appearing in non-socialist countries need, therefore, to be purchased. Selection is not easy, the national bibliographies contain little information to serve as a guide. The name of the author, the publisher, the scope of the book, the title and the price all help, and by taking into consideration the preliminary selection of an acquisitions committee, the head librarian decides what to order. It is then a source of pleasure and excitement to examine the books that arrive, to observe with satisfaction that the choice had been well made, or with irritation when the title turns out to have been misleading.

The annual acquisition is relatively large: on an average in recent years, aside from the 2,000 periodicals, approximately three times ten thousand library units: books—UN documents—Parliamentary publications are acquired.

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I like the dimensions of this library: it is large enough to have every important publication, and yet not so large as to make work mechanical or remote. Here everything is still comprehensive, I am familiar with the problems of all associates, and familiar faces repeatedly appear among readers. My room is not large either, access to it leads across the reading room, the windows look out over the Danube, the water surface is restful, and the span of the bridges and the view of Buda Castle opposite are all lovely. More than one librarian from abroad has envied me my room when on a visit. At such times I usually ask: "And the library and its services?"

The technical progress of the past decades also produced great changes in the services of the Hungarian Parliamentary Library. Studies and analyses from periodicals on world politics are kept in evidence by computer, thereby making it far easier to collect source material on certain subjects, finding facts and figures, compiling bibliographies quickly. But a computer cannot perform miracles, it only knows what has been fed into it. Therefore the quality of the bibliographical data, annotations, and key-words is very important. A great deal of time has to be devoted to organizing the supervision of their content.

I frequently quote the first and the fifth of the points made by S. R. Ranganathan, the eminent Indian librarian: "Books are for use—a library is a growing organism." These fundamental observations are also served by modern technical devices, which render the documentation and information services more and more competent. I had studied art history and political science, and therefore had to acquire a knowledge of computer technology as well which is necessary for modern information work. There is no call to regret having spent a great deal of time and energy on it. Modern techniques will not tolerate precipitate, unfounded decisions, misinformation could result in long-lasting serious consequences. Everything has to be examined a number of times from many aspects, and several variants have to be tested. Obviously what, when, and how material is to be processed—how superfluous parallelism due to documentary work going on in several institutions is to be eliminated—depends on selection.

Everyone who works in the information industry today is aware that only through well-organized cooperation is it possible to more or less cope with the increased documentary material and complex demands. Everywhere most problems stem from the organization of this cooperation and of the rational division of labour. It is a misconception that, in small countries, it is easy, or relatively easy, to make cooperation effective. This is not what experience shows. Small countries, particularly if their inhabitants use an isolated language which is specific even in structure, are keenly afflicted by language difficulties. A problem is also presented by a weak infrastructure and a narrow market. In many old libraries that grew in a heterogeneous way a new uniform system can clear the way for itself only at the cost of hard work, much debate, and compromises. In Hungary a good starting basis was offered by a law which declared among other things that libraries should function according to type, branch of knowledge, and geographical region, grouped around certain centres and forming a network.

But regulation is only one of the conditions. A uniform system demands more than this: processing documents, filing, a retrieval system, and in the case of certain libraries, extensive changes. For each collection where the number of catalogue cards has grown possibly to several million, this is no simple matter. Yet striving for uniformity is the only solution, and this is the reason a head librarian must take part in so many committee meetings, and conferences, engaging, in addition to his own specific tasks, in the solution of general problems, from the training of librarians to the organization of the whole information system of social sciences. This is the reason one must be receptive to everything that leads towards the development of major units and the introduction of up-to-date methods.

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Aside from professional assignments personnel work, the training and in-service training of associates and staff requires a great deal of work and considerable thought. With a relatively small staff (the number of persons employed by the library is slightly more than a hundred) democracy is manifest not in the abstract but in the numerous small moments of everyday life, in the organization of work, in the competence and the general knowledgeability of colleagues. A head librarian wants his colleagues to make their opinions known in planning, and in problems that arise in the course of management and control, and not only in respect of their own narrow sphere of activities. For this it is necessary that everyone be acquainted not only with his own territory, but considerably more, that his or her professional knowledge be of a high standard, and also that they know they have the right to err, that there will be no unfavourable consequences because of criticisms or contrary opinions. In the trade union and in the working groups of the library problems not only of salary raises, rewards, and social benefits come under discussion, but also observations, complaints, and recommendations of any nature whatever connected with work. Good intentions are not sufficient for this, the assertion of democratic possibilities must be frequently and continuously stimulated: assuring for them the forms and means which will help in the voicing of rightful criticisms and useful recommendations, and only after that provisions should be made for their realization. Can this be done? One can say only hope for the best.

ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ

TOKAY AND TOKAJ

Tokay, which is merely the phonetic transcription into English of the Hungarian *Tokaj*, is in point of fact the name of a 515 meter hill and a village in the North-East frontier region of Hungary. The wine itself is actually produced over a larger area. There are 28 villages in the Tokaj-Hegyalja region and their names mark the successive historical periods which have gone into producing Tokay wine. Some bear the names of historical characters who took part in the Magyar conquest of the 9th century. Tradition has it, for example, that Tarcal preserves the name of a Magyar chieftain who rode on with his troops ahead of the main body of the conquering army and returned with the news that he had found fertile lands where vines were being cultivated. Whereupon Tarcal's tribe gained possession of today's Tokaj-Hegyalja. Later on, in the 13th and 14th centuries, French and Italian vine-growers settled here, as is indicated, amongst other things, by the name Olaszliszka (Olasz being the Hungarian for Italian). In the 18th century, the Dukes of Trautson brought in German settlers. The place they settled, Trautsonfalva, is today's Herceg-kút. Each succeeding wave of immigrants enriched the region with new types of vine and new processing methods until eventually all this diversity resulted in a homogenous blend.

Rákóczi country

In the March of 1979 I revisited Tokaj-Hegyalja after many years' absence, to collect new facts and figures for a new edition of one of my books. The book is about Hungarian wine regions and their history and, as can be imagined, fieldwork of this kind is one of the more pleasant tasks a writer can have. Before this trip I had already been to the Balaton area, to the Pécs-Villány hillside vineyards so reminiscent of the Mediterranean and to the sandy country between Danube and Tisza which produces light table wines and "heavy" apricot brandy. Everywhere I had been received by the cheerful fraternity of those who work with grapes and wine—whether the organisational forms in which they pursue their work is called a state farm, a vine-growing community, a cooperative, a specialist cooperative or a wine combine, the occupation itself, or so it seems, always manages to preserve something of the ancient atmosphere dating from those times when the vine and the small cellar on the hillside meant relaxation and a break from the grey monotony of peasant existence.

In Tokaj-Hegyalja I was the guest of an organisation with a very modern-sounding name and very up-to-date working methods: the Tokay Wine Combine, which brings together the region's viticulture under the roof of one enterprise. The headquarters of the Combine is located at Sátoraljaújhely, an industrial town struggling with all the usual problems of rapid development, but the enterprise's winegrowers, very probably as a mark of the fraternal feeling mentioned above, procured me a room not in the hotel in Sátoraljaújhely but in the Combine's guest-house in Tolcsva.

It was the end of winter. A thin layer of snow covered the road leading to Tolcsva, the vineyards followed the road on either side in a capricious line. It did not require a great deal of imagination to picture the volcanic activity which long ago made the area what it is today. The highly productive soil, so favourable to viticulture, is composed of lava which has crumbled to dust. Paracelsus thought that it contained gold, and that, in some mysterious way, the Tokay vine-stock sucked up gold nuggets from it;

all you had to do was hit on the right method and you could extract limitless quantities of gold. For weeks he conducted experiments on the spot, without any notable success. Those who really did discover gold in Tokaj-Hegyalja were not in fact alchemists, but clever landowners. First and foremost, the Rákóczis.

At the beginning of the 18th century the Tolcsva guest-house was one of the Rákóczi family's hunting-lodges. Over the years it suffered countless vicissitudes and was then recently restored to its original baroque beauty. They have even managed to get contemporary furniture from somewhere, and portraits of former lords, replete with moustaches, beards and swords, gaze down at the visitor from the walls of the vaulted rooms. Through the crenellated window you look onto the shingled, onion-shaped cupola of the church.

As far as the gold of Tokaj-Hegyalja, i.e. Tokay wine, is concerned, it is a fairly well known story how the secret of the aszú process was discovered (or rather rediscovered, for it is even mentioned by Homer). At the beginning of the 1650's, a certain Máté Sepsi Lackó, major-domo to Zsuzsanna Lorántffy, the consort of Prince György Rákóczi I, fearing attack by Turkish raiders, delayed the gathering of the grapes until later than usual and, with this enforced delay, allowed the process of "noble rot" to run its full course. The consequence was that the skin of the grapes shriveled, the sugar content rose, and the acid substances vanished.

It is not often realised that Tokaj-Hegyalja was not only the scene of this "viticultural discovery", but also of important socio-historical events. In the 17th century Sárospatak, the seat of the Rákóczis, was an important cultural centre. Jan Amos Komensky (Comenius) worked there in the Calvinist college, where he wrote his Orbis Pictus, the precursor of modern educational theory. Later on, the college, upgraded to a tertiary institute, produced important figures in Hungarian intellectual life. The poet Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, Ferenc Kazinczy the initiator of the language reform movement at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, and Lajos Kossuth were amongst its pupils.

In the economic sphere, wine production, which ensured a higher income than other industries and therefore greater freedom of movement, has left its mark on the whole region. The wine-growers were able to come together in their hillside communities and win rights not enjoyed by other peasants until the elimination of serfdom in the 19th century. On the basis of extra privileges and surplus income there began a modest embourgeoisement which continued uninterrupted even when György Rákóczi I, by exercising his princely prerogatives, secured for himself a monopoly in the wine-trade. From that time on private producers were only allowed to measure out their wines between Michaelmas and Christmas—at all other times the inn-keepers sold the prince's wine exclusively. But Rákóczi was not concerned solely with obtaining a wine monopoly, he also took great pains with the development of viticulture. It was due to his measures that the preparation of aszú was regularised.

It seems that succeeding generations of Rákóczis were attracted to vinegrowing and wine-making by some inherited predilection. György Rákóczi's grandson, Ferenc Rákóczi II, who went down in history as the leader of the "kuruc" war of independence against the Habsburgs at the beginning of the 18th century, as soon as he inherited the great estate in Upper Hungary took steps to see that the vine-growing and wine-making procedures were conscientiously observed, and he himself drafted the corresponding regulations laid down in 1700. Later, during the "kuruc" war Tokay wine was an effective ally in his diplomacy. He often sent some as a gift to Louis XIV, King Frederick of Prussia and Czar Peter the Great. Although it is, at the very least, debatable whether this type of *captatio benevolentiae* was ever very effective in foreign

policy, it is certain that Tokay wine was insinuated onto the palates of Europe's connoisseurs by means of these gifts.

Communities, cooperatives, wine cellars

The fact that the institution of the vine-growing communities has managed to survive in Tokaj-Hegyalja in spite of the transformations which have taken place during this century is probably connected to the special demands of viticulture. The grape requires a great deal of care, individual attention and personal responsibility. At the same time, it very often happens that individuals cannot cope with problems on their own and therefore rely on the help of the community to weather crises. The community is a loose-knit unit but it proves its worth when it comes together in time of trouble such as the worst cutbreaks of peronospora and the phylloxera calamity. During the Rákosi period these traditions and the experience gained over centuries were ignored and the consequence of the arbitrary measures employed in Tokaj-Hegyalja and other wine regions was a drop in production. In the 1960s, when the cooperatives were reorganised all over the country, the principle of freedom of choice meant that anyone could keep his vines within the community framework, and since then these vine-growers have had unlimited and preferential access to everything from grafts to fertilisers and can sell their wine as suits their insterests best.

If after all this anyone were to assume that small producers were enormously prosperous, he would be quite wrong. The small individual vineyards have survived, but the huge new vineyards of the co-operatives and state farms somehow have outstripped them in area and in importance. Extensive plantations cover the hillsides through which the roads meander. Between each neatly laid out row of vines there is a considerable gap, thus allowing the machines unhindered progress. At the edge of the vineyards, each of them several hundred hectares in size, a notice proclaims which particular local production cooperative or state farm was responsible for their creation, largely in the course of the large-scale redevelopment which took place in the late sixties and early seventies. On the higher slopes are the small individual vineyards and scattered among them, dug into the hillside, the famous "stone holes," which became widespread when the owners, fearing attack by enemy raiders and unwilling to take the risk of keeping their wine in the villages, hid it here on the remote hillside. In time it transpired that Tokay takes to deep cellars sunk into tufa, and so a virtue was made of necessity and a phrase was even coined which said that "one must bow before Tokay"—this refers both to the wine's exquisite bouquet and to the dimensions of the stone holes, because anyone failing to lower his head upon entering will receive a cruel blow.

The grapes and wine of Tokaj-Hegyalja have many admirers: those who take the trouble to plod up to the vineyards day after day, hoeing, dressing and spraying according to the time of year, and who in fact positively enjoy it, like some traditional hobby, handed down from their forebears and passionately pursued. Take my friend Miklós Papp, for example. He is curator of the local history museum and a tireless collector of ethnographical relics of the Tokaj-Hegyalja region. Take, too, the similarly obsessed carpenter and car mechanic, doctor and mason, and the Tokaj parish priest who apart from his interest in wine is a well-known art collector, the owner of one of the country's finest collections of icons.

From the above it can perhaps be realized that in recent years viticulture on a small scale has become more of a pleasant, albeit useful (indeed serious and lucrative) hobby. This has come about of its own accord, indeed in spite of the official support it

receives. Production catering for the domestic and foreign markets, i.e. for mass consumption, has become the domain of the production cooperatives and state farms. You don't need to be a trained sociologist to make out a type of stratification by generation. The young experts, many of whom have degrees in horticulture and viticulture, tend to gravitate towards the wine combine, similarly, university trained agronomists are to be found in the production cooperatives, and the specialists in viticulture who studied at the nearby Sátoraljaújhely Technical High School fill the leading posts. It is the older people who tend to work in the small hillside vineyards. As they themselves admit, the younger ones do not find the unmechanised and tedious work particularly to their liking. At the moment, it seems that when the present older generation dies out the private vineyards on the higher slopes will be left untended because the tractors and harvesters cannot get up the winding precipitous hillsides. Fortunately, people in Tokaj-Hegyalja's wonderful sunny climate are very long-lived—you can even see sprightly eighty-year-olds climbing the hill tracks. Perhaps their grandchildren will carry on their ancient "hobby".

Plus ça change...

My old friends in Tokaj-Hegyalja still make aszú wine the way their ancestors did for centuries, only now they don't trample the shriveled, dried grapes in a sack but crush them in a special hand-mill. They then dilute the aszú paste with new wine in the fermenting vat, and when the first stage of fermentation is complete they transfer it into 135 litre "göncz casks," where it has to rest for four to eight years to mature into a wine of noble vintage. The Tokaj Wine Combine has established large-scale modern plants in the region, the walls are covered in glazed ceramic tiles, humming electric machines pump out the "base wine" for dilution, nothing is touched by human hand, every single phase in the process has been mechanised. But if you take a closer look at things, it turns out that even in the age of the omnipotent computer, wine-making, at least its essential aspects, cannot be mechanised. This is work that demands a fine touch, almost an artistic empathy, because all wine is an organic substance which develops according to complex laws of its own, and this is especially true of Tokay wine. Up to now the chemists have only been able to identify a fraction of the many hundreds of compounds and esters which determine its flavour and bouquet. It appears there is but one computer able to follow the fermentation and maturing processes and, if necessary, to influence it (but not to do it violence): that is, the experienced cellarman. But he, too, has to be on his guard, for each cask of Tokay has a character all its own, and although there are all sorts of guidelines and rules the requirements of each single cask of Tokay have to be individually determined. The cellarmen of the Tokaj Combine who drive up to the wrought-iron gates of the cellars in their Lada cars move around the enormously long cellars hewn from the bare rock doing essentially the same as Rákóczi's vine-dressers in the old days. They tend, they smell and they taste.

In Tokaj-Hegyalja there are not only "stone holes" cut into the hillsides. From the very beginning wine was stored in kilometre-long labyrinthine cellars hewn from the rock, that is, in more peaceful times. The first cellars were dug in the 13th century. In time the region became honeycombed with cellars, a network of tunnels criss-crossing one above the other. Historical significance is attached to some, for instance the one whose entrance is in the church square of the village of Tokaj and which in one place widens into a subterranean vault. Here, in the summer of 1526, the lords of the realm met to drink wine after the national assembly held in Tokaj had elected János

Zápolya king in place of Louis II, who had fallen in the battle of Mohács. A stone hearth blackened with soot in the Rákóczi cellar in Sárospatak is famous as the place where Prince Rákóczi grilled bacon and quaffed wine while in the castle above Habsburg minions hunted for him high and low. Later, his faithful retainers led him out through the endless secret passages of the cellar, and via untrodden valley and hill tracks he eventually reached safety in Poland. Thence he returned to Hungary and in 1703 instigated the war of independence against the Habsburgs.

The rock cellars play an important role in the emergence of Tokay wine. The layer of silky grey fungus covering the walls produces a special micro-climate which is one of the preconditions of the bouquet of Tokay and of its soft "doughy taste." In the first stage of maturation the casks are not filled to the brim, in order that a part of the cask should remain empty and the wine come into free contact with the air. The noble fungus in its turn draws off the acid fumes from the wine and in this way forms the ideal conditions for the creation of the Tokay wine's aroma.

The first foreigners to buy Tokay wine were Poles. Large numbers of Polish vintners were coming to Tokaj-Hegyalja as early as the 16th century. In the cellars they tasted the wines and if they found the contents of a particular cask to be especially good, they would write on it in chalk *COS*, the abbreviation of "habet colorem, odorem et saporem." They were followed by Swedes. The court of Gustav Vasa, later of Johan III, was one of the customers for Tokay wine. After them, the Scots came on the scene. Amongst the Scottish puritans who settled in Poland, Robert Lanxet de Portius carried on a significant trade in Tokay wine. Even in the second half of the 18th century, when the Rákóczi estate fell into the hands of the Trautson family after the defeat of the "kuruc" war of independence, Scottish merchants were buying up Tokay aszú. The steward of the Duke of Trautson's Tokaj estate often mentions their names in his account books. Later it was the Germans who came to the fore—Lazar de Schwendi, a Field marshal of the Habsburg Empire, went so far in his enthusiasm for Tokay that he had several thousand vine-stocks transported westwards and planted on his Rhineland estate. I have tasted the wine produced there, and to this day it is still called Tokay. The only trouble is, it is nothing like the real thing. It seems there is something inimitable about the soil and climate of Tokaj-Hegyalja, and perhaps also about the men who produce Tokay aszú.

PÉCS — A TOWN OF MUSEUMS

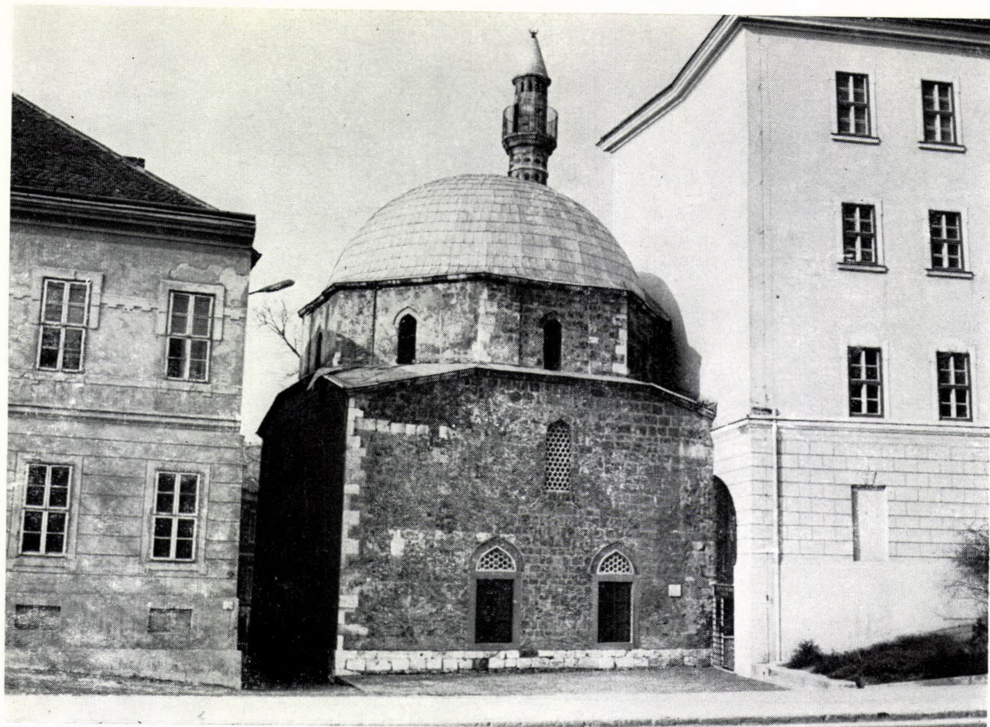
The museum in Pécs named after Janus Pannonius, the fifteenth-century humanist poet was founded in 1904. Since archeological finds on the outskirts of the town include vestiges of man's life from prehistoric times to the present, and given the ethnical diversity of the present, the museum early on concentrated on archeology and ethnography. The Zsolnay majolica works donated a selection of its finest ornamental ware to the museum, and local botanists and zoologists established a natural science cabinet.

The reorganization of the museum after the Second World War allowed for the more marked development of special departments. In only ten years the archeological, ethnographical, and natural science collection has grown into the largest of its kind in any provincial museum. In 1952 the original stone carvings from Pécs's Roma-

PÉCS. INTERIOR OF THE ZSOLNAI MAJOLICA MUSEUM

Katalin Nádor

PÉCS. INTERIOR OF THE VASARELY MUSEUM



PÉCS. JAKOVALI HASSAN MUSEUM AND DJAMI

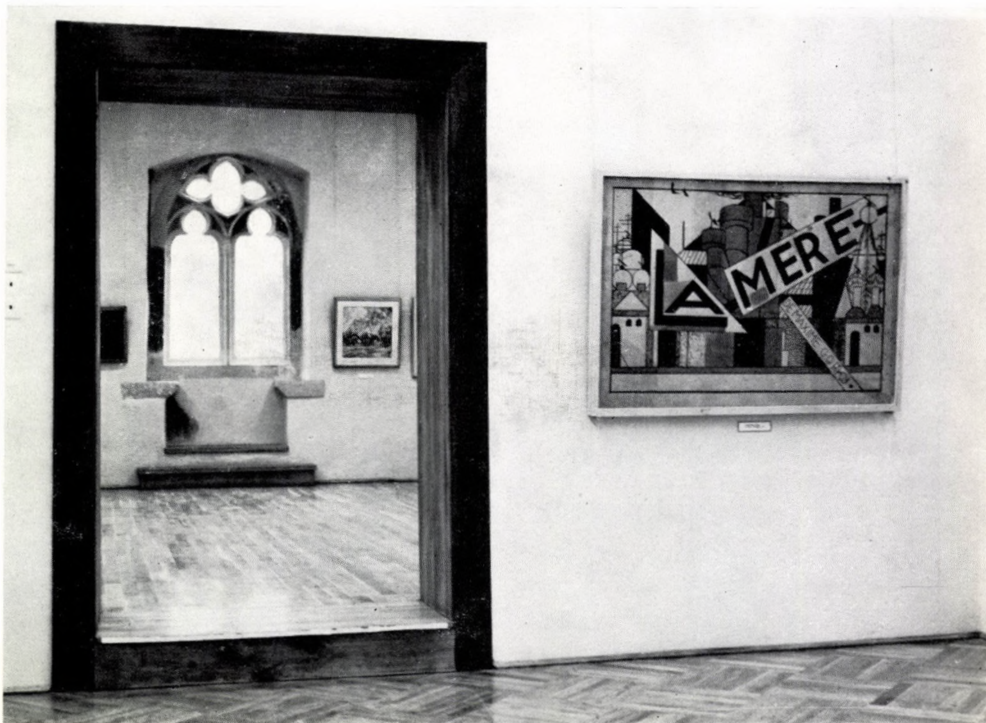
Katalin Nádor

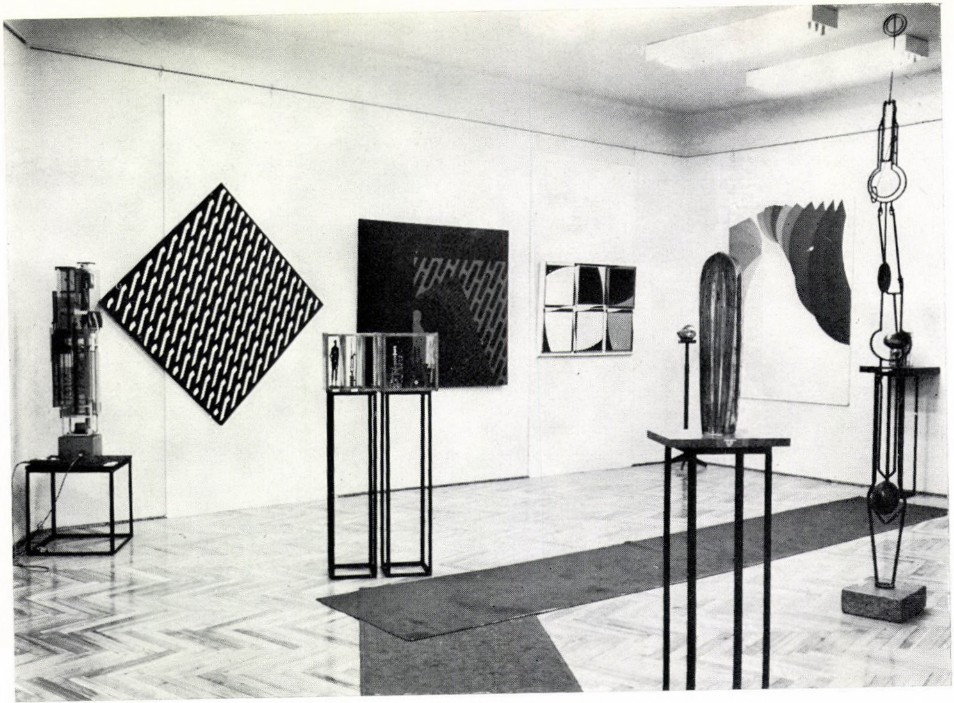
PÉCS. BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL AND UITZ MUSEUM

PÉCS. INTERIOR OF THE CSONTVÁRY MUSEUM. FACING: MARY'S WELL IN NAZARETH BY TIVADAR CSONTVÁRY

Katalin Nádor

PÉCS. INTERIOR OF THE UITZ MUSEUM





Pécs. Gallery of Modern Hungarian Painting

Katalin Nádor

Baranya County Serb and Croat Museum at Mohács

nesque cathedral were put on display. The Zsolnay majolica display was expanded and rearranged in 1955, and a modern Hungarian gallery with twentieth-century works opened in 1957.

Pécs is known today as a museum city. True, no *real* museum building has ever been built here but the town has somehow managed to find room for its collections. The ten permanent exhibitions are located in ten different buildings. One of the aims of further development is to adapt other suitable buildings in the medieval inner City for use as museums. Káptalan utca which starts at the cathedral and has a number of Gothic town houses and interior courts with luxuriant vegetation is planned to be a museum street, bordered by the medieval city wall. The natural science collection presents Mediterranean flora and fauna from the slopes of the Mecsek hills. In 1976 the staff of the museum organized a nationwide collecting and research expedition, including a methodical exploration of the Mecsek hills and Southern Transdanubia. In 1977 and 1978 they published a volume on the results of their research.

Archeological relics

The archeological explorations are in the focus of interests. Remains of Sopianae, the capital of Lower Pannonia, were buried beneath the present town; many have been excavated in recent years. Other finds, pottery and metal objects of everyday use, have been dug out as well; even treasure finds are not rare. One kilogramme of seventeenth-eighteenth century silver coins was found in the summer of 1978 in the course of building work in the City.

It is not really possible, of course, to do systematic digging for archeological purposes in a densely populated town. Work is limited to saving and preserving what chance turns up, including an early Christian mausoleum from the fourth century with frescoes and a carved white marble sarcophagus; this was discovered in 1977 in today's Dóm tér (Cathedral Square). Beneath it is a late Roman cemetery; three of its painted burial vaults were excavated earlier. More than a hundred graves with rich finds were dug up here in the early 1970s. Work is progressing systematically under the direction of the National Board for Ancient Monuments with a view to uncovering and restoring the 2.5 kilometres long medieval city wall. The excavation on Jakab Hill on the north-western confines of the town started in 1975; so far an earthwork of the Early Iron Age and a burial ground with almost five hundred cremation graves have been uncovered. The excavations of a Roman villa at the foot of the hill and the adjoining chapel with interior paintings has been going on since 1977.

The archeological finds are permanently on show in the museum building in the City. The Roman burial vaults are presented *in situ*, the buildings erected above the graves function as museums. Objects from the Turkish occupation are in the djamy (mosque) of Yakovali Hassan and the adjoining building with the remnants of a dervish monastery both has been converted into a museum. The systematic annual restorations of historical monuments are connected with archeological research in the area. After work lasting decades the castles of Siklós and Szigetvár have been restored to their original form and they now function as museums and hostels. The reconstruction of the castle of Pécsvárad is still in progress; it will be similarly used. The restored castle of Márévára and another in Mecseknádasd now under reconstruction will contain historical and architectural material on the past of Baranya County.

A further exhibition now in preparation will present the history of the urbanization and industrialization of Pécs from 1700 to 1948; the setting of this exhibition will be interesting in itself: an eighteenth-century tannery has been put at the museum's

disposal, with a brook flowing through the yard.

Several permanent exhibitions have been established in various towns and smaller communities in the county under the guidance of the museum of Pécs. A museum specializing in local history is in Szigetvár Castle, stonework finds are on display at Siklós castle, a museum devoted to the Bulgarian division which campaigned nearby, participating in the liberation of Hungary, is at Harkány and a collection of pipes is housed in the village of Ibafa.

Ethnographic collection

Ethnography is also an important field of research in the museum. As a result of systematic collecting over dozens of years there are now almost 25,000 different objects, tools, and artefacts of agricultural and peasant life. In recent years key importance has been given to the *in situ* preservation of peasant buildings and their original interiors. Growing urbanization lessens the scope of such work and increases its importance. Old houses are rebuilt, or demolished and their furnishings are dispersed. In cooperation with local councils, and architects, many characteristic houses in Sellye, Mecseknádasd, Ófalu and Lukafa have been turned into museums. In Sellye the funiture and personal belongings of the people of the Ormánság region have been preserved in a characteristic pedestalled house. In Mecseknádasd one of the houses of the local German minority has been converted into a folk museum; apart from its original furnishings a local pottery workshop and its products are exhibited there. A folk museum in Ófalu will open in 1979; it will present a turner's workshop, this having been the principal craft of the village. In Magyarlukafa the village and the museum will jointly establish a cottage-art house in a thatched house with a porch.

The culture of national minorities

The museum of the Serbs and Croats of Baranya is in the town of Mohács which is also the central museum for Southern Slav ethnography. The museum of this small town in Southern Transdanubia arranges two research expeditions every year to collect material reflecting the culture of the Southern Slav minority in Hungary. These expeditions are organized by the museum's staff and university and secondary-school students who are members of the national minority concerned participate.

Much research into local history is done in the museum of Mohács. The crucial battle of the Turkish conquest of Hungary was fought near Mohács in 1526. Some important aspects of the battle and documents from the recently uncovered mass graves are presented in a commemorative exhibition.

Art collections

The collecting and treatment of works of art only caught up with the other departments in the second half of the 1950s. The picture collection consisted of only one hundred and fifty-two works in 1952, systematic collection started in 1955. The opening of the permanent exhibition (in 1957) was only a first step. Art collectors and artists made donations and purchases were made. Later on the directors of the museum appealed to Hungarian artists who live abroad and whose achievements have been part of the mainstream of European art to donate some of their works to the Gallery. At the same time, with the cooperation of these same Hungarian artists abroad, the Museum also started to collect the works of non-Hungarian contemporary artists.

The building allotted to the Gallery as a temporary home very soon proved too small. The Gallery as such then concentrated on a historical view, and separate museums were established for the work of individual

artists. The Csontváry Museum opened in 1973. Tivadar Csontváry* was the greatest Hungarian expressionist who flourished around the turn of the century. His major works are now permanently in Pécs.

Victor Vasarely, who now lives in Paris, was born in Pécs. The local council offered the house to be turned into a Vasarely museum. The artist himself contributed a number of his works, and has made arrangements for the museum to receive a share of his later production as well.

In 1974 Ferenc Martyn**, who lives in Pécs, donated almost two hundred of his paintings, sculptures, and drawings to the museum. A studio house and a permanent exhibition were arranged. The museum is arranged so as not to disturb the artist and his work, four halls will be opened for the public in the summer of 1979 with a selection of Martyn's sculptures and drawings.

In 1978 a cabinet presenting the works of Amerigo Tot who lives in Rome was opened in the Gallery. The works are the artist's gift, and Amerigo Tot as well ensured that his later work also should be represented in the museum.

A commemorative museum of Béla Uitz*** opened its doors in 1978 in one of the newly restored museum buildings. The work of this painter was important in the history of the Hungarian avantgarde.

The Modern Gallery tries as far as possible to offer a complete picture of twentieth-century Hungarian art. The growth of the collection is so dynamic that a new building had to be acquired. The final home of the Gallery will be the restored eighteenth-century county hall.

The European Museum of Modern Art is at the planning and preparation stage. László Carl, the Pécsborn art collector who lives in Basle, offered to add to his earlier donation and establish a large-scale collection of modern European art in Pécs. The implementation of this plan will require the restoration of another historical building.

Ceramics, furniture

Zsolnay majolica takes pride of place in the applied arts section. The Zsolnay works still function in Pécs: approximately 11,000 of its finest products are in the museum. They are in the town's oldest dwelling in Káptalan utca, a Gothic house built in 1324. Modern ceramics are on display as well. One of the main sources is the National Ceramics Biennal which has taken place in Pécs for the last ten years. A museum is devoted to the work of István Gádor, one of the modern master potters of Hungary. A workshop for young potters was established in Siklós. A collection of furniture is also in the castle of Siklós. It gives a picture of the interiors of the dwellings of the citizens of Pécs in the seventeenth-eighteenth century.

ÉVA HÁRS

* See NHQ 7, 14
** See NHQ 73
*** See NHQ 29, 48

KÁLMÁN KULCSÁR

MAN AT THE CENTRE OF DEVELOPMENT

Unesco General Conferences could almost be said to reflect the intellectual currents of the world. What often makes the meetings of the General Conference animated and interesting are the ideas and scholarly views debated, many of which of course also give expression to political aspirations. There is no other international forum where people with such a variety of interests and qualifications and representing all the cultures of the world can meet.

This is also true of the debates on the sociological programmes. While it is the educational, scientific, and cultural organization of the United Nations, Unesco is also a political forum and the political affinities of the social sciences are well known. However, the "professional" aspects of sociology have come into prominence in recent years, showing that the political problems of our days can also be best approached through the social sciences. Indications in Unesco of the rising importance of sociology actually signify the advance of the science of society practically all over the world, the beginning of a new era in the social sciences. The new era of the social sciences, man in centre of development are new terms denoting new tendencies which were linked up at the 20th General Conference of Unesco held at Paris in Autumn 1978. The problems of the development of society—of course, not independently of the growing international activity of former colonial countries—have for a long time been the focus of interest in the world of science. This interest was apparent in the choice of subject by the World Congress of Sociology held at Uppsala in 1978, and was more emphatically present in the debates of the 20th General Conference of Unesco. Emphatically, since the problem is not new to the Unesco General Conferences, nor is it new in the work of Unesco; moreover, the problem was comprehensively formulated in the medium-term programme adopted by the General Conference held at Nairobi in 1976.

Even if we are aware of the enormous consequences ensuing from the international weight of the developing countries, from the role their problems play in the life of the entire world, we cannot conclude that social development as a whole is a matter of interest *only* to the Third World. The very concept of development is really undefined, and debates centre on the socio-economic transformation historically achieved by "Western" countries. Surely there are quite a few who identify development with what is called westernization (while limiting the concept itself to the *still* "westernizable" countries, to those which lag behind the Western type of society), but others are sceptical about the social processes related to Western industrialization being the only possible way of modernization. Thus social development is an important problem in other parts of the world, too.

Indeed it is a problem in the developed capitalist countries, where unquestionable progress in technical civilization has certainly not always had favourable consequences in other spheres, and even its adverse side, effects are increasingly manifest in society and in nature alike. Also, it is a problem in the building of society in the socialist countries: on the one hand, in context with the present economic model of development (e.g. in the proportions between of industry and agricultural production) and, on the other, in the social effects of economic development, in the relationship between economic and social efficiency, as well as in some phenomena connected with the way of life, in certain incongruities of economic progress and of the development of consciousness, not to mention the adverse consequences which are felt here as well and

which act upon the environment. And finally it is a problem, of course, in the developing countries, where economic progress is a vital necessity, but which wish to protect themselves from the adverse consequences of economic development, from Western social impacts of modernization. The ways and means they frequently see in the accentuation of the socio-cultural context—in some cases even in an effort to preserve traditional values—and elsewhere in the still more problematic implementation of a particular "socialist" ideology (which is not free from contradictions either and is occasionally interwoven with religious elements).

The interconnections of social development thus pose a real problem, and it appears perhaps from the above that this is so not merely because today there is really only "one world," in which processes occurring in different places cannot be made independent of one another and have consequences bearing upon the whole.

The lesson drawn from the problems of social development, from the social effects and consequences which have thus far resulted from development—from almost all models, in particular ones of economic development—boiled down to the conclusion that development is not only economic. The aim should be to stimulate a kind of economic *and* social development which in the process guarantees the dignity of man. Hence the expression: development "centred on man."

The formulation, of course, is simplified, a sort of catchword; in certain connections it may even seem naïve. But this is beside the point. The point is to make one realize the complex nature of development, to strive for the practical appraisal of economic and social phenomena, to appraise the socio-cultural context in which development proceeds and which is not only a medium to be transformed (capable of being transformed) but also a conditioning force. In view of the fundamental importance of economic processes, the requirement of utilizing and furthering these processes beside the part obviously played by economic rationality in the building of society, a far from negligible question of development today, is the rational handling of the consequences of economic progress: a purposefully planned and efficient social policy.

In recent years the science of society in Hungary—particularly economics, sociology, and history—has studied more and more extensively the problems arising from the complex nature of social development. It was nearly ten years ago that the present writer was making a distinction between the concepts of economic and social efficiency, and began to deal with the adverse effects of decisions concerning planning and development. To study the social consequences of economic decisions, to analyse economic decisions in their social consequences, to deal with the problem of influencing these consequences, is today a field of research which is yielding important practical lessons too, and which is eliciting a growing interest. Indeed another aspect of the same question is being explored by the sociology of law which analyses problems concerning the legal means that can be used in social planning, in the management of the economy and society.

From all these aspects of "man-centred" development there follow several conclusions with respect to practical development policies, too. Some of these conclusions have already been dealt with by Hungarian sociological literature and a few of them were discussed at the 20th General Conference of Unesco.

For instance, the problem of integrated rural development in the process of overall development. A very considerable part of the population all over the world still lives in rural conditions, the majority engaged in agricultural occupations, thus living under circumstances which in themselves, with traditional bonds still enduring in many places, act against development. "Integrated development" therefore means not only the

possible industrialization of rural areas, not only the modernization of agriculture, but, as its prerequisite, the raising of the educational level, as well the transformation of the situation of women, the solution of the problems of social mobility, etc. The lessons of Hungarian agricultural and rural policy (lessons which follow from the course and consequences of "planned intervention" successful in social dimensions, the reorganization of agriculture in line with large-scale production) demonstrate that rural development is a complex task which cannot be solved by implementing single component parts. In addition to economic development (whose priority can hardly be questioned, even if it does not necessarily appear in industrialization, since the favourable consequences of modernized agricultural production are more and more visible in respect of development), it is essential to shape the infrastructure, to build up an appropriate administrative organization and a network of mass communication, to raise the level of school and general education, etc. For this very reason the idea of integrated rural development and its practice up to now provide perhaps the most evident example of the "man-centred" conception of development in the interaction of economic and social conditions.

The second consequence is the combination of the "internal and external" conditions of development, or rather the realization of this conjunction, the deduction of the conclusions following therefrom. Namely, an indispensable requirement of development within a country is first of all peace and in the second place—but not independent of the present-day features of peaceful coexistence—an international order of which, on the one hand, economic and social interdependence is an increasing feature and, on the other hand, the consequences of this interdependence also manifest themselves in the shaping of effective economic and social conditions. The establishment of the "new international economic order" therefore can be regarded, in a certain sense, as an external condition of internal development. The usefulness of external effects, however, is also dependent on internal conditions. It is generally known today, for example, that the actual effect of the transfer of technological and scientific progress is determined to a large extent by the economic conditions of the "recipient country," by the level of its technological development, by the conditions prevailing in the field of expert knowledge and organization. An essential means of the development of more backward societies is the transfer of technological and scientific achievements. There are one-sided views that backwardness can be changed practically into an advantage by the adoption of the most developed scientific and technical methods, since the establishment of these is not hindered by earlier technical and organizational structures, vested interests, etc. The application of the most developed technological and scientific methods can by no means be regarded as a cure-all for backward conditions. The already existing conditions of the "recipient" society, its values and its models of conduct and mode of living are active in the process of the reception of ideas, organizational solutions, technologies, etc. from outside, so it can hardly be expected that extraneous effects are one hundred per cent suitable for the modernization of "backward" societies. It is no accident that nowadays we can witness the revival of religious, national, etc. ideologies formerly believed to be obsolete and their growing influence in the process of modernization.

The dialectic of the internal and external conditions of development, the whole conception of the complexity of development, the idea of integrated development, etc. are basically incidental to the critical analysis of the historical roads of development seen so far, to the joint analysis of the functional and dysfunctional conse-

quences of development conceptions, to the study of the whole system of the possible consequences of alternative decisions. When I stress the necessity of a critical analysis of the development attained so far, I can again refer to Hungarian examples. By analysing mainly the problems of economic development (while not disregarding the socio-political interconnections) this study has already explored a good number of particularities of the development not only of Hungary but also of the so-called Central European region and the historical interconnections thereof. This explorative work, with its findings, is in still closer connection with the rising importance of the social sciences, it makes the growing role of the social sciences in the process of development more evident.

A speaker at the 20th General Conference of Unesco talked of the world-wide change in the position of the social sciences, opening up a veritable new era of sociology. Even though the roots of this new beginning reach back, in a certain sense, to an earlier period of history, there is no doubt that in the socialist revolutions, for example, a significant role has been played by Marxist sociology as a whole, yet it is clear that nowadays, when the socially conditioned nature of technical, economic, etc. decisions and the appearance of their consequences in almost infinitely "remote" spheres constitute a daily practical problem, when even the efficiency of technology is to no small extent conditioned by social factors, etc., the social sciences acquire or can acquire an increasingly important role, because they examine this conditioning and receiving medium in perspective.

The role of the so-called "hard" social sciences in the study of the problems of development, in the elaboration of conceptions of development, in the analysis of its consequences, etc., can barely be contested today. Something new appeared, as was also to be seen in the debates of the 9th World Congress of Sociology, with its accentuation of the importance of the historical approach and its practical consequences precisely in these "hard" disciplines of sociology. Considering the critical analysis of the historical roads of development, the conclusions to be drawn, this accentuation of the historical approach is really justified, and so is a certain philosophical analysis of the results.

Whether the social sciences really will or can have a serious part to play in the political decisions concerning development is also in itself a social question—that is, a sociological problem. It is not accidental that the notion of man-centred development was coupled with the idea of the furtherance of the social sciences on a national level and the promotion of international cooperation. The issue of *reception*, however, is not a negligible problem either. It would be illusory for the social sciences to leave the characteristics inherent in the recipient "medium," e.g. the socio-political leadership, out of account. These characteristics imply at the same time a particular system of conditions for practical-political evaluation and utilization of sociological insights. Experience gained in Hungary also shows—but it is obviously a more general phenomenon—that the mere "penetration" of the insights of the social sciences into the decision-making processes is fashioned by a great number of factors. The abstract possibility of reception in itself, the capacity to absorb the findings of science, is insufficient even if it exists. In the big question of the interconnection of science and politics the reception of the findings of sociology is a separate problem, so it is an object of sociological research. In reality, however, it is far more than that. In the final analysis this is where it is decided how and at what pace the consequences of the opening up of a new era of sociology are put into effect for society, for social development.

EGON SZABADY

CONTRACEPTIVES, ABORTION AND THE BIRTHRATE

In 1974 and 1975, partly as a result of the 1973 decisions on population policy and partly owing to the increase in the number of women reaching child-bearing age, there was a radical change in Hungary's population trend. The number of births rose from 156,000 in 1973 to 186,000 in 1974 and to 194,000 in 1975. Births per 1,000 population numbered 15.0 in 1973 and 18.4 in 1975. Although thereafter the number of births declined as a consequence of the fact that fewer women reached fertility age and the effectiveness of the measures taken diminished in the four years since the measures were adopted 130,000 more children were born than in the preceding four years. Thus, from 1974 onwards, in accordance with the set objective, Hungary has freed itself from the demographic period of decline between 1958–1973 during which the number of births had not even been sufficient to ensure population replacement.

Another noteworthy and more far-reaching change occurred in the number of induced abortions: they went down from 170,000 in 1973 to 96,000 in 1975. The decrease in induced abortions was nearly twice as great as the increment in births. Thereafter, in line with the drop in the birth rate, the number of induced abortions further declined, indicating that the number and proportion of those who used contraceptives in the course of family planning grew relatively fast, primarily due to the spread of oral contraceptives.

Indicative of the prevention of undesired pregnancies is also the fact that, in spite of the slightly stricter conditions attached to receiving legal abortions the proportion of rejected applications is still below 1 per cent; the drop in the number of induced abortions is thus not directly due to the greater severity in the authorization of abortions. Of course, this severity has probably played a role in the spread of contraception.

The temporary increase in the birth rate may have been produced by changes of timing, by the fact that first-born children are being produced earlier in almost all marriages. It is encouraging that the most significant increase has been in the number of second births and there has also been a slight increase in the number of third children. What the future trend in the desired number of children will be cannot yet be foreseen; families with 2 or 3 children have not become a general pattern as was the earlier type of family with 1 or 2 children. In this context it seems proper to examine what influence—considering Hungary's present and future state of development and in particular social and population policy measures—will be exercised upon future population trends by the economic and social factors which caused the earlier decrease in the number of births.

Income and fertility

Demographic literature for a long time considered the inverse correlation between income and fertility to be a general invariable observed both internationally and in Hungary itself. The view was held that a higher income went with a lower number of births, and vice versa. This is definitely true at certain stages of economic development. Recently, however, in those countries where per capita income and consumption are the highest of all, one can observe a so-called U-shaped regression between the two factors; fertility is higher in the strata of the lowest incomes, it is lowest in those of medium incomes and grows again in the

higher income brackets. Which of the said two types of relationship dominates in a given region or country and in a given period depends, of course, on several factors, both economic and non-economic (on the particular income level and on its rate of growth, among other things). There is no doubt that it was the first-mentioned invariable that could be observed in Hungary over the past few decades. The sharp reduction in fertility that took place in a period when national income was growing at a fast rate, by an average 6 per cent a year (it increased by a factor of 4.5 between 1950 and 1977) is evidence of this. In consequence of the growth in real wages and especially in social benefits there was also a similar increase in real incomes. Coupled with increasing employment, the living standards of the population rapidly improved, which again was expressed not only in the growth of consumption but also in a change in the consumption pattern.

Since it is evident that an increase in incomes and further changes in the pattern of consumption can be expected in the future, from the point of view of population policy it is essential to answer the question whether the inverse correlation between income and fertility can be expected to apply in the future. In our opinion this can only be changed within a system of calculated social and population policy measures by effective and increasingly large-scale relief of family burdens. From this point of view, therefore, it is definitely desirable to continue to increase the value and quantity of social benefits designed for children, both as concerns grants in kind (school, kindergarten, day nursery, etc.) and grants in cash (primarily family allowances and child-care benefits). It is conceivable, though, that economic development in Hungary is already approaching the level at which the afore-mentioned U-shaped relationship comes about more or less automatically, but the number of births in the economically most highly developed countries in recent years illustrates the changeability of such relationships.

In opposition to the views according to which, in the interests of economic efficiency, we shall in the future have to lay stress exclusively on raising incomes derived from work, it must be emphatically underlined that it is by all means right to continue to augment the relative weight of social benefits aimed at relieving family burdens. This is how we can ensure more harmony between the living standards of families and the work actually done. At present, what still determines the living standards of a family are to a great extent the demographic composition of the household, the ratio of earners to dependants, although the sum and proportion of social benefits granted to the family have rapidly increased in the past few decades.

Employment and social mobility

The fast increase in female economic activity has played an important role in shaping the style of life in Hungary during the past few decades. The fertility of dependent women has in the past always been higher than that of gainfully employed women, traditionally and internationally, and this has also made itself felt in the growth of the Hungarian population up to the end of the 1960's. The realization that population policy ought to be based on the attitude of working women took shape at that time. This has since been proved correct and justified; while in the early 1960's about half of all child-bearing women were gainfully employed, this ratio is more than 90 per cent at present. At the same time, however, owing to the child care allowance introduced on the basis of the above realization, it was possible to alter the relation (held to be stable until then) between the fertility rates of gainfully employed and dependent women; since the late 1960's the fertility rate of gainfully em-

ployed women has been higher than that of dependent women. This can definitely be ascribed to the impact of child-care benefits. Today these are considered in many respects to be an essential factor in the families' behaviour with regard to reproduction; so there is good reason to maintain this institution and to improve it further in the future. It makes it possible to reduce considerably conflicts between female employment and the maternal function and thus to prevent fertility from declining as a consequence. This must be taken into consideration all the more since the mass of child-bearing women are between 20 and 25 years of age at present and the majority cannot count upon the help of grandmothers that was so usual in the past, because the parents of these young parents are still of an economically active age and pursue gainful occupations.

In the past the vigorous processes of social restratification also had the effect of lowering fertility, primarily because of the diminishing proportion of the peasantry in the population, the peasantry traditionally having a higher fertility rate. Today, however, the fertility rate of non-agricultural manual workers is already higher than that of the agricultural population, so that further restratification, probably on a smaller scale, is not expected to have an unfavourable demographic effect. Besides, the fertility levels of different social strata are converging to a considerable extent; a powerful trend towards the one-child family is most manifest in the urban intellectual strata, and this poses a problem because the size of these strata relative to the total population is expected to grow.

Housing

Results of public opinion research in Hungary show that the majority of the population makes reproductive intentions dependent on the solution of the housing problem. Although, thanks to the measures taken in 1973, successes have been scored in solving the housing problem of families with three or more children and for young married couples, many difficulties still remain in this area. The shortage of housing is the most frequent reason for the authorization of induced abortions among young married women without children or with one child. From the point of view of having a second and a third child, an important role is played, apart from the availability of an independent home, by the size of the flat; for inadequate housing often hinders the couples from undertaking to raise more children and does not make it possible for several generations to live together in a family, although larger housing space, would also make it easier to provide for the children.

Prospects and goals

Although what has been outlined above shows that there is no indication from Hungary's socio-economic development that fertility will necessarily fall in the future, the number of births in the 1980's, especially in the second half, will probably be extremely low. Women between 20 and 29 years of age, who are responsible for the vast majority of births, will then be one-quarter fewer in number than they are now. Consequently, about 140,000 live births can be expected each year, and this figure will probably be one to two thousand below the number of deaths. In this connection we have to point out that, as a consequence of the ageing of the population, the crude death rate in Hungary will rise in the future; moreover, in recent years the mortality rate has grown in certain age-groups, for example among men between 40 and 60. This is why, for a few years around 1990, stagnation or a small decrease can be expected instead of the natural population increase. The shortening of this critical period and the mitiga-

tion of its effects will be possible only by taking further effective and properly timed population policy measures.

Qualitative objectives

Finally, it can be considered a favourable and encouraging circumstance that, while the successes in the field of quantitative objectives are rather shortterm, relatively constant and continuous development can be seen in the reaching of qualitative objectives. The raising of the level of maternity and infant welfare, of care for pregnant women and new-born babies is aimed at improving the sanitary conditions of growing and future generations and at reducing the number of physically or mentally handicapped infants. In this respect the drop in the number of premature babies shows that some initial successes have already been attained. Considering the later problems of schooling, training and employment for infants born with physical or mental defects, as well as other difficulties in their social integration, the improvement that has been achieved in this field is highly significant in the overall perspective as well. This is why, among other things, we can expect that the deviant groups (criminals, alcoholics) will dwindle and gradually cease to exist. This must also be emphasized because, apart from the more easily appreciable quantitative successes, consideration of sanitary conditions and qualitative composition of the population is often relegated to the background, although their economic, social and cultural aspects are all of tremendous importance.

ÁGNES SZÉCHY

VIRTUS, SPORT, FITNESS

In the difficult years of the early fifties the Hungarian press used to boast that Hungary was a great power in sport. Three years after the war, in 1948, and then in 1952, Hungarian sportsmen and women had won 16 gold medals, at the Olympic Games. There was a cabaret joke in Budapest to the effect that the football team earned the country more foreign currency than its entire foreign trade. The mention of Hungary anywhere evoked the names of the members of the "golden-booted" football team: Puskás, Kocsis, Czibor, Hidegkuti. At that time sport was not only rewarding for its own sake: in the years of the personality cult, when ordinary citizens were not granted passport, leading sportsmen had the chance to go and see the world. But material considerations or the wish to travel were not the only reasons for these achievements; the chief motive was that young Hungarians wanted to show the world that in spite of the lost war they still had talent, courage and "virtus". (This word has been taken over from the Latin but its Hungarian connotation is broader than the original: "virtus" is an exploit, a daring performance, prowness, a bravado.)

It was national consciousness and "virtus" that lay behind outstanding Hungarian sporting achievements back in the 19th century.

In October 1874 a Hungarian army officer made a bet that he could ride on horseback from Vienna to Paris within 14 days. In the same year two former soldiers of the 1848–49 war of independence walked from Pest to Hajdúböszörmény and back in 72 hours, the total distance was 400 kilometres. A journalist, Kálmán Szekrényessy, swam across the Balaton and later

the Bosporus. These were not just isolated phenomena. Challenges of this type would be issued in almost all the various sports and they were not only motivated by money but also by "virtus", by the attitude of "look what I can do." This movement had its golden age in 18th-century England when it was considered a pastime worthy of a gentleman and outstanding achievements, especially in horse racing and boxing were attained. These exploits, these eccentric and admirable displays of strength, these breakneck stunts did not only ensure the victors' popularity, but in Hungary where anti-Habsburg feeling was general, these sportsmen were almost looked on as national heroes, all the more so as many of them were veterans of the '48 war. Many of those who took part in this national sports movement won international fame for their achievements. The *all-round sportsman* became fashionable in Hungary as well.

Athletics were organised on the English model, the leader of the first gymnastics club was Ignác Clair, a former captain of the guards under Napoleon. The National Fencing Institute was established in 1840; it was characteristic of the times that Sándor Petőfi and Lajos Kossuth were both active members. Two aristocrats, Count István Széchenyi and Baron Miklós Wesselényi, undertook to call attention to the importance of the physical training of young Hungarians. Wesselényi himself was an excellent horseman, swordsman and marksman and even swam across the Balaton. When he returned from Western Europe he decided, together with Széchenyi, to popularize sport in Hungary. "There is no other nation for whom the mastery of swordsmanship is more fitting and more necessary"—he wrote in his first work, *Balítéletek* (Misjudgements) which appeared in 1833. Széchenyi agreed with him; in his Diary he used to reproach Hungarians for their laziness and their neglect of physical exercise. He was of the opinion that only properly trained body and mind could serve the country.

During the 1848–49 revolution the government gave financial support to physical training establishments in Budapest and they planned to set up an independent Hungarian military academy. After the defeat of the revolution, however, many years passed before sport lovers again got permission to organize themselves. Sports circles were established in schools in 1882, and in 1891 the first athletics competition was held and 3,000 schoolchildren took part. The Hungarian physical education system was set up in 1910 on Swedish, German and English models, and it continued to be the basis of sports education in schools until the Second World War. The National Council of Physical Education, the advisory body of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education was established in 1913. It was granted, independent ministerial status in 1971 when it became the central governing body in matters of sport.

In 1919 the Hungarian Republic of Councils appointed a directorate for physical education which embarked on the organisation of leisure sports. The first international event in 1919 was a football match between Austria and Hungary, 2 : 1 for the home team, played in front of 40,000 spectators. A string of sport competitions were organized on national festivals and the May Day parade in 1919 was preceded by a mass jog-in. Young workers gained access to sports grounds, boathouses and riding schools, and physical education in schools which had consisted almost exclusively of gymnastics, expanded and became all-embracing. This was the beginning of the division of physical culture into broad-based, health and firmness oriented exercise on the one hand and highly competitive sport on the other hand. After the fall of the Republic of Councils, from August 1919, during the so-called Horthy-era physical education was put under the service of nationalist movements. In 1925 the Academy of Physical Education was established, and the Physical Education Research Institute was founded in 1943. But workers were able to start their own sports move-

ment because, as Archduke Albrecht Habsburg said to the newspaper *Nemzeti Sport* in 1923, "muscle-building also strengthens the mind, i.e. it makes it possible for people to endure more work." The first international workers' sports festival was organised 1928 and three years later the Ironworkers Trade Union (VASAS) built its own sports ground. During the Second World War hiking and life in river boathouses proved to be an excellent cohesive factor in the underground movement and provided many illegal meeting places. The sports movement of Hungarian workers became a progressive social force. In later years, with the rise of fascism, athletic meets and gymnastics festivals organised by workers' associations were banned.

During all these years many Hungarians won medals in international competitions. Back in 1895 Tibor Földvári had been the European champion in figure skating, in 1896 Alfréd Hajós had been Olympic champion in free-style swimming. By 1976 Hungary had won a total of 105 gold, 94 silver and 116 bronze medals in the modern Olympic games.

After 1945 sport and physical education were reorganized. The supreme state body is the National Office of Physical Education and Sport which receives about 400 millions from the state budget. Trade unions, enterprises, cooperatives, local councils spend a great deal of money on sports, a total of roughly 2,000 million forints. Today there are over 4,000 sports associations and appr. 300,000 men and women in Hungary, who engage in competitive sport. There are 132,000 registered football players, 36,000 athletes, 37,000 hand-ball players and 23,000 table-tennis players. In some large enterprises such as the Ganz-Mávag some 30 to 40 football teams take part in the works competition and football, handball, table-tennis and skittles contests are run at factory, office and cooperative level in major works.

A lot is being done to promote physical culture among the masses: competitions for badges, Spartakiads, gymnastics lessons at the place of work and gymnastics on television try to counteract the unhealthy effects of sitting or standing all day and travelling by car instead of walking. In the case of Hungarians all this is made still worse by over-eating. It is of course difficult to win over adults who have grown up in schools without a gymnasium and therefore spent the lessons devoted to physical culture sitting at their desks. Schools with sports sections cater for the future needs of a competitive sports. In such schools as these there is three times as much sport than is provided for on the normal curriculum. Unfortunately we do not have enough sport establishments and in spite of an abundance of water the country only has 50 indoor swimming pools. By 1981 Budapest will have a covered stadium with many sport facilities, seating 10,000 spectators.

Most of Hungary's Olympic gold medals have been won in fencing, the classic Hungarian virtus-sport. Hungarian football, once world-famous, has slipped somewhat but in the pentathlon, water-polo, gymnastic and table-tennis Hungarians are more or less at the top. This country with its population of 10.5 million, is in a position to provide international-level contestants or teams in over 30 branches of sport and in at least 20 of these they will be among the first ten. Hungary is not a "great sporting power" but a country with a dynamic and successful record in sport, a country where virtus has become she stuff champions are made of.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ABOVE DEPTHS

István Széchenyi: *Napló* (Diary). Selected, edited, and annotated by Ambrus Oltványi. Gondolat, Budapest, 1978. 1534 pp.

The inn, where Count István Széchenyi spent the night of July 25, 1825, is in the Pyrenees in a wild and picturesque part of those mountains. It smelled of onion soup, and Spanish muleteers made one hell of a din. Early next morning, as the sun rose, he started for the Pic du Midi; two sturdy shepherds acted as guides. They walked barefoot on the rough, steep mountain path. One step missed, and he who strove for the heights would crash into the depths. Suddenly Széchenyi felt giddy and unable to go on. The two *montagnards* carried him back to the mountain hut more dead than alive. When he felt better, he wrote in his Diary: "I do not know of a feeling more dreadful than cliff-hanging, feeling that one may, any moment, tumble into the depths. To break a leg or even one's neck is nothing—but to crash down some thousand feet, is terrifying."

All his life Széchenyi walked over depths, cliff-hanging, often, in his moments of agony fearing that he might drag down the nation with him. His Diary takes the reader to the scene of his inner struggles, and offers surprisingly scant information on the chronicle of the historic events of the day. István Sőtér is therefore right to start his major essay thus: "Széchenyi's Diary keeps up with his life most of the time, but the more happens, the less is told." Indeed, the calendar of events of the Reform Age, the 1848 War of Independence, and the period after the fall cannot be fully retraced in the Diary; the person of the Reformer, however, hovering above the deep, takes perfect shape. A historian may suffer disappointment reading the Diary, he would deeply love to learn some secrets from the laboratory of history; for the literary scholar, however, the Diary is valuable as it is, for it takes him into the innermost world of a soul, taste, and spirit emanating the air of the period.

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Count István Széchenyi started his Diary in 1814, on his return to Vienna, following his participation, as a young cavalry officer, in the Napoleonic wars. Up to 1820 the Diary is not continuous, there being a number of shorter or longer breaks. Between 1820 and September 1848 the Diary is continuous, followed by a silence of many years during his mental breakdown; thereafter it reports the events of the subsequent short six months. His last entry: "I cannot save myself," was committed to paper six days before he took his own life. The despairing outcry produces a shudder down one's spine as it reaches us after a hundred years.

We cannot get a complete picture of the Diary. In keeping with Széchenyi's will, his loyal secretary, Antal Tassner, carefully combed the text, eliminating without mercy parts which to his mind and taste should not be available to posterity, sometimes sen-

tences, sometimes entire pages. It is part of the irony of history that the only parts that are unexpurgated are those which the Austrian secret police confiscated during a search of his house and retained. Subsequently they were handed over to Hungary, and published by Árpád Károlyi in 1921. The material scrutinized by Tassner—the bulk of the Diary—was edited by Gyula Viszota between 1925 and 1939.

The Diary is in German, with French, English, and Hungarian passages, mainly quotations of varying length. No Hungarian translation of the surviving parts of the Diary has been published in full to date. Even the vast volume of fifteen hundred pages now issued by Gondolat includes only roughly a third of the entire material. It is the maximum so far published. The success of this impressive volume must surely call for a full, unabridged Hungarian edition of the Diary. The selection, with limits defined by the space made available, is excellent; Ambrus Oltványi, a scholar of high reputation, is responsible. He also provided the thorough Notes, covering almost 200 pages, which ably guide one through the text, and wrote the Postscript, which tells the story of how the Diary came to be written and what happened to it later. István Sőtér's introduction is a serious, thorough-going contribution to the study of Széchenyi's life and work which has revived in recent years. Zoltán Jékely and Miklós Győrffy are responsible for the translation.

Széchenyi was a great romantic writer from the start—a fact first noticed by László Németh—a writer, however, whose major problem was style, that is, articulation. He was not one to take wing by nature, yet he succeeded in clambering up to the literary standard of the Reform Age. The works he wrote initially in Hungarian are full of lively, illustrative detail, evidence of a high sensibility in spite of their rather complicated trains of thought, they are reckoned among the finest pieces of early 19th century Hungarian prose. This translation of the Diary was worked from an original in colloquial Viennese of undistinguished style. It is true that Széchenyi the writer attained full maturity in his late major work, the Great Satire, written in the Döbling Sanatorium, but the marks of genius show already in the early chapters of the Diary; perhaps not in the brilliance of the style, or of linguistic expression, but deeper down, in the depths of philosophy and self-observation. The Hungarian translation has improved the style which is now up to the best pages of Széchenyi's essay prose.

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"I know they will hate me, as long as I live, the ungrateful lot; they will scatter my ashes, and soon forget them. And yet I will be content if in the last hour of my life I shall be able to say: 'There is just one young man who has become happier through me than he could have been without me.' "

This, written in 1819, is the basic tone of the Diary; an attitude accompanies him throughout his life, up to the moment of ultimate despair when he held a gun to his head in his Döbling room. They are the words of a man walking over the depths, the chasm, who faces the prospect of falling and yet moves to the brink, even though the future might hold in store but a slight reward for his struggles. Let me note that Széchenyi was not an audacious character, the joy of facing a challenge was alien to him. In political struggles or during storms at sea, he suffered from the same feeling of alarm; his moments of relaxation were scarce. He was happy in the first days of his marriage, in February 1836, otherwise he was haunted by incessant fear, anxiety, and torment.

In the summer of 1821 he set out for Transylvania on military duties. News of the Körös in flood, with the dam broken at Telegd, reached him at Nagyvárad. The toll road was cut, and people tried to persuade him to abandon the journey, Széchenyi however walked over the mountains to his destination.

The Diary does not offer details, but formulates the moral with classic conciseness "...one must never in life shun any undertaking whatsoever; one must persevere, until a cold and calm eye has convinced us of the impossibility of our undertaking." This may be considered the key to his make-up, as a reformer revealing his mental disposition and inclinations. The impossibility has to be taken into account, one must not embark upon absurd goals; yet one must try to find out personally where the limits of the impossible are, and until one is satisfied that no further acceptable, passable road exists, one must proceed.

Széchenyi's life, as it appears from the Diary, was like an Ibsen play. When, just hundred years before the outbreak of the Great War, he jotted down his first entries, an irreversible event has taken place in his life, with the consequences accompanying him balefully. Ibsen never puts on stage that first event which sets the course for the whole play, nor does Széchenyi ever mention it. All we can do is to guess from cursory phrases, and even more from the pain lurking behind his phrases. That doleful first act, untold or perhaps deleted by Tassner, tells us how Széchenyi fell in love with the daughter of an English nobleman called Caroline Meade, who was being educated in Vienna. He had known her for some time, and her sister's name was tattooed on his arm, accompanying him on the campaigns of the Napoleonic wars. This happened in the months preceding the start of the Diary. The victorious capital of the Habsburg Empire shone with unprecedented brilliance, and young aristocrats making merry in Viennese ballrooms seemed to have no preoccupation more important than love. However, at the time when the young captain of hussars fell in love with Caroline, she was already the wife of his older brother, Pál. Since high society, for its amusement, like to condemn, István Széchenyi thus turned, at the same time, into a depraved brother and disloyal man, having an incestuous connection with his sister-in-law, as well as suddenly abandoning her for another woman. Széchenyi was branded, and the stigma accompanied him for many years to come. The petty bourgeoisie were snobs but the aristocracy had its own petty bourgeois ways.

Such, therefore, was the Ibsen-like first act which explains much that followed. When the Diary's curtain is raised, Széchenyi's figure emerges from the dark as a hero on the dividing line between two great periods. It was from the borderline between Enlightenment and Romanticism that he started from Vienna, stigmatized as he was. His grand tour took him to Naples, Paris, London, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Athens, he also visited Malta, rambled around France, and spent several months in Italy, admiring and studying the country's art. Széchenyi did not travel with a haversack slung over his shoulder like a journeyman, he took along a court as befitted a count; guide, coachman, footman, and chef all awaited his orders. He still held a commission, and occasionally joined his regiment for tours of duty. His character, his way of thinking, his emotional make-up, his fancies were being moulded into their final shape in those years. On November 3, 1825, when getting to his feet at the Diet of Pozsony, and offering his famous grant for founding a scholarly society in Hungary, he was already a mature man, fully-fledged. Whatever he was to accomplish in later life, was already part of his life plan. His principles, his outlook, all that which may be called Széchenyism, can be read, practically complete, in the Diary pages up to 1825.

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His principles were rooted in eighteenth-century philosophy and in classicism. His ideals are not impassioned emotions or rapturous enthusiasm, but sober self-discipline. "...is it not part of the instruments for acquiring a certain greatness: to appear reticent, even in the most critical moments of life? Violent outbursts of passion can only

entail destruction, for the present moment as well as for the future." Voltaire was among his preferred writer-philosophers, but in the early 1820s he read Voltaire critically, in the light of his own reformist views. He was all for the Voltaire who demanded thought, having reservations, however, regarding the prophet of revolution.

Reserved calm, sober thinking, and understanding tolerance were his ideals, as well as an inheritance from the eighteenth century, a trust in education. He believed that man's character can be shaped, and even transformed, by reason, by arguments, sound examples, and practice, he believed that one's character was not determined at birth, but a mental quality formed by education. Not only the individual, but the properties of an entire nation may be channelled in the right direction by education. "The precondition of making a nation great and immortal in its self-defensive struggle is to educate the larger part"—he noted as early as 1819, having read an English traveller's book on Italy (J. C. Eustace: *A Classical Tour through Italy in 1802*). He quoted—and accepted—the enlightened liberalism of the book: education is an institutionalized form, which depends on the spirit of the government. Accordingly, where government is free and education free-thinking, the prevailing character will be open and virile, whereas under a despotic government, with restricted education, the prevailing character will be base and stunted. In Voltaire he found a passage expressing similar ideas, and noted: where the people are enslaved, and the aristocracy haughty and idle, the nation, notwithstanding natural wealth, will remain poor.

A revolutionary, starting out from these principles, will strive to bring about a movement to upset the government, whereas an enlightened thinker adds further tasks to the duties of the educator. If "mankind is made happy not by alms but—as he writes—by instruction and good example," one should trust that instruction and good examples will act in a formative way on the government as well, so that it will gradually turn in the right direction. The young hussar, having fought at Leipzig, links the Bastille in a broad sweep with Napoleon; in his view revolution first leads to anarchy, then to a bloody dictatorship, ending with a destructive war, hence, cannot be considered a solution. The yet untested answer of history is: education. Education was the only up to then untasted option.

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The fanatical believer in education was powerfully linked to the ideals of the prerevolutionary eighteenth century, to the teachings of Diderot, Voltaire, and Rousseau; at the same time, he was also the child of his rapidly changing age. One might call him an enlightened romantic. This double bond was clearly reflected in his interest in art and his subtle response to it. He loved classic and rococo music: "The music I like must be simple and agreeable—I might say it ought to have a pastoral character." He knew the early romantics, such as Halévy, Aubert, Bellini, Liszt, and Paganini, but his favourite composer was Rossini, and he preferred opera buffa to the romantic grand opera. His literary taste included classicism, sentimentalism, and rococo, but here he favoured romanticism, then in its prime—and its direct predecessors. Grillparzer, Chateaubriand, Uhland, Scott, Dumas, Hugo, E. T. A. Hoffmann are only a handful of names in the vast realm of his favourite authors. The two writers whose impact on Széchenyi was greatest were Alfieri and Byron. Alfieri, of course, was not a romantic, but Széchenyi was fascinated by the powerful, high-soaring, ambitious drive with which Alfieri, Count of Piedmont, and hence, like Byron, Széchenyi's social equal, broke with the bonds of the classic drama, and paved the way for romanticism. Examining the changes in Széchenyi's taste, the main point is not what he read, but what he made of his reading.

Byron's triumphal march in Hungarian literature begun in the 1840s. Lázár Petrichevich-Horváth's book on Byron was published in 1842, and the influence of Byron extended from the second romantic generation to Reviczky and Komjáthy, naturally not without antecedents. Traces of Byron's impact can be detected in Vörösmarty as early as the second half of the 1820s, Széchenyi's experience of Byron, however, is still earlier. Not his erudition, but his taste, sensitivity, and recipient mind are outstanding. He is practically the first in Hungary, not only to acquaint himself with the outstanding modern poet of the time, reading him so to speak on first publication, but also, what is more important, to assimilate him. *Manfred*, for example, was first published in 1817, and we find quotations from *Manfred* in the Diary as early as 1818.

Széchenyi not only read Byron, but absorbed him and identified himself with the poet. It is precisely Byron's emotional attitude to his own life that affected Széchenyi so closely. He was influenced not only by Byron's romantic style, but also by the romanticism at the depths of his verse: the romanticism of being and attitude.

Széchenyi clung to his enlightened ideology with romantic exaltation. He saw life as a series of choices flashing between two extreme poles: "I was thinking about my future. I have two alternatives. Either to concern myself with matters alien to me, fettered and chained as I am (...). Or to be free, independent, and self-reliant, a nobody, an anonymous being (...) casting to the winds everything that might flatter my vanity, my egotism, also any favour to be obtained through rank, prestige and title." "To serve or not to serve—that is the question; is it nobler to suffer all the injuries, injustice, and rejections of slavish service with courage and strength, up to the grave, sacrificing one's whole life, forgetting oneself entirely, always acquiesceing, never command, always serve, never dominate? — Or to break all bonds, all shackles, and be the master of the world? Guide me, my star, and show me where to find my happiness— if such a thing exists for me at all?" These are indeed the words of romanticism. Manfred knows how to choose; if need be, he suffers the tormented hours of conscience, he endures loneliness and contempt, but remains loyal to the heights which are his lot. The Diary's literary merit is due precisely to the varied tones in which it voices the incessantly emerging obligation of choice. It is expressed now poetically, with bathos, fire, and extasy, now with irony, scorn and even with graceful humour. His perseverance, however, is never flagging.

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The notion of the Hungarian Reform Era, probably enigmatic to a foreigner, may be defined with reference to Széchenyi's humanism and attitude: "Josephinistic Enlightenment" on Hungarian soil, in the period of Romanticism. A crossing of Enlightenment and Romanticism. A crossing of Enlightenment and Romanticism to advance the progress of Hungary. Széchenyi was impressed by Rousseau and Alfieri, Voltaire and Byron only to the extent as his fundamental qualities, his origin, his class bonds, his life plan allowed him to be. The arrow of the mind was checked by the passion of the heart; the stream of passion, however, clashed against the barriers of the mind. Enlightenment and Romanticism combine in Széchenyi's mind to produce the attitude of a reformer.

The torch of heroic fanaticism was aflame when he founded with Baron Wesselényi an "alliance of virtue," and declared that they have to become "the Knights Templars of philosophy." Yet the torch has only just been lit, when the Josephinistic educator shows his presence. Széchenyi discovered that Wesselényi's ranger had run away to avoid his master's beatings. In lieu of unpaid wages, he took his master's watch, so that once caught, he could look forward to gaol or even the gallows. Széchenyi was

shocked: "No, we were not born reformers—we first have to reform ourselves. We have to attend the school of humility, and self-denial." Széchenyi's judgement, his condemnation of Wesselényi, show his free thought rooted in the Enlightenment; the suggested self-education stems from the same source. The language, however, is evidence of Széchenyi's Christian upbringing.

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Two features of Széchenyi's reformism should be stressed here. One is his practical approach. One tends to believe that "the Knight Templar of philosophy" was a dreamy, star-gazing idealist. Széchenyi, however, knew the difference between the ultimate objective, strategy, and tactics. In his time, however, only the born man of practice could sense instinctively that one must not seek the real lines of demarcation between people of different ways of thinking in the blueprints of a distant future, but in actions that could be implemented here and now. One needs an Archimedean point whence one can move the earth; a seemingly insignificant, harmless proposal, apt to be accepted in consensus; this will set the machinery of society moving. A proposal to which Széchenyi gave his full support is a mere toy, for the amusement of the aristocracy: racing. Racing, however, requires horses, horses in turn require sound breeding, which presupposes advanced agriculture, progressive financing, a credit policy—things which will move forward the bogged-down cart of the country. Twenty years later, when the men of the Ban of Croatia marched northwards, Széchenyi was in an agony of anxiety, he dreaded a catastrophe, and held himself responsible, not without reason: the process which—unintentionally—led to the armed struggle for independence and progress, was indeed started by him. In spite of his books, he was not only the ideologist but also the first practical initiator of the movement.

Széchenyi was opposed to revolution. He not only mistrusted the success of a revolution, he did not even believe that major social issues may be solved by revolutions. His views were reached as conclusions following the experience and study of the French Revolution and its aftermath. He differed from the revolutionaries even in his judgement of the major political issues of his time. Historians in Hungary today unanimously proclaim that everything, from industrial location to dethronement of the reigning dynasty, has confirmed Kossuth's position. To implement the economic progress of the second half of the century, Hungary first had to go through the 14th of April, 1849, i.e. the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty. Without any pretensions to revisionism, one can nevertheless claim that Széchenyi was right regarding an important principle, something that should be particularly stressed when writing about Széchenyi's Diary.

What I have in mind is the principle of quality. A hundred years before László Németh, Széchenyi was the first to speak of a revolution of quality. "In Hungary, all improvement is doomed to frustration; only he who finds the panorama of Nádudvar more charming than that of Naples, and prefers Bakator* to Madeira, can find supporters. — Lenci Orczy is a fossil, he believes in quantity as the only thing that counts in economics—never quality. Just let us have a lot." This is but a chance remark, dated 1820. It takes years till for the idea to bud—referring not only to economics but to the entire approach to life—and he rounded it off into a little essay, which is not inferior to that of László Németh published in *Tanú*.** Széchenyi's premises are even historically more correct.

On May 9, 1823, Széchenyi visited the

* A red *vin du pays* grown in the Érmellék region.

** László Németh (1901–1975), writer and thinker. A member of the Editorial Board of NHQ. He wrote and edited the journal *Tanú* (Witness) singlehanded, 1932–36.

Mike manor-house of Pongrác Somssich, the future Deputy Lord Lieutenant of Somogy County, later still Lord-Lieutenant of Baranya County. Looking around, the awkward way the house was furnished, due to a lack of know-how, struck him. Somssich wanted to live in elegant and comfortable surroundings, but was unable to do so. Seeing his friend's intentions, and also his failure to realize them, set Széchenyi thinking: there are many things of which people in this country know something, but only superficially. To what, indeed, could they devote all their strength? To agriculture? Impossible, since the preconditions for real development were absent. To law, to the administration of the country? This again was impossible in a state where Hungarians were considered agitators and stirrers up of trouble, where only the fawners were given a chance. As long as there are no accepted rights, as long as one cannot demand or insist, as long as "every breath is only enjoyed by mercy," people cannot find the field for actions satisfying their leanings and capabilities. "Occupational interests are absent," and until they come into being individualism is nipped in the bud, and forced to eccentricity.

Achieving law and order, starting development, implementing reforms, the welfare of the nation—these are not ultimate goals in Széchenyi's mind but basic conditions. The ultimate goal is to create harmonious, lives, where people have an interest in their trade or profession, as they used to have, and where everyone thinks of the country in which he lives and works as his own. The goal is an order where one does not have to sit on real ideas and hard work, where human values can unfold in their wake. This is the principle of quality. The quality of life, as they say nowadays. A hundred years after Széchenyi, still before fashionable sociology, László Németh argued in this spirit: "He who has no interest in creating a masterpiece is a slave, whether he is building pyramids for private profit, or for the state."

Széchenyi sees Hungary as a falling star. Nations have different ages, some are young, some mature, and some are very old, their blood running faintly in their veins. Franklins' America was young, France and England were mature adults, and Hungary apparently was one of the aged. Rejuvenation was a worthy task.

Széchenyi considered his patriotism, the fact that he was born Hungarian, to be part of his fate. He did not admire either the country, or the people, or the highly praised Hungarian virtues and culture. He behaved like someone who was not particularly happy to be born Hungarian, however, he faced all the consequences with a stiff upper lip, and carried out all the obligations entailed. He thought in terms of a nation all the time. This was the kind of healthy nationalism which propelled nineteenth-century Europe forward. Later generations were so shocked that they tended to cover up. The Diary, however, bears witness.

"It is peculiar that Hungary pleases me least of almost all countries I know. When I travel from Sopron to Vienna, I prefer the Austrian stretch, just as I do on the road from Pest to Vienna—and the Austrian side is actually prettier. When I travelled through Sárospatak to Poland—over Dukla—I found the culture of Poland striking, compared to our barbarism. I felt the same way when travelling from Nagyvárad through Feketető to Transylvania. Two years ago, touring Croatia, I was greatly impressed by the road leading from Sisek to Zagreb, and I was literally scared beholding the dusty, ash-grey, unkempt countryside, when entering my own country at the Zákány crossing. — Now [on the occasion of a trip in Syrmia in 1830. Z.K.] I felt the same—although I would have liked to convince myself of the opposite—but Syrmia, the green of the country, the lush vegetation, the fine roads, the charming houses, etc. made so keen a contrast with the marshlands and fallow plains of our own *Extra Hungariam non est vita, si est vita, non est ita*, that I would have

felt deep sorrow—had we been doomed to such degradation by destiny, and not by overpowering stupidity."

Széchenyi's patriotism therefore was not backward but forward looking. He thought in terms of changes and education, not of fate and doom. In his generation Kölcsey* was closest to him, his vision of present and past is censorious, his hopes lie in the future. Széchenyi is often attacked for his chastising tone, his tendency for fault-finding. "Many object to my book *On Horses* saying that it is not proper to ridicule our compatriots, our country—incidentally, they claim it is the easiest approach. — I, however, hold it is not only proper, but our duty to unmask and punish conceit, selfishness, vanity, etc. — The second charge I consider an absurdity, unless one's country is truly ridiculous. Could an Englishman, an American, even the most gifted manage to do so? I do not think so."

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Diaries are akin to memoirs and confessions; the roots can be found in the earliest European prose. In Hungary the manner is particularly well represented, one may call it the richest and best type of Hungarian prose. Hungarian fiction, book-length or short, hardly ever reaches the highest standards, not even in our days; in practically all the best novels one can detect the spirit of St. Augustine's confessions. Széchenyi's Diary, even in the fragmentary form it has come down to us, is among the most valuable. His contemplations, in which he discusses his mental crises, commits to paper his torments, his intentions, his plans, his ideas, his philosophy, are especially fascinating. In the Diary one finds a number of short essays on the quality of right and wrong, on perfection, on the mystery of love, and so forth, essays which are in no way inferior to what Emerson, his junior by twelve years, has written. In addition to subtle observations and flights of fancy the Diary contains pieces of fine writing: such as his accounts of travels (for instance the description of a Trappist monastery) or the romantic horror stories of the Beleznay clan.

Széchenyi's literary significance, however, far exceeds the aesthetic merits of the Diary or the Great Satire. His true significance is that he did not write his novels, dramas, and poetry; when he happened upon his theme: raising the nation through reforms—he also found the genre appropriate to his subject, that is, tracts for the times. He wanted to rouse the nation not by novels, plays, or poetry, but by political tracts, more appropriate for mobilization.

The fine line of Hungarian socio-political writing begins with Bessenyei* and extends up to Zsigmond Kemény.** Thereafter something seems to go wrong, a break in the Hungarian intellectual tradition. Hence the duties of political writing, the role of rousing the public, the nation, had to be assumed, starting with the eighteen-fifties, by writers. Already in 1853 the literary critic Pál Gyulai claims that here "writers became the guardian angels of nationalism, as well as the sole centre of the manifestations of our intellectual life." (The antecedents of this idea emerged much earlier.) Széchenyi is not yet aware of this imperative call. He can still formulate his rousing phrases openly, in the idiom of political tracts. The novel, the drama, and poetry have different roles: their job is to refine the taste of the nation. If someone is concerned with improving finances and culture, his views must be voiced in tracts. All one can do today is to dream, to guess at what would have happened, had the thread not broken, had Hungarian tracts for the times continued to be written, carrying to victory the suppressed tone of the Reform Age, so that writers, just about to rise to

* Ferenc Kölcsey (1790–1838), poet, author of the Hungarian National Anthem.

* György Bessenyei (1747–1811) poet and philosopher, a member of Maria Theresia's Hungarian Bodyguard in his youth.

** Zsigmond Kemény (1814–1875) novelist and politician.

international standards, had been spared the obligation of taking over political tasks. Surely there would not then have been a delay of half a century, before Hungarian writers were ready to assimilate the Baudelaireian experience.

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The most moving quality of Széchenyi's Diary is that he had no ambition to become the Manfred of Hungary; he had not prepared himself for a self-tormenting life, for solitary struggles; he merely accepted the challenge when he had no other choice. He longed for a full, harmonious life. The cliff to which he was compelled to hang, was not of his choice. The chasm gaping below him opened up, when he begun his work. He assumed his role, fully aware of the unfortunate situation, where the cause could only be promoted by his assuming a role. A cause is the safer, the more balanced, the fuller the value of the persons who represent it. Resignation, for whatever reason, is harmful to the service to a cause. Széchenyi was not striving for self-sacrifice. He sought to win life, love, and his country together. Yet love came to him late, if ever; instead of a country making progress he found it in chains, and finally he had to take his own life, far from home, in his Döbling solitude.

Zoltán Kenyeres

FOUR ESSAYISTS OF THE SEVENTIES

Endre Illés: *Krétarajzok* (Chalk Drawings), (2nd edition, 1970), 515 pp. — *Két oroszlán között* (Between Two Lions), 1973, 435 pp. — *A só íze* (The Taste of Salt), 1976, 447 pp. — *Ostya nélkül* (Without Cachet), 1978, 450 pp. All published by Magvető. István Vas: *Tanulmányok* (Essays), Vols. (3 vols.) 1978, Szépirodalmi.—*Tengerek nélkül* (Without Oceans), 312 pp.— *Vonzások és választások* (Elective Affinities), 283 pp. — *Körülbelül* (More or Less), 287 pp. Imre Szász: *Háló nélkül* (Without a Net), 1978, Szépirodalmi, 378 pp. Miklós Mészöly: *A tágasság iskolája* (The School of Spaciousness), 1977, Szépirodalmi, 374 pp.

The series Hungarian Classics, a large-scale venture on the part of the Szépirodalmi publishing house, arrived at an important landmark in 1978 with the appearance of its *Esszépanoráma 1900–1944* (Panorama of Essays 1900–1944). The three volumes contain outstanding works from the first half of the twentieth century. Zoltán Kenyeres, the editor, did not define the genre strictly. The collection ranges from works of philosophical meditation to literary portraits. The editor appreciates the merits of studies in sociology or the history of science no less than aphorisms, reviews, contributions to cultural history, or major polemical essays. Thus he has presented as complete a panorama of the intellectual problems concerning contemporary Hungarian writers and scholars as is humanly possible.

"Panorama of Essays 1900–1944" contains the works of two generations of essayists from Zoltán Ambrus, the writer and theatre critic born in 1861, to Gyula Lovass, who was born in 1914 and died young. A similar collection presenting the literary

and social ideas of Hungarians of previous centuries will also appear in the series.

Of course present-day writers also meditate on cultural and international questions—the fruits of their efforts will appear in future panoramas of essays.

The 77-year-old Endre Illés, writer of short stories, plays, and essays, has published his essays as part of his collected works; by the way, these essays were almost as popular as his other literary works when they originally appeared in newspapers and magazines.

From his volumes of essays written in the last ten years the most important are: *Krétarajzok* (Chalk Drawings, 1970), about twentieth-century Hungarian writers, *Két oroszlán között* (Between Two Lions, 1973), which is a collection of his intellectual adventures in the realm of foreign literatures, and *A só íze* (The Taste of Salt, 1976), which contains reminiscences and portraits of past Hungarian writers, artists, scientists, craftsmen, dilettantes and plagiarists, colleagues and friends. He published another book in 1978: *Ostya nélkül* (Without Cachet), which includes his new short stories but its greater part consists of sketches and short literary portraits. Some of them lead the reader into the world of illusions, manias, and obsessions inhabited by his literary ancestors, and dead colleagues. This particular theme has continued to interest Endre Illés. His portrait of Zsigmond Kemény, the greatest Hungarian novelist of the nineteenth century, describes his compulsive greed for life and his melancholia. He sketches Elek Gozsdu's mysterious feeling of claustrophobia and his subsequent withdrawal to the provinces. He records the "weird irreality" of Viktor Cholnoky, whose short stories at the turn of the century made people's flesh creep with their ghostly atmosphere. He brings the pyrotechnics and role-playing of the secessionist romanticizing novelist and playwright Dezső Szomory to life. He describes Béla Bartók's frightening mania for neatness and tidiness, his self-tormenting punctiliousness (in connection with his correspondence). He commemorates one of the most famous inspirations of Hungarian poetry, Léda—Adél Brüll—to whom Endre Ady addressed some of his finest love poems; Illés still sees her in the 'thirties, sitting at a table of a pavement café "sunk in severe silence."

A glance into this most recent book by Illés shows that, although it contains several genres, Illés the essayist is best known to the Hungarian public as the writer of memorable literary portraits. He used to say that "chalk drawing" was a favourite pastime of his. "I love crumbling coloured chalk. I love the ease with which the chalk runs across the paper, I have called several of my writings chalk drawings because I wanted to convey the idea that I had not done my portraits with a cold etching needle but that I had drawn one line after another with a light chalk, and that I had thrown away many sheets before I was convinced that I had found the secret of my models."

This search for the secret of his models is undoubtedly Illés's primary concern. Writers and artists interest him because they have a "secret;" he might find them kindred spirits or find that their artistic make-up is the opposite of his own—in both cases they interest him. The portrait always reveals the artist's real character; Illés discards all irrelevancies and manages to pinpoint what is essential, even in the smallest anecdote. Well-known writers or those whose literary career was straightforward interest him less, although he has written a great deal about the novelist Zsigmond Móricz and the poet Attila József. If he evokes a classic or forgotten writer he is chiefly attracted by some irregularity, strangeness, latent defect, or tragic side in the make-up of his models. The blow-up and emphasis of these shortcomings gives stronger contours to his models and they thereby become memorable figures.

The elegance and fluency of Illés's essays

is impressive. He is neither overcomplicated nor artificial. His sequences of thought are crystal clear, they never depart from their predetermined course; their structure should be taught in school textbooks. His openings arouse attention: although not eye-catching in the style of advertisements, they produce a similar effect in their sober way. These introductory sentences vary according to the style employed: short sketches are introduced in a different way from longer works where he wishes to convey the idea that the actual opening is no more than just that, and that he will approach his goal from a variety of starting-points. His opening paragraphs may be almost colourless, uninteresting, and unremarkable if he wants us to believe that the introduction carries no weight because it will ebb followed by an extensive and careful literary analysis in the course of which he will identify himself with the work and author concerned. (Examples of this approach are his substantial essay on Stendhal, the opening of the Maupassant portrait, or the series of sketches on Zsigmond Móricz and Áron Tamási.)

These carefully selected introductions are then continued and stepped up masterfully. Illés lines up all the essential attributes, accumulated experience, a concise body of knowledge, and appropriate remarks, marshalls them together into one massive arch, or spreads them out like cards or dominoes, all depending on the essay's individual structure. His compositions are always maddeningly accurate and carefully worded.

He does not stifle his own ideas or strong visual associations; he follows them with sophisticated, conscious playfulness as long as they do not lure him into *l'art pour l'art* intellectual adventures which would distract his thoughts from their course. What he most detests is the affectation of literariness and arguing for the sake of arguing. He quotes Stendhal: "Only what is real is worth any effort in this world." Both his sketchy and extensive portraits are remarkably dramatic. All his writings are theatrically structured situations, and all his endings close or—in a distressing way—leave open some contradiction or conflict.

The ultimate objective of these essays is catharsis. Endre Illés has characterized them best in a few words in his thoughts on Paris: "I like the tension of the everyday. Tension makes me live; I escape into it from loss of vigour."

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The collection of literary essays, analyses, and critiques of the poet István Vas, born in 1910, appeared in 1979. István Vas is primarily a poet, so his lyrical works were the first to be published in the series of his works started in 1977. (*Ki mást se tud* [Who Doesn't Know Anything Else], poems 1930–1945; *Rapszódia a hűségről* [Rhapsody on Loyalty], poems 1945–1959; and *A tűzlopó* [The Stealer of Fire], poems 1960–1976.)

The books of essays *Tengerek nélkül* (Without Oceans) contains writings about Hungarian literature including five splendid analyses of poems and four poetic addresses. All the (mostly voluminous) essays in *Vonzások és választások* (Elective Affinities) prove the diversity of his interests and the wide scope of his activity as a literary translator. This volume contains his longest essays: on the poetry of Villon, the lyrical works of Saint-John Perse, on Apollinaire, on Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, and his remarks about such great novels as Goethe's *Elective Affinities* or Thackeray's *Henry Esmond*. The volume entitled *Körülbelül* (More or Less) contains his polemic writings, diary notes, addresses, his replies to a variety of inquiries including six very interesting and informal interviews given to different papers and media in the course of the last fifteen years. I also found my favourite in this book: *Látogatás a Russell Square-en* (Visit to Russell Square), a short but persuasive portrait of Eliot, the documentary notes *Irodalom és marxizmus* (Literature and Marxism) from 1946, a self-

analysis of 1969, *A versírásról* (On Writing Poems), and the *Mogorva jegyzetek* (Gruff Notes) also of 1969, written on the occasion of the American publication of the poems of László Mécs, a Hungarian Catholic priest and poet who died in 1978 and who was overwhelmingly successful in the 'thirties.

The characteristic note in the essays of Vas is his healthy self-irony. This quality stems from the same roots as his "shy, quick hellos" recorded in many of his verses. The same self-irony is released in the "unrestrained guffaw," whenever he hears "unwillingly flattering calumnies" about himself. It follows from his ability to "love in many directions" that in the essays which are emphatically personal he is rather severe with himself. On the other hand, the products of others are received by him with respectful attention and receptive openness. This rather irregular critical attitude also allows him to keep his unbiased poetic naiveté (actually, open-mindedness) in his essay writing. This basic attitude makes his firm judgemets definite and yet open to question. This elegant scepticism complements his vehemence with the calmness and convincing force of tolerant aloofness.

His ideas about reviewing should serve as guidelines for the profession. He explains that he only pays attention to those reviews in whose authors he finds "a sensual relationships with words." And he trusts only those critics who do not believe that the "destiny of literature is in the hands of critics," but who accept that "the destiny of criticism is in the hands of literature."

Of Saint-John Perse Vas says that in his verses he "is present incognito but not impersonally." This definition also applies to Vas's well-arranged, calmly argumentative reviews, whose language is as pure as the sequence of their ideas. His sentences seem to be dictated by a poetic personage who works incognito and does not push his ego to the foreground. Although not written about himself, the following statement applies to some of his own essays: "Greatness is not a superhuman miracle but the demonstration of what man can achieve."

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The 52-year-old Imre Szász, novelist, playwright, and translator of English prose, published the first collection of his book reviews and literary articles under the title *Háló nélkül* (Without a Net). In his generation there are still some whose reviews continue the likeable understatement practised by Illés and Vas, albeit in a different way. The preface in the book is serious and outspoken; besides, its criticism of Hungarian reviews in the papers of the 'seventies is well worth considering. According to Imre Szász the permanent task of criticism is to "follow the functioning of literature with attention—all literature—and to give as just, unbiased, and easily intelligible an opinion of individual works as possible." In another paragraph he states: "Reviews in newspapers should be unambiguous and tell us what the book is about; the assessment should also be addressed to the writer not only to the reader."

These demands do not seem to be unrealistic. But if this is so, why don't we do anything about it?—asks Szász. Why do professional critics concentrate on well-tested writers and their works? Why do they run one lap of honour after another? Why do they serve as amplifiers to noisy groups who produce but little? Why do they leave most works unattended and unassessed? How can they tolerate "a bad writer remaining a bad writer here whatever good works he may have written"? Why do they prefer to write in a professional jargon, why do they write mainly for themselves? Why are they unable to strike a normal, human note which is neither polite evasion nor apologia nor unqualified denunciation?

Certainly not because somebody "up there,"—either literary policy-maker or chief ideologist—expects it of anybody. It is

likely that practising literary critics do not keep silent (and prevaricate) so much because they are cowards but rather because they are aristocratic. Instead of fulfilling their duty to the best of their abilities they prefer to follow their own ambitions; instead of giving their own personal and independent opinion they prefer to talk aesthetics, history, theorize, generalize, and polemicize. Luckily there appear from time to time older and younger writers who are concerned with live literature, and interest themselves in the products of their colleagues. If editors request, they are willing to review (from within, not from a safe bird's-eye view) the changes on the literary scene on the basis of published works and the whole evolution of the literary process.

Imre Szász performed this task in *The New Hungarian Quarterly* between 1968 and 1970; more recently he has been working for Hungarian dailies and weeklies. He has been doing it for the last twelve years: I think he is tops. I ought to add, I have reviewed almost the same books as he. Sometimes my criticisms were longer, more meditative, and more analytical but I am not ashamed to admit that his newspaper reviews of 3 to 4 pages which included information about the work's content have always told me something important which I was not sensitive enough to perceive.

Szász is not one of those open-minded critics who pay heed to every slight nuance and understand all the ambitions and manias of writers. On the contrary: he not only admits but perhaps overemphasizes his inclination to limit and select. This comes from his English training (his down-to-earthness, as he likes to say self-ironically). He has never denied that he was deaf to such things as prose built up on a joke, lyricizing, exaggerated experimenting, bravura of style, or the juggling with structure, the ecstasy of writing, unnecessary complexity, point-making jokes, impassive narration, mechanical dialoguing, flat behaviourist generalizations, the formulation of theses, modelling, and affected playfulness—regardless of whoever committed these crimes. He did not shy away from reproaching their slips and mannerisms to such well-known writers as Gyula Hernádi, Miklós Mészöly, György Moldova, Magda Szabó, Endre Fejes—neither does he spare young writers.

Szász does not criticize because he wants to provoke or challenge people regardless of rank and personality. His simple reason is that he does not conceal his impressions as a reader. He does not nourish the illusion that his few lines of criticism will topple the literary Parnassus and change the scale of values. Neither does he deny that he has his favourites: Magda Szabó, Endre Fejes, György Moldova—the same writers whom he criticizes. And Tibor Déry, István Örkény, Endre Illés, Iván Mándy, József Lengyel, Géza Ottlik, Endre Vészi, and Ferenc Karinthy. This varied list demonstrates that, regardless of his reservations, the Hungarian literature of the seventies has not only brought Imre Szász irritation (a rather often-used word of his) but also joy. His fine distinctions make his enthusiasms authentic. His characterizations are pertinent, never affected or contrived. About György Konrád's novel: "A brilliant, perceptive, and clever style but the ecstasy of writing sometimes smuggles in indulgent frills. We would not notice them in any other novel but in 'The Caseworker' they irritate us. And this is no small praise."

The personal note in his writings contributes to making them convincing. The sight of a piece of paper does not upset his sobriety; he does not become transcendental, declarative, abstract, or artificial simply because he is putting his thoughts on paper.

The best three writings in the volume are three longish essays on *Moby Dick* (he did the first complete Hungarian translation), Emily Brontë, and Hemingway—the latter is the ideal of Imre Szász the novelist. He writes about them from the angle of the practising prose-writer but interested readers can also learn from these writings. In them

Szász does not conceal his admiration or envy and rarely his irritation. Elsewhere he warns his fellow-writers of the dangers of pseudo-naturalism, imitation of the *nouveau roman* and neo-romantism.

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Miklós Mészöly's essays are less directly related to definite themes, writers, books, or works of art. He is concerned with broader, more general subjects. He approaches them with a very specific recurrent sequence of thought. His novels are also characterized by a sort of obstinate marking of time, by the very deep yet ambiguous exposition of their subject which is concrete and abstract at the same time. His novel *Az atléta halála* (Death of the Athlete, 1966, second edition 1977) is well-known and much debated; so is the excellent *Saulus* (1968, resp. 1975) and *Film* (1976); the latter is a fine summing-up of the writer's new, mosaic-like compositional technique and his detailed observations of life. His shorter works also merit attention: *Pontos történetek útközben* (Accurate Stories along the Way, 1970, 1977) with its micro-realistic perceptions, and *Alakulások* (Formations, 1975) which soon followed his more traditional, well-rounded stories: *Sötét jelek* (Dark Signs, 1957), *Jelentés öt egérről* (Report on Five Mice, 1967).

His small volume of essays demonstrates his careful approach to writing, his infinite intellectual patience and his urge to interpret the world responsibly—all of them are thought experiments in the strict sense of the word. It is not always a joy to read them: they lack the broad sweep, they are fragmentary like mosaics, they are difficult to follow. For the intellectual background to these writings we should perhaps turn back to Montaigne, Pascal, Nietzsche, and Schopenhauer.

A tágasság iskolája (The School of Spaciousness) appeared in 1977. Its contents belie its title. In none of these writings do we feel any spaciousness in the world they create. The artist, i.e. the author himself, plays the central role: he meditates on the questions of life, and is so absorbed by the tormenting search for his (artistic) identity, his creative mission that he is almost incapable of talking of anything else.

The essay which gives the book its title promises the reader a discourse on falconry. In the first few pages this promise seems on the way to being fulfilled but soon we come across sentences which have nothing to do with falconry but reflect on the thought-processes of a person who makes notes about falconry, somebody "who experiences the process which is not really a process but rather the connecting of beginning and end." After declarations like these, one of many in the volume, many things could follow. We read a deep analysis on the similarities and differences between science and art. Both scholars and artists frequent the school of spaciousness, and both disciplines involve a general feeling which can only be analysed as long as it is contending with a sort of defect.

The author—a graduate of Camus's existentialist school—contends with this defect, with the insufficiencies, obscurities, anxieties, and fleeting dangers that prevail in all fields of life and art. His most tormenting occupation is struggle, intellectual stone-rolling in the fashion of Sisyphus. The final goal of his meditations (worded like convulsive lightning-like aphorisms in the most unexpected places) is always some impossible self-destructive idea, a challenging contradiction, some final truth and its logical consequence, the expression of silence.

Miklós Mészölys' readers must be prepared for seemingly absurd conclusions and irrational expectations. He said of the runner, the hero of "Death of the Athlete": "he would have to overtake himself, try to coincide." His final conclusion about social and artistic avant-gardism promises more but ends with the same trick: "Avant-gardism, in the sense described above, is the affirmation of creative death, the justifica-

tion, hastening, and challenging of the possibility of transcending ourselves." If we follow similar statements we might be sufficiently malicious to wonder why this writer writes at all. Why does he not choose meditation instead? However, from time to time, this tormenting intellectual struggle, this thinker's drama has poignancy: Mészöly struggles to write things down which cannot be expressed in words. The few of his essays which are not fragments demonstrate what heights the essayist can attain if he finds himself a topic worthy of meditation and analysis. (Incidentally: Mészöly's innovative strivings, after protracted experimenting, culminated in *Film* and, earlier, in *Saulus*, the latter being a poignant and unsettling account of the conversion of Saulus; its message is more general than the story itself.)

The book contains an essay written in 1974: *A kiközösítés ürügyei* (The pretexts of excommunication). This sums up all the philosophical, sociological, and psychological knowledge, human insight, and high standards of humanity which are at the basis of this splendid literary and philosophical world built on fragments. Under the pretext of writing about Peter Fleischmann's film *Hunting Scenes in Lower Bavaria* he exposes the mechanisms of scapegoat hunting. We follow with tense attention the evolution of the mythology of self-justification and self-absolution—by the way this is the same theme (Fascism) which Mészöly was unable to grasp and make convincing in his essay *Háború és irodalom* (War and literature) written in 1970.

The unfathomable experience of life which Mészöly wants to grasp, whether in *Esély és kockázat* (Chance and risk) or *Író és felelősség* (Writer and responsibility) or *Munka közben* (During work) supplied him with witty but perturbingly multi-faceted self-destructive aphorisms. It seems that he really believes what he sets himself as a requirement: "everything must be written in its own language." But only exceptional poets, musicians, and artists are able to do this and least of all thinkers who look for unambiguity in conceptual spheres.

Mészöly tries to approach what can only be grasped intuitively by rational means. What he said of Camus in an interview also applies to him: "His compulsive serenity indicates the toughest mildness, the acceptance of rational absurdity."

The second half of the book consists of *Érintések* (Touches) not yet arranged into essays. They are actually notes and reflections written between 1942 and 1975. There are also short-story themes in one sentence. The attitude is the same as in Mészöly's longer writings. He himself said of this mysteriously deep-digging, hunting attitude: "With the drive to catch things in the act we compensate ourselves for the friendlier world which we have forsaken for a hostile one."

ZOLTÁN ISZLAI

NEW VOLUMES OF POETRY

György Somlyó: ***Arion éneke*** (Arion's Song) — ***Kőkörök*** (Stone Circles). Collected poems I, 1937–1976, 501 pp., II. 1942–1976, 306 pp., Szépirodalmi, 1978; András Fodor: ***Kélt újra jel*** (A Sign has Risen Again). Selected poems, 1947–1977, Szépirodalmi, 1979, 515 pp., Kornél Döbrentei: ***Szökőév*** (Leap Year), Magvető, 1979, 78 pp.

The title of one of Stephen Spender's well known poems, *June, 1940*, refers to a grave and decisive moment in European history. By way of a contrast to the title, the first lines speak with an elegiac solemnity about Nature's calm beauties and unwavering security, only to add even greater emphasis by suddenly alluding to the "grey first war Voices," to the increasingly ragged account of the horrors of war and the desperate strategic situation. Spender was 31 when he wrote this poem, he could look back on several published volumes and on a whole literary period—with Auden already having left for America.

That period gave rise to other *June, 1940*s too, with certain variations, of course. The Hungarian version was written in Budapest by the then 19-year-old György Somlyó, who entitled his poem *1 September, 1939*. It was to appear in his first volume. The poem consists of two sonnets, and is characterized by a perfect artistry, even though the school in which he had been reared, the best Parnassian tradition, coloured by a certain amount of romantic pathos, can still be felt in it. In Spender's poem there is a shift of tone, in Somlyó's there is none. The tone of the two sonnets remains harmonious throughout. This harmony virtually resolves dread. Like several of his older colleagues of Spender's generation, the young Somlyó wanted to write very beautiful, finely wrought verse, in sonnet form or antique metre. The poets who felt they were sentenced to death, wanted to write uncomplaining poems in that style, conceived in the spirit of *sub specie aeternitatis*, out of traditionalism, defiance, refinement. ("Just keep on walking, you who are condemned to die," wrote Miklós Radnóti in 1936, who was to be killed by the fascists in 1945.) Somlyó's poem, *1 September, 1939* was also conceived in this spirit. Autumn, at least, survives, and autumn, at least, wins a victory.

War was an immediate experience for the young György Somlyó. And it also formed the background and source for his poetry. He spoke relatively rarely about it openly (for example in his mediocre volume, *Confession about Peace* (1952) but it kept recurring in some images, references and half-sentences even decades later, and always with great emphasis.

Part of his background is provided by the war, the other part by paternal inheritance. György Somlyó was the son of Zoltán Somlyó, one of the good "minor" poets of the Hungarian literary renewal of the beginning of the century. At one place he writes that he became a poet in a way as "in olden times a craftsman succeeded to his father's workshop as a matter of course".

Life did not stop either in 1939 or in 1945, and Somlyó fortunately belonged to those whose death sentence had not been carried out. After the war he took a deep breath and plunged right into travel, friendship, love, work, poetry. The first decade was characterized by a certain naivity, but the age of credulity did not last for ever with Somlyó, as one of his critics put it, adding that despite all appearances, he was not born with a finished command of form, but acquired it after many years of hard work

and as a result of his many-layered literary translations.

The critic correctly sees the turn in his cycle of poems, *In the Choukoutien Cave* (1957). In the cave where the 50,000 year old bones of Peking Man were found, the poet reflects on the chances and fate of his future son, opposing them to his own destiny and to the things he sees in the cave. The motto of the poem comes from Teilhard de Chardin's thought that it is enough to solve man, the universe will solve itself. The closing movement of the poem (or rather cycle) concludes with an allusion to Béla Bartók's *Miraculous Mandarin* (I quote it in prose):

"...you will not pass on from here (until, like the Miraculous Mandarin) you are resurrected again and again by desire..."

In the Choukoutien Cave made Somlyó a really interesting poet. It was since then that his imposingly profuse work as an essayist and literary translator has been bearing interest. Some of his essays are straightforward essays, such as those on Rimbaud, Éluard, Pessoa, and on a number of Hungarian poets, while others take the form of sonnets. In 1956 he published dozens of his sonnets on poets, artists, musicians, and works, including Dante, Mozart, Hikmet, Picasso, the Communist Manifesto, Rimbaud, and Yehudi Menuhin, all under the title, *Talisman*. The best of them is perhaps the Éluard sonnet, which is one of the most apt appreciations of the French poet. It is surely no accident that Somlyó is one of Éluard's best and most ardent Hungarian translators. His career as a literary translator started with a rendition of a volume of Scottish ballads, which was followed by the first major Hungarian selection of poems by Valéry. Then came translations of Aragon and Hikmet, Racine and Lamartine, Guillevic (who has translated Somlyó's poems into French), Neruda and Gide, Alberti, Salinas, Pessoa—to list only some of the names of those whose poems, plays or novels he has translated in one or several volumes. Let me just add his many beautiful Cavafy translations and the anthology introducing French poetry of the 'fifties and 'sixties.

I feel the two volumes *Tales Against the Tale* (1967 and 1971) to be the peak of Somlyó's œuvre so far (he published his first novel in 1977). These pieces of free verse, called tales, are about history, love, the various forms and modes of affection, sexuality, friendship, variations on loneliness, and the secrets and contingencies of existence. And also about relativity, about "the horse chestnut," about rain and wind, about chance and about Paris. And again about the problems of expression and about poetry. I quote one of his short tales, which will say more than any interpretation might do about the experiences and attainments of the mature poet. It is the *Tale about the Poem.*

"It is good to write a poem because in it one can be good with impunity."

"One can even feel oneself to be a saint without getting crucified."

Let me also quote, without any comment, the last strophe—so characteristic of Somlyó—of the *Second Tale on History:*

"Do you want me to know who you are? Do you want to know who you are? Tell me, can you imagine that man might be happy?"

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Somlyó studied at the Sorbonne after the war. András Fodor, from south-west Hungary, studied at the Budapest Eötvös College, which was formed on the model of the École Normale Supérieure. And, as Fodor has said in one of his critiques, the two of them are linked by their love of the Balaton region and their passion for seeking friendships in poetry, through poetry. Still, it is their differences which are essential: Somlyó was mainly reared on French, and Fodor on English culture, and on modern music; Somlyó was the son of a Budapest poet par excellence, and Fodor of a village railwayman.

In 1975, Fodor published a richly documented book on Stravinsky, written with passionate love. But his no less passionate love for the other great alternative, Schoenberg, can also be felt in every line. It also becomes clear from the book that he has no less liking for Bartók, the third alternative, either. (Incidentally, he has recently brought together his writings on Bartók, dating from different periods, into one single volume.) The book can be traced back to a poem of two decades earlier, *Concert in Paris*, in which he wrote about Stravinsky and (partly) Schoenberg. The Stravinsky volume is a good example of the unity of decades of maturing, learning and fidelity. Fidelity anyway is one of the decisive features of Fodor's Stravinsky book, his literary criticisms and, above all, of his poetry. It is not a rigid fidelity but one which is constantly enriched by greater maturity and understanding.

As a student at the Eötvös College, Fodor made a life-long friendship with the British musicologist, Colin Mason. He has mentioned his name in dozens of poems, and dedicated his volume of verse, *Seas, Hills* (1961), which record his memories of France, to him. After Colin Mason's death he bade him farewell in the volume *Double Requiem* (1972). The other person for whom he mourns in the volume is Lajos Fülep, the eminent art historian, the educator of virtually a whole generation of Hungarian intellectuals.

Another side of Fodor's fidelity links him to Auden. In his Stravinsky volume he quotes the composer as saying that he had learned more from Auden than from anyone else. In the postscript to the first Hungarian selection of his poems Fodor quotes Auden's words that he would like to be some kind of a minor Atlantic Goethe. But he had his really great Auden experience at the beginning of his career, and this is how he remembers it in one of his writings:

"Having soon become familiar with the tricks of the poetic trade, all the important part voices of contemporary Hungarian lyrics, I suddenly felt that the tone that would liberate the innermost propensities for expression from my pen, was missing. I would have liked to speak more openly and crudely as compared to the examples I had experienced, giving rank to every triviality, from tying up your shoe-lace to reflections emerging while you are clipping your nails. I tried to seize the stammer, the pert naturalness of the conception of thought. My poet-teacher watched the frivolous directness of my poems written around that time, the deliberate undertaking of unpretending drabness, with growing, and certainly justified anxiety. Then it happened that... I came across two poems by Auden... From their grating rhymes, their slovenly didactic sayings, I felt the fresh air of challenging courage."

Did Auden exert an influence on Fodor? In a variation of what Valéry has said, I would rather say that his reading of Auden had its consequences. He undertook—not without detours—his own self, his seeming or possible weaknesses. Because, after all, that confident speech, the resolution, that new type of simplicity and seriousness which characterize András Fodor's best poems, and which tell him apart from his colleagues, were initiated by Auden. In vain does Fodor write a poem about Rimbaud, and in vain does he recall in prose, too, his reading of Rimbaud: his poetry does not belong to Rimbaud's sphere of radiation. He is a poet whose effect does not lie in his pictures and metaphores, but in his memories, stories, reasonings, knowledge, and craving for knowledge. One of his poems is entitled *Child's Crying*. It opens as follows (I quote it in prose):

"What does the little child dream
that it wakes up crying every dawn?"

Then in a few lines he lists the possible reasons. Then the main motif starts again with a new variation (prose quotation):

"But every question distorts reality.
When I awake to crying every morning,
through the thorns of anguish, too,
the grace of joy stumbles along:
somebody is here, waiting for our care..."

This is followed by a few short lines about maternal responsibility being the greatest pleasure. Then the main motif begins again, for the third time, in yet another variant: the poet is painfully aware of the fact that this screaming child's complaint will come to an end: "this, too, will vanish one day."

I was hesitant about quoting from this poem. Because Fodor in actual fact is one of those poets who cannot be quoted. The Matthew Arnold method is no good in his case.

Fodor himself formulated the character, themes and meaning of his poetry in his above quoted essay, *Encounters with Auden*, in 1967: "A couple of years ago, in connection with my latest volume, I said that the majority of poems are occasioned by friendship, have a pretext of seeking or dissolving relationships, have a recipient. One of my critics anxiously registers this privatization. What would he say about Auden's 1966 volume *About the House?* Almost all the poems bear a dedication, an occasional reference, and indeed, even in the sense as openly stated by one of the titles: "For Friends Only." What has happened to the poet who even according to his sharpest critics has always lived in the tension of space and time? Has his horizon become narrowed down? Have his messages of universal validity run dry? Hardly so. Only instead of the illusions of a pathos embracing heaven and earth, he seeks value where it is still to be found: in the strength of relationships, of friendships, of love, of small communities, in the humanizing material world of the landscape, of the home."

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Kornél Döbrentei's work so far constitutes of two slim volumes: *In the Sign of the Scorpion* (1972) and *Leap Year* (1979). This is what he has to say about his literary career on the blurb of his first volume:

"My elder brother died when he was three months old, because in the war-ravaged country the medicine which could have saved him was not available. My mother lost weight, she kept wasting away, in a matter of weeks she was a shadow of her former self. Then a doctor told my father, 'You must arouse her maternal instincts'.

"I was born on November 3, 1946, in the house where I am still living. I was brought up among hard men, who had the strength to fight to the last moment of life.

"My 'first creative moment' which I lived through unconsciously at my birth, when I participated in my mother's resurrection, determined my path. I take my dead brother along with me on that path.

"The 'will never to surrender' instilled in my blood by my father, and every compelling resurrection while sailing on the open sea and in work—have been the daily tests of my life. But the greatest test is the poem itself!"

To the best of my knowledge Döbrentei is the first Hungarian poet whose occupation is that of seaman, serving with the Hungarian merchant fleet.* His unexpected associations, some enigmatic images are clearly explained to a certain extent by this. He has a stock of experiences that are unfamiliar to his readers. Seas, landscapes and customs emerge in his poems in the wake of certain allusions, some metaphors. But since Döbrentei writes neither a diary nor descriptive poetry, these far-away things are not isolated in unified blocks in his poems but merge into old childhood memories, becoming absorbed in the mother figures and old loves, and in things heard about the war. One of the characteristic features of his poetry is that it is built up on lines and motifs in certain poets (mainly

* In spite of being landlocked, Hungary does possess a small merchant fleet. It is run by Mahart and its home port is Trieste. (Ed.)

Hungarians) and folk tale elements, and he constructs his own poem by transforming these lines and motifs. This transformation is often conceptual and discursive, and at other times merely metaphorical, using the technique of surrealism. This is how the seven-leagued boots of the folk tale, for example, turn into "seven-leagued tale". Combinations like "the garden showers nuts and blasphemies" are typical of his poems. In the original his vocabulary comprises religious, military and nature terminology and also jargon. In the absence of adequate translations, little more can be said about him today; anyway, I wanted to register the emergence of a poet of a high order, and, in places, of amazing force.

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

POET AND TRANSLATOR

László Rónay: *Devecseri Gábor* — Arcok és vallomások (Portraits and Statements), Szépirodalmi, Budapest 1979. 296 pp

Gábor Devecseri the poet whose greatest work was to do the impossible, adequately translating the ancient source of the mainstream of the poetry of mankind into his own idiom, contemporary Hungarian, spoken by not many more than a dozen million natives and, as a second language, by an aging and dwindling band of survivors from the time when it was the lingua franca of the plains and highlands flanking the middle Danube, is caught in a vice from which there is no escape. It is hard enough to show that a poet writing in Hungarian is great, it seems impossible to demonstrate, in another language, the qualities of a translation into Hungarian.

Devecseri's greatness as a translator was due largely to his running counter to the priorities as established by conventional Hungarian wisdom. If the best classical scholars can be said to be the native speakers of the ancient languages then Devecseri certainly had a native's knowledge of Homeric Greek. His relationship to the text was direct, he used dictionaries as an Englishman might use a Shakespearean glossary. Devecseri may not have contributed to Homeric scholarship but he knew more than enough to form his own judgement where the authorities disagreed besides having the Hungarians' advantage of reading all the major languages of scholarship without a native's bias in favour of one or the other.

His status as a poet in his own right is far from clear. Printed opinions by Antal Szerb, László Bóka and Sándor Weöres long before Devecseri became a power in literary life, and long before it became a convention to treat established writers as sacred cows, suggest that he was a much better poet than his detractors allege. It is true on the other hand that he has not published poems of sufficient weight and depth to counterbalance much sentimental mediocre stuff or to make one forget his poems of the early fifties equally offensive to the ear, the mind, and the heart which, unfortunately for Devecseri, proved highly memorable. It is one of the merits of László Rónay's brief and bountifully illustrated account that it does not side-step touchy aspects of Devecseri's life and work. Rónay tackles them straight on, showing both tact and fairness. In any event it is abundantly clear that Devecseri was not a poet translating as a side-line, as a certain theory of translation would require him to be, that, on the con-

trary, his translations of Homer, Catull, Plautus, Aristophanes, etc. etc., and particularly his complete Homer, were central to his work, making his undoubted skills and qualities as a poet apparent even to those who would deny them to his own verse.

Last, but certainly not least, there was no "this will do" about a Devecseri translation, no acceptance of an inaccuracy as "unimportant." Rónay tells stories that have become part of the lore of Hungarian printers. Every new printing of his best-selling translations contained many more amendments than necessary to qualify as a new edition; most of whatever fee accrued was however squandered on expensive author's corrections. He fought his way past officials and proof-readers and tackled type-setters and compositors in person, sometimes even invading the machine room to carry out a last minute correction.

It has been said that Devecseri's Homer is outstanding not only amongst Hungarian translations but amongst modern translations of Homer as such. There he enjoyed a huge advantage thanks to his native language. Hungarian is, like ancient Greek and Latin, but unlike their modern successors, a quantitative language. Verse can be written in it based on a pattern of long and short vowels, it can reproduce the measures of Homer and Virgil as modern Greek or Italian, let alone English, cannot. But Devecseri went further than that, to describe what he did I cannot do better than translate what Rónay quotes from József Révay's notice of Devecseri's translation of the Iliad: "It was not only the creation of a new Hungarian Homeric language that separates Devecseri from earlier translators but also the sounding of a truly Hungarian Homeric hexameter. True enough, Vályi Nagy, Szabó, Kemenes Kempf and Thewrewk had translated into hexameters, but their hexameters were based on Vergil's and Vörösmarty's conventions of versification, the Homeric hexameter on the other hand is more relaxed and graceful than Virgil's, and therefore more colourful and savoury: it contains many more dactyls and far fewer spondees, including many purely dactylic seventeen syllable lines. Devecseri versifies with astounding facility, purely dactylic lines scintillate from his pen; he pours forth dactyls in splendid plenty and playful magnificence. One consequence is that his lines swing Homerically, they are fresh and rhythmic and extravagantly rich in sound, the other that the larger number of syllables permits the use of more relaxed, more broadly analytical, stylistic elements (long and composite words, permanent adjectives and epithets, etc.), in other words it permits the creation of a genuine Hungarian Homeric style."

In the autumn of 1970, before he turned 54, Gábor Devecseri was admitted to hospital for exploratory surgery. His belly was carved up—to use his own words—he was sewn up again, and those close to him were warned to hurry if they wanted to see him alive. He lived another nine months, true enough in hospital, but they were highly productive months nevertheless, writing verse, dictating memoirs and essays, correcting translations; months of lively social intercourse as well.

People did not come to bid a last guilty farewell to a neglected friend, they made a pilgrimage to the Buda hills to see with their own eyes what all Budapest was talking about: Devecseri, who had been on his deathbed was sitting up working, telling stories, being kind to friends who came to him with their troubles.

Of course the miracle could not last, that is if it had lasted much longer it could only have been a genuine miracle. While his spirits stayed high, his strength waned, his weight went down and his belly grew enormous. He was allowed home for an afternoon, to entertain Robert Graves in his garden, and he lost his balance, just walking, not being used to the new location of his specific gravity. He died on July 31st 1971. His last months and the manner of his dying became as much a part of his legend as Missolonghi is of Byron's.

Rónay's book is what Hungary calls *köz-művelődés* and Unesco access to culture in the best sense of the term. Thanks to his judicious, soundly researched and well-written account not only the poet and translator but also Devecseri the man and the true legend, the verse-reciter of prodigious memory, the loyal friend who was true to all the women he loved will not die with the friends who will always remember him.

RUDOLF FISCHER

THE HUMAN FACE OF SCIENCE

Scientists Face to Face. Edited by István Kardos. Corvina, Budapest, 1978. 400 pp. In English.

Early subject specialization was a peculiar feature of my English grammar school. Pupils were actively encouraged to lean towards either the "arts" or the "sciences," and by the age of sixteen, having dropped subjects left, right, and centre, we found ourselves with a core of three, maybe four subjects, clearly belonging to one or the other of C. P. Snow's famous two cultures. Thus it was that the torments of physics and chemistry, of iron filings and Bunsen burners, came to a perhaps premature but nonetheless distinctly merciful end for me at the age of fourteen. With maths I had to struggle on for a further two years, since it was a university entrance requirement. At no stage did I have the slightest inkling of what these subjects were about, why they were being taught, and what their cosmic relevance was. I now catch myself blaming in turn my teachers, their teaching methods, or my genes for this appalling lacuna in my education. But the sad tale has its redeeming features. The whole mysterious world of the sciences has since then become a source of fascination and wonder to me. For research scientists I have an automatic and instant respect. The more abstract and unintelligible their field of research, the greater the awe in which I hold them. Names like Dirac, Schrödinger, Fermi, and Born conjure up a world of intellectual heroes for me.

It doesn't just stop there, either. I attempt to re-educate myself by a desultory reading of Asimov's voluminous tomes on sciences for the layman, a teach-yourself book on physics, perhaps, an explanation of Einstein's theory of relativity for idiots, or a book by Heisenberg on the philosophical implications of quantum mechanics, and though I understand but little of what I read, I do at least now appreciate the cosmic relevance of science. And the fascination remains undented. It's a recurrent day-dream of mine that one day I shall, by some sudden and inexplicable late flowering of genius, myself join the ranks of the great men of science. My favourite fantasy involves the definitive formulation of a unified field theory, something I gather eluded even Einstein to the day of his death.

The latest stage in my amateur Odyssey through the world of science is this collection of eighteen interviews with eminent Hungarian scientists. Originally broadcast on Hungarian television, it now appears in English with an introduction by the interviewer, István Kardos. The intention of the TV series was, in the words of Kardos, "to provide information about major scientific achievements in a language that would be easily accessible and would, therefore, make the learning process more enjoyable... We wanted the viewers to appreciate the scientists as individuals, to share in their thoughts and ideas about their work."

With but one exception, the scientists in question were of the generation born around the turn of the century. Their formative years spanned a period of great upheaval in Central Europe, the years between 1910 and 1930, which were marked in Hungary by war, revolution, and reaction. Their most productive years were then spent during the rise of Fascism, again war, and then cold war. Their biographies reflect these vicissitudes in full measure. Theirs were colourful lives, full of travel, uncertainty and, in some cases, high adventure. The story of Albert Szent-Györgyi's mission in 1944 to Istanbul to establish contact with the British and initiate moves (with the support of Miklós Kállay, the Prime Minister at the time) towards Hungary's withdrawal from the war, for example, reads like a thriller, and his tribulations subsequent to the Gestapo's discovery of his intelligence activities after his return are more reminiscent of farce, as the following escapade shows: "On one occasion when I wanted to go to Budapest I notified them and asked permission to travel. They said I could go. Only subsequently did I learn that I was to be met by the secret police at the railway station. I was spared this by sheer chance. My son-in-law came to see me just before I was due to leave, and suggested that I should not travel by train. He offered to give me a lift in his car. We had only just set off when a German patrol unit arrived at my place to arrest me. The leader of the patrol was disguised as a woman, for I was supposed to be very friendly with the ladies and it was therefore assumed that I would not shoot immediately. In those days you lived with your finger on the trigger. I got to Budapest and went to my son-in-law's house. Shortly after my arrival my sister-in-law telephoned to say that the police had been to her house, believing that I was going to stay there. They had arrested her father instead of me; they actually mistook him for me. I saw that the situation was very serious. I had to go underground, which was exciting but very uncomfortable, for I never knew what was going to happen next."

No less extraordinary is the story of the cartographer Sándor Radó's activities as head of a Soviet intelligence group in Switzerland during the war.

But there is another, even more striking, biographical factor common to these "grand old men" of Hungarian science. This is their cosmopolitanism. Force of circumstance (many were persecuted for their political views, many were Jews) and Hungary's inability to absorb its wealth of native talent only partly account for this. Although only five of them are expatriates in the sense that they have taken up permanent residence abroad (among them the three Nobel Prize winners, biochemist Albert Szent-Györgyi, physicist Eugene Wigner, and Dennis Gabor, the inventor of the holograph), they have all spent extensive periods abroad, either studying or engaged in research work. To them, a mastery of several foreign languages is as natural a cultural attribute as a knowledge of the three Rs. And for them, the university retains its original medieval significance as a truly universal and international seat of learning. It strikes me that the much-vaunted achievements of modern communications technology and the shrinking of distances has paradoxically led to a narrowing of perspectives and greater, not less, insularity. Universalism is giving way to a functional and provincial view of university education. Those who pay the piper are, perhaps justifiably enough, calling the tune, but too often this rings of a too narrowly conceived social accountability, of training for professional roles, and of a type of specialism which, I am convinced, would find little favour with these specialists par excellence.

Reading these interviews, I am impressed time and again by the breadth of culture possessed by these men. They have all achieved great things in their own highly specialized fields, yet they have the ability to talk of their work, their varied interests

and views on the world with, as István Kardos puts it in his introduction, "the intellectual clarity found in the works of the best writers." Mór Korach, a chemical engineer, mentions that Leonardo da Vinci was his childhood hero, and that the Marxist humanist ideal of the fully developed personality, the abolition of "estrangement or alienation from human completeness," was at the root of his lifelong commitment to socialism. Whilst accepting that Renaissance man of Leonardo's stature may never be reborn, he goes on the say: "I do not believe in being too one-sided. Specialization is a necessity, no doubt, but it is equally a necessity that every specialist should be an individual well versed in general subjects, especially the humanities. I am certain that only the man who is capable of relating to his own specialized field a knowledge of seemingly remote studies can produce original and creative work." Korach's own life, like so many of those described here, is a prime example of this striving for universality. In Italy, where he had gone to study in the twenties, he had time not only to involve himself heavily in left-wing politics, to translate works of German literature ranging from Goethe to Werfel into his adopted language of Italian, but also to contribute original work to ceramic technology—this latter being, so to speak, his claim to fame. Gyula László is unable to say whether he sees himself primarily as an archaeologist, an art historian or, indeed, as a practising artist: "My inclinations alternate like the flow of an intermittent stream: while one is active, the other is gathering force, so that when my interest in the one begins to flag, the other is renewed."

Every page of this book gives the practical lie to the conclusions some people drew from C. P. Snow's theory of the two cultures, a theory which, in my experience, is accepted in Britain as a truth as general and obvious as, let's say, Parkinson's law. Now the thought that the world of knowledge is being slowly split into two hemispheres, unintelligible and possibly even hostile to each other, might be particularly convincing to an Englishman, and not only because of the early specialization in schools already mentioned. There is also the British empirical tradition. The methods that validate scientific discovery, i.e. testing against experience, are not held to be generally applicable outside what are properly known as the *natural* sciences. This is reflected, of course, in the use of the word "science." Thus, orientalists, architects, and engineers, all of whom are represented in this book, are not, strictly speaking, "scientists" at all (there is no good all-purpose word to cover the *tudós* of the Hungarian title). It also makes it especially tempting to think that natural scientists are indeed members of a different culture, almost of a different planet. The truth seems rather to be that incomprehensibility engendered by specialization is not just a matter affecting those on opposing sides of the arts/sciences divide, but rather also those within what is customarily considered to be a single discipline, be it physics, economics, or sociology. Thus the mathematician György Alexits: "...it may very well come about that two mathematicians, outstanding in their respective fields, do not understand each other. Perhaps I show you a Springer catalogue. This, as you see, mentions a book called "$\Gamma_4 = 0$." Frankly, I not only do not understand what it means, but I would not even know that it is about mathematics had it not been listed with the other books on mathematics." This thought is echoed by Eugene Wigner, when he says: "I myself knew a much larger proportion of the field of physics thirty years ago than I do today."

But not one of these scientists allows this growing complexity to cast him into despair. They all maintain an optimistic belief in the intellectual cohesion and human relevance of their work. It is the value of books like this, as of all popularizations (in the original and best sense of the word) of science, that they act against a growing sense of alienation

from scientific progress, against what you might call scientific sectarianism. The very existence in the English language of the phrase "to blind with science" is an indication of how far this process has gone. Albert Einstein was able to formulate the essence of his theories with his famous "thought problems," and thus communicate knowledge in a jargon-free language conducive to enlightenment rather than to obfuscation.

All the contributors to this book stress that man is at the centre of all scientific concerns, however abstract they may appear to be. This is repeatedly demonstrated by the very human dilemmas with which scientific discovery confronts society: nuclear energy and the agonizing questions posed by its exploitation (after the often violent clashes over nuclear power programmes in Western Europe, it now seems ironic that any type of exploitation other than military was once automatically assumed to be "peaceful"), genetic engineering, medical transplant technology and the like. The sheer complexity of the problems raised has led to a neo-Luddite distrust of science and all its works, an apocalyptic sense of impending technological doom and, in the West, a rebirth of irrationality and cultural pessimism which Dennis Gabor, for one, sees it as his main task to combat. With his book *Inventing the Future* he wants to "infuse some hope into mankind." Science, in the physicist György Marx's words, is not just "a private affair of scientists, but ... also belongs to society: it is a social undertaking and of public concern." It is all to easy to place the blame for the evil application of scientific discoveries on the scientists themselves. It was surely the failure of society as a whole to shoulder the moral responsibility which made it possible for Gabor to make the following observation, for me by far the saddest lines in the book: "I knew Max Born, and I knew that he felt guilty for having helped to bring the atom bomb into existence by discovering the fundamental law of quantum mechanics." How tragic that a man should ever feel guilt for having extended knowledge.

I have attempted to reproduce only a fraction of the thoughts provoked by this book. The very breadth of the range of material covered makes it difficult to do more. Although it is sometimes heavy going, and only minimum concessions are made to the lay reader—notably in the interview with the mathematician Kornél Lánczos—it is never dull, for the didactic intent behind the original TV series is always leavened by the biographical context in which it is placed. Its greatest achievement is precisely this—it throws light on the human face of science.

JEREMY PAYNE

THE ART OF MASTER M. S.

Miklós Mojzer: Paintings of the Passion by Master M. S. in the Christian Museum of Esztergom. Corvina–Magyar Helikon, Budapest, 1978. pp. 144, illustrations (In English)

The paintings by Master M. S. were identified from the initials and the date 1506 on a painting of the Resurrection. The artist was a real painter, bold and forceful. His colours are far more radiant than usual in Late Gothic painting. His experiments are worthy of attention as well, for example the way he searches for strong but light hues that go with white. The radiance is intensified to the point of incandescence by the

gold background, a conspicuously old-fashioned feature by the early sixteenth century. The intensity of colours is never there for its own sake but always serves the purpose of making a dramatic statement. The Redemption, the Incarnation, Son of God, the Passion and Crucifixion are in themselves dramatic and he heightened both the message and the medium. The confrontation of the charm of the birth cycle with the horrors of the Passion preceding the triumphant Resurrection accentuates this question. According to Miklós Mojzer's convincing reconstruction, the two could be seen simultaneously in an unusual way, one above the other, when the wings of the altar were closed. He enhanced the traditional composition and created a dramatic atmosphere by painting something out of the ordinary in an important part of the painting. The figure of Christ stumbling under the burden of the cross is rendered unusual by His stare. The emphatically personal emotional life bordering on ecstasy of the figures is characteristic of the painter. An important element is the contrast between the idyllic beauty of the landscape and the grievous plight of the figures.

Actors are necessary for a drama; however, if we scrutinize their faces, we will be in for a surprise. The faces of even Christ and Mary are different in every panel. It is as though the painter were afraid that consistently using the same face would indicate that these were men of flesh and blood and he wanted to depict roles rather than individuals. This was rather unusual in his time and this technique of painting was similarly personal. He applied colours in a thin layer. We can virtually see or at least imagine we see the wood showing through the paint.

His style is strikingly original. At first, it seemed it would be easy to select, by using the usual methods, pictures by his own hand, then establishing the body of works to a particular artist. In addition to the four paintings of the Passion at the Museum in Esztergom, there is a Visitation at the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, the Adoration of the Magi at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille and a painting found a few years ago at the Museum in Warsaw and listed here. Being a great artist, Hungarian and German art historians have contended soon after he became known to a wider public about which cultural heritage he could be defined as belonging to. The Germans were of the opinion that the paintings were the work of Jörg Breu the Elder of Augsburg. At first, they refused to consider the initials which excluded this hypothesis and which they believed had been subsequently forged. This was also the way attention was focussed on the paintings in Lille; the writer of a monograph on Breu tried to ascribe them to the Augsburg master in the 1920s and the Hungarian scholar who argued against him managed to determine that they bore the stylistic features of the M.S. paintings. Up to the 1950s, the most important articles on this artist known only by his initials dealt with his nationality. The reliability of the answers were rendered questionable by the fact that every writer considered him to be his compatriot. However, recently the national bias was fortunately overcome. Rupert Feuchtmüller, an art historian, wrote: "...his style clearly indicates that he was in no wise German."[1] Today there are even Hungarian scholars who have determined the exact place where the altar was set up, Selmecbánya (Banská Stiavnica). "There were no artists who could be identified with the Master M. S. The former high altar of the Virgin Mary in Selmecbánya was not made locally."

Thus page 15 of the book reviewed. As this indicates, a turn-about has taken place in research regarding the master. The impartiality of Mojzer's attitude, however, is only one of his commendable qualities. His high erudition, circumspection, and pains-

[1] Rupert Feuchtmüller: *Ungarn*. In: "Die Kunst der Donauschule." Exhibition in 1965 at Linz and St. Florian of Upper Austria. Catalogue, p. 149.

taking working methods are at least as important. The documentary material related to Selmecbánya is not enough to be of much use. That is why Mojzer addressed himself to important details. He examined the art of the period in Hungary as well as abroad with painstaking care. Not only paintings but also miniatures, woodcuts, and engravings came under scrutiny. In the course of this research, he came across details in the paintings of Master M. S. which he had not discovered but borrowed ready-made from his contemporaries. This procedure so alien to our way of thinking today, and so inimical to artistic independence, was not considered objectionable at the time. Copying the works of the master of a workshop or some other recognized artist constituted the bulk of training in art. Moreover, since studying nature was virtually unknown, artists copied details from each other's compositions and fitted them into their own paintings. Mojzer was the first among art historians to notice that Master M. S. borrowed many motifs in prints he selected as prototypes from Italian painting, from Dürer and chiefly from art originating south of the Alps. It caused no little surprise that a Northern artist so rooted in Gothic art should turn to Pollaiuolo, Mantegna, and here and there a follower of Leonardo for inspiration. Of course, as a genuinely Late Gothic painter he borrowed only features of the Renaissance style already approaching its zenith, which served to deepen the emotional wealth of the figures. This is where one of Mojzer's most impressive discoveries comes in. The figure of Christ collapsing under the weight of the cross was inspired by a Mantegna figure, the dying Orpheus which was ascribed to an ancient statue in the Camera Picta of Mantova. Mojzer found quite a number of such borrowed motifs but none of them are as surprising as this. It is a perfect example of how far this artist could reach and demonstrates the fact that no matter where he borrowed the attitudes of his figures, he made them his own.

Mojzer's conclusion that "the art of Master M. S. is purely Late Gothic and deliberately so, in that there is no evidence of Renaissance elements" is as important if not as astounding. Until now, most of what has been written about the artist tried to honour him by calling him an Early Renaissance painter starting from the simplifying principle that a great artist must always be a representative of the new period in the making. Dénes Radocsay had argued similarly though not so unequivocally: "This master is the spokesman of the Late Gothic, yet, on the boundary of two great periods his works are not without the first tokens of the early Renaissance."[2]

Perspective definable by mathematical formulae, the painting of anatomically perfect bodies, even the physical reality of the figures did not interest him, at most as the carriers of emotions. It is characteristic that the figures or objects in his paintings are only seemingly realistic in texture. For the most part, they carry hidden meaning as though something behind them glowed brilliantly.

After he had concluded his meticulous observations, and examined almost the whole of painting at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Mojzer even tried to expand the œuvre of the master. He determined that a panel dated 1495, Descent from the Cross, derived from Toruń, was an earlier work of M. S. Undeniably, there are certain similarities in style or rather form but these similarities are not compelling enough to overcome every objection. Indeed, many years passed between the Descent from the Cross and the series discussed here but taking this into consideration exceeds the limits usually acceptable in critical analysis of style which is not of mathematical precision.

Mojzer uses this difficult method which must be rigorously verified at every turn

[2] Dénes Radocsay: *Gothic Panel Painting in Hungary*. Budapest, Corvina Press; also in French and German, 1963, p. 30.

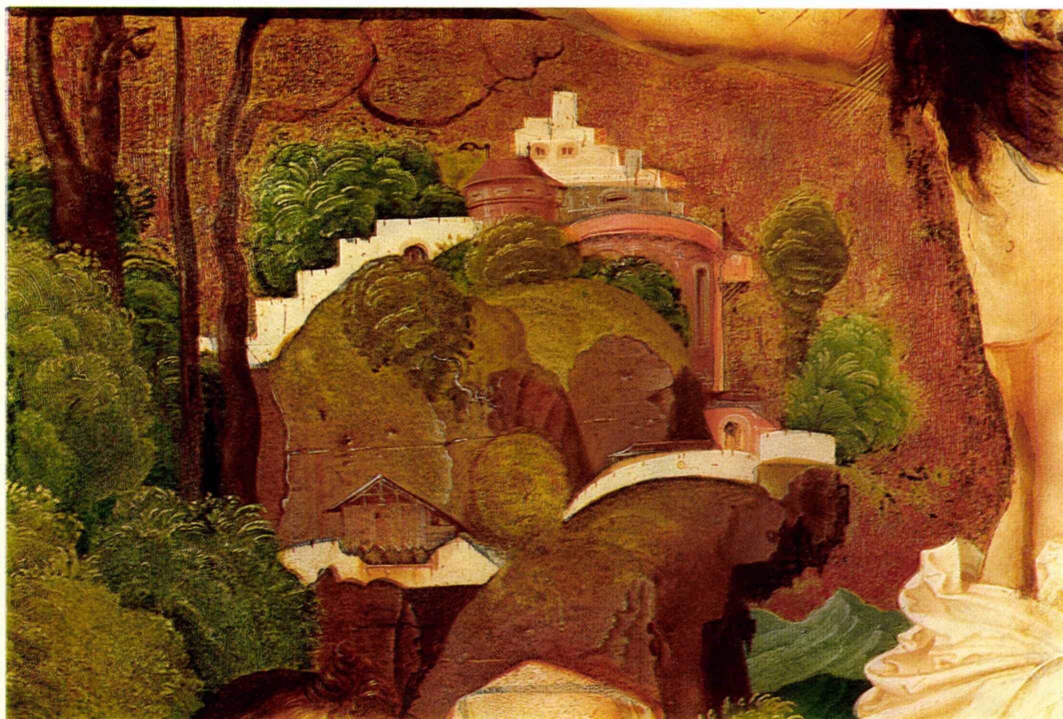
Károly Szelényi, Corvina Press

MASTER M. S.: CHRIST ON MOUNT OLIVE
(UNKNOWN TECHNIQUE ON WOOD, 157×79 CM, 1506)

MASTER M. S.: VIA DOLOROSA (DETAIL)
(UNKNOWN TECHNIQUE ON WOOD, 142 × 89 CM, 1506)

Károly Szelényi, Corvina Press

MASTER M. S.: CRUCIFIXION (DETAIL)
(UNKNOWN TECHNIQUE ON WOOD, 142,5 × 88 CM, 1506)



so effectively that he can infer the age of the painter from the paintings with tolerable certainty. It appears from the combination of factors making up his style that in 1506 he was most probably an elderly man who, however, retained enough flexibility to pay attention to the style coming from Italy and Dürer and turn it to his own use.

The author would like to determine the identity of the artist. To solve the problem, he feels we must go back to early twentieth century views. "The view emerged seventy years ago that... Master M. S. and the engraver M. Z. are the same person. In spite of the difference in the signatures, this idea appears to be tenable." The task he has set for himself is no small one since the world of form of the painter and the engraver are not similar enough to lead one to accept this identification as easily as all that. However, we can trust Miklós Mojzer who has produced so many results which time and again can be called feats of virtuosity by closely observing forms, discovering and interpreting hidden similarities. Obviously, the method backing his intuitive insight will not let him down here. A compendium on the master for which this book paves the way can be written on the basis of this work. Though the reproductions are beautiful and the perceptions which the author sets forth—for the first time in English—are important, he discusses only a part of M. S., the paintings of the Passion which are in the Museum in Esztergom.[3]

In conclusion, a few comments on the reproductions are in order. Their printing turned out well, there is trouble here and there only with the gold background. The choice of pictures is less satisfactory. In most cases they are ends in themselves, that is, they are beautiful but they do not try to illustrate the text.

JÁNOS VÉGH

[3] Since in this book the author summarizes the results of many years of research, more detailed arguments are not included. I here attach a few articles left out from the bibliography at the end of the book: "Die Fahnen des Meisters M. S." *Acta Historiae Artium* XII. 1966, pp. 93–112. "Dürer és M. S. Mester" (Dürer and Master M. S.). *Művészet* VII. May 1967. pp. 4–6. *M. S. Mester budapesti, hontszentantali és Lille-i képei* (The Paintings of Master M. S. in Budapest, Hontszentantal and Lille). Annales de la Galerie Nationale Hongroise.

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY

THE ART OF LILI ORSZÁG

A retrospective exhibition in the National Gallery

No historical perspective is needed to establish that the art of Lili Ország, (1926–1978) despite the changes of style to be observed in her œuvre—is marked by a decided intellectual cohesion. István Rácz, in his article published in 1967, divided Lili Ország's work up till then into three major periods: he called the stage from 1954 to 1957 her period of "classical surrealism," the second, the period up to 1962, her iconic period, and afterward, with the "Requiem," a new style began to mature. In 1969 Judit Szabadi periodized Lili Ország's work in a similar manner. She believed that her surrealist stage came to an end in 1957, and in her opinion the series of Moon Portraits of 1958 led to the new, transcendentally inspired stage. This was where the iconic pictures were born, the inspiration for which came from her study trips to Moscow in 1959 and to Bulgaria in 1960. In the course of her visit to Prague in 1960 she visited the ancient Jewish cemetery, and it was partly under the influence of this that she began her series of ancient towns and ruined walls with their nostalgic-tragic air, and then after 1966 she painted her works that incorporated the calligraphy of ancient scripts. It we add to all this the thought that in the wake of her trips to Pompeii at the end of the 1960's her art was enriched by new motifs and a new semantic range and the seventies saw her culminating work—her labyrinth series of more than forty panels—then we can see that this is indeed a many-layered œuvre that can be divided into distinct periods and thematic spheres. But despite the multiand character of her work this physically frail artist, who was obsessed with painting and worked with a kind of pristine, obstinate determination and humility to create something enduring and authentic, could claim a homogeneity in her output.

It will take a detailed, systematic analysis to trace the inner logic of Lili Ország's artistic path and to point out what kind of inner compulsion and artistic experiences led this talented pupil of István Szőnyi* to the realm of surrealism and how she went beyond it. It is true that the wall first appeared as a key motif in her early, scholastically surrealistic paintings, but in the sixties this motif assumed a multifold aspect and surrealism only added colour to her increasingly autonomous work. The walls that cut off, circumscribed the life of an individual, became the ruins of perished towns, cultic palaces preserving fragments of frescoes, stone wall remnants of temples, doors opening onto labyrinthine passages and windows facing inward. The motifs were apparently organized into heterogeneous spatial compositions, but all of them were organized by an inner compositional principle, the complex formal texture radiated a composite semantic sphere.

* See NHQ 8, 68

In spite of the multifold character of this semantic sphere it had a few permanent components which motivated the stubborn recurrence of certain motifs, such as the above-mentioned wall motif. And at the root of her life's work there lies the key experience which holds the works together psychologically This was the realization that nothing in the history of mankind passes without leaving its trace, the sequences and superimposition of layers of human culture. The layers of the human spirit perpetuate the past, because the stacking of these layers one upon the other is nothing but the memory of mankind which is inherent in every individual; he only needs to be suited to experiencing it.

The possibilities of painting are specific. A picture depicts the simultaneous existence of things, motifs, formal elements, but by virtue of this simultaneity it can transform time into spatial value. Therefore if it is a question of spatial quality there is also the possibility of the representation of deep layers. But to view a picture, to possess it intellectually, time is required; in the course of contemplation a series of associations begin, by means of which the motifs registered in space and transposed into simultaneity can again assume a temporal quality; and with this the action in the picture can unfold, the semantic sphere of the deep layers, which are condensed into one moment, can be revealed. In Lili Ország's art this unique quality is well exploited. This is the reason she was able to disclose the continuity of history, of the past and of its laminated structure in sensory-concrete metaphors.

One of the characteristics of art nowadays is a nostalgia for myths of the past, for collective experiences. This is the source of the urge for the creation of quasi-mythology, and the desire to experience it. In Lili Ország the desire for the great spiritual realms of the past, for the cultures of transcendental inspiration and ancient myths was particularly keen, it grieved her that mankind has a poor memory. She struggled in her art to bring to life and preserve the remnants of experience of the myths that once had collective validity, at least to register the fragments and rescue them from further destruction.

In order to be able to achieve this, besides subjective sensitivity she needed to find the suitable medium. She found this in the tissue of forms reminiscent of the ground-plans of ancient cities, expressing the inter-projections of the wall, the ruined town, the thousands of mazes of the labyrinths, the complex spiritual and spatial structures, the rocks marked with omens, the time-worn, quasi-fresco fragments—that is, the apparatus of symbols emerging in the middle of the sixties.

When Lili Ország discovered this motivic sphere for her art she joined a great tradition in literature and art, because the "poetry of ruins" has been a favourite genre contemplating the historical fate of mankind since the beginning of mannerism. We think particularly of romanticism. In Lili Ország's works a specific cataclysmic experience of the twentieth century, the memory of demolished cities, became part of this semantic sphere; a tragic anxiety brought to typical expression in the work entitled "Requiem in 7 Pictures," in memory of destroyed monuments and cities, a monumental series of oil monotypes.

It was chiefly the atmosphere of the ruined city of Pompeii that provided the historical inspiration evoked by ancient walls and rocks. The motifs, organized in geometrical order, and at the same time sensually appropriate in their worn character, convey a meaning more general in validity than subjective empathy, just as Lili Ország's great labyrinth series is not merely a projection of the individual psyche. In its semantic levels lies the richness of the Knossos and similar labyrinths, the myths connected with them, the meanings that have settled upon these in the course of history, the emotional contents, the associa-

tive spheres, the spiritual reconstructions and also the complex system of escapes from them. This was what Lili Ország unfolded throughout a decade and a half from the beginning of the sixties, from which she created a lifework homogeneous in spirit and which, in depth and consistency, become one of the most valuable contributions to Hungarian painting of our times.

Her art cannot be linked with the current styles. It is not non-figurative, since its walls are perceptibly material in character; its letters—even if formally their meaning cannot be translated—are concrete and carry significance. She often used figurative motifs, in her pictures form is never purely a plastic sign relating to itself—such as in the positive abstract or in calligraphy—but radiates symbols that cannot be broken down into words, and are conveyed in a visual language. Except for her early period she cannot even be included among the surrealists. Her art is difficult to fit in with Hungarian traditions too, although her iconic stage has a kinship in spirit with that of the Szentendre surrealists; she learned a lot from Lajos Vajda* and particularly Endre Bálint.** There is a perceptible relationship between the cadence of the texture in her pictures and the surface play of Zoltán Kemény's reliefs. But these are really only chance, superficial encounters, and do not relate to the whole of Lili Ország's art, particularly to her latest and last pictures.

LAJOS NÉMETH

* See NHQ 16, 23, 66, 68
** See NHQ 18, 29, 52, 64

RETROSPECTIVE OF NOÉMI FERENCZY'S TAPESTRIES

Noémi Ferenczy (1890–1957), whose commemorational exhibition took place in the Budapest National Gallery, was the great hope of Hungarian art. She came from a family of artists: her father, Károly Ferenczy[1], was one of the leading figures of Hungarian Post-Impressionism; of her brothers, Béni Ferenczy[2] was a sculptor and Valér Ferenczy, whose life was full of tragedy, was a painter. Noémi Ferenczy's own participatory interest in art was awakened in 1911 at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs in Paris where she saw a large exhibition of arras wall-hangings. She decided then that she would become a tapestry-weaver.

At the Manufactures des Gobelins, which offered thorough training in craftsmanship, she mastered the ancient technique of *hautelisse*. However, everything she saw there testified to the decadence of the technique. The workers at the manufactury copied the designs of others; exploiting tricks of the trade accumulated over the centuries, they strove for a painterly approach, concealing the material of tapestry by imitating the brushwork effects of oil painting.

Noémi Ferenczy's starting-point was that one person should be responsible for the cartoon and weaving. In this way the design could be developed further during the course of its execution, and the weaving was no longer a purely mechanical task but an essential feature of the creative process. Her other intention was to emphasize materiality. She abandoned the illusionistic effect that resulted from imitating oil painting, together with spatiality and massiveness—in a word, every formal effect that detracted

[1]See NHQ 70
[2]See NHQ 1 and 57

from the nature of the woven surface and from the composition within the plane.

In her first tapestries the unity of the work is ensured by the accumulation of tiny forms and patches of colour. She was inspired by early Flemish tapestry but she made the classical form of expression her own without artificiality. She attained her monumental relief-like style of the twenties through familiarity with Art Nouveau. She was never directly influenced by "isms"; the artistic approach of her mature works, with their lack of detailing, are characterized by a decorative conception of clarity of form and colour which she derived from Gauguin.

Her tapestries are constructed from clear and simple forms; she depicts figures in severe frontality or in profile; she rounds off contours, restrains movement, and reduces surrounding elements. The composition is balanced and the decisive element of artistic effect is colour. Constrasting tones are made even more vivid by her handling. This is the sole dynamic element of her art, and she continually modified it, defining and softening the effects that arose from the mixing of threads.

To write about Noémi Ferenczy the person is an attractive task. Her visitors willingly rendered accounts of the outward forms of her life, repeatedly mentioning the dark blue and white walls of her studio flat, with its simple furniture and lack of art objects, as well as her vegetarian food habits. Many simply regarded her as an eccentric, seeing some kind of romantic allure in her puritanical life-style and abrupt gestures, and they mistook her reserve for haughtiness.

Her more serious fans emphasized the aspects in her personality which were concordant with her works: a mind keen on profound study and work, self-restraint that sprang from a sense of social living, a modesty derived from her calling, and a genuine humbleness of spirit. Noémi Ferenczy took upon herself the work of three people: designer, cartoonist, and weaver. The slow, laborious work took up all her time; in summer she spent 10–12 hours at her loom, and in winter 8–9 hours. To accept such a burden throughout a lifetime required no mean endurance and steadfastness. She subordinated everything to her work, which was the only way she was able to produce the renaissance of tapestry. She jealously guarded her freedom, rejecting all ties in her private life, as well as the professorship offered her, so that she could devote herself single-mindedly to art. "Talent is not enough", she said. "It is not sufficient for one just to believe in oneself, one has to be able to doubt as well. We must be strict and not pamper ourselves. I think I have never been lenient with myself."

Social isolation owing to her Communism contributed to her puritanism and loneliness between the two wars. "What about grants, awards, distinctions?" they asked her in 1937. "Nothing, nothing, nothing. But anyhow they don't interest me... I accept my destiny, and I am willing to renounce all kinds of distinctions. I work, and that is the main thing."

She bore the increasing pressure of intellectual opposition with head held high, but she became rather embittered when she encountered opposition from the society which she had pioneered.

In her early works her love of nature was manifested by luxuriant vegetation. In this world man's situation was neatly divided in two: first of all he merged with it spontaneously, then later he searched consciously for the way back to it and respecting the ancient harmony. Finally the life of the figures set amongst nature was extended by a new element, that of fraternal solidarity and the longing for a human community. The appearance, gradual growth, and end of her pantheism took place from 1913 to 1921, a time that was full of stirring events and changes. With the same unexpectedness and decisiveness which she showed in 1911 when she made tapestry her *raison d'être*, she began a new series in 1922. Her subject was working man: the

digger, the gardener, the hewer of wood, and others who laboured and were heavy laden, in town and country, together with the tools of their trade. Her work celebrating the working classes was done on a symbolic and universal level. The artist did not ram her message down the public's throat; instead she was happy with allusions: the hammer and sickle woven round the edge, the man with an axe, and the allegory of the rotting and the flowering tree. She did not convey the essence of her message with thematic elements but with the monumentality of her figures and the harmony they radiated.

The message of her work is really a very insubstantial and fragile idea, a communist Utopia of man redeemed and liberated by work. This Utopia of a new golden era based on socialism would have been invalidated by concreteness. The artist's strength lies in her elusiveness and her idealism, and she had as her psychological basis a very profound, almost religious faith to which she had abandoned herself as completely as she had earlier done to pantheism.

The new message and the new idealism demanded new forms, and the static figures and limitations of depiction imposed by the plane surface proved to be an excellent means of representing these. The renewed tapestry brought to life abstract themes which would have seemed empty allegories or literary symbols if employed in painting. The monumentality arising from a Utopian abstraction and reticent severity resulted in the long, narrow depiction of "The Vine-dresser with Red Jug." "The Stonemason" is more loquacious and more light and airy. In her horizontal tapestries the attributes are on an equal footing with the figures. In her landscapes of the thirties the proportions are modified still further. The figures seem to merge once again into the self-revelation of nature, and evoke the pantheism of the earlier works but on a higher level. The burning, almost religious fervour is replaced by an intimate lyricism and an arresting inwardness, which result from a love of work and of life.

After 1945, Noémi Ferenczy returned to the attributive symbolic type of picture; the expectations associated with social reform inspired her to create monumental works. However, the establishment view of the early fifties, which desired to view the idyllic as reality and reality as idyllic, was not conducive to Noémi Ferenczy's art. The present retrospective has served to reinforce the deserved position which this unique artist has occupied in the history of modern Hungarian art.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

PAINTER OF PERPETUAL CHANGE

János Orosz's Retrospective

The painter János Orosz who is approaching fifty, has organised a huge exhibition in four rooms of Műcsarnok—the Budapest Art Gallery, displaying some 150 of his paintings, drawings and sculptures. Orosz shot ahead at an early age, even though he was only backed by some writers and art historians. His two long sojourns in Italy were a decisive influence on his life and art, and it is they that provide the bulk of this exhibition naturally also supported by the products of his meditations in Hungary. In 1970 the present writer asked Orosz for an interview, and the following is an excerpt from it.

"Is is possible to divide your work into periods?"

"My models are the artists of today's world who have no old and late periods. In my view a new 'period' only means that later on the artist is able to leave behind superfluous things. The artist's development consists in being able to leave things behind."

I agree with the latter part of the quotation, but it would better if the theory of periodlessness remained a theory. The Picasso series at the exhibition is the best period of János Orosz having opted for eternal change. The show presents works of radically differing cycles, a collection of Orosz's countless periods. These periods are hardly linked by anything, or rather, they are linked by the main thing: their content, and also by their extremely neat professional execution. The surface buoyancy of Orosz's works conceals heavy thoughts and indeed heavy forms, and even the manner of representation of seemingly idyllic subjects is far from being lyrical. Orosz's make-up is contradictory. He is a pondering, brooding, anguished character, but a light-fingered, brilliant drawer, a painter with a manual skill of the highest order, with painting technique and know-how at his finger-tips. His familiarity with literature and cinematography also makes him pre-eminent among painters. Despite all this he is a ponderous creator. If the critic were in a position to give a piece of advice, I would say, may God retain this ponderousness of his. He works slowly, eternally improving his pictures, yet there is nothing "over-drawn" in his works. At such a large exhibition—which is not easy to survey—it is not difficult to reach the conclusion that Orosz is good when he is figurative, when he "portraitizes", and indeed, distorts, and when he is satirical. To put it more precisely: for him it is the difficult task that is easy to solve, and when his sole purpose is to remain fresh, he misses the mark.

"He knows everything that is required for the high level practice of his trade. He switches over from light, freely running lines to drawings of a magic effect without any stiffening of his wrist, shifting from the natural to the distorted, from the mournful to the ironic, from the confinable into the sphere of visions. His picture-metaphores are dense and stratified, like a poetic image containing several meanings." This quotation is from the poet Sándor Csoóri, who wrote the preface to Orosz's catalogue, and who adds that "...anyone can translate their messages into his own emotional vernacular." It would be impossible to phrase it more exactly than that.

After returning from Italy in 1965, János Orosz said: "People are not only burned by wars, by nuclear bombs, but by technological progress as well. This is what I have tried to indicate in the cycle *The Burnt People.*" These pictures differ from the static basic tone of Orosz's earlier works, the artist could no longer conceal his emotions. His expressivity and excitement have come to the fore. He has burnt the lines into a wooden panel with a soldering iron or etched a regular *intaglio* relief into wood, but paint still remains his major instrument of expression. In *The Burnt People* (1964) he burnt a skeleton which had got caught on a pole—or on a crucifix seen from the side—and even enhanced the effect with some colour. *And There Is No Peace* (1965) presents quasi-angels, composed into a triangle, falling into what is obviously the cemetery, among the crosses of the grave-yard. *The Nag's Farewell* (1968) is a more resolved picture, laid on thinly with cold fresco colours: a winged stallion with figures behind him. Closely related to this is the composition *Sun, Moon and the Animals* (1965), with biblical allusions to the allegorical figures of a man and a woman, with beasts in the background. At that time it still counted as a novelty—it is not exactly common today either—for the artist to carry the paint, in transcendent colours, fading more and more into white—over onto the slope of the frame, too.

The result of Orosz's second Italian journey was the set of ten huge quadratic

tables *Sun, Sand, Sea* (1968). The seaside, a group of people, heads, legs, thighs, flowers, buds, perhaps molecules are, even in this abstract form, symbols of the living world, abstract almost to the point of lacking all substance. A series of central, horizontal, vertical compositions, in subdued colours, each of them different, even in their coloration. The virtue of these very soft, very pliant forms lies in the very sure composition. The composition soaks up lyricism.

One of the best paintings at the exhibition is the *Royal Portrait* (1975). The artist was inspired by Persian or Indian miniatures, perhaps also by embossed goldsmith work; the spectre king stares at us goggle-eyed, his nose a double pencilsharpener and what are probably two bay leaves his moustache. The manner of painting is distinct, the colours here are dark and cold, and the king himself a frightful apparition, but also somewhat comical, like every monstrosity when viewed from a proper perspective. I felt the trio of monster-dogs of *Apocalypse* (1976), with a human, a cat's and a fish head respectively, not only to be visionary but also lovely, as if the painter had added in parantheses: they do not bite, you only have to fear your own sins. This picture in a horizontal format also underlines János Orosz's compositional virtues.

In the composition *Endre Ady* (1976) the element of storyland fantasy live on. Orosz has painted the poet almost superplastically, the head is detached from the picture, he wears a fifteenth-century golden robe, his horizontal figure is crossed by a white veiled bride, with the devil or a kobold on the neck of the woman's figure, and a frieze below alluding to Hieronymus Bosch by way of a supplementary element, a masked monster in combies, a pinecone and a goat.

The *Picasso* series (1976–77) consists of fourteen pictures. Here too, the painter gains his effect by means of portraitization and characterization. *László Nagy's Progress on Earth* (1978) is completely different both in concept and execution. The poet László Nagy died in 1978, at the age of fifty[1]. The series consists of large square pictures, with an interplay of dark and fiery colours, and with an expressive, surrealistic formal idiom.

János Orosz's wash drawings, with their thin lines, occupy a separate room at the exhibition, and their evaluation would call for a separate study, so little have his paintings and drawings in common. Here, unfortunately, we have no room to review them.

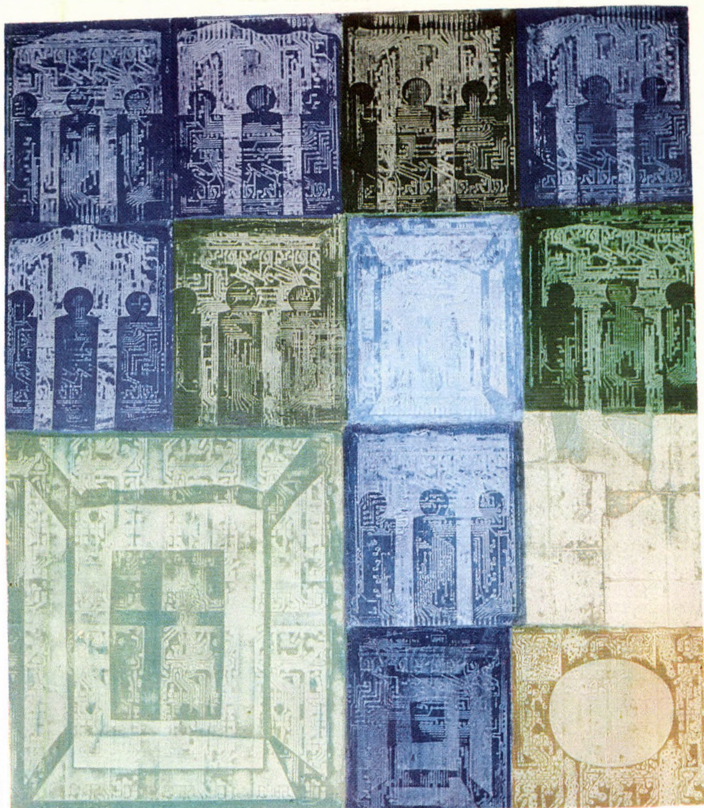
JÁNOS FRANK

[1] See NHQ 72

EXHIBITIONS OF THE YOUNG AND OF THE NOT-SO-YOUNG

I. OUTSIDE THE ACADEMY

Seven painters, sculptors, and draughtsmen organized an exhibition in the Budapest Club of Young Artists. Those who presented themselves there include an office worker, a factory worker, a janitor, an official, and a teacher, people who work all day and whose hours devoted to art are limited to the evening and the week-end. All of them are self-taught; it should, however, not be forgotten that the self-taught do learn and that, thanks to a helpful inferiority complex, many of them consider craftsmanship more important than numbers of students of the Academy. Besides, the Academy is not the



Lili Ország: Stanzas II.
(oil, canvas, 80×40 cm, 1971)

Ferenc Kovács

Lili Ország: Laughing Byzantium
(oil, canvas, 60×49 cm, 1969)

Lili Ország: The city and its past

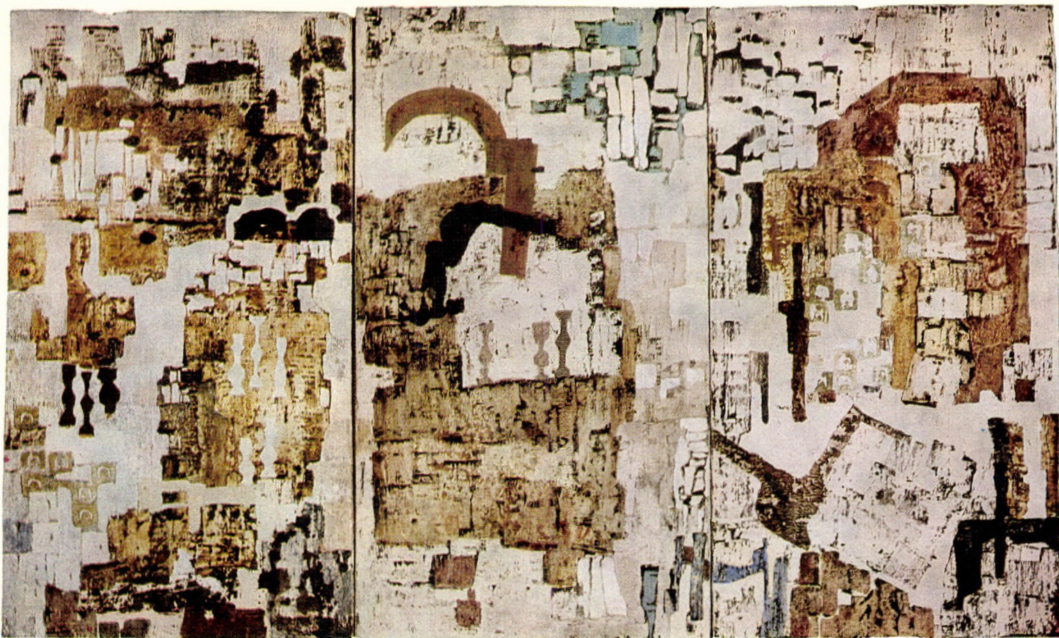
Ferenc Kovács

Lili Ország: Romanesque Christ

Lili Ország: Tower of Babel
(oil, canvas, 60×20, 1960)

Ferenc Kovács

Lili Ország: The growth of scripts
(oil, canvas, 80×60 cm, 1967)



Lili Ország: Twentieth century fresco, triptique
(oil, canvas, 45×70 cm, 1966)

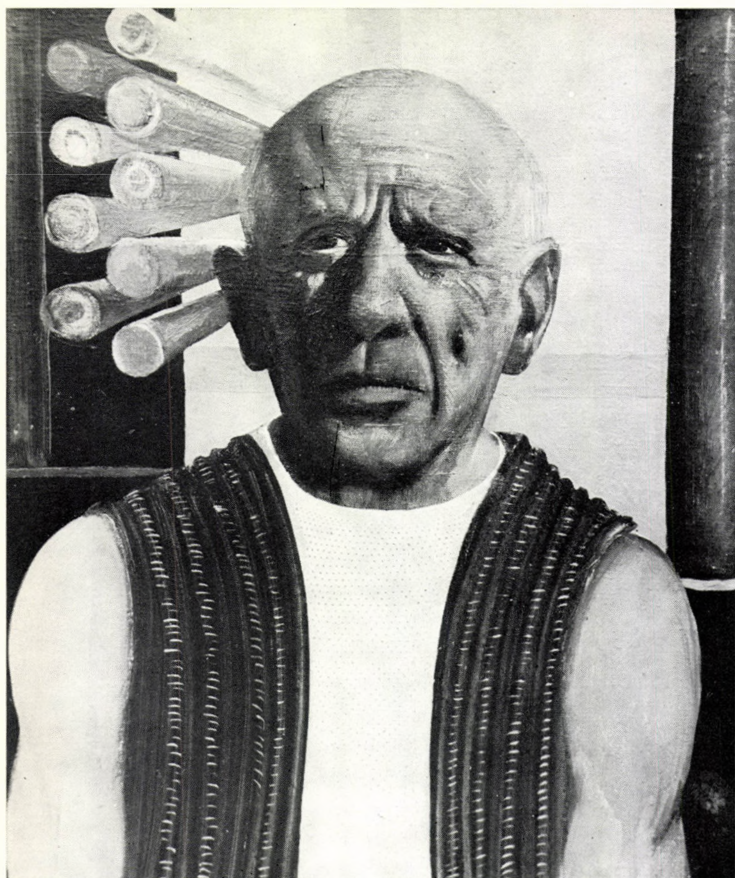
Ferenc Kovács

Lili Ország: Writing on the wall (oil, canvas, 62,5×80 cm, 1967)

Noémi Ferenczy: Awakening (woven tapestry, 82 × 100 cm, 1926–27)

Péter Korniss

Noémi Ferenczy:
A Shepherd and his lambs
(tempera cartoon
for a tapestry,
129 × 129,5 cm, 1931)



Gábor Gosztola

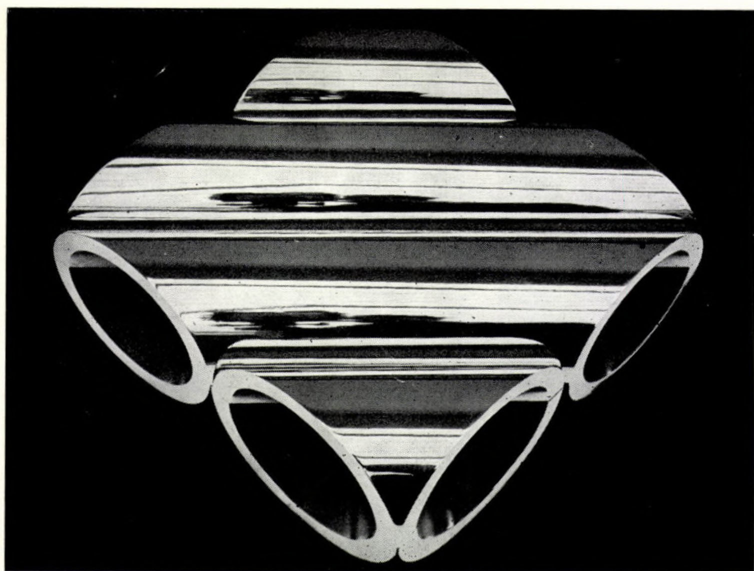
János Orosz:
Homage to Picasso, ix.
(oil, acrylic, wood-fibre,
60×50 cm, 1976–77)

János Orosz: Musician
(charcoal, 40×20 cm, 1978)

János Orosz: Apocalypse (canvas, oil, 80×100 cm, 1976)

János Wahr

János Orosz: Portrait of a King
(canvas, oil, 80×80 cm, 1978)



Gábor Heritész: Tubes
(steel, 31×31×10 cm, 197

János Wahr

Imre Regős: In memoriam John Cage (acrylic, 80×80 cm, 1979)

only place where one can learn: there are countless artists' circles in Hungary—professional free schools—and if the student is lucky and chooses a good teacher he can start well because his sponsor will direct this interest along the right tracks. Besides, masters and teachers can be found also outside drawing schools: many painters and sculptors go to great trouble in giving private instruction to young people whom they believe to be talented. Teaching does not always require an easel or a sketching-block: sometimes a glass of wine or a cup of coffee does the trick. I know that the above-mentioned exhibitors frequent each other's company, they argue with each other, they are toughly judging each other's and their own work—young people are never indulgent—if you ask me, they put their standards too high, but on the other hand it does not matter.

Beside many disadvantages the self-taught have one advantage: they can make a public appearance four to five years earlier than their student colleagues; by the time the professional of the same age gets his diploma the free lance has already a name for himself. Some tend to forget that many of the prominent professors of academies and higher schools were self-taught. There used to be a Hungarian convention that artists did not call for their academic diplomas in the rectorate—the reason was certainly not their inability to afford the price of the deed stamp.

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In front of Zsuzsa Albert's pictures one makes reproaches to oneself for not knowing this great artist or for having forgotten her name. Of course one couldn't have known her, she has only just started to exhibit, she has hardly shown any paintings. Miss Albert's starting-point and basis is a screen—an ordinary grid like the square pattern in a maths exercise-book. However, the simple order of squares, the variations of right, acute, and obtuse angles offer this artist at least as many possibilities as numbers do to mathematicians and letters of the alphabet to writers.

"From Order to Regularity" is also such a screened panel with a most regular blue-squared cross hatching on bluish-white ground. Diagonally, however, the system of the cross hatching changes radically as if somebody got into a quilted featherbed or if an earthquake caused upthrusts or puckerings on a plain. Zsuzsa Albert works according to a severe order and method, she almost worships the rules of geometry up to a point at which this worshipper of rules—perhaps with the intention of shocking the viewer—suddenly swings into heresy. The two-piece "Approach to the Impossible" is white in white. There is nothing on the two sheets—or is there? They contain two variations of the same motif—two twice reversed parallel right angle systems looking a bit like the letter L—that is the relationship of the two—L—main motifs. The artist, using a special Rapidograph, has put white distemper dots on the white paper; they are placed very densely, ringwise. Her patience in doing this painstaking work is characteristic of her approach to art. It is difficult to discover her technique. At first sight it seems as if the rough distemper surface were only the paper's texture. The first sheet is dominated by the rough (positive) distemper motif, the second by the smooth (negative) line pattern left out of the rough ground. This twin work is forceful in its quiet simplicity. The idea is repeated on "Bondage" but in a quite different way. Zsuzsa Albert is able to step up the effect of her *trouvaille* by presenting the above-described motif with a metallic filament glued into a canal sunk into cardboard. Unfortunately these sheets cannot be reproduced. A photograph would not show a thing.

Zsuzsa Albert's art is static with the implication of a very marked dynamic import. The neo-geometric pictures of Imre Regős on the other hand convey the idea of a kind of Baroque dynamism although in

fact they are also static. On the large square panel "No Title—IV" the predominant feature is extreme puritanism. It is an even white field with a logical system of bands and stripes. It could be easily said to be like a drawing but the picture radiates its painterly essence. There are no right angles, this picture is in fact a system of acute and obtuse angles of which it is meaningful to say that it tells much with small means. The composition of "In Memoriam John Cage" is extremely complicated: many painters would not have dared tackle such a task. Regős's intention would have been praiseworthy even if he had not succeeded, but he solved the task. Everything in the picture is the result of calculation: the colours only are subjective, such grass and deep greens are rare in modern painting. From the left a uniform green triangular patch introduces the theme coupled with a grid system and with rows of lines. From the right upper corner the most conspicuous sight is a diagonal which seems a broken line but in fact it is not broken only the vertical and horizontal "poles" of the grid uncover its ruptures. Apart from the acute and the obtuse, right angles play also a role in this consistently quadratic acryl painting.

Gábor Heritesz has a reputation as a craftsman of noble timbers. Obviously wood does not satisfy him any longer, in this exhibition he presented metal and paper plastics. Nevertheless, his wood-carving qualities have developed further: his ideas are clear, his conceptions definite, his style unerringly accurate. He is sensitive enough to perceive differences of one millimetre, and with his sure hand he is able to interpret this change of meaning.

His steel "Pipe Plastic" is of ready-made material, an ordinary industrial product. The sculptor has soldered these segments of pipes so that tilted diagonally they build up to a prismatic shape; this laconic but all the more forceful work is composed of such organ pipes, the geometrical sections of the soldered pipes. His other exhibit is a paper plastic, perhaps a sketch for future metal work, but it may be also the genre of one day or, as here, of one week. The white sheets of "Shift" were on the exhibition postament like a spread-out pack of cards with their completely balanced splendid proportions: perhaps the best in this simple work is that nothing happens.

Tibor Budahelyi presents his unconventional themes using the most traditional reproduction technology: coloured engraving. His is a specifically mechanical surrealism, he creates machines born out of his imagination which have absolutely no use. Although not a figurative artist, he seems to personify his machines. He authenticates his engravings with large plastic imitations of real bronze and copper clockwork. Tibor Csépányi derives his space constructions from geometrical elements. He is not ashamed of sentiment which does not contradict his soldierly bearing. The severely constructed graphic sheets of Tamás H. Tóth tend more and more towards dynamism. His *ars poetica* is construction but sometimes his wish for movement bursts forth. His restrained colours are surprising, and the combinations unexpected. H. Tóth is always and in everything against the commonplace in colouring. József Tóth moulds his metal and wooden objects with a milling machine and lathe. His favourite forms are the straight line, the curve, the right angle, and the circle. His freely modelled—joint—series is fit for illustrating many types of processes at discretion.

*

This was not the exhibition of a group of artists, the link between them is their youth, they are all in their twenties, and the modernity and maturity of their work. As if by agreement they all work in a different style, each of them offers something different, all of them look for what is the most important in art: their own personality. This radical difference is at the same time a similarity of attitude.

J. F.

II. INSIDE THE STUDIO

The Studio of Young Artists in Budapest is a kind of cooperative which, true to character, celebrated its 20th anniversary with an exhibition. This means that its one-time founders are now around fifty years of age.

Originally the Studio was an association for the protection of artists' interests and an indirect form of state support. Since the Second World War the private art trade has ceased in Hungary: a big state firm sells works of art and organizes most of the exhibitions. Through its activity it ensures a modest means of livelihood to some and financial help for others; certainly the majority of artists avail themselves of its services. Twenty years ago all this was only just beginning. Academy graduates prowled the streets with their diplomas in their otherwise empty pockets.

The Studio was established with state support. All artists under 35 who applied for membership could join but they took and still take mainly academy graduates. Members were entitled to use the studio, models, and graphic workshop of the Studio and participate in its exhibitions. Today at least two or three exhibitions open every week in Budapest's better-known bigger or smaller galleries but twenty years ago there were fewer galleries, more applicants, and youthfulness was far from being a good recommendation. There were also fewer state commissions than nowadays and art policy was very much determined by bias in favour of a certain style. It was named "socialist realism" although in reality it was the umpteenth infusion of the tea of post-impressionism. Other styles existed, they were not "forbidden" but the exhibition-organizing bodies exerted economic pressure: almost everything could be exhibited but the cost of participation varied according to the artist's style. Some could exhibit their works free of charge, others had to pay half of the costs, and some even had to advance the whole amount.

In this world of 15–20 years ago the Studio offered continuity and security to those who, if left to themselves, would have perhaps given up their artist's career in sheer exasperation. The Studio's elected executive body has changed many times in the course of years, its members "grew too old" and this also influenced the character of the exhibitions: almost every Studio exhibition was "a scandal" either because of a few unusual, bold works or because visitors were surprised by the many nuances of greyness in the selection.

Another ten years have passed, the Studio wanted to celebrate its anniversary and it was offered the chance to organize its exhibition in a few halls of the Hungarian National Gallery. The simple fact was that on this 20th birthday the Studio's purpose was not to present every creator of the past two decades but to select what they considered the best, most up-to-date, youthful, and boldest works of the Studio's members, past and present. And, given the fact that socialist realism is not treated by anybody today as a definite style, there was no trace of any kind of obligatory painting style in the exhibition. It included works of kinetic, pop, op, psychedelic, and concept art along with many other styles; works in that post-impressionistic and post-cubistic style which had characterized the jubilee exhibition ten years ago were in the minority. Most artists wanted to amaze and bewilder the public. Dezső Váli, one of the Studio's leaders, exhibited a painted pile of small panels sawn to pieces with an inscription saying that they were the elements of a bad picture of 20 sq. m. which the painter had destroyed and which he had requested four persons to put together again and turn into a *good* picture according to their taste. All four persons are under 40; three are well-known art critics, the fourth works at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. I thought that the little panels made a bad picture even in their sawn-up state, but the main thing is not the

assessment of the work itself but the phenomenon, the relationship of artist and public. Apart from this there is a slide projection indicating a trip round the world with different pictures and a big heap of used bus and tram-tickets thrown on the red marble floor. Otherwise the catalogue tells us what kind of work István Zámbó has planned for this exhibition: "The box is closed both in the front and from above. Only one spectator can enter at one time, the box is arranged as a small gallery. Inside, semi-darkness, strange lights, and odd smells enhance the atmospheric effect of the over-crowded box. The overcrowdedness is caused by 20 oil paintings, 30 drawings, 15 smaller and larger plastic works, 1 whole salami, 30 finds *(objets trouvés)*, 4 alarm clocks, 10 candles, 3 musical instruments, 5 scientific books. In the corner is a small table with a chair. During the exhibition I would spend some of my free time, minimum 1 and maximum 2 hours, at that table and project the slides. I wish that 20–30 spiders be let loose in the box so that by opening day their webs would be spun all over the exhibits."

Sketch and description alone fulfil the requirements of concept art.

Unfortunately the exhibition was not distinguished by technical precision. Thus György Buckó's beautifully shining kinetic-optic glass statue, for example, was failing to throw its light and glitter by the time I visited the exhibition.

The general impression I gained was that the artists made every effort to prove and demonstrate to each other their "topicality." This introversion narrows down the community which they want to approach to a few dozen people and so it is quite possible that the importance of the Studio as an association for the protection of interests will increase again. We should not forget, however, that there are young artists who work for a broader public and accept that the community is the carrier of good and bad traditions passed down through the ages. Zsuzsa Lóránt's small, coloured wooden statues seem to burst the atmosphere around them, Imre Kéri's playful imagination goes hand in hand with great care in execution, Tamás Kárpáti's lyricism evokes the period of Art Nouveau. Péter Kovács and László Mészáros show a sociographic approach; they and Tibor Helényi's applied graphics, the wry humour of András Szunyoghy and András Varga with their tradition-bound style sttract me more than the search for the new at any price. This, of course, does not mean that I sympathize with any attempt to impose limitations on the quest for the new.

This exhibition can only be understood if we know where these young or not so young artists' road to today's freedom started. However, the courage to assess and evaluate this freedom which is the major characteristic of their art as being good or bad would require prophetic insight particularly as regards the direction their art will be taking in the future.

András Székely

THE REBIRTH OF A MEDIEVAL CHURCH

Tornaszentandrás is in the north of Hungary, in the northern part of Borsod County, some distance from main roads, midst high hills in the valley of the Bódva. The church of the small village of old is on a hill above the present-day settlement. Beyond any doubt it is one of the most beautiful buildings in Hungary. The landscape which looks as though it had not changed for centuries, the church crowning the hill and

the village radiate such tranquillity, such an ancient calm, the like of which can hardly be found today.

In addition, the first little Romanesque church of the old Tornaszentandrás has a feature unusual in the history of architecture, a double semicircular choir simultaneously built which is unique in Hungary. Counterparts can be found in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and perhaps in the East influenced by Byzantium. Most probably, the church was built at the very beginning of the thirteenth century and the ground-plan with the double choir is a peculiarity of Carolingian origin. The Holy Roman Empire must have inherited this form which later survived in Salzburg and Tyrol, particularly in Meran. According to historians of architecture this ground-plan must have been brought to Tornaszentandrás by Tyrolians who settled in the Szepesség south of the Tatra Mountains between 1200 and 1203 following the marriage of King Andrew II of the House of Árpád and Gertrudis of Meran.

The ancient church with a double choir had a relatively small nave. Originally it must have risen almost like a tower and was possibly covered with a pendentive dome. The figures of the wall-paintings below the modern ceiling survived only up to their waist, thus confirming that the walls must have been much higher. This indicates a prominent shaping of the mass which deviates from ordinary Romanesque naves.

A square-shaped nave facing west was added in the middle of the fourteenth century to the small church of the age of the Árpáds. The western wall of the Romanesque building was demolished, the floor was lowered and its altar or altars replaced. The new, larger nave was built without an arch and with a simple exterior. However, the inner walls were richly decorated. The wall-paintings that have survived in fragments make up a complete cycle. Inside the triumphal arch, Saint Stephen and Saint Ladislas can be recognized, above them are three prophets, and on top the Lamb of God. On the side of the nave there are scenes depicting a coronation and the discovery of the Holy Cross. Figures wearing Anjou court attire and the beautifully designed scenes are of high quality. An interesting characteristic of the wall-paintings is that mortar was used to give relief to certain details, for example, the regalia, the crown, etc.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries while the Turkish wars raged the church fell into decay and stood without a roof for about a century and a half. It was reconstructed around 1740 and a sacristy, facing north, was added. A small bell-tower was erected on the ridge of the Gothic nave and a wooden organ-loft of a folk character was placed inside the nave. Many Baroque items, including an altar of good quality from the castle of Szádvár, were added to the church at that time.

The National Office for the Protection of Ancient Monuments began to renovate this unique church in 1971. It determined the precise ground-plan of the first church, discovered the simultaneous origin of the two choirs, and enlarged the Romanesque nave. Some of the wall-paintings were brought to light and many medieval apertures were reopened. Dr. Ilona Valter was in charge of work on location. Mrs. Ilona Pusztai Schöner, who had drawn up plans for the restoration of many village churches, did so for Tornaszentandrás as well.

The outward appearance of the church was changed the most by a lovely shingle roof which accentuated the mass composed of simple cubes. The designer restored the earlier roof formed by the intersection of double half-domes whose shape was indicated by the marks on the unfloored loft. While renovating the roofing which was in poor condition, the small bell-tower, in which the terraced roofing comes to a point, was rebuilt.

Inside the choir with its painted panels and the wooden altar of Szádvár which was

taken from the side of the triumphal arch and placed before the free wall facing north were restored. The Baroque pulpit was returned to its original place in the choir and the folksy pews were left unchanged. The presentation and completion of the medieval wall-paintings added new colour to the church.

Every individual detail or structure required careful planning due to the necessary renovation of both its everyday liturgical functions and the old elements. Usually this is where it becomes clear whether the designer can add that which is worthy of the building or suitable to its atmosphere. In this case, everything turned out well. The designer added only what was absolutely necessary and did this with taste.

The altar was placed in the middle of the Romanesque nave close to the congregation. Though the two choirs were emptied, they didn't remain unused. The pastophorium was placed in the south choir and the font in the northern one. The sedile and seats for the acolytes are in front of the pillar between the two choirs. All of these furnishings are hand-carved. Their soft forms and surfaces suit the inner space of this simple church. At the same time it is clear they were made recently. Next to them, the smooth surface and hard modelling of the new altar seems out of place.

The ceiling of the nave is the largest new element in the church. The low wooden ceiling in poor condition could not be kept. It was therefore replaced. It would have been difficult to cover the relatively large nave with a rustic roof, and a coffered ceiling made of short diagonal planks was constructed. The grate attached is an up-to-date structure which goes well with the village church interior. Its form is familiar. The lattice-work is related to the Renaissance painted and coffered ceilings and other structures, for example the lattice-work of Gothic doors. The dark brown colour of the beams and the dull red of the inside of the coffering contributes to the pleasant effect of the new ceiling. The warm colours of the ceiling and the blue of the choir and pews are popular colours in northern Hungary.

The outer environment was also restored. The surrounding wall was completed on the northern side, and the buttresses were replaced. In other places, the walls of the churchyard are indicated by the arrangement of the grounds and the planting of shrubs. The entrance from the village led between a row of trees to the church as though through a portal.

The restoration did not change the appearance of the church of Tornaszentandrás very much. The work from exploration to the handing over was filmed. The film demonstrates that many different kinds of work had to be done to take the church completely apart, due to its poor condition, and then put it back together again. The reassembling was successful. The beauty of the church was brought out by the restoration and enriched with the addition of new details. Even the villagers' anxiety was allayed. Their church is more beautiful than ever.

János Sedlmayr

THEATRE AND FILM

IN QUEST OF A GENERATION

Plays by István Csurka, Lajos Maróti, István Örkény

By the end of February almost all the theatres in Budapest and the provinces have had one or two much-debated or highly praised new Hungarian plays on their programme. The only question is whether new Hungarian plays are truly new and whether it is worthwhile to make a song and dance about the premières of plays which will have been forgotten by next year.

To give just one example: the Madách Theatre is surely right to perform the products of its regular authors as often as possible and thus to offer its grateful public their latest work. However, the critic is forced to say that Károly Szakonyi, whose *Adáshiba* (Break in Transmission) had justifiably met with an enthusiastic response, has at most proved with his sentimental denunciation *A hatodik napon* (On the Sixth Day) that Priestley can be reconciled with, say, Tennessee Williams quite well in a Hungarian petty bourgeois environment. András Polgár's *Kettős helyszín* (Dual Location) finds a common denominator for such contrasting genres as the crime thriller and documentary drama. A few bus stops away, in the József Attila Theatre, György Száraz, a consistent author of historical plays, has made his own contribution to the series of Tolstoy dramas with his *Megoldás* (Solution). But the didactic tale concerning the circumstances of Tolstoy's flight fails to go beyond the modest framework of a family conflict—or rather, family squabble—the passion of real drama only appears in patches.

So this is one of the reasons which have moved me to narrow down the range of plays under review this time. Another reason is that there are fortunately three new works which show a similarly novel approach in their treatment of our day and age. Perhaps these plays will help readers to understand Hungarian reality. The key in the hands of their authors does not always fit the lock with the same precision but is the same door they want to pry open.

Of the three authors in question István Csurka was a boy of eleven in 1945, Lajos Maróti, an adolescent of 15 and István Örkény, born in 1912, had already been through the hell of war in the Don basin and a prisoner of war when the new era began in Hungary. And yet, under the impact of their and our common historical experiences, they have become contemporaries in the wider sense over the last 30 years. Now they render account of our age, according to their individual talents; their accounts complement each other, even—unwittingly—argue with each other but one thing is certain: they write out collective autobiographies; this is why they merit more detailed discussion.

István Csurka: *Házmestersirató* (Lament for the Concierge)

Csurka's new play was allegedly inspired by a news item. I see before me the brief and matter-of-fact communiqué of the Hun-

garian News Agency, MTI., giving due credit to the efforts of science which may run like this: "A team of young sociologists in the Sociological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have begun a comprehensive investigation in districts of the capital which have been earmarked for renovation. With the participation of the concierges in the district, they will also survey the social composition, activity, and cultural demands of this fast disappearing section of the population, with special regard to deviant behaviour such as alcoholism, criminality, hooliganism, and prostitution. The investigation is supported by several social organizations and institutions. Its results will be published in a—tragicomedy."

Only the last word should be considered absurd. Csurka has every right and reason to write a comedy about the craze for sociological surveys (no less on the increase in Hungary than elsewhere), about the pseudo-scientific formal investigations in which bureaucratic procedure replaces real contact between the questioner and his subject and the knowledge of the realities. A comedy about this well-known phenomenon could be quite funny and if the playwright were to build up his plays on witty dialogue (of which there would be no doubt in Csurka's case) this play would be a sure hit.

However, this potential comedy is not identical with *Lament for the Concierge* now being performed at the Vígszínház Theatre. Firstly, Csurka's play is a tragicomedy. As the author put it: "It is comic because it is happening and it is tragic because it is happening here and now."

Of course there is nothing tragic in superficial sociological surveys and interviews. What is tragic is the explosion provoked by the incidental meeting of two distant sets of people: this disillusioning gallery of destinies and characters which are stripped naked in the process of confrontation. The play's message is tragic: "Nobody should be stripped here. Shot wounds blossom on the most beautiful bodies."

Behind this exposure of a social practice the play deals with the essential question of the 'seventies—the general outlook of two different generations. The question is—to quote the title of an earlier Csurka play—who has become the fall guy after two decades? Who will foot the bill for the social earthquake, who will play for chances taken and chances missed? On the stage persons of different social status and character talk about their lives; each uncovers his own shot wound but the main thing is that from all these exceptional (or not so exceptional) failures there develops a collective outlook which characterizes a broad sector and which amounts to a kind of warning social diagnosis. In one of the hottest moments on the stage somebody expresses this by saying that this nation has had no experience of success since the 1848 Revolution.

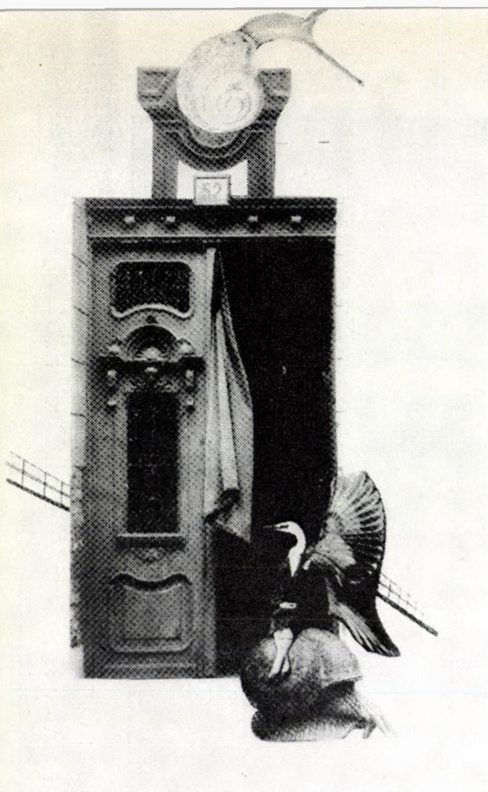
In the basement flat of the play's heroes, the Jónás family, almost all social ills are present. Mrs. Jónás the concierge has been tossed from bed to bed since her young years as a servant. At last, with two children from two different fathers and a legal marriage even drearier than her occasional relationships behind her, she almost enters seventh heaven because being a concierge is not simply an occupation but, if past experience is to be believed, is also a position of power. (In the past, governments recruited their informers and denunciators among concierges.) Mrs. Jónás has always served the organizations that have claimed her services. Now again she humbly makes a compromise with the block-warden, a discredited one-time party militant, to share the profits of the unlicensed distillery and liquor shop which he runs in her flat.

The day when the sociologists arrive is a great day for Rudi who has been just released from gaol. His high spirits are only dampened when he finds out that the pretty Kati, Mrs. Jónás's other child, has become

A SERIES OF BOXES FROM THE STUDIO JUBILEE EXHIBITION.
From left to right: Márton Barabás: Icarus (mixed technique, space sculpture); on the right Iván Szkok: Film; the boxes arranged by Gábor Záborszky and Dezső Váli

Sándor Bernáth(y)

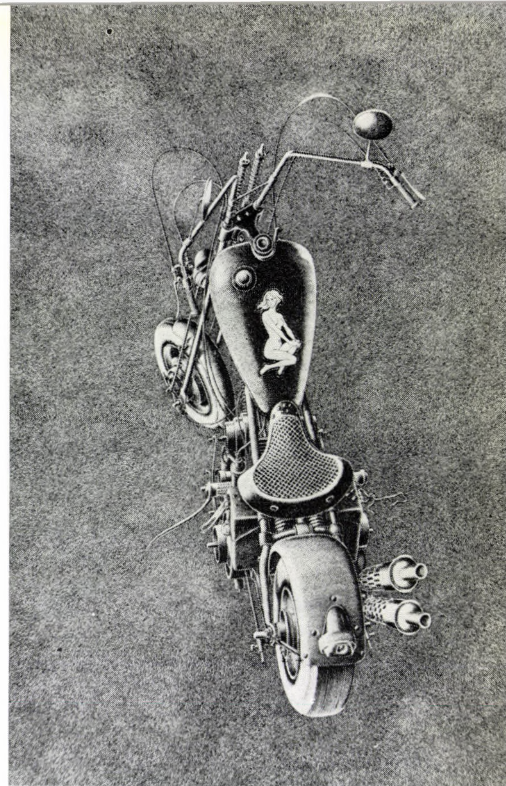
ANDRÁS LENGYEL: OBJECTS WITH PAINTED CLOUDS
In the background Károly Kelemen: Vis-à-vis Duchamps
(canvas, graphite, india rubber, 140 × 140 cm)



DÓRA KERESZTES: RECONSTRUCTION I.
(SILKSCREEN, 64×49 CM, 1978)

ISTVÁN OROSZ: ERUPTION OF A VOLCANO.
COMMEMORATING JULES VERNE'S 150TH BIRTHDAY
(SILKSCREEN, 435×345 MM, 1978)

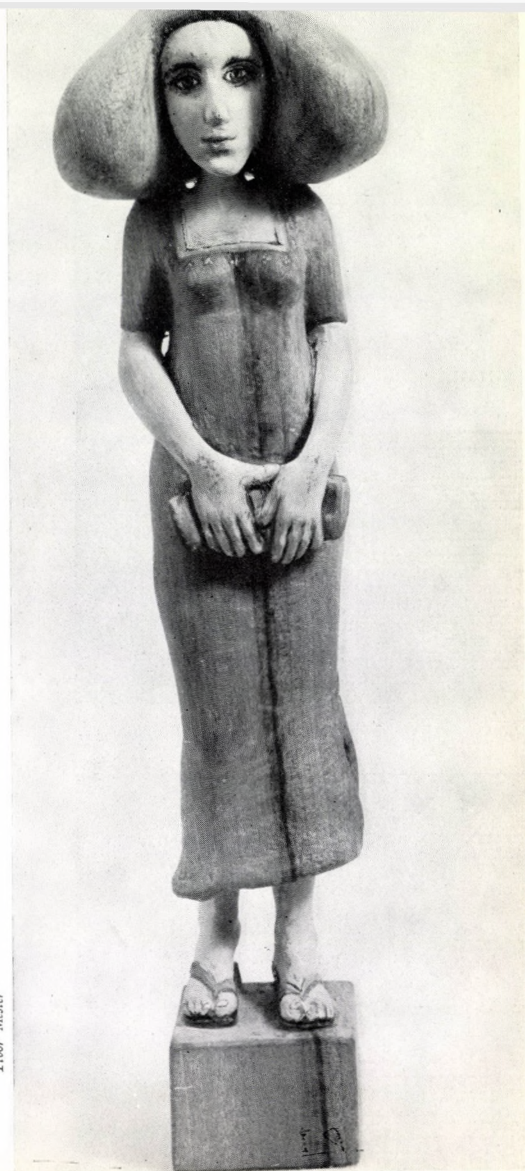
Éva Ajtós



GUSZTÁV KISS: THE RAPE OF EUROPA
(INDIAN INK, 380×252 MM, 1978)

Tamás Kárpáti:
Warlike years
of peace
(oil, canvas,
40×50 cm, 1978)

Éva Ajtós,



Zsuzsa Lóránt:
Artist
(paint on wood,
25,5 cm high, 1979)

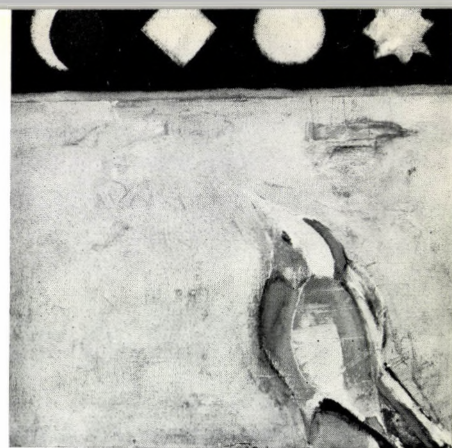
Tibor Mester

Márta Lacza:
Vagrant wizard
(lithography,
355×460 mm, 1978)

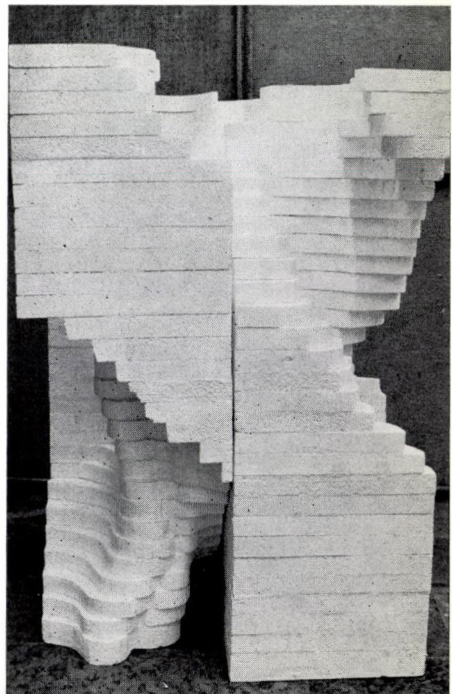
Éva Ajtós

Iván Szkok: Country journey
(wood-fibre, mixed technique, 120×100 mm, 1978)

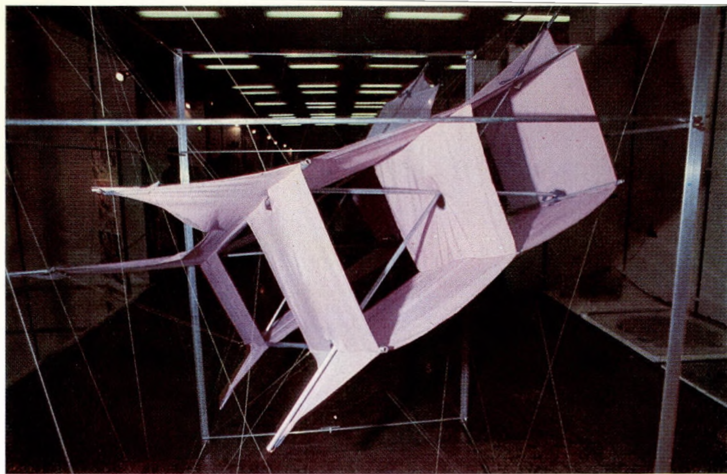
István Püspöky:
Etude (oil, canvas,
40×40 cm, 1978)



Tibor Mester



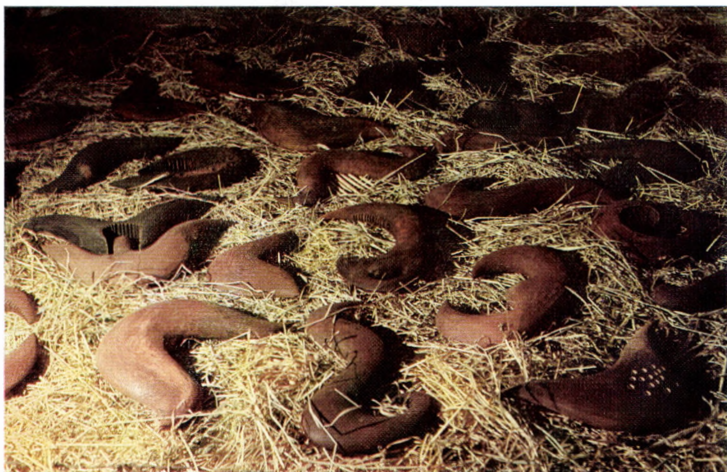
Ádám Farkas:
Variation
of a pile, III.
(plastic foam,
148 cm high, 1979)



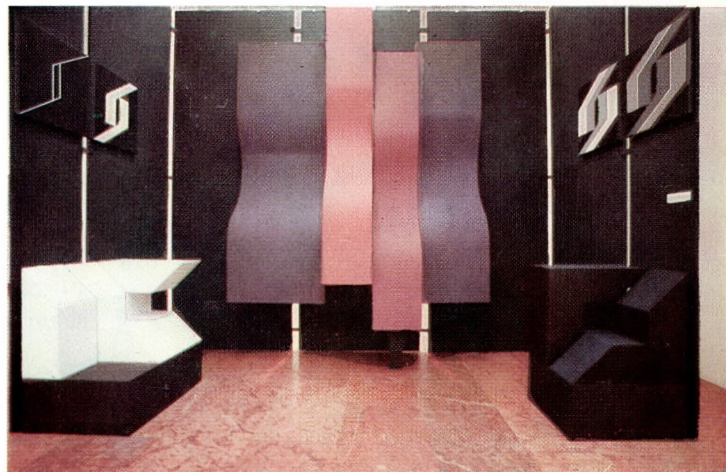
István Bodóczky: Kite (textile and aluminium)

Ádám Kéri: Chopped up house (photo and oil on wood)

Sándor Bernáth(y)

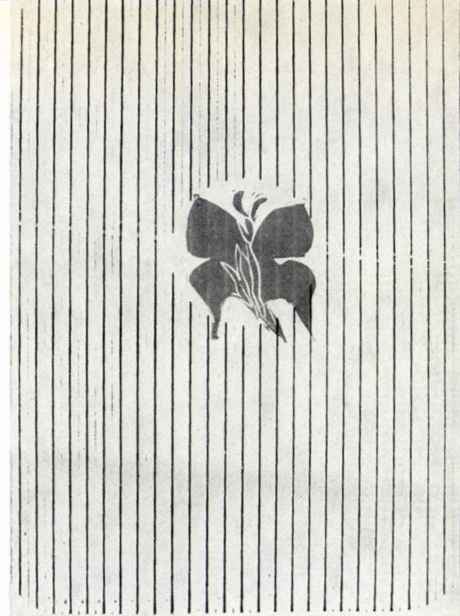


Imre Bukta: Electric shepherd
(straw, carved wood, 200×200 cm, detail)



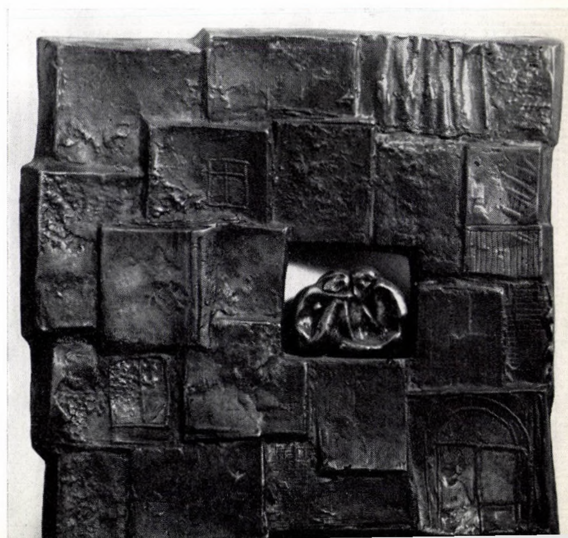
Tibor Nádler: Spatial forms (painted metal)

Éva Ajtós



Géza Domokos:
Situation II.
(mixed technique,
391×282 mm, 1978)

András Felvidéki:
The sword-swallower
(etching, 350×245 mm,
1978)



Judit Englert:
City icons I.
(bronze, 40×40 cm,
1978)

Tibor Mester

Tornaszentandrás. Eastern View of the chapel with the new roof of the reconstructed chancel (restauration designed by Ilona Pusztai)

Tamás Mihalik

Tornaszentandrás. Restored wall paintings on the nave side of the chancel arch

Tamás Mihalik

Tornaszentandrás. The chancel after restauration

Tornaszentandrás. The nave seen from the chancel

tired of living a whore's life forced on her by Rudi; she has a child and plans a marriage which will help her climb higher on the social ladder.

The field selected for the sociologists seems ideal; the individual fates of the family members are splendid examples of the interpenetration of deviant attitudes, the determinant role of underprivileged status and morally dangerous environment. Before the arrival of the sociologists the block-warden instructs family members on how to behave: "Everything is fine and good... there are still problems, worries, things to be remedied, but they are fundamentally fine..."

Good home-distilled brandy is also offered to the interviewing team to "legalize" the smell of the unlicensed distillery hanging in the air, and so it seems there is no obstacle to work based on the cooperation of the partners. However, the "data squeezer," as they call the survey, does not progress without its hitches. Mrs. Jónás's alcoholic companion of the moment declares right at the start that he will only confess for money or if ordered. Mrs. Jónás feels awkward because she thinks that these people are official functionaries. Rudi's first move is to snap open his flick-knife: the questions can come now.

The peculiar circumstances of the survey very soon disrupt the unity of the well-groomed young research team. The zealous parrot-like repetitions of the sociologists' jargon bounce back off a wall of indifference like fleas and several members of the team are outraged in a few seconds by what is going on. The survey reaches a deadlock even before it has properly started.

While the work of the team and the dramatic action seem to have come to a standstill the stripping has already begun. It emerges that the sociologists have nothing in common with the people into whose lives they are enquiring. In the past Mrs. Jónás has been asked too many questions for her to understand the limits of her sphere of authority. The block-warden, with his obscure past and constant references to his proletarian instincts, has recourse to the party weaponry of the early 'fifties: he shields himself with dogmatic slogans.

The father of Kati's child, a drunk young poet, drops in and reverses the situation by taking over and putting forward the real and pretended grievances of the Jónás family. He feels the tension in the air and the formalism of the survey, and takes over command. He turns the tables and bids the questioners to answer the family's questions; in addition, to avoid all pretence that the questioning is in fact voluntary, he turns the key and locks them in. This gesture, which turns the concierge's flat into a symbolic prison, momentarily evokes the theatre of Sartre and Örkény but it is a logical follow-up of the antecedents. The collective spiritual striptease has arrived at a new phase and the high tension promises explosion.

This explosion, however, does not come in the second act. It seems that the drunk young poet has ignited the fuse of the conflict in vain; actually he himself does not expect an explosion, only "a laboratory where life can be mixed freely, purely, and unhampered." So the fuse crackles, the fire spreads, the clockwork of the play ticks menacingly and spectators feel as if the explosion were being deliberately retarded. The slackening tension is only upheld by the excellent many-layered dialogue. There is also something else: Csurka not only creates believable characters, he also illuminates their entire background with brief flashes. The common lesson we learn from the faltering fragments of speech and fantastic torrents of words which break to the surface is that both the self-confident sociologists and the disreputable "lumpenproletarian" family are burdened by the same historical heritage, they are weighed down by their parents' wrongs. The members of the same generation have a sort of aimlessness and the trauma of missed opportunities

in common. The monologues finally organize themselves into the pattern of common failure, into a long lament on wasted lives. The special outlook on life which mostly remains on the surface in the short stories of younger Hungarian writers overflows the stage in Csurka's play and is emphasized and broken down into its components. And the longer we listen to these confessions the more painful this truth becomes. It does not help that all these self-justifications are in the first person singular because nobody suggests that they had any other choice, whatever the situation—the witnesses on the stage and in the auditorium have less and less reason to decline their responsibility. There is not one psychically healthy character in the entire play. This play is not a sociological survey of general social validity but a chronicle of definite social injuries. Most of them are not even new, their roots reach back to the Second World War, some of the inflammations blazed up in 1956, but all of them are lasting.

Csurka's tragicomedy is not psychological drama either, Csurka does not concern himself much with the emotional life of his characters. His characterizations are sometimes caricatures; no doubt, some of the play's characters and relationships are incomplete and not well-founded, such as the emotional relationship which springs up between the ex-convict Rudi and a girl in the sociologists' team. It is quite believable that he would throw himself eagerly upon the pretty sociologist after a long period of starvation but we cannot believe that the girl, an ambitious university graduate, would devote her life to saving the criminal even after her umpteenth glass of home-made brandy, particularly as he does not for one moment conceal his cynicism and brutality!

The bitterest moment is the dénouement when the play's heroes, in a state of euphoric stupor, sing together the Kossuth song. This touches a sensitive spot in Hungarian audiences. The revelatory irony of playwright and director, their distance from their heroes, puts this emotive theatrical gesture into place, the expression of pain in sharing a fate and the rapture of finding each other. And so, although we miss the confrontation of destinies in the second act, the explosion on the stage, this bitterly disillusioned pseudo-dénoument, makes us finally accept Csurka's dramatic technique. True, these heroes have no force and energy left for confrontation. Only we, who have remained sober, can rebel against this common destiny represented as inevitable, against this Hungarian fate sealed with a song. Csurka's play is the recognition that the gravest conflict in an undramatic age can be precisely that tragedy does not take place.

Lajos Maróti: *Közéletrajz* (Biography of Public Life)

Giordano Bruno, Dante, Vince Kalapos. The list of Maróti's dramatic heroes is somewhat bizarre but no more unusual than the career of the author himself: seminarist, physicist, poet, novelist, playwright, and editor-in-chief of a publishing house. *Közéletrajz* (Biography of Public Life), presented in the National Theatre Szeged, is Maróti's third and hitherto biggest dramatic enterprise. It has a contemporary theme.

The quarter century which is evoked on the stage and which starts with nationalization is now history although not yet a closed chapter. Most of the characters represent real historical and social trends. The theme, the rise and fall of worker-manager Vince Kalapos, is suitable for representing this particular historical period on the stage because it contains its conflicts in a condensed form. Kalapos belongs to the first generation of worker-managers who took over after the nationalization in 1948; a man hardened by struggle, obstinate, determined, devoted, and talented at his own level, he relies on his own common sense and the people's power and for a long time achieves good results. It is not his fault that later

on he is unable to fulfil what is expected of leaders and, although he does his best to learn and overcome his shortcomings, the waves finally break over his head. Kalapos is an authentic historical figure both in his rise and in his fall: one of many hundred. He experiences and accepts the pressure to increase production in the enterprise as prescribed by the plan, the irrealistic policy of Stakhanovism then thought to be romantic, he sees the tragedy of 1956 and the alienation of his children from their father's ideals. He also experiences the deepening of the gap between himself and the new world but this he is unable to accept. Maróti's play starts out from the death of Kalapos and goes back to investigate what has happened.

This technique, as everybody knows, is far from new: examples are unnecessary. From the point of view of dramaturgy the elimination of the element of risk, of tension-creating situations, makes the author's position more difficult. After the shot which ends Kalapos's life the tension of "What is happening?" is naturally replaced by "Why did it happen?". True, the direct causes of this death are never cleared up: we do not know whether we have witnessed an accident which amounts to suicide or a premeditated suicide performed in a situation fraught with the danger of an accident. The clearing up of this mystery does not even occupy the narrator of the play, a young sociologist who is writing a case study about Kalapos's life. He starts his work as an outsider, with dispassionate detachment, like the sociologist team in Csurka's tragicomedy. For the sociologist in Maróti's play the career and life of Kalapos is at first not a drama, only a simple case study. The picture which then unfolds in the course of work makes him wonder whether Vince Kalapos was the hero or the victim of his age?

Maróti has written his play late in the day: grey-haired, their faith and their backs often broken, with their heads erect or bowed, the veterans of country-building still walk amongst us although their numbers are decreasing. Maróti said in an interview that his play was based on a real tragedy which happened in the city of Győr. It is regrettable that in his capacity as the chronicler of the sociologist's chronicle the author has evaded the difficulty of characterizing his hero from within. Instead of the drama of his life he has contented himself with the chronicle of his life. True, Kalapos is present on the stage and takes part in the action almost to the end but in the fragmentary events which are evoked to reconstruct events he illustrates rather than lives his own drama.

The big question asked by the author is whether the totality of the stereotype situations and the hero's responses allow us to say anything deeper and more exciting than the usual commonplaces. (Maybe in exceptional cases, when the stereotype itself is a discovery, as in Endre Fejes's *Rozsdatemető* [Scrapyard], a successful revelatory drama of the 'sixties.) Maróti, on the other hand, builds his play on well-known facts, familiar situations, and conflicts which have been revealed in other works and degraded into banalities in newspaper reports. He confronts his hero with almost all the obvious and characteristic conflicts of three decades; he has to face them both as manager and father. All these real social phenomena are lined up as prefabricated panels on the two sides of the story and the author builds them into the biography of his hero in the chronological order of history and of his scenes; alas, the result is not a cathedral, only a prefab. It would have been possible to write a tragic exposure of these stereotypes and commonplaces or at least a biting satire, but this would offer material for another case study, probably in another play.

István Örkény: *Pisti a vérzivatarban*
(Pisti in the Bloodbath)

The first contemporary Hungarian playwright whose works appeared almost simul-

taneously in Warsaw, Washington, Paris, and Leningrad, and perhaps the first to succeed in gaining a foothold on the European and North American stage, declared in 1970 that he was a prose writer who took to drama writing only because others had encouraged him. He can prove this statement with facts and witnesses: *Tóték* (The Tót Family) was written at the director's request. We have also learned since that some of his successful plays were originally meant to be films. For many years the drama has not been a primary, inevitable genre for Örkény, he conquered it only under the pressure of circumstances. He was attracted by prose, among other things, because a prose work is immediately complete and finished, whereas the drama which, according to Örkény, is a fragmentary, incomplete vision of the writer, only becomes complete on the stage. This is due to the nature of the genre and freedom of manœuvre which has to be given to the actors. At the time of this statement Örkény had only seen one of his five plays on the stage. In less than a decade he has become a playwright *par excellence* whose works are performed all over the world.

His autobiographical play, *Pisti in the Bloodbath*, staged at the Pesti Theatre, is basically different from all types of personal confession. (The hero's name—Pisti—is the diminutive of István, Stephen, Örkény's own name.*) The play is neither a lyrical diary nor a memoir in dialogue; it is collective autobiography, the rendering of our common shocks in the form of a grotesque biography. In the case of Örkény the grotesque always stays close to its source, the demonic.

Örkény's three major grotesque plays, *Tóték* (The Tót Family), *Macskajáték* (Catsplay), and Pisti in the Bloodbath, treat problems which could be treated in a very different light and manner. The life-and-death duel of oppressor and oppressed, the patience of the defenceless small man under the pressure of power and his revolt when his sufferings reach the limit (The Tót Family), the survival instincts of the same little man prevailing in the midst of death and destruction and his starting from scratch again and again in search of himself (Pisti in the Bloodbath) or the drama of the choice between real and shadow existence (Catsplay) could be both tragedies and comedies. Much has been said about the worldwide popularity of the grotesque since Dürrenmatt, and also about the circumstance that in our vastly complex age the individual efforts which have a real impact on history remain invisible and untypical, and that in our atomized social existence pathos in individual action is generally absent. Considering that the really big tragedies of mankind, from Auschwitz to Hiroshima, are inconceivable, the obvious failure of their direct (realistic) rendering has opened the door to documentary or transposed, parabolical representations. It is no accident that the grotesque has become the main feature in the parable, trying to comprehend the inconceivable by denying reality. This particular way of looking at things has preserved the most from accumulated experience in the model built according to the author's sovereign intentions. Although it is true what Örkény said, i.e. that the grotesque, in its newly created meta-world, has overthrown the balance between the concrete and the abstract (this allows the writer to roam freely in time and space), at the same time it is also true, and Örkény's own works are the best proof of this, that the author recreates this balance and reconstitutes this relationship in all his works.

The grotesque play *Pisti in the Bloodbath* was written in 1969; it first appeared in print in the collection *Időrendben* (In Chronological Order) in 1972. It is being presented on the stage for the first time now.

The plot overthrows all the laws of nature, its twists and turns follow the author's logic, they have nothing to do with reality. The hero, Pisti, wavers on the border

* István Örkény died in June 1979 while final proofs were being corrected. *Ed.*

of existence and non-existence, even vacuum-existence. He can multiply himself. He is confronted with the laws that exert their impact under the trends of real historical development, and he manifests authentic human forms of behaviour in one bizarre situation after another. In this world where one Pisti—in fact, *pistipistipisti*, as Örkény calls him—has two egos, four faces and at least a hundred lives, it is possible to imagine (but only in this world) that the same person is simultaneously murderer and victim, fascist and resistance fighter, jockey and cancer researcher, commercial school teacher with a forty-eight inch chest measurement and human amoeba preserved in a phial—all these at one and the same time. Pisti's different egos are played by four actors. One moment he is a familiar, almost banal figure, then again an abstract idea, unit of measure, and often the symbol of "pisti"-ness. In this medium it is understandable and "natural" that the victims of 1944 shot by the Fascists in the back of the neck get up and continue their lives. Örkény's Pisti is made immortal by the mere fact of being alive, not by anything he does. He is not only a human being of flesh and blood but also the living, struggling symbol of "pisti"-ness who succumbs in every bloodbath but also prevails over them. He is an everyday fallible Faust who struggles and trusts even when it has been proved that nowadays one body and one soul is not enough. If you want to survive in our age you must change your costume and your heart as Pisti did. The scene in the comedy when the hero doubles himself in the storm of war (making others believe that he is at one and the same time a hero of the resistance and his cringing pro-German twin brother) is unforgettable and his environment takes little notice of this suspension of the laws of reality. Of course the spectators know very well that the rendering of the impossible as if it were possible, the ripening of earthly truth into ideal truth, is not just a writer's trick. Örkény does not wish to dazzle us with the doubling of Pisti, he wants us to understand that at historical crossroads one must decide. Because, although it is true that "freedom is to be two," we generally only exist in one copy.

Even when Örkény lets loose his imagination and proves with his bizarre gags that he feels at home even in a world without gravitation, he does not deprive his public of the experience of identification. Whereas the boulevard theatre and best-seller literature produce it with the superficial description of everyday phenomena, emotional-political commonplaces and topical wisecracks, in Örkény's play the basic truths of life, fundamental attitudes and socially characteristic behaviours are represented in a way that spectators cannot avoid identification.

Let us take as an example the most plastic of Pisti's four egos whom the bill calls Active Pisti and who can be recognized by his unrelenting, unceasing dishonesty. This person is not identical with any concrete acquaintance of ours: he is the representative of an attitude, of a social formula. Now if we break down his career into phases as is done in the plot, his concrete manifestations and even sentences become familiar, such as, for example, his introductory threat that he will not forget the faces of those who dare laugh at him. His rise as a party prodigy is also familiar because "he is incompetent in so many things that it amounts to versatility."

The teenager Pisti's most ardent desire is to conquer tight-bottomed females. The adult man has four wives and many admirers. His aims in life by now are not high distinctions or to find the cure for cancer (he has attained both), neither does he want to redeem the world; people are coming from remote regions because they believe him to be their Messiah. His aim is simply to be able to be identical with himself at last, at the close of fifty years of vicissitudes in Hungarian history. Örkény does not

predict when this time will come, he does not say when Pisti will be identical with Pisti. The most optimistic sentence in the play is certainly that Pisti has married the future tense of the verb to be.

In this play Örkény not only created a sovereign world of his own but also an autonomous dramatic technique. He confronted his very real historical experiences with the roles in an imagined universe where the laws of society are present in their pure state, and he informed people of the results in a brisk series of irresistible scenes.

Thanks to the warm humour of the play, even those who only want to be entertained in the theatre find themselves in an exhilarating and rejuvenating sauna. The alarming bloodbath which the title promises is bloodcurdlingly good entertainment. Those who expect more from the theatre must know that Örkény's play—our collective autobiography written for us and about us—is a deadly serious play: an experience that awakens a generation's awareness of itself.

Anna Földes

J. C. TREWIN

THE WORLD ON THE HUNGARIAN STAGE

It is hardly a thought of great originality to say that the world's a stage. After all, Shakespeare, who had a good many of these ideas, got it in first. He will not mind my borrowing it now for an article which, in saluting the Hungarian theatre, also salutes *The New Hungarian Quarterly* on its 75th issue. A consistent reader of the *NHQ* has had a seat in a stage-box at the sustained drama of Hungarian life and culture over two decades: the experience could scarcely have been more exciting and rewarding.

There are multiple joys in any visit to Budapest: so many that, while remembering the past, the seasons fold in upon one and chronology becomes muddled. Not, for my purpose, that I need to be too strict with time. What I want to do now is to think of the spirit of the Hungarian stage over sixteen years or so—it seems longer than that since on an early morning we saw the breaking spring ice on the Danube—and to be grateful for the pleasures of a Theatre Theatrical that is also a Theatre of Ideas. In London today, except when such a director as Peter Brook is around—not so often recently—we are apt to keep those popular terms apart: I see no reason why they should not be sounded together. Almost since my first night at a play in Budapest, have they infused my mind as the essence of the Hungarian theatre.

That first night itself, far back, might have been a trifle baffling: something due to both the language barrier and to the play which was a version, at the Nemzeti of Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into the Night*. It was never his richest work (whatever Olivier would do with it in London a long time afterwards); certainly, helped though we were by the rapid translation of the best of interpreters, Mrs Lili Halápy—always with the right word in our ear—it was not designed to show a Hungarian company at its meridian. True, I could agree, and wrote later, that Ferenc Bessenyei was obviously giving the kind of performance in depth that could reveal the father's entire past. But the play was static and had to seem even more so in a foreign language. One could only be aware, at a remove, of the subtleties of phrasing and interpretation that animated it for a Budapest audience. In the circumstances, and in spite of atmospheric décor, a long night's journey.

Never mind: the next play we saw and heard—I am speaking, too, for my drama-critic wife—was an example of the Hungarian theatre at its most powerful; from it dates our grateful yielding to the Budapest stage and to what John Masefield called, in another context, 'the acted passion, beautiful and swift.'

The production was *Hamlet*, with Miklós Gábor, directed at the Madách by László Vámos in the famous 19th-century translation by János Arany. That is a daunting collection of names—my first editor, long, long ago, urged me never to put too many in one sentence—but, standing as they do for so much that the Budapest theatre meant to me in that bright spring, and has done ever since, it warms my imagination to see them all together. At this stage I need not describe again how the *Hamlet* affected a newcomer to its magnificent line-by-line translation, seemingly bringing to an English ear every beat, every rhythm, of the original. (Nothing here like the notorious Spanish text in which Francisco's 'I am sick at heart' emerges as 'I have a weak chest'). Gábor, with his unwavering sense of the part's shape and line, and his romantic command, proved himself that night to be what the English classical player, the late Robert Speaight—himself a former Hamlet—called 'the great Hungarian actor... He stands among the few great interpreters of Shakespeare on the European continent during the century of the *régisseur*.' To use the most valuable of adjectives twice in a single paragraph is an accolade indeed; and Speaight—we had talked more than once about Gábor—was not given to exaggeration.

There, production and performance united the theatrical and the intellectual. Although an English tragedian said to me that there is no need for these qualities to cancel each other, any work that summons a Shakespearian phrase, 'bold, and forth on,' has been curiously suspect in criticism. Too frequently an anxious quietism has ruled, and the theatre cannot live by quietism alone: I doubt whether Shakespeare's leading actor, Burbage, would have understood the word.

If it is held that I am writing about the excitement (that word recurs) of the Hungarian stage on the strength of one classical performance in the early 1960s, let me assert that, again and again on visits to Budapest, we have discerned and gloried in this special union of mind and vigour. Another thing. At the risk of repetition—for I have spoken of this in *NHQ*—let me say that it is not simply the idea of an impressionable visitor swayed by a new city, new friends, new sights; affection overpowering judgment. No visitor loves Budapest more than I do; but, allowing for that and after fifty years of drama criticism all over the place, I am as much in thrall to its theatre now as I was in the crowded spring of 1963.

Naturally, there have been flaws; naturally there have been nights when there was little to kindle the imagination. But remarkably few of these: I have seldom left a Budapest theatre without something to remember. One matter, obvious though it may appear, does need emphasis. Local playgoers, familiar with an actor, his vocal and visual mannerisms, or what Max Beerbohm called his 'finger-prints,' can sometimes find their reactions dulled. I have often had that experience in London, and particularly with a very fine classical actor, the late Sir Donald Wolfit. He had been so overexposed midway in his career that one could forecast every move and inflection. A visitor from abroad, who knew little English, and who met Wolfit for the first time—I think it was as Benedick—rebuked me for injustice to a superb technician, an actor who, for him, had set the stage ablaze.

Any writer on drama must allow for his knowledge of an actor, otherwise he can be hypercritical. Coming newly to Budapest, I found myself, night by night, appreciating a fresh, clear, forcible theatrical impact. Personality in performance instantly establishes itself: you need not know the spoken

language, but you know the language of acting. On return visits those players who most excited me in early years have not disappointed: it is valuable to see with new eyes.

After the earliest Budapest spring I wrote of the swift, sharp approach of Hungarian acting in general, of the full drive towards the heart of a play. That, for me, is unchanged. Major players, seen however often, remain as they proclaimed themselves at first meeting, uncommon artists. I think immediately, in various parts, of Gábor, Bessenyei, Éva Ruttkai, Imre Sinkovits, Iván Darvas, Mária Sulyok (met last as the Spanish provincial matriarch in Várkonyi's production of *The House of Bernarda Alba* at the Vígszínház)—and (in what I would call the forthright Wolfit manner) Lajos Básti who died a year ago. All of them declared themselves at once; and many other performers, often in small parts, fixed the memory. (I remember writing an essay about a Second Gravedigger, Árpád Gyenge, who had lost nothing of his quality in another *Hamlet*, fourteen years after the first, though the second production, in 1977, was admittedly much inferior).

Looking back, the star name is inevitably Shakespeare, as much a Swan of Danube as of Avon: revivals, for example, of *Hamlet* (twice), *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Richard III* (in a translation by the poet, István Vas), *Timon of Athens*. The *Timon* was the only production I saw unluckily blurred by experiment, a Brechtian alienation trick in the atmosphere of a circus. Not that we can do without experiment in the classical thatre; but Budapest has managed, it seems to me, to avoid a form of excess that is inevitably transient. (Though I have not met him in Shakespeare, it has been interesting to see the productions by Károly Kazimir at the Thalia).

Several other classical or near-classical nights: Gogol, Chekhov, Ibsen, Shaw. As a handicapped visitor, I can speak with far less assurance of home-bred Hungarian plays. These, like certain wines, do not appear to travel, and it would be a joy to find some that could transfer to London (where Molnár remains the key name). Many of us were happy with István Örkény's *Catsplay* at an outer London theatre not long ago; but I gathered that, though Bergner and Margaret Rawlings were in the cast, the production and translation missed the Budapest sheen.

One returns to the classics and to the union of vigour and intellect. Arthur Quiller-Couch said in a Cambridge lecture: 'In literature, as in life' (and he could have added 'in performance') 'he makes himself felt who not only calls a spade a spade but has the pluck to double spades and re-double.' In major Hungarian acting one can count on that grand quality. To say that every performance is memorable would be hyperbole: sometimes, in Shaw's phrase, 'doors have not opened,' but even then there has been a beating on the door, a determination, a fighting spirit. More than once, during the last twelve in London, at productions that have reminded me of the Cornish sea-saying, 'Lying limp, like wet weed,' I have thought wistfully of Budapest and of the ineradicable sense of something larger than life.

With this I have remembered the concentration and good manners of a Budapest audience, theatre-trained and responsive. Not only in Budapest. Some years ago I was surprised to find myself sitting, late on a serene Sunday afternoon, in a provincial theatre, the Petőfi at Veszprém in Transdanubia. The occasion was a much more than creditable performance of Scribe's *A Glass of Water* about the English court of Queen Anne. What stays now, especially, is the rapt attention of the audience. There was a genuine communion of pleasure, and that might be a phrase for the whole of Hungarian theatre-going (as well as for the readership of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* during its splendidly fruitful career).

THE BUDAPEST FILM WEEK

I. GLITTERING SHOPWINDOW

This year, the Hungarian Film Week proved to be a large display operation, showing the variety and quality of the current Hungarian productions. The two marketing organizations, Mafilm and Hungarofilm, joined forces to create a memorable event for over a hundred invited foreign guests, and for the première-loving Budapest public.

Miklós Jancsó's international fame and international importance ensured that the centrepiece of the display should be the first part of his new trilogy, followed by private screenings of the second part. This trilogy, under the overall title of *Vitam et sanguinem*, is Jancsó's largest undertaking so far. Instead of a historic event, he aims to depict a linear story to cover thirty-five years of Hungarian history from the Austro-Hungarian military hegemony of the 1910s to the defeat of Socialist aspirations under the Fascist extremists in 1944. The première of the first part, *Hungarian Rhapsody (Magyar Rapszódia)*, was received with the usual mixture of reservations and adulation. For those who could see the second part, *Allegro Barbaro*, in the same week, the two films inevitably coalesced: for even though the first part tells the story of the central character's political and moral conversion, and the second part shows the actions which follow from this, each should be examined in the other's context. A full analysis, however, ought to await the third, concluding part of the trilogy: until then, any synopsis is necessarily incomplete.

In the first part, *Hungarian Rhapsody*, Jancsó musters the symbols of the ruling class around his hero, István, a young officer in the Austro-Hungarian army. His father is a landowner and member of parliament: in an election, he is opposed by a local peasant leader whose followers invade the grounds of the mansion, and drench the drunken landlord with a firehose. This is considered an insult against "a gentleman" by the "peasant rabble," so István and his brother ride into the peasant leader's farmyard and challenge him to a fight. The old man wins and throws István bodily out of his house. Enraged in their gentlemanly "honour", the boys pull guns ans shoot wildly through the doors and windows, killing the old man. Though the "free and independent" court exonerates the two brothers, István's conscience gives him no peace. He fights World War I on the Italian front, and finds his ideas on patriotism and courage challenged by the rebellion of the defeated army in 1919. Returning to Hungary, István is resolved to overcome the Bolsheviks, but he is increasingly aware that land reform and political freedom for the peasantry must be introduced by any regime which hopes to lead Hungary to prosperity. His old friends, brother officers and colleagues, try to dissuade him from this "white Bolshevism," but his moral sense draws him deeper into the peasants' cause.

In *Allegro Barbaro*, István is further disturbed by the lack of political responsibility and total cynicism of the political leaders. As always, Jancsó's settings play their part in the action. The small, neo-classical mansion of István's family emphasizes their closeness to their workers. The mass gatherings, festivities, and military manœuvres take place in a large, open-sided barn on the estate. The functional simplicity of these structures contrasts with the huge, Baroque palace where the prime minister, Count Hédervåry, holds his ceaseless orgies among ornamental fountains. Jancsó presents the political life of the Horthy regime in a series of misty, stunning pictures with orgies, ballet and theatre shows to divert politicians whose power is based on the fully armed gendarmerie (in cock-feathered helmets). By the end of *Allegro Barbaro*, Hungarian and

German officers occupy István's estate, showing how Hungary was sold into the war on the German side, by an officer class wholly subservient to Nazi Germany.

István (played by György Cserhalmi) is a complex figure: he rejects the officer-ethos while claiming the full privileges of his class and his parliamentary status: he is resolved to use his privileges for the benefit of his people, and the cause of agrarian reform. He tries to prove his assimilation with the peasantry by marrying his god-daughter, the pretty Communist who had brought him into the movement. However, his friends refuse to accept his secession and still claim him as one of themselves, while arresting the girl. Finally, in a desperate gesture, he kills the prime minister, Hédervàry, but the murder is hushed up and István's own brother takes over the government. As the Germans tighten their hold over Hungary, the girl escapes execution by a bizarre suicide pact, and István is abandoned by all, in a darkening field where even the sheep seem to be covered in the mud-brown shades of military uniform.

The style and scale of Jancsó's films, with each scene played out in the timeless flow of a single day, with stories weaving in and out of thirty years' history, has, fortunately, no direct imitators or disciples in Hungary. Only his 1967 masterpiece, *The Round-Up (Szegénylegények)* has filtered down into the so-called Paprika Western, but it is doubtful whether these films, with stories of cops-and-robbers in the mid-nineteenth century, have anything to offer besides the accidental pleasures of their ineptitude.

As could be expected, the Hungarian Film Week revealed some interesting dichotomies between the public (an alert, critical and film-loving audience which took the trouble to book in advance for the premières) and the invited foreign critics. Apart from Jancsó's films, the most eagerly awaited and enthusiastically applauded was Pál Sándor's sixth feature film, *Deliver Us from Evil (Szabadíts meg a gonosztól)*, with its quality almost guaranteed by its literary pedigree (the writings of one of Hungary's finest contemporary prose writers, Iván Mándy), and a cast of established favourites. Irén Psota plays the middle-aged lady who is in charge of the cloakroom in a scruffy dancing school; András Kern the ne'er-do-well son who steals one of the coats, and Dezső Garas the brother-in-law who offers what masculine protection can do in the confused, muddled times of late 1944. For the foreign guest, however, the real surprise of the week was Pál Gábor's *The Training of Vera (Angi Vera)*, based on a short story by Endre Vészi, for which Gábor's previous films hardly prepared the viewer. Only *Horizon (Horizont)* had been shown in Britain; and although he has won prizes at Venice and Barcelona, neither *Forbidden Ground (Tiltott terület)* nor *Journey with Jacob (Utazás Jakabbal)* nor the historic drama *Epidemic (Járvány)* had managed to break through into international distribution; each seemed an excellent, if minor, treatment of some specifically Hungarian issue. *The Training of Vera*, likewise set firmly in the Hungarian past, the year 1949, none the less has universal reverberations: the subject, which is the willingness of an ignorant young girl to accept the half-truths and outright lies of indoctrination as part of her education, is presented with a finely graduated increase of dramatic force.

It is a truism that in each film the local critic and the foreign journalist saw something totally different, but in the final evaluation the differences tend to concern style and treatment, rather than any resistance or acceptance of specific subjects. Hungarian critics are inevitably influenced by the literary values, clearly reflected in the dialogue and characterization, of a film, whereas foreigners bring with them the predispositions of current fashions in film-making. In the light of the latter, films like *Mistletoe (Fagyöngyök)* and *Family Nest (Családi tűzfészek)* are in the tradition not only of the Balázs Béla Studio, but of Ken Loach, Jean Rouch, and Freddy Wiseman. Jancsó, in

making a film to cover over thirty years, is not merely developing his own earlier technique of time-elision, but seems to have profited from the example of Angelopoulos. Rózsa's brilliant, pessimistic *The Trumpeter* brings to mind *The Sudden Fortune of the Poor People of Kombach*, and also, less obviously, John Huston's *A Walk With Love and Death*. In spite of this, or perhaps because of this, it is these films which stand out in retrospect from the many rich treasures of the Film Week. This is not to belittle the dramatic excellence and directorial assurance of *The Training of Vera*, or to ignore the stylistic pyrotechnics of the period reconstruction, with its echoes of Italian neo-realism, of *Deliver Us from Evil;* but only to concede the Hungarian critics' advantages in their proper appreciation.

Mistletoe

The first attraction of Judit Ember's film is its unswervingly feminine viewpoint. The central character, Nóra, comes from an all-female family, though Granny, herself an illegitimate child, had conformed to social norms and married. Her daughter, Big Nóra, gave birth to Little Nóra outside wedlock, and Little Nóra herself already has two children when, expecting her third, she finally succumbs to grandmotherly pressure and embarks on the symbolically long walk to the registry office with her man. But apart from its unusual characters, the film's spiritual and moral interest comes from the director's determined voyage of discovery into a marginal, seldom-portrayed section of society.

Mistletoe is not a documentary, though its genesis was an earlier documentary film about Nóra's past *(Tantörténet)*. Eight years after the actual events Judit Ember embarked on an interview film to explore a set of friends and family who were in some way concerned with the 14-year-old Nóra's two unsuccessful attempts at suicide. From this film, Judit Ember came to know Nóra, her pretty man-eater of a mother, and the entire narrow, impoverished world from which a lovesick 14-year-old tried to escape. Nóra jumped from a fourth-floor corridor, breaking a leg, shattering her pelvis and causing herself permanent spinal damage: but she survived, and defied medical prognostications by three successful pregnancies. In fact, bearing children became Nóra's atonement for the crime of attempted suicide. *Mistletoe* shows the serenity and love which fills her materially deprived life.

The earlier film is a recreation of conflict: Nóra's attempted suicide is analysed by her friends, and the responsibility for her despair is passed around among them, and shared with the mother, Big Nóra. In the second, fictionalized, story there is no such dramatic confrontation: having got to know the family intimately in the course of making the first film, Judit Ember set up the camera to film family life, Nóra's wedding and the birth of her third child. Nóra's Caeserean section is the film's dramatic high point: afterwards, the christening party creates a slight release from its tension, without relaxing the viewer's involvement with the family. All these sections were pre-scripted, but obviously very much in accordance with the kind of things the family would have done anyway. Nóra's husband would still have been preoccupied with buying a car, Granny would have been preparing to visit her other daughter abroad, and Nóra would have married and given birth even if the script did not exist, and even if the camera had not been around. Although the two films are separated by the definition of documentary and fiction films, this definition is not very important. The people in the feature film, too, brought their own attitudes and selves to the fictionalized account of their daily lives: they could go through each incident in their own surroundings, using their own natural language and gestures: smiles, shrugs, sighs. To write this sort of script, the writer-director had to observe closely, and subjugate invention to observation to a point where the

film could equally be called documentary. After all, no documentary film exists without an element of deliberate structuring and stylization.

Documentaries and Documentary Fiction

Two other films presented in the week's main programme were made with a similar technique of giving scripts to people with incidents and situations that bore a resemblance to their own lives, Lívia Gyarmathy's *The Ninth Floor (Kilencedik emelet)* and Béla Tarr's *Family Nest (Családi tűzfészek)*. *The Ninth Floor* is about a disaffected teenage boy who resents his mother's young lover, and his sister's greater independence. The signs of his rebellion, such as sniffing glue and playing truant from school, seem rather low-key compared to the football hooliganism, sleeping rough, or taking hard drugs, evidence of teenage revolt in Western society. However, there is no doubt that in the Hungarian context, the social problem presented is serious enough, even if the tensions in Gyarmathy's film are too subdued to create a sufficiently striking catharsis.

By contrast, Béla Tarr's *Family Nest* seems slightly overdramatized in its presentation of the worst aspects of the housing shortage. A very young, somewhat feckless couple can continue in the one-room flat with the in-laws. From the state of the girl's nerves, it is obvious that even a reception centre could give her a little breathing space: but all she can find, finally, is a derelict site, unlikely to ensure the health or even the survival of her baby, yet a haven of peace after the daily violent altercations of her husband's family. Unfortunately, the scene of gang rape early in the film, and some of the family's quarrels have the effect of emotional over-kill, which makes it more difficult to accept the story as realistic and in no way overstated.

The Balázs Béla Stúdió presented a separate programme of new films outside the main programme. *Unveiling (Leleplezés)* by Györgyi Szalai and László Vitézy, is a sharply satirical story about a small industrial town's commissioning a sculpture; and *There Are Changes (Vannak változások)*, by János and Gyula Gulyás, is about a small village near the Rumanian border called Penészlek, where a sociological survey in the 1960s had incalculable repercussions. (Children were found to have nits.) Both these films suffer from overelaboration and excessive length, but none the less, they offer, as the Balázs Béla films always do, the most challenging re-formulation of current social problems.

Reality in Feature Films

And yet, the trend for realistic and satiric comedy, which could not be accused of ignoring the problems of contemporary life, still continues. Two new films in particular, Zsolt Kézdi Kovács's *The Good Neighbour (A jó szomszéd)* with all its formal, gracefully constructed elegance, and Rezső Szörény's fluid, casually structured *Happy New Year (BUÉK)* are both deeply rooted in today's realities.

The Good Neighbour is, like Tarr's film, about the housing jungle, in which the price of survival, or rather, of winning out, is endless hypocrisy and betrayal. The protagonist of Kézdi-Kovács's film, a Mr. Dibusz, starts his wheeling-dealing by dispossessing his aged father from his squalid but independent room in a tottering tenement. With the old man tucked away in hospital, Dibusz begins his empire-building: establishing lines of alliance and attack in the tenement, he soon lays siege to any single woman who would, by marrying him, augment his claims for re-housing when the building gets pulled down. In spite of his seductions, no one marries him; though a vulnerable young girl escapes him only at the price of her life. Dibusz succeeds for a while in his avaricious schemes, but as the film's lyrical coda reveals, he finally overreaches himself, and ends back where he started; but there is no doubt in

our minds that a fresh assortment of victims will litter both his next rise, and his equally inevitable fall.

Happy New Year is set in a less extreme world, and deals with working and erotic relationships and rivalries in a scientific institute. At the turn of the year, a new research chief is appointed, and the New Year's Eve celebrations are held in the wake of his reorganizations and new appointments. The most talented of the scientists is the least skilled at politicking: his disappointments and growing cynicism are reflected in drinking and womanizing which, in turn, stress the guilts and self-justifications of his pretended friends. The free-wheeling story, beginning in the middle of the hero's giant bender and finishing with his return to the woman who truly loves him, generates great emotive power in its unpretentious simplicity.

Both Kézdi-Kovács's and Szörény's films were widely, almost universally, praised by participants in the film week. Márta Mészáros's new work, *Just Like Home (Olyan mint otthon)* also found a ready welcome, especially for the quality of its acting by Zsuzsa Czinkóczi and Jan Nowicki.

At the same time, the reception of János Rózsa's new feature film, *The Trumpeter (Trombitás)* was more controversial. By Hungarian standards, the acts of brigandage by the seventeenth-century outlaws, and the retributions of justice, which include the skinning alive of a malefactor and impaling another on a stake, appear unusually explicit; some critics took the setting to be medieval, a naiveté easy to pardon. None the less, in the context of the film, the violent incidents are not merely justifiable, but essential. There are two recognizable themes recurring in János Rózsa's films: one is the destruction of youthful idealism, a coarsening of both body and spirit in the process of growing up; but parallel to this, there is the theme of military defeat and its aftermath. In *The Trumpeter*, the film's characters are the flotsam who remain, like the mass graves of the earlier film about Mohács, after the Thököly wars of the 1690s. Hungary's history has many such defeats, and Rózsa's treatment reveals an obsession with the possibility of survival, with the energy which recreates a nation again and again, after its apparent annihilation. The eclipse of a nation, the loss of youthful idealism illustrate the fragility of romantic ideas, while the survival of a man, the rebirth of a nation, is the stuff of life and hope, but without romantic trimmings.

The historic setting enables a director to create an abstract model of human conduct: one can think about the film without arguing whether the characters have other options, or whether their fate was inevitable. We are all prepared to take a historic period on the director's and designer's credit; but when a film is set in the present, we are all self-appointed experts of its degree of authenticity. A film set in the present has to answer not only in terms of its story, characters, and intrinsic interest, but also has to fulfil the audience's expectations of recognition, it has to meet the audience's own awareness of reality.

Discounting this demand, which it meets in full, a first film by a new director, András Jeles's *The Little Valentino (A kis Valentino)* offers a straight comparison with Rózsa's *The Trumpeter*. Here too a teenage boy starts out with an illusion. His illusion is about money: he thinks that by purloining a large sum, probably the wages bill of a small firm, he can buy himself some sort of freedom, some special happiness. It may be boredom rather than greed which prompts him to pocket the sum he is supposed to be posting; and the film is a loose, middle-distance observation of what he can do with it. We follow his movements in and around the city: we watch him insist on taking a taxi for a long ride, in spite of the manifest suspicions of the driver about his ability to meet the bill, and the fatherly lecturing along the drive. He buys a large box of expensive cream-cakes for his bedridden mother, he buys sunglasses, secondhand foreign maga-

zines; he even goes to an illegal pawnbroker and buys a gold signet ring privately. He tries out expensive restaurants with a friend, and finds only boredom: he tries to buy a young tart in an amusement park, but his shyness overcomes desire, and he passes her on to his friend. In the end, he strays into an amusement arcade and looses his remaining money on betting on a one-armed bandit. Finally, he goes along to the police station. We see him go in, then the camera picks up another man who comes out, buys flowers and gets on a bus. In fact, throughout the film the camera pans along incidents which are tangential to the boy: it is a metaphoric reflection of the film's theme, stressing that the stolen money does not even invest him with enough importance to stay in the focus of the camera, to become the riveting centre of the film: his actions are too mundane, his ideas too narrow to hold anyone's interest. Just as he is bored with himself, his lack of real adventures, so the camera, simulating a parallel boredom, simply looks away and picks up, for a few seconds or minutes, someone else's progress down the street, or monologue in a restaurant, or even private concern. The trouble is that an audience, habituated to a more conventional and concentric method of narration, may relax its attention as the camera relaxes its grip of the boy's wanderings; and may respond to this portrait of aimlessness and boredom with boredom. Only the recognition of local landmarks, an identification with the boy's loneliness, and the tension which develops between him and his environment can counteract this boredom: and for large sections of the film, it succeeds.

It is, of course, impossible to foretell which of the year's twenty or twenty-five films are likely to attract attention abroad. For instance, a new film by András Kovács, *The Stud Farm (Ménesgazda)*, was shown in competition on the first day of the Berlin Festival, the day before the scandal about the showing of *The Deer Hunter* split the jury and broke up the festival; and even though *The Stud Farm* was a strong contender, it could not be considered for any of the prizes. Similarly, though a British distributor took out an option on *The Training of Vera* before the Hungarian Film Week ended, it is bound to depend on the vagaries of the London film scene whether it will gain the critical and public acclaim it deserves, or whether it will sink into obscurity in the wake of some other *cause célèbre*. One must accept the inevitable conclusion that while in Hungary a film's reception is circumscribed by local expectations and, sometimes, limitations, its fate abroad tends to be a matter of sheer chance.

MARI KUTTNA

II. HUNGARIAN RHAPSODIES

The 1979 Hungarian Film Week opened in Budapest with Miklós Jancsó's *Hungarian Rhapsody (Magyar rapszódia)*, the first part of his eagerly awaited trilogy that will provide a symbolic representation of the course of Hungarian history in the first half of this century. Anyone expecting to find, in Jancsó's first Hungarian-made film in four years, a radically new style or subject-matter, was quickly disillusioned: though it moves away from the extreme stylization of *Elektreia (Elektra)* (1974), the film forms part of a continuing process begun almost a decade ago with *Agnus Dei (Égi bárány)* and *Confrontation (Fényes szelek)* and reaching its most recent stage of refinement with the Italian/Yugoslavian co-production *Private Vices and Public Virtues* (1976). Though there are several characteristic Jancsó sequence shots, the editing of the film follows a more conventional pattern than usual; on the other hand, there is virtually nothing in the narrative that can be accepted within the normal canons of "realism"—every scene

has to be interpreted symbolically, to be read within a framework of codes that are sometimes universal and sometimes comprehensible only to those already familiar with Jancsó's private mythology.

The progress of István, an (imaginary) Hungarian politician, from unthinking acceptance of his privileged status as part of an apparently stable aristocratic elite, to a position of increasing doubt and self-questioning, is presented by means of songs, dances, symbolic confrontations, processions, and formalized patterns and groupings of the characters. Horsemen, naked women, naked men, flowers, candles, water, fire, and weapons are used, sometimes at the centre of the action, often at its periphery, in accordance with the connotations built up by their appearance within Jancsó's work over the past fifteen years. What is probably the finest sequence of images (the director of photography, as usual, is János Kende) occurs about two-thirds of the way through the film: after a night-club sequence where the bodies of hanged men form a macabre décor, there is a scene in a grotto, in front of an elaborately ornamented fountain, where some of the main characters play a game of Russian roulette and the hero's mistress is killed in the course of this. A procession by a river bank follows, to the accompaniment of smoke flares and drums; István then takes a symbolic farewell of his home, his family, and his companions. There is another procession, by a lakeside, the dead girl's body on a bier and István carrying a lighted candle; the body is placed on a funeral pyre and the coffin is set alight; the whole pyre is then towed out onto the lake, where it forms a miniature island, blazing on the metallic blackness of the water.

Though the second film in the trilogy, *Allegro Barbaro*, did not form part of the official programme of the Film Week, it was shown privately to the foreign critics attending the festival. István has by now thrown in his lot with the peasants rather than his own class (prompted, it seems, as much by his love for a peasant girl as by any genuine process of ideological change—at least this is the impression given by the film, which allows the crucial decision to occur in the gap between the two parts). (One main theme of the films seems to concern the tendency, throughout Hungarian history, for peasant rebellions to be organized and led by renegade members of the aristocracy.) He becomes part of a conspiracy to kill the current Prime Minister and is forced, against his will, to replace him. His house and its immediate surroundings become a microcosm for the state of the country during the 1930s and the Second World War, and the imagery becomes increasingly bizarre as the film proceeds. Helmeted German soldiers on motor cycles replace the circling horsemen of the earlier film; their ritualistic firing of automatic pistols and rifles substitutes for the cracking whips employed previously. Hang-gliders, aeroplanes, parachutists, even a merry-go-round on which his trapped mistress is whirled, play an increasingly prominent role, along with the more usual candles, flags, dances, and acrobatics.

One interesting, and rather novel, feature of both films is a bold disregard for the normal laws of space and time, with transitions, often of several years, taking place within the framework of a continuous camera movement; objects that are in one position at the beginning of the shot appearing in a totally different place at the end; and, most strikingly, two levels of action, the "actual" (at least within the terms the film has established for itself) and the "imaginary" or "dreamlike" occurring simultaneously within the same shot. A striking example of this in *Allegro Barbaro* occurs in the course of an extremely elaborate shot, when István's mistress, who has just been put to death, "reappears" with a group of guerrillas to assassinate a German; the camera then moves on to show the woman's body being carried in from the lake.

In recent years the films of Márta Mészáros, somewhat to the amazement of many Hungarians, have rivalled those of Jancsó for foreign attention. Some of that interest has been factitious, prompted simply by a fashionable enthusiasm for any woman who produces competent films, and, though I have always found her work worthy of serious attention, it generally seems to be flawed by artificial and schematic plot structures and a stereotyped presentation of the male characters. *Just Like at Home (Olyan mint otthon)* however, is a genuinely exciting and disturbing work, which gives the impression of escaping from a predetermined structure during the course of shooting and taking on an unexpected life of its own. The main agent of this transformation would seem to be Zsuzsa Czinkóczy, a girl barely in her teens, already seen in László Ranódy's *No Man's Daughter* (Árvácska) (1976) and glimpsed in *Hungarian Rhapsody*, who is clearly destined to become a very great screen actress. Her presence, and the air of mature understanding and shrewdness that she brings to her role, turn what might have been a banal and confused story into something haunting and unsettling.

András (played by the Polish actor Jan Nowicki) has returned to Budapest after a visit to America, but has overstayed his time there and, as a result, loses his job. His former girl-friend (Anna Karina) wants to renew their relationship, but András, boorish and self-centred, shows little real interest in her. During a visit to his native village, he encounters Zsuzsi and asks if he can buy her dog to replace his own, which had died while he was away. Her refusal stimulates him to a perverse insistence on having the animal and finally he persuades her mother (apparently also an old flame) to sell him the dog secretly. Zsuzsi pursues him to Budapest and demands that he return her pet; he attempts to bully and browbeat her, but finally agrees and also drives her back to the village.

András stays on in the village for a few days, joining the farmers in their harvest tasks in a scene that beautifully suggests a rare moment of harmony and cooperation in his otherwise self-absorbed existence. A friendship develops with Zsuzsi and they are seen cycling and swimming together, lying side by side on a hillside in the sun to dry off; he even asks her parents if she can return with him to Budapest and go to school there. Anna arrives at the village in search of him however, and he promptly drops Zsuzsi and is seen with Anna in a series of shots that deliberately parallel his actions with the child: cycling, swimming, running together in the sunshine to get dry. Zsuzsi's mother says that she can go to Budapest and Anna senses a rivalry between them: "Do you hate me?" she asks the child one evening, while Zsuzsi merely stares at her enigmatically in reply.

In Budapest Anna attempts to win András totally for herself; Zsuzsi overhears them discussing what to do with her and, as they begin to make love, she is seen pacing restlessly on the balcony of the apartment. She puts on make-up and rearranges her hair in an attempt to compete with the older woman, but András appears not to notice; he even displays his lack of awareness that she might be anything more than a child by giving her a bath and washing her hair. He takes her to visit Anna and to play with the latter's much younger son, whom Zsuzsi mistakenly assumes to be his own child too; she responds with overt hostility to Anna and, on their return to the apartment, she has a quarrel with András, who hits her. Overwrought, András then pours out to the child all his fears and longings and disappointments. Anna is heard knocking at the door; they ignore her and Zsuzsi takes out her books and begins her homework. They are "just like at home," they decide, to the evident satisfaction of both.

The film's ambiguities and even confusions about its "real" subject work, paradoxically, in its favour: Anna clearly sees Zsuzsi as an actual or potential sexual rival;

Jan Nowicki and Zsuzsa Cinkóczi in Márta Mészáros's *Just Like at Home*

Courtesy Hungarofilm

Miklós Jancsó: *Hungarian Rhapsody II.*

Two scenes from Miklós Jancsó's *Hungarian Rhapsody I. — Allegro Barbaro*

Courtesy Hungarofilm

András appears to treat her purely as a child but is drawn to her also on a level beyond this; the girl herself uses her sexuality, innocently and yet consciously, to create a barrier between András and Anna. Zsuzsi's maturity, however, and in refreshing contrast to the type of teenager played by Tatum O'Neal in recent American films, is displayed not by precocious sexual understanding or supposedly cute foul-mouthed language, but through her sensitivity and intelligence. The result may not have been that the film that Mészáros intended to make, but it is almost certainly more interesting than that one would have been.

Among other major films from the festival, I preferred *Happy New Year!* which marks Rezső Szörény, with his third feature, as a director to watch out for in future. Another young director, András Lányi, in his first full-length film, *Ten Years After (Tíz év múlva)*, takes the ambitious subjects of the artist's relationship to his material and to reality. The film displays an often striking fascination with the nature of the screen image, playing with multiple images of different degrees of truth and immediacy, and sometimes unexpectedly switching perspective, so that on one occasion a man peacefully watching television in his living-room suddenly discovers himself on the screen as a TV crew invades his apartment and begins to interview him. In another complex sequence the heroine is seen watching Jean-Luc Godard's classic scene from *Vivre sa Vie* in which Anna Karina, viewing Falconetti shedding tears in Carl Dreyer's *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, wipes away a tear of her own; Lányi's heroine, watching Karina watching Falconetti, also brushes away a tear. The wit and inventiveness of these visual images, are not always matched by the quality of the script in Lányi's film, however.

Catch and Carry! (Fogjuk meg és vigyétek!) and *Whose Law is it? (Kinek a törvénye?)*, both the work of directors (Gábor Oláh and Sándor G. Szőnyi) new to me, tackle contemporary moral and social problems, the latter seriously and the former in a more light-hearted way. *Whose Law is it?* concerns an idealistic and inexperienced young policeman who falls foul of the chairman of the cooperative in the village to which he is posted. His disgust at the man's cynical manipulation of the power his position gives him locally, and his total disregard for the law, is complicated when he himself falls in love with the chairman's daughter. The film ends with the chairman still in control, but with the policeman, despite several setbacks, determined to continue to carry out his duty. *Catch and Carry!* deals with the housing shortage (which is examined from a very different perspective in *The Good Neighbour*) and studies the reactions of three generations of a family as they prepare for heir long-awaited move.

János Rózsa's *The Trumpeter (A Trombitás)* was for me the biggest disappointment of the festival. The geniality and sensitivity of his earlier films has vanished entirely in this eighteenth-century tale of a young boy's relationship with a group of bandits who claim to be acting from patriotic and nationalistic motives. Despite its brilliant photography, the film is marred by numerous scenes of graphic and gratuitous violence, which, by the end, appear to have been its only *raison d'être*.

Catch and Carry! was the only real comedy of the week, though *The Fortress (Az Erőd)* (by Miklós Szinetár) ran it close for, in this case, totally unintentional ludicrousness. A vaguely futuristic allegory that was apparently originally written as a project for Jancsó, it deals with a group of bored socialites who attempt to inject some excitement into their existence by signing up for a type of war-game that has both commercial and political motivations. The absurdity of the dialogue is equalled only by the ineptitude of the staging, though it is doubtful whether even Jancsó could have made anything even decently tolerable out of the material. GRAHAM PETRIE

MUSICAL LIFE

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE SCORES

VALENTINI BAKFARK OPERA OMNIA II, The Cracow Lute-Book 1565. Edited by István HOMOLYA and Daniel BENKŐ. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1979

Valentinus Bakfark (1507–1576) is the first Hungarian composer whose activities and work extended beyond the borders of the country and were in the forefront of European music. In this respect, his name can be placed alongside those of Liszt, Kodály and Bartók. Of course, I would I like to caution the reader against bracketing Bakfark with the masters listed above. This would not give a true picture of the real significance of his work. The 16th century, during which Bakfark earned his reputation as a lutenist and composer, was only occasionally aware of the concept which we today call national culture or national music. Whilst it is true that certain developments towards the emergence of national music can be observed from the 1500s on (folk songs and popular songs, particularly of Italian, Spanish, English, French, and German origin, appear in composed music) it nevertheless becomes apparent on closer examination that it was precisely those melodies, considered the most national (or more simply, the most beautiful), which were absorbed most rapidly in musical culture throughout Europe. In other words, every nation considered a "beautiful" melody to be its own.

The same is true of composing technique. The 16th century basically only knew one style of composing, though this style was so versatile that it allowed of countless variations. All the great musical powers of the period, however, exploited all its possibilities. In other words, we cannot pinpoint the birth of national musical life. And yet, a certain kind of musical personality (easily confused with other personalities) was born, virtually imperceptibly—we might even say accidentally.

Perhaps I am expressing myself in too complex a way, but I want to prevent the reader from thinking of the 16th-century composer in terms of the modern masters, every single bar of whose works palpably and unmistakably bears the marks of their creator. It is almost completely impossible to identify the composer of a 16th-century work from style alone. (Most of those who have tried have failed.)

Nevertheless, the period did make distinctions and consequently accorded certain individuals particular respect and attention. The gates of the royal or princely courts were soon opened, their works were published, poets sang of their learning and talent, their fame spread throughout the then known world. Valentinus Bakfark was one of these.

Such careers as these did not grow on trees. Just as today, many aspired to these honours but very few attained them, particularly in the area of instrumental music and the immensely popular lute music. Sixteenth-century presses vied with each other in publishing lute-books. Without any qualms, they lumped together the most widely divergent composers and cannibalised material from previous publications (we can be glad they mentioned the composer's name at all), perhaps adding a few new pieces and, of course, transcribing them in their

favoured notation. Almost 300 volumes of lute music were published up to the beginning of the 17th century, particularly during the second half of the 16th century. To a large extent these were collections of the type described above. Only the exceptions had their works printed in independent volumes. Apart from the Spanish masters, it was primarily Francesco da Milano "el divino" (1497–1543) and Valentinus Bakfark who were thus honoured. The latter's two most important independent volumes (which were later published partly or wholly in new editions) are the "Valentini Bakfark Opera Omnia I. and II." mentioned in the title. The NHQ reported on the first volume when it appeared. Since then a whole series of positive reactions have poured in from all parts of the world.

The new volume contains 12 Bakfark compositions, the numbering of the pieces continue from the first volume, thus VB 21–32. (The sequence of the whole edition is based on Bakfark's notes.) Although the first three works are long *Fantasias*, we should not interpret them in the Romantic sense. Quite the contrary, the Renaissance *Fantasia* is the most restricted form; it is constructed from beginning to end according to the strictest laws of counterpoint; for the sake of simplicity we could call it the ancestor of the fugue. It is not the first time these three virtuoso pieces have appeared in a modern edition. However, comparison of the various sources has resulted in a more exact and authentic edition than has been possible up to now. A noteworthy feature for the reader is the clear and consistent marking of the parts, though for reasons we cannot go into here, the deciphering of the lute tabulature was a complex task which posed many problems.

After this, 9 "intabulations" follow.

The 16th century lute-tabulature books are absolutely indispensable, we might even say integral components of composing, or more precisely, of the technique of arrangement. At that time, the masters of the lute basically adapted popular choral works (with certain changes) for their instrument, thereby making it possible for a single individual to play music requiring four or five singers or musicians. In a wider sense, the flourishing of instruments on which polyphonic music could be played (chiefly the lute and keyboard instruments) can also be seen as the period when the musical personality of the Renaissance stepped into the limelight.

The motets of Jacobus Clemens non Papa (c. 1510–1556), Nicolas Bombert (?–c. 1556) as well as Jacob Arcadelt appear in this volume, three motets from each of the first two masters, one from the last-mentioned; a motet and chanson by Josquin Desprez, who died more than forty years before the publication of the first Bakfark volume, are also included. (Josquin was born c. 1450 and died in 1521). All of the pieces consist of four parts except for the five-voice chanson which concludes the volume.

For someone interested in Bakfark's intabulation method, I would chiefly recommend the last piece in the volume, Josquin's chanson beginning, "*Faulte d'argent*..." since the vocal model is included in *Historical Anthology of Music by A. T. Davison and W. Apel* (in numerous editions, U.S.A., 1946, 1949, etc. and the one I used, the 1968 edition in which it appears as number 91) which is in common use and accessible to everyone. After a cursory comparison, one reaches the conclusion that Bakfark was mainly concerned with the problem of how to adapt Josquin's vigorous five-voice work for the lute without losing any of its quality. He is very sparing with ornamentation, using it only in cadences. At first sight, Bakfark's adaptation seems simple compared to similar works by his contemporaries. Actually, it is much more difficult because he tries to make the single instrument produce the effect of five singers or musicians. He eschews the showy runs which in the works of his contemporaries conceal rather than emphasize the basic line of the vocal model, and he follows the polyphonic structure as rigorously as—mutatis mutandis

—J. S. Bach in his fugues for solo violin. There is much that can be said about the individual pieces in the edition. However, we must confine ourselves to noting that the entire Bakfark edition with its well-spaced score and tablature printed under the modern transcription is an important event for enthusiasts of Renaissance music. At the same time as the volume indicated in the title the latest part of the equally well-known series "Musica per chitarra", the entire tabulature of 1565 arranged for guitar, was published (Guitar arrangement by Daniel Benkő).

The following is by way of a conclusion to the Bakfark question. One of the editors, Daniel Benkő has released the entire works of the 16th-century master on record. I have already reported on the first two records in this column; since then another has appeared and a fourth will perhaps be on the market by the time this article appears in print. The complete works of Valentinus Bakfark will be available on five long-playing records within six months, at the latest. There is only one volume of the complete works remaining to be published. All of Bakfark's works will be available both as scores and on record by the end of 1980.

ANTONIO CALDARA (c. 1670–1736) DIES IRAE per soli, Coro e Stromenti. Edited by István Homolya. Continuo realisation: Imre Sulyok Score, vocal score, choral score and instrumental parts are available separately.) Published jointly by Bärenreiter Verlag Kassel Basel Tours London and Editio Musica Budapest. 1978.

Caldara, together with Antonio Lotti, was one of the most prolific composers of the Catholic Baroque style. He spent the last 25 years of his life (with one brief interruption around 1715) in Vienna, a city which had always welcomed Italian artists, and where he was greatly esteemed. A significant number of his works were found there. Stylistically, these works belong to the late Baroque Venetian School, which means they are characterized by richness of harmony and melody rather than by virtuoso voice treatment (as in the Neapolitan school).

In the preface to this edition, we read the following: "The work is now published for the first time; a contemporary manuscript score is preserved in the archives of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna under the shelf-mark *I. 1708*."

In the 19th movement Caldara makes use of the familiar sequence text of the Latin *Requiem* with great sensitivity and attention to nuance. It is primarly in the choral movement where he seems inexhaustibly inventive and versatile; he uses the tone-painting resources of the Baroque to the full. The music of the orchestral opening to the first chorus pants as though it were short of breath; in this way it gives expression to the horrors of the last judgment; later, the Baroque rhythmic punctuation of *Mors stupebit et natura* heightens this effect. The sombre choral and orchestral chords of *Rex tremendae majestatis* (No. 7.) change to the yearning tones of the soloists in the subjective *salva me fons pietatis*. But even before this we can hear the force of contrapuntal structure in Caldara. In the *Liber scriptus proferetur* (No. 4), fatality is suggested by the relentless scale motif, the notes racing up and down and clashing with each other as in a canon. In the same way, the *Preces meae non sunt dignae* theme almost of its own accord turns into a short double-fugue as if expressing a supplication addressed to the heavens. (The same can be heard underscoring the words *Voca me cum benedictis.*) Inbetween there are exquisite arias and duets—but still I have to say that the real high spots are the Baroque choral themes which are all the richer for being relatively short. Indeed they are almost too rich such as *Lacrimosa* (No. 16) for example. At such times, Caldara's music really becomes "emotional" music which qualitatively transcends the limits of the Baroque ethos and is in places the spiritual predecessor of Mozart's *Requiem*.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Deputy Prime Minister. Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See "The Socialist State and the Churches," NHQ 66, "Workdays and Prospects," 71, and "Historical Contemporaries of the Present," 73.

ANDORKA, Rudolf (b. 1931). Sociologist on the staff of the Central Bureau of Statistics since 1962. At present heads the Methods Research Section. Main fields of research include the system of social indices, social structure and mobility, and the sociology of town and country.

BERECZ, János (b. 1930). Head of the Department of Foreign Relations at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a historian by training. See "European Security and Role of Public Opinion," NHQ 53, "World Peace Congress in Moscow," 54, "The Class Content of Peaceful Coexistence," 58, "European Social Democracy," 63, and "Debates and Common Goals," 68.

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CALISHER, Hortense (b. 1911). The American novelist. Visited Budapest in 1978.

CSURKA, István (b. 1934). Novelist. playwright and author of volumes of short stories, filmscripts and plays for radio. Studied at the Budapest Academy of Theatre and Cinematography, began publishing in 1954. See his satire "Why Are Hungarian Films so Lousy?" NHQ 32, parts of his play "Fall Guy for Tonight," 39, and the short stories "Nothing Simple," 45, and "Bottles and Women," 62.

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FERENCZI, László (b. 1937). Our regular poetry reviewer. See his essays on Endre Ady, NHQ 66, on Gyula Illyés, 68, and on Ferenc Juhász, 74.

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FRANK, János (b. 1925). One of our regular art critics.

GOLDSMITH, Maurice (b. 1913). Director of the Science of Science Foundation. Member of the Royal Institute, Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. Editor of *The Scientist and You.* See "Towards a New Science Policy," NHQ 33, "Science Policy and the Predicament of Man," 44, and "A Budapest Log-Book," 69.

HALÁSZ, Zoltán (b. 1914). Writer and journalist, graduated from Pázmány Péter University in Budapest, worked on the staff of a daily in the 30s, became an editor and later Rome correspondent of the Hungarian News Agency, worked on the staff of Hungarian Radio, a free lance translator between 1950–55, reader at Corvina Publishing House 1955–1960, deputy editor of NHQ since its foundation in 1960. Published a number of books on cultural-historical subjects (among them on the medieval chronicler Antonio Bonfini, on Hungarian wines, on Sir Aurel Stein) a Short History of Hungary which appeared in English, Spanish, French, German versions; a Japanese edition is under preparation. Has also published two novels, a third one—on Prince Metternich—is due to appear in 1980.

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KÖPECZI, Béla (b. 1922). Historian and literary historian, Deputy Secretary General of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, member of the Editorial Board of this review. Has published an extensive study on the relations between Ferenc Rákóczi II and 18th century France (1966), as well as another book on Rákóczi himself (1974). See "Ferenc Rákóczi II, the Man and his Cause," NHQ 61, "The Famous Prince Ragotzi," 65, "Can We Learn from History?," 69, "Culture and the Socialist Way of Life," 70, and "The French New Philosophers," 72.

KULCSÁR, Kálmán (b. 1928). Sociologist, head of the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, member of the Sociology of Law Committee of the International Sociological Association. Has published works on sociological thinking and the social environment. See "Sociology in Hungary," NHQ 41, and "UNESCO and the Social Sciences," 67.

KUTTNA, Mari (b. 1932). Film critic. She was born in Hungary and grew up in Australia, studied English at Sydney University and Oxford and now lives in England. Contributes to "Sight and Sound," "Film," "Montage," "The Lady." See also her translations of plays by István Örkény in NHQ 44 and 59, by Gyula Hernádi in 53, as well as "The Pécs Film Festival," 37, "Folklore in Motion," 38, "Myth Into Movement," 65, "Happy Diversity," 67, and "Documentary into Drama," 71.

MESTERHÁZI, Lajos (1916–1979). Novelist, playwright, journalist. Edited

the illustrated monthly *Budapest*. Studied German at the University of Budapest and Eötvös College, began publishing in the early 50s. See his short stories "Sempiternin," NHQ 48, "Ossa Sepia," 56, and a book review in 58.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). One of our regular art critics.

NÉMETH, Lajos (b. 1929). Art historian, critic, a graduate of the University of Budapest. Has published books on 19th and 20th century Hungarian art, and on the painter Tivadar Csontváry. See "Paintings, Mosaics, Textiles," NHQ 51, "The Age of Classicism and Romanticism," (a book review), 67, and "The Post-Impressionists of the Gresham Cafe," 68.

PAYNE, Jeremy (b. 1944). Lecturer in German at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh. Wrote his doctoral thesis on the literary theory of György Lukács. On the staff of NHQ September 1978–September 1979.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Professor of Musicology at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, member of the editorial board of this review, as well as its regular music reviewer.

PETRIE, Graham (b. 1939). British film critic and literary historian living in Canada; teaches English and film at McMaster University, Hamilton. Ont. Published *The Cinema of François Truffaut*. His book on the Hungarian film, *History Must Answer to Man* (Corvina Press) appeared in 1979. See "History Must Answer to Man" (The Contemporary Hungarian Cinema) NHQ 53, "The History of the Hungarian Cinema," 61, "Recent Hungarian Cinema," 62, "Why the Hungarian Cinema Matters," 68, and "Two Years of Hungarian Cinema," 72.

SEDLMAYR, János (b. 1932). Architect. Worked for years in the City Planning Bureau, since 1957 heads a studio in the National Office for the Protection of Monuments. Has published studies in various architectural periodicals. See "Hilton Hotel and Hungarian History," NHQ 67.

SNOW, Lord, C. P. (b. 1905). The British author, scientist and politician. See his "NHQ," in NHQ 50.

SZABADY, Egon (b. 1917). Demographer, Vice President of the Central Bureau of Statistics, head of the Demographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Editor of *Demográfia*, a monthly; member of the Editorial Board of this journal. See "The Objectives of Demographic Policy," NHQ 56, "Family Centred Population Policy in Hungary," 57, and "Senior Citizens," 70.

SZÉCHY, Ágnes (b. 1922). Journalist, since 1965 responsible for the art section in NHQ. Since 1947 worked for various newspapers and the Hungarian News Agency in Paris and Budapest, was assistant director and literary advisor in a number of theatres; and as a former competitive figure skater, is an honorary sports official as well. Articles by her on nature conservation, travel and sport have appeared in various magazines.

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* (New Mirror), an illustrated cultural 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).

TREWIN, John Courtenay (b. 1908). The drama critic of "The Illustrated London News," "The Scotsman," and other papers. See his "A Living Stage," NHQ 50, and "Return to Hamlet," 69.

VAS, István (b. 1910). Poet, essayist, critic, translator, member of the Editorial Board of this review. His publications include many volumes of verse, essays, translations from foreign poets, as well as translations of novels and plays, and an autobiography in progress. See poems in NHQ 23, 29, 38, 46, 50, 56, and 61, an autobiographical piece "The Unknown God," NHQ 40, an essay, "The Truth of Imagination," 65. Hungarian titles of poems in this issue: *Beethoven öregkora; Ars poetica ez is; Csak azért.*

VÁLYI, Gábor (b. 1922). Head of the Parliament Library in Budapest, an art historian by training. For a while worked in publishing, headed a department in the Institute for Cultural Relations. Member of the Editorial Board of NHQ. See "A Student Son in Leningrad," NHQ 35, and "Cultural Policy of Small Nations," 52.

VÉGH, János (b. 1936). Art historian. Studied at the University of Budapest, worked in a museum and in a publishing house, at present heads the Department of Art History at the Academy of Applied Arts in Budapest. Works include: *Sixteenth Century German Paintings in Hungarian Museums* (1972), *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1977), both from Corvina Press, Budapest, and also in English. See "Renaissance North of the Alps," a review of a book by Rózsa Feuer Tóth, NHQ 73.

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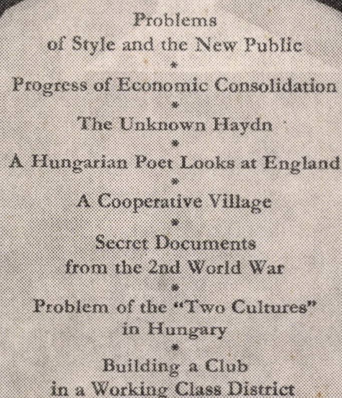

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