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EUROPEAN SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE

by

ZOLTÁN KOMÓCSIN

The 'seventies have produced the most favourable developments in the international political situation since the Second World War. A number of convincig facts can be cited to prove that the strengthening trend leading to détente is gradually turning into the main characteristic feature of our time; the supporters of a cold war policy, and the forces making for tension are driven back.

The progress of the trend to détente has not so far been able to put an end to the contradictions existing in the international situation: there are positive changes, but negative factors making for tension survive. The most serious centre of tension is still in the Middle East. Israel's land-grabbing, aggressive policy is the only reason for the lasting crisis. The change-over in the Middle East from powder keg to a zone of peace will begin when the occupied Arab territories will be restored to their rightful owners and justice will be done to the people of Palestine. In recent months the Cold War forces have become active in other areas as well. Although their machinations are doomed to failure, this does not mean that they cannot now, or will not in the future, provoke grave, dangerous and acute situations. Hence one must take into consideration that the advance toward détente will, as in the past, lead through sudden stops and relapses.

The deepening economic and social crisis in the advanced capitalist countries may exert an impact on the evolution of the struggle between the partisans of international détente and the supporters of tension already in the near future. This crisis is not new, its financial aspects in particular have been felt for a considerable time. The new element is that in the wake of the oil-, or rather the energy-crisis a certain chain-reaction has been initiated, and as a result not only the long-standing inflation but also the growth of unemployment has been accelerated.

The deepening of the socio-economic crisis in the capitalist countries has

already raised a series of warnings which give food for thought. The year 1973—like previous years—has been marked in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries by further economic successes, in the capitalist countries however, by growing inflation and unemployment, and the future prospects for hundreds of thousands and millions of workers and other wage-earners, are increasingly depressing and hopeless.

The speculations of the international oil monopolies aiming to increase their profits by leaps and bounds, further extend the scale and significance of the oil- and energy-crisis, and thereby multiply the financial and other anxieties of the working masses. In conformity with their class interests the oil monopolists use the whiplash of trials and tribulations aiming at to discipline the working class and the working masses. Using such means the international monopoly capitalists want to create a fertile soil for class, nationalist and racist demagogy, for political reactionaries and even for fascism.

The Communist and workers' parties, and the class-struggle minded trade unions in the capitalist countries have, however, been preparing for this danger and they oppose to it their constructive proposals, their realistic programmes, and the unity of action of all anti-monopolist forces. In Western-European countries the growing scale of strikes shows that the class struggle is reviving. The worldwide front of socialist countries, the international working class, the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces must be further mobilized to stop the speculations of international monopoly capital strengthening the positions of the reactionary and Cold War forces in foreign policy and so ensuring that the trend towards détente continues as the determining process.

The preservation of peace and social progress are indivisible in every country of every continent. Yet, on the basis of the lessons of historical evolution, Europe is of outstanding significance, owing to her role and place in the world economy and international politics. All that happens on this continent exerts the greatest impact over the whole of the globe. The peace and security of Europe in many respects means the peace and security of the world.

The key question of peace in Europe is to prevent the birth of a new powder keg on German soil. This is aspiration No 1 in the European policy of the socialist countries. The objective guarantee of reaching this aim is a radical change in the balance of power on this continent in favour of the forces of progress and socialism. It is of great significance that the German Democratic Republic, the first German worker-peasant State, is on the side of the Soviet Union, that is, that of the socialist countries. The capitalist German State,

should militarism get the upper hand there once again, will no longer be able to light the fuse of another war.

The Four Power Agreement on West Berlin has promoted the solution of the "German question". The Four-Power Agreement creates favourable conditions for the transformation of West Berlin from a front-line city to a city of peace. The socialist countries will of course continue to watch lest attempts are made to treat West Berlin as part of the Federal Republic of Germany.

From the viewpoint of the consolidation of peace and security in Europe a new chapter was started with the conclusion and implementation of the Soviet–West–German, Polish–West–German agreement, the agreement between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany, and between Czechoslovakia and the latter. The substance of these agreements is that the signatories agree to regulate their relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. For the present and the future they recognize the present frontiers in Europe; they declare the Munich Treaty of 1938 null and void; they renounce the application of force in settling their disputes, they opt for negotiations; they declare their readiness to develop political, economic, scientific and cultural relations. With the signing of these agreements all countries in the Warsaw Pact—including Hungary—were in a position to enter into diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

With the recent final settlement the "German question" ceased to exist in the form in which it arose after the Second World War. The possibility exists now for the socialist countries and the Federal Republic of Germany to develop extended and many-sided bilateral relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence. The circumstance that some international political aspirations of the socialist countries have coincided with the realistic aspects of the foreign policy practised by the West–German Social-Democrat–Free Democrat coalition government has played a considerable part in the creation of this opportunity.

We must assess the policy of the German Social Democratic Party realistically, without any illusions. Nothing can be expected from the official domestic policy of this party that is likely radically to change the social system based on capitalist property and exploitation. As its leaders openly proclaim, this party has nothing to do with either Marxism or socialism. In its programme it recanted everything that it had proclaimed earlier, at least in words. On the left wing of the Social-Democratic Party, and especially among the workers who vote for it, indeed, quite a number desire socialism and they fight for a shift to the left.

The official foreign policy of the German Social Democratic Party as well basically expresses the interests of the monopoly-capitalist class. Its chief efforts are directed towards strengthening relations with the United States and NATO. Nationalism and anti-Communism are parts of its ideological armoury. In spite of all this there is a certain difference between the Social-Democrats and the right-wing bourgeois parties which openly serve the interests of the monopoly-capitalist class. The Social-Democratic Party, though within the framework of the capitalist economic and social system, and without the will to put an end to exploitation, acts in favour of reforms that serve the interests of the working class and other working people.

The earlier Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany, based on bourgeois parties, failed to take the changes following the Second World War into consideration. They continued the worst traditions of the past, and pursued a revanchist-militarist policy. The Social-Democrats saw the realities, they were able to face them and they tried to harmonize West-German policy with irreversible changes. So far they have defended this policy successfully against the attacks of the right-wing opposition.

With the establishment of diplomatic relations there are are even more favourable opportunities for seeking common points with the German Social-Democratic Party, while always consistently adhering to our principles in foreign policy, with the internationalist class ideology as their corner-stone. The establishment of relations between our parties, apart from official inter-governmental relations, has already produced many advantages. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—while it considers it a primary task to develop and strengthen our excellent relations with the fraternal German Communist Party—will avail itself of every future opportunity to carry on a dialogue on problems of common interest with the German Social-Democratic Party.

The preparation of the European conference on security and cooperation is a significant event in current international affairs. The first phase of consultations closed successfully in July 1973, in Helsinki, with a meeting between the countries of Europe, the United States of America and Canada. For the first time in history these countries held a joint session. The second phase is now progressing in Geneva where countless far-reaching and complex problems will have to be settled. The work accomplished so far shows that some Common Market countries wish to slow down the preparatory work and are speculating on the chance of exerting pressure on the socialist countries by delaying tactics. However, successful negotiations with the socialist countries are possible only if they are treated as equals. The socialist countries do not wish to achieve one-sided advantages but obviously they cannot

agree to the one-sided domination of the interests of capitalist countries either.

The socialist countries are firmly convinced that each of the four questions on the agenda of the security conference—the principles of cooperation between European countries, the development of economic and trade relations, the exchange of cultural values and information, and human contacts, the creation of a permanent consultative body—are equally important to all the countries concerned. Rumours spread in the West that the development of economic and trade relations and the exchange of scientific and technological informations would only serve the interests of the socialist countries are absolutely unfounded. The socialist countries have no desire to get something for nothing, they only wish to create and strengthen customary international and mutually advantageous terms.

Some Western politicians and propagandists have recently laid great emphasis on the slogan "the free flow of men and ideas." It is characteristic that so far they have taken great pains to avoid saying exactly what they meant by these high-sounding words. The socialist countries, as in the past and the present, will be equally receptive in the future as well to the work or creations of the peoples and of outstanding thinkers and artists of various countries. The situation is different in capitalist countries where cultural policy is subordinated to market forces, to commodity production, and to the struggle waged for maximum capitalist profits, without worth mentioning discrimination against progressive ideas by administrative obstacles and manipulations. If democratic, national and international ideal values, and people advocating mutual trust and understanding, are to be exchanged, we are ready to accept every constructive initiative. If, however, under the cover of resounding slogans, attempts are made to intervene in the domestic affairs of socialist countries, and to offend our laws, by creating legal frameworks for ideological subversion, this cannot be tolerated by any socialist country.

In Geneva the socialist countries maintained their principles and proved their flexibility in the elaboration of concrete questions. If this attitude becomes reciprocal then it will prove possible, given the necessary patience, to begin the third phase of the European security conference with the participation of top-level representatives.

It is clear that the institutional development of the system of European peace and security will open a qualitatively new phase in the history of this continent. The primary quality of this phase will be the gradual dissolution of the Cold War attitude of confrontation, and confidence and concrete cooperation will become the common practice of life, and hence in time the

possibility of violence and war will be eliminated. The peaceful coexistence and competition of the two opposed economic and social systems will gain ground gradually, and all nations in Europe will benefit.

We do not of course expect idyllic conditions in Europe. The sharp struggle between the classes whose interests are in fundamental and radical opposition will continue in the capitalist part of Europe, and the class struggle will also continue between the groups of countries belonging to the two different social systems. In this situation the ideological front will be an extremely important field. There is no place for peaceful coexistence in this respect, nor can there be any. Confrontation between hostile ideologies will not diminish, on the contrary, with the reduced danger of violence and armed conflicts, the role and significance of the ideological struggle will increase.

With the growth of the European system of peace and security conditions will ripen for the solution of military problems, that is for a reduction in forces and armaments. Without doubt this is the most complex and time-consuming question, as proved also by the talks on forces and armament limitation in Vienna. The principle on which the socialist countries take their stand is unambiguous and clear: they are ready to conclude an agreement on the basic principle that neither party is given an advantage over the other or that it finds itself in an unfavourable situation.

The Soviet–American dialogue exerts a favourable impact on the process toward détente, on the consolidation of peace in the world, and in Europe. Today it is still impossible to evaluate the full significance of the agreements concluded after a series of Soviet–American talks. If relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America are permanently based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, this in itself will be a major pre-condition in avoiding the outbreak of another world war, and for ensuring peace and security in the world. This is the concern not only of the two great powers but of mankind as a whole. When the party and State leadership of the Soviet Union have talks with the representatives of the United States, they are consistently faithful to the principles of the class struggle and internationalism. They try to reach agreement and to develop bilateral relations which equally benefit the interests of the Soviet Union, the socialist world system, the international working class and world peace.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries express their policy of internationalism and support for the class struggle in their solidarity with the nations fighting against imperialism for their freedom, independence, and sovereignty. This is proved by the consistent support given to the peoples of Vietnam, the whole of Indochina and the Arab world, the peoples

of Chile, and to the just struggle of all nations fighting for their freedom. This readiness to help will not slacken in the future.

The further progress of the trend toward détente, the full development of the policy of peaceful coexistence, and the struggle for security in the world, are countered by the international policy of the Chinese leaders which constitutes an opposition to the internationalist attitude based on the class-struggle. Mao Tse Tung's group makes every effort to convince the capitalist countries that the most important thing at present is to strengthen the North-Atlantic imperialist military alliance and the European Common Market, i.e. monopoly-capitalist economic integration. Anti-Soviet teamwork has come into being between the capitalist countries and the Maoist leaders. This is detrimental to the best interest of the Chinese people, the socialist countries, the international Communist movement and the anti-imperialist forces. The present Chinese foreign policy virtually plays into the hands of imperialists, of the forces that oppose international détente and threaten peace and security in the world.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries, in spite of the gravity of the situation, remain faithful to their internationalist class policy and continue to offer unity and cooperation to the Chinese leaders, or if no other way is possible, then at least by applying those five principles of desirable peaceful coexistence worked out for relations between countries with different social systems. So far this has also been rejected by the Chinese party. There is no other choice than to be aware of the justice of our cause, to unmask the Maoist policy and to continue to wait until conditions ripen for the re-establishment of an anti-imperialist unity of action.

The socialist countries have for a long time fought for international détente as the chief and determining trend of world politics. In the struggle of the two trends—one advocating détente, the other tension—that toward international détente is the stronger. It is now able to overcome present and future attempts to create tensions, removing them from the road to progress. The tendency toward détente is still advancing in the conditions of a complex and difficult struggle. The imperative of the present situation for the socialist countries, the international Communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces is to rally more closely around the Soviet Union in their fight for détente, peaceful coexistence, and the security of Europe and the world.

ONE YEAR OF HUNGARIAN FOREIGN POLICY

by

FRIGYES PUJA

The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic essentially agrees with the foreign policy line of the other socialist countries; the basic principles and the main lines they follow are identical.

It is based on the principles of socialist internationalism and of peaceful coexistence. The principle of socialist internationalism is in evidence in the first place in the relationship between the Hungarian People's Republic and the other socialist countries but, in part at least, it also governs relations between Hungary and countries that have chosen non-capitalist development. Our relationship to the revolutionary movement of the working class and the various liberation movements is also pervaded by the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The main objectives of Hungarian foreign policy agree as well with those of the other socialist countries: efforts to establish peaceful international conditions for the building of socialism, and cooperation in the protection of peace and the strengthening of security all over the world.

The main directions of Hungarian foreign policy are common knowledge: all is done in the first place to make the relationship with the other socialist countries even more fruitful; a fight is waged to achieve the unity of the socialist countries, and their close co-operation with each other; Hungary pledges solidarity with revolutionary movements and supports liberation movements; relations with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are constantly expanded and, endorsing the principle of peaceful coexistence, the basis of bilateral relations with capitalist countries is broadened.

The Hungarian Government displays great activity in the solution of a number of important international problems; the Hungarian delegation takes an active part in the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and

armaments in Central Europe; we press for the full implementation of the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and the attached protocol and for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis; we participate in the work of the Geneva Committee on Disarmament and contribute our share to the solution of the tasks with which the United Nations are faced.

Hungarian foreign policy was most active in a great many fields last year. It would be difficult to sum up within the scope of a single article even the most important manifestations of this work. All that can be undertaken therefore is a presentation of some of the features of this foreign policy activity in the context of the recent international situation.

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It has always been firmly maintained by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic that the relationship of any one of the socialist countries to the Soviet Union is the touchstone of its internationalism, the quality of this relationship is the best criterion allowing one to appraise the rightness of the foreign policy of the given country. It is certainly not mere chance that, if any socialist country loosens its ties to the Soviet Union, no matter with what intent, it will, at the same time, depart from the position of internationalism. The Soviet Union is not only the very first, the most powerful and the most influential of the socialist countries, it is also the most experienced; its foreign policy acts as a steady compass for every nation fighting for peace, socialism, progress, national liberation and against neo-colonialism. The programme of peace proclaimed at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sums up the interests, aspirations and dreams not only of the peoples of the Soviet Union but of the whole of mankind.

In recent years the international initiatives of the CPSU and the Government of the Soviet Union have had an enormous influence on the shaping of the international situation. The visits by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, to the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and India have considerably promoted the realization of the peace programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the cause of the strengthening of peace and security in general.

The Party Leadership and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, in all aspects of life, devote particular attention to the continuous growth and expansion of fraternal relations with the Soviet Union. An outstanding event in late 1972, within the development of Hungarian–Soviet relations, was the visit to Hungary by a Soviet Party and Government delegation

headed by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU. The talks between Hungarian and Soviet leaders, the meeting of the Soviet Party and Government delegation with workers in factories and institutions, continued to cement the unbreakable ties between the two countries and the two nations.

The Moscow meeting of the Prime Ministers of the two countries in the spring of last year and the talks they held on that occasion provided a still more solid basis for future economic co-operation between the two countries.

The most important objectives of Hungarian foreign policy will, in the future as well, include the strenghening and expansion of the relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. Hungary will continue to co-ordinate its international activities with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Hungary will, in the future as well, take a stand against any tendency to discredit or negate the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, any attempt that is to thwart its efforts. In this way only can Hungary achieve its specific national and international aims.

The Party and State authorities in the Hungarian People's Republic are firmly convinced that the solution of international problems is definitely assisted by the concerted action of the socialist countries in the international arena. It is an error to presume that the foreign policy of a socialist country can be more effective if its activities are isolated from the main forces of progress, if it keeps on demonstrating its separate stand. Without the uniform action of the socialist countries it would have hardly been possible, for example, to deal with the so-called German question or to settle the relations of the socialist countries with the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with the interests of the nations of Europe. Therefore Hungary welcomed the meeting of leaders of the Communist Parties of the European socialist countries in the Crimea in the summer of 1973; those who took part co-ordinated their viewpoints regarding many important international issues. Turns taken by international developments, and the intensifying activity of the enemies of détente, demanded that the socialist countries take even more concerted actions not only on major issues but in matters of lesser importance as well.

Within the family of socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic gives considerable attention to its relations with the socialist countries in its neighbourhood. Relationships with Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Poland and German Democratic Republic are good and dynamically developing in every respect. Hungary's relations with the Socialist Republic of Rumania have also been extended in recent years. This has been essentially promoted by high-level talks between Hungarian leaders and those of the afore-mentioned countries. To take only one year: many new possibilities

of expanding Hungary's relations have been opened up by conversations held during the visits by János Kádár to Yugoslavia, that of a Bulgarian Party and Government delegation led by Todor Zhivkov to Hungary, and by Jenő Fock to Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Relations with most of the more remote socialist countries also grow steadily. Relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic have proved fruitful in every respect, many Hungarian specialists work in Mongolia right now. Hungary's relations with the Republic of Cuba were given a powerful impetus by Dr. Fidel Castro's visit to Hungary in 1972. The expansion of relations between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Hungarian People's Republic has been greatly furthered by the visit to Hungary of a Vietnamese Party and Government delegation headed by Pham Van Dong. The representatives of Vietnam could see for themselves once again that the Hungarian people, without exception, stand by the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Government of continuing to provide assistance to the heroic Vietnamese nation. Contacts between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Korean People's Republic have increased in number.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian Government have always attached great significance to the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. They still argue as they have done: as long as the imperialist powers build up their armaments, as long as they pump newer and newer billions of dollars into the war industry, and as long as they increase the strength and effectiveness of their armed forces, it is necessary to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty, and to develop its activities. It is essential that the countries of the Warsaw Treaty should take an even more coherent line in foreign policy as well; doing this has already in no small measure contributed to their successes, in this field.

It is a source of great joy to Hungary that, in recent years another two socialist countries, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Republic of Cuba, have joined the CMEA, and countries with differing social systems have also shown an interest in this organization. As far as Hungary is concerned it will, in the future as well, increase its efforts to implement the Complex Programme of the CMEA, and to continue furthering the growth of the economic integration of the socialist countries. This will not only accelerate the economic development of the socialist countries but may well help to counteract the policies of discrimination of the economic organizations of advanced capitalist countries.

No essential change has occured in the relations between Hungary and the People's Republic of China, and those with the People's Republic of

Albania. As has often been emphasized, Hungary is striving to expand its bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China. This, as Hungary has stated openly, cannot be made a pretext for intrigues against other countries, particularly the Soviet Union. While being in favour of developing intergovernmental relations, Hungary, leaves no doubt that we condemn the big-power chauvinism of the Chinese leaders, and their endeavours to undermine the international communist movement and the worldwide socialist system, or their efforts to form an anti-Soviet alliance of advanced capitalist countries.

As regards relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the People's Republic of Albania, the Hungarian view is that they are abnormal. Hungary is ready to remove every obstacle in the way of the development of relations if this meets with the agreement of the Albanian leaders. Such a development would be in the interests of both nations.

To sum up, one can say that the Hungarian People's Republic has done its share of the work to strenghthen the unity of the countries of the world-wide socialist system which, looked at from the point of view of international development, plays a prominent part in both bilateral and multilateral co-operation. Hungarian foreign policy will, in the future as well, keep this basic objective permanently in view.

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The developed capitalist world is a very important trading partner of the Hungarian People's Republic, in addition to the socialist countries. That is why the Hungarian Government pays considerable attention to relations between Hungary and the advanced capitalist countries. Great significance attaches to such relations from the point of view of economic interests, as well as bearing in mind international cooperation, and the peaceful solution of controversial international problems.

Hungary's commercial relations with the advanced capitalist countries are fairly extensive: 27.5 per cent of Hungary's entire foreign trade is with these countries and nearly 80 per cent of trade with non-socialist countries. Joint co-operation projects of Hungarian industrial and commercial enterprises with appropriate partners from capitalist countries have considerably grown in number in recent yaers. The Hungarian Government approves and supports this kind of cooperation, since it is profitable to both sides; on the one hand, it helps to increase the volume of trade, and on the other, great benefits can be derived from the interchange and application of new technologies and methods of modern work organization. The experience of a few years shows that expectations based on the expansion of cooperation were justified.

In one way or another, the important international issues, the questions of peace and security are connected with the policies of the advanced capitalist countries. The policy of aggression and of international tension is peculiar to the ruling classes of the imperialist powers, it is they who hindered in the past and who still hinder, to some extent, the peaceful aspirations of the socialist countries. Consequently the burning questions of international affairs can be dealt with only in agreement with the leaders of the most important capitalist countries. The development of international power relations in recent years has convinced the dominant circles of the advanced capitalist countries as well that in our day and age there is no alternative to nuclear war other than the peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist countries. This realization has for some years made itself felt also in the foreign policy of the latter.

The positive development of bilateral relations between socialist and capitalist countries, as verified by experience, was highly instrumental in persuading the major capitalist countries to agree to the solution of urgent international problems. It is known to all how outstanding a role the improvement of Soviet–US relations has played in the partial settlement of the problems of Indochina and Europe alike.

Commensurate with the international standing of the country, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has been, and is still striving, to take its share of the settlement of international issues ripe for solution. These efforts have been aided by the considerable improvement of relations between Hungary and the advanced capitalist countries over the past six to eight years.

The Government of Hungary, like those of the other socialist countries, did not think it possible that international relations should improve in an essential way until the cruel bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was put an end to, and until the military presence of the United States in South Vietnam had been terminated. It took a long time for United States leaders to understand this quite simple matter. Though the puppet régime of Saigon has continued to violate the provisions of the Paris Agreement and its attached protocol, and though the US administration still provides considerable assistance to the Thieu régime by stationing thousands of American soldiers disguised as civilians in South Vietnam, supplying weaponry in secret for the armed forces of Saigon, and giving political backing to Thieu's territory-grabbing actions, yet it is a fact of great importance that the regular units of the United States have left South Vietnam and the savage bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has been stopped. This means that the heroic struggles of

Vietnamese patriots and the political activities of the socialist countries backing them for many years have now borne fruit. US imperialism has suffered a serious defeat. On the other hand, the end of the war in Vietnam waged with US participation has opened up new vistas also for the amelioration of relations between the socialist countries and the United States of America.

The relations of socialist and capitalist countries, thus those of Hungary and the capitalist countries as well, are influenced also by the efforts made to bring the European security conference to a successful close and to accelerate the progress of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic sets high value on the fact that the work of the second stage of the security conference in Geneva has progressed. During negotiations that had begun in September 1973 it has been possible to clarify the most important questions of principle regarding the co-operation of socialist and capitalist countries, and the participants at the conference were able to make a start on drafting the documents to be submitted to the third stage. At the same time one cannot leave it unsaid that the foot-dragging and delaying manoeuvres of certain Common Market countries are a cause for concern. The Governments of those countries do not seem to have understood that the tactics of pressure are wholly ineffective against the socialist countries, and manoeuvring and procrastination make no sense. It is hoped that the third session of the Security Conference will take place in the summer of 1974 in spite of all efforts to delay it.

The second stage of the Vienna talks on force reduction started on January 13. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic places great hopes in these negotiations, since it believes that even a small step forward towards the reduction of arms and armed forces can prepare the way for disarmament measures on a large scale. One has to be frank though: the course of the talks so far has not confirmed expectations in every respect.

In the preliminary consultations both the socialist countries and the NATO states outlined their respective positions. It had been agreed that negotiations would be in private but representatives of NATO countries leaked what was said, to the media allowing the whole world to familiarize itself with the proposale made by the parties to the discussion.

The NATO proposal has demonstrated that the Western party disregard the principle they once accepted—that of equal security—and that they try to gain unilateral advantages. Their ideas are centred on the "principle" of asymmetrical arms cut, they would like to see the socialist countries

reduce their own armed forces and armaments to a greater degree than the NATO states.

The Western countries wish to confine the reduction of armed forces to foreign forces, while the proposal for reduction put forward by the socialist countries covers both foreign and national armed units. It is hard to understand why NATO suddenly changed its position, until recently all its documents had urged a reduction of both kinds of armed forces. An explanation of this may be that the NATO countries of Europe wish to maintain their forces for the European defence force and do not wish to accept restrictive measures in advance. The socialist countries propose the reduction of two armed services, land and air forces, and that of tactical nuclear weapons, while the NATO proposal is to reduce land forces only. The socialist proposal contains concrete measures envisaging the reduction of armed forces by 20,000 on both sides in 1975, by 5 per cent in 1976 and by 10 per cent in 1977. The NATO proposal on the other hand envisages the reduction of the Soviet and US land forces, that of the Soviet Army by 68,000 men and 1,700 tanks, and that of the US Army by only 29,000 men. The Americans do not intend to reduce their tank forces at all; what is more, they do not want to take home the equipment of the withdrawn men either, intending to store it in Western Europe.

The story could be continued but this much suffices to demonstrate how one-sidedly the NATO countries imagine the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. And all this under the heading that the Warsaw Treaty is allegedly much stronger than NATO and that armed forces should be brought down to one level.

It is true that from the military point of view the Warsaw Treaty is today stronger than it was a few years ago. Let us suppose as well that the forces of the Warsaw Treaty in the Central European area are somewhat greater than those of the North Atlantic Alliance. Even in that case the question should not be approached in the manner of the NATO countries. A reduction of armed forces is, however, inconceivable on the basis of narrowly defined territorial principles, it is a question of strategy. When we touch upon this question, we have to take account of all Europe, not only its central part, not only land forces, but air and nuclear pover as well. In the Mediterranean area NATO maintains considerable armed forces and powerful military bases, which would not be affected by reduction. Asymmetrical reduction in Central Europe and no reduction on the flanks—this is an unfeasible proposition.

Light was thrown on a great many things when the NATO countries made their concrete proposals. The principal aim of NATO is a significant

reduction in the strength and armament of Soviet troops stationed in other countries without any major reduction in the numbers or armament of American forces. NATO strategists are well aware that the Soviet Army has a dominant role in the defensive system of the Warsaw Treaty, and that is why they would like to reduce without really offering anything in return. They also want to ensure that capitalist countries with large national forces, such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy or Great Britain be kept out of the arms reduction belt, leavig NATO's most important European forces unaffected.

A condition of further progress in the matter of the reduction of armed forces is that the NATO states should abandon their tactics aimed at gaining unilateral advantages. The members of the Warsaw Treaty agree to a reduction of armaments and armed forces only on the basis of the principle of equal security and cannot accept a disadvantageous position in comparison with NATO. There is no capitalist country which the socialist countries plan to attack, but they nevertheless cannot afford to reduce their strength when the NATO countries are unwilling to take effective measures in return. This view is fully shared by the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the preliminary stages of the Vienna negotiations the Hungarian People's Republic accidentally found itself in the limelight. The NATO countries proposed that the Hungarian People's Republic participate in the substantive talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments and that Hungary's national armed forces as well as the Soviet forces for the time being stationed in Hungary should also be affected by this reduction. This proposal had to be rejected, since its only aim was to secure unilateral advantages for NATO.

Considering the common security interests of the socialist countries, Hungary included, the Government decided that Hungary would take its share of the reduction of armed forces only if Italy as well took part. The general staff of NATO is not even prepared to consider this. Since then as well representatives of some NATO countries have referred to Hungary's participation as a question which has not been dropped from the agenda. The reply to such attempts to confuse can only be what it has been so far: Hungary will join the substantive negotiations on force reduction the very moment Italy will.

Let it be noted as it were in parentheses only that while Western politicians write hundreds of articles and speeches insisting on their honest efforts to carry out a reduction in armed forces, the ministerial council of NATO, at its December session in Brussels, adopted new decisions on rearmament, naturally, once again, using an alleged increase in the strength of the Warsaw Treaty as their justification.

Much effort is still needed to solve two important problems of détente in Europe—the European security conference and the effective continuation of negotiations on force reduction. It is a major achievement that the positions have become clear and that the situation has become ripe for the substantive discussion of certain problems. It is expecially worth mentioning that the enemies of détente have failed in their attempt to obstruct progress on these important issues. We believe that the efforts of the socialist countries and of Western leaders who follow a realistic line of policy will ultimately bring results.

Particularly cordial relations are maintained by Hungary with two neutral advanced capitalist countries, the Republic of Finland and Hungary's immediate neighbour, the Republic of Austria. Finland and Hungary traditionally entertain good relations; feelings of kinship, mutual respect and esteem are deeply rooted in both nations. Nothing demonstrates this better than the fact that János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, paid a visit to Finland as well. The talks he had with President Kekkonen of the Republic of Finland, Prime Minister Sorsa and other Finnish leaders have given an impetus to the extension of bilateral relations. Relations with neighbouring Austria are developing well in all respects. Co-operation between the two countries has reached previously unknown heights in the economic, cultural and political field. The visit by Bruno Kreisky, the Federal Chancellor, to Hungary in the spring of last year opened new prospects for the development of relations. The bilateral relationships between Hungary and Finland, and between Hungary and Austria, can rightly be referred to as examples of peaceful co-existence.

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany was announced on both sides on December 21, 1973. Ambassadors have already been accredited to both countries. Diplomatic relations could have been establishd already in September last year if the Bonn Foreign Office had not raised unacceptable demands with regard to the representation of West Berlin. It is to be hoped that such and similar manoeuvres will not be repeated in the future, that all obstacles will be removed in the way of the expansion of relations between Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic makes every effort to broaden and develop further the economic, cultural and political relations of the two countries.

The relations of the Hungarian People's Republic with other European capitalist countries are developing normally on the whole. Special attention

is devoted to two important countries on the continent, Italy and France; the relations of Hungary with these have been considerably extended in recent years. A favourable effect was produced in this respect by the visit of Prime Minister Messmer of France to Hungary last year.

The relations of Hungary with the United States of America have also been extended in recent years. An important landmark of this development was highlighted by the visit to the United States by a Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister in early 1973, the signing of an agreement on property rights, and the visit to Hungary in 1972 of Secretary of State William P. Rogers. Owing to reasons to be sought in US home and foreign affairs, this development has been arrested. It is to be hoped that the coming years produce a change in this field as well.

Successes in foreign policy do not in themselves allow one to forget that anxieties as well have grown in recent months. The Central Committee meeting of November 1st, 1973 pointed out that the generally favourable trend of international détente notwithstanding, the enemies of peaceful co-existence had also got busy in some capitalist countries. The military-industrial complex and the Zionist lobby in the United States, the right wing of the British Conservative Party, the West German Christian Democratic opposition and other diehards of the Cold War have again formed ranks to change the positive course event have taken, aiming to drag the world back into a new kind of international hostility. The Peking leadership is active in much the same direction. Their activity is already discernible in many areas and will probably be felt in certain questions for some time to come.

The Common Market, or the Nine as they are known as well, has become a nodal point of negative efforts in recent times. In the past few months the Nine have intensified their efforts to coordinate their foreign policies, particularly their positions regarding European security, force reduction and the socialist countries in general. In the West there is talk of these experiments as being the first attempts by the dreamt-of West European political union to take wing. It is expected to be in full flight by 1980.

In connection with the efforts at integration there is talk in the West about certain laws of development which are said to follow necessarily from economic growth. Some, on occasion calling on Marxism as a witness, claim that economic integration should be followed by political integration. There is nothing new in the fact that the development of productive forces steps across the national frontiers of capitalist countries, this has been the case for a long time already. It is a consequence of capital concentration and

centralization that can be observed on an international scale, and the visible examples are enormous enterprises with an international character. This has truly become a law of development in the capitalist world. It is not conditional, however, on the suppression of nations and national frontiers, the establishment of one single European capitalist state or the formation of one single European Government, as is visualized by some. The multinational companies which play a major part in capitalist production, have long been "supranational" in spite of existing frontiers. But this is not the point. One approaches more closely to the truth if one recognizes that what is involved is that the international monopoly interests in control of the economy of capitalist Europe would like to have the economic changes they produced reflected on the political map of the Continent as well, in order to remove every future obstacle in the way of potentiated exploitation; the European monopolies would like to protect their interests against US monopoly capital that has become too strong and influential; and they would also like to smooth out the differences between them. An essential motive of the efforts at integration of the governments of capitalist countries in Europe is to overcome the difficulties of the capitalist system, to carry on the struggle against the working class at a higher level of sophistication, and to continue the fight for the containment of the socialist countries and socialism in general.

The political integration of capitalist Europe, that is the creation of a West European political union is, however, not as certain as some of its apostles like to believe. According to all indications leading circles in capitalist countries fail to take account of essentials: the idea of integration, since it is directed against now sovereign nations, meets with increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the people. On the other hand, since integration expresses the interests of the most powerful monopoly capital that already exercises enormous international influence, it not only damages the interests of the working class, it is a deadly peril to less strong national capital as well. Obviously the representatives of the latter will also speak up when they become aware of the danger. Millions of petty-bourgeois are also threatened and it is only natural that their resistance should grow. In addition, as has already happened earlier, the continued sharpening of differences between the particular interest groups of monopoly capital may also intervene, and it is hardly likely that they can easily come to an arrangement. The struggle for the leading role is already going on between monopoly capitalist groups of France, Britain and West Germany. It may well happen that what they try so eagerly to piece together behind the scenes will one day prove to be a soap bubble.

The Hungarian People's Republic naturally does not interfere in the

efforts of the capitalist world to integrate, since it regards those as the domestic business of the countries concerned.

But it stands to reason that Hungary cannot stand idly by if the international aspirations of an integrated Western Europe violate socialist or Hungarian national interests. A stand must be taken, for example, against certain foreign policy positions taken up by the Nine, the nucleus of the West European political union. Experience shows that the common political positions adopted by the Nine—in respect of European security, force reduction, etc.—are usually more negative than those of one or another individual capitalist country. The will of those forces which are in the vanguard of the struggle against socialism and against the Soviet Union is usually effective in the joint decisions. The co-ordination of the foreign policies of the capitalist countries of Europe therefore results in a negative influence on certain countries which had earlier expressed a more positive attitude. The plan of the so-called "defence union", the establishment of a special armed force of the Nine and its equipment with Anglo-French atomic weapons, cannot be interpreted except as being directed against the socialist world and progress.

Another alarming phenomenon, which can become a source of concern for the socialist countries, is the probable effect on the foreign policies of the capitalist countries of Europe of the economic and monetary crisis that is now unfolding in the capitalist world. There are many examples to show that capitalists in trouble always try to look for scapegoats in order to distract the attention of the masses from the structural disorders of capitalism. They have often in the past resorted to the trick of holding the communists and the socialist countries responsible in one way or another for the difficulties of the capitalist system of society. One has to be on one's guard against that sort of manoeuvre as well, although in our days it would not receive as much credit as before. Today the politically educated working class and the other working masses of Europe cannot be deceived by such childish tales.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, like the Governments of the other socialist countries, continues to make efforts to develop its bilateral relations with advanced capitalist countries and to promote multilateral co-operation with them in the interests of solving still existing international problems that give rise to disputes. We are convinced that the obstacles raised in the way of a détente will only be temporarily effective.

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The developing countries occupy a most important place in international affairs. The weight they carry is determined by their large populations, potential wealth and great number. Their policies are differently oriented; the most conscious of them are the non-aligned countries. The political documents of last year's Algiers conference of non-aligned countries demonstrate that this group of the developing countries—under the influence of socialist Cuba and Yugoslavia, the Democratic and People's Republic of Algeria and other countries—has adopted a much more consistent and firmer position than earlier as regards the struggle against imperialism, and for progress and peace. This is also proof that the developing countries—the non-aligned nations in the first place—are potential allies of the forces, including the socialist countries, fighting for peace and progress, and against imperialism throughout the world. On questions such as war and peace, certain aspects of disarmament, the fight against colonialism and new-colonialism, the putting an end to racialism etc. the socialist and the developing countries have in the great majority of cases formed a common front.

The Hungarian People's Republic maintains extensive relations with the countries of the developing world. The strengthening of political ties is manifest in the fact that views on international questions are exchanged with many developing countries at various levels, and there is cooperation in many international organizations, particularly in the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The prospects of economic relations are encouraging as well, and cultural cooperation is increasing, though slowly. Diplomatic relations were established with numerous developing countries, including the Republic of Zaire, Thailand and the Philippines.

The Hungarian People's Republic shows great interest in the developments taking place in the Arab world. This has an obvious explanation. The Arab world is a most important factor in international life, its existence and development are closely related to the life and future of our continent. On the other hand, very significant developments take place in the Arab world in respect to questions of social progress and the maintenance of universal peace. According to all indications the Arab world has become one of the important points of conflict between progress and reaction, between peace-loving forces and imperialism.

As is well known, in the past ten years a number of countries of the Arab world have taken the road of non-capitalist development, and their leaders are making a serious effort to liquidate a backwardness inherited from the past, to develop industry and agriculture, and to improve the well-being of their populations. These efforts meet with the tenacious resistance of

imperialism and Arab reactionary forces. Moving in the direction of progress has as an inevitable consequence a change in the foreign policy orientation, a rejection of the pro-imperialist policy and a rapprochement with the socialist countries. Such developments were assisted by gross violations of the national interests of the Arab people, Israel's aggression in 1956 and 1967, and the political and military assistance to Israel readily afforded by the imperialist powers, as well as the firm stand of the socialist countries in favour of the just Arab cause accelerated this development.

The armed conflict between two Arab countries, Egypt and Syria, on the one hand and Israel on the other that was renewed on October 6, 1973 again stirred up the Middle East. The fighting has allowed one to derive a number of conclusions likely to restore the confidence of the population of the Arab countries and their friends. It has been proved now that Arab soldiers, provided they learn to handle Soviet weapons of outstanding quality, can inflict a defeat on the overconfident aggressor.

It is extremely important for the Arab countries, in the following period, during the Geneva peace talks, to approach the problem with patience and calm; it is obvious that Israel will not readily agree to a peace arrangement acceptable to the Arab people. They must not entertain illusions regarding American intentions and actions either. Although US monopoly capital is now interested in defusing the Middle East powder-keg, it will not do so at any price; leading quarters of the United States have not yet given up the idea they already entertained in 1967, of changing the régimes of the progressive Arab countries, of helping governments to power which would be "on friendly terms" with the United States. At the same time in this struggle—just as in the armed struggle as well—the Arab countries are aware of the support of the socialist countries, of progressive mankind and of the forces fighting for peace as such. The enlightened representatives of the Arab countries are already aware today that the progress of their nations and the curbing of the Israeli aggressor are closely linked to anti-imperialist struggle of the socialist countries and their fight for peace.

The liberation of the Arab territories under Israeli occupation is a major issue. The national feelings of the Arab people are deeply offended by the fact that ancestral Arab land is trampled on by Israeli soldiers. At least as important, however, from their point of view, is the direction in which the social system of the given countries is advancing; to preserve, develop and strengthen the progressive social system is a fundamental task. Without this there can be no powerful, efficient armed forces, nor permanent popular support. If this "hinterland" weakens, everything may be lost, but if it is strengthened, everything can be recovered.

The Government and the people of the Hungarian People's Republic are profoundly convinced that the Arab people fight for a just cause. We have always opposed the Israeli aggressors and afforded the Arab people political and other assistance in their fight. This country maintains good relations with most Arab countries, and Hungary intends to develop and expand them further. Opportunities for broadening political, economic and cultural ties exist; Hungary will do all it can to make the best possible use of them.

Hungary has close ties indeed with India, closer than with any other developing country in Asia. Since the 1972 visit to Hungary by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi relations between the two countries have become increasingly friendly. The extension of political relations is greatly aided by the identical or similar positions taken up by the two governments on most of international problems.

Hungary supports India's peace-loving foreign policy, it is considered as one of the most important factors making for stability in Asia. Great possibilities for growth are inherent also in economic relations. The agreement of December 19, 1973 establishing a joint commission on economic, scientific and technological cooperation furthers development in a favourable direction. It is certain that the steps taken as part of mutual relations in recent years mark only the beginning and that further steps will follow to expand relations.

Relations between Hungary and the countries of tropical Africa and Latin America are not yet as satisfactory. This state of affairs is due to the great distances, the limited nature of potentialities and the precarious political situation some of those countries find themselves in. Hungary has, in recent years, nevertheless made great efforts to expand relations with these countries as well. Visits by Pál Losonczi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, to Tunesia, to the Democratic Republic of Guinea, the People's Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone made a considerable contribution to the development of political and economic relations.

Problems arise in relations between socialist and certain developing countries when reactionary, right-wing coups are organized and carried out in the latter. The reactionary leaders usually come into power with the aid of the imperialist powers, against the will of the population, and do their utmost to isolate their countries hermetically from the socialist ones. They blame the socialist countries, the international Communist movement and the progressive movements of the country concerned for the ensuing difficulties. Practically the first thing they do is to damage relations between their

country and the Soviet Union and other socialist and progressive countries. The socialist countries cannot remain passive in the face of such machinations.

The Hungarian People's Republic condemns reactionary coups and changes in home politics, because it believes that they do harm to the international détente and poison the international atmosphere. The Hungarian Government emphatically condemned the military junta of Chile as well, because of the forcible overthrow of the legal order, the use of fascist methods and the assassination of President Allende, and of hundreds of other patriots; the imprisonment of thousands of revolutionaries, and the continuing manhunt directed against all those who do not think as they do. That is why the Hungarian Government decided to suspend diplomatic relations with Chile.

The objective possibilities of expanding relations between the socialist countries and most of the developing countries are given. Leaders of many African and Latin American countries not only pursue anti-imperialist policies but lead their societies along the road of non-capitalist development. They need economic assistance, industrial equipment and machinery from the socialist countries, and the socialist countries need the commodities they offer. Political support by the socialist countries is a great assistance to them, and these countries are in a position to further the international objectives of socialism and progress to a significant measure. Potentialities must be explored which, if exploited, permit the further development and intensification of co-operation with these countries.

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Last year's Hungarian foreign policy activity offers convincing proof that the country successfully implemented the resolutions of the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

This past year has strengthened some earlier experiences in foreign policy. In part these are well known, in part they were discussed in this article, they are, however, worth summing up once again.

—Détente continues to be the main tendency of the international situation. The counteractions which occurred last year, although still making themselves felt, cannot last. Arrests and even decline may be possible in the progress of détente, but the trend cannot be finally reversed any longer. The international acitivity of the countries of the socialist community further deepens this process, strengthening its roots.

—Experience shows that any increase in Hungary's contribution to the strengthening of peace and security is possible only in close co-operation

and cohesion with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The pledge of the success of future activity in foreign policy is invariably an expansion of relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union, the further improvement of relationships between Hungary and the other socialist countries and the co-ordination of their activities in the field of foreign policy.

—One must not lose sight of the fact that something was achieved and can be achieved in the future in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, and against the opponents of peace and security; neither should one forget that the present policy of the Chinese leaders is of assistance to these forces.

—Hungarian foreign policy is a policy rooted in principles and we shall remain faithful to them to the very last; the practice of foreign policy speculations, of unprincipled moves and deception and the paper chase in pursuit of what look like spectacular achievements is alien to us; at the same time we hold a flexible attitude, being ready to take the initiative and always willing to enter into rational agreements.

—We honestly strive to cope with controversial international and bilateral problems, but we do not yield to any kind of pressure and we reject any attempt at interference in our domestic affairs. We are convinced that the only durable agreements are those which are based on mutual interests.

—We always guard against illusions, against overestimating the results we have attained, but at the same time also against not valuing achievements as much as they should be.

—The same methods are treated as sound in foreign policy as in domestic policy; Hungary frankly states what the country wants and what is expected from those with whom discussions are carried on. There is no wish to deceive or mislead them. Hungary acts on the principle that it is better for both friends and opponents to see clearly where the country stands.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

The international situation has undergone and is still undergoing a significant shift from the Cold War to a relaxation of tension, from a military confrontation to a strengthening of security, to peaceful coexistence and towards peaceful cooperation. Changes have therefore occurred as well in the international ideological struggle in both its conditions and requirements.

What is responsible, in the first place, for these favourable changes is the advance on all fronts of socialism. The increased strength and authority of the Soviet Union, and its active and succesful diplomacy of peace, have increased the influence of the world socialist system. Before the birth of the Soviet Union and the creation of the world socialist system, a world without war was but a dream. With the victory of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, and the tremendous growth of its political, economic and military might, with the coming into being and consolidation of the world socialist system, there is now a real chance that a new world war will be avoided and peace will be safeguarded.

The victory and growth of socialism in a number of countries, in the Soviet Union in the first place, is certainly decisive. But this does not diminish the importance of the fight for peace on the part of the workers and progressive forces of the capitalist world. The consultations of the communist parties of Western Europe have lately demonstrated the strength of their cohesion and their internationalist unity which is multiplied by their solidarity with the socialist countries that consistently apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and with the nations and movements fighting for peace.

In addition, these days, the role played in the safeguarding of peace by those nations which, for centuries, were unscrupulously exploited and

* Abbreviated text of an article published in February 1974 issue of Társadalmi Szemle, the theoretical monthly of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

harrassed by colonial imperialism and which, relying on their fighting experience, are—even though many of them call themselves non-aligned, non-committed nations—very much committed fighters for peace, is growing and becoming more appreciable. Most of the countries liberated from colonial oppression, and those still fighting for liberation, rely on socialist support, they are united with the socialist countries in the struggle against monopoly capital and against imperialism.

Those classes and strata, sections of which have already realized that it is to their objective interest to join hands with the working class, are contributing factors to the growth of the forces of progress and peace in the capitalist countries. It is the duty of the socialist societies to transform these from passive spectators, or even helpers of the bourgeoisie, into supporters and allies in the struggle for peace and progress.

What is most important and cannot be overemphasized is that, in international developments, and in the way the international situation takes shape, the positive factors do not operate on their own, in isolation; helping one another they do so with multiplied strength. Imperialism retreated in Vietnam following the common pressure of the peace-loving majority and the progressive—mainly socialist—forces of the world and that is what forced the Israeli Government engaged in aggression to sit down at the negotiating table in Geneva. The European socialist countries took a common and concerted stand in the interests of dealing with controversial issues left unsettled by the Second World War. This unity made it possible to normalise relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. If each had acted separately, it would not have been possible to attain the present favourable situation that is based on fundamental principles.

Bearing in mind the international situation as a whole, and the way power relations shape, it is not in the least unrealistic to take the changes which have occurred, and which keep on maturing, changes favourable to socialism, progress and peace, and to endeavour to make them permanent, comprehensive and irreversible, that is to ensure that the consolidation of peaceful coexistence be enforced against the opposition of aggressive imperialist forces. In our own time peaceful coexistence provides the most favourable conditions for the revolutionary struggle of the working class, for attaining national liberation and for the struggle against imperialism.

Peaceful coexistence does not mean that the socialist and progressive forces of the world protect the established order of the capitalist world, they do not support the maintenance of the social *status quo*. They are aware that revolution is not an export commodity, the conditions for social change can only arise in the soil of a given society. But they are also aware

that the fight for peace, and that for social and national liberation, are interrelated, presupposing each other; that the consolidation of peace considerably increases the chances of this fight, that every step taken to force back the aggressive hosts of imperialism in the international arena improves the prospects of the anti-imperialist progressive and revolutionary movements within each country.

Where exploitation is carried on, it is inevitable that they should fight to do away with it. It is a law of nature that aggression be resisted. As long as anyone is oppressed anywhere, the fight of the oppressed will always be a just one. There is no such bourgeois force which can for ever deprive the people of their inalienable right to self-determination, that is their right to choose the social and political system which suits them.

THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES REMAIN UNCHANGED

The aggressive forces of imperialism have not of course, given up their intention of overthrowing socialism. What they have done is to fit in "moderate", what one might call "temporary", objectives that mediate between the final, long-term aim and what can be done right now. What they have trained their sights on is not the overthrowing of socialism here and now, they want to influence political developments in the socialist countries in a way that suits them, in other words to bring about the sort of transitional situation which, they hope, will ultimately lead to the overthrow, or at least the weakening, of socialism, and to the disruption of the unity of the socialist countries. "Eastern" and "western" socialism, "ethical" socialism and "socialism with a human face" are all expressions frequently found in the phrases they mouthe. The intention that is at the back of such expressions is the desire to bring about something other than socialism as it exists. In other words, those who proclaim "socialism" qualified in such ways do not want to go on from what has been achieved by socialism, what they have in mind is not timely reforms—but something that is not socialism. The purpose of their phraseology is to confuse those who do not know the way, directing development back onto the bourgeois highway by using the slogan of this or that kind of "socialism". What we want is socialism as it really exists, we want to carry on along the road opened up by the Great October Revolution in 1917, which proved to be a historic one in practice. We are building that society that knows no exploitation, that truly human and moral society, which is the future of all mankind.

We have to take a very close look indeed at the fact that one of the

principal guises in which bourgeois propaganda appears today is as a "contribution" to the discussion dealing with problems of the working-class movement, socialism and Marxism. Imperialist ideological tactics these days make speculative use of contradictions and differences within the working-class movement, exaggerating them, at the same time trying to make them more acute. The differing national aspects of socialist construction in various countries are stressed and absolutized. Nationalism is fanned, sometimes in the name of "national communism", and at the same time, a sort of national nihilism as well, the methods being changed according to what, where and when suits its purposes best.

Every age, however, manifests guiding ideas that are rooted in existing reality. In our own age it is socialism which, in the relation of nations is based on an internationalism that expresses the interests of the working class and the toiling masses. The only way in which the socialist countries can be welded together is on the basis of that internationalism, while at the same time deepening and enriching socialist patriotism. This is only natural, since the primary national interests of the peoples of the socialist countries coincide with the international interests of the working class and its movement. This is just as obvious as the impossibility of anti-socialist "patriotism" in a socialist country.

Bourgeois propaganda not only exaggerates but also distorts the internal problems of socialist countries; it gives encouragement to open or potential anti-socialist trends, it espouses and tendentiously propagates any view or aspiration which seems to further the "pluralisation" of Marxism, that is to underminde its validity as a science.

In such endeavours the bourgeoisie largely counts on Maoism, this "Left" revisionism, right-wing revisionism having suffered a succession of defeats, thanks especially to the liquidation of the counterrevolution in Hungary and to a proper Marxist-Leninist analysis of the causes of the counter-revolutionary revolt. Maoism, which does anti-communism a great service, is, metaphorically speaking, a "huge gift" to imperialism. Maoism tries to make capital out of the contradictions of the two systems, and their opposition to each other. The Maoists approach international problems not in terms of class interests but according to their nationalist, big-power aspirations.

Bourgeois propaganda, trying to obscure the basic differences between the two social systems, makes use of the theory of convergence based on the category of "industrial society" and of New Left, ultra-radical views which, while rejecting capitalism, attack or reject socialism as it exists as well, in this way, in the last resort, objectively supporting the bourgeois system.

In other words, though a *détente* may characterize the international situa-

tion, one must not bask in illusions. One must keep a sober and watchful eye on the diversionary tactics of imperialism and on the manoeuvres of reactionary ideology. One must also be aware that those capitalist groups and bourgeois politicans which pursue a realistic policy in important matters, are ideologically opposed to socialism, they are not immune to anti-communism, not even in certain details of their foreign policy, and certainly not in their domestic policies. It is true that anti-communism finds itself in a changed environment and is consequently forced to try different ways to realize its aims, using different methods, means and tactics. This necessitates a thorough evaluation of various bourgeois political trends and groups that dynamically seizes the mainsprings of their movement, doing so in a differentiated way. Though they are unable to reverse the process as such, one must still reckon with a wobbling of the policy and tactical line of these circles, and public opinion in the socialist countries, must be given the necessary direction to prepare it for such eventualities. This is required by revolutionary vigilance, and by the fight against those who try to undermine the positions of socialism.

The following points must be clearly grasped if the essence of ideological duties of socialists and communists in the international ideational field, and in the fight against moves designed to soften up socialist societies are to be properly interpreted.

—Our strategic objectives of course, remain unchanged. We work and fight for progress, and the world-wide victory of socialism.

—In proceeding to our goal we endeavour to eliminate the danger of any conflict that might lead to a war that threatens to annihilate mankind.

—By fostering peaceful coexistence and cooperation between countries with different systems we improve the international conditions for the struggle of socialist and progressive forces.

There is a fundamental difference between the attitude of our enemies and opponents and our own. We do not wish to use the policy of peaceful coexistence to export revolution, what we try to do is to create more favourable conditions for the progressive forces of history; our opponents, on the other hand, try to export counter-revolution by their subversive activities. In the international class struggle we always show awareness of the need to avert the grave threat of thermonuclear war that hangs over mankind; the foe on the other hand, from time to time revives the policy of "brinkmanship", incurring again the danger of a world war that might lead to unimaginable destruction, but the strength of the socialist community, that of the Soviet Union in the first place, and the cohesion of the forces of peace, acts as a deterrent.

The growing importance of the ideological struggle

The part played by, and the importance of, the international ideological struggle are increasing. More than ever before, the results act upon the character, and even the pace, of social progress. Bourgeois society throws the latest weapons which technology offers to the mass media into battle, in the service of its own interests. Our ideas, awake the masses to the truth, and make them more politically conscious: they rely on the demand for a free, full and meaningful human life.

In the present international situation we have to survey new ways of propagating our ideas as well. By making use of them we can more convincingly disseminate the truth and the ideas of socialism, as well as the political practice of society centred on man, and its established and further evolving moral universe.

A policy of peace and the ideological confrontation

We are all familiar with the claim made by bourgeois propaganda that the ideological struggle proclaimed and waged by the Communist Parties is an obstacle to peaceful cooperation. It was even printed that some bourgeois circles felt that the ideological struggle endangered peaceful coexistence. It is, therefore, important to clarify the relationship of the policy of peace, and the fight against imperialism, and the ideological struggle in every possible area. This is particularly necessary today when our ideas are spreading throughout the world, and in many cases we have to deal with a western public opinion subjected to capitalist manipulation by various media.

Not only is the ideological struggle no obstacle in the way of the policy of peaceful coexistence; the very opposite is true, it is a precondition of this policy. We hold, and act accordingly, that elasticity in practice combined with a firmness of principle, make it possible and necessary to develop cooperation with capitalist countries, and establish relations based on equal rights and mutual advantage.

Relations with the Social Democratic Parties of the West are handled as a question of principle as well. We are ready for political cooperation on European matters, on questions of international peace and security, and in intergovernmental relations, but at the same time we are engaged in a sharp struggle on questions of principle when it comes to the ideology of the Social Democratic Parties. In this, one could add, we think as they

do. Numerous western Social-Democrats have already pointed out that they are our adversaries on ideological questions. We take note of this, but we do not forget either that this position may appear also in a sharply anti-communist manifestation. We reject the naive demand that we remain passive and look on, standing at ease, as it were, when this happens. There are left wing socialist tendencies in the capitalist world with which we can agree over much, but we must carry on the ideological argument with them as well.

We know who defends what, and who fights for what in the battle of ideologies. Rejection of the peaceful coexistence of ideologies is a positive, honest attitude on our part. He who rejects Marxism rejects science, the truth, in the last resort rejecting the only realistic answer possible to the questions posed by humanity.

This orientation of principle determines our concrete action, at the same time drawing the line showing how far we can go by agreements to promote the class interest, the common interests of the socialist world, and of a humanity determined to survive, rejecting every kind of opportunistic compromise in this field as well. Neither the party nor the government in Hungary have deviated one jot from the line determined by principle they stand for in the struggle between the two ideologies, and they will not deviate from it whatever the circumstances. The Hungarian people knows—and so do friends and foes alike—that we pursue a principled foreign policy and do not bargain on principles: that is how it was, that is how it is now, and that is how it always will be.

Ideological work in Hungary is likewise an indispensable condition of broadening contacts with the capitalist world. We are aware that relations which continue to expand in a *détente*—even if the forms of contact are normal—entail certain ideological consequences, and we have to face the fact that imperialism, misusing broadly based contacts, deliberately works for an ideological softening up of the socialist system. At the same time it is evident that isolation from the bourgeois world is impossible and undesirable. On the contrary, what we are in favour of is a development of relations. Reality has thus far proved and will, in the future as well, bear out our convictions that the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are attractive and strong. Our party is ready for the intensified ideological battle that is part and parcel of peaceful coexistence feeling sure of our truth, and consequently of our victory.

It suffices to refer to the fact that Hungary is visited by over seven million citizens of other countries every year, including over a million from non-socialist ones. Holiday-makers from the capitalist world who

come to Hungary, or visit other socialist countries, cannot fail to become aware that what bourgeois propaganda says about these countries differs from the truth and consequently their image of socialism becomes other than that they had entertained before their arrival. It is far more difficult, though not impossible, to tell these people untruths about socialism.

Every year about two million Hungarians go abroad, that includes nearly a quarter million Hungarian citizens who travel in capitalist countries. Considering cultural contacts, those in the arts and sciences, trade, sports, etc. and the influence of the media, it is obvious that contacts are made along an extended line. More than ten years' experience allow one to say that knowledge acquired of conditions in the countries of capitalism, far from weakening, has fortified the agreement with the objectives of socialism which Hungarian society feels. The influence of Marxist-Leninist ideas has increased in ideological life. The decisive part in shaping public opinion in Hungary is played by the results of socialist construction, public thinking, the way of life, and morals. These tendencies are supported by us, in the first place all those intellectual values which promote the growth and progress of a socialist society and of socialist consciousness, by raising, discussing and clarifying questions in a constructive way. At the same time the propagation of aggressive ideas, the negative and nihilistic treatment of every human moral value, must be categorically rejected. An intellectual public life of this sort allows not only for the immunisation of people against every kind of anti-communist manipulation and incubation of bourgeois illusions, but also for making the influence of the world socialist system, and the socialist ideology, stronger than ever before. Socialist countries must more frequently take the opportunity to expound their views in ways that reach the western public. There are precedents showing that, when the bourgeois debating party is someone who has particularly discredited himself in campaigns misrepresenting socialist reality, he chooses to back out of open debate with a representative of a socialist country, being afraid of the exposure of his anti-communist bias.

The truth of Marxism is its great strength, the fact that it gives the most authentic answer to all fundamental problems of society, to all essential questions of man's individual and communal life. To recognise the basic problems that arise from the social and international situation as quickly as possible, analysing them as thoroughly as one can, providing each with the right answer, that would be the best possible pledge ensuring our success in the ideological battle.

The Hungarian party has acquired experiences in the ideological struggle with the enemy at an enormous price especially in connection with the

1956 counter-revolution when, exploiting the consequences of sectarian distortions, and with the support of the class enemy at home and abroad, every kind of revisionist, anticommunist, and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology openly took the stage. One of the principal things to be learnt from the counter-revolution is, as borne out as well by the defeat of the Hungarian Republic of Councils and the counter-revolution that followed, the overthrow of the Spanish Republic or last year's tragic events in Chile, that if a socialist system, or one moving towards socialism, is overthrown, fascist terror is bound to follow, for the bourgeoisie knows no other way of restoring its power, or of frightening off the masses from socialist ideas.

The need for a differentiated, manysided and thorough presentation of socialism must be specially mentioned. The image must be authentic in every sense, that is our propaganda must indicate the handicaps incurred at the start, and that, in overcoming them, socialism has attained remarkable results and an unparalleled rate of development. Our aims should be displayed, the questions of our time be answered and a programme be produced that serves the future of all mankind. To make it credible the most complete possible picture of socialism must be presented. An important element of this picture is evidence of economic progress, but there is no need to stick to the limits of economics. At the same time more news, reports and analyses of interesting and typical details of socialist construction, of the coming into being of a socialist morality, and a socialist way of life, must be given in such a way that the individual facts should also express general features.

It is also part of credibility that, in addition to achievements the road traversed and future plans, the contradictions which go with development and which must be solved in the course of building socialism should be discussed as well. It would be a grave political mistake and propaganda would lose its strength if the building of socialism were made to appear as a process without contradicitons and conflicts. These contradictions are not antagonistic in socialism but they are present and achievements generate new and new contradictions, new problems and questions awaiting solution. Not even that harmony of forces of production and relations of production which is characteristic of socialism is realized automatically, without the conscious directing activity of the party, based on a thorough analysis of changing conditions. The rise in living standards, for instance, has brought out many substantive questions concerning the utilization of material goods affecting the foundations of the way of life. Or to mention another, everyday example: free medical treatment, a genuine achievement,

a part of civil rights, naturally led to transitional overcrowding in surgeries and hospitals. Should these problems be left unanswered, an opportunity would be wasted, making the best of a comparison between the two systems: it must be demonstrated that socialism is fundamentally different from capitalism also in that its contradictions are different, they are not of an antagonistic and insoluble character. While socialism endeavours to solve its contradictions for the benefit of the people, capitalism tries in vain to put an end to its own antagonistic contradictions.

It is part of the credibility of socialist propaganda that faults and errors should be mentioned in keeping with their significance. As Lenin pointed out as well, the relationship of the party to its own mistakes is evidence of its seriousness. Socialism does not repudiate its own past since it never denies the achievements of the revolution or the creative work of the people. The faults, however, are taken care of: in this respect there is no continuity. At the same time a bourgeoisie must be confronted, which frequently will not own its own past, or present either, but brazenly asserts that socialism is identical with its faults, thus denying its historic achievements.

There is constant attention to objective contradictions and to deficiences that derive from our own faults. It is our firm view that there are not two kinds of propaganda, domestic propaganda and propaganda abroad must have the same message. I could add that we have no reason to fear an open display of the contradictions of development or of occasional mistakes made in the course of our work. We must honestly show that continued development always raises new and new questions which must be answered. We can provide the answers and we will do so. It is true, the bourgeois press does its best to present an analysis of the problems and mistakes of socialism as a sign of weakness; arguing that we are compelled to wash "our dirty linen" in public, and there are some in our ranks as well who, with reference to this, wish to cover up our worries and contradictions. Of course publicity in the media and in scholarly publications makes no sense unless it serves the substantive solution of the question at issue. But those who are afraid of publicity even when the matter is raised in a well-considered and reasonable manner that is useful to the cause, leave out of account that the enemies of socialism can take still better advantage of the covering up of our problems. Things are not well if Hungarian public opinion is informed of domestic problems by the other side, one ought to bear in mind therefore that, if the public is always kept properly informed, its confidence in those who provide the information will grow. It is in the political interest of the socialist state, and a vital element of socialist democracy, that this confidence should be placed in socialist sources. The

bourgeois press, who oppose us, should not be able to exploit the frustrations caused by gappy and delayed information. The media always adjust the facts to their own tendentious comments in such a way that what they essentially provide is disinformation. It is thus evident that every thing that is unilateral is harmful. Covering up mistakes only helps the other side. We neither wish to conceal, nor to display, our mistakes, but to put an end to them, and to improve our lives, acting in cooperation with working men and women.

The presentation of the advantages of socialism over capitalism must be made more palpable and more persuasive. It must be demonstrated that the success of the struggle of the working class in the capitalist world is inseparable from the existence of the world socialist system, its dynamic growth and the strengthening of its international influence. This influence will continue to grow in the years to come, especially since we have entered a stage of development when the anarchic nature of capitalist society becomes more and more obvious. The financial crisis is becoming a permanent feature, the energy crisis that has been latent for some time is entering an acute state, the general mood in capitalist countries is depressed, and other negative social phenomena all offer additional evidence.

In capitalist society new and newer conflicts grow out of exploitation and oppression, the character of capital and labour, and the basic contradictions of obsolete capitalist relations of production. Capitalism, while advancing in one sphere, considerably lags behind in another, which is the source of newer, occasionally extremely acute tensions. We are just now coming to that stage of social development when we can promote the progress of socialism in a complex and organic way, when we can at the same time act in the sphere of production, and that of social problems, that of material welfare and culture, making progress in technology and human relations, obtaining simultaneous results in the growth of material and spiritual assets, raising the already developed regions to a higher level, while giving the necessary impetus to the backward ones to help them make up the lee-way. This universal progress of socialism, which alone ensures the full realisation of the personality and the community in harmony with each other, further increases the attractiveness of the system, bringing its superiority more clearly into evidence.

Socialist propaganda must improve the way it reflects its concern for man. In addition to figures and statistics much more space ought to be devoted to the man in the street who, as is only natural in socialism, is the source and aim of all efforts. The presentation of the transmissions which now mediate between individuals and larger or smaller social communities,

seems to be somewhat neglected. The manysided presentation of man is frequently absent. The commonplace joys and anxieties of men and women are given closer attention in everyday administration in real life than in propaganda. We do not sufficiently display the interrelations between the world of individuals, families and jobs and that of the major historic changes. Putting man, gregarious man, and the community right at centre enables us to throw light on what is called the "quality of life". Complete and meaningful human life, can be secured for the working class and the people as a whole by the socialist system of society alone. We ought to demonstrate, for example, that in some fields of technology socialist countries are already ahead of the standards of capitalist society, in others they still have to catch up with them, in others again they are running neck and neck. But socialist superiority is already evident in the development of a full and meaningful human life, free of exploitation. Capitalism will never be able to overtake us, since we are progressing along a different track, that of socialism. It is only along this track that one can get rid of private ownership and exploitation which spoil human relations and debase every value by subordinating the life of man, including its most intimate aspects, and even a great part of culture and the life of the mind, to the interests of capitalist profits, manipulating needs in such a way as to ensure a better price to cheap, modish goods than to things of real, true and lasting value.

A thoroughgoing and manysided criticism of capitalism is no less important than the credible propagation of socialism. Modern bourgeois propaganda plays on many strings, but has not given up pumping new strength into illusions about capitalism. It tries to make people long for the consumer society. The capitalist countries frequently call themselves "the West", as we do, but our image of the West includes the French Revolution, Marx and Engels, the Paris Commune, and strong Communist Parties and progressive movements. They present only the world of cheap sentiments, an amplitude of expensive fashionable goods, that is the dream world of a consumer society put forward as the only true road to salvation. This is not even good enough for those who live in the capitalist countries, and bourgeois manipulation tries to do something about it by depoliticising and desideologising, and by spreading pessimism, it endeavours to undermine a faith in a better and fuller life, and the meaningfulness of fighting for it. It propagates all kinds of selfishness, individual and national egotism, and irresponsible individualism.

As against this we have not fully exploited the opportunity of effectively presenting the property relations of socialism to the world, and the principles and practice of distribution and consumption based thereupon, simulta-

neously subjecting the theory and practice of the consumer society to detailed criticism. We have to present a convincing picture of socialist reality, and show that socialism is there for man and that its aim is to satisfy more and more fully the spiritual and material needs of mankind. We have to make it self-evident also that we refuse to let consumption become an end in itself, since this will inevitably lead to a hunt for commodites, to the curtailment of communal activity and of a fully human life, that is a lowering of standards.

By creating and satisfying spurious needs, the consumer society intensifies the chase after profits. Capitalism, which has for many long years slandered us, claiming we wished to curb individuality and produce a dull grey uniformity, seeks to reduce man to the status of a mere consumer, locking him up in a cage made up of manipulated "goods". It does its utmost to atomise the masses. Wherever possible, it promotes the low-quality, stereotyped productions of the entertainment industry which, being of no cultural value, pander to aggressive instincts, aiming to stifle all desire for meaningul social action. This should warn us that, in throwing light on a socialist future, we should not speak exclusively of accessible material goods, since material wealth is only a condition and a means for shaping socialist man, in itself it is not socialism. Material goods, without the planned and continuous encouragement of socialist ways of thinking and living lead to petty bourgeois attitudes and behaviour they only give scope to small-mindedness and selfishness, providing a breeding ground for an absence of civic feeling. To resist invasion by the bourgeois way of life and mentality, we have to offer a realistic, positive alternative. Our strength is increasingly manifest also in a socialist way of life based on socialist conditions.

In the class struggle waged by the Communist Parties and other progressive force of the capitalist countries an overwhelming place is occupied by the fight against ways of life produced by capitalism. These parties and other progressive forces have an immense part to play in the ideological struggle between the two systems, the experience they gather is indispensable for us. It is primarily they who, directly and day after day, battle against the capitalist system on all fronts; they provide a practical and theoretical criticism of capitalist existence and ways of thinking, and of the bourgeois ideology; it is they who convey the truest picture of our system to the people of their respective countries. We on our part can provide the best possible assistance to them if we advance convincing arguments for socialism and against capitalism by presenting the life-ideals and the developing practice of socialism.

Another reason why we emphasize this is that it is advantageous to bourgeois propaganda if the western parties, and the progressive forces in general, are not adequately supplied with varied and substantial information about the true conditions prevailing in socialist society and the road and distance covered by the nations building socialism. Never in history has a revolution been fought with greater handicaps and under more difficult circumstances than in backward Russia, the peoples of which made unparalleled sacrifices, or by the working people of the socialist countries who followed in their footsteps. What Attila József so beautifully said about the working class applies to those who fought in these revolutions as well. "Never, since the solar system came into being have so many destroyed so much that was indestructible." Nevertheless, to continue in Attila József's words, what has come true is "our splendid gift, order..." and this is the highest truth about us. Of course we know very well that though one can get nowhere without the truth, the truth in itself is not enough, we must be able to proclaim and spread it in accordance with the standards of our ideas and our cause.

A truthful presentation of socialist conditions is also extraordinarily important since the current hate campaign run by hostile anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda tries to make use of the internal enemies of socialism to the utmost possible extent; on the pretext of protecting culture and human freedom, fake slogans are employed to play a deceptive game with the truth, putting pseudo-values and backward attitudes forward as if they were true values and progressive deeds.

This applies to the so called Solzhenitsyn case which turned into the instrument of the most aggressive anti-communist, anti-Soviet, consequently anti-*détente* Cold-War propaganda. It is characteristic of this campaign that its promoters are not too particular about the tools they use, they employ everybody, starting with renegades right up to fascists, who is ready to vilify his country or besmirch socialism. These are a sort of modern Herostratus who, to make a name for himself, burnt down the temple of the goddess Artemis in Ephesus which was admired all over the antique world. They want to make their names part of the common currency of their time by abusing their socialism and their socialist homeland. Such people can be found in every socialist country, and some of them have nothing to boast of but their role in the campaign of veleification.

Tarsis and Kuznetsov and others like them quickly passed from the public eye showing how much such people are worth. When they leave their country and reach the capitalist world they long for, they soon end up in the lumber-room, their "talents" are no longer appreciated and do not

assure them a living, so that they turn into what they really are: pawns in the mercenary host of anti-communism.

It shocked many that Solzhenitsyn joined those ranks, what is more fighting his way to the top. In his latest book he has become so daring that he finds excuses for Czarism and the methods of the Gestapo, and words of praise for Vlassov's army, the traitors who joined Hitler. At the same time he attacks Lenin, belittles the heroic struggle of the Soviet people in their Great Patriotic War, pretending not to know that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself exposed the mistakes that had been made restoring legality and the Leninist norms of socialist democracy. Now the fascist killers in Chile, the professional Cold War scribblers, the bourgeois papers and radio and television stations, and even some high-ranking Imperialist politicians, sing his praises in unison. The unrestrained hate campaign conducted largely on Goebbels lines, accompanying this book makes it clear also to less well informed men of good-will that what is going on here is plain reactionary political manipulation, which has nothing to do with either the truth or literature. The bourgeois press has not devoted so much space to the greatest writers and poets of the twentieth century, to the most important works of art and artist of our time between them as to this single book by Solzhenitsyn.

It can hardly escape notice that, whenever the signs of *détente* appear in international life, this propaganda machinery ignites the time bomb of a scandal to take away the attention of the uninformed segment of the public from what is of the essence. In the awareness of this it was decided to publish *The Gulag Archipelago* simultaneously in a number of western countries. Can the objective be other than a desire to cause a disturbance in the improving international climate? Recently we were able to witness more than one propaganda campaign of this sort. The present one deserves attention also because it clearly shows that every action directed against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, also trains its sight on the hopes for peace of all mankind. But this is a futile attempt. The process of *détente* has started and cannot be reversed by any sort of campaign.

THE ROAD OF PRINCIPLED UNITY

We consistently support the unity of the international Communist movement, its joint action and struggle. It would be against Hungarian national interests not to stand for the principle of internationalism, unity and joint action. In the international relations of countries and parties, we

consider the sovereignty of nations and the independence of parties to be as natural as the air which one breathes, it is therefore neither usual nor necessary to waste words on it. We see the substance of our work in the joint struggle, that is in the attainment of those goals which are identical for all of us, being the universal goals of human progress. Our movement has so far achieved its results also in a joint, internationalist struggle. It is thus understandable that we should lay stress on joint action and unity.

He who is unable to link up the national interest with the vital current of the interests of socialist community is dealing badly with the future of his own nation as well, since by doing so he deprives his people and nation of the surplus produced by joint action and exposes his country to the shifting winds of the world outside the socialist community, to the reckless waves of prosperity and depression. This sort of thing then hits sovereignty the hardest, since it makes the future of the nation dependent on spontaneous, blind, incalculable forces. It is generally thought-provoking, and indicative of the decisive importance of unity, that every enemy of socialism and progress so fiercely attacks precisely this active internationalist cohesion and undertakes to enter into alliance with any—even the most "left-wing"—force only just to wreck this unity.

In the service of success in our joint struggle, we continue to stand firmly on the ground of Marxism-Leninism, and of proletarian internationalism, we defend our socialist ideas against both Right and "Left" distortions. On the basis of the successful practice and encouraging future of socialism we shall increase the influence of our ideas also in those parts of the world where the capitalist system dominates. We are well aware as well that only on the basis of an exchange of internationalist experience will it prove possible to show convincingly that, in our time, if mankind wishes to live in peace, freedom and justice, in a manner worthy of man, the only possible way is socialism.

WORLD PEACE CONGRESS IN MOSCOW

by

JÁNOS BERECZ

The World Congress of Peace-loving Forces, met in Moscow between October 25th and 31st 1973. The struggle for peace has long been a familiar and daily activity for us. We have grown accustomed to the fact that the struggle for peace attracts the broad masses, and that a large-scale meeting for peace always attracts the attention of the world. The World Peace Congress this year nonetheless broke through all the customary routine: in size and programme it surpassed anything the twenty-five-year old peace movement had achieved until then.

At the end of October approximately 3,300 delegates from one hundred and forty-three countries gathered in Moscow: they represented more then 1,100 political parties, organisations, movements, and one hundred and twenty international organisations. In terms of the number of countries represented, this was a broader forum than the United Nations. And in terms of the representation of political trends it was unique. Approximately 600 representatives of seventy-four Christian Democrat, Liberal, Peasant and other parties took part in the work of the Congress. More than a hundred and fifty delegates from forty-nine Socialist or Social Democratic Parties came to Moscow. Never before had so many Social Democrats appeared together at a World Peace Congress. Two hundred delegates from fifty-eight National Democratic Parties or Liberation Movements from the developing countries were also there, and 550 representatives of seventy Communist and Workers' parties to discuss the questions on the agenda. The Communist Parties had never been in such a minority at a peace meeting, yet a comparable harmony had seldom been previously experienced. More than two hundred Parliamentary representatives and several Ministers took part in the common work. The United Nations Organisation and its Specialized Agencies were also represented in Moscow.

The number participating was particularly significant if we appreciate the fact that the majority of delegates did not simply come to Moscow to listen but to express their opinions. At the plenary session approximately 60 speeches were delivered expressing the views of delegations on a number of questions. In the different committees some 1,300 delegates spoke on topics on the agenda, and several hundred took part in the debate approving the final documents. Compared with the size of earlier Congresses, the 14 committees might in fact be regarded as separate congresses on their own, since those taking part in the committee meetings amounted to between 150 and 700, and the speakers ranged between 50 and 200.

These figures go to show that the peace forum in Moscow at the end of October was the largest peace congress of our time, mobilising the greatest number of people. The actual achievement of the Congress are expressed primarily in the documents that were drawn up by the common will, embodying the common aims and the militant programme of all the social forces and movements for peace.

I

The work done, and the position adopted, by the World Peace Congress was conditioned by the present situation in the world and the main lines of international politics on the one hand, and the knowledge gained by the various political forces and movements in the course of their activities on the other.

The general features of the international situation are familiar to everyone. In the international arena tensions have been reduced, and the general atmosphere is more relaxed. The imperialist warmongering forces have suffered serious defeats, and the Cold War has failed. The will of the peace-loving states and countries has been asserted with increasing strength, and has already produced important safeguards for a lasting peace.

At the same time the dangerous experiments and efforts made by the partisans of Cold War, the monopolies in the armament industries, and the aggressive military circles serving imperialist oppression in their attempt to arrest peaceful progress, and through which they threaten the sovereignty of certain countries and the existence and survival of progressive regimes, are well-known. Instead of going into a more detailed examination of these efforts, it is of more value to investigate how generally progressive trends, and the attempts of the reactionary forces to impede them, are reflected in the development of social movements and the attitudes they adopt today.

During the Cold War the world was divided into two sharply opposed camps, and the division was reflected in the importance they attached to peace. The peace policy of the socially progressive countries advancing towards socialism was unmistakeable and open. The countries that had been liberated from the colonial yoke and had achieved national independence as a general rule also adopted a policy of peace in order to strengthen their international security and create favourable conditions for their national development. They were joined by national and international organizations openly accepting progressive ideas, resistance to imperialism, the struggle for peace. It was a part of the dynamism of progress that these organisations had worked out mobilizing strategies, led the way for the masses, and were in advance of the majority of governments in the struggle to assure the future.

They were opposed by the governments of the great capitalist powers and warmongering and military circles. Right-wing movements and groups, blinded with hate, took action against progressive organisations. At the same time a considerable numbers of organizations and various political forces, bewitched and confused by anti-Communist propaganda, proclaimed their "faith" in some ambiguous generally humanist Third Force and consequently believed they had to oppose the socialist countries and the national liberation movements in defence of the "free" world. While inspired by a genuine desire for peace, they were afraid of all democratic movements and organisations because they saw them as "agents of Communism."

In the past ten years there has been a decided change in the world. Based on the power relations that have tilted in favour of the progressive forces, the international policies of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have broken through the barriers of the Cold War, and an increasing number of capitalist governments have begun—willy-nilly—to face present realities. The new stage in the growth of international cooperation has developed slowly, but it has made considerable progress in the past few years. The agreements reached between the Governments of the socialist and the capitalist countries have exercised an influence on the peaceful progress of the world. Outstandingly important among these agreements were those concluded by the Soviet Union and the United States, France and the Federal Republic of Germany respectively. A very essential change in the struggle for European security and cooperation is the establishment of the international conference which deals with this question. Important points of tension have been successfully liquidated through agreements and just solutions based on the rejection of aggression. This development

has created new conditions for social movements as well, since world opinion has changed, has taken a large step forward, and has become a conscious and more important factor.

The framework hitherto established by the great international democratic organizations have in the course of time proved themselves inadequate for the organization of the growing and broadening mass peace movement. The spirit engendered by the new rapprochements reached beyond the limitations of earlier world congresses, and existing organizations have proved less and less capable of integrating new masses and movements. At the same time the middle-of-the-road bourgeois democratic organizations, still fearful of "Communist infiltration", began to lose their influence on their own masses and became increasingly incapable of giving any lead to world opinion. The experience of the masses had outgrown them, and their organizations found themselves facing a crisis. This process occurred still more rapidly in the case of a considerable number of the more reactionary organizations and parties.

In the meantime the desire of certain capitalist governments to come to terms with the socialist countries, to conclude agreements for the solution of various questions, and to develop their contacts with them, threatened to leave the mass movements lagging behind events and unable to influence the pace and direction of progress. These were the circumstances that dictated the organization of a world peace movement of a new type, in which the demand for a new programme and for a large-scale union of forces would be expressed. In the organization of the recent Congress all the various mass organizations which can to some extent at least be described as democratic, which express some kind of mass opinion, and which have been able to free themselves from the influence of anti-Communism, played a part.

All this only increased the bitter hostility of right-wing organizations and movements, which started to wage a campaign against détente in general, the Congress itself, and its organizers. Their greatest effort was to launch an anti-Soviet campaign towards the end of the last summer under the pretext of the alleged "defence" of certain Soviet citizens, such as Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn, and others. But the fascist coup in Chile, the various reactionary movements, the sharpened attacks of the Right in various countries, and finally the continuous aggression of the Israeli military, supported by imperialism—again directed attention to the real questions and stimulated the supporters of the Congress to action.

The greatest Peace Congress of the peoples of the world consequently met in the midst of a complex situation. The effect of the international

situation, the great attention and the expectations of the workers of the world encouraged the members of the Congress to draw up a programme which took the general trends of international developments into consideration, as well as actual events and the varied character of the greatly enlarged peace forces.

II

The address delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, on October 26th, the second day of the Congress, greatly influenced the construction of the new peace programme. The speech by the Secretary General of the CPSU was looked forward to by the delegates to the Congress with considerable anticipation. They hoped to hear how the peace programme adopted at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could be transplanted into the soil of mass movements on the one hand, and were awaiting the reply of the Soviet Union to the war panic in leading capitalist circles, and the military steps taken by the US Government which had given rise to war hysteria, on the other.

The address surpassed expectation. The Soviet Union presented a firmly based philosophy of peace to the representives of the people of the world: "Our philosophy of peace is the philosophy of historical optimism. Despite the complexities and contradictions of the present situation we have confidence in the success of the peace offensive which is at present developing on a wide front" said Leonid Brezhnev. The ground for this optimism were: the policies of socialism in action, the activities of the many countries and peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the sober-minded attitude of the leaders of many capitalist countries, the power and strength of the working class all over the world, and the militant energy of the social movements of the masses. The principal task defined in Leonid Brezhnev's address was the necessity of strengthening the main trends developing in the present international situation, that is, the change from Cold War to an easing of tensions, from military confrontation to the consideration of security and to peaceful cooperation. To achieve this, he said, we have to ensure that the détente achieved by this decisive change of direction in the development of international relations becomes lasting, and even irreversible. One of the most important safeguards for this development is the union of forces in the organized and variegated movement of the broad masses in the defence of peace.

The effect of Leonid Brezhnev's speech was particularly great because he proposed a policy by which the forces for peace can again take the

initiative, and can once again be more than mere units and complements in the development of inter-governmental relations, can in fact be their driving force.

The Congress, as the world outside, also waited to hear whether the Middle East War could be stopped. Can a just and lasting peace be achieved there? Can the effects of the latest conflict in increasing international tension be brought to an end? The Soviet Union gave a clear answer. With calm self-assurance Brezhnev unmasked the merchants of war and the black-mailers, at the same time explaining the initiatives of the Soviet Union in making any extension of the aggression impossible. The Soviet Union unequivocally kept the interests of peace and security in view when it gave all needed assistance to the Arab peoples fighting for a just cause, for the elimination of the consequences of aggression. And in the meantime it took such effective steps to freeze the international effects of aggression and ensure peace, that the Congress, representing the peace movements of the world, could only greet this attitude with deep satisfaction and agreement.

And as a result the delegates to the Congress, in their attitudes towards the social system of the Soviet Union and the building of Socialism and Communism, manifested their appreciation of the international policy of the Soviet Union. They accepted with enthusiasm the following words of Brezhnev: "Permit me to assure you that in your activities directed towards the stabilization of peace you will receive the most enthusiastic and most active support from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from the Soviet Government, and from all the Soviet people." The statement in the speech by Gyula Kállai, leader of the Hungarian delegation, that any alleged 'peace policy' which was conducted against the Soviet Union, and against the socialist countries, was senseless and irrational, expressed not only the views of the Hungarian delegation but the attitude of the Congress as a whole.

The speech delivered by the Secretary General of the CPSU outlined a policy, but it was the Congress that defined the future tasks of the peace movement, in a number of resolutions. The fundamental documents of the World Peace Congress were: the Appeal, the Declaration (summarizing the principal findings of the fourteen committees), and the Action Programme. As defined in the Appeal "the World Peace Congress of Peace-loving Forces is the answer of the simple people of the world to existing dangers and injustices. It calls for new efforts in order to turn the knowledge, labour and wealth of mankind to the benefit of the people and not to the destruction and the subjugation of mankind." Just as the source

of every value is work, the principal condition of creative work is peace. Without peace no full life can be achieved, nor any creative spirit of freedom. The Congress, however, was not supporting a peace of servitude and aquiescence, but defining the contents of a just and democratic peace, that is: war must be eliminated from the life of human society, each nation must be assured the right to choose its own independent path; the great achievements of science and technology must serve the interests of social progress.

These great and general objectives were also specified more clearly in concrete demands roughly divisible into three groups.

The first group laid down the general conditions of peace, both in principle and in practice. The Congress demanded that the peaceful coexistence of states irrespective of their social systems be assured, that collective security systems in Europe and in Asia be created, that the armament race be brought to an end and all natural resources devoted to the good of mankind. It gave priority to political over military détente, but since the two were closely connected, it also advocated effective measures of disarmament. Violence and aggression attributed to the politics of international imperialism, were sharply condemned. Thus, in content, what was an anti-imperialist congress was taking place in Moscow, although a considerable section of those present did not go as far as opposing the capitalist system in its social context.

The second group integrated peoples' fights for freedom into the demands of the peace movement. "As long as there is an inch of earth" declared the Appeal, "where blood is being shed and aggression occurs, as long as a single people is denied the right to decide its fate for itself, and as long as fascist and racialist systems continue to exist which oppress the democratic will of the people, the conscience of humanity cannot be still, the foundation of the building of peace cannot be secure and lasting."

As a result the Congress of Peace-loving forces in Moscow also became a congress of solidarity. With great solemnity the participants adopted an attitude of support for the fighting peoples of Indochina, the Arab world, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and for the democratic forces of Chile suffering from fascist reprisals. Each and all of the fighting peoples of the world can count on the effective support of the peace movement. The Congress demonstrated that in our days the peace movement, the struggle of the oppressed peoples for liberation and the fight for social progress go hand in hand and are inseparable.

The third group dealt with "human" demands, in full accord with the struggle for peace and the elimination of the inhumanity deriving from the

nature of imperialism. The Congress advocated an end to the extremely dangerous processes which ruin and pollute man's natural environment. It declared for international cultural cooperation and broader human contacts to be of great value in the strengthening of mutual understanding between peoples and nations, and in the dissolution of suspicion and the abolition of prejudice. It described the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation not only as a consequence but also as a safeguard for a policy of peaceful coexistence. And it finally declared that it was the inalienable right of every human being to live and to work in a peaceful environment, in conditions of freedom and social justice.

The World Peace Congress finally called for action to carry out this huge programme in the words of the slogan: "Time does not wait!"

III

The style of the Congress was also derived from its composition and spirit: dialogue, cooperation, and joint action were the order of the day.

Dialogue was a natural adjunct of the World Peace Congress since there were such a variety of movements present that views could not possibly coincide on every question.

This exchange of views was most in demand from the Leftist forces, in the knowledge that they were strong and right. Exchanges of views no longer divide us, but unmask our enemies, open up the common denominators existing in the views of all those ready to co-operate, and help to convince the doubting. And this is very necessary in an extremely broad movement. Not everybody understands equally the meaning and class content of peaceful coexistence. Many fear that the "Great Powers" in the course of cooperation take their own particular interests in consideration. Both imperialist and Chinese propaganda is designed to increase doubts and sow the seeds of suspicion towards the Soviet Union. There are still extreme radicals who have difficulty in understanding the compulsory dialectic of struggle and cooperation in our era, and only support the former. And there are of course also differences of opinion on certain points of the programme. Our view of the system of European security differs from that of the fighting Arab peoples. The argument for an Asian security system is gaining support in widening circles, despite malicious attacks by the Chinese. It is nevertheless a fact that to-day even some of the peace forces are still uncertain in their interpretation of the concept of Asian security. They are afraid that the interests of Asian cooperation and

security may impede the struggle of the peoples of the world for liberation.

These were some of the debatable questions which were in fact discussed at the Congress. A few malevolent "delegates" also emerged, who tried to disturb the constructive atmosphere, but these found themselves isolated. In addition to this dialogue, general readiness for cooperation, and a spirit striving to achieve cooperation, dominated the Congress. Thus the differences of opinion, the discussions, became connecting links, and made it possible to formulate a common attitude.

Also present was a strong desire that the Congress should not end its activities with the final session, but should make use of the experience gained in the preparatory work and in the committees to set up some liaison organ. In the course of the debate on this question we met with a new and peculiar kind of contradiction. Among the consistently progressive forces of the Peace Movement were a few who had been criticizing our own international movement for years for not being sufficiently elastic, not taking the initiative with sufficient courage, and adhering to old formulae. Now, when the new forces for peace which had come to the Congress, organized with great courage and initiative, wanted to set up a skeleton organizational framework constructed on a programme of cooperation, there were some who recoiled from the idea. But the various movements and organizations which recognized the new opportunities being presented could not be deterred from laying the foundations for closer and more systematic contacts. The Congress consequently set up the 59-member "Liaison Committee" consisting of the representatives of the peace movements of different states and of some international organizations, a committee of which Hungary is also a member.

The World Congress entrusted this committee with the task of

a) Ensuring the distribution of the resolutions, reports and action programme of the Congress on the widest possible scale;

b) Sending delegations to the United Nations, to the African Unity Organisation and other inter-governmental organisations to deliver the resolutions and recommendations of the Congress;

c) Promoting a continuation of the contacts and cooperation established in the course of the Congress by the participating organisations, in in order to discuss ways and methods of implementing the programme. The committee was also requested "to meet after three or four months (with the consent of their organisation) to investigate the results of the consultation and take new measures accordingly".

The spirit of united action was consequently triumphant. Its foundations were laid by the dialogue and the results of the co-operation which had been achieved.

IV

The lion's share in the preparation and success of the Congress was undertaken by the World Peace Council with the assistance of the Soviet peace organisations. How often has this organisation of the peace movement been buried by its adversaries! How often has it been accused of being obsolete, obstinate, unable to initiate new measures and methods, in Moscow it has again refuted all these accusations. This was not in fact a meeting of the World Peace Council itself, it was much wider than that. Nevertheless the World Peace Council was the generating motor and connecting link. It carried out a vast and disinterested task in organization, in preparation, and in ensuring the high standard of the meeting. By the arrangement of numerous international meetings it sought out contacts with the various peace movements and created the right conditions for the open atmosphere of the Congress. In the preparation of the documents submitted for debate the World Peace Council made use of all the experience of its twenty-five years. All this successful work undoubtedly enhanced its authority and influence. It made use of the opportunity to add to its ranks, to attract new detachments of the peace forces into its organizational framework. But it would be impossible, and unnecessary, to draw all forces and movements into the World Peace Council. Close links can be established with those who remain outside through the Liaison Committee of the World Congress; and this opens a new period in the history of the peace movement.

The strengthened influence of the World Peace Council and its enhanced activity are vital conditions for the realization of the objectives adopted at the World Peace Congress, and in order to maintain the unity of action achieved among the various movements. This unity of action is fragile; the programme and framework for it exists, but it has not yet been tempered over long years in the fire of a common struggle. An organ is needed to consolidate this unity of action. That is why a strong World Peace Council is needed to be the permanent centre and generating motor of the struggle for peace. If we act correctly, then the Liaison Committee of the World Congress will be its worthy partner in this process.

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The Hungarian Peace Movement was a foundation member of the World Peace Council and has been an active participant in its struggles for over a quarter of a century. It naturally took part in the World Peace Congress, as the representative of the whole of Hungarian society. The fulfilment of this mission was a welcome task: the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Government, every stratum of the Hungarian people are all united in the struggle to ensure peace. The concepts and objectives of the Congress were also expressions of the Hungarian people's will for peace, and consequently the Hungarian delegation participated with creative activity in bringing the common work to fruition.

The leader of the Hungarian delegation, Gyula Kállai, in a speech delivered at the plenary session of the Congress, explained their position on the subject of peaceful coexistence and security. The speeches and motions put forward by the Hungarian delegates contributed considerably to the success of the committee work. The recognition of their contribution was reflected in the fact that three of the fourteen committees charged the Hungarian representative with the task of reporting back to the full Congress in the plenary session. In the leading bodies of the Congress, the Hungarian representatives—without avoiding debate—contributed successfully to the achievement of joint agreements and joint decisions.

MUD

Short story

by

JÓZSEF DARVAS

The melting snow squelched with a monotonous rhythm under his outsize boots, under the soles held on by wire, as he chased up and down after the pig, kneading the bottomless mud of the yard. But still the pig would not go into the tys. His legs were exhausted in the futile chase, the cold, turning to a clammy thaw, crept slowly, numbingly, up his calves with a sickening insistence, like a worm burrowing beneath his skin. The squelch of the liquid mud as it opened and closed under his feet and the agonized wheezing of his gasping lungs were the only sounds he was aware of around the homestead, The falling snow, like a thick soft curtain, muffled the noises of the outer world. The snow fell in big cottonwool tufts in an uninterrupted and noiseless attempt to wrap the earth in a comforting whiteness—but in vain, as it immediately melted into dismal puddles in the yard. The old man, darting for the pig, his chin dug deep into his chest, could see the snowflakes pass away at his boot tips, falling into the slush, each of them a smiling face suddenly saddening and breaking into tears.

His feet felt terribly cold from the wet seeping through the holes, his toes were frozen into lifeless bones, and he felt the mud already attacking the tattered wrappings round them. Shiveringly he pulled his shabby jacket together and tried to push his hands into the ragged pockets to keep them from the cold. Everything was ragged about this man. All of his life was a ragged hole through which the soul dipped miserably into the futility of the world as the tattered wrappings of his feet dipped miserably into the mud.

He was mad with the pig. A teardrop from his eyes, bleared from the stinging cold, rolled down his stubbly cheeks. He was miserable, he wanted to crouch by the well-curb and cry as when he was a child—but more than

anything he wanted to strangle that damned pig if only he could catch it. But each time it managed to escape. It stopped now and then, waiting for him to get within a few feet, and would even turn to face him, legs apart, cocking its ungainly head a little, regarding him, snuffing in its snout as if to mock him—and as he got near, it swished its tail and turning with a fierce grunt lurched forward again. Only to come to a standstill once more a few yards away, rooting in the mud, spattering it around and cocking its small cunning eye at him, ready to renew the game as soon as the had almost reached it.

They had been running round the well for perhaps half an hour. The old man was completely out of breath. He stood there gasping, and kicked the trough with the muddied water in it in impotent rage. The dirty water splashed up into his face and the grains of wet sand grated between his teeth. He spat them out. His eyes ran over with tears from the filth bespattering them. He raised his grimy tear-stained face and lifted towards the sky his lumps of fists, frozen blue with the cold, in a deep curse. It came suddenly to him that it was Christmas Eve. The thought caught him short for a moment, then the curse burst from his lips with renewed bitterness:

"God damn and blast..."

He had never hated God more violently than now, on Christmas Eve... on the birthday of the little Jesus, when the Saviour of All Creation descended amidst heavenly brightness... Of a sudden all the accumulated bitternesses overwhelmed him: the empty, thankless years, the winters, sickening-slimy or bitterly cold but always pitiless, the summers, blood-sucking, flaming-yellow—and now this pig! Why was it that even this animal could get the better of him? Was he incapable of driving it in? Was all the emptiness of his sixty years not even enough for that?

He opened his mouth to call his son from the stable to help... but no sound came out. Fear and defiance closed his throat. Sándor would certainly abuse him again, would say he was no use any more, And anyway he wasn't so old that this damned pig was going to get the better of him! He wiped his face with his jacket sleeve, dashed the blinding tears from his eyes and started to chase the crazy and now unruly animal once more. And because he was incapable of the strength or speed the struggle demanded, he resorted to trickery.

For he now saw it as a contest, and regarded the real object of the chase, to get the pig into the sty, as almost unimportant. He squatted at the base of the well, hidden from the pig rooting on the far side, waiting to catch it from his crouching position, flattened against the damp planks. He only

hoped it wouldn't see him until he could get within one good stride of it, when he would spring to his feet and give it a kick in the side that would stop its crazy game.

There was nothing amiss in the idea, only in its execution. By the time he was up, the pig had plunged forward, quicker than usual, from the sudden fright. The kick went wide and the impetus sent him over backwards. He was covered with mud, leaving behind him, as he struggled to his feet, an imprint in the mud much as children like to trace in the snow, the form of a crucified Christ—only not now in snow, but in clay-sodden mire, in mud that squelched repulsively. For a second he stared at the imprint of his body as when tender memories awake, but the moment passed in a flash, immediately quenched in bitterness mixed with rage. He shook himself as a dog shakes his dripping coat, to clean his rags a little. He had not even the strength left to curse, he only ground his teeth. He felt as if choked by a deadly terror that would finally destroy him if he did not do something against it at once. A cold sweat broke out on his forehead, and he looked around for help, as one pursued by some unavoidable danger.

His roaming eyes fell on a pitchfork propped against the wall by the stable door. He did not know then how he could use it, but he ran to it, locked his trembling fingers around it, and raised it like a bayonet ready to stab, he even lunged, as if to attack. At that moment the pig rumbled past with a mocking grunt. In desperation he thrust the fork into the flank of the unsuspecting beast. It gave a screech almost human in its agony and its blood, a turbid red, mingled with the slush. Its legs tottering, it dragged itself into the sty, whimpering, the grayish entrails hanging from its torn side. Its piteous, heartrending cries came to the old man, who listended, and as the rising wind brought to his ears a drift of the jubilating Christmas bells from the church tower of the distant village, his body slumped against the grimy stable wall.

Then he threw away the pitchfork and crept into the sty. He knelt as if praying beside the pig lying there, and wathed the blood gushing out withc renewed force at each small pain-racked grunt. With his stubby chapped fingers he tried to tuck the entrails back into place, to close the wide-ripped abdominal wall, and even pressed his palm to the wound in the hope that the bleeding would stop. But the blood continued to ooze through his quivering fingers, and the pig cried and moaned under his fumbling hands until he could scarcely endure it.

It's going to die now, he thought. But this was their only pig, which they had wanted to fatten and kill to have at least a little fat and meat in the larder—last year and the year before the porker had perished before

its time. And again nothing would come of it. That is what he thought, but then a greater and more immediate fear reared itself in his mind. What would Sándor say when he learnt about it? The meat, the lard, the needy hand-to-mouth existence and all the rest of it seemed very far away: all he heard in advance was his son's curses. He would beat him for this, no question he would. He had lifted his hand against him for smaller things than this, and had threatened to beat him. Only yesterday, when he had forgotten to clean out the chaff from the cow's crib. "One can only treat you as a child. You're getting so doddering maybe you'll forget to eat one of these days. But that's something you won't forget to do, will you"... So what when he learnt about this? The pig. He felt a flush go through him. He took a deep breath and pushed his greasy hat to the back of his head. He tore a strip off his tattered jacket and pressed it to the wound, he even smeared a handful of mud on it in the hope it would stop the oozing of the blood.

In vain.

The pig was scarcely breathing now, its painful grunts were becoming rearer. He held its heavy head, lying flat on the ground, forced the mouth open and blew air into it as one does with a dying chicken or other small farmyard creatures. He took deep breaths and blew and blew until he nearly fainted from the great effort, and fell beside the pig. He took brief respites in which he muttered entreating and endearing words:

"Dear, dear pig... don't, don't... dear pig, please don't..."

"Supper's ready, father" his wife called.

He scrambled to his feet and slipped out of the sty.

He could hardly get the food into his mouth from all the bitterness in him. Forcing himself, he swallowed the poor, smoke-tasting Christmas milk loaf. Sándor also sat without words, munching sourly a morsel of the sweet bread and staring in front of him as if at any moment he might push the whole table over, plates and all. He could of course have been in no more of a churlish mood than usual, since talking had always had taken a small place in their lives—but the old man could see that something was biting him. He glanced at him furtively every now and again, trying out to himself the word with which to open the matter of the pig. This one, that one, he thought, yes, that was the right one! As he munched slowly and noisily he even turned the words over on his tongue—then swallowed them with the mouthful.

It would not let him rest. Whatever he did, he could not keep it quiet. At most till the morning—when the trouble would have grown, it would swell overnight like yeast mixed with lukewarm water. He must speak now!

He stared stiffly at the table, listening to the noisy munching of his wife as she went on turning and softening the food in her toothless mouth; with every sense he was aware of the slightest quiver breathing and moving around him in the world, and at one and the same time he was trying to marshal all the reasons for showing courage. Why couldn't he speak up! After all their little part in the share-cropping lease was in his name! The pig also... had been his. He could do whatever he liked with it. And anyway he was the father of them...!

As the looked at the young man sitting opposite him, and his glance took in the hard features of the face, twitching with every motion of the jaw under the biack unshaven bristle, and the solid block of the jutting chin, the thin skull, the thick neck and broad shoulders and the dark stubby hand gripping the milk bread, the flow of phrases broke off. For although, he reflected, he was still the father of the man—it all mattered nothing now. A sense of the dreary monotony of the past years surged through him. The past five years? Or ten? No one could say when it began. Perhaps it had never begun, perhaps it had just gone on. The children had grown up and outgrown them, and as their strength waned so did their value and esteem. There was this one child still living with them, but their life had changed in nothing. At most it had become worse.

He dared not speak.

When they had finished eating, Sándor went out. He usually slept in the stable. The woman made the bed for the two of them in the kitchen. They lay down. She turned to the wall and at once fell asleep. He would have liked to talk, though. To her he could have talked, even about the pig... He listened to the little snoring sounds with great bitterness and felt like reaching over to seize her by the throat and choke the soul out of her. She couldn't even share his pain any more.

Try as he would he could not get to sleep.

He had dozed off once. Floating images from the Bible, read long ago, rose up from under the reluctant sleep: he saw the new-born Jesus in the crib of the Bethlehem stable. He looked and looked at the shiny little face and felt an aching desire to caress it... didn't He come to redeem the poor? He started for the crib, setting his big clumsy boots gingerly to the ground to avoid waking the baby. He stood before him, and suddenly fell on his knees as if borne down by some insupportable burden, reached out his rough, horny hands to stroke him—but the crib was gone, and so was the stable, and he was once again kneeling in the sty beside the rigid body of the pig.

He started up, his whole body in a sweat. He could no longer go back

to sleep. His eyes smarted with a dull ache, he was chafed and tormented by the clammy damp creeping in through the chinks. He was very sleepy, but dared not close his eyes.

He slipped out of bed cautiously, carefully pulled on the boots standing to attention by the bed, put on his jacket and went out. Gropingly he stumbled across the muddy yard, making for the stable. The night was pitch black, the snow had stopped, and not a beam of light pierced the darkness for him to cling to. His legs were near collapse from the emotion in him and as he walked... smack-smack... the thick mud belched with full-blooded relish beneath his feet. He was afraid, very much afraid, his heart jumped out in his breast.

He was going to choke Sándor, to strike him dead. He felt he could not wait till the morning, when Sándor would learn about the pig.

He entered the stable warily; their only horse was stirring before the manger. It was apperently indulging in Christmas Eve illusions, because the poor beast was grinding its teeth as if champing on oats. The old man cocked an ear to where Sándor generally slept. He heard nothing. He felt his way to the long manger where Sándor usually made up his bed—but his hands only touched rags. Sándor wasn't there.

Exhausted with excitement he fell forward over the mean bed and pressed his hands to his stabbing heart, listening to it as it missed a beat only to start racing again as if making up for lost time. Who knows? Maybe it would stop for good tomorrow and everything would end for him. It might be better that way, because one couldn't live like this. Sándor had escaped, he'd gone to see a girl or to play cards somewhere for Christmas nuts. He would be back by the morning—and discover about the pig...

"One can't live like this!" he sighed, or rather thought, and scrambled to his feet. He fished out a half broken match from the pocket of his shabby jacket. Scratched along the wall it hissed strongly, and lit, emitting a choking smell of sulphur. He lit the oil-lamp hanging from the beam. He blinked in the faint glow, and the net of despair seemed to fall apart with the darkness: as his eyes began to take in the forms of familiar objects, corners, animals, the will to live began to flicker in him once more. He unhooked the lamp from the beam, left the stable and made for the sty. Maybe...?

The pig lay there, rigid, dead. As he stood by it, he felt he had to fall on his knees as in his dream. And as if unwilling to believe his eyes or refusing to resign himself ot the inevitable, he poked the side of the pig with the tip of his boot, just on the chance it would give out a contented grunt. Then he bent over and prised the closed eyelids open with his trem-

bling fingers. He stood there for a while, waiting for some miracle, then slowly walked back to the stable.

He went up to the horrifyingly lean horse, and untied the reins. The wondering eyes of the poor, emaciated creature seemed to communicate so much of shared sadness that he fell on its neck and began to sob as he hadn't sobbed for many a year.

He cried to relieve his tension, patted the big ugly head of the horse, then stood on the milking stool and looped the reins around the beam. He tied the other end of the rope about his neck and with a great sigh kicked the stool from under him. His body jerked once or twice, his face turned livid, and the swollen tongue shot out of his mouth in a wry pitiful grimace. As if, like a bad boy, he mocked the world and its troubles and its Christs.

The horse just stared and stared at the slowly turning body, at the huge shadow it cast on the wall, at the mocking face. It must have found it very amusing, because it began to neigh in a wild kind of merriment and kicked both hind legs into the air.

(c. 1942) *Translated by László T. András*

THE POETRY OF THE FILM

by

GYÖRGY LUKÁCS

The aesthetic problems of the film were never at the centre of György Lukács's interests. Almost fifty years passed, following the study below before these problems came to be raised again as part of a systematic analysis in his late major work, "The Peculiarity of the Aesthetic". Fifty years are a long period in the life of the art which "established itself right at the outset intending to stylize with the aid of technical facilities", yet the essential ideas of the following brief study apply even today practically without any need for modification. Lukács had the eye to see at the time of the infancy of the film that a new, independent art had been born (in 1913 he discussed principally, the question of what is not a film), and his position has been verified by the past half century.

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It seems we can never find a way out of the state of confusion of ideas: something new and beautiful was born the other day, but instead of accepting it as it is, attempts are being made with all possible means at our disposal to classify it in terms of old and unsuitable categories and to deprive it of its real sense and value. Today the "moving pictures" are regarded either as a means of demonstration in education or a new and inexpensive rival of the theatre; on the one hand the "movie" is considered to be an educational, on the other, an economic means. Few venture the thought today that it is a new beauty whose definition and evaluation are duties that have to be carried out by aesthetics.

A well-known dramatist put forward the idea recently that (following the perfection of techniques and the perfect reproducibility of speech) the "movie" may well substitute for the theatre. If this idea gains the upper hand, there will no longer be a non-perfect company: the theatre will no longer be dependent on the local availability of good theatrical talent; only the best actors and actresses will be included in the cast of plays, for no recording will ever be made of performances in which someone is indisposed. The good performance will then be some kind of a thing forever; the actor will lose everything that is associated merely with the passing moment, everything will, in fact, become the great museum of perfect performance.

This beautiful dream is actually a major error. It leaves the basic condition of theatrical performance, the presence of the public, out of consideration. For theatre means the power with which the will of one person, one living human being, flows out directly and without any hampering in transmission onto similarly living beings, and not the words uttered by the actors or their gestures, or the events of the play. The stage involves absolute presence. The fact that performances are passing is not a weakness needing pity, it is rather a productive limit: it is the necessary correlation and actual expression of what is fateful in the drama. Because fate is what is present. The past is mere framework; metaphysically speaking, something completely aimless. (If a pure metaphysics of the drama were possible, I mean if it no longer needed any of the merely aesthetic categories, concepts like "exposition", "development" and the like would no longer be used.) From the aspect of fate the future is completely irrealistic and has lost its significance: death that concludes tragedies is its most convincing symbol. Due to the reproductive capacity of the drama the metaphysical feeling becomes very direct and concrete: the deepest truth of man and the position he occupies in the universe will emerge as self-evident reality. "Presence", the fact that the actor is present, is the most concrete and, for that matter, deepest expression of the characters of the drama being determined by fate. To be present, that is to live really, exclusively and most intensively, is in itself fate—while what is termed as "life" can never achieve such an intensity of life as would be sufficient to raise everything to the height of the sphere of fate. Therefore what has been sanctified by fate is already tragedy or mystery; the appearance of a really great actress (say, Eleonora Duse) on the stage is in itself a divine service even without some major play. Duse is the person who is completely present, in whose case, as Dante put it, *essere* is identical with *operazione*. Duse is the tune of the music of fate which must sound straight irrespective of the nature of what it is accompanied by.

The absence of this "presence" is the essential feature of the "movie". This is not because films are far from being perfect or because the characters must still be silent while moving about, but because the characters represent merely the movements and actions of people, they are not people. This is not a shortcoming but a limit set to the "movie", its *principium stilisationis*. Therefore the pictures of the "movie" that are fearfully true to life and essentially similar to nature, not only in terms of technique but also of effect, will certainly not be less organic and live than those on stage; the difference between them is that the former preserve an entirely different kind of life, in short, they will be fantastic. However, fantastic is not the

opposite but a new aspect of actual life; there is no life without presence; and life without fate, causes and motives is a life with which the innermost of our soul never wants to, and never can, identify itself, and even if it often longs for this type of life, this desire is merely a kind of foreign depth, a desire for something far away that is distant inside the man. The world of the "movie" is a life without background and perspective, it is a life without differences in weights and qualities. It is presence that can provide things with fate, weight, light and ease: the "movie" is life without measure and order, essence and value; it is life without soul lived out of sheer superficiality.

The chronology of the stage and the sequence of events taking place on the stage always involve something paradoxical: the chronology and sequence of the great moments are something profoundly calm inside, they are almost numb and eternal as a result of the torturingly close "presence". On the other hand, the chronology and sequence of the "movie" are quite clear and free from disturbance: movement in itself, constant changeability and the unceasing transformation of things constitute the essence of the "movie". In both the theatre and the cinema the different fundamental principles of composition correspond to the different concepts of time; one is purely metaphysical, keeping everything that is empirically live off itself, while the other is so strong, so exclusively and empirically live and non-metaphysical that as a result of this ultimate distinction again new, completely different metaphysics will arise. In short, the basic law of link-up is a commanding necessity for the theatre and acting, while it is a possibility limited by nothing for the cinema. The individual elements the continuity of which is established by the sequence in time of the scenes of the "movie" are linked to one another by the fact that they follow one another directly and without any transition. There is no causality involved that connects them to one another; or to put it more exactly, their causality is not hampered or bound by any aspect relating to the meaning. "Everything is possible", this is the world outlook of the "movie" and since its technique expresses the absolute (although empirical) reality of the moment in each of the moments, the category of "possibility" as opposed to "reality" will no longer be valid; the two categories will be on equal footing, they will become an identity. "Everything is true and real, everything is equally true and equally real": this is what is taught by the sequence of pictures in the "movie".

Thus a new, homogeneous and harmonious, unified and varied world will arise in the "movie", a world to which the tales and dreams probably correspond in the realm of poetry and life: a very high degree of vivacity

without the third (inner) dimension; it is a suggestive link-up as a result of the mere sequence; it is a severe reality bound by Nature and fantasticality carried to the extreme; it is non-pathetic, ordinary life becoming decorative. In the "movie" everything that romanticism in vain hoped to be accomplished by the theatre can come true: very high and unhampered mobility of the windows, the background, Nature, the interior, the plants and animals become completely live; this, however, is a type of liveliness not at all bound to the content and limits of ordinary life. That is why the romantics tried to force the imaginary closeness to Nature of their feelings for the world onto the stage. The stage, however, is the realm of bare souls and lots; in its innermost essence every stage assumes a Greek character: abstractly dressed people enter the stage and play their part in front of abstractly magnificent, empty colonnades. Costumes, stage décor, surroundings and the richness and alternation of external events are a compromise for the theatre; in the really decisive moments they always become unnecessary and, for this reason, disturbing "aids". The "movie" portrays mere actions and not their underlying sense and reasons; the characters only have movements but no soul of their own, and what happens to them is simply an event that has nothing to do with fate. That is why the "movie" is silent (today's imperfect technical standards are only an apparent cause). The word that has been uttered and the concept voiced are the transmitters of fate; the compulsory continuity located in the psychology of the dramatic character arises in them and through them. The word, and along with it memory, the distinction of duty and loyalty (in contrast to itself and the idea of its own existence) render everything easy, lofty and soaring, frivolous and dancing—when they assume worldless totality. What is significant in the events illustrated finds expression exclusively through happenings and gestures, and this is the way they should be expressed. Any reference to the spoken word is alien to this world, it means the destruction of the essential value of this world. Through this everything that has always been suppressed by the abstract-monumental weight of fate will become a rich, flourishing life; on stage even what happens is not important because the effect of the destiny-value of what is happening is so captivating; in the "movie" the "way" the events take place is the predominant force. The liveliness of Nature is given an artistic form for the first time in the "movie": the babbling of a brook, the sound of the wind as it blows through the trees, the silence accompanying the sunset and the roaring of a storm become art in the film as natural processes (unlike in painting where they assume the rank of art through pictorial values borrowed from another world). Man has lost his soul, but he has won his body in exchange; his magnitude and

poetry lie in the way he overcomes physical obstacles with his strength or skill, while the comedy lies in his losing to them, in his struggle with them. The achievements of modern techniques that are indifferent to any of the major arts will have an imaginative, poetic and fascinating effect. To give an example, it is "movies" in which the automobile became poetic for the first time, I mean the romantic tension of dashing cars in pursuit. This is how the normal surging on the market-place and in the street is but poetry of a massive nature, and bursts with genuine strength; the presentation of the naive, almost animal-like happiness of a child over a trick that has come off or because of an unfortunate, helpless mistake is in fact unforgettable. In the theatre, we look into ourselves, in front of the great stage on which great dramas are played, and understand our greatest moments; in the "movie" peaks of this kind must be forgotten and we must be irresponsible. Here, the child living in every man is let loose and dominates the psychology of the movie-goer.

The trueness to Nature of the cinema is not bound to the reality of today. The pieces of furniture keep moving in the room of a drunkard, his bed flies out of his room with him lying in it (at the last moment he manages to get hold of the edge of his bed and his shirt is flying around him like a flag) and they fly over the town. Balls some people wanted to use playing skittles revolt against their "users" and pursue them uphill and downhill, across fields, they swim across rivers, jump on bridges and dash upstairs on high steps and eventually the pins spring to life and go for the balls. The "movie" can become fantastic in a purely mechanical manner: when the film is projected in reverse, people resume their feet in front of the speeding cars that retreat, a cigar tends to become bigger while it is being smoked, and finally, before it is lit, it is placed back in the box. Or a film can be turned upside down: then there will be special living beings in it, suddenly they jump into the depths from the ceiling and hide like caterpillars. These are pictures and scenes from a world described by E. T. A. Hoffmann or Poe or Arnim or Barbey d'Aurevilly, but the outstanding poet of this world is still to come to interpret and arrange it and to transform the imaginativeness of the incidental into profound metaphysics, the pure style. What has been achieved so far has merely arisen from the spirit of the technique of the "movie" in a naive manner and often against the will of men. Today's Arnim or Poe would find such rich and internally adequate means for his dramatic wishes, as the Greek stage was to Sophocles.

Naturally, it would be the stage of relaxation of man who has liberated himself from himself, the place of entertainment, the most subtle and refined and at the same time the roughest and most primitive entertain-

ment, but never the stage of some kind of advance or rise. This is the manner in which the well-developed "movie" that stands up to the idea of its birth can give the green light to the drama (again, I mean the really great drama and not what is described as "drama" today). The irrepressible desire for entertainment has expelled the drama from the stage almost completely: except for drama we can see practically everything on the stage of today, ranging from thrillers turned into dialogue, short stories that are basically dull to the bragging, empty performance of kings or statesmen. In this field the "movie" is capable of making a clear distinction. It has the ability to shape everything that is covered by the category of entertainment and that can be rendered perceptible more effectively yet in a more refined manner than a pulpit-like stage can. No play can possess a tension that can rival what is possible in the film in terms of pace. The closeness to Nature of the nature presented on stage is only a poor shadow of what can be achieved in the film, and instead of the rough signals of souls that are involuntarily suited to the soul because of the form of the rhetorical play and, for that very reason, they must appear to be repulsive, the wanted world of a soullessness whose existence is desired will arise. It is the world of what is purely external: what was brutality on the stage may well become childish, isolated tension or grotesque in the film. And once—I now mean a very distant but even more desired objective displayed by everyone taking the cause of drama seriously—mere entertainment in the theatre is crushed by this rival, the theatre will find itself forced to do again what is its actual calling: produce great tragedy and great comedy. Entertainment which is forced to be rough on stage because its meaning runs counter to the forms of the drama can find its adequate form in the "movie" which is appropriate internally and as such entertainment can really be artistic even if this is scarcely the case in the "movie". If psychologists possessing the refined talent of short-story writers are expelled from both stages, it will be beneficial for us and for the culture of the theatre, for it will have a clarifying effect.

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AN APPRECIATION OF EINSTEIN

by

LAJOS JÁNOSSY

I

In a recent article in this journal* I presented a comparison between the achievements of Copernicus and those of Einstein. The article contained critical remarks about Einstein's work but emphasized that in spite of this criticism his accomplishments are highly appreciated. This article intends to give a more detailed analysis of this position.

Einstein's life, his activities and his extraordinary personality have influenced and inspired a whole generation of physicists. He radiated a sincere spirit of inquiry in which physicists endeavoured to think clearly and without prejudice. This attitude appears at first sight to be a most natural one. However, during the last decades, it has been one of the unfortunate characteristics of physics and science in general that researchers try to produce quick results, before another colleague has obtained them if possible. In this hurried atmosphere systematic thinking and sincere analysis of results is pushed into the background. Some of the spirit of the school of Einstein would much improve present efforts. (These remarks are made only in passing, and it may be added that Einstein was the type of personality who did not give up his views even in the most difficult situation.)

Einstein was thoroughly familiar with all important branches of physics and contributed to many different problems. It is noteworthy for example, that him applying thermodynamics he obtained an early patent concerning a fundamental procedure of cooling techniques.

It is remarkable that to the end of his life Einstein remained an opponent of modern quantum theory, an opposition which resulted in the now famous controversy between Einstein and Bohr. The debate remains inconclusive since supporters of both sides claim equal victory.

The major achievement of Einstein was the formulation of the theory of

* See "Copernicus or Einstein", No. 52.

relativity—both the "special theory" and the "general theory". In the following this achievement is discussed in an attempt to delineate the really important features of this theory.

II

Many physicists first became acquainted with the theory of relativity by reading Einstein's popular booklet which appeared at the beginning of the century. This booklet, though ostensibly popular, is a rather good introduction for physicists into the theory. Physicists who were first exposed to the theory through it (including myself) have a great advantage over their colleagues who first encountered the theory in textbooks or monographs of abstract mathematics which carefully avoided the question of what it was all about.

I myself remember the great mental excitement when I read that—"changing from one system of coordinates to the other one should transform not only coordinates but also time". To make this statement intelligible without resorting to technicalities we use the method of Einstein who illustrated the problem by considering objects as seen from a moving train and comparing the impressions gained from the moving train to those obtained when one is at rest, i.e. observation from some point in the vicinity of the railway track.

The significant statement of Einstein is that, as seen from the train, trees, houses, tracks, etc. all seem to move while objects in the train from the point of view of the passengers, seem to be at rest. Observed from the railway embankment the appearence is different; the train and all objects in the train appear to move while outside objects appear at rest. Thus it seems that whether an object is at rest or in motion is *relative* depending on whether we observe it from the train or from the embankment.

The question arises whether "time" is also affected when considered in relation to the train and to the embankment. The intuitive response would be in the negative; time seems to be an independent factor in relation to any object. The surprising suggestion of Einstein is, however, that even time differs according to whether it is taken relative to the train or relative to the railway embankment. From this it is further concluded that "time depends on the observer" and in particular that simultaneity is "relative". To this popularizers of Einstein's work add that "everything is relative".

This argument is presented in detail because it plays an important role in the minds of those who take the alleged philosophy of the theory of

relativity more seriously than its physical contents. Furthermore, the above arguments have been tolerated by Einstein himself. We use the expression "tolerated" because Einstein was anything but a dogmatist. He analysed questions from very different points of view and from different perspectives. Thus in his works one can find contradictory statements concerning various questions. These contradictions, however, are only apparent; Einstein possessed a very good appreciation for the richness and complexity of nature and therefore often felt it necessary to emphasize one or another side of a phenomenon in an apparently contradictory manner.

As an example based on certain statements of Einstein most interpreters think that he proved "ether does not exist". Nevertheless in a 1926 article Einstein emphatically asserts that the notion of ether is important and will remain important in all future theories of physics.

III

Returning to the question of the "relativity of time", the whole of the controversy seems to be based on a misunderstanding, a confusion between the notion of time itself and the *measures* of time by which we obtain readings, e.g. clocks. (This fact was emphasized by Nicolai Hartmann in an interesting analysis of the theory of relativity.) If we want to determine the time of an event then we need clocks, and the *time measure* is the reading of a clock in the vicinity of an occurring event. Thus, for example, our train starts at 16^{15} o'clock on a certain day of a certain year; this statement gives a conventional description with the help of numbers of when a train in a certain station will start to move. This convention consisting of numbers is, however, a practical device and the numbers do not actually give the time; they are statements about the positions of pointers on clocks in a certain station at the moment of departure of a certain train.

It is a more involved question as to what will be the readings of clocks located long distances from the station at the moment of the departure of the train. This question is dependent on the method chosen to synchronize distant clocks.

On the earth we usually set clocks at 12 noon when the sun is at its culmination. This mode of synchronization is not too satisfactory because a radio signal announcing the time from a distant city does not agree with the time our clock shows. The reason for this discrepancy is obvious. When the sun culminates from one vantage point it appears to be in a different position from another point due to the spherical nature of the earth.

How to synchronize distant clocks is a purely technical question. One method would be to use signals of light. We find, however, that employing such a method to synchronize a set of clocks moving with a train produces a different synchronization from that obtained when using the same method to synchronize clocks at rest with the railway track. Thus one *convenient* method of synchronization leads to different results when employed to synchronize clocks travelling with the train than when used to synchronize clocks at rest with the railway track. This difference is not surprising; apparent paradoxes arise, however, if the *convenient* method of synchronizing is postulated to be the "correct" method. In fact there is no contradiction as long as the method serving our convenience is not taken to be a natural necessity.

IV

Let us now disregard technicalities like the question as to what is the most convenient method of synchronizing clocks. In this way we can formulate the results of the special theory of relativity as a theory reflecting *objective* features of natural phenomena. Eliminating from the theory all the conventions which are merely practical or to which we have become used to in the course of the development of physics, we are left with a statement reflecting a peculiar symmetry of the laws of physics. The symmetry can be formulated mathematically, and if we wish to give to it a name we could say that *physical laws are Lorentz invariant.*

The contents of the special theory of relativity expressed in such a concise form, devoid of all unessential technical details may appear to be a simple result and one may wonder what its great importance is. However, the principle of Lorentz invariance plays a very great role in connection with very different and important phenomena and its discovery is vastly more important than the discovery of "just another law of physics". This principle does not give the exact form of particular laws of physics but rather gives a frame into which all laws fit. It has led physicists to the discovery of particular laws concerning very different phenomena.

To give only a few examples. It has helped to clear up questions of atomic energy. It has led to the discovery of new elementary particles as in the work of Dirac who, starting from the principle of Lorentz invariance, predicted the existence of the positive electron, a particle not known at that time.

V

The above refers to the special theory of relativity. Regarding the general theory of relativity, I share the opinion of A. V. Fock, the soviet physicist, that this theory is in fact *the theory of gravitation.*

Some of Einstein's followers are offended by this statement; they are of the opinion that the general theory of relativity is a deep analysis of the structure of time and space and gives new philosophical illumination on the subject.

The acceptance of Fock's position does not necessarily detract from the achievement of Einstein's theory, but it does protect it from the superficial philosophical considerations most fashionable at the time of its formulation. By considering the general theory of relativity as the theory of gravitation, we can concentrate on its physical contents and disregard technical details—details which are important for experts applying the theory or further developing it, but which render real appreciation of it more difficult.

Although agreeing with Fock regarding the general theory of relativity, I do not quite agree with his views regarding the special theory. I believe the Lorentz principle describes a symmetry which is strictly valid in the absence of gravitational effects; thus the special theory of relativity represents a limiting case of the general theory. Fock's objections, however, against certain *philosophical views* expressed in connection with the general theory are, in my opinion, just as valid as in the case of the special theory.

VI

On the occasion of a memorial session celebrating the 50th anniversary of the formulation of general relativity Fock defended his point of view against colleagues from Copenhagen by claiming that if Einstein formulated "only the theory of gravitation, this was no small achievement."

A parallel example is C. Maxwell's formulation of electrodynamics in the last century. Coulomb and others formulated the law of attraction between electric charges at rest relative to each other or moving only to an inappreciable degree. (This law is the famous inverse square law.) Coulomb's law applies to charges which are at rest relative to each other, but it leaves open the question as to how moving charges—in particular how fast-moving charges—behave. This question was answered successfully by Maxwell who discovered that Coulomb's law accounts for only a very narrow aspect of the immensely rich electromagnetic phenomena.

Long before Coulomb, Newton discovered the gravitational law according

to which masses exert a gravitational attraction upon each other which changes with the inverse square of the distance. (Coulomb discovered his law starting from the pattern discovered by Newton for gravitational forces.) But the problem of how fast moving masses act upon each other remained an unsolved problem until Einstein's formulation of the general theory of relativity.

The achievement of Maxwell in building up the *dynamic* theory of electromagnetics starting from Coulomb's *static* law was repeated by Einstein who succeeded in formulating *the dynamic theory of the gravitational field starting from Newton's static theory.*

Thus the general theory which gives the dynamics of gravitation also reveals an unexpected diversity of phenomena. These phenomena are naturally mostly of cosmic nature, like the recession of distant Nebulae in extra-galactic space.

Nevertheless, Treder and the author have recently drawn attention to atomic effects which, if not explicit, are implicit in Einstein's early work. These effects show a strong connection between the general theory of relativity and the theory of atoms.

Thus with the general theory of relativity Einstein cleared up the question of the role of gravitation in the universe and helped us understand a series of phenomena extending from atoms to the motion of extra-galactic nebulae.

KASSÁK IN THE MUSEUM

by

CSABA SÍK

Had van Gogh been a Hungarian, he would have painted his boots placed on a pedestal, and not thrown on the floor. Hungarian etiquette demands that symbols be accorded the proper respect. And the memorial exhibition at the Petőfi Literary Museum in Budapest would consequently be hard to imagine without the customary background décor. In the corner, cut off by rope, has to stand the Master's writing-desk. On it will lie the last manuscript, preferably left unfinished, and the pen that death struck from the hand. Hungarian literature offers ready material for this pattern. It is rich in opera finales. In subordinating everything to the dramatic, it puts greater importance on the artist's personality than on his work, and can subdue even as intransigeant an animal as Kassák.* Although his hat was naturally hung on a hat-rack or in a cupboard, the organizers of the exhibition have placed the unusually shaped hat, dented on both sides somewhat in the style of a Boy Scouts', on the obligatory writing-desk. It was put there most probably under the pressure of literary and artistic circles, which regard this hat, defying all the wild and veering winds of the world, as the symbol of the man. The organizers may well have been right: the hat won at least as many admirers as the books and the pictures. And Kassák remains, as ever, a problem—the central problem of modern Hungarian literature sixty years after the beginning of his career and six years after his death.

Kassák was the first important writer in modern Hungarian literature whose whole attitude to the world was not formed by bourgeois radicalism but by Marxism and the labour movement. He was also the first who sought to revitalize writing in Hungary, not by a return to archaic forms, but by integrating contemporary, international modes of expression. *Nyugat*, (West) the periodical that gathered together progressives and moderns at the

* Poems and other writings by Kassák appeared in Nos 23 and 28.

beginning of the century, was for him only a temporary refuge. His earliest articles challenged the literary policies of social democracy; Aladár Schöpflin, the leading reviewer of *Nyugat*, felt ill at ease with them: "He is the first important writer in Hungarian literature from the ranks of the industrial proletariat... There was nothing against which he could measure himself, and therefore after a naturalist Gorkiesque beginning... he easily absorbed the contemporary influences of his age then abounding in newspapers and other publications from abroad, especially during and after the War, neatly tagged under the labels of Simultaneity, Expressionism, Dadaism and Futurism. He must have felt that he was a different breed of man from other writers, and that it followed he therefore had to write differently, that he had to begin literature anew. Granted that in all this he was transparently sincere... His attitude, through all his mistakes, remained that of a writer." Antal Szerb, the critic, expanded Schöpflin's picture in remarking of Kassák's autobiography *Egy ember élete* (A Man's Life) that "This book is a revelation to the bourgeois reader. He learns from it the sort of joy that springs from physical labour well performed and the sort of a characteristic masculine outlook it engenders in the manual labourer." Aladár Komlós, also a literary historian, brought most understanding to Kassák and his work, although even his final opinion was unfavourable. "I do not think that this is the poetry of the future. Already by now this poetry, concentrating our attention on its formal pecularities, 'life-like' disorder, and realistic projection of images, appears to be somewhat the style of yesterday... What is perhaps most striking is that the individuality once thought to be mysterious is now so plain and simple, almost to the point of poverty. Ady, writing about himself, said that he had been scared through life by 'disease, wine, woman, death'. Kassák either had very little to do with these aspects of life, or else his socialism prevented them becoming a problem for him. His faith in socialism made his life extremely simple, although from without it appeared hard and difficult. But this was only a comfort for the strong in will. For the artist, a faith of this sort leads to an enhancement in quality, but also to a diminution; his work becomes poorer in material and colour, while its content becomes more powerful."

One can well understand why *Nyugat* disliked Kassák. He was contemptuous of the ill-will shown by bourgeois criticism, regarding it as a relic of the uninteresting past, and sought his world beyond bourgeois horizons. What is less comprehensible, however, is that Marxist literary history regarded all search for new forms, including his, as a bourgeois decadence that should be rejected. József Révai, the leading arbiter of

literary policy in the fifties, later somewhat relaxed his formerly rigid stance. "Recognizing the poetic development of Aragon, Éluard, Mayakovsky, Johannes R. Becher and Attila József, it is virtually impossible to conclude that the avant-garde period of these great socialists was nothing but the influence and contamination of bourgeois decadence." Nevertheless, he saw the need for an avant-garde only because "a necessary condition for the ripest and most thorough development and growth of social consciousness is the exposition and conquest of the various forms of petty bourgeois rebellion. The avant-garde, with its destruction of formal traditions, brought about by the crisis of the capitalist world, stood in the same position vis-à-vis socialist poetry as the various kinds of petty bourgeois socialism stood to proletarian socialism before Marx". It is difficult to believe that a writer associates himself with a literary movement in order to destroy it, even if he later breaks with it. Kassák, however, even in his most mature years, did not break with it, and it is probably for this reason that he has never been ranked with Éluard, Mayakovsky and Attila József, although his origins, his circumstances and the events of his life seemed to predestine him as a socialist and a socialist writer.

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He was born in 1887 in Érsekújvár, now in Czechoslovakia, a town with a rich historical past. The old castle was built by the humanist bishop Miklós Oláh as a defence against Turkish expansion. It played an important role in the Rákóczy-led struggle for independence in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Of all this the young Kassák knew nothing. His education and knowledge of life had no traditional roots but sprang from the actualities of proletarian life, from that barren, dull misery commemorated by a few pictures, a representation of a shabby, almost windowless hut. Against the objections of his parents he apprenticed himself as a metal worker before finishing the first year of secondary school. Other than an ability to read and write, he brought practically no other attainments with him that would bear on his development as an aritst. He was self-educated, and his self-education gave him a familiarity with his age, with its technology, with the intellectual foundation of working-class consciousness, with socialist ideas. The hard experiences of his early years took him in fact through all the stages of industrial development. He first worked in an old-fashioned patriarchal workshop, then in a small factory still preserving the traditions of early methods of manufacture, and finally in a modern factory. He wandered through half Europe, but the shrines of bourgeois education

were not his goal. He learned instead about the life of the Western workers and Western labour movements. But as a result he also learned about Rousseau, and about Picasso, well in advance of the educated men back home in Hungary.

When he first really began to read, he knew of nothing but the most recent past. Gyula Juhász's poetry had the greatest influence on him. "No one before him had spoken to me in such dreaming, lamenting words. I had never been romantically in love. I had never exalted women, on the contrary, I mostly spoke disparagingly about them. When I read the Anna poems by Gyula Juhász, I realized deep down within me that life would have been very difficult to bear without my mother, mistress and wife... In him I found that simple humility that was so often missing in me. I envied him for that open repentance that my mouth could never utter without curses... I loved and respected him as a man with ethical principles." He was influenced by the morals and behaviour of a poet who consistently adhered to traditional forms, who refrained from everything new.

Kassák's first attempts at writing poetry, indeed, were also in traditional form, the sonnet. They were imitations which were not even bad. A few were printed in the Budapest *Renaissance*, accompanied by an editorial note that offended him deeply: "These poems were written by a twenty-three-year-old metalworker." Like a talking dog, a calculating horse, he recalled bitterly, many years later. But he suddenly realized that it was indeed rather comical for such artificial poems as these to be written by a metalworker. He made up his mind that henceforward he would approach words as he approached his factory tools, and that he would write poems which would stand on the table, massively and materially, like a statue.

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The beginning of his real work was marked not so much by his visibly naturalist novel and short stories which dealt with experiences hitherto unexplored in Hungarian literature and in which, less than two years after the appearance of the sonnets in *Renaissance*, he already displayed the attitudes of a mature writer, but rather by the question: "Can a man as sober as I am be a poet?" The anxiety concealed in the question showed that he was aware of the difficult task he had undertaken. His encounter with Futurism, the shock of the outbreak of war and the break up of the Labour front provided the experience which helped him answer it.

Kassák came upon Marinetti's manifesto and the poems of the Futurists in 1912. They strengthened his conviction that the new literature must

proclaim a faith in life without any emasculation through sentimental or intellectual calculations which would drive it back to abstract philosophical principles. It must live through the only reality, the reality and experience of the present, and it must affirm the political consequences of this experience without hesitation. At the outbreak of the war Kassák denounced both the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, which has declared its support for Francis Joseph's and the Emperor Wilhelm's war, and the Mussolini-type incitement of Marinetti. He wrote articles and agitated against the war. Since he found his articles were not enough, he founded a magazine and published his first volume of poetry.

Epic in Wagner's Mask began with an image reminiscent of Le Fresnaye's sombre-coloured Cubist paintings: "On the endless plains weary soldiers with crazed eyes were grouped into bouquets..." "Why," he wrote, "is it called *Epic in Wagner's Mask?* Why, when I do not even like Wagner? Bach and Beethoven are much nearer to me. So why did I not don their mask when I found the need for one? It is possible that it was the Wagnerian externals that caught my attention. Bach was clerical, an organist, and Beethoven had grown into a sombre member of the bourgeoisie. I had no connection with them beyond their music. I had read that Wagner was a revolutionary, and I knew his book *Revolution and Art.* I disagree with it on many points. But it is revolutionary romanticism, and therefore deserved to become my model. When I introduced these poems to the public, I needed to remind my readers of the Wagnerian orchestra. Horns should sound, waterfalls splash and trampling hooves rush by me. I did not miscalculate. The readers sensed that I wanted to draw their attention to Wagner's purposive music, and thus my poems became more easily approachable for them."

And indeed the readers truly sensed it. They were more aware of the social and political content than the literary value. Dezső Kosztolányi, the novelist and poet, wrote in a review in *Nyugat* that he recognized the originalities in the book but above all he respected its moral earnestness, the quality which had made Gyula Juhász's poetry so important to Kassák in the beginning. The essence of Kassák's aesthetic theory is not the beautiful, but the expressive. He sought expressive force not in the jingle of the "bell hung around the lamb's neck", nor in the "hurdy-gurdy" music of bourgeois poetry, but in a code of rousing verbs expressing movement and action, as well as broad poetic statements that bind disparate images together, as in an all-embracing arch, in which real and unreal things enjoy the same validity as bricks in that poetic arch. Instead of particulars, we hear the whole; instead of the individual song, the chant of the cosmos, as though listening to some mighty chousr. The experience, the feeling, the ideas in the poem

are always communal, not individual expressions as, for instance, in Léger's pictures. They spring from the masses themselves in the fervour of total identification. The masses, the programmed machine, are angered by the bitter memories of the poverty and debasement of their past. They would instinctively find satisfaction in the destruction of the old world, but the anger also awakens hitherto unsuspected sources of strength and pride in them, capable of creation as well as destruction, the creation of a new life, a new world, the creation of their own imagery and metaphors. The staccato-sharp nouns and verbs of the poem finally subside to a swelling calm and the vision of this triumphant creation is painted in simple images as a daily truth.

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By the time *Epic in Wagner's Mask* had appeared, Kassák was the leader of a movement that had spontaneously sprung up behind him. Young and unknown beginners whose first work appeared in his magazine *Tett* (Action) gathered around him. All were fervent believers in the manifesto of the magazine, which was of course composed by Kassák. "In our well-created and by now creative youth, we accept the old truth that revolutions, including intellectual revolutions, are not made by a few leading personalities, but that it is the revolutions which give birth to the leading personalities, in whom the vitality and will to live of the masses then repose, as in some live symbol... The voice which took solid shape in our poems burst from the heart of the age and we now return it, strained through ourselves, crystallized into a unified value, to the pure masses who represent the life of the age. Because they are we and we are they! Young people, who dare to be young. We have nothing to do with yesterday beyond the memories which remind us of our errors and the errors of others! As men and poets, our starting-point to the enjoyment of beauty is the palpable nature of today and the endless vision of our goal!"

Kassák's editorial policy was dictated by the overriding demands of revolution and renewal. During the 1914–18 war he eagerly sought out movements akin to his on both of the warring sides. He published Apollinaire, Jules Romains, René Arcos and Duhamel in translation. In 1916 he produced an international issue. The censor closed *Tett* down on the grounds that its contents, in the form of articles by Ludwig Rubiner, Libero Altomare, Artsybashev, Verhaeren, Paul Fort, Bernard Shaw, Kubin and Kandinsky were "detrimental to the war effort". The magazine was short-lived, but its importance in the history of Hungarian literature is considerable despite the fact that many of its contributors never made any lasting name for themselves.

"*Tett*," said Kassák some fifty years later, "attempted to take the step which had been a subject of debate a hundred years before, to make it its business that Hungary should play its part in the intellectual battles of the time as a contemporary, and not follow centuries behind in their wake. It recognized the extraordinary artistic achievements of *Nyugat*, but was concerned that *Nyugat* placed all its dependence on the literature of the nineteenth century. It poems followed Baudelaire and Verlaine, who were dead by 1900. Today we are aware that *Nyugat* followed closely behind the progressive intellectual developments of Europe, while *Tett* took up its position beside them." A few months after the death of the magazine, Kassák started another, calling it *Ma* (Today). "This," said Kassák proudly, "was the first true revolution in Hungarian literature since Petőfi, whose revolution ended with Ady."

Kassák's new magazine contained a considerable amount of poetry, but it increasingly became the organ of the visual arts. Its writers fought against Impressionism, which in Hungary was still considered modern at the time. They preferred to write about Expressionism and Cubism since it was these two trends which were of most immediate concern to the painters and designers who had joined Kassák's movement. The number of articles on theories and principles of art increased, as well as the propaganda issues, such as "the Constitution of the Russian Federated Republic", with the manifesto of a "Communist Republic".

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Activism, the name Kassák had already given his movement, virtually became the official art during the first months of the 1919 revolution. But even during the revolution Kassák and his followers stood firmly by their independence. They emphasized the fact that their art was revolutionary, but independent of any party. "Party always means the grouping of people for the realization or establishment of an already existing world view who have already crystallized their goals into points in a programme. . ." In this, he said, there was no difference between a conservative and a revolutionary party. Even the revolutionary party represented the conservation of a world view in its programme, and thus, in relation to art, it was conservatism. It was, therefore, understandable that Béla Kun, in a speech at a mass meeting, openly denounced Kassák and *Ma* and their separatist attitude and formalist style as alien to the masses. Kassák answered with a manifesto. He rejected the denunciation and questioned Kun's competence on artistic matters. He was not, he declared, opposing the class struggle. He considered the class struggle to be the first stage, and therefore proclaimed that the hero of the

new Communist art was the man of a classless society. But shortly afterwards came the fall of the Republic of Councils and the defeat of the revolution. *Ma* was banned, and within a few weeks Kassák was imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries. With great difficulty he escaped from the prison where he was awaiting trial and a predictably stiff prison sentence, with the aid of the poet Milán Füst, the novelist Zsigmond Móricz and the editor of *Nyugat*, Ernő Osvát, and fled to Vienna.

The label "heroic", an unnatural epithet for literary work, is nevertheless applicable to Kassák's exertions in managing to publish *Ma* during the lean years of emigration in Vienna. It was one of the most fecund of the avant-garde magazines, with the best art reproductions and illustrations. His connections with the Berlin *Sturm*, the New York *Broom*, the Paris *L'Ésprit nouveau*, the Lyon *Manomètre*, the Bucharest *Contemporanul*, the Belgrade *Zenith* and the Antwerp *Het Overzicht* geve it an even more international outlook. Through László Moholy-Nagy of the Bauhaus it supported Dadaism, and Dutch and Russian Constructivism. The *Buch Neuer Künstler*, edited by Kassák and Moholy-Nagy, amounted to a veritable encyclopaedia of the origins, goals and directions of Constructivism, and in it Kassák first appeared as a painter.

Concurrently with the writing of *Epic in Wagner's Mask* he had also began to draw. The uncertain lines of his somewhat naive pen drawings depicting real and imaginary landscapes nonetheless displayed something of the same power as his words. His letter montages and typographic experiments were related to the works of the Dadaists. Although the poems of *Tett* and *Ma*, with the exception of those of its editor, are now dated and outworn, the typographic concepts in which they were presented are still a vital force today.

Kassák's first paintings date from 1920 and 1921. His abstract geometrical compositions were aimed at producing a three-dimensional illusion. Squares, rectangles and circles clustered together and reached out to fill the flat canvas. Kassák called his paintings and engravings picture-architecture. Although they are not as light, precise and ingenious as the works of Lissitzky, they share his goals. Kassák used the geometrical figure as an iconographic sign, as a philosophal assumption, as the basic unit of harmony. His pictures sprang from the hope that through the order created on the canvas the artist could master the social and intellectual chaos and disorder around him. This purpose was conveyed, or more properly symbolized, in the strict, monolithic unity of the painting, which was not itself the realization of an order distilled from the complexities of the world. What it did was to view the abstract idea of order as an ideal to be followed in the face of these complexities.

He was, of course, also aware of the work of the Russian Suprematists and Constructivists. It did not escape his notice that from the moment they had joined the modern art movement they had become its leaders and were now setting the pace. Few recognized as clearly as he the importance of the Russian Exhibition in Berlin in 1922. *Sturm*, for example, strongly attacked Constructivism. Kassák explained the reason for this antipathy in his review of the exhibition in *Ma*, and this explanation at the same time cast light on the differences that existed between the avant-garde of Eastern Europe. "At the time of the Russian exhibition the sentimental humanism of *Sturm* is found wanting. Artists and countries are turning more and more to the great problems of society, and hence to the tasks of architecture. Constructivism also means a sharp political conflict. Social questions increasingly introduce themselves into its aesthetics. Expressionism, on the other hand, tends toward an interest in aesthetics."

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During this period Kassák was more interested in the visual appearance of the building, the city and the society forming the human unit of life and the environment in which the painting would find a home, than in the painting itself. The world-redeeming design of his had to be read into the construction, for it could not be read from it. He still hoped with the same undiminished energy, but no longer with the same resolution. The contradiction, which destroys weaker people, is clearly shown in his poetry, especially in his wonderful untitled poems. They run like automatic, unchecked, unregulated streams of consciousness, accidental episodes of the subconscious brought into independent life. They are a flow of images, which neither bear nor seek relation with reality, or indeed with one another, which are the fortuitous, involuntary and final descriptions of emotions and circumstances, of solitude, of the duality of role and personality, of the warmth of communal feeling, of joy, indifference and disappointment. "You stand alone before a black wall... at this time the smith would sit outside under the milkwhite moon and slowly change to a man... we liked to feel dizzy with the strong tobacco and we liked to listen to the tales of the foreman, Johann Fillipovich... what I speak of is the monochrome of reality in the heart... we stand hopelessly on the deeply sunken steps, there is no one to comb our cares with light fingers..." Even more expressive are the untranslatable pictures of things and sights beyond reality, but which appear so simple and precise to the imagination: "On the horizon beheaded trees go on pilgrimage with empty wasps' nests under their arms... the towers crouch into themselves and the glass-bodied clock stands erect..."

"I have passed beyond the isms," said Kassák at the beginning of the twenties, painfully rather than with pride, because it is hard for the poet of the masses to realize that his comrade is his own shadow and his audience he himself. This inevitable step and the new situation which had arisen is documented and expressed in his poem "The Horse Dies, the Birds Fly Out," which played the same role in Hungarian poetry as Apollinaire's "Tropics" and Cendrars' "Easter in New York" played in French.

The similarity is only in the role, for the structure of Kassák's poem is basically different, even though its theme, wandering, proving, is the same. This great adventure in his life—this wanderings—is also related in his autobiography; the five hundred lines of the poem were expanded to a hundred-odd pages in the book. Whole chapters of the autobiography were condensed into a single image, but several episodes of his vagrant journeying are recounted in greater details in the poem than in *Egy ember élete* (The Life of a Man), and, in the final sense, with greater precision. The autobiography, for example, gave an account of the anarchist meeting held in the Brussels People's Palace, at which he was present with his travelling companion Szittya, who could beg with tears in his eyes "without ever allowing the humiliation to form a hump on his back".

"Standing on the table a fair tovarish spoke, still almost a child, his hair curling from under his cap. His Christ-beard floated above us, like the dove of the Holy Spirit, and his hands arched upwards, pointed far away to invisible lands. He began his speech scientifically, he spoke of the potentials of Russian development, of the inhuman oppression of the workers and peasants, of the goals of the 1905 revolution, of its temporary achievements and its terrible defeat...

"Szittya stood beside me, and I could see that he was shaking with excitement. His eyes squinted, as they always did when his nerves were overstretched. His bulldog face was transfigured and he shouted, almost inarticulate from excitement. 'If I didn't have V.D., I'd believe I was God's son, I'd feel like a dewy flower,' he said. 'If I didn't have V.D., I'd go to Tsarskoye Selo and kill the czar.'"

But in the poem:

> "...a fair tovarish spoke, almost a child still
> flames blossomed from his mouth and his hands
> fluttered
> like red doves
> ...O Russia, cursed land
> who would see your helpless agony if your star-

marked sons did not see it
Europe spits on the Asian in us
but still it is only we who go up the mountain
without doubt the baker girl from Astrakhan or
the slut from St. Petersburg
will one day bear the new man
Russia is pregnant with the spring of revolution
but the buds cannot yet flower on the plains of Russia
Russia is like unworked soil
help us then
brothers
you equally unhappy sons of Europe
help, help
and we saw how the old man's head caught fire
beneath his cap
and we all sat in the palm of his hand
hurray Russia zhivio hurray
then the hump fell from my back
the ice flowers blossomed on the windows
and Szittya who later became agent provocateur and
police spy
kissed the Russian's coat
I am clean as a child
if I didn't have the clap he said I would go
to Tsarskoye Selo to kill the czar. . ."

The epic narrative was only one layer in the structure of the poem. Over it was laid another, which reflected not so much the events narrated as the narrator himself. A third again was the rainbow of Dadaist-absurd images. "In them can be perceived the constant search for and confrontation with the real and the unreal, their opposition and mixture," said Kassák of his poetry. "The poet appears to work in an uncontrollable trance. But this is only an illusion. In reality, every theme is in place and everything is changed and formed into its final shape under the sober guidance of the poet." Kassák did not merely relate, as it were, a chapter of his life in the poem, but according to his favourite phrase described "the whole man". He expressed belief and disappointment, enthusiasm and resignation simultaneously, through the unity of the narrative, his reflections and the images. "Birds have swallowed the sound / but the trees go on singing / this is already a sign of old age / but it does not mean anything / I am LAJOS KASSÁK / and above our heads

flies the nickel samovar". This is the end of the poem. The capitalized name meant a new assessment of his own individuality. It indicated his resolution from now on to seek and create "the new man, the whole man" in himself, whereas earlier his life had been expressed in the masses, the movement.

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By 1924, when "The Horse Dies, the Birds Fly Out" had appeared in Vienna, most of the comrades with whom he had founded *Tett* and *Ma* in Budapest had abandoned him. The greater part of them had become members of the Communist Party. His magazine was banned in Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, even though by the middle of the twenties only its artistic manifestoes carried any political message. He found himself without subscribers. It became impossible for him to function any longer in Vienna, and he returned to Budapest after seven years in emigration.

Although since the days of Ady nearly all that was new and original in Hungarian literature had come from Kassák, and although there was no one that was not deeply indebted to him, Kassák could find no place in Horthy Hungary. The régime considered him a dangerous Communist agent and denied him opportunities of earning a living. He could not tolerate the opportunist politics and flaccid, conservative-artistic theorizing of the Social Democratic Party. The Communists, on the other hand, considered him a renegade and rejected his avant-garde philosophy. Literary quality and freedom were represented by *Nyugat*, although it increasingly withdrew from modern experimentation into its own type of aesthetic freedom. Kassák could find as little peace with this sort of freedom as with the freedom of his younger years.

In the visual arts the situation was even more hopeless. Official cultural policy followed the style of the Italian Novecento. The Post-Impressionists posed as opposition with their naive and *précieux* painting, their drooping figures and colours meant to be tenuous and delicate. There was no place for restlessness and agitation, and in that aimless atmosphere, there was not even a demand for it.

His autobiography received a certain amount of attention, but his poetry was ignored. What response could there have been to a barely audible voice, purposely toneless, and to a colourless monologue which could not be heard through the closed windows. "In stillness, in the deep stillness of an unknown part of the world I write my poems," he wrote, which "are simultaneously here and beyond literature and the rules of custom." Neither the attitude nor the voice changed throughout his life. His poetry was a synthesis

of meditative observation and analytic objectivity. It was the unity of the desire to know and of acceptance, reinforcing each other, that is, pure simple statements, and the recording of facts, all of it saved by the definite expression of doubt from becoming a creed of naive certainty. The ego was identical with he rest of humanity, his personal fate with the fate of the world. There were those who were surprised by his originality, who called him an existentialist. Hungarian poetry frequently demands answers from its long history, not from existence, not from the reality of society, nor from the soul, and often smuggles love of the fatherland into its love poetry. Kassák translated emotion into something concrete. His poetry, like his Cubist paintings, depicted at once the objective picture of the thing and its personal significance. It placed it in space to clarify its relation to other objects. "My poetry / is born from the strict order of geometry... / it creates the design, and sets the objects in space...", he said in his artistic profession of faith, "My Poetry". As György Rónay wrote: "Just as there are poets, especially romantic poets, whose principal form is time, so the principal form of the later Kassák is space. With him, even time appears in connection with space. And it is space which is the synthesizing force. The composition and construction of objects into a poetic picture is achieved by their existence in a single space."

The last volume which appeared in his lifetime, *The Leaves of the Oak Tree*, was a poetic diary, a "novel" bringing together the whole past and present episodes and conditions of his life, and his conclusions and feelings. It took the paradox of "The Horse Dies, the Birds Fly Out" to its culminating point. Despite the biographical purpose of this final conspectus, it is lyric poetry of the purest sort, very simple, in the sense of "simplicity is not the goal of art; it is involuntarily achieved when the ultimate meaning of things is sought", as Brâncuși said.

The connection between his poems and his paintings in this exhibition is apparent. Not many of his picture-architectures of the twenties, similar to the monumental drama of his early poems, are on display, because most of them are in foreign museums, galleries and collections. Once returned from emigration, he laid aside his brush and limited his participation in the visual arts to an occasional review. He began to paint again after the Second World War, when he settled in Békásmegyer, a village near Budapest. His first paintings were landscapes and figures; the figures were naive and childlike, the landscapes inspired by his happy discovery of nature, and his response was so overwhelming that for a time he even employed the commonplaces of Impressionism to express it. The most important tradition of Hungarian painting, the gloomy, muffled and sombre colouring of the landscapes,

captured even Kassák. But slowly the associations familiar to Hungarian art were rejected: slowly the landscapes came to be expressed in strong, essential lines, and he set himself the task of creating a unity between nature and the artifacts of man. His intellectual strength was most clearly displayed in this unity when the man-made, that is the structure built out of the original subject, took precedence of nature. His abstract paintings were no longer puritanically strict in shape and colour but rich and varied, and deeply and personally expressive. He seldom employed geometrical forms in his later painting nor were his colours any longer the clean and harsh colours of picture-architecture. Kassák no longer rejected the Hungarian tradition of painting even though he still maintained his distance from it. He used browns, reds and greens as he did words in his poems, giving them a more extended and subtle meaning than the restricted meaning demanded by the composition itself. He gave them emotional content.

Success was eventually his. He was discovered as one of the heroes of the avant-garde, an important Central European pioneer of classical Constructivism. An exhibition of his paintings took place in the Denise René Gallery in Paris, inspired by Vasarely. A small but representative collection was shown at the Düsseldorf Dada, the Paris "50 Years of Collage", and the Nuremberg Constructivist exhibition. Arp, Cassou and Seuphor were impressed his work. Only the critic of the *Studio International* wrote an unfavourable review of the exhibition in London where his work was shown in conjunction with Vasarely. He was bored by the stubborn search to prove the foundations of contemporary art were to be found in his work; he called it provincial.

In Paris and London he may just be one of the old guard who suffers unfavourably by comparison with the Constructivist masters particularly in his use of full and musical colouring, but in Budapest he is ever-present. Time has justified him, and not left him behind. And why should it? He was not only shaped by the century, but he helped to shape it, or at least that part of it that we here have managed to inherit.

KATALIN MEZEY

THE HISTORY OF KASSÁK'S *MA*

Ma (Today) A Review of Literature and Fine Arts, edited and published by Lajos Kassák, 1916–1925; facsimile edition, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1973

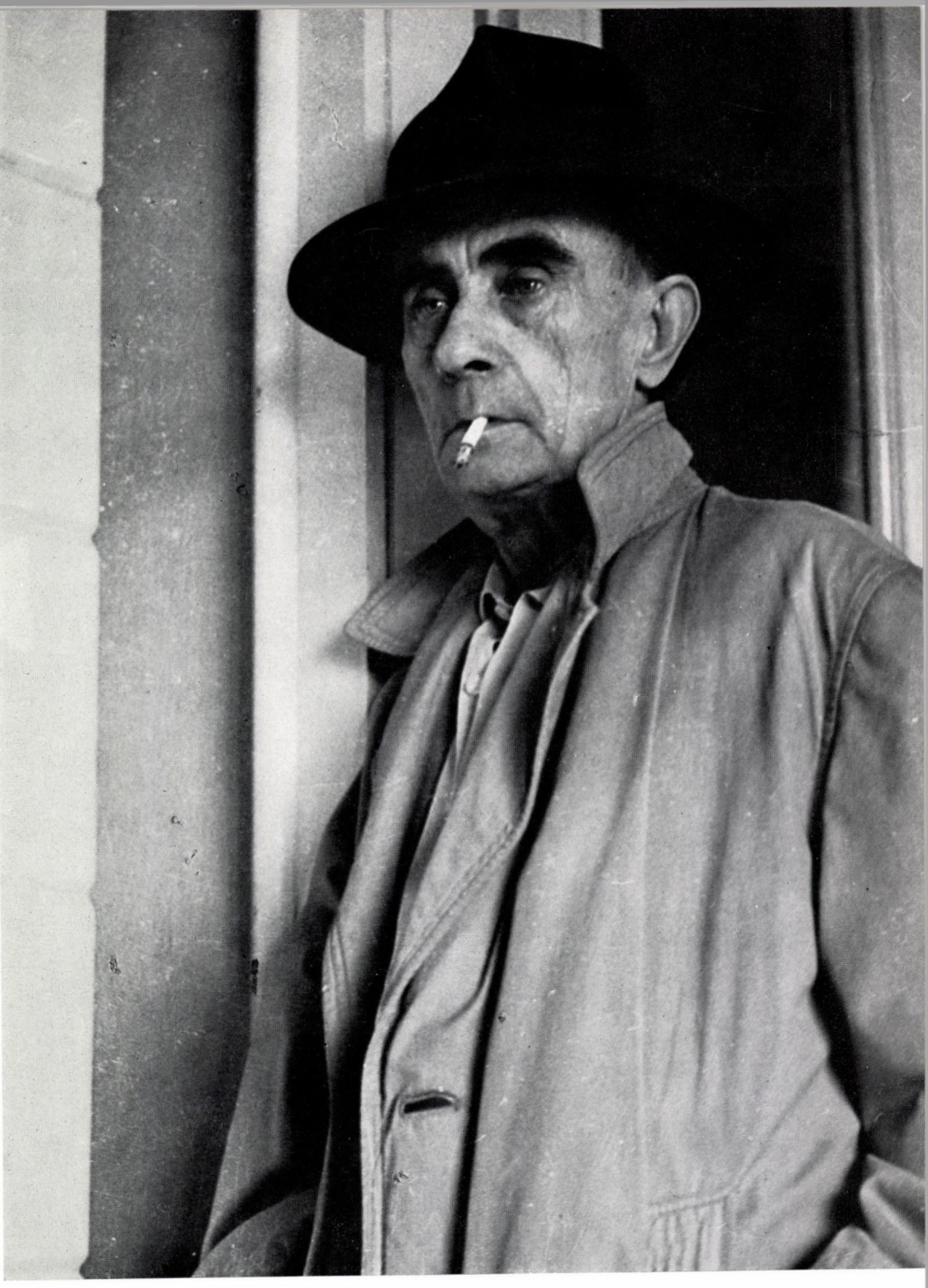
The review *Ma* (Today) first appeared on November 15, 1916. It was edited by Lajos Kassák assisted by Mátyás György, Aladár Komját and Béla Uitz. They summed up their aims on the back cover of the first issue under the provocative headings Propaganda: "...we shall work hard to find a safe island for as many artistic values as possible, rescuing them from the crippling force of business... The fate of literature and art must at last be placed in the hands of writers and artists. We cannot fully achieve our aims without organizing ourselves on a business basis as well... Business work will be carried out in terms of the intentions of the publications committee; the editor, however, is responsible for the artistic standard of publications, and what we will propagate is pure art. Our work will appear without vulgarization or dilution and we are looking for recognition by those who want their art that way!"

According to Kassák *Ma* had no capital at all: "We could not pay contributors but this never led to any trouble. Avant-garde papers the world over were in the habit of doing likewise. They were high-flying and earth-bound paupers. We did not want to make money but to express ourselves, we wanted to create something beautiful in a new way. This was true to such an extent that there were critical moments when the contributors put in their own 5-crown pieces to pay the printer. We did not lobby ministries, we did not accept alms from public institutions and cliques and that though we could not have told how we managed to get our daily bread." *

The appeal published in the February 1917 issue said that one of the major aims of *Ma* was "to become part of international life and cultivate and propagate the new arts which adressed themselves to the ideas and emotions of our times". Kassák later argued that he had pursued a double aim: *Ma* was meant to break the hegemony of *Nyugat* (West) which stood for what Kassák thought were conservative aesthetic values and also to show the true face of revolutionary art.

They got off to a good start. Their method of raising funds was unusual in Hungary. What they did was to issue membership cards to sponsors and these, together with the income of the review itself, proved sufficient. *Ma* also published books and arranged exhibitions. In 1916–17–18–19 *Ma* organized a series of "collective" and "mon-

* The three reviews of the Hungarian avant-garde. *Helikon* 1964 (2–3), p. 215. (In Hungarian)



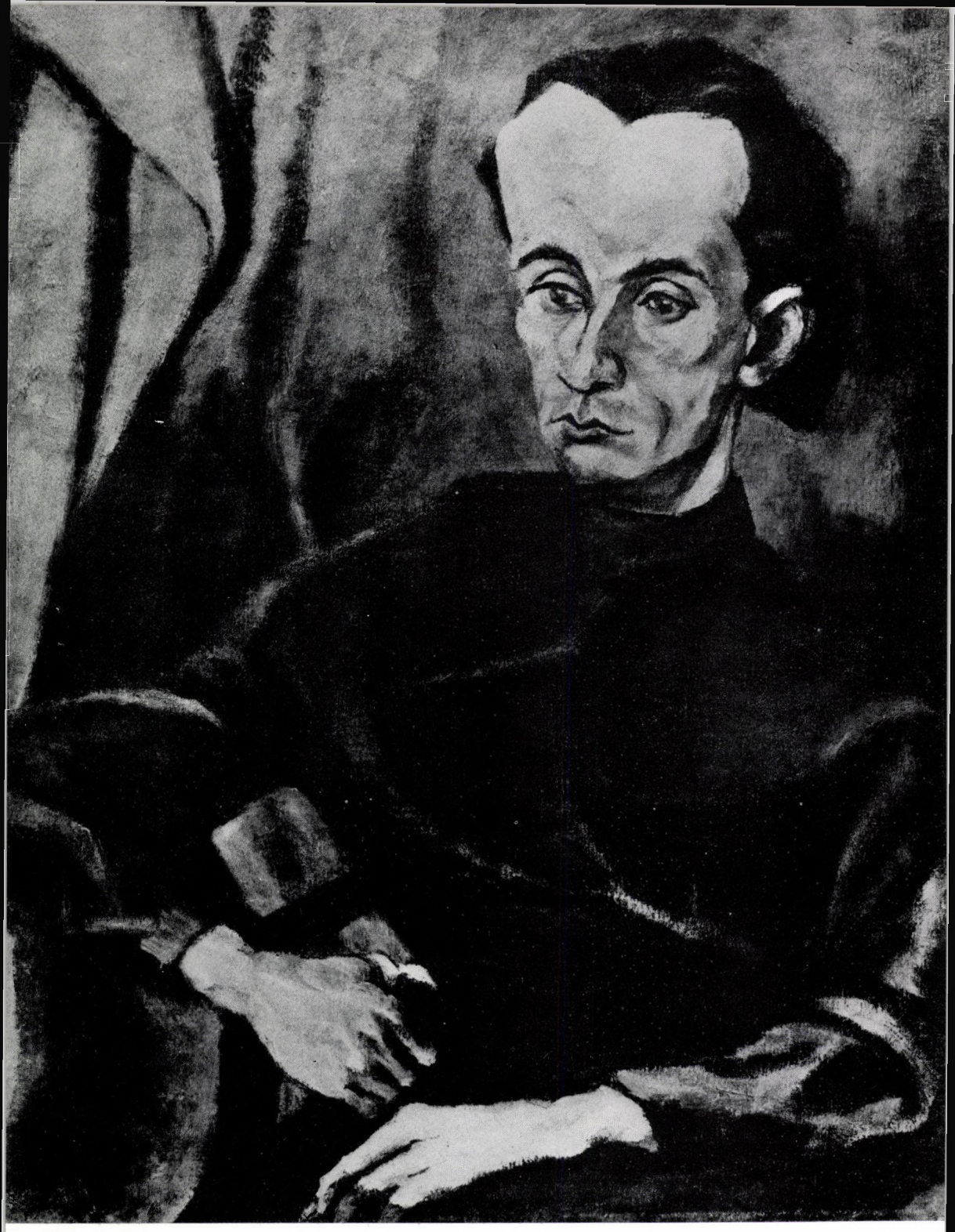
Lajos Kassák in the '60s

Photo: Márta Rédner

MA

AKTIVISTA MŰVÉSZETI ÉS TÁRSADALMI FOLYÓIRAT
FŐSZERKESZTŐ KASSÁK LAJOS, WIEN, VI. ÉV 3. SZ

Ára 15 korona
Cseh-Szlovákiában 6 korona



Lajos Tihanyi: Portrait of Kassák (oil on canvas, 75×75 cm, 1918)

Photo: István Pátrás

◀ Front Page of Ma, January 1st, 1921

Photo: Ferenc Novotta

A Corner of The Exhibition, with Kassák's Desk and Paintings

strative" exhibitions whose aim was to make artists independent of galleries, and academies, chiefly the group known as the "Eight" who most frequently appeared in the review itself, but many other talented young painters were given the opportunity to show their works as well, including János Kmetty, Nemes-Lampérth, Matthis-Teutsch, Lajos Gulácsy, Béla Uitz, Sándor Bortnyik, Rezső Diner-Dénes, Ede Bohacsek, Pál Pátzay and Lajos Berta.* The first anthology of *Ma* poems also appeared in 1917, followed by some volumes by Kassák and philosophical and general works, many by young unknown poets and writers. All these appeared in those miserable years of the First World War.

In the three years of publication in Hungary (November 1916–July 1919) *Ma* published many works by young left-wingers, including writers like György Bölöni, Zoltán Franyó, Iván Hevesy, Sándor Hevesi, Mózes Kahána, János Lékai, József Lengyel, János Mácza, Andor Németh, József Révai and Ervin Sinkó; musicians like Béla Bartók (a special issue in 1918 dealt with his work), Zoltán Kodály, László Lajtha became contributors and apart from the above-mentioned painters *Ma* published work by Róbert Berény, Károly Kernstok, Lajos Tihanyi and János Vaszary. The editors were aware of every significant and progressive 20–30-year-old in Hungary, and published them.

The review also established contacts with young artists in other countries. They preferred socialist writers and artists who had something new to say. They published Guillaume, Apollinaire, Johannes R. Becher, Otokar Brezina, a Czech communist poet, Iwan Goll, H. Guilbeau, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Pfemfper, editor of the Berlin *Die Aktion*, Kurt Pinthus, Alexei Remishov, Jacques Rivière, Ludwig Rubner. They published selections of poems by young Germans, Czechs and Italians. Pen drawings and engravings by Picasso, Derain, Max Pechstein and U. Boccioni. On the back cover they advertised two German avant-garde periodicals: *Die Aktion* and *Der Sturm* (edited by Herwarth Walden).

The articles in *Ma* dealt with the major problems and figures. Works by Babits, Karinthy, Margit Kaffka, Kosztolányi, Gyula Krúdy and Zsigmond Móricz were discussed, as was the *Nyugat* anniversary or a new book by Dezső Szabó. The first night of Bartók's *Prince Bluebeard's Castle* was noticed, and Endre Ady's poems were written about on a number of occasions.

The first split in the group around *Ma* occurred in 1917 when Mátyás György, József Lengyel, Aladár Komját and József Révai withdrew. The break was due to Kassák's firmness on the distinction between political writing and party writing. In view of the low standards of the Social Democratic and other party press he refused to have anything to do with any party literature or "party agitation". Kassák criticized the contradictions of the "Michaelmas Daisy revolution". A manifesto was published urging the emancipation of art. Starting with the end of 1918 they worked in the fever of building a new world and creating a new art. In their non-engaged position on the fringe of political events they were able to see many facts and errors which were only discovered later by historians. The result was not, of course, the one they expected: they aroused suspicion at the time, and the new leaders considered their criticism as damaging.

Kassák summed up their views in February 1919 in an article headed "Activism": he argued that the only thing that could happen was the revolution of the proletariat, sweeping away the old world and giving birth to a new... According to Kassák the "deepest instrument" of this revolution was to be scientific research and committed art. This is what the activists were fighting for, they prepared people for the "redeeming act" and declared war on the passive art of class societies. In the April issue they announced that the review would appear fortnightly,

* Articles on the following have appeared in *The N.H.Q.*: Matthis Teutsch, No.41; Lajos Gulácsy, No. 24; Béla Uitz, Nos. 29 and 48.

they would open an art school directed by Béla Uitz, organize seminars on art and, twice a week, evenings with an artistic programme in the Medgyaszay theatre, continuing their tours of the country and their matinées in the provinces.

However, with the deterioration of the position of the Republic of Councils and the general climate of insecurity, the mistrust shown towards *Ma* gained more ground. Attacks against the review multiplied: they were more or less justified by the intransigeant attitude of *Ma* on the issue of art and society. Anti-*Ma* articles written by the review's old enemies created a heated climate; relations between revolutionary art—the avant-garde—and those responsible for the cultural policy of the Revolution deteriorated to such an extent that Béla Kun said on the second day of the party congress in June that *Ma* was "a product of bourgeois decadence" *. It must be noted that this was the congress of the new Communist Party created two months before, the membess of which in their majority had been Social Democrats, that is the bitter enemies of Kassák.

Kassák immediately addressed a letter to Béla Kun and printed it as a special issue of *Ma* without permission—this resulted in the banning of *Ma* after the July issue—where he claimed that they needed scope for preparing the necessary revolution in the minds of men. In an injured tone he wrote about the merits of the review, and about their relations with the international socialist and communist movement.

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Kassák was arrested in August 1919 after the Hungarian Republic of Councils collapsed. He spent some months in the Remand Prison as a "major criminal". His friends helped him to escape late in 1919, he travelled to Vienna in the dustbin of a ship.

Half a year later, in May 1920 the first issue of *Ma* appeared in Vienna. The Austrian poet Fritz Bügel served as Responsible Editor, since the law demanded that a citizen be responsible for a publication. The contributors of this first issue were by and large the same as in Budapest. The introductory article was written by Kassák, and called on the artists of the world in two languages: "Against all types of class rule we proclaim the community of triumphant individuals and against all State morals we proclaim collective morality." "The proletariat hammers irresistibly at the door of slave-keeping fathers, we must now start to fight against the rule of our first-born brothers!"

What was Kassák's purpose?

Instead of party agitation and leftist organization he wanted to carry the message of the avant-garde of new revolutionary art, he wanted the avant-garde to penetrate to the masses since this art with its negations was the best instrument for arousing awareness and with its related isms, constructivism, suprematism, etc. it was the best instrument for laying the foundations of a new culture which would promote revolution. His programme was greatly similar to that of the Soviet-Russian avant-garde between 1917 and 1925. He put his review in the service of these aims. He published the work of every new trend at the moment of their appearance if he considered it as fitting in with his aim, and this meant the finest works of the avant-garde of the 1920s.

In his Vienna years Kassák developed a double system of relations: a "recipient network" and a "system of relay channels".

The stations of the recipient network were not all new, they stammed from his large network of connections built up in Hungary. Guillaume Apollinaire, Marcel Duchamp, Picabia, Tristan Tzara, Arp were well-known names that appeared in the early issues of the review. (The name "activist" derives from the Dada pioneers, they called

* See: Béla Pomogáts: "From the documents of the Hungarian avant-garde", *Jelenkor*, December 1971, p. 1123; Júlia Szabó: *The History of Hungarian Activism*, Budapest, 1971; Lajos Kassák: Letter to Béla Kun, *Ma*, June 1919, p. 2. (All in Hungarian)

themselves activists in their desire to shake off "the dead weight of all social and artistic traditions". *Ma* in Vienna also relied on the Bauhaus and the constructivist movement. Kassák's close relations with European artistic movements were a great help to Hungarian artists living in the emigration and to young artists who set out to see the world. He had directed László Moholy Nagy to Germany, where the latter soon became a teacher at the Bauhaus, later its Deputy Head, and subsequently one of the main figures of Expressionism and Constructivism. László Medgyes, László Péri, Hugó Scheiber, Béla Kádár were all advised by him to join artistic groups in Western Europe. Kassák helped Ernő Kállai and Farkas Molnár to become teachers at the Bauhaus.

Ma published a rich selection of the work of Dutch activists, chiefly from the De Stijl (Theo van Doesburg) group of that of the Russian activists and suprematists: Roshtshenko, Tatlin, Malevich, Puni, Gabo and others. They presented Viking Eggeling, a Swede, the creator of "musical painting", the later musicalist tendency, and all the important work of the French avant-garde writers and painters. The Hungarian version of new manifestoes and theoretic works appeared almost at the same time as the original Looking through Kassák's papers I found he was in touch with *Secession* (edited by P. K. Hurvitz in New York) and *The Little Review* (edited in the early 20s by Margaret Anderson and Ezra Pound and from 1925–26 by Margaret Anderson and Jean Haap in London and New York). I am indebted to Mrs. Kassák for permission to consult these papers, which include many documents, manifestoes, etc. of Central European movements.

Kassák wanted to create an international avant-garde organization. At the conference of modern movements held in Düsseldorf (May 29131, 1922) *Ma* submitted a proposal to create an International Organization of Revolutionary Artists. They also co-operated with the Provisional International Bureau of Creative Artists in Moscow. The organization, however, did not eventuate. Kassák wrote in his memoires: "The avant-garde groups managed to co-operate only on a smaller scale: the Dutch co-operated with the Bauhaus of Dessau, and constructivist groups, including *Ma*, succeeded in co-operation with each other."

Young Hungarians whose works were published by *Ma* are today outstanding figures. Although they were not all true to the avant-garde all their lives, the movement's refreshing spirit in the 20s affected them all. *Ma* in Vienna published several writings by Tibor Déry, József Lengyel, Gyula Illyés, Mózes Kahána, Zoltán Zelk, Endre Gáspár, the eminent translator and essayist, József Nádass and Andor Németh. And yet Hungarian activism had no genuine and deep roots. In the political climate of Hungary in those years it would have been impossible for the movement to take root. In Vienna it became increasingly homeless, although the editors did their best to make an impact in Hungary and among Hungarians living in the Successor States. The building up of "relay channels" also served this purpose. In 1921 *Ma* was represented in Germany by László Moholy Nagy, in Bohemia by Lajos Kudlák, in Slovakia by János Mácza, in Yugoslavia by B. Tokin. The publications of *Ma* reached also beyond Central Europe. "The large colour covers whose typography I designed myself were on sale at the newstands of many large cities—Hungary was the only country where distribution had to be done in secret."

The review also published books. This served a double aim: to publish Hungarian authors and to present new literary trends. They included Kassák's volumes of poetry and drawings, his albums, the works of young Hungarian avant-garde writers, Tibor Barta, Erzsi Újvári, Tibor Déry, Endre Gáspár's translations (Tristan Tzara: *Heart of Gas.* Drama), an Archipenko picture book, a monograph about László Moholy Nagy, etc. They planned a ten-volume library for bibliophiles, "Horizont", with works by modern Euro-

pean writers but, probably for financial reasons this enterprize could not be completed. Another beautiful enterprize was the "Book of New Artists" jointly edited by Kassák and Moholy Nagy in two languages.

The presentation and typography of *Ma* made it one of the finest avant-garde publications: Kassák's talents were many-sided: he was great a poet, writer, artist, typographer and editor. His review had another remarkable feature: it lasted for almost nine years. This extraordinary long life for an avant-garde publication was due to Kassák's unique stamina.

Kassák also sensed the historical moment when the mission of *Ma* was exhausted. Around 1925 it was banned in a number of countries, at the same time it seemed that the emigrants could return home. Conditions were consolidated in Hungary and this implied new possibilities and new tasks. "I arrived in Budapest in the autumn of 1926. And two months later, in December 1926 I began to edit a new review, *Dokumentum*."

LAJOS KASSÁK

POEMS

CRAFTSMEN

We are neither scientists nor abstracted priestly Chrysostoms
nor are we heroes driven with crazy clamour to battle
and left sprawling senseless on sea-floor and sunny hilltop
and all over the thunder-beaten fields, all over the world.
Now the hours bathe in bad blood under the blue firmament...
But we are far from everything. We sit deep in the dark peace-barracks:
wordless and undivided as indissoluble matter itself.
Yesterday we still cried and tomorrow, tomorrow maybe the century will
admire our work.
Yes! Because quick force jets from our ugly stubby fingers,
and tomorrow we shall toast our triumph on the new walls.
Tomorrow we shall throw life onto the ruins from asbestos and iron and
titanic granite
and away with the gilded dream-swags! the moonlight! the music-halls!
We'll soon set up great skyscrapers, an Eiffel Tower will be our toy.
Basalt-based bridges. New myths from singing steel in the squares
and shrieking blazing trains thrust onto the dead tracks
to shine and run their course like meteors dizzying the sky.
New colours we mix, new cables we lay undersea,
and we seduce ripe unmarried women to make earth nurse new types
and the new poets can rejoice as they sing the face of the new times
coming:
in Rome, Paris, Moscow, Berlin, London, and Budapest.

(1918)

BAFFLING PICTURE

Where did I see this region before with its bleak earth
its blind stars at the back of the clouds?
It all shakes and shimmers on butterfly-wings
and yet everything is so surely in its place.
Beyond the reed a Gypsy keeps playing his hook
and while the wind cries for its wild brood
the moon is a silver raft and drifts, drifts
dead it drifts on the black mirror of the lake.

(1940)

YOUNG HORSEMAN

The horse he sits on is saddleless
and he himself is naked.
Marvellous boy
as his thighs tighten
and his sunburnt chest
heaves up and down.

My mate whom I
can't sing well enough ever.
Burning youth unconscious pride
let me praise you!

(1945)

LIKE THIS

Neither the interminable patches of land
nor crags with frozen stone-geometry
my true home is the city
with its gangrened damp-walled houses
with its chimney-stacks to scrawl the sky black
with its endlessly swarming crowds
with its knots of children yelling and squealing
with its half-bald dogs
with its amorous cats

with its rats emerging from nocturnal sewers.
And I love the feverishly clattering machines
bathed in oil
gorged on flames
workmen's wood and iron constructions
looking like fearsome fireside pets.
Idols of my early days
that made me leave my birthplace
my school my church.
I have served them and praised them.
They became
goal of my vagabondage
seed of my verses.
Day and night I drum out their rhythm
and write my books
with my brain's eternal discontent.

(1964)

SNAPSHOT

Everything but everything
has to be smashed
including even
what lurks in the dark walls of the womb.

The fury inside me has reached flashpoint.
Impotence hour.
Redhot.
Icecold.
My ashen faith's
in a cave of my heart
crouching.

If I open the window
of my room nothing happens.
No wind.
No din.

Beside the tram-rails
an old dog lies
dead.
His right eye
and his muzzle
gape.

(1964)

I AM WITH YOU

In front of you I go
you in front of me
the early sun's gold chain
jingles on my wrist.

Where are you going—I ask
you answer—how do I know.

I speed up my walk
but you speed all the more.

I in front of you
you in front of me.

But we stop in front of a gate.

I kiss you
you give me a kiss
then without a word you vanish
and spirit my life away.

(1968)

Translated by Edwin Morgan

A PRECISE DESCRIPTION OF A MOMENT OF DANGER

Short story

by

AMBRUS BOR

Extreme peril can be lasting, it can be immediate. There is an instant in which he, who is threatened by danger, recognizes it. This instant can precede the moment of jeopardy, or it can ensue after the peril has lasted awhile.

What's significant is the instant.

There are precursory events, there are also chance circumstances. Precursory events pertain to a precise description, because these assist or impede the recognition, as the irradicable early ailments or early health state in a patient's medical history determines the lethalness or innocuousness of an illness.

Saturday afternoon, 1:40. The motorist pulls into a gas station. He charges up 5 gallons of premium gas, that costs 88 forints, around 90 with tip. Thanks, says the gas attendant, and wishes him a good trip. So long, says the motorist, he starts up the engine, but then asks if just on Sunday there's one-way traffic on the M 7 Road to Lake Balaton or on Saturdays too. The gas attendant doesn't know definitely, but he thinks there's one-way traffic also on Saturday afternoon. The motorist doesn't like heavy or fast traffic.

He's 52 years old, 5 feet 7, weighs 126 pounds, neurasthenic build, no physical handicaps, his periodic heart complaints are groundless, blood sugar normal, his reading glasses with a one diopter correction should be changed to two, he received his driver's license two years ago, since then he has driven approximately 16,000 miles. In his work situation he is meticulous, particular, bellicose in an argument, responds with anger to insults, silently harbors imagined affronts for a long time, left to himself he in anxious, overconscientious, acutely sensitive to noise, he avoids crowds, doesn't like heavy or fast traffic. His pleasantest motoring memory was a summer trip, in the afternoon and toward dusk on the Tapolca, Szigliget, Tördemic–Nemesgulács–Mindszentkálló–Köveskál–Zánka–Lake Balaton route.

He was traveling toward the Budaörsi Road, on the Hamzsabégi Road. Between the State Insurance Building and the Municipal Bus Garage, he repeatedly tested his brakes; he observes that his brakes are good, and that his rear-engined car swerves slightly, for due to its back-heavy construction it's susceptible to that.

Approximately three hundred feet from the site of the brake trial, he has to allow the stream of cars going toward the M 7 to pass. He's held up quite awhile, but it doesn't irritate him. He's got plenty of time. He glances at his watch: 1 : 55. He's got plenty of time. They expect him at Nagykanizsa at 5 o'clock.

The previous day, on Friday, he had gone to Nagykanizsa and back. Considering tonight's tasks, originally he was to sleep there, but making a sudden decision, he cancelled the accommodation, and he and the concerned parties agreed that he'd go down again next day. Yes, he'd return home and come back next day.

The moment of danger lies in the realm of chance. The motorist doesn't like to pass the night alone in a hotel. He feels abandoned, superfluous, replaceable, in a hotel room. Besides, in the manner of the average man, he likes to return home to his family.

In this same realm of chance, one of the Nagykanizsa contacts, on Friday night, in an alcoholic state, with the conventional accompanying insistence, proposed that they spend the night drinking in a wine cellar—the expense would be written off. The motorist has a neurotic fear of drinkers, besides he can't drink all night, for his stomach won't tolerate it. Finally, it can be considered a significant precursory event, that the preceding day, motoring toward Nagykanizsa, he rested in a forest, took a walk and found a mass of wild strawberries; and last but not least, he chose to return home and make a second trip because he felt a childlike longing to stroll about and pick wild strawberries in that same pleasant, cool, damp forest.

The motorist swings back onto the Budaörsi Road, then onto the M 7, on whose 19 mile stretch, he proceeds undisturbed, peacefully. He doesn't have to rush, in addition there is his 988 ccs, 43 HP car, being 52 and impervious to the intoxication of speed; on the contrary he even proceeds slowly. It disturbs him somewhat that he has to drive into the sun right now, and later, more and more, but the view is excellent and the road dry. He doesn't give a thought to the condition of the road, to the view, yes, because he can't stand the windshield dirty. It crosses his mind that the previous night, on the road toward Budapest, he passed through a swarm of midges or mosquitoes, and he was forced to pull up and wash the window with a wet sponge. He doesn't sense the approaching change in air pressure;

just in the late afternoon and evening hours will the cold wave lower by 20–25 degrees the present extreme heat, which he has buffered by opening what are called "butterfly" side windows. This accentuates the already excessive noise in the car; the rear engine reverberates throughout the car frame, but the motorist has become accustomed to it.

He doesn't smoke while driving. He never used to light up, because he is left-handed and the ashtray is at his right. Consequently, when he first started driving, he'd drop ashes all over his trousers. But he also doesn't light up because he can't steer the car with one hand. He's in good spirits, he isn't thinking of women, or work, not of chores. Actually, he isn't thinking of anything, he's driving... his car became a work accessory, but it also serves for motoring. His driving is conscious and reflex-like conduct of his duties, about 50 miles an hour, exactly and pleasantly maintained; even when he has passengers, he drives without speaking, and if conscious thoughts do occupy him than it is rather technical detail, for example, that a 4,500 or greater rotation per minute of a car motor, by the limits of his imagination, is almost unbelievably fast, as if one looks into a spinning motor he wouldn't see a thing.

Originally, he wanted to bring on the trip both his wife and daughter, or one of them. His wife's long procrastinated housework was always left for Saturday and Sunday, he didn't take his daughter for no more special reason than he thought she would be bored while he tended to his business matters; perhaps she would dally purposelessly on the Nagykanizsa streets, perhaps she would be accosted, because she was at that age, or perhaps she'd enjoy being accosted, or would be alarmed.

However, if both had come, and they would have slept at Nagykanizsa, they could have gone the next day to Zalaegerszeg, to see the Museum Village of Göcsej. It makes no difference.

The motorist observes as he comes to the end of the highway, that the attendant's information was erroneous: the Saturday afternoon traffic is not one-directional. After the merging of the two roads, cars are also coming toward him. He feels a certain disappointment and a strain because the distance to be covered, about 100 miles, will now require greater attention. Three o'clock? A certain childish longing for a forest saunter becomes apparent.

The traffic going north, however, is slight. Almost everybody is heading south, to Lake Balaton. The average speed starts to increase in an interesting way: the cars palpably speed up. Obviously because the columns of cars are crowded and the cars squeezed into half of the road force everyone to accelerate. He glances at his speedometer, his speed is 50–60 miles an hour, rather

60, which his car can easily do, but which causes a slightly unpleasant sense of stress.

Concentrate.

He hasn't any more encompassing or profound thoughts. Consciously he takes the first Székesfehérvár turn off, he looks at the green milestones 42, 43, 47 miles from Budapest. Mechanically he glances up into the rear-view mirror, he also sees himself; the sight of his wrinkled forehead is not pleasant, he really can't completely accustom himself to his face, which he feels either looks dejected or grins obscenely. 69, 70. Mechanically he passes some strikingly slow superannuated car. He often shudders, partly because the cars bigger than his pass him without honking, suddenly appearing beside him, motor roaring, they hurtle in front of him. Insanity; partly because the car passing in front of him is itself overtaken by a stronger, faster car, a familiar sight, a display of aggression, the rear of the bigger, passing car appears for a moment tanksize, war machine-size, loathsome. So it appears in the eyes of the smaller, because he's inferior.

The shudder is disagreeable. It doesn't cause a conscious anxiety. It gives rise to low mumblings, muttered curses.

Nothing unusual.

He looks at this watch before ascending a grade, 2 : 55. He steps on the gas, even on the flat approach. He passes a cumbersome bus so he won't have to lug uphill behind it. Arriving at the top he sees a long straight section of road ahead. This is approximately one mile, but it could be longer. He doesn't estimate the distance, he just recalls the section, he knows that from here the "Nonstop" espresso isn't far, he doesn't want to stop here, and sees no oncoming traffic on the horizon. In the right hand lane the column of cars stream past.

His car, without any gas, accelerates down the mild incline.

A car with a flat back end passes him, on its roof a luggage rack, baggage tied down. On top of the baggage a deck chair perhaps? Aging old car, it's had its day, slow. Its driver takes this or else the load into account, because he pulls to the right, almost asking to be passed.

Fine. The motorist starts to pass.

He performs this action out of routine and reflexlike. Rear-view mirror. Light signal to left. Honk. He pulls out to the left, made it. Glances to the left. Behind nothing. Traffic. A small white car. Trabant? Trabant.

He makes a long smooth pass. When he drives on the main road he likes to pass this way. At 55–60 this is enjoyable. He has a relaxed easy feeling, as if he's sitting side-saddle on a swing and gently shoves, swinging himself first left, then right. This pleasurable sensation always appears at such a

passing, the motorist counts on it. And when he completes the pass, he mechanically glances back, consciously, registering the feeling, at the same time.

The harmony of man and machine is in the province of kinetics.

In the instant of the left swing, a strident sharp honk, from close by. In that same moment a big, light blue car's front end and windshield, from the left. Tank sized, warfare sized, collision-association.

Steering reflex to the right. Release gas.

Reflex, nothing more.

Terror reflex: this could be a subsequent formulation. In the instant of action, there is a conscious recognition of danger. There's no name for the immediate reflex move. After the event, everything can be formulated, in the instant, no. A man who's about to be struck blocks the blow with his hand. A dog racing at a man, will retreat if the man suddenly bends down, as if he's reaching for a stone. On an asphalt street even, where there aren't stones, the dog shrinks back. If a door slams beside a man, he'll jump forward or spin on his heels. Every formulation and explanation is after the fact, at the crucial moment everything depends on reflex, or rather routine, which in other words means, conditioned reflexes rather than skill.

The front of the car lurches to the right, the rear to the left. The car is a kind with a so called "over responsive" steering, rear motor, the center of gravity in the rear axle. If a single passenger sits in it, the front of the car, under great speed, almoste levates, it sways. These tecnichal conditions don't occur to the motorist. One hour before, when he had cursorily finished his brake trial, the car mildly slid, and this also came or could have come to his mind, but the thoughts of an hour before, in this moment have no operative meaning.

The motorist sees two spots, a pale blue one that glides to his left and disappears, and a white one, behind which he edges in his car, he senses on the top of the white blur a brown or black luggage spot too.

He's not conscious whether there is enough space for his car. Just mere acknowledgement of his nervous system, that there's space, he'll fit.

He's completely conscious of the right edge of the road, the contours of the shoulder.

Speed! Shoulder!

Sense of danger. Nothing more. The immediate steering move, the left correction again reflex-like. The exact magnitude of the turn is not reconstructable later. Question, if its possible reconstruction could serve any instructional purpose. According to the advice in the technical literature, a minimum of steering is recommended. But what should be the extent of

this minimum, that at the very most only routine can suggest. It's a reflex which in actuality is unobtainable, for surely for its conditioning a plethora of similar situation would be needed, something which can't be undertaken, inappropriate even for a stunt man. A man about to be struck, blocks the blow, whether he'll lift his hand up high, raise both hands, or just one, that is variable in each case. The man, instinctively defending himself, depends on his conditioned reactions and his immediate disposition. The dog running at a man shrinks back if the man suddenly bends down as if to reach for a stone, but whether the dog just retreats, or recoils, or lies low, or tears off, that is variable from dog to dog.

These are explanatory speculations.

The front end of the car suddenly swings left, the rear forcefully cuts to the right.

The moment of danger; the recognition of peace.

There's no question yet of danger of death. The motorist is just aware that his car hazardously slid. He sees that the car hurls over to the left side of the road. The car doesn't obey as he desires.

He's not its master.

He senses, not formulates.

He feels a danger from the left, forgetting that there wasn't any oncoming traffic at the time, on the horizon. But stronger than the impression of peril is his awareness of the fixed left side of the road, the shape of the emergency lane, the hurtling to the curb.

Ditches!

Clear knowledge of peril.

There's still no question of danger of death.

The duration of jeopardy and jeopardy to life is variable, during the existing peril that moment is of importance in which the peril is recognized. The peril and the recognition moment depends on the peril's actual length of time, so to say, it can expand. If the peril itself lasts longer than a instant then the recognition moment can stretch out longer. The duration of time measurable by seconds, becomes a minute, according to memory, remarkably compact.

This is an explanatory speculation.

The motorist twists the steering wheel to the right. He twists it; the intensity of his try determines to a considerable degree the awareness of danger.

The turn of the wheel was too exaggerated. There is no need for the later recall of its magnitude, its reconstruction is superflous; the two black rubber lines will attest to its exaggeration, as will the traffic photographer's shot

at the site investigation. The back wheels, two black rubber tracks, the two quarter-circles at the left side of the road will prove an overwide correction attempt. Afterwards.

The motorist at this moment just acts. Simultaneously there appear in front of him, with perfect acuity, an article in a magazine called "Motoring Life". On the left side, in all probability, in one of the two extreme columns, somewhere there is this Don't brake! Don't brake! Two exclamation points. This is completely discernible, at the same time meaningless, purposeless.

The article spoke about skidding, swerving, possible avoidance techniques in connection with an exact description in which the car, after the second skid, ran off the road, the driver dying on the spot. The fundamental substance of this absolutely sharply recalled article doesn't occur to the motorist. Why it doesn't, there's no explaining.

Perhaps he hasn't time to. The car in the midst of high pitched screeching of rubber, swings to the right. The rear lurches to the left. The motorist feels that the car is heaving left, lifting up on two wheals, and he already hears the sound of the body's friction. The car crashes on its side, the friction's screaming, rasping sound intensifies, the sound is hollow, savage.

Moment of horror. Without recognition of danger of death, and mixed with some kind of strange awareness of helplessness, that subsequently is baffling—and two loudly uttered words, the communication's beneficiary unknown, "Its end."

In the protracted moment, lightning fast recognition.

What rattles under his left shoulder is the car body against the concrete.

He grips onto the car.

Both hands desperately squeeze the steering wheel, his face could be deformed because it is so rigid it hurts.

Away from the steering wheel!

This is completely unintelligible, uncustomary, one could say, unique. Its explanation is necessary—he's found it. The motorist once at Kerepes, as a third party came upon a serious collision, and with his brother-in-law lifted out of one of the cars overturned in the ditch, two injured persons. The more serious unconscious one was covered with blood, and his left leg was practically interwoven into the wheel. He freed the bloody leg and foot from between the spokes, the leg must have been broken in more places, because it bent like rubber.

The motorist thrust himself from the wheel, throws his hands on top of his head, hurls himself onto the seat. His leg—he jerks up his leg, or wants to jerk it up, he wants to curl up. There isn't a vestige in his consciousness

of the Kerepes experience, but unconsciously it could induce the unreflective person to his saving actions.

Horror, but still unchanging the lack of recognition of near death or fear of death.

Drawn out blaring, successive clattering sounds, scraping, jangling. The sense of up and down, left and right stops, his inner ear can't handle the rotations around three axles, a sequences of these things, will in all likelihood be detailed by the later site inspection and the evidence of witnesses—then a solid heavy crash, then surprisingly sudden quiet.

The motorist lies in the car, on his back. He feels as if he's on the seat.

He doesn't consider whether he's injured or not, whether he's conscious or not.

One could say he finds it natural, that he's conscious. One could say that nothing has any meaning for him.

The car could burst into flames.

He's conscious of this.

Irreparable damage.

He's conscious of this too.

He feels air near his head. Turning his head, he sees grass underneath himself. He thinks the door is the front seat's right-sided one. Lying on his back he pushes himself out. Every limb responds, moves, doesn't hurt. He accepts this as almost natural, or almost nothing. It's what is.

He moans once.

Struggles to his feet, takes a few steps. He struggles to the roadside. The embankment under the weeds is dry, slipping sand, his sandal is filled with dust. He climbs up, shakes out his sandal. Looks himself over. Objects hold his attention: sandals, suit, with a mechanical movement he dusts off his trouser leg, both of them.

A man in a white shirt rushes toward him.

"Are there others in the car?"

"I was alone," he says.

"Are you hurt?"

Two women approach. The motorist looks back at the ditch. He looks down on his car, which lies below, turned over, sideways, thin smoke or steam drifts upward from the rear. The motorist notices with surprise that the door, near the steering wheel, is open. He climbed out of there. This is so surprising that it is unconceivable. He thinks about the overturning, the spinning, he'd like to right the car. He taps his head, he feels disembodied. But he also feels that his head hurts on the outside, not inside.

From this he consciously deduced that he wasn't injured, that he's unscathed.

He doesn't wonder at this fact. And among the later ones this will not concern him.

"The end of the car," he says. He feels that his voice is dry and listless. Just the same physical material facts, stress, debilities occupy the mind in the moment following danger, as in the long, expanded, detail filled moment of peril. He feels no emotion. He sees two horrified women's faces in front of him. He can't understand their horror. Half-consciously emotional ideas begin to act as stimuli. Phone Nagykanizsa that they shouldn't wait. Call home to say he'll arrive back at an uncertain hour, nothing wrong, nothing wrong. Turn the car on its wheels. Take out the attaché case from the car, from the case the camera to take shots.

Later many will say certain details are absurd, abnormal.

The content within a moment of peril is absolutely normal, standard, like all chance. Shock and explanation are possible and frequent, later.

Translated by Laura Schiff

ÁGNES GERGELY

POEMS

BENEATH PANNONIA'S SKY

The road turns by the presshouse and a white
mud village greets me huddling to the right

I tread the hill roads polished blue and see
with an intruder's curiosity

no men about but trees and tidy lines
of humble homes with aerials and vines

past wine vaults and beneath Pannonia's sky
grey prophet, little donkey, troddles by

he waves back with a mother-of-pearl ear
the prosperous plebian class dwelled here

when carts of travelling merchants left a track
along these hills some five centuries back

calm bakers of brown loaves and honey-bread
they watched above the mounting thunderhead

a castle called with music for the dance
of brilliant Italian Renaissance

and where one of their carts would trundle by
new trade routes grew beneath Pannonia's sky

in his brown caftan wrapped around, one day
my own forefather might have come this way

and where I stand, he might have glanced and slowed
his pace to preach cautiously by the road

perhaps that other one, more sober, plain
made fancy saffian footwear by the lane

his wife, a tiny woman quick and round
kept constant guard against a hostile hound

the toddler played around her gathering
herbs from these very grounds and she would sing

their psalms and their tanned leathers' smell would fill
the air and travel far beyond the hill

surviving winters, with the gales they flew
and from the maggots' belly rose anew

these hills caress them softly like a shroud
they came unasked and gently like a cloud

they were, as I protect and hold to my
own land, protected by Pannonia's sky

both ways the road curves blue in endless span
so leave this land and run, run if you can.

EVENING PRAYER

I am so very, very good
as ancient kings and hares that nested
in fairy tales; in twilight, thugs
and coachmen leave me unmolested.

I'd be your roadside brook if you
should come from a lengthy journey tired.
For I'm so very, very good
as a gulp of water when desired.

Above the waves, beneath the waves,
I'd fall asleep with all escaping
my vision and let my eyelids be sealed
by peaceful flowers, white and gaping.

SIGN ON MY DOOR JAMB

In memoriam my father

I do not cherish memories
and those I have I do not safeguard.
I do not seek forgotten graveyards.
Bio-chemistry doesn't move me.

Yet at times like this towards November
as fog-damped windows seal my room
and I gasp for air and long for relief,
I sense your invisible rise
as from the waters of the mind
and odd gestures of yours re-emerge.

I sense your long and nervous fingers
arranging a Thermos flask and pocket knife
with the Bible and warm under clothes
and an old can opener in the gaping
green knapsack; and under the weightless load
you can carry, I sense your back's surprise.
I sense your departure, elegant tramp, from the house;
you'd never go away, you just set out,
and look back laughing, aged thirty-eight years,
and you nod and you gesture, *I'll soon return*
(tomorrow would have been your birthday)
while your tears dribble inwards whining
and you wave—and how you wave!

Sign on my door jamb, you've remained;
the bars, the bridge, the sludgy road,
the gorging of grass, the fatal empty weakness
are only freak inventions of the mind;
for I have lied, I often see you
beneath the stifling, low November sky;
you set out with me, you breathe, and your tears
I let your tears go dribbling down my throat;
and where it had fallen, the thin
cigarette struck from your mouth
has burned on a star ever since.

Translated by Thomas Land

IMRE SZÁSZ

WAITING FOR THE MAYFLOWER BUS

Pages from an Iowa Diary

The bus leaves at ten past and twenty to the hour from the back entrance of the Mayflower. It doesn't run after half past six in the evening or on Saturdays and Sundays. I get in, the driver punches my ticket and asks me whether it's as cold as this in winter back home in Poland.

The bus stops at all the more important university buildings. I get off before the bridge and walk through to the EPB, the English Philosophy building. The International Writing Program has six rooms here, a contribution from the university. I go up to the fourth floor and glance into the coffee room; at this time of day there are always a few writers around. As there are now: Shrikant, the small Indian poet, Indira Gandhi's P R man, one of the most cultured, sharpest witted and tongued members of the Program; Sergio, the drawling Brazilian with his wife, Mariza; Gelacio, the boy-bodied and boy-faced Philippine revolutionary; and through the open door I can see the two talkative charmers sitting in Hua-ling's room, Artur the grey Pole in his dark suit, and Arnost the Czech in his usual jeans and boots. Neither of them speaks very good English, but they talk all the same. You can hear Artur's whining voice and Arnost's hoarse rasp. Hua-ling is sitting facing them, smiling; when she sees me pass the door she sends a smile out to the corridor.

I go into the secretary's office to see whether I've got any letters. "Nothing", says Amanda by way of greeting. "You must be pinching them," I say. "I should have had at least two letters from Sophia Loren by now." Amanda sniggers dutifully. This is a routine ceremony. I dont's get many letters from home.

I go back to the coffee room, pour myself some coffee in a paper cup and mix in a spoonful of powdered milk. Dreadfully weak coffee, but hot. I delve among the newspapers: the Sunday edition of *The New York Times*, a week old *Life*, all kinds of magazines from *The New Yorker* to *The Atlantic Monthly*. Among them is a single copy of a four months old *Hungarian Foreign Trade*. I leaf through it to see a bit of Hungary, then put it down; I take a look at another paper and put that down too. I've no patience for reading.

Sipping my coffee I look at the posters. I look at them every single day, not really noticing them, without perceiving more than the colour and the words. A French Balzac poster, with Rodin's head of Balzac, a Polish film festival, a Venezuelan folk dance festival (or maybe a folklore sym-

posium). I always take a longer look at two of them: one shows the sideview of a naked girl in a stetson; her body is divided up like the diagrams of pork and beef in cookery books and marked: rump steak, chops, loin, belly. I don't know which part of me loves this poster: the amateur cook, the male or the cannibal. (Someone else must have liked it too because it disappeared later on.)

The other poster is a grim official announcement with the seal of the Civilian Defense Office in Washington. "Instruction to Patrons on Premises In Case of Nuclear Bomb Attack: Upon the first warning: 1. Stay Clear of all Windows. 2. Keep Hands Free of Glasses, Bottles, Cigarettes, etc. 3. Stand away from Bar, Tables, Orchestra, Equipment and Furniture. 4. Loosen Necktie, Unbutton Coat and any Other Restrictive Clothing. 5. Remove Glasses, Empty Pockets of all Sharp Objects such as Pens, Pencils, etc. 6. Immediately upon seeing the brilliant Flash of Nuclear Explosion, Bend over and Place your Head firmly between your Legs. 7. Then kiss your ass goodbye." Brought up in respect and holy reverence for authority, I take guilty and cheerful pleasure in this poster. Besides, it's that kind of nice, easy-going and efficient anti-war propaganda which we, fascinated by our rhetoric, cannot (and if we could, we wouldn't dare) bring off.

Underneath it, the back side of a poster: Tolly, the impulsive American-Greek put it there. Tolly suddenly jumped up one day, pulled out a discarded poster from under the table and wrote on the back of it: "What does it mean to be human? Answer in one sentence." The sentences are slowly mounting up. They are typical. Marilla, the pretty Brazilian translator who dresses like a London or New York model: "To be human means to be unselfish." Elliott, who was swept out of his marriage into a constant ecstasy of pansexuality by Marilla's love: "To be human is to make love." I like Shrikant's best: "To be human is to be inhuman." I toy with the idea of writing something myself. "Sorry, I've no personal experience." It's poor even as a piece of arrogance; I don't write anything.

I don't know why I came to the EPB. Just for the sake of coming probably, since I really can't expect a letter from anyone. Even so, as long as I live, I'll go on expecting those unexpected miracles that never come. A letter from someone—not from Sophia Loren of course, not even from a woman necessarily—which says that I... me... my... An undiscovered continent, I wait again and again for my discoverer. I think I would rather win my wordly goods on the lottery than buy them out of my royalties. Instead of my uncertain, perishable and questionable abilities I would have a stronger protector, luck. I would know "that an angel follows me sword in hand, she walks behind me, takes care of me and defends me in trouble," as Radnóti's poem puts it. Motionless and childishly I wait for this angel of luck, angel of miracles. Not quite motionless though: I go out to meet her at the EPB. Active catatonia.

Suddenly I don't know what I'm doing here. I stand up abruptly, almost in the middle of the sentence to which (my stammering has testified that, like a drowning man for the rope, I was reaching out for the last uttered word) I wasn't listening, though it was me doing the talking. "See ya", I say, trying to sound American, if for nothing else than because it's like the Hungarian *Szia*. I nod in a softer "Byebye" to Hua-ling who, in the attractive serenity of her miniskirt, is still presiding over Artur's and Arnost's flood of words. I sing out a fisherman's *Petri Heil* to Wan Kin-lau: with the other studious Chinese boy, Koo, he is flat out working away in the storeroom for gift books. With a Hungarian *Szervusz* I open the door on John Bátki who is in the process of brushing up translations of poems by Moshe Dor, the refined Israeli poet. Moshe's reddish beard sweeps about beside John's dark adolescent head.

After checking the mail shelf, delving among the pile of newspapers, saying Helloes here and there, once a week I attend Jack Leggett's fiction workshop. I'm surprised to find that I enjoy these creative workshop sessions, though I don't see very much point in them. You can only teach writing to a writer, and at Iowa University every year about a hundred and fifty would-be poets and novelists try to get their MFA or PhD in creative writing. The majority of them will never be writers. They'll probably end up teaching somewhere. Nobody knows how much bitterness is left in those that fall by the wayside.

There are a few students in the workshop for whom I breathe a prayer to the Muses. A chapter of Tom's novel—its music is immaculate. I discover here, in a foreign language, that when reading a manuscript or a book I always look for this intangible, unrepeatable and world-creating music on the first few pages. It's this music which, after a few paragraphs, tells you, not whether the novel or short story is good, but whether it can be good. It has to be homogeneous and indisputable. It means more that the mere style, more than the means of emotional effect. It is the writer's relationship to his work.

Then there is Carol's intelligent, sensitive dialogue; Tolly's undisciplined prose—which has more life experience in it than there is in the whole workshop; Elliott's suggestive but very narcissistic and loosely woven chapter of a novel. The others? There are some who write passably. Then there are the hopeless ones: the traditional hopeless ones and the avantgarde hopeless ones. Beneath the top range in American prose—which to my mind is the best in the world today—there are different strata, the thickness of which can't be determined from a distance; the innovators, the showmen, Barthelme, Brautigan, on a digestible—which means saleable—and worthy level; and below that, in the many often short-lived periodicals, the young champions of the wildest Expressionism, Surrealism, and other new and old modernism. I think Barthelme and, to a greater extent, Brautigan are not unlike Örkény; but how much better Örkény is in my opinion. He doesn't weave all his "one-minute stories" on the same loom as Brautigan does, weaving his amusing little stories on substitution. The old man isn't called John Smith, let's say, but Trout Fishing in America. The rest follows almost automatically.

Being fully aware of the uselessness of these seminars, I am nonetheless filled with an increasing desire to teach in a fiction workshop here in America. The feeling takes me by surprise: I never had any inclination towards educational activities. I feel that, for a while at least, I could do it quite well, even in a foreign language. And besides, in the attractively simple, informal and casual style of American lectures, which are a bit like social conversations, I could say a few things about European literature. My imagination is already active: what about a course on the "abstract realists", Dino Buzzati, Golding and others. It wouldn't be that difficult: scholarly preparation isn't a prerequisite for lecturers in the Writers' Workshop, and the *explication de texte* is replaced by "I reckon," and "I feel."

I don't know why it is that the knowledge of students of literature in the States is so often sketchy. Is the inadequacy of the teachers to be blamed, or the curriculum which leaves plenty of scope for whims, deviations, and randomness? I met a French major, teaching French in high school, who has never heard of Martin du Gard. Talking about twentieth century Hungarian literature, as a counterpoint to the social commitment of Móricz, I referred to the beautiful fate dramas of Thomas Hardy and mentioned some of Mark Twain's political pamphlets. At the end of my talk the professor's handshake was accompanied by a smile: "You don't imagine they're familiar with Hardy or those Mark Twain pamphlets, do you?" Denis Sinor, professor at Bloo-

mington, told me several anecdotes in this vein, the most remarkable being about a candidate getting his PhD in medieval Hungarian history without knowing a word of Latin. On the other hand, I'm told that the teaching of applied sciences is fifty years ahead of Europe.

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Even my laziness hasn't allowed me to become Americanized enough to go down by elevator. Descending on foot from the heavenly heights of the fourth floor, the faces and noticeboards become more and more unfamiliar. I have already left the corridors of the English Department and I go down into the depths of Philosophy, right to the ground floor. There a wide row of glass doors releases me into the campus world of trees and riverbank.

Diagonally opposite is the building of the Memorial Union; in between, trees, lawn, sportsground, railway embankment. I take the path by the river; true it only follows the Iowa river for a few yards, but even that's something. Before I get to the railway bridge I stop and look at the water. The current is deflected from the first pier of the bridge towards the middle of the river, then it swirls back into the eroded crescent of the bank. There are bushes in the water and stranded big dry branches. On the other bank, colourful targets, colourful clothes, colourful movement: students are practising archery on the green lawn. The scene is so unrealistically attractive and distant—though the river is only about a hundred metres wide—it's as if it were a film or a colour slide, as if I or they weren't physical, lifesize reality.

I watch for a while, then cross under the embankment. Drawings and slogans on the concrete wall—mostly political.

To my right, on the fenced sportsfield in front of the Memorial Union, girls are learning to play golf, under the supervision of an instructor, lined up with the discipline of a gym-class. Fifty clubs swing all at once above the shoulder and sweep down to hit the imaginary ball. At the far end of the field boys are practising lacrosse—a game completely unknown to me. On the lawn behind the Memorial Union three boys throw a light plastic discus to each other: the discus, as in a dream, arches almost in slow motion into the air.

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When I am under so much of a shadow that I can't enjoy the river, or the colour film decorativeness of the archers; when I can't read what's written on the wall of the underpass because I'm trying to decipher the writing within me with such anxious and painful dedication that every writing on the wall of the soul is raised to a *mene tekel*—though there's probably nothing more there than a silly scatological couplet or a glum pussy or just a laconic "daft": or when the path beside the river is bumpy with trodden snow and ice, then, instead of the diagonal of the path, I take the right angle of the streets, keeping the sportsground to my left and drawing into the picture the tennis courts on the other side of the street which in good weather are crowded with beginners. (Sporting facilities are marvellous even in a small town like this.)

I enter the building of the Memorial Union. For a moment I stop, indecisive: after all, I haven't come here with any set purpose in mind, at most I'm driven by boredom and restlessness. I go down to the basement, take a glance at the bowling alley —most of the lanes are full; I loiter without intent in front of the notice-board: on bits of paper pinned up with drawing pins car owners seek passengers (and someone with whom to split petrol costs); the carless seek rides for Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays, to Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis; the roomless seek rooms and the hard-up someone to share their apartment.

Further on, around the tables, it's a mass of litter, mainly paper cups and cigarette butts. The lecture rooms in the EPB too get

strewn with paper cups and butts during the day. In the evenings, however, the cleaners arrive pushing a huge trolley packed with detergents and cleaning equipment and clean up the place with no complaints and no swearing—nothing audible anyway. The first time I saw them enter a lecture room after a late seminar, I cowered, with a homebred sense of guilt, waiting for the natural and inevitable thunderclap. At least a tenth of the butts were mine, proving my lack of respect for hygiene, public morals, the simple workers, and the basic requirements of human behaviour generally. No thunderclap was forthcoming though: cleaners in the States aren't authority, nor do they try to fulfil educational functions.

The butts and paper cups indicate the presence of a snack bar, not that you can't find paper cups all over the place thanks to the ubiquitous soft drink automats. You can get three or four hot dishes, pies and pastries, soft drinks, coffee and of course hot dogs and lousy hamburgers in the snack bar, which is open practically all day. The cafeteria on the second floor is only open at lunch time and till seven in the evening. The choice there is much wider, but I wouldn't exactly call the food good or cheap by student standards. There is also a real restaurant in the Union, with a sophisticated menu, waitress service and linen tablecloths. You don't see many students in there.

I wander up to the TV room and sit down in the last row of chairs. I get up right away: I don't know why I sat down in the first place. Even my skin is sick of these weepy-cheery comedy shows. My intellectual sluggishness has found a happy refuge here in the Westerns and thrillers, making excuses for itself by pointing out that this is only to make up for what it was deprived of in its youth by history and what was impossible to make up for later on back home, cowboy films and thrillers being banned in those days. Something looms up from pre-historic times: Tom Tyler, Z, the black rider, the stuffy little cinema near the station in Kaposvár, the usherette smothering us with scent from her atomizing machine, which was like the Flytox sprayer at home, and the hissing as the hero and heroine kissed. That's all I remember. The Westerns are mostly rather poor; the short, realistic crime films somewhat better. The longer ones, which are often mixed with the most common and naive psychopathology or science fiction, I dislike intensely. Their improbability denies me the chance of identifying with them and irritates my sense of reality. Simple, straightforward, realistic lies for me: let the same thing happen for the hundredth time, so that I can go on interminably being the pursuer, the pursued, the attacker, the attacked, and can always be the winner in the end, clicking on the handcuffs or drawing my Colt. Alienation on such a base level, just as on higher levels, alienates me from my reading, watching self, and not by shocking me into thought, but by pushing the magic back into its material existence: turning the book into paper and print, the theatre into painted and unconvincing pretension. In fiction, if it's good, I can take the craftsman's pleasure in the wittiness, boldness or elegance of the technique, and that to some extent reestablishes my role of co-creator.

There were a lot of things I envied in the States: the telephone system, the efficiency, the permanently working elevators, the open-necked shirt casualness of lecturers and public figures, the new architecture of office buildings and factories and the attractive white wooden houses. Most of all, however, I envied the universities and these Memorial Unions at the State universities, of which ours at Iowa was rather a modest example compared, for instance, to the one at Bloomington, with its gigantic, English-castle-like proportions, where wood panelling, tapestry and imitation period furniture carry on the tune started up by the name "Tudor" given to the dining-room. In our Memorial Union there was only a very small stationery and bookshop, whereas in Bloomington you could have browsed for hours in the Union book-

shop, just as in the round, casematelike bookshop in the grim German-Aztek building complex of the University of Illinois in Chicago.

It wasn't just the affluence and practicality of these recreation centres that I would have liked for Szeged, Pécs, Debrecen, it was even more the relaxed, friendly bustle, the life. They were always of students eating, talking, playing organizing debates, concerts, exhibitions. It was this that gave content to their technical and organizational facilities.

As I say, I looked enviously at this affluence and attractiveness with the longing of the moneyless window shopper. The beneficiaries didn't appreciate it anything like so much. The crack of library windows breaking, the chaos of rooms turned upside down in Memorial Unions, was an indication, at certain universities, that for some of the students all this clever comfort was a symbol of materialism, capitalism and the establishment. I hate political vandalism; I can't help feeling there is more paranoia in it than politics; more desire to attract attention and unreasoning passion than purposefulness. On hearing these stories of vandalism in universities, timeless, narrow-minded and conservative annoyance burst out of me: "They've got it far too good." Coming from countries which are the beggars, peasants, unskilled labourers, petty officials of the great material order of the world: from India to the Philippines, from Latin America, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, we just gazed at this squandering of the rich. The political passions of some of the guest writers were maybe switched on to this wavelength, but not their reason. For centuries we have witnessed so much destruction of matter and work that we couldn't accept these destructive demonstrations as intelligent and noble. Looking at these gestures from the gate of our historical poverty, they were like throwing a new loaf of bread into the mud in a Hungarian village of the thirties: stupid and criminal.

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When the wanderlust doesn't leave me at the Memorial Union, I climb up the hill on top of which the Old Capitol building stands and get into downtown Iowa City. It's a small town centre, offering only limited possibilities to chase away my boredom. I could have a glass of beer or bourbon in one of the cubicles of Donelly's, where, judging by age, the local population mixes about half and I half with the students. I could go to the Pub, which only in name recalls the English national institution. Or I could go to the Mill, the Hungarian Coffee House of Iowa City, where local literary and art celebrities gather round the scrubbed tables eating spaghetti or drinking beer, or both, and where, in the evenings, a black musician sings folksongs to the guitar. If, on the other hand, I hanker for modern sophistication—the ideals of which are identical from Szeged to New York, though not the costs involved —I could enter the dimly-lit, black and red upholstered, crowded little bar of the Airliner. This really is the haunt of the young. I could say, doubly foreign territory. My outfit from a distance might disguise me: cord Levis, chukka boots, brightly coloured knitted cardigan with a suede front, black turtle neck shirt (maybe we have got to the stage where, for the first time, the ideals of the young influence the old even in fashion), but my relatively short hair is covered by the insignia of my foreignness: the worn and comfortable navy blue mock French beret. The stubbornly preserved, ridiculous flag of my independence.

I couldn't be more of a foreigner than I am here. "Every life after fifty is a slower or faster death agony," says one of Gyula Illyés's poems. And even before fifty: one's body is preparing for the agony for about ten years, becoming more simple, discarding its ornaments, the colours, strands of hair, flashing white teeth, quickness of brain and muscles. And the agony itself, statistically speaking, may last twenty to twenty-five years—quite youthfully in favourable circumstances. But while medical science has extended our ex-

pectation of life and enabled us to preserve to some extent our intellectual, sporting and procreative capacities, other branches of sciences render, if not exactly useless, then certainly inferior, this time of grace of collected experiences and wisdom. Accelerating time. In America it isn't all that easy for a skilled labourer over forty-five to find a new job; for the businessman of fifty, bankruptcy is an earthquake which he literally only escapes with his life. The research scientist is at the peak of his efficiency at forty-five, the industrial researcher around forty-eight, and from then on it drops rather steeply. The sports champion is, if not the hero, then the representative of our age: his development, in its concentrated one-sidedness, is more up-to-date than any other education—it almost rivals the efficiency of modern animal breeding. Fifteen-year-old wonder swimmers, twenty-year-old athlete kings—there are no forty-year-old fencing champions nowadays because forty-year-old nerves and muscles can no longer compete with younger ones, and experience no longer makes up for speed. Our life has become longer, but its fullness has been shortened—if we regard life as a competitive sport, that is, or measure it by the efficiency of production.

Approaching my age of inferiority, I feel an outcast and sentenced to death in the Airliner. But part of my being an outcast—the national part—is at the same time a consolation: time back home hasn't accelerated to such an extent: young dynamism isn't yet among the primary requirements. And in literature—which after all is my field, so that's where I should measure myself—and the arts, not even in the States do they publish statistics which start shepherding us at fifty towards a deserted forest clearing, a rusty knife in our belts, a few days' food tied in our handkerchiefs. Back at home anyway history has produced a curious swapping round of roles between the age groups. The Hungarian avant-garde—or, to use a less compromised word, innovators—in fiction doesn't mean young writers, but people around fifty: Mándy, Mészöly, Hernádi. More than likely as a result of retarded development or stifled self-assertion. Moreover, except in poetry, it is in our tradition to regard age as merit, the double figure expression of rich experience. Actors and actresses are thirty-five to forty before they can play the teenage Juliet and the adolescent Romeo. So my consolation lies in my métier and my country where, even if I won't become a patriarch or a member of the council of elders, I can believe in my usefulness without self-deception to the end of my life. Society also believes in it, as shown by the awards presented to mark fiftieth, sixtieth, eightieth birthdays, which unwittingly regard as a merit the fact the award-winner has reached this respectable age. And is it not indeed a merit that, killing ourselves with war, gas chambers, prisons, politics, heart attacks, nervous breakdowns, and alcohol, there are nonetheless some who manage to live so long?

This is where my wanderings end. There is nowhere to go from here; streets of residential areas stretch into the distance for miles. There are no shopwindows, no cinemas in that direction, only white houses and churches—there are thirty-five churches in Iowa City, more than one to every thousand inhabitants. I could reach the modern shopping centres on the outskirts of town with an hour's forced march. But why should I go there: I am in no need right now of boots, or frankfurters, or a shotgun.

I stand at the corner of Iowa Avenue and wait for the gaudy Mayflower bus.

INTERVIEW

AN HOUR WITH THE MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE

Imre Dimény talks about his life and ideas

The flood of factual writings on contemporary rural life has turned into a dribble lately. Human and social conflicts in great number, all suitable for presentation and analysis, gushed forth as a result of the process of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The present calm after the consolidation of agricultural producers' co-operatives apparently gives no particular impetus to further voyages of discovery in this field. Is it possible that this world in turmoil should lack in mental strife even in rural areas? This is what I asked the Minister when I called on him recently.

My first question to Imre Dimény, Minister of Agriculture and Food Production was whether we can speak of what used to be called a peasant question at all ten years after the organization of agricultural producers' co-operatives was completed?

Imre Dimény: Using the expression in the connotation accepted by Marxist terminology the peasant question was solved long ago. The division of estates and the falling apart of the feudal and capitalist systems restored the peasantry to its rights and laid the political and economic foundations of its rise. The socialist transformation of the village should also be looked on as revolutionary change: the cooperatives offer scope for a steady improvement in the peasant way of life and for the creation of an up-to-date agriculture. The peasantry today is a part of society enjoying full rights, one allied to the working class, that approves and supports our aims and carries out its duties. All this does not mean that no mistaken or obsolete views survive among the rural classes; or that other sections of society do not exaggerate or show bias in their judgement of the peasantry. Certain differences in educational standards, financial standing, self-consciousness and group interests play a part. Those who lack information or the proper perspective are prone to judge taking a partial view, or on the basis of superficial phenomena.

Éva Katona: I suppose you are referring to those who say the peasantry is too well off?

D.: Yes, that as well, though I could quote remarks with quite the opposite intent; remarks that express a dissatisfaction with the quantity of material benefits and cultural goods made available to the peasantry.

K.: How then does the peasantry 'do' today?

D.: Certainly not too well. But at long last they are given their proper reward for hard work done in difficult conditions. All that was done to improve their working and living conditions increased their appetite for work. The gain was a double one, they are better off and more food is produced for home consumption and export.

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K.: As a housewife, I am well aware of this. But let me go on: Can we assume that the particular way in which the cooperative movement developed and succeeded in this country—that is the way the common and household plots are treated as integrated units, going as far as modernizing the latter using state subsidies—is a special Hungarian kind of socialist agriculture?

D.: No, there's nothing like that. In the course of the socialist reorganization of agriculture we went back to Leninist principles and we're still acting in accordance with them, the principles that is, and not fixed patterns. This also means that we allowed certain traditions and pecularities to assert themselves in their proper place.

K.: Could you tell us some more about this? Strangely enough we know the general principles better than the way they are applied in this, our own country. And yet the vitality of otherwise valid Marxist doctrines depends on the degree to which they can be successfully implemented within this or that particular national framework. In what way then do Hungarian peasant traditions find expression in the new agrarian structure?

D.: We respect the peasant's insistence on the ownership of land. This was acknowledged not only by the fact that we distributed land after the Liberation, we did not nationalize it. We did not wash away the differences in property types after setting up the cooperatives either. They pay rent to their members according to the amount of land each person joined with. The modern form of the traditional care for the elderly is the age annuity. I can well remember what was done before the change: an old peasant proprietor did not, while alive, transfer his property to the children, he only allowed them the use of it, and they, in turn, took care of him. This is done by the cooperative now, with the difference that the state extended such care to cover all the elderly members. The have-nothing farm labourers or cottars of old could only share their privations with their aged parents.

K.: How much money does a member of a co-operative make?

D.: In middling or better cooperatives an average of 2,000 forints a month; in the weaker ones, where things are tough, around 1,500 forints. This is supplemented by the income derived from household plots.

K.: Are the two together in excess of the average income of wage or salary earners?

D.: No, it is not quite as much, on the other hand village people spend less on food and the costs of town comforts are not a burden on their purse. But it is true, they have to spend more on things around the house. All in all it can be said that the situation of agriculture and the peasantry are pretty much in equilibrium; the relation of productivity and income accords with the interests of the country and those of individuals as well.

K.: Some are inclined to dispute this.

D.: Not the experts familiar with the facts. There is no doubt, however, that some take too low and others too high a view of the importance of agriculture and of the peasantry, though they seldom speak out openly. Such views are rooted in history, in emotional prejudices that are still effective, and they are occasionally nourished by jealousy as well.

K.: The tight scope of this interview does not really allow for a detailed examination and analysis of the problem. I should therefore like to ask you to do no more than broadly outline the essence of these ideas.

D.: One of these extremist views argues that the economic standards of a country are determined by its industrial strength only, drawing the conclusion that industrial growth must be stimulated even at the expense of agriculture. This was voiced at one time in the slogan that expressed a wish to turn our country into "a land of iron and steel". Such notions do not exist today, but here and there are traces in a sort of economic thinking that shoves agriculture and the peasantry into the background. The other, equally unsound, view is that the climate being Hungary's

cheapest raw material, so to speak the country's largest capital resource, Hungary could successfully compete on world markets with agricultural products only. The Party properly determined what had to be done. Five-year plans and long-term ideas prescribe the expansion of all sectors of the economy, though certainly not in a mechanical way. Industry grows faster, especially the more efficient industries. The share of agriculture in gross national production decreases but the quantity of what is produced goes up. This is fully justified, if we keep in mind that—not even mentioning contractual foreign trade obligations—one out of every two forints spent in home markets is devoted to food, sweets and drink. However much the structure of consumption might change, the importance of agriculture and the food-processing industry will not diminish.

K.: We have come to a sensitive point. The question is: Who is going to do all the work? The village population is decreasing and growing old.

D.: We have to accept the reduction in number and ratio of those employed in agriculture. Such a tendency is present in every industrial country with a highly developed agriculture. I will not quote examples from elsewhere, let us stay in our own backyard. Twenty years ago half of all those employed worked in agriculture but produced 35 per cent less than the 22 per cent of wage-earners employed in agriculture today. This proportion is computed to decline to 14–16 per cent by 1985, but production itself will rise considerably.

K.: What guarantees have we?

D.: Those that apply to the rest of the world: mechanization, the extensive use of chemicals, genetic improvements, modern work organization. These recipes have stood the test.

K.: Aren't we deluding ourselves by multiplying what can be done with conditions that still await realization? We are prone to do that sort of thing.

D.: I am not speaking of dreams, but of facts! Of present average crops, for instance, produced by Hungarian agriculture year after year and not as a result of miracles or luck. In 1938 the average yield of wheat was 1630 kg per hectare, last year it was, 3,100 kg. That of maize did not reach 2,300 kg in 1938 while last year it was about 4,800 kg. The sugar-beet crop was 21,960 kg per hectare in 1938, 33,010 kg last year. Possibilities are already palpable facts in a number of cooperatives. The state farm in Enying produced 6,240 kg of wheat per hectare, the Dózsa cooperative of Tószeg 7,350 kg of maize per hectare; the Szabadság cooperative of Újszász 62,300 kg of sugar-beet, the state farm of Csány 35,000 kg of tomatoes, the state farm of Balatonboglár 14,000 kg of grapes per hectare. These results were not obtained on paper!

K.: I must admit to being a layman, these figures really take me back. It is well-known thought that large investments are needed for the modernization of production in agriculture as well. Still I am told that agricultural investment declined in the current, Fourth Five Year Plan compared with the previous one.

D.: The Third Five Year Plan was of special importance for direct investment in agriculture; during that period we spent huge sums on development. True, in the present planning stage investments have declined but one cannot draw the proper conclusions from this single figure. The fact is that the more developed a country's agriculture is the bigger its demand for industrial products. Did you know that 50 per cent of the output of the Hungarian chemical industry is to the order of agriculture? When industry is expanded agriculture is being modernized at the same time. The thousands of millions earmarked for the petrochemical programme, the growth of the Tisza Chemical *Kombinat* and the motor and vehicle industries will all strengthen the industrial infrastructure of agriculture.

K.: We got back to the beginning, to the question: Who is going to operate the

machines, apply the chemicals and generally implement the new technologies and innovations in agriculture?

D.: Our population problems are great indeed, these must be dealt with. But machines are being operated already, modern technologies and methods of work organization are already being applied. Agriculture now differs from what used to be not only because small plots of land were changed into big farming units, and beautiful cottages replaced the lean-tos of old. Some time ago—perhaps you still remember those days—experience and hard work were enough to grow crops or raise animals. By now the character of husbandry has changed; the role of knowledge acquired in training is growing. Training has been pushed for some time and the fruits of this work are now ripening. In 1960 only 5,328 technicians were employed by agricultural cooperatives, now there are 25,400. In the same year 1,762 cooperative members were university or college graduates —now there are 12,393. Almost 192,000 skilled men and women are now at work in state-owned and cooperative farms. In 1960 there were 2,109 chairmen of cooperatives without specialized training, now there are only 209.

K.: What is the average age of cooperative members?

D.: Fifty-three, counting those in receipt of retirement annuities, without them it is 42.

K.: Many old people live in villages, we know that. But how many young cooperative members are there?

D.: According to the latest figures available to me there are about 94,000 cooperative members who are under twenty-seven. This is 19,300 more than in 1960.

K.: I supposed the number of young peasants was gradually going down.

D.: Industry, construction work, transport, many services and urban life itself continue to attract the young. In recent years there was a certain flow-back. Young men returned particularly to the best cooperatives; those who had trouble learning a new trade and those who could not find their feet in town. It is generally true that the young flock mostly to places where work has some sort of industrial character. A great deal still has to be done to get them to stay in the villages. Working conditions must be improved there as well, as most educational, entertainment and social facilities. Many cooperatives are trying to find the best methods, not a few have the necessary money, and give the problem the attention it deserves. Let me mention the village of Detk as an outstanding example. There the cooperative virtually took over the village's adult education duties, treating it as a section of its own activities, financing and directing local cultural and sporting events.

K.: What is going to happen to the villages which cannot compete? From which the young keep on moving away?

D.: This process has started and continues. We may feel sad about the fate of those who live in depopulated villages, we try to help them but we must make our arrangements reckoning with the concentration of certain settlements. This is an economic necessity; it is impossible to civilize all the villages according to the standards of this age. Romantics, most of whom live in cities, want to keep every village and every nook and corner of the countryside. They do not face the fact that cultivation of certain areas simply does not pay; there are regions with a very low capacity for maintaining a population. It is obvious that old people will not move, they stick to their accustomed environment. But the young who are able and willing to work cannot be forced to go through what their parents did before them just to earn their daily bread. All who work want to do well and increase. We develop the larger villages since there everybody gets somewhere.

K.: A well-known proposition of Marxist economics is that small workshops or holdings "give birth to capitalism every hour". I am interested to find out how this proposi-

tion is modified under our conditions. We are building socialism, but small holdings continue to exist to no small measure.

D.: The number of people who own personal property has certainly gone up since the Liberation. First we all had our equal share of "nothing", now some have more and some less, depending on the work we do. The acquisition of personal property is one way in which requirements are met. These are durable consumer goods, that is the tools of comfort, generally goods that cannot be capitalized.

K.: Too true. But a piece of property can be an instrument of comfort or a means of production, depending on the way it is used. Household plots, pigs and chickens, private cars used to take goods to market, can all be employed as means of production.

D.: This question cannot be discussed apart from its social context. Hungarian economic activity is regulated by strict rules, precisely defined requirements, and measures restricting undesirable tendencies. Limitless acquisition is prevented by penal provisions in the appropriate acts; there is no way in which wage-labour can be exploited, and both production and selling are, in the last resort, controlled by state instrumentalities. Local public opinion does its share to ensure that socialist norms are respected; you can count on that moral factor by now. And yet, one must admit that some problems remain. One of them is that someone financially better off at the start stays in a more advantageous position for some time, and gets further than others who lack reserves.

K.: That's how things are, and not only in the village. The outlines of a solution seem all the more obscure since both the disadvantages and the advantages snowball as they are inherited.

D.: You would be right if society stood idly by and did not endeavour to redress the differences. Financial support for handicapped co-operatives, big communal investments, credits for modernizing the household plots, grand-scale training of the young—all these are ways of ensuring that incomes do not express circumstances but work done, that is a real performance.

K.: When it comes to education and culture the handicaps will not disappear just like that.

D.: That's true, but then there is something in our lives which may substantially diminish differences that derive from the environment. What I have in mind is television. The presence of a complex machine in itself can alter and form people and their way of thinking. That owing to television, there is no such thing any more as "back o'beyond", that School Television Programmes are available to children everywhere, is one of the greatest achievements of civilization. You may interject saying what you and others think about certain objectionable television programmes but compare instead the scope of general knowledge available to young villagers who are promptly informed of all the major world events, with the position of peasant children of earlier times.

K.: They cannot be compared. But I think that those of old felt more intensely and their imagination was more powerful. Many of the present lot live by a faith in the omnipotence of technology. They look down on parents unfamiliar with modern ways.

D.: Greater know-how has never been the basis of parental authority. Every generation has done better than the previous one in one way or another, and added something new to common knowledge and experience. Look at me, now I have really got on in the world, I hold an Academy Doctorate in Agricultural Sciences, and am a minister, a member of the government. My father is an uneducated peasant, now drawing a co-operative annuity, my mother was barely literate. I hold them high and respect them not for their education but for their human qualities. They loved and protected us children, and brought us up as honest men and women. They knew when tenderness was called for, and you had to be strict. My mother gave birth to sixteen children and raised nine of them. If a parent

loses his authority in the home, let him not blame deficiencies in his education.

K.: You have brothers and sisters then?

D.: There are seven of us left. Five are members of a cooperative.

K.: Then you get a great deal of first-hand information about the land through your family.

D.: I prefer direct experience. I frequently and gladly travel around the countryside. Apart from my official obligations my aversion to city life also prompts me to be on my way as much as possible.

K.: Do you often read literary works on rural conditions?

D.: I am regularly notified about published books with rural subjects, and my attention is specially drawn to the important ones. I read those.

K.: What do you think of them, generally?

D.: I think writers still describe village life in a one-sided and somewhat superficial manner. Some of the books published today do not tell you much about the character-shaping effects of socialism. To give an example, though the old master-servant relationship has not vanished altogether peasants have become more relaxed and self-confident, they walk with their heads unbowed. Some mourn the ancient peasant customs. They forget that, amidst ancient customs and the objects that go with them, one can only lead an obsolescent life. Writers still owe us a portrayal of the different stages of the present transformation of the countryside. They go out there only for a shorter or longer stay; they draw their knowledge from reports and impressions gathered from their relatives and acquaintances. They have insufficient empathy, they do not see the peasant way of life from the inside, unlike Péter Veres, Pál Szabó or my own late master Ferenc Erdei in their time. There is talk of scholarships for writers who have the inclination, talent and necessary staying power for a profound study of rural life.

K.: A personal question if I may. Do you consider yourself to be more of a politician or rather a professional man, an expert with authority in a particular field?

D.: These two requirements cannot be distinguished at the ministerial level. I am a professional agricultural scientist, I am passionately attached to my profession, and treat it is a calling. I love my job of course, but I felt happiest as Chief Agronomist of a county, both in Szabolcs-Szatmár, and in Hajdú-Bihar County, and while working on my doctorate.

K.: I read your *Mezőgazdaságunk és a műszaki fejlesztés* (Our Agriculture and Technological Developments). I was astonished by its unusual readabily.

D.: It is not my doctoral dissertation, only its essence intended for the general public. I have been told it is going to be reprinted soon. I am glad since I did all I could to make its message clear for all concerned and not only those with special qualifications.

K.: As far as I can tell you do not appear to be riddled with anxiety, and yet no small responsibility rests on your shoulders. Are you never alarmed by the thought that something you did was not as good as it might have been.

D.: I am a quiet sort of man; perhaps I even appear phlegmatic to those who take a superficial view. But temper has not much to do with either character or ability. The deepest lying cause of my well-balanced attitude is the trust I put in men. That has always been there at the bottom of the way I see things. I am firmly convinced that we are born good and that most of us are men of goodwill. You ask whether this leads to many disappointments. I can honestly say that such has rarely happened. Of course we must do our best to ensure that circumstances should not force anybody to harm others. I also try to do my duty but realize full well that I cannot be at the top of my form all day and every day, doing work of ministerial standard. And yet this is what I should do, the papers put before me are not graded; each of them is the most important for someone. A competent staff is of considerable help.

K.: Can nothing incense you?

D.: One thing only can make me really angry and that is viciousness, intrigue, the calculated pretence of activity, or bumptiousness—in other words, lack of character. Sometimes I come across that sort of thing in my work. If I catch somebody behaving like a cad, I warn him first. One or two similar offences, and the person in question can be sure of finding himself somewhere else within a very short time. As far as I am concerned character counts far more than cleverness, and it is my firm belief that in the long run the greatest knowledge does not mean a thing if the person who has it is not straight. As I said before it gets on my goat when someone behaves in a rascally manner, but I keep a hold of myself, I do not lose self-control. Raising one's voice gives an advantage to the other fellow and I have no intention of granting that to those I am arguing with, my opponents, or anyone I happen to be angry with right then.

K.: A rare quality in a leader!

D.: What matters is to care for those that follow us, the replacements. There are many talented young men and they must be given the green light. They are not only keen on the job, having done their homework but more receptive and open than we are. And there's sensitivity and vanity in those of us who are fifty and over. We think our life's work is in danger if we have to rewrite a proposition we formulated earlier. But the constant reappraisal of our objectives and ideas is unavoidable if we do not want to get stuck in the mud. Hungary is a small country, her territory and population are not large but following a specific turn of events the country was accorded an important role. Self-esteem and the expectations of other nations oblige Hungarians not to rest on their laurels. Let us incessantly seek the new and the better, and explore to the full the great opportunities inherent in the socialist system.

ÉVA KATONA

SURVEYS

PÁL MIKLÓS

LITERATURE AND THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

If we ask ourselves whether there is a future for literature, we could somewhat cynically answer: it depends on whether there is any literature in the future. The question and answer only seem funny to those who, in ignorance or defiance, set at nought the alarming phantasms showered upon us daily by the authors of Utopias and writers of scholarly theses. And it is regarded as meaningless by those who find comfort in those optimistic and reassuring prophecies which many, on the contrary, believe to be outdated. To us these reassuring prophecies take the shape of a golden age to come—the prospect of communism—and, frankly, these rays of hope seem to recede increasingly into a far distant future, set against the immediate anxieties of the negative Utopias, confirmed by the symptoms of surfeit in highly developed industrial societies, and the much too real facts of environmental pollution.

In my search through present-day Hungarian literature, which is rather short on science fiction, I am forced to fall back on such negative Utopias as Tibor Déry's novel, *Mr. G. A. in X** or *Epepe* by Ferenc Karinthy.** The wanderings of Mr. G. A. through the vast "scrapyard" epitomizes the failure of the scientific-technological revolution and the consumer society, while the city in Karinthy's novel with its unknown and indecipherable language typifies the nightmare of bankrupt communications. Clarke's novel, *2001: a Space Odyssey*, and its filmed version actually warn of the dangers of the machine revolting against man, while *Kyberiada*, the series of short stories by Lem the Polish author lays stress on the fact that in the coming age of technological perfection and omniscience we shall continue to reproduce the same human weaknesses and ignominies that have besmirched our past and present.

I can indeed also cite the legion of scientists—as, for example, the authors of the report of the Club of Rome—who predict an early end of mankind as a whole if we do not arrest the present compulsive rate of production and development, and the destruction of nature which all characterize our age. But then again I can cite, in addition to the apologists of capitalism, a Hungarian economist who insists that development necessarily produces its own remedies for its destructive and damaging by-effects. And I can glance through the daily and weekly papers continuously reporting wonderful inventions revolutionizing this, that and the other on the one hand, and recounting their disheartening and devastating effects on all sorts of other things on the other hand, even occasionally—making all allowances for the sensational dress it is given—amounting to damage on a war scale.

All these apprehensions are crowned by

* See the section published in No. 10 of *The N.H.Q.*

** See No. 43 of *The N.H.Q.*

contemporary voices prophesying the demise of the arts, or terrifying us with the threat of an end to reading, or the alphabet, or indeed, human language itself.

These negative Utopias, phantasms and frightening reports naturally also cast their shadow over the question whether literature has a future. It is due to that shadow that the question is raised at all. Twenty years ago it would had made no sense; whereas today, and precisely on account of the shadow, it is asked not only by humourists but—in a somewhat more precise formulation—by futurologists and sociologists as well. The future of literature depends on whether it will be able to satisfy a real social demand, that is, whether there will be such a social demand, whether there will be the social conditions to satisfy it—and whether there will be a literature to undertake this task.

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We need not here go into details of the whole mechanism of the scientific-technological revolution which will determine the face of the future—that is the taks of a specialized literature. There is, however, no harm in calling attention to two points, if only because they are hardly ever drawn to our attention by the negative Utopias or by the news in the papers, even by the studies of capitalist experts.

One of them is to discern the essential scope of the scientific-technological revolution, which is fundamental of its interpretation. I believe the scientific-technological revolution (henceforth abbreviated STR) forms one aspect of that historical revolutionary process which constitutes the most important reality of the twentieth century (and what we usually call world revolution). To draw a parallel: socialist revolution would be a one-legged giant without the STR. The other follows: we need a socialist STR, and have to think in terms of this fact. Obviously it will be realized differently in places where the socialist revolution might be temporarily delayed because of it.

Different populations, of course, and the different geographical and economic potentialities of the various socialist countries create a great diversity in the implementation of the STR. The Soviet Union, which is one of the pillars of the STR among the great powers, faces different problems from Hungary's, which can hardly become a "scientific great power", no matter how much some of our atomic physicists cherish the idea.

II

However sceptical we may be about the vogue of futurology, it is still incumbent on us to fumble for the outlines of the future. We know by now that it is not enough to state what we want from the future; we also have to watch for those signs which do not depend on us and our plans alone.

Among the technological and social factors governing the structure and dynamics of modern culture we must first examine *production technology*, or more exactly, the human aspect of it. The STR involves a technique of unremitting renewal and redisposition, and the constant introduction of new machines, methods and technologies; such a technology, however, requires a special kind of new manpower. In the first place it requires a higher level of basic training (many suggestions have been made to extend the length of schooling), as well as constant refresher courses and on occasion shifts to completely new technologies, or indeed, to new trades (permanent learning has by now become an essential of adult education). This factor, however, hardly holds out an encouraging prospect for art and literature: intensified professional requirements and prolonged vocational training and self-education obviously reduce interest in literature and the amount of leisure time which can be devoted to it.

On the other hand the amount of *leisure time* available is increased by a more highly developed technology and by automatization as well as by the growing number of machines

and their releasing role. It is also increased by the rise in the *level of civilization:* the acceleration and improvement of traffic, the mechanization, automation and better organization of household tasks and the paraphernalia of everyday existence in general. Nonetheless, present experience has shown that an increase in leisure time does not necessarily imply growing cultural demands. On the one hand, many people, in Hungary as well, use their spare time for additional work in order to acquire the new and modern commodities of civilization and on the other, the spread of mechanization involves the risk of inertia. So that increased leisure produces a proclivity to literature is at the best doubtful: whether more spare time will be left for literature than in the past or present will not be decided by the above factors.

Again, the rapid development of *urbanization* is an ambiguous phenomenon for more than one reason. The growth of the cities means that an increasing number of city-dwellers profit from increasing comfort, extended cultural services, theatre, cinema, libraries and so forth. But it also means many of the other attractive facilities for entertainment offered by city life: and it is an open question whether people will opt for libraries rather than for music-halls or bingo. And finally urbanization also intensifies the city-dwellers' craving for nature, for week-end cottages or excursions. The symptoms of what is known as the "second home" are also perceptible in Hungary, even though Budapest is still far removed from the stage of urban bankruptcy. The fourth migration reintegrates the role of the village, of living in the country—but again at the expense of leisure (and thus of literary culture).

We know more perhaps about the advantages and disadvantages of *mass communication* than other media, since we are already enjoying both of its aspects. We know that it greatly facilitates the dissemination of information, expanding and accelerating its chosen field of activity; the chronological ranking of daily newspapers, radio and television becomes reversed when the ranking is considered in terms of efficiency; the first place is then held by the effect of the image on the TV screen, which in itself appears to be unable to develop into a cultural factor and remains, indeed, no more than a means of mass entertainment (or indeed mass manipulation). Television, and to a certain extent radio, carries culture to the most remote corners of the globe, but regarded as an exclusive source of culture, what it offers is a superficial pseudo-culture (and the complacency which goes with it). At the same time, the films on television, the music on radio and the illustrated magazines together provide diversions which decrease the scope of traditional literature to such an extent that those who grow up on them practically unlearn to speak read or write.

Another consequence of the systems of mechanical mass communication—which is also two-pronged in its effect but asserts itself in a more complex manner—is what is known ad the *information explosion.* Printed matter and electric equipment of every kind flood us with heterogeneous information of varying value—and one needs to be a man indeed to be able to select, take in and bear in mind what is valuable out of all this mass of information. Information about artistic and literary products is, of course, included in the flood, if only we can manage to sift the chaff from the wheat.

In a socialist society the STR will undoubtedly contribute to the constant rise in *living standards.* Living standards in themselves, however, do not produce a cultural and socialist transformation of the way of life. Through such changes—the improvement and mass dissemination of production technology, the access to leisure, urbanization and the mass media—the STR creates the technical and material framework for a more valuable way of human life that can be more profitably turned to sensible pur-

poses. But how people fill in this framework, with sterile inactivity or richer forms of recreation and intellectual development, is another question.

The changes in the *social framework* which generates and sustains the material framework can act as a stimulus in filling it out with a sound human content—and it is just this which should be the distinguishing mark of the socialist STR. If we look at that huge social transformation, we already see many visible signs of its consequences; in the past twenty years the number of those employed in industry has nearly trebled, in Hungary, and among them the proportion of skilled workers, technicians and engineers fitted for qualified work has steadily increased. But that in itself cannot be regarded as an unambiguously positive factor. It is, however, an unequivocal demand of the social goals of socialism and their political determination that this structural element be directed towards the democratization, socialization and humanization of culture. All available political and ideological means —ranging from the strengthening of socialist democracy to different forms of education— and indeed public education as a whole, must be used for the development of this trend, and all the more so as a genuine democracy and a working people with a broad intellectual grasp constitute not only the means but also the indispensable conditions for the realization of the socialist STR. We do not merely need qualified manpower, but people organized to make up the intellectually and politically integrated, creative community of the labour force. In achieving this goal, culture as a whole, and within it literature as well as cultural and ideological ends approached through literature, form an indispensable, and indeed essential social force.

So we can answer part of our question: in socialism the STR can so build up both the material and the social framework that will assure the existence of literature and its functional operation not only by the form given to leisure time, but also through internal demands for development as well. Thus the social condition for the future of literature can be safely assumed, provided we can properly and effectively assert the socialist, humanizing tendencies of the STR.

III

Summing up the present position of these trends of the STR we find that they have already led to certain structural and integrating changes in the cultural field.

The facts demonstrate that the deeply rooted cultural model stemming from historical traditions has already lost credit in Hungary. The *traditional cultural model* postulated that erudition was tantamount to *literary* culture. This model used to be followed by the Hungarian school system (with literature holding the first place in the curriculum and the final secondary school examination opening the path to institutions of higher learning), and also in self-education (only wide reading enjoyed social prestige: those who claimed the status of a person of erudition had to be familiar with books, poems, poetic images and mythologies). Only two decades ago this model was still firmly adhered to, but step by step our social system has given way to one in which *classical and scientific learning* are equally balanced, with scientific education gaining a slight advantage. Its social prestige is also decreasing: the professions of engineer and doctor, and lately economist —as well as a number of others—are more valued and consequently give greater scope for knowledge, than that of a teacher of literature. In public education the dissemination of literary and artistic attainments, once leading the field, is now lagging behind.

Thus the traditional model is undergoing a transformation. The ideal of erudition is no more literature-centred. At the same time, moreover, there has been a whole range of changes directly traceable to the mechan-

ical means of mass communications. In our age culture is an article of mass consumption, but not in the form of the theatre or the museum or the opera performance, although thanks to the cultural revolution these are also accessible to the broad masses of the people. In the life of the broad masses it is not the products of the traditional arts that have produced a mass effect but the products of mass communications, such as the typical mass music broadcast on the radio, the mass film on television, the photographs in the illustrated magazines and the ubiquitous posters.

Cultural mass consumption, therefore, means in fact the consumption of new kinds of this subject. We have to admit that we have been slow in noting these phenomena. And as a result we still have no unified concept of a deliberate and planned shaping of socialist mass culture, a concept that would take into account the effect of the present existence and imminent expansion of the STR in forming Hungarian culture. Essentially, our cultural policy is still built on the traditional arts, and looks on the new mass products as on sufferance, as by-products of culture, although by now it is precisely these mass products which ought to be given the greater attention.

IV

If we now examine the place of literature in this new cultural model, characterized by the domination of products for mass consumption, we might well say that the popularity of literature is decreasing. But this would oversimplify the situation. It is only its rate of development that lags behind the mass-produced products, and it is not the popularity of literature as a whole but only of certain of its genres, themes and styles which fail to increase, or perhaps shows a certain decrease. But even these have not been ousted from the cultural world; their function and scope of action are merely undergoing a change. *A new division of labour* has come about in culture and it must be accepted. The province of literature—as far as the traditional genres are concerned—may appear more constricted, but if we include the new kind of mass products in the concept of literature, it is also expanding.

The decay and the revival of literary genres are natural phenomena. The epic poem is dead beyond resurrection, and the classical family novel has no great future. Tragedy is practically unviable, and the many forms of lyric poetry, ranging from the ode through the elegy to the sonnet and the song, have become resolved into two forms separable only by length (shorter and longer), both being equally "poems". The classical forms of the novel, one might say, have also given place to a prose which, even though it cannot be considered uniform, can be divided into various set types.

"Modern" prose is strongly influenced by psychology, sociology and even more so by the reportage and the documentary. The contemporary epic, one might also say, flourishes in two forms, one *documentary* in character (or at least imitating it: *Scrapyard** by Endre Fejes, Ferenc Sánta's *Twenty Hours*,** Tibor Cseres's *Cold Days****, *Imaginary Report on a Pop Festival* by Tibor Déry as well as many biographies and memoirs, among recent Hungarian works), and the other re-establishing adventure in science fiction, and Utopias (of which only negative examples can be produced in present-day Hungarian literature).

One the other hand, there are genres which ought finally to be given recognition, although I would be the last to deny the fact that, compared with traditional forms, their literary value is next to nil. One of the most important of them is what I call *consumer lyrics*—the words of hit tunes. No matter how rare a truly enjoyable lyric might be (many are simply miserable platitudes,

* See No. 7/1962
** See No. 17/1965
*** See No. 22/1966

logical somersaults or indeed, linguistical lapses), it remains a fact that for many people they fulfil the function reserved for a more limited layer by great lyric poetry. The emotions, sentiments, situations and ideals in the hit tune are just as important as those in great poetry, expressing man's spiritual needs, his love, grief, solitude, farewells, joy and wisdom—only by using clichés and platitudes. But it is exactly this triviality and this use of clichés that makes it intelligible and popular. Millions feel that "this is our emotion expressed in our language." Like all consumer goods, these lyrics are also short-lived, in use for a couple of months and then replaced by a new one employing anothet catchphrase or saying the same thing. It is subject to the whims of fashion—or more accurately to the manipulative whims of the dictators of fashion—just as other brands of industrial goods for the consumer.

The other, similar, genre could be described as a mechanized *new folklore*, offering the products of oral "poetry". As long as it only included anecdotes and jokes spread by mouth, it really could be described as urban folklore. By now, however, it is also transmitted by the mass media; the comedian's cabaret face has been expanded into an oral folklore myth: Gugyerák* or indeed Géza Hofi** himself have also developed into myths, representing set patterns of behaviour which can be transposed into any situation.

One might rightly ask how the products of sub-literature and literary surrogates come into this discussion. Simply because they are the mass cultural products consumed by man by means of language, like literature. And what have poets and writers got to do with them? Well they could do something about them. Why could not real poets write lyrics to hit tunes and cabaret farces? Just as the aesthetic quality of industrially produced consumer goods is consigned to artist designers, here too, one might envisage the interposition of poets as authors or severe jury members. There are no signs indicating any decay in the production of consumer lyrics, on the contrary, their place as articles of mass consumption seems to be assured in the future. But only their place. Their level depends on whether poets and writers are willing to undertake their composition, or leave them the prey of bad craftsmen and amateurs.

The STR also raises other questions for literature. Life is accelerating, and the globe is contracting, becoming small and traversable—how does literature react to all this? Does it intend to continue along the lines to be experienced in Hungarian literature today—allow me to exaggerate somewhat unfairly—to project the image of the world from behind the mouldy boards of a co-operative farm's well or the bedsheets of a Budapest nightlodger? Contemporary Hungarian prose and poetry alike are amazingly poor both in the selection of their material world and their mentality, compared with the choice works of foreign literature. For just as literature has already submitted to the compulsive force of STR in so far as length is concerned—like all parts of the world, the short novel is also becoming the dominating genre in Hungary—so it also has to yield to its pressure in terms of enriching its contents and expanding its horizons.

Socialist literary life, in a broader interpretation, also includes our relation on literary traditions and literary values. This is given no help at all by the STR or—at least so it appears at present—so it falls to us to do something in the way of constructing a healthy scale of values which we approve. If we fail to do so, the self-determining laws of the STR will come into play, and novelties alone will be given any value, thus ascribing a greater than normal role to fashion. In one particular respect,

* A figure popularized through radio cabaret programmes; a caricature of the stupid and pretentious illiterate man.

** Well-known television comedian.

however, we shall have to adopt the attitude basic to STR, and that is in its *future-consciousness*, since by reinforcing this tendency we actually work towards the modernization of our own attitude to history. Marxism was the first philosophy to combine a view of history with an awareness of the future, and indeed, subordinated the former. As Marx said, "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world..."*

If I want to determine the function of literature in this changed and still changing situation, I have to start from the fact that the man of the future will have three mother tongues. Among them mathematics is important, as it allows communication with the deeper layers of the genuine and man-made realms of nature; the plastic-visual idiom is also important—and especially close to my own heart—updating and completing our relations with the outside world, perceptible nature and material environments.

But the leading role will continue to be played by the spoken language, by that system of symbols in which human, social contact is established with our contemporaries and the past. Without the spoken language neither of the other two can exist, since it provides the foundation for them as well—the spoken language constitutes the simplest and most direct means of expressing human emotion, thought and will, past, present and future alike. Writing provides the only fully efficient system of symbols for exact and flexible thought, as against mathematics, which is exact but rigid, and film which is flexible but inaccurate. The practical function of literature, its most directly vital role, is partly to polish and perfect this system of symbols, enabling it to convey new and still newer knowledge, notions and ideals, and partly to give people the most profound understanding possible of this system of symbols and its skilful and mainly independent use.

* Theses on Feuerbach, No. XI.

This practical function achieves special significance in terms of one of the basic requirements demanded from the new type of labour—not only from skilled industrial workers, technicians and engineers, but also from the workers involved in every other productive and servicing activity, the teacher of the worker, the technician of agriculture, the engineer of health—i.e. that the type of man who is receptive to all that is new and more up-to-date, who retains a constant ability to study, to expand his knowledge of his trade or even change it, must possess a *mental flexibility*, which, based on our present-day knowledge, can only be assured by a wide "reading culture". Powers of language, "reading culture", can only be developed through the interpretation, that is the analysis and judgements of the written text. To achieve this contact with literature —first of all in school and later in adult education and self-education as well—is an irreplaceable necessity. The other most important characteristic of this new type of STR-man in socialism is his capacity to entertain a comprehensive view; he must not only be mentally flexible, he must also be a man with a sense of perspective. Only so can he become an active participant in socialist democratism, be in a position to form judgements on all the issues of his workplace and home environment, all the spheres of public and private life, with his eye on long-range political and social goals. Only so is he able to form and assert an independent judgement in a convincing fashion, possessing the necessary vocabulary, logical and rhetorical apparatus and knowledge for doing so. Nothing else can teach people to do this more effectively than the cultivated literary mind.

Beyond its practical function, however, literature also has another even more significant function although intangible and unmeasurable. I mean the autonomous function of literature, which makes of it an art. Literature, in short, exalts us and enables us to think and feel on the level

of the whole of mankind. This function which literature has fulfilled ever since its existence—and has fulfilled in all times by conforming to the dimensions of mankind at the time (in Hellenic literature Greeks meant mankind) and by concerning itself with the most burning contemporary problems of mankind—this function is now determined by the fact that mankind has expanded to global or indeed nearly cosmic dimensions, its most burning problem being the humanization and socialization of the STR. This second man-made nature, the one created by man himself, appears to have swelled to such huge proportions that the capitalist system is unable to check it; it threatens to gain ascendancy over man to subjugate him, or indeed, to threaten him with destruction. Today and tomorrow the battle of the two world systems is reduced to this: the one which is able to master this second nature, the new technical and mechanical universe, will gain the victory.

Technocracy in fact means a servile, self-deceptive acceptance of the rule of technology —the acceptance of the dehumanization of technology. In this situation the task and independent function of literature, poetry and all forms of art can only be to become the preservers and protectors of human consciousness, dignity and integrity, the bulwark of the human element. And just as the task of socialism is to socialize the STR, to place this second nature at the service of man, so the task of socialist poetry is to fight against the technocratic attitude, to preserve the purity of humanity.

This has answered the second part of our question: in the STR there are realistic social demands awaiting literature.

V

So we can fairly assert that the STR carries with it the demand for literature and conditions for it. The rest depends on the writers—on the writer, the poet— who, with the other exponents of classical culture, more and more frequently are met with disdain, face financial disadvantages, and in general, are confronted with the derision of kindly contempt extended to lunatics. With us the aggressive qualities of the technocracy, and its servant, mercantilism, do not reveal themselves openly, but are concealed, disguised in measures which ignore the champions of the human element, and it is the same when the STR begins to triumph, ignoring man as the master and goal (subject) of the STR, and only considering him as its servant (manpower) and its object (the consumer).

What makes the writer into a writer is precisely his possession of culture, sensitivity and a conscious world outlook, which together arm him both in the battle he wages for the humanity of literature and against dehumanizing fallacies and delusions cunningly and aggressively argued.

The writer's role is to preserve and create values; and this role—to minister to the preservation and continuation of humanitarian traditions—is based upon his culture. But he can only create values if he also absorbs the new values of our age. And for this, I think, the writer too has to re-think his cultural ideal. Those of the first order have already done so, but pride in an ignorance of the natural sciences still haunts writers and classical erudition as a whole.

It is his sensitivity that enables the writer to perceive existing problems and —if the age calls for it—to become an oracle or even a prophet. This sensitivity may indeed be the essence of the literary vein itself. But the world outlook, the compass that indicates the way to the poet, is ready-made, he has only to avail himself of it. This enables the writer, acting as the advocate of conscience, to point out the road ahead, if only by questioning, or warning, but always inspiring and encouraging. The writer can be the creator of the myth of the new golden age—if he is able to believe and have confidence in the power

of socialism to master, curb and place at man's service the monster of the STR looming threateningly ahead in the mists of the future.

Prometheus or Orpheus? The question has been raised by many writers resuming the dilemma between technology and art in a symbol; and I may well reply that the writer should be the new Orpheus of the new Prometheus: he sould give us not only a human portrait projected to the new age, not only a captivating artistic experience, he should also undertake to formulate and express the myth of the new age, which is no other than the humanely interpreted image of the new universe.

VI

And finally a few words about literary periodicals. All the changes I have mentioned in connection with literature as a whole undoubtedly leave their marks on the activity of our periodicals as well. The new division of labour also applies to them, and this has already been recognized by many. The fact that the circulation of the weekly *Élet és Irodalom*, and the monthlies *Kortárs* and *Új Írás* shows a slowly growning trend in this direction is, I think, due to the fact that they do not only confine themselves to literature but also deal with public problems and important matters outside its scope. The slow drop in the circulation of the monthly *Nagyvilág* which specializes in translation of contemporary foreign literature, the literary periodical with the greatest circulation in Hungary, can be explained by its greater concentration on literature than that of the others. Conversely, only small traces of interest can be discerned at present in the new forms of literature, and today we cannot yet say that our periodicals give them the attention that is their due or consider it part of their duty to do so without, of course, renouncing the cultivation and maintenance of traditional values.

It is also noticeable that Hungarian periodicals have become aware of the need for a modern layout. In this respect *Új Írás* is the best—and was the first—in its choice of typography, make-up and illustrations, comparing favourably with Czechoslovak periodicals I know which have been functioning for a long time on an exceptional level. I believe that today even the literary periodical cannot disregard the lessons and needs of the flourishing visual culture now in existence. Our printing industry undoubtedly needs to develop further to cope with it, but *Új Írás* is a case in point which illustrates that it is possible to turn existing conditions to better account—as against *Élet és Irodalom*, which apparently demonstrates that its picture editor cannot find it in his heart to refuse any amateur and bad drawings submitted to him. And the fact that the format does make a difference is borne out by the success of the new digest *Látóhatár*, whose practical, pocketable format has certainly contributed to its popularity.

Látóhatár provides a further lesson. It was brought into existence by the compelling force of the information explosion. Its success can be measured not only by its big circulation but by the jealousy with which natural scientists turn to it, wanting to copy it as soon as possible. If there is anything outdated in *Látóhatár*, it is, in my opinion, precisely the fact that by its very existence it maintains the dilemma of the "two cultures" (C. P. Snow).

I think that the innovations in content required by the approaching STR—and for which the literary periodicals can constitute the best experimental workshops—must be directed towards unifying the two cultures of yesterday and today. I am convinced that present-day science can be the source of fertile ideas for literature and poetry. And if earlier I insisted that local patriotism or the lack of extensive experience prevent the presentation of a broad background with a more universal sense of perspective (which would embrace the

globe with its expanded time and contracted surface), I would now prefer to emphasize —and these two contrasts do not contradict or exclude each other—that the writer must start from the world close to life, start from man himself, for only so can he interest the reader in his greater problems of global magnitude, making him feel that *nostra res agitur*—"it may cost you your own skin, too, dear reader". And this direct interest in matters of universal moment can be heightened by an awareness of the future, by turning towards the future (as in Marx's simile of the bee and the master builder). If the literary periodicals succeed in linking this revival of content with the task of creating a new and socialist mass culture, with the task of public education in its modern interpretation, then they do much more for the implementation of the STR than could be imagined by any technocrat, no matter how benevolent he may feel towards them.

To achieve this, literary periodicals need their traditional auxiliaries, the critics, who equally need the literary periodicals as their forum. The main trouble with literary criticism, I believe is that it has been suffering recently from a permanent defect in transmission; like the screen of a broken TV set, it has just gaped without any sound. Reviewing does exist—a kind of reviewing anyway—but it is my impression that even if it speaks very well and very intelligently, nobody hears its voice. Reviews are hardly read at all, and the information explosion, the facts of the cultural mass consumption in themselves provide sufficent explanation for this. Even the most cultured and fastidious people are happy, after acquiring the political, public and professional information indispensable to them, to find time to read or perhaps listen to an occasional short novel and some lovely poems, even at the expense of an exhibition, a concert or a theatre performance, but to go on and read reviews as well is virtually impossible. I imagine that this also can only be remedied if the reviews also concern themselves with the above-mentioned tasks. In order to awaken interest the reviews have to turn to the broader masses, in other words, give really useful information which really interests people. And it is not enough for the reviewer to undertake the role of teaching to read, coupled with awakening a consciousness of true values; in order to achieve this goal new forms of reviewing should be found and worked out experimentally.

*

Do we have to take literature seriously in a way to provoke a smile in everyone? Shouldn't we rather take it seriously as Karinthy did, with humour? Surely not only our present-day life, but the future too, would be unbearable without humour.

ISTVÁN ALMÁSI

WHAT WE EAT

Everybody has his favourite dish. That's when most people forget to compute Calories. Which foods are the tastiest? Everyone plums for something else. Obviously, any research on diet will at best reveal general trends and everyone has the right to consider himself or herself an exception. What do surveys and figures on nutrition indicate? Some time ago they served as a basis for the discussions at a cabinet meeting of a report by the Minister of Health and the Minister of Agriculture and Food on trends in Hungarian nutrition.

More Meat, Less Flour

The figures present a reliable picture on nutrition trends in Hungary. (Per capita in consumption in kilograms or litres.)

	1934–38	1960	1970
Meat and fish	34	49.1	59.9
Flour	144	132.8	128.2
Fats (animal and vegetable)	17	23.5	27.7
Sugar	11	26.6	33.5
Eggs	5	8.9	13.7
Potatoes	130	97.6	75.1
Vegetables	95	84	83.2
Fruit		55.3	72.5
Wine	32.1	29.9	37.7
Beer	3.1	36.8	59.4
Coffee	–	0.1	1.7

For the years 1934 to 1938 no separate figures are available on vegetable and fruit consumption. In those years the combined vegetable and fruit consumption averaged 95 kilograms per person.

This above figures make it evident that the consumption of more valuable foods went up and that of flour and potatoes went down.

One could cite evidence at length showing that one of the main causes of endemic diseases in Hungary was the deficient—even quantitatively deficient—diet of the working class and peasant population. The per capita daily Calorie intake was 2,805 between 1934 and 1938—a period when much more heavy physical work was done both in industry and agriculture than today, and consequently working people needed a lot of nourishment. By 1970 the daily per capita Calorie intake almost reached 3,200, and since then Hungarians have passed this mark.

We Are Getting Fatter

The daily Calorie intake of nine European countries (Sweden, England, Denmark, Germany, Belgium, Holland, France, Austria and Finland) and of the USA and of Canada was higher between 1934 and 1938 than the Hungarian average for those years. By 1970, only the USA and France consumed more per Capita calories than Hungary. The other nine countries were left behind and so Hungary ranks high in the world of quantitative eating. This is not entirely a matter for pride. From the point of view of a healthy diet 3,200 Calories—especially in the present composition—are too much of a good thing. According to figures published by the Central Office of Statistics on Hungarian households, the Calorie intake of workers, intellectuals, peasants and of people drawing incomes from two sources is higher than what is biologically right. That is why there are so many overweight people in this country. Reliable sampling has produced the following figures: out of a hundred men working in agriculture 25 were described as thin, 40 as of normal weight and 35 as obese. Out of

a hundred industrial workers 13 were found to be thin and 34 overweight. The corresponding two figures for office workers are 22 thin and 38 obese. The proportion of overweight women was higher for each of the three categories than that of fat men. As many as 38 per cent of young boys between 6 and 14 years of age and 45 per cent of the girls in that age-group proved to be overweight. This is a warning signal since there is evidence that overnourishment in childhood is habit-forming and difficult to change later.

Proteins

There are many parameters for a correct diet. Protein consumption is important, and even within this that of proteins of animal origin which are biologically more valuable. According to surveys on the years 1934 to 1938, Hungarian Calorie consumption was in that period about 5–10 per cent less than in the nine European and two North American countries mentioned above. At the same time, Hungarian consumption of animal proteins was about one-third or one half of that of those countries. When the average person in Hungary was able to eat 29 grams of animal proteins a day, the average consumption was 59 grams in Sweden, 57 grams in Denmark and 50 in the USA, and except for Belgium consumption was above 40 grams everywhere. Hungarian reached the 43.4 gram level in animal protein consumption only in 1970. This is still about 10 or 20 grams less than the 1970 level in the above countries but it is sufficient nutritionally. It is enough but by no means ideal. The consumption of food of biologically higher value became more common in the last decade. This speaks well for the improvement in Hungarian supplies. The developmen of agricultural production and of the food processing industry has made it possible to do away with the basic problems deriving from inefficient nutrition. If agriculture had not produced about 300,000 tons of meat from poultry (in 1938 the output was about half this figure), if the production of pigs had not more than doubled and of eggs more than tripled, consumption could not have risen to this extent.

For a Healthier Diet

One could go on listing achievements. These have made it possible to increase agricultural exports significantly to benefit the economy as a whole and home consumption as well. But side by side with the spectacular results, mention should be made of the more recently discovered requirements of healthy nutrition.

There is one area in Hungarian food consumption where practically no change has been registered for deacdes—and this is the field of milk and dairy products. Hungary is just about at the same place it was 35 or 40 years ago despite the fact that consumption of milk, one of the most valuable foods, was notoriously low then. Hungarian agriculture produces insufficient amounts of milk. One could argue whether there is not enough milk because the demand is too small, or whether the demand is too small because there isn't enough milk and milk products, and what is available is not good enough. A great many economic factors play a part in this low level of production and consumption, something that should certainly be remedied. It is most likely that as a result of the cattle breeding programme an increase can be expected in milk production. Then a higher level on consumption will be possible. But it will take many other things as well to improve the situation substantially.

Potato consumption presents an interesting picture. Over a longer period of time it dropped to almost half. Part of the reason lies in the fact that the potato output decreased in Hungary. Dietary habits have also altered and changes have not favoured potatoes. The fact that the potatoes sold are not

of the quality and "finish" required by modern households is also a contributory factor. And yet the proteins contained in potatoes are almost of full biological value and vitamins and minerals provided by them are essential.

Despite some complaints the consumption of vegetables and fruit is showing a favourable trend if each year is taken as a whole. There is, however, an extreme fluctuation between the seasons. Winter supplies could be, and should be, improved by a growing emphasis on hothouse production and the increase of refrigeration space, and more tinned products with special emphasis on quickfrozen foods which are of almost equal value with the fresh products.

A Long-range View

Production plans consider the demands of a well-balanced diet. Estimates do not call for a higher total output of bread grains even in 1985 than last year's, except that the area under cereal crops will be smaller. On the other hand, maize and other fodder crop requirements will be substantially higher already in the next two years and also in the more distant future. Vegetable and fruit production should increase by at least one-third in the next five or ten years. The same holds for meat.

According to the plans and prognoses based on production increases, per capita meat consumption will be 67 kilograms in 1975 and about 70 kilograms in 1980. What is needed in this respect is not so much an increase in quantity as greater emphasis on lean meat, that is poultry and beef. The estimates for 1975 are 134 kg of milk and dairy product consumption—butter excluded. The figure is expected to go up to 155 kg by 1980. In harmony with the effort to increase production, it is planned that more fruit and vegetables be eaten. The long list of development plans in the food industry all call for a wider proportion and range of the biologically more valuable foods and more continuous supplies of the items which are of a seasonal character today.

All in all, plans do not call for any increase in per capita Calorie intake. In the composition of the diet, however, the emphasis is on the biologically valuable foods. This is evident in the index for protein consumption. The daily protein ratio may average 105 grams by 1975, with 47 grams of animal proteins. It is estimated that by 1980 the daily animal protein intake will be up to 52 grams and in 1985, 57 grams.

This multitude of figures is not easy to survey. The most important conclusion that can be drawn from them is that the nutrition and diet of Hungarians has begun to move in the right direction. Something else one can be sure of: dietary tips and advice will certainly increase in the next few years. Once advice is demanded that in itself is indicative of something.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

JOHN LOTZ
(1913–1973)

Professor John Lotz, the American linguist and the most outstanding Hungarian-language scholar outside the country, died at the age of 60.

The son of an emigrant worker's family, he was born in the United States, March 23, 1913, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He had completed the first and third grades (skipping the second) in an elementary school in Detroit, Michigan, when at the age of eight his parents took him back to Hungary and settled in their home village, Somogyvámos, in the south of the country, where his parents lived the remainder of their lives.

John Lotz then continued his education in the Lutheran grammar school of Bonyhád. He was admitted to the Budapest University in 1931 and graduated in 1935 specializing in philosophy, Hungarian language and literature, German language and literature, English language and literature. After graduation he was immediately granted a fellowship abroad and was thus unable to take out his teacher's diploma; it was presented to him three decades later when he was a guest professor at his old University. He concluded his regular university studies with a *sub auspiciis* doctorate: he defended his thesis on "The Concept of History—Man in Time" in 1937 at the University of Pécs.

Professor Lotz always spoke of his studies at the University with respect but the object of his affection were his studies at the Eötvös College in Budapest. Its outstandingly productive atmosphere fostered his scientific creativity, and all his life he worked to recreate this college-method in the training of scientists.

At the Eötvös College has was a disciple of Zoltán Gombocz, the linguist, who has since grown to be an almost legendary figure and who has left an indelible mark on linguistic work in Hungary. It was Gombocz who was responsible for sending the young Lotz to Stockholm.

While still in Budapest, the young scholar had another intellectual experience which marked him for life. During his student years he served as private secretary to Dezső Kosztolányi, the poet and novelist. His work in this capacity certainly must have contributed to the development of his poetic sensivity to verse and metrics and his keen sense of literary value. In later years—although a theoretician of lingustics—he always taught Hungarian literature and cultural history.

The Swedish period of his life began when upon the proposal of Gombocz, Lotz received a Swedish government fellowship at the University of Stockholm in Germanistic studies and philosophy for the years 1935–37. Béla Leffler, director of the Stockholm Hungarian Institute, engaged him as an instructor; in this capacity he taught Hun-

garian from 1935 to 1939. Between 1939 and 1947 he was docent in Hungarian language and literature at the University of Stockholm and from 1942 to 1947 he was Associate Professor at the same University. (These two degrees belong to two different levels in the Swedish university system.) As early as 1936, after Leffler's death, he became director of the Hungarian Institute at the Stockholm University. This was the first foundation institute of the comparatively young university of Sweden's capital city. Lotz remained in a directorship capacity there until 1957, and then became inspector until 1966. He had lived in the United States for many years when in 1962–63 he returned to his first place of employment as a Visiting Professor.

In Stockholm John Lotz organized the first major centre of Hungarology in Scandinavia, which excelled not only in the high-level teaching of language and linguistics but also in organization. The centre became widely known through its series of publications and seminars. During the Second World War it offered asylum to persecuted linguists such as Roman Jakobson and Wolfgang Steinitz.

During his years in Sweden Lotz learned Swedish and, apart from Hungarian and Finno-Ugric linguistic studies, he also published remarkable descriptive work of the Swedish linguistics.

In the relative calm of this neutral country during the war years he had the opportunity to acquire extensive knowledge in mathematical logics, a discipline in which Scandinavian scientists distinguished themselves, and he became adept at glossematics, the most severely logical linguistic theory of all times. He cooperated with and became a personal friend of Louis Hjelmslev, a Dane, and the originator of glossematic theory, who was also a Finno-Ugric linguist. Lotz is the author of the most consistent glossematic analysis of one of the grammatical phenomena of the Hungarian language.

In 1947 upon Roman Jakobson's proposal, Lotz was invited to Columbia University in New York. First he was Visiting Associate Professor of Hungarian Studies (1947–49), later Associate Professor of General and Comparative Linguistics (1949–1956) and finally Professor of Lingustics (1956–1967). As his former student I witnessed his conscientiousness as a teacher. He prepared every lesson on the basis of a plan which was almost broken down according to the needs of individual students and served to pave the way for their scientific development step by step.

His administrative activity was closely related to his teaching work. Between 1953 and 1960 he was Chairman of the Department of Uralic and Altaic Languages. The work of this university teaching unit was augmented with a research department, the Uralic Language and Area Centre, of which he was director from 1959 to 1967. He was also appointed Director of Research of the Uralic and Altaic Programme of the American Council of Learned Societies (1959–1965). In the last two years of his New York life he was the chairman of an interdepartmental body in the Subcommittee on Uralic Studies at Columbia University.

His exceptional position as both general professor of linguistics and professor of Uralic studies enabled him to direct his students of general linguistics toward Hungarian studies; it is typical for linguists in New York to have some knowledge of Hungarian.

Columbia University had no special department of phonetics, but Professor Lotz filled this gap, too, particularly by means of joint research projects with the Haskins Laboratories. We owe to this collaboration the best scientific film on the Hungarian language: the *Hungarian X-ray Film* (X-ray sound motion picture in slow motion). (In collaboration with A. S. Abramson, F. S. Cooper of the Haskins Laboratories and W. B. Seaman of the Columbia Presbyterian Center, 1961.) This film is part of the curriculum in Hungarian higher educational

establishments. (He was also responsible for the production of several other linguistic films.)

On July 1, 1967 he became President and Director of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. the most important establishment of applied linguistics in the United States. He performed this task from 1967 to 1971. Between 1971 and 1973 he held the position of independent scholar with the Center and headed its European branch dividing his time between Washington and Budapest.

At the Center he was a dynamic administrator and apart from the general management of the establishment's multilateral activity, he concentrated his research work and organizing ablilites on two new fields: both remarkable projects in their own right.

Professor Lotz was involved with the contrastive analysis of languages. When he became director of the Center, the English–Serbo-Croatian Contrastive Linguistic Project was already under way, and projects for Polish and Rumanian were also begun. As a Hungarian linguist Professor Lotz was especially concerned with establishing the Hungarian–English project. On the basis of a contract concluded with the Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences this project started in 1970 and is now the centre of English linguistic studies in Hungary: all English linguistic teachers of Hungarian higher educational establishments participate in this project. Apart from lively discussions and workshop sessions the project will publish its results in a series of approximately thirty publications. Two of Professor Lotz's own works appeared in these series: *Two Papers on English–Hungarian Contrastive Phonology* and *Script, Grammar and the Hungarian Writing System*. Both appeared in Budapest, in 1972, in the series of "The Hungarian-English Contrastive Linguistic Project, Working Papers."

The other principal project Professor Lotz was involved in at the time of his death was the Description of the Languages of the World. This ambitious venture launched in 1970 has benefited from the support of many institutes in many countries, including the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Leading linguists from all over the world took part in the elaboration of the plans. The International Congress of Linguists in its 1972 session in Bologna devoted a separate plenary session to this plan, one of the largest international collective ventures of linguistics in the twentieth century with its goal of describing all languages existing now and to save hundreds of rapidly disappearing languages from total oblivion. Now that Professor Lotz, who was the driving force behind this work, has passed away probably many more decades will pass until a linguist of this stature will take up the cause again, and meanwhile the unprotected minor languages, which are intellectually and culturally as interesting and valuable as the major ones, will continue to perish.

During his stay in America Lotz tried to maintain his relations with linguists in Hungary. He first came to this country in 1963, and from that time on he frequently divided his time between his two homelands. In 1964 he became a member of the Ford Foundation's Selection Committee to Establish Cultural Exchange with Hungary. Owing to his action many Hungarian linguists had the opportunity of making study tours in the United States. In 1966 Lotz was a Fulbright-Hays Research Fellow to Hungary as both a guest of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and as Guest Professor of Linguistics and Hungarian at the University of Budapest. In 1972 he was again visiting Professor in Hungarian at the Uni-University of Budapest. In the last eight years he visited many conferences in Hungary and was a full participant in linguistic work in Budapest. When in Budapest, the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences was his regular place of work; he had particularly close relations with the Working

Group of Young Linguists, several members of which were indebted to him from his lectures at the Budapest University. On March 23 he celebrated his 60th and last birthday in their midst.

In the late spring of 1973 he returned to America in bad health. Here in Budapest he had to interrupt his work with the Gondolat Publishing House which was editing a selection of his essays under the title *Language — Verse — Time*. At the last moment he also had to renounce his interview on Hungarian television. He promised to come back in July and finish both commitments. His heart, however, failed him. After his release from the hospital he returned to his home in Chevy Chase from where he phoned Budapest and promised to be back by October. He sent a message of greeting to the Second Hungarian Native Language Conference of which he was a sponsor. Then came the final attack which this time took his life.

For him and for us it is most tragic that he passed away in the most productive period of his life, at a time when his work in Budapest indicated that he desired to settle in Hungary and finish his life here.

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His work is not only limited to paper, though the quantity—and particularly the quality— of his publications is remarkable. With his extraordinary ability of organization John Lotz also shaped the future of linguistics. He formulated ideas and successfully implemented their investigation. He recognized the need of scientific conferences and organized them rapidly and efficiently. He founded fellowships, initiated publication series, encouraged dissertations on missing themes. He was an active man with a flair for sensing future needs and directions.

A selection of his papers will soon appear in Hungarian. The selection was made personally by him, and it can also serve as the basis for division in presenting his fields of work.

The first chapter is on Time. Professor Lotz wished to head the volume with a philosophical section of his doctoral dissertation on the Concept of Time in History. The topic has always concerned him, and although not a historical linguist, he had a lively interest in history. This concern also entailed an interest in the future as seen in a discussion on the future of linguistics in "Speech—man's natural communication" (Panel discussion) in *IEEE Spectrum*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1967) pp. 75–86.

His second topic for the volume was Language and Signal Systems. Lotz, like other great linguists such as Roman Jakobson, Émile Benveniste and Gyula Laziczius, studied language as a primary form of any possible signal system. All these scientists were also semioticians. Lotz had special merits in this field: in the early fifties he was first to point out the importance of von Frisch's work on communication and signal systems among bees; this led to the development of zoo-semiotics in the second half of the sixties (on of the best scholars in this field, Thomas A. Sebeok, is another Hungarian American). Professor Lotz also wrote remarkable articles on the role of language as a symbolic system and as a cultural index. His special theme—about fifteen years before it became so fashionable in linguistics—was the relationship between natural languages and mathematical calculi.

The main part of this forthcoming volume consists of his articles on The Phonetic Structure of the Hungarian Language. He wanted to publish these, along with his essays on other aspects of grammatical structure, in a modern manual, the Hungarian Reference Grammar, which was to be edited and written mainly by himself. Fortunately many of these themes have already appeared in different collected volumes and reviews. Some even exist in Hungarian and have thus already been incorporated in Hungarian research. Lotz's studies, solidly based on up-to-date experimental techniques in phonetics and

phonology, have opened a new era in the study of Hungarian phonetic structure, especially of the consonant system. His work has been a considerable contribution also to the general theory of phonology. Roman Jakobson originally worked out his phonologic theory with Lotz; this stage of phonological development can be considered to be the first step toward the most recent phonology of Noam Chomsky and Morris Halle. The "Note on the French Phonemic Pattern", in *Word*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (1949) pp. 151–158, by Jakobson and Lotz, is a classic in the history of phonology. He extended his phonetic investigations to Turkish languages: he studied Osmanli and Dungan (the latter is a Turkish language spoken in China). His work on metrics and script is closely connected with phonetic studies.

In addition to his phonetic studies, the articles of Professor Lotz include some remarkable structural analyses of various sub-sections of Hungarian grammar. He expressed the desire to have this section of the volume begin with the introductory chapter of his scientific grammar, *Das ungarische Sprachsystem* (Stockholm, 1939). It is almost unbelievable that he wrote this structural Hungarian grammar at the age of 26; no better work of this type could be produced to this day. It is extremely unfortunate that the book which was published abroad just before the war was not reviewed by anyone in Hungary and another twenty years passed before it exerted any influence on research here. His short articles are characterized by a severe internal structure and an incredibly elliptic style, and most often are accompanied by exact rules and remarkably well-constructed geometrical figures which clearly illustrate their consistent logical structure. The up-to-date scientific explanation of certain sub-systems in Hungarian grammar is entirely his work, including, among others, the morphology of the imperative along with the entire system of tenses, the suffix -é (which provoked more debates than any dialect question), and the problems of the nominal bases in Hungarian.

Script is a separate chapter, a subject Lotz studied as throughly as speech, producing descriptions of its specific features with as much accuracy and detail. He considered script very important in teaching Hungarian to foreign students. (See the reference above to his booklet on script.)

Verse also forms a separate chapter in the book. Lotz studied all aspects of versification together with language. In the early forties he and Roman Jakobson wrote the basic work of exact modern metrics in the English version of "Axioms of a Versification System, Exemplified by the Mordvinian Folksong", in: *Linguistica I* (1941–1945) 1952, pp. 5–13, Acta Institutii Hungarici Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Series B, Linguistica I. A volume of his writings entitled *Verse and Hungarian Verse* is in print now, edited by the Literary Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; the volume contains ten general and special articles on metrics (not only Hungarian and Finno-Ugric, but also Greek and German metrics). A classic work most often referred to in universal verse theory is Lotz's "Metric Typology", in *Style in Language*, Ed. T. A. Sebeok, New York, 1960. pp. 135–148. And he was the author of the monumental analysis of Hungarian poetry: "The Structure of the Sonetti a Corona of Attila József"—Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis—Studia Hungarica Stockholmiensia, Vol. I, 1965, pp. 22.

The last chapter of his selected writings is entitled Languages and Structural Problems and consists of articles in which he solved Swedish, Russian, Eskimo, English and Turkish language problems by means of the structural method. This part also contains essays on contractive linguistics, and a short, brilliantly written paper on "Etymological Connections of magyar 'Hungarian'", in: *For Roman Jakobson*, The Hague, 1956, pp. 677–81. For Professor Lotz structure was not the obligatory lip-service

linguistic introductions paid to theory: it was the essential frame of his studies.

What has been omitted from this representative sampling? One or two themes maybe, such as the *Hungarian Reader (Folklore and Literature) with Notes*, Blomington, 1962., and one of his favourite topics, the Jókai Codex closely connected with his name through his editing and thorough analysis of it. He also produced many essays, reviews and reports on research. Apart from linguistics he wrote about other aspects of Hungarian studies in the United States and closely followed their development.

Professor Lotz had many private interests and hobbies. He was greatly interested in politics: ha was a voracious reader of newspapers and a keen observer of events in both his countries and in world politics. He loved music as well as poetry and was an amateur singer (mostly of Hungarian folksongs) and reciter. He did not look down on sport fans either: he enjoyed soccer, football, and even baseball and considered the description of their strategies as both a semiotic and structural problem. With native fluency in three other languages, it was Hungarian he loved to converse in; he considered informal talk as one of the obligatory preliminary forms of scientific creation. He was sociable and probably had more friends in Budapest than anywhere else in the world.

Apart from his scientific research Professor Lotz was constantly involved in the development of American–Hungarian scientific and cultural relations. This activity was appreciated from both sides, and in 1966 he was awarded the PEN Medal in Hungarian literature by the PEN Club in Hungary. In 1969 he received the George Washington Award of the American–Hungarian Studies Foundation.

In 1968 the Hungarian Linguistic Society, in appreciation of his scientific work, elected him honorary member. In 1973 he was awarded the highest distinction to a Hungarian scientist residing abroad when the Hungarian Academy of Sciences elected him one of its Honorary Members. So in the final year of his life he was officially considered a Hungarian not only as a former Eötvös fellow but also as a Hungarian academician.

Although John Lotz was both born in the United States and died there, he is a member of the large family of Hungarian scientists, and above all, he belongs to that part of the family, which lives in Hungary.

GYÖRGY SZÉPE

THE METAMORPHOSES OF A WRITER

ISTVÁN ÖRKÉNY: *Időrendben* (In Chronological Order). Vols. I–IV. Magvető, Budapest, 1971–73. 651, 269, 338 and 407 pp.

To pick and chose from someone's lifework and then publish the selection is as much as passing a verdict. The proportion of works published and omitted, and even a chronological or literary classification of the writings, all go on the writer's record. As is only to be expected such work is usually done by critics when the writer is dead and no longer in a position to protest. And yet, István Örkény, at sixty, put his own writings in the balance, collecting enough material for four volumes under the title *In Chronological Order* from over thirty years of literary activity. In addition to the novels, short stories and sketches, he also

includes the stage versions of his novels. Readers of The New Hungarian Quarterly will know some of these works in translation, and the stage adaptations of two of the novels, *The Tót Family* and *Catsplay* were performed with great success in a number of European cities.

The recently collected Örkény works outline the contours of a remarkable life in letters. When he started writing in the 1930's, Örkény seems to have known already practically everything that one needs to know to produce a good short story: firm, well-built structure and concise and expressive character portrayal are the hallmark of his first writings. In theory the road should have led from the early short stories straight to the mature and richly philosophical drily witty prose of a highly original writer. In practice, however, this path deviated in the 1950's into a different direction, twisting and bending an almost flat and naturalistic description heavy with detail. The works themselves suggest the explanation. It takes only a little knowledge of the story of the times to understand what they imply.

It is apparent right from his first writings that Örkény always responds sensitively to the period in which he is living; at that time a Hungary and Europe in the process of turning fascist. A single twist that labels its age usually forms the core of each short story. In *Tengertánc* (Sea Dance), the inmates of an insane asylum were permitted to continue their activities unrestrained—there seem to have been an astonishing number of them—they seize power over the city. One of their first measures culminates in a linguistic revolution. They extend the common meaning of words denoting unobtainable food. Thus, anyone could eat dry bread when he wanted bread-and-butter, and the top and bottom half of a plain unbuttered roll could, on their own, serve as a ham-roll. This truly radical measure is reminiscent of the social-welfare demagogy of the times.

Tizenhárom (Thirteen) is the story of a medieval execution. A run-away serf is mistakenly lined up with twelve condemned men, although he himself should be getting "only" fifty strokes of the cane. The executioner, however, notices the extra man and refuses to start on his job until the serf is removed. With a sense of shame, the serf stands aside but, as he watches the fast and skilfully expert movements of the executioner, he makes a quick reckoning: if he misses out on this opportunity, he will have to go back to his misery and he'll kick the bucket in the end anyway. At an opportune moment he leaps back to the end of the row; and the executioner, who has become absorbed in the joys of labour fails to notice the trick. When the axe swings over his head, the serf feels only a sense of success. "Look at the fool", he thinks, "he fell into the trap" and he was happy to have found this cheap way out.

The war was a basic experience for Örkény, determinative of his life and of his work. The almost surrealistic horrors of the period triggered off dread and disgust in him, and also the desire to understand what cannot be understood. His sense of irony, his eyes and ears for the grotesque stood by him. To mock at the cause of the horrors and in this way to fan faith in the distant victory of man seemed to be the only way of holding out some hope of survival for both the man and the artist. (*Idegen föld* Alien Land, *Zsidó halál* Jewish Death, *Isti, hallgass* Keep Quiet, Isti.) Örkény's interest in history is not merely literary. His life was intensified by living through a war and POW camps, events often taking up the time he might have spent in their description. *Lágerek népe* (People of the Camps), a diary drawing on his experiences as a POW, documents the years between 1942 and 1946 when the remnants of the defeated Hungarian army were prisoners of war in Soviet camps. Some of the officers and men could think only of mere survival and the return home. Homesickness, however, started ideological developments in the minds of a fair few of them, making them look back on the past as it

really was. In addition to describing different gradations of this "change of consciousness", Örkény presents a suggestive picture of the social stratification in camp and the development of that strange system of values in which military rank combines with skill and cunnings shown in camp life in establishing one's status.

Örkény freed from the hardships of war and fascism was filled with enthusiasm by a Hungary rising from the ashes. This enthusiasm is reflected by reports prompted by visits to the villages and factories of Hungary. Some of them were collected in *Arcképek, korképek* (Pictures of Faces, Pictures of the Age). They fall short of the short stories and yet they show that Örkény, whose work is dominated by irony, still stands by his views at the time, the often naive hope and enthusiasm inspired by the country's reconstruction. (*A tardi helyzet 1947-ben* Tard in 1947, *Sztálinvárosi képeskönyv* Stalintown Picture-Book.)

Örkény did his best to adjust to the aesthetic ideal of the times that is to an oversimplified version of socialist realism. A description of the objective world with all its naturalistic detail, the prescribed "positive hero" and the "creation of types" were, however, alien to Örkény's way of writing, and however hard he tried, he produced poor stuff at the time, novels such as *Házastársak* (Couples) and short stories *Hóviharban* (In the Snow Storm). This period—marked by the Purple Ink Affair—lasted until the second half of the fifties. Örkény wrote his short story *Lila tinta* (Purple Ink) in 1952. The hero, an engineer in a socialist factory, is in love with a bourgeois girl. The story appeared in a literary periodical and was followed by a public debate that lasted just about two months. Shocked readers protested that the author had portrayed an "affair unworthy of socialist man"; the editors exercised self-criticism, and the writer—admitting to the mistakes and ideological errors of his story—insisted on the purity of his intentions. József Révai who was in charge on the ideological front at the time, personally condemned this fiction. Örkény includes the story, together with parts of the debate it stirred up, and thus recalls the atmosphere of times when literary matters were accorded national importance, pushing other issues which in other times and places are considered of greater weight into the background.

Örkény's return to his own original approach to writing was marked by parable-like short stories and unambiguous parables such as his *Niagara Nagykávéház* (Grand Café Niagara). A couple, hoping to spend a pleasant evening visit the café. They have heard it described as "very fashionable". The café is crammed to capacity, it proves difficult to find a seat; they are then astonished to see that there is neither music, nor dancing, nor a cloak-room, and no service either. The others seem to be quietly waiting their turn and they do likewise. Now and then a thick-set man appears, looks at someone and leaves the room with that person, who returns a few minutes later with "rosy cheeks and a broad grin". The scene is repeated for hours on end but their turn does not come. Their dissatisfaction over the lack of service gradually gives room to impatient anticipation. They try to call attention to themselves with adroit little tricks, pushing closer and closer to the mysterious exit, finally happily acknowledging their summons. First it is her turn, and then his. They are led through a door to the kitchen, where there is no fire in the stove, there are no cooks, but a man with a rubber truncheon instead, and one with a bamboo cane, and a third one who hits the guests only with his bare hands, wait on them. At the end of the operation they are guided back to the main hall of the café with impeccable courtesy. After some hesitation, the man tips the "attendant" with a note. His "eyes were gleaming and his face was flushed. He tried to move smartly, with a military bearing, for he was afraid that he might be a little lame. He sat down by his wife and contendedly licked his chops."

The short story perfectly traces the various degrees of giving up, how a man, after some initial dissatisfaction, affected by the general atmosphere, demands the right to participate, and then, surrendering to what is "inevitable", joins the rest of the happy defeated in their humble pleasures.

This sort of thing has happened so often in the last fifty years, that one finds the story, the manner of which is obviously absurd, perfectly credible. This is the region from which absurd drama springs. Jarry's dream is fulfilled: sheer nonsense has the force of evidence.

Örkény's love of the grotesque can be traced throughout his prose. In his younger days it showed itself in an inclination to depict peculiar phenomena. Later the world as a whole turns essentially grotesque. This is the most clearly apparent in *Catsplay** and *The Tót Family.** In the former the stress is on the ironic elements, in the latter on the tragic ones.

The principal character of *Catsplay* is Mrs. Béla Orbán an aged Budapest widow, well over 60, grey, whose feet swell even after a short walk. There is one bright spot in her life: every Thursday night Viktor, once a celebrated tenor, now a lump of fat interested only in his food, comes to dinner. These dates are brought to an end by the appearance of the "other woman", when the has-been tenor is seduced by Mrs. Orbán's woman friend who, although she is older still, looks younger in her elegant clothes and bleached hair. Mrs. Orbán leaves no stone unturned—even attempting suicide—to get her man back, but all her efforts are in vain.

Love attracts romantic and passionate adjectives in every language of the globe. Why then does this story stimulate laughter and mockery, and even a measure of disgust? Because Mrs. Orbán is old, and consequently this uninhibited passion seems to defy all rules of good behaviours and violates the conventional image of old age. In fact this image is merely a cover-up for our selfishness, something in us that wants to isolate old age, for it gives rise to associations with death. We all want a bit of each other, only the old are an exception, for none wants a part of them, but if they do want something of each other, we find that funny—that is what Örkény suggests.

The novella *The Tót Family* treats the relationship between power and man subjected to it. Most writers prefer to direct their attention to the mechanism of dictatorship that treads on human values, Örkény on the other hand is not really interested in the inhuman mechanism of power as much as in the type of man who supports this kind of power against his own better interests. The story is set in a small upland village during the Second World War. The Tót family have offered hospitality to Major Varró, the commanding officer of their soldier son, a man who wants to recover from a nervous breakdown he underwent while fighting in Russia. The Major, whose paranoid obsessions turn even a cow peacefully chewing her end into an enemy, plunges the family of the good village fireman into the most absurd situations; still all the Tóts continue to vie with each other in their efforts to follow his instructions, for they hope that he may be instrumental in preserving their soldier son's life. Mrs. Tóth and her daughter work at home making cardboard boxes for a surgical dressings factory. The Major found the box-making soothing for his nerves, so he drives them on and forces Tót to make a giant guillotine to speed up their efforts. Finally constant humiliation produces a breakdown in Tót and using a guillotine, he cuts the Major "into four equal pieces". The absurd end is an entirely logical outcome. In submitting to any indignity required by the Major, or rather his own supposed interests, Tót has humbled himself beyond human endurance. The completely nonsensical episodes are linked by a rigorously logical unity. Everyone accepts that the boy's life is in the hands of the

* See Nos. 28 and 44.

Major, and the objective of preserving his life lends a certain pathos to the family's plight. The illusory nature of this belief is communicated to the reader directly, as part of the exposition, on the first few pages of the novel. The day before the Major's arrival the Tót family is sent a wire telling them their son was killed in action. The wire was not delivered since the feeble-minded village postman tore it up. He liked the family and wanted to spare them the unpleasant news.

Örkény, in characterization, employs the comic antagonism between their real and locally imagined worth. The real military ability of the Major, a hero of mythopoetic proportions in the Tót's eyes is suggested by his own account of the way he keeps his men keen for battle and with their mind on the job. "When their hands are idle, I get them to cut off their fly buttons and sew back on again. This calms and steadies them." Tót himself, who is pretty slowwitted is considered a man of great wisdom by the village owing to his habit of repeating sententious commonplaces with an air of great and serious authority. "Whatever he did, he did well. If he gave a kick to a stone that always stopped at the right place, at its own final and only possible place, wherever that might be. Respect is like a stamp. It has nothing to do with the document, and still it's the stamp that gives the paper its authority." The story is counterpointed throughout by a catchphrase that remains unchanged, though shifting effect on the mood is a faithful reflection of the relationship between Tót and the Major. Mrs. Tót always calls her husband "my dearest sweet Lajos", condensing her complete devotion and esteem in this form of address. As the Major's influence over the family keeps growing, Tót becomes ever humbler and more ridiculous, and the identical words used by a wife and mother anxious to promote her son's supposed interests, turn into a warning and a threat, a demand to do as the Major wishes him to. Nonetheless even Mrs. Tót is so overwrought by the crazy box-making rite that she receives her husband when he returns from having quartered the Major, with her original intonation of "my dearest sweet Lajos", indicating as it were, her own approval of the judgement he carried out. Örkény produced successful stage versions of both *The Tót Family* and *Catsplay*. The tragi-comic situations of *The Tót Family* and the ironic dialogue of *Catsplay*, both remain highly effective in the other medium.

Nonetheless, his stage successes notwithstanding, Örkény remains a thoroughbred writer of prose fiction. His particular style and approach are most in evidence in brief prose pieces, as shown by his recent short stories. His eye and ear for the grotesque, his ability to condense and edit, and his keen observation of life led him to develop a uniquely original genre, his one-minute short stories. (See Nos. 29, 35 and 50 of the NHQ.) These stories are generally between two and four-hundred words long and often run only to a few lines, but their spare structure bursts with power. The essence of Örkény's experiment is to break down the short-story into its basic constituents: he keeps stripping off individual layers until he reaches the core, which is an integrated work. Örkény has, in these volumes, collected some fifty one-minute stories. *In Memoriam Dr. K. H. G.* is a dialogue between a prisoner digging a ditch to bury the carcass of a horse and a Nazi guard. Dr. K. H. G. talks to the guard about Hölderin and Heine, for "he was extremely fond of explaining things." "Who are they?" the guard asked. "Poets", Dr. K. H. G. said, "haven't you heard of Schiller?" "Of course I have" the German guard said. "And Rilke?" "Him, too," the German guard said. He turned as red as a tomato and shot Dr. K. H. G. The point of the story does not come as a surprise to a reader familiar with the basic nature of the eternal German guard, but it seems Dr. K. H. G. is familiar with German literature only. The text, pared down to the dialogue, prepares the logical and with the monotonous repetition of "the German guard said".

There are some one-minute stories in which everything is most realistic, and grammatical and logical order prevail, nonetheless, if one gets into the story and looks out through the window it opens onto the world, one find the world on its head. This is the full text of *Hogylétemről* (On My State of Health) "Good day." "Good day." "How are you?" "Well, thank you." "And how have you been lately, healthwise?" "I have no reason to complain." "But why are you dragging that rope behind you?" "Rope?" I asked glancing backward. "Oh, those are my guts." The situation is natural for me, I have learnt to take the guts I drag behind me for granted, so I have every reason to feel surprise that someone else thinks they are a piece of rope. The story may be crude, but it is certainly effective, it could be called "an ontological joke."

Parables are frequent. *The Castle Belongs to Everyone* is a letter by a loyal citizen to a certain "Honoured Management". The signatory describes the proud joy that overcame him when he entered the former Royal Castle, that was destroyed in the war, and recently rebuilt. It is a paradise for all, with signposts indicating the various attractions: "For Friends of Poetry", "Golf Course for Pensioners", "For Lepidopterists" etc. There was a minor organizational error that's all, a mix-up amongst the signposts. The writer, looking for the Park of Rest and Recreation found himself on a hilltop where ready hands pushed him off a ski-jump of Olympic dimensions. When they were fitting the skis he mentioned that he was suffering from agoraphobia, but "they, quite rightly, asked me why on earth had I then gone to the Skier's Paradise". At the bottom of the hill he was received by the screams of an old lady, louder even than the sleigh bells. She had intended to go to the "Granny's Fashion Parade" and found herself on the "Snow-ball Games" ground. The writer of the letter begs the authorities to correct these small mistakes, regretfully writing that unfortunately "The original enthusiasm some of the visitors had started out with had been dampened."

On the model of the "random poems" of the turn of the century avante-garde verse, Örkény also cultivates the "random story". He takes passages from a wide variety of places and published them entirely unchanged, or only very slightly altered. Sometimes what he does works like magic: an "instruction for the public" printed on the back of a tram ticket becomes art as the reader is shocked to realize in the new medium that the text he has seen a million times is an example of insane bureaucratic language and attitude. The writer not only looked at this monstrous passage but actually saw it for what it was. He does the same to the Hungarian King's Regulations to cover the Execution of Military Personnel which precisely formulate how such official killings are to be carried out.

Örkény also writes modern work songs, fleeting parables with the lesson that although work may have turned our species into human beings, the modern division of labour is able to turn them into a machine. The porter in *Információ* (Information Desk) looks after two offices, one of them on the first floor, and the other on the second. Those who pass by his desk ask him: "Where is X office," and "Where is Y office?" Accordingly he has to parrot only two sentences: "First floor, please" and "Second floor, to your right." That is his job. For fourteen years he did this with faultless precision and realiability, like an automaton, until he finally answers a courteous question: "All of us come out of emptiness and to the great smelly emptiness we will all return." A tiny little break down, easy enough to accept and to overlook. The only question is whether the man will not break out of the machine at other times as well?

These one-minute stories are little gems representing all shades of humour from gentle irony to morbid "black humour", they are epigrams in prose.

In Örkény's world objects and human

relationships display their perversity. His short stories and novels are usually set in banal basic situations, and the characters are also emphatically commonplace men and women. There is nothing exceptional in the outward form of things, they are built of realistic elements, only the writer's individual approach transforms their ordinary aspects. This change is worked effortlessly, for the characteristic method of the writer is to show up an apparently real phenomenon in such a way that its essential irreality comes out. The effect is enhanced by the way Örkény gives structural emphasis to the banal commonplaces of everyday vulgar idiom, their ironic accents receiving special emphasis when they are used at the end of a dialogue and employed as the closing sentences in short stories.

In Örkény's stories intellect is added to wit and skilful writing. His art is attractive because it is natural, working on various levels, establishing a unity between form and the intellectual and emotional substance.

LÁSZLÓ VARGA

THE UNITED NATIONS—THEY OR IT?

Reflections on Mahdi Elmandjra's *The United Nations System: An Analysis* (Faber and Faber, London, 1973)

Many people voice their opinions about the United Nations but rarely in a flattering way. General de Gaulle ridiculed "*les nations dites unies*" as a "*machin*"—a "what-d'-ye-call-it". Andrew Boyd's well-known little Pelican Book *United Nations: Piety, Myth and Truth* contains a chapter entitled "The Monster of Turtle Bay" where the interested reader may find a whole collection of disparaging epithets applied by famous people to the United Nations which happens to have its headquarters at the former Turtle Bay of the East River in New York. The "talk-shop" is one of the milder allusions in current usage.

In striking contrast to all these manifestations passing a sentence on the United Nations as a singular entity, the Charter of the United Nations begins with the word "*we*".

> "*We* the peoples of the United Nations determined to save successing generations from the scourge of war..."

But when it comes to criticizing the United Nations then it is practically never "we"—it is "*it*", the world organization that has failed. "They", that is the member states somehow get away with their irresponsibility though not necessarily with the consequences of their lack of responsibility, in some cases.

Naturally, nobody with some knowledge of historical documents and of present realities can maintain the abstruse misconception that the United Nations had ever been planned to become a "world government" of some kind or that it is in any way a world authority endowed with a will of its own and the capacity to enforce that will. Nevertheless, there has been, right from the beginning, an incessant debate about the question whether the world organization is to be regarded merely as an instrument, a tool by which a number of separate and sovereign national states carry out whatever limited agreement they can reach upon an institutional form for the multilateral conduct of state activity in certain fields. Or whether the *combined efforts* of the member states to which the Preamble of the Charter

refers can add up to something *more* than the mere sum of the policies of individual governments making it possible for the United Nations to act at least in some fields not only as an organ of its member states but also as an organ of the international community as such—in the current language of social theory as an organization having its own "systemic purpose"'

What *is* the United Nations? Or what *are* they? This is not a question which can be answered merely by an interpretation of the Charter from which legal arguments can be drawn—and have been drawn—for a wide variety of different and partly even contradictory positions. Nor does a study of the history of the world organization, an analysis of its past practices provide an unambigouus answer, especially as the United Nations has been put to use *and* misuse in so many different ways during the twenty-eight years of its existence.

Mahdi Elmandjra, Assistant Director-General of Unesco, has now undertaken a highly interesting attempt to contribute to the resolution of this "identity crisis" of the world organization by applying the concepts and techniques of one of the most recently developed branches of organization research, namely of *systems analysis*, to the whole complex of intergovernmental organizations centered around the United Nations, that is to the "United Nations System".

Elmandjra happens to be one of the youngest persons who have ever risen to such a high position in the hierarchy of the United Nations family of organizations—a position which provided him already in his early years with a deep insight into the inner workings of international administration and an extensive overview of the web of interests and interactions among the various actors and parts of the international system. Elmandjra is also a scholar and a researcher; he belongs thus to a category of intellectuals which is neither easily welcomed nor (for the same reason) too well represented in the top echelons of intergovernmental bureaucracy. As a matter of fact, the combination of high-class administrative talents with scholarship is rare in any branch of the management of human affairs, which explains some of the difficulties in the development of scientific management and of management science as a new branch of knowledge.

Systems analysis is a modern investigative approach to the study of the functions and the behavour of highly complex setups which may be of so different character as a living organ or organism (e.g. the blood circulation, the human nervous system, an amoeba, a tree or a whole tropical rain forest), the traffic of a metropolis, an industrial plant, a multinational firm or for that matter even an international organization.

In the sense in which systems analysis uses the word "system" this means (1) something consisting of a *defined* set of entities (2) among which a set of relations is *specified*, so that (3) *valid inferences* can be made from the defined entities and the specified relations between them to the functioning and the behaviour of the whole.

Now, in truth, there are very few non-mechanical creations in the world of men of which we know all component parts and all interactions or interdependences between those components as well as this definition of a "system" requests. Surely we don't have such exact and detailed knowledge of intergovernmental organizations or of their member governments and member states which are again highly complex setups in their own right. In this respect, however, the situation of the neurophysiologist who tries to apply the systems analytic approach to the human nervous system is not so very different. He most certainly does *not* have in his pocket in advance a complete list of all the components of the nervous system, of their individual characteristics and of the relations between them; but the principles of system analysis give him at least some guidance in what he has to look for, and to list, in order to arrive at a better understanding of the behaviour of the *whole*. On the

other hand, the neurophysiologist has, of course, the advantage of knowing well in advance that the whole thing at which he is looking is *really* a system in the strict sense of the word because it *works* that way performing very consequently those systemic functions which determine in some well-defined respects the behaviour of a human being.

Elmandrja's bold and pioneering approach to the United Nations System with at least a modicum of systems analytic concepts and methods comes up against two great and very essential difficulties.

Firstly, the United Nations family of organizations or more specifically the United Nations and all the specialized agencies, intergovernmental organizations, programmes, offices, funds, etc. related to it are neither always well-defined *individual entities*, nor do they together form a clearly circumscribed *set*. It may sound surprising but it is still a fact that there does not exist and has never existed any book, catalogue or document of any kind which contained anything like a comprehensive list of all the organs, committees, boards, offices of the United Nations System. If anybody undertook the heroic task of establishing such a listing in an official document, he would have to fight it out with a number of member-states—some of them rather great powers—which may strongly differ in their view whether one or another organizational unit is or is not a legitimate part of the world organization. Still, the systems analytic approach prompted Elmandjra to establish at least—and for the first time—a comprehensive classification of the parts and sub-parts of the United Nations System. This is a notable achievement in itself. The arduous work involved can be imagined if one considers that the mere listing of those parts and sub-parts occupies not less than eight closely printed pages in a special annex to Elmandjra's book.

Secondly, the *relations* between the various parts and sub-parts of the United Nations System are by no means clearly specified. Even as far as the United Nations and the major specialized agencies like Unesco, the World Health Organization, the International Labour Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization etc. are concerned, very much of their cooperation, coordination and interaction rests on unwritten traditions, mutual goodwill and understanding, ad-hoc arrangements at different administrative levels, a certain "esprit de corps" in the international civil service and the like. Where such factors do not come into play or do not prove to be sufficiently effective, cooperation, coordination and interaction may be lacking. There are also widely different views among top-level executives of the various agencies about the extent to which their organization owes allegiance to the United Nations System or "belongs" to it.

This state of affairs should surprise nobody who knows that there is no common budget for the United Nations family of organizations. The United Nations itself and each of the specialized agencies have their own roster of membership, their own law-giving and governing body which decides about their own budget and their own programme. Even the General Assembly of the United Nations can make only recommendations to the specialized agencies and cannot in any way prescribe them what to do or not to do.

The situation is made still more complex by the fact that the United Nations itself, and the various specialized agencies, have a very different representation of the member states in their law-giving and governing bodies. By this we don't refer primarily to the fact that some states or groups of states do not seek or accept membership in one or another organization of the United Nations System though this is an important factor as well. Still more important and consequential is, however, the fact that the great majority of states have no concerted policy towards the different parts of the

United Nations System. The delegation sent by a member state to the General Assembly of the United Nations will naturally follow lines laid down by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, the delegation sent by the same state to the Assembly of the World Health Organization will typically consist of experts on health taking their guidance from the Ministry of Health. The delegation sent to the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization will probably get its instructions from the Ministry of Agriculture. And so forth. Now, there seem to be very few countries indeed where inter-portfolio coordination and cooperation is so close that ministries in charge of different branches of national administration, production or public service (e.g. labour, industry, agriculture, health, education) check up with each other on international aspects of their policies, and on instructions to be given to their "own" delegates to different law-giving and governing bodies of the United Nations System. On the other hand, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who are so all-important when heading their delegations at the General Assembly of the United Nations often do not have "at home" the amount of domestic power that would be necessary to line up all the other, domestically much more powerful branches of government, in order to develop and pursue a consequent and well-coordinated policy towards all parts of the United Nations System. It can happen and does happen rather often that the representatives of Country X. vote in the General Conference of one specialized agency *against* a programme and in the General Conference of another specialized agency *for* a programme which the two agancies should carry out *together* and for which *both* had to provide manpower and funds. How should the United Nations family of organizations develop well-coordinated "system-wide" international policies if the member states do not develop well-coordinated policies of their own towards various fields of international activity? Nowadays when a number of important global problems—development, population, environment, to name only a few—cut *across* the traditionally defined "portfolios" of intergovernmental *and* governmental agencies, the lack of planned and well-coordinated action on the international level reflects to a considerable degree the lack of planned and well-coordinated policies on domestic levels within the nation state system.

Elmandjra is therefore quite right when he tries, in the first chapter, to place the United Nations System within the much more comprehensive general international political, economic and socio-cultural system and to establish its more or less direct and indirect relations to the various components of the nation state system and also to regional and sub-regional systems, nongovernmental organizations international social, cultural and economic interchange, the system of multinational enterprises, etc.

It goes without saying the overview of such an enormously complex network of global organizational interdependences and interactions, not to speak of its detailed analysis, is not a task that can be solved in a single chapter of a book, nor in any single book. It is something for a whole international library of the future which will contain long shelves of books as yet unwritten and not even conceived. What Elmandjra can achieve in this respect is not more than calling the attention to the need of intensive research in this direction.

However, as far as that limited subsystem of the general international political, economic and socio-cultural system, namely the United Nations System itself is concerned, Elmandjra does indeed achieve some feats of concrete and detailed systemic analysis in which he has few if any forerunners. Quite apart from his very incisive comparative analysis of the charters and constitutional documents of *all* agencies within the United Nations System, a confrontation of their organizational and functional setup, etc., which sets in the proper light many aspects of the "impotence" of the world

organization, Elmandjra uses also his inside knowledge to give the first systematic description and evaluation of the weak formal and informal mechanisms of inter-secretariat coordination and programme integration *between* the agencies (on the "Inter-Secretariat Level" as he calls it.) This and his sharpsighted assessment of the budgetary and extrabudgetary espenditures in the United Nations and the specialized agencies—which all follow quite different principles of budgeting and bookkeeping—all this reveals the reasons for many anomalies in the present performance of the United Nations family of organizations.

The *UN System* is often derided as an "*un-system*" and there is some truth in this play on words. The importance of Elmandjra's systems analytic spadework lies, however, not only in the fact that it reveals to what extent the United Nations family of organization does *not* measure up to the criteria of a true and coherently purposive system but that is shows concrete tasks and options we have in improving the systemic character and performance of the world organization.

The ultimate questions and the ultimate tasks and options are, of course, *political.*

In the difficult but very basic problem "The United Nations System: 'They' or 'It'?", Elmandjra's investigation leads to the following interesting conclusion:

"If, on the whole, a legal interpretation of the constitutions (of most of the major specialized agencies which followed the pattern of the United Nations Charter) may lead one to the the United Nations System as an 'it' more than as a 'they', a historical analysis would show that the system behaved as an 'it' each time there has been a major consensus among the 'they'—that is its membership—but has acted as a 'they' whenever such a major agreement did not preavil. In the latter case, however, the system has simply not taken any action. In practice, therefore, whenever the system is in a posito lake an action, it does so in its capacity of an 'it'; when its membership is not in agreement, it behaves as a 'they', which means that it does not mowe. With this qualification, one can, therefore, accept the dual capacity of the system which means capability in one case and incapability in the other." (pp. 327–328)

Due to its structural and functional deficiencies the United Nations family of organizations does not measure up to the strict criteria of a "system" in the sense of modern systems theory. It constitutes rather something what is termed by Elmandjra a "systematically arranged assemblage" of intergovernmental organization which may develop to a real full-fledged system only in the measure as it realises its overall purpose and finalities.

This leads the author to pose in the last chapter the fundamental question: "The United Nations System: What for?" And we can fully agree with him when he finds that even after having gone through all the toils of systems analysis "the theoretical and constitutional answer to our fundamental question 'The United Nations System: What for?' is comparatively simple and can be compressed in a single word: 'Peace'." (p. 323)

Elmandjra sees also quite rightly that the practical difficulties arise when one tries to give a *concrete* meaning to this concept, viz. to "Peace", and to assess the extent to which the world organization has been successful in translating it into *operative* terms.

We are gratified that in discussing the very concrete and operative problem how the United Nations System can fulfill its purpose and contribute to peaceful coexistence in spite of "irreconcilable differences" between its member states—how "it" can serve peace even if "they" differ—Elmandjra finds the most satisfying answer in an essay written by János Péter, who was at that time Foreign Minister of Hungary, on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations for *The New Hungarian Quarterly* (Vol. XII, no. 41, Spring 1971). Elmandjra quotes János Péter's words as follows:

"We have to be aware that the United Nations is a community of member states among which irreconcilable differences also exist. The difference between capitalism and socialism is irreconcilable. Nevertheless, socialist and capitalist countries are bound together by many common responsibilities. Sharp differences separated and still separate colonizing from colonized countries, but common responsibilities exist. Sharp conflicts oppose aggressors to the attacked countries, but they have common responsibilities too.

I could enumerate the divergence, I could point to the differences between highly developed and developing countries, and perhaps to diversities in skin colour and culture—but no matter how many irreconcilable differences there may be, there are bonds of common responsibility. The United Nations must try, without glossing over differences and conflicts, to seek out that which unites to remove the dangers of war, and do away with current conflicts."

Commenting on this quotation Elmandjra points out that indeed "notwithstanding these 'irreconcilabilities' the United Nations System has shown a very purposeful behavior in serving as an arena for the translation of the principle of peaceful coexistence into concrete programmes of international cooperation" and that "it has also very modestly contributed to the avoidance of any armed conflict between East and West" (p. 322).

Thus, after all, the United Nations family of organization has shown itself at least in some respects and at some occasions as worthy of its systemic purpose. The "UN System" is as yet not the real full-fledged system for the management of the affairs of the international community entrusted to it but it should neither be derided as an "un-system" or as a mere "talk-shop".

It is as imperfect as the state of the world in general. But this is still our world and we have no replacement for it. Our only choice is to try to improve on it.

Elmandjra's book has the merit of seeking for improvements of the United Nations System by a bold and imaginative application of scientific concepts and techniques which have proved to be successful in some other spheres of human enterprise. Let us hope that they will lead to some progress in the difficult field he chose to investigate.

SÁNDOR SZALAI

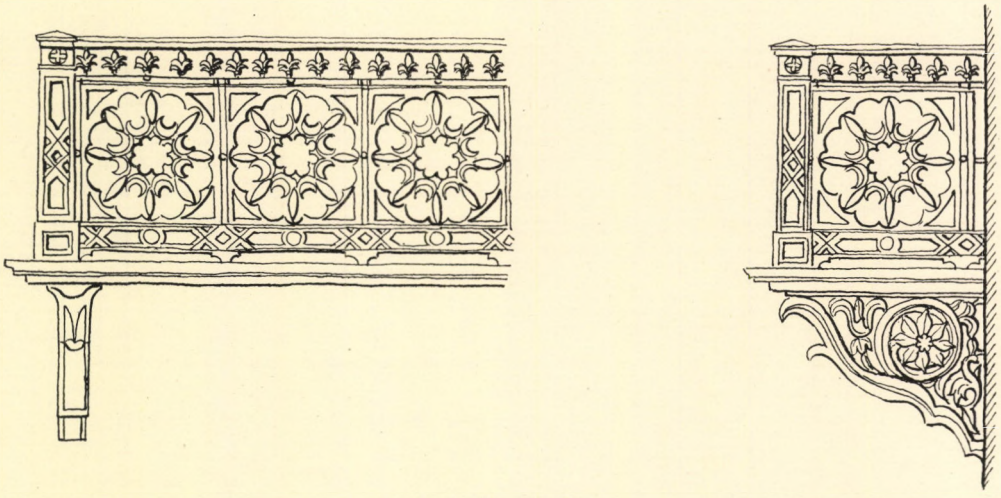
ROMANTIC ARCHITECTURE IN BUDAPEST

LÁSZLÓ GERŐ: *Budapest építészete a városegyesítés időpontján* (Architecture of Budapest at the Time of the Town Merger). Műszaki Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1973, 223 pp. Illustrated.

In 1973 the centenary of the merger of Pest, Buda and Óbuda inspired many books and publications on the subject. The volume under review deals with the fascinating subject of the architectural aspect of Budapest a hundred years ago. In it the author discusses the historical, social and technical course of the capital prior to unification and the main lines of development of the three towns which compose it, with particular reference to building in the nineteenth century and the role of the Pest Embellishment Committee and the Board of Public Works. He describes the process of industrialization, urban traffic and the housing developments of Pest-Buda in its evolution towards a national capital, and compares them to contemporaneous town-planning programmes abroad and to the transformation of other cities, Paris and Vienna in particular. History and urbanization, however, take up only a quarter of the

space, the other three-quarters deal with the state of architecture in Pest-Buda a hundred years ago. The fifth chapter concentrates on the main characteristics of the districts of Buda, Óbuda and Pest at the time the few surviving monuments from the Middle Ages, some outstanding Baroque buildings, the small Late Baroque houses found in certain parts, and the monumental Neo-Classical piles which distinguished the Lipótváros, a quarter which developed in the first half of that century.

Interest in Romanticism and in the use of historical forms and the architecture of the nineteenth century in general has been reviving throughout Europe, and these styles are now much more appreciated than in the past. Gerő's book is in line with this trend, especially in connection with Budapest. The architectural style of Pest and Buda, more especially Pest, played a leading role in Hungarian building for many decades, but it is clear that a full picture of the organic architectural structure of the capital can only



Iron grilles (details)

The sixth and seventh chapters, taking up almost half of the book, discuss the appearance of Romanticism and early Eclecticism in Budapest. In the radidly growing town these styles had a considerable influence, and the author has made a special study of this little known and ill-appreciated architectural epoch: evidence of his keen interest is to be found in his many articles and papers on early Eclecticism written over the past twenty years.[1]

[1] Gerő, László: "Early Eclecticism in Architecture". News sheet on Art History I (1952), pp. 99–106.

be acquired in the light of knowledge of overall developments in Hungary, and particularly Romanticism, a style much in favour in the era prior to unification, and ending just at that time. It is therefore possible to give a coherent interpretation of it today, as opposed to early Eclecticism, which was only beginning to develop at the time.

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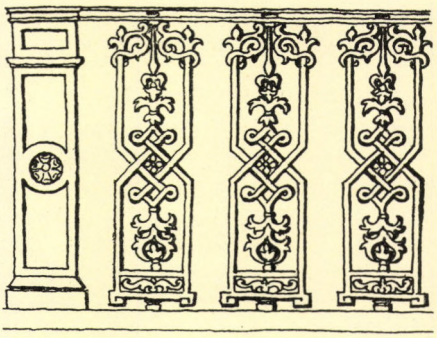
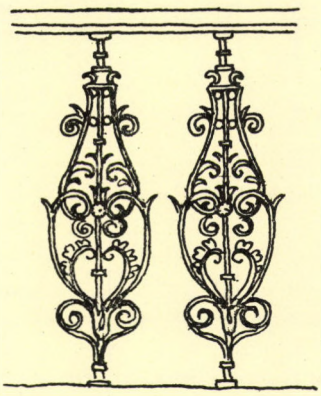
As with other intellectual trends, Romantic Architecture arrived late in Hungary. Its development, however, followed much the

same course as in Western Europe. In keeping with the specific nature of architecture, it was preceded in Hungary, as elsewhere, by Romanticism in poetry and literature, but quite early, before it came to full maturity, sporadic manifestations of Romanticism were already appearing, such as early Gothic or artificial ruins. One of the earliest





Iron grilles (details)

specimens of Neo-Gothic is the interior of the church in a fresco painted on the library ceiling in the Eger Lycée by Josef Zach, an architectural painter from Brünn, in 1778; and the artificial ruins were put up by Charles Moreau in Tata in 1801. The earliest architectural specimens of the Neo-Gothic are the pointed arches in the choir (1785)[2] in the Baroque parish church of Mecseknádasd, which are of a later date than the church itself. The number of these odd examples continued to increase, mainly in terms of woodwork and ironwork. Thus we have railings in the from of pointed arches, and gates with Neo-Gothic ornaments added to Neo-Classical Late Baroque buildings: and the same style can be seen on the pulpit of the Pest Parish Church (1808). The style subsequently spread from ornament to architecture itself at a period when Neo-Classicism was still in full bloom. The earliest example is the Roman Catholic church at Pétervására, designed by Ferenc Povolny, a master builder of Eger, in 1812, which took several years to complete. In the same year Ferenc Kazelik, a master builder in Pest, designed a two-storey corner house: its balconies, the banisters on the first floor and the main cornice were decorated with Gothic arches and in Buda the Holy Mary Chapel at Ferenchalom was built in 1820–21 for Ignác Kalmárffy, the town magistrate, and his wife.

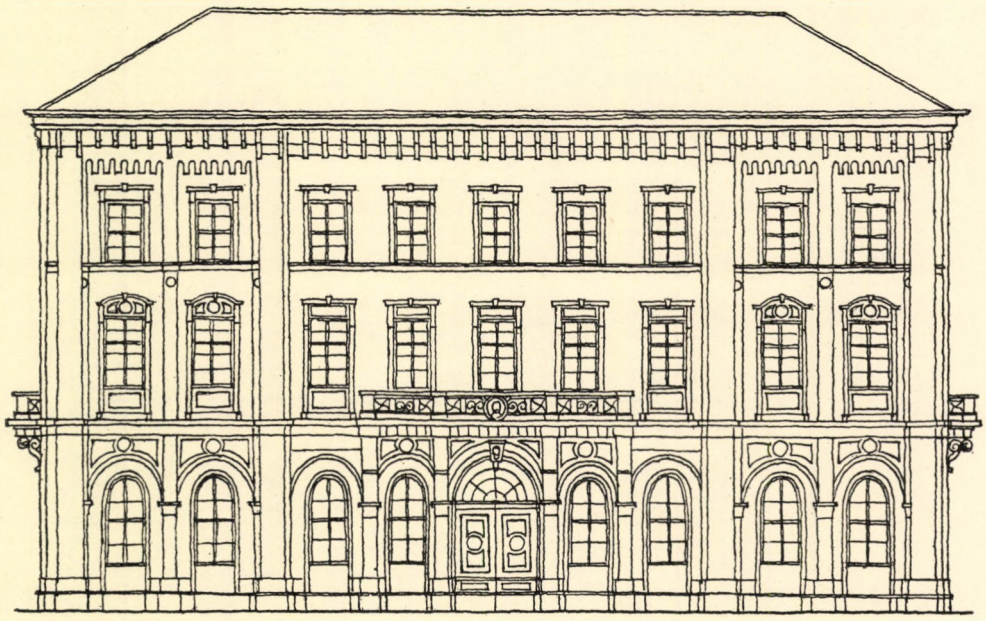
In the early 1840s the process quickened, and although Romanticism never fully replaced Neo-Classicism, it soon became the dominant trend. Some of the early examples in Pest are the Hermina Chapel, by József Hild, built with interruptions between 1842 and 1856. The fieldguard tower at Kőbánya (1844, Ferenc Brein), the freight yard of the Western Railway Station (1845–46, by P. E. Sprenger, a Viennese architect).

Since Romanticism spread throughout the country in the years of oppression following the defeat of the War of Independence, 1849, the trend towards Romanticism may seem to be a result of the lost revolution, an escape from the hopeless present to a comforting and all-oblivious past. If, however, we follow attentively the development which began in the early forties it becomes clear that the

2 See "Historia Parochiae" of Mecseknádasd.

development in architecture had been continuous, and was unrelated to the causes of the War of Independence and its defeat. One thing is certain: if the War of Independence had been won, the development of Romanticism in architecture would have been quicker and more consistent. The collapse of the '48 Revolution exhausted Western sources of inspiration for some time, the stimulating flow of ideas stopped, and the paralysis and decay of intellectual life did not favour any further independent and organic development of existing achievements.

The economic regression following the defeat was another factor which hindered development. When matters gradually improved, especially in the early sixties, better material and intellectual conditions for architecture made their appearance, but by then Romanticism was faced with the competition of a new trend called Eclecticism. In the competition for the building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1861 the accepted design was a Neo-Renaissance building (Ágoston Stüler) and Miklós Ybl designed the Festetics and Károlyi palaces in 1862 and 1863 in the same style: when the *chef d'oeuvre* of Romanticism, Vigadó, the Municipal Concert Hall and Ball Room was completed in 1865, praise was far from unanimous. By the seventies early Eclecticism has completely taken over.



The Pekáry House (Majakovszkij utca 47) Ferenc Grein, 1847–49

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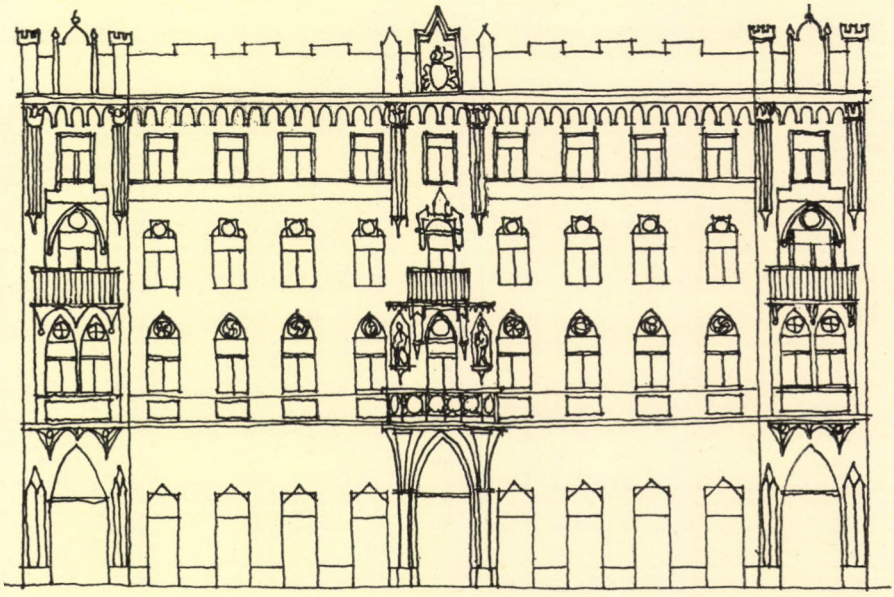
In this short-lived period of Romantic architecture several trends seemed to have co-existed side by side, depending on the historical styles which inspired them. Throughout its existence, Romanticism shared its

reign with various forms of Neo-Classicism, with the result that there was a certain plurality of styles proliferating in the era, although unintentionally and even unconsciously.

The earliest, strongest and most characteristic trend was the Neo-Gothic, the Romantic style par excellence, which produced its own theorist in the 1840s in the person of Imre Henszlmann.[3] This was followed by the Neo-Romanesque—a specific trend which came from South Germany, called the "semicircular arch" style, very popular in Hungary and used by Ybl, Feszl, Josef Diescher, and others. The romantic love of exoticism favoured the use of Islamic patterns and elements, drawn mostly from Moorish examples in Spain, as can be seen in the Budapest synagogue. The rare introduction of Byzantine elements also sprang from this interest in the East. The last trend in Romanticism was the Baroque–Rococo Romantic. It was a feature of this architecture that all these styles co-existed in time or alternated in the work of the same architect, and were often mixed and combined in one and the same building. Frigyes Feszl would often work the Romanesque semicircular arch in with the Moorish arch, Húgó Máltás combined the Romanesque semicircular arch with Baroque–Rococo. Even where one style dominated, in most cases it borrowed formal elements from another, if only as subordinate decoration.



Front view of the house at Fő utca 7

[3] Zádor, Anna: "Henszlmann and the Theory of Gothicism". *The Architectural Review*, CXL (1966), pp. 423–426.

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As with Romanticism, the presence of Classicism in Romantic architecture also had many aspects. In the beginning we find it when Romanticism was used merely to renew and vary the decorative elements in a building, creating a type of architecture

which could be called Neo-Classicist–Romantic, frequently found in urban dwellings. The Baroque–Rococo-type of Romanticism is quite understandably closely related to it, as it draws its inspiration from a style rooted in Classicism. But Neo-Classicism existed independently, branching out in two directions, the one a rigid and barren Classicism which soon disappeared, the other gradually and imperceptibly developing into early Eclecticism. Some sporadic manifestations of the Neo-Renaissance style also show a symbiosis with Classicism: examples of this are József Hild's design for the reconstruction of the German theatre in Pest in 1847 and the facade in the form of a loggia of the Villa Rósa (Budakeszi út), but probably built by him at the same time. There was also the trend recently named the "kubischer Stil" by Renate Wagner-Rieger and partly identified by her with the monuments of the "Rundbogenstil" with the remark that in Munich and Berlin they depend much more on former historical styles than in Vienna.[4] That style is represented by a design for the one of the revenue offices in Pest by József Hild (1836)[5], by Mihály Pollack's plan for the Parliament building (1840) which was never carried out, and by the governmental offices of Temesvár, built in 1856.

All these, of course, merely convey an idea of the broad spectrum of architecture in Hungary at the time without giving a complete picture of its many aspects. László Gerő's beautifully presented and finely illustrated book is also able to give no more than a glimpse of the architecture in Pest and Buda in the years before their unification as Budapest. His work makes it clear that the study of Romanticism and the use of former historical styles in architecture is occupying a good deal of the attention of European art historians in our days and that Hungarian research could well follow suit.

DÉNES KOMÁRIK

[4] Wagner-Rieger, Renate: *Wiens Architektur im 19. Jahrhundert. Wien, 1970.*
[5] National Archives: T. 15.: 38.

HUNGARIAN AUTHORS

A bibliographical handbook

ALBERT TEZLA: *Hungarian Authors.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1970, 727 pp.

Several years ago, the Hungarian Institute of Cultural Relations bestowed on Professor Albert Tezla, of the University of Minnesota, a memorial award for his research in the history of literature. Though born in the United States, Professor Tezla is of Hungarian origin. His work thus far has resulted in two bibliographies of Hungarian literature, and it is certainly not at an end yet. *An Introductory Bibliography to the Study of Hungarian Literature* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 290 pp.) was published first; his more recent work, *Hungarian Authors* goes beyond the limits of the *Introduction*. It assumes a knowledge of the source material and is intended for a deeper foray into the study of the history of literature. The more than 700 pages survey, with the aid of a satisfactory selection of material, is the history of Hungarian literature from the earliest times to the present. The appendix lists, along with other useful informa-

tion, more than one hundred Hungarian periodicals satisfying the requirements of the most thorough bibliographer.

The structure of *Hungarian Authors* is quite simple. Each item presents the individual authors in strict logical sequence: biography, first editions, collected works, critical editions, personal bibliography of the author, thematically classified critical literature (biographies, and monographs and articles analysing his work). There is also a listing following each item which indicates in which European or American library it is to be found. The strict discipline and simplicity is important, since a lucid reference book is made not by elegance of detail, but by the clear arrangement of its larger units.

Tezla avoids all complications by dividing his material into two large sections: Hungarian literature to 1945, and from 1945 to the present day. The authors are arranged alphabetically within each section. This method does not totally obliterate a temporal division, since in the appendix Tezla divides Hungarian literature into what he considers are its chief periods. If in addition to this division we also consider the number of Hungarian writers included in each period, we obtain the picture of Hungarian literature given by the book. Their number are as follows: Renaissance and Reformation (1450–1650) six, Counter-Reformation and Baroque (1630–1772) thirteen, Literary Revival, Age of Reform and Romanticism (1772–1849) twenty-nine, Age of Modern Literary Trends (1905–1945) divided into two subsections: (A) Search for new paths and the progressives of the *Nyugat* (1905–1918) sixteen, (B) Middle-class, populist and socialist literature (1919–1945) fifty-two writers. The chapter "Authors from 1945 to the Present" features twenty-three prose writers and poets since the Liberation. Quantity tells but little of the real value of the work, what is most important is the selection and the successful completion of the task.

The section dealing with the older Hungarian literature was undoubtedly most difficult to compile. This field, extending from the eleventh to the eighteenth century, is relatively little known, and its productive output had to be represented by the works of nineteen writers. Tezla chose well when he included Janus Pannonius, the outstanding poet of Latin-language humanism; Bálint Balassi, the master of Hungarian verse in the Renaissance; Péter Bornemisza, the dramatist and sermon writer; Gáspár Heltai, the classicist of secular Renaissance prose; Sebestyén Tinódi, the poet and composer of epic songs; and finally János Rimay, the mannerist poet influenced by Stoic philosophy.

It is a pity, however, that the Middle Ages are not represented in Tezla's bibliography, since the Latin-language literature of Hungary was a vital part of European literature. It would have been valuable to draw the attention of foreign readers to the medieval Latin hymns and the exciting legends written in Hungary, as well as to the chronicles, which had become a peculiarly Hungarian art form. In the case of the latter, I am thinking in particular of the scholarly Hungarian history by Magister P. (Anonymus), of the chronicle of Simon Kézai, in which the kinship of the Huns and Hungarians is expounded, and of the *Képes Krónika (Illuminated Chronicle)*, in which the motives of the oldest poetry of the Hungarians are preserved and transformed into folklore.

The newer literature, especially that of the twentieth century, with its almost unsurveyably rich productivity, presented a different problem. Tezla attempts in this case to draw a picture of modern Hungarian literature through the works of ninety-nine writers. Of these, sixty-eight belong to the first half of the century, and twenty-three to the period since the Liberation. The line could have been more easily drawn had it been made for a study in the development of literature. In a bibliographic reference book,

however, the continued production of a writer across the period boundary of 1945 leads to many debatable points.

I am thinking in this respect especially of the novels of Tibor Déry, László Németh, Pál Szabó and Péter Veres, which came out without interruption from the 1930s to the present day; the poetry of Gyula Illyés, Lajos Kassák, Lőrinc Szabó and Zoltán Zelk, whose roots stretch back to the period between the two wars, but whose development belongs to the period since the Liberation. The list of names could be continued, but this suffices to demonstrate the difficulty. Tezla places a writer according to the time of his first appearance in point. This criterion is acceptable for the purposes of a bibliography, and it is probable that in writing a history of literature Tezla would not have disregarded the process of development.

Although contemporary literature cannot be fully represented by twenty-three names, it must be said that Tezla has conscientiously attempted to do just that. Among the poets we find László Nagy, Ferenc Juhász, Mihály Váci, István Simon and János Pilinszky; among the short-story writers Ferenc Sánta, Károly Szakonyi and Iván Mándy; among the novelists Imre Sarkadi, Endre Fejes, and two women, Magda Szabó and Erzsébet Galgóczi. Tezla, having learned the lesson of the literary criticism of the past quarter century, realized that his selection would be strongly subjective (as in the case of Tamás Aczél), but he accepted the possibility of error. The result is not as unstable as one might have to accept, from the pen of a foreign scholar. It is on the whole a very positive selection which often closely approximates the requirements of Marxist scholarship.

Professor Tezla's work is, in the strictest sense, an undertaking which fulfils a great need, since there is no similar bibliography either in English, or even in Hungarian. It is true that a more extensive bibliography has been recently published, but it deals only with the period to 1772 (*A magyar irodalomtörténet bibliográfiája 1772-ig*. Edited by B. Stoll, I. Varga and S. V. Kovács. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1972. 638 pp.). Thus, the critical literature of one thousand years of Hungarian literature can only be studied in the selection of Tezla's 4,646 items.

Professor Tezla wrote out each bibliographic item himself from the original sources while working in the research libraries of Budapest (the Eötvös Library of the Institute of Literary History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the National Széchényi Library, the Academy Library, etc.). He had many friends and colleagues everywhere, but no fellow workers in the acquisition of material and no one to collaborate with the final work. Not one fact in his book stems from other than the original sources. This can rarely be said nowadays of similar enterprises, since they are everywhere produced by error-prone committees, which often rely on automation.

I do not think that in closing I need emphasize separately the usefulness and value of Albert Tezla's bibliography as a reference book. It is a work rich in source material which will serve Hungarian literature abroad in research work for a long time.

SÁNDOR V. KOVÁCS

ASPECTS OF HUNGARIAN HERITAGE

ISTVÁN NEMESKÜRTY: *Requiem egy hadseregért* (Requiem for an Army). Magvető. Budapest, 1972. 240 pp.
PÉTER NAGY: *Szabó Dezső*. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest, 1964. 604 pp.
GÉZA KÉPES: *Napfél és éjfél* (Midday and Midnight). Magyar Helikon. Budapest, 1972. 517 pp.

Many books about Hungary in English almost completely ignore one of the most shattering events in the country's grim history, her Second Army's defeat on the Voronezh sector of the Russian front during January 1943; nor apparently, until recently, has it been much discussed in Hungary. Dr. Nemeskürty, whose exposure of the Hungarian aristocracy before and after the battle of Mohács* (1526) aroused much discussion, is an avid rediscoverer of what has been swept under carpets. He bitterly alludes to what he describes as the old Hungarian view that what is never mentioned does not exist. It is not surprising therefore that it is he who confronts his fellow countrymen with the unpleasant facts of this battle.

On January 20, 1942 Field Marshal Keitel visited Budapest and demanded that the Hungarians, whose government had already involved them in the aggressive and brutal invasion of Russia by the Nazis, should bear their share of the burden of the war. As a result, in spite of the change (March 10) from the Bárdossy to the less pro-German but equally anti-Russian Kállay cabinet, some 250,000 Hungarians were sent over 1,500 kilometres from Budapest to the Voronezh sector (the town had been captured by the Germans, on July 24). The Hungarian forces formed part of the German 'B' army under the recently appointed Maximilian von Weichs to protect the northern side of the growing Stalingrad salient. It was strung out, defending 208 kilometres mostly along the Don river; furthe south there were Italian and Rumanian forces. On January 12, 1943 the Red Army attacked the Hungarian Army from the Uryv bridgehead across the Don. Within a fortnight it had totally disintegrated with a loss, including prisoners, of 140,000 men, the largest that the Hungarians have ever sustained in a single battle. For such a small country this was a complete disaster and would have doomed the Horthy régime even if its appeals to British and American troops to come and rescue it from those whose territories it had invaded, had had any possibility of fulfilment. It was indeed as complete a disaster for Hungary as Stalingrad, which took place at the same time (von Paulus surrendered January 31, 1943), was for the Germans. Yet no mention of it was allowed to appear in the Hungarian press or radio which continued to blare about the heroism of the German Stalingrad forces. Dr. Nemeskürty ironically quotes descriptions in the Budapest journals of the beauty of the snow on the Citadel, for example, a snow which, further east, was freezing Hungarian soldiers to death. When, too, the Nazis were finally driven out of Hungary in 1945, the new régime was not very interested in the fate of what it regarded as a fascist army. But, as Dr. Nemeskürty points out, whatever the top brass may have been, the greatest number of victims were very humble other ranks, most of whom had no political views, whose ghastly sufferings, ending for so many in death, should not be forgotten and demand 'the requiem' he has now supplied for them. For this he has managed to obtain a considerable amount of eye-witness source material and also to test his own conclusions against both German and Soviet accounts of the battle. He is thus able to give a very vivid description of what happened and to discuss the causes of this complete *débâcle* with which, though he disapproves of

* See *The N.H.Q.* No. 36

the government policy that caused it, he yet, as a Hungarian, feels deeply involved.

To diagnose the reasons for the defeat he has had to go back in time. His realistic criticism of how the unreformed society of Horthy's Hungary and of the Hungarian Army which was to some extent a reflection of it, bears some resemblance to the kind of criticism directed at the past failures of the British Army, often due to its classbound, ill-prepared and unprofessional character, made by Corelli Barnett. Unlike England, Hungary was compelled to have a small army after the Treaty of Trianon (1920). The country had no adequate industrial base to help it wage a modern war and, as late as 1935, the High Command reported that to do so was out of the question; the army's condition was little better in 1941 when, under the pressure of Berlin and also fascinated by German successes, the government decided to join in the invasion of the Soviet Union. The military were, in fact, more concerned in producing an adequate army within Hungary to be able to preserve, or perhaps extend, those territories that had been reacquired for them by Hitler, than to invade Russia. The result was that the Second Army, which failed to get some promised German equipment, took up its position with some of its regiments possessing thirty rifles per hundred men, with inadequate clothing in an unusually cold winter and painfully deficient in modern weapons. Dr. Nemeskürty quotes von Clausewitz on the danger of feeling a false security from a river defence and reveals how little the army did to strengthen its position. He argues indeed that those in control in Budapest had already written it off as doomed when they sent it out to its far distant destination, as blood money for the newly occupied territories. There seems to be some evidence for such a belief. The Second Army was not composed of the best troops. A large proportion of those called up were landless labourers or part-time odd-job men with the non-Magyar minorities over-represented, 'food for powder' as Falstaff said of his army in Shakespeare's *Henry IV*. A labour corps of some 50,000 consisted mostly of Jews and of others whom the régime regarded as undesirables. These were often under sadistic officers determined to work them to death or otherwise to bring their lives to an end. In fact the labour corps, which included highly trained men—much needed doctors for example—according to unprejudiced eyewitnesses' accounts, showed a greater discipline than most of the other troops and played a notable and heroic role especially in saving the wounded. Its casualties were very high, though some of the prisoners were very glad, no doubt, to fall into the hands of the Russians.

His discussion of the events of the battle requires the judgement of a military expert. What is of interest to the layman however is his description of various officers of the Second Army. It was commanded by the sixty-year-old General Gusztáv Jány who formerly taught at the Ludovika Military Academy in Budapest and who had been a staff officer during the First World War, ending up in Vienna. With his white collar, white gloves and many medals including the German ones for his part in the Voronezh campaign, externally Jány looked an impressive figure, but he was in fact without vision or power of effective decision. Learned in his profession, he required absolute discipline from others and imposed it on himself. The world outside the immediate circle of his functions hardly existed for him. He thus could never have envisaged a decision by rebellion, as Dr. Nemeskürty points out, some of the Hungarian officers in the 1848–49 Austrian Imperial Army had done. What the official line prescribed, he performed. He would report, warn, demand, even quarrel with German Headquarters, but, like his master, Horthy, he would go no further. Thus he demanded the weapons promised by the Germans, but did not receive them; unlike von Weichs, with

whom he quarrelled, as early as Christmas 1942, he was expecting a Russian attack and asked if he could retreat; he was told he could not. He thought that a German reserve force, to which his one tank regiment was attached, would be able to counter-attack, only to find it was directly under the Führer's orders and would therefore not be allowed to do so. As a result he dithered between orders and counter-orders, but finally demanded that the Hungarians, in his own words, "if they had no weapons, should form a living mass, a speed-decreasing buffer" against advancing Russians and thus protect the Germans. Though he at first praised his men, he later angrily accused the Second Army of having "lost its honour". Rommel, Dr. Nemeskürty acidly points out, did not require a Hungarian army to be interposed between himself and the British to escape from them. Jány's supine conduct was all the more inexcusable because his German liaison officer, Hermann Witzleben, belonged to a family that continually conspired against Hitler and he urged Jány to take the initiative in saving his army. But Jány, "an ossified reactionary", being the sort of man he was, Dr. Nemeskürty concludes, could have behaved in no other way than he did.

Equally interesting is Dr. Nemeskürty's account of General Count Marcell Stomm, commander of the Hungarian Third Army Corps. Stomm was a brave soldier, twice wounded in the First World War, a friend of England, who had been a military attaché in London and Washington. He had little contact with Jány and was more hostile to the Germans, "boiling with rage" at the task alloted to him. He finally, January 28, after a row with General Friedrich Siebert, commander of the neighbouring German Seventh Army Corps, when his own corps had practically disintegrated, issued an order advising his men to escape the best way they could.

"Requiem for an Army" is written by a Hungarian for Hungarians with all that this implies. It is not a book of detached research, but one with an urgent message. For me that message is that Hungarians, repudiating their immediate past, must grow up self-reliant and capable of making both moral and realistic decisions for themselves. They must never again be victims of thuggish "yes-men" indoctrinated with the brutal and blinding Fascist ideology that dragged them into conflicts alien to their interests; conflicts which brought them the enmity of the Western powers as well as of the Soviet Union from whom they endured at distant Voronezh the terrible defeat which this *requiem* so vividly describes.

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Another happier event in Hungarian history, which is also completely ignored in every book I have read on Hungary in English, was the founding in 1895 of the Eötvös Collegium in Budapest to train a pedagogical *élite*, chiefly in foreign languages. It was set up during a period when a secular liberalism had just gained a victory against Catholic clericalism and its methods were based on those of the École Normale Supérieure of France. All ex-teachers of that college, of whom I am one, and former students, even in these egalitarian days, regard themselves as superior beings, compared with less privileged mortals. It must be confessed however that the "old boys" of the college regard the late Dezső Szabó (1879–1945) undoubtedly one of the most talented members of that confraternity, with mixed feelings. Fortunately another former member of the Eötvös College, Professor Péter Nagy, a lively adolescent when I was there, has written a biography which may assist in forming a judicious assessment of him. Dezső Szabó studied French and Hungarian literature at the college at the turn of the century. He then went to France and was excited by the most bizarre, brilliant and often wrong-headed authors who created the strange intellectual ferment of the time, and came back as some sort of revolutionary. Perhaps his most impressive act was in 1910

when he publicly declared that it would be impossible for Hungarian schoolmasters to continue to sing the National Anthem on rumbling empty bellies and that they must have a pay rise. Count István Tisza, then Prime Minister, felt compelled to denounce this statement as evidence of the depravity of the age. Less happy was his anti-Dreyfus, anti-semitic racialist stance which only fully matured after the 1914–18 war. His own rustic brand of revolution in 1918–19 appeared to outbid that of anyone else in general ferociousness, but finally caused him to throw in his lot for a time with the white counter-revolutionary terrorists of 1919. He had produced his one really successful novel, *Az elsodort falu* (A Village Swept-Away). This described a decaying village reduced to a worst state by the remote action of Jews, big business, war profiteers and other sinister influences from Budapest. The hero, a minor noble, finally married a peasant girl, who according to Péter Nagy—I have not read the book myself—had "opulent breasts", "cowlike eyes", "felt rather than thought" and rejoiced in her annual pregnancies while working in the fields. They dedicated themselves to revive village life while the daughter of the local aristocrat, corrupted by urban literature, ended up a prostitute. This tale, written in a powerful expressionistic style, was a tremendous hit between the two wars and during the second war, when it was made into a film and provided Dezső Szabó, who never married and continued to live in Budapest, with considerable wealth. However, during the twenties, he had broken with the Horthy régime and courageously opposed German racial imperialism with Hungarian peasant racism. As such he became something of a hero, when I was at the Eötvös College, to some of those who had been brought up in small towns and villages and were a little awed by some of the sophisticated Budapest types. Some of these students, like myself, took to village exploring, though none of us, as far as I am aware, put Szabó's whole programme into practice. His disciple Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, the Smallholders Party's parliamentary leader, with whom, as with everyone else, he managed to quarrel, in 1932, before Churchill had turned against Hitler, violently denounced Gyula Gömbös of the "Awakening Magyars", then Prime Minister, for visiting the Fuehrer. Bajcsy-Zsilinszky later formed a resistance movement of politicians and soldiers who were unfortunately betrayed before they could get control of Budapest and save it from the siege it had to endure. He offered armed resistance to the Hitlerite invasion and perished, a martyr to Magyar liberty. Dezső Szabó's end was less glorious; he died of starvation and influenza during the siege, but, like Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, he had become much less of a racialist and attacked the Arrow Cross for example. His wit, originality, wide culture and occasional acute perceptiveness, which were not necessarily connected with his wrong-headed views, are revealed in his many pamphlets, articles, lectures and one-man chats; he was particularly effective in the latter. He cannot therefore be dismissed as a person of no literary or historical significance. Péter Nagy has skilfully separated the small quantity of ore from the considerable amount of dross in this man's career. Though he does not share his views, he displays an underlying understanding of his mercurial theatricality.

I would like to end with a few remarks on another work by another Eötvös Collegium scholar. Dezső Szabó, when there, was influenced by a remarkable Finno-Ugrian scholar, Dr. Zoltán Gombocz, who, from 1927 till his death in 1935, was the much loved principal of the college; for a time Szabó, too, interested himself in Finno-Ugrian philology, but he had not the scholar's temperament. Géza Képes, a little older than I am, born in 1909, the son of a blacksmith, has, and is also a poet as well as these excellent verse translations reveal. *Napfél és Éjfél* (Midday and Midnight)* is beautifully

* See also Dezső Keresztúry's review, in No. 53, p. 173.

produced with fine, coloured, illustrations of various types of Finno-Ugrian handiwork and makes a most attractive book. His introduction gives an account of isolated and at first unacademic Hungarian researchers who from the early nineteenth century were interested in their nation's origins. They went to the Russian steppes to search for their Vogul and Ostyak cousins and collected their rhymes and songs. The Voguls who at one time had been a matriarchy with laws which might well appeal to the modern woman's liberation movement, had as their last female leader Louhi, at once beautiful and intelligent, as well as having magical skills. The battle she waged at the dawn of the Iron Age in these regions is given a cosmic significance in poems about her. Missionaries who converted the Magyars in the eleventh century to Roman Catholic Christianity had no use for the nomad culture, and educated them to use the Latin tongue, but nevertheless it survived among the people. Of particular interest, for example, is the way Géza Képes traces a special kind of Magyar poem known as "flower song" *(virágének)*, which flourished particularly in the sixteenth century and has been revived today. It might be thought that Géza Képes, grappling with such an esoteric subject, might have lost sight of other masters, but this is very far from the case. He has written, aside from his several volumes of poems in Hungarian, Latin verse, translated into Hungarian English, Spanish, Russian, Persian poetry, to mention but a few, of his works as well as poems from the Finno-Ugrian family of languages. He has also played an important role in Hungarian literary societies. It is because Eötvös College has produced such distinguished scholars as he, that an inferior mortal like myself glows with pride when he thinks that he once had the privilege of teaching there.

NEVILLE C. MASTERMAN

PAST AND FUTURE OF DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

Two Books on Development Assistance

However voluminous and manifold international literature on the problems of the developing countries may be, the lines where strata—characteristic of every discipline—meet, can clearly be sensed. Looking at only the broadest division, decade by decade: in the fifties students described the phenomena of and reasons for economic and social backwardness; in the sixties the debate dealt with the necessity for and forms of planning, the primacy of industry or agriculture, and methods of developmental aid sought solutions of the problems—to mention only a few topics selected at random.

At the turn between the sixties and seventies the change no longer occurred in the already defined subject of research, but in the way of viewing it. The discipline looking into the economic and social development of the developing countries (as if following the example of modern physics) broadened the dimension of space and time surrounding the facts under investigation: it placed the problem increasingly into the

broader context of the world economy (and of course world demography and world politics) and investigated its formation in an essentially longer perspective (up to the year 2000)—setting out in certain cases from optimistic and in others from pessimistic hypotheses.

Angelos Angelopoulos who formerly taught at the University of Athens and who now lives in Switzerland, an economist of international reputation, is among the first to formulate this view as a conscious programme. Surveying the results of earlier research and the actual progress of backward countries, seeing these always in the context of world development, he urges action harmonized on a world-wide scale and makes the necessary proposals: he makes forecasts by using strict statistical methods including variations based on different hypotheses.

The first four chapters of Angelopoulos' book* are a survey of past developments and the present situation, based partly on secondary sources and partly on the author's own research. This creates not only the necessary coherence (within the work) among the most urgent or available points of interference in the alarming situation, and later recommendations, but serves also as the motivation and theoretical foundation for the latter. It is this part that links the work of the author to worldwide research done for over twenty years now. He either accepts or criticizes that research, but—in accordance with the plan of his undertaking—he always emphasizes what ultimately best serves his analysis.

Thinking of the present negotiations concerning disarmament and troop reduction, the book's chapter dealing with demographic problems is especially interesting. It opposes the reduction of armaments to birth control as a more effective alternative for the mitigation of the problems of the developing world. In the developed capitalist countries, between 1960 and 1970, of every 100 dollar increase in annual income, 30 dollars were devoted to increasing military expenditure and only 0.80 dollars to actual assistance to the developing countries. If, of the 300,000 million dollar increase devoted to military expenditure in the sixties, only two-thirds had been used for—equitably distributed and purposefully utilized—productive installations, this would have induced at least an additional income of 90,000 million dollars a year.

The author also discusses the reasons for the backwardness of the Third World. His objectivity is shown by his not staying silent about the errors of economic policy of the developing countries. In his view, these errors were manifested mostly in the execution of plans. He also misses a more resolute formulation of social objectives. He explains in detail reasons of a world economy nature, those which derive from the distorsion of the inter-regional division of labour.

Angelopoulos devotes a separate chapter to economic assistance, the "myth" of this assistance in his words. Surveying data concerning assistance of different kinds he finds that the share of the assistance paid out by the DAC member countries in relation to their GNP is diminishing, and only one-third of the amounts paid out under the heading of assistance can really be considered "assistance".

The author therefore argues for the necessity of a new strategy of development, sketching the main features of this strategy. In its elaboration and execution responsibility devolves also on the developing countries themselves: they must work out long-range plans for the mobilization of the dynamic elements of society and the employment of that part of the population which is able to work—combined with a just distribution of the fruits of the common effort. Angelopoulos speaks of global planning comprising the entire economy of the developing countries, instead of partial planning. He recommends two-sector planning, which exactly determines

* ANGELOS ANGELOPOULUS: *Le tiers monde face aux pays riches — Perspectives pour l'an 2000*. Paris, 1972, Presses Universitaires de France, pp. 222. (Introduction by Josué de Castro.)

community investments, and plans the activity of the private sector in an elastic way.

In respect of the index of economic growth Angelopoulos considers it realistic, on the basis of historic examples and in the case of adequate conditions, that the GNP of developing countries should increase by 7 per cent annually in the seventies, by 8 per cent in the eighties, and later by 8.5 per cent. It is, of course, possible to agree with the demand for a high growth rate set by the author. Yet, it seems necessary, to complement the views of the author with a few further considerations, which in the case speak rather for an optimal (and perhaps more moderate) growth rate than for the maximum possible in principle.

The first such consideration is of a socio-political nature. If the high growth rate is brought about with an unchanged social (class) structure, this means that the income increment derived from the high growth rate is concentrated within a narrow (in the social conditions characteristic of most developing countries, very narrow) section, which may increase the socio-political tension existing already, to the point of explosion. The incertitude is part of the contradictions of today's developing world. Would an explosion always free the energies of progress?

The other consideration is of a more strictly economic nature. The one-sided endeavour to accelerate the growth rate may cause the upsetting of the internal and external equilibrium, which then may again cause the stagnation of economic growth over a longer period, or even the reduction of the volume of the GNP.*

Both considerations give a warning that the desirable rate of economic growth must be calculated within a long-range strategy, reckoning also with social factors.

The most important proposals are developed on the plane of international finances. First of all, he recommends the conversion of the existing stock of debt into debts that would expire after forty years —with a period of grace of ten years—at 2 per cent interest. Within the new financing to be started parallel to this conversion, the developing countries would receive 100,000 million dollars in ten years at similar conditions, the poorest countries getting their money free of interest. The conversion of old debts and the new financing would provide the developing countries with approximately 15,000 million dollars annually. The source of this new financing would be contributions from the developed countries—free and untied—amounting to 0.5 per cent of their GNP. A reformed World Bank would carry out this financing.

The author's further proposals point beyond the present reality of the international monetary system, which is only the reality of improvisations, but are far from utopian, since Angelopoulos is a recognized expert on international monetary problems, and his proposals are based on the statistical analysis of facts. Cooperation taking the place of international tension, the oft repeated readiness of the socialist countries to participate in a new, genuinely universal monetary system, bring the reality of the system recommended by Angelopoulos (or one resting on similar principles) within the scope of early implementation. The socialist countries support the developing countries—in proportion to their strength—at present as well. A study on Hungarian development assistance was published in an earlier number of this periodical.* They would certainly be ready to share with the developing countries all the benefits derived from a new monetary system, although they are justified in refusing to accept responsibility for the present difficult situation of these countries which is an inheritance of the colonial era.

The author trusts that the developing countries will sooner or later make up for

* József Bognár: Economic Policy and Planning in Developing Countries. Budapest, 1969 (2nd English edition), Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 627 pp.

* See *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, No. 49.

their lag. The factors of this are the spreading of technical progress, the ampleness of labour—in 2000, of every 100 persons able to work 83 will be living in the developing countries—and the new demands and impatience of the young. In the case of adequate international assistance, these are decisive factors making for progress, but in the case of the complacency of the developed countries and of international organizations, they are sources of serious tension: in the developing countries, the number of the unemployed will rise from 122 million in 1970 to 500 million by as early as 1980.

The book closes with a sketch of the world economy around 2000. This is not the picture painted by a visionary, but a forecast elaborated on the basis of statistics. He argues that the full GNP of the world will increase from 3,072,000 million dollars in 1970 to 16,418,000 million dollars in 2000; within this the share of the developing countries will rise from 10.9 per cent to 19.5 per cent. Due to the differing rate of growth of the different countries, the economic power relations in the world will be rearranged.

By 2000 the weight of the socialist countries will increase in the world economy: their share (including China's) in the total GNP of the world will rise from 23.2 per cent in 1970 to 28.3 per cent.

The appendix containing calculations concerning the GNP of the socialist countries in 1970 is theoretically worthy of attention and is an important practical contribution to the complicated science of comparative international statistics. Its figures may be accepted generally as realistic, and in the case of Hungary they coincide with the Hungarian work done in the same field. It should be noted that the *Hungarian Statistical Yearbook*, published annually in English and in Russian as well, contains, in order to make international comparison possible, figures not only concerning the national income but detailed data about the GNP as well.

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Péter Vas-Zoltán's work,* published in English, analyses a special segment of the past, one could almost say: history, of development assistance: *United Nations Technical Assistance*. From the time when in 1949 the United Nations established its Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance up to 1964, when EPTA merged with the UN Special Fund, altogether 150 countries participated (either as donors or as recipients) in INTA, which made use of 1,000 million dollars, affected the activity of 45,000 persons and implemented 160,000 actions.

Péter Vas-Zoltán's monograph is as good as a source on this varied and manifold international activity. By taking count of all sources, channels and forms of UNTA as well as the affected countries, he carried out a scientific task which necessitated statistical inventiveness and wide-ranging international knowledge in addition to patience and devotion to meticulous work.

Two-thirds of the volume are filled by tables presenting data grouped in many ways. The introduction gives a short survey of the concept of economic backwardness on the basis of specialized literature in the Western and the socialist countries, and follows the projection of the problems of the developing countries right through the United Nations documents. Through this the world political and world economic circumstances which determine the role of UNTA as well become intelligible to the non-specialist.

For the student of this increasingly important special area of international relations and organizations, the description of technical assistance, of its administration and financing, which the author provides at the beginning of his book is most interesting. He briefly surveys the critical comments which have been levelled at UNTA. These were voiced partly by various organs of the United Nations itself, but the 1961

* PÉTER VAS-ZOLTÁN: United Nations Technical Assistance. Budapest 1972, Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 404 pp. (in English).

Kennedy message quoted, and the Soviet viewpoints which he describes, afford a picture also of the criticism made by the largest donor countries—though for different motives.

In the formulation of the author, the data collected and processed by him aim at making possible the analysis of:

—the distribution of technical assistance among the participating countries;
—the trend in the volume and order of magnitude of technical assistance;
—the character, implementation and effectiveness of the projects.

This objective is fully realized through the figures grouped according to various criteria, which constitute also a remarkable contribution to the methodology of comparative statistics.

In appreciating the weight of UNTA, the author compares it to bilateral movements of capital and to military assistance. This comparison shows that UNTA, this qualitatively new, positive and promising element of international relations, asserts itself as yet in a quantitatively narrow area. For instance, military assistance amounted to 33.3 per cent of bilateral assistance paid out by the United States between 1945 and 1964, while its contribution to UNTA was only 0.3 per cent of the same amount.

In addition to the value of technical assistance, the book informs also of its content and different spheres. The detailed analysis of altogether 160,000 cases is of course impossible; nevertheless, in addition to a general description and valuable comprehensive survey, Péter Vas-Zoltán collected the description of individual technical assistance actions in respect of the five countries which received most technical assistance: Kenya, Zaire, Nigeria, Senegal and Somaliland.

The author devotes a separate chapter to participation of the socialist countries in UNTA (detailed figures are published in the statistical tables). Not denying that at present the socialist countries, with the exception of the Soviet Union, contribute but little to the activity of UNTA, he throws light on the reasons of this in a broader historic and world economic context. At the same time, in the international situation developing at present he considers it necessary that the socialist countries should intensify their participation in this important branch of the work of the United Nations.

In addition to the numerous tables included in the text, a series of tables form the second and larger part, enumerating all countries which participated in UNTA either as donors or recipients, or both, their contributions or receipts year by year and item by item. The possibility of comparison between the countries is created by indices construed and calculated by the author, expressing the gross and net outlays and receipts, their various ratios and averages.

This rich and, for practical purposes, well-prepared material, the thoroughness of which is characterized by the fact that the author even corrected the printing errors which occurred in United Nations statistics!, will serve the assistance experts of the developed and the developing countries in their work as well as the officials of the United Nations and its specialized agencies—and in addition, of course, all those who are interested in the questions of the developing countries or in the work of the United Nations.

Péter Vas-Zoltán's book is the author's individual undertaking. But this undertaking has sprung forth from that soil of Hungarian political and scientific public opinion which turns with such huge interest and expectation towards the solution of international problems, and within this especially to the role of the United Nations. And the fact that the attention of the author was caught especially by technical assistance is perhaps explained by the fact that within Hungarian development assistance this is the dominating form, due to the relative wealth of intellectual ability and the poverty of material resources.

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Á. Sz.

THE ARTS

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL BIENNALE OF SMALL SCULPTURE

The International Biennale of Small Sculpture was held in Budapest in the autumn of 1973 for the second time. As the Organizing Committee of the Biennale explained in the catalogue, its purpose was "to provide a comprehensive review of the present position in sculpture, and to provide an opportunity to compare and contrast the designs and achievements of the different countries".

The first exhibition in the autumn of 1971 contained work by sculptors from 22 countries. In the second the international jury passed works for inclusion in the exhibition by artists from 34 countries. What is new here is that this exhibition provides an opportunity for sculptors to show their work and gives an overall survey of the newest trends in one aspect of the plastic arts. For the show is for *small* sculptures, not so much as a matter of principle as a matter of expediency, since it would be practically impossible to arrange the transport and display of large pieces of sculpture intended for public squares or museums. Small pieces of sculpture, on the other hand, are relatively easy to transport and their display takes up less room. The rules of the Biennale specify that no work may be higher than 80 cm and take up more than one square metre of base area. Only original works produced in the last three years preceding the exhibition are eligible, in other words, no copies on a reduced scale or models of a monumental work would be considered.

Of course, this invitation to artists only lays down general principles; it can hardly do more than that. The fact is that traditional definitions of genres are useless in the art of our times. Such pure divisions of small plastic art as the terracottas of ancient Mediterranean civilizations or the small masterpieces of pre-Columbian art, or the small bronzes of the Mannerists would be sought in vain today, for having triumphed over all the problems of light, space and movement, not only such small plastic artifacts, but three-dimensional pieces in general, have long ago broken through the boundaries of separate genres as defined in different systems of aesthetics. It is not the genre which has to be decided; the question is rather what possibilities are there today for plastic expression, and consequently for modelling and shaping that is at once optical and tactile, that is, based on the correlation of mass and movement. Biennales of this kind are in fact suitable for the investigation of this problem, for here all trends can be seen, from the traditional solutions rooted in convention to the newest efforts arrested at the level of an undeveloped idea, and consequently the different searches and different explorations can be confronted with one another.

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It follows from the complex position of art in our times that the picture presented is a vast and uneven mosaic. The jury of international experts could hardly have taken any other course of action than the one it did, accepting the recommendations of the different national committees and showing every work proposed for exhibition. Only one real type of problem occurred: the problem when a mere object was presented in pop art fashion. In recent years, following the great Duchamp gesture and the *objet trouvé* of Surrealism, presentations of mere objects have become rather frequent at exhibitions, objects of use being shown as mere objects devoid of all function and association. In such instances the only meaning given to the objetct is through the gesture of the artist in placing such an object, deprived of its useful function, and which had not assumed any aesthetic function, on a pedestal, and thus into an absurd context. In these cases the jury was rather vague and hesitant, for the sculptural or plastic idea was here completely absent, even in its broadest meaning; what was there, if anything, was a concept that could only be given a social-psychological interpretation at best. Does such a subject, deprived of all reality, blend with the other structures suggesting aesthetic associations or the rhythm of space and movement? At the first Biennale, in 1971, several objects of this kind were shown, several of them brain-children of the Neo-Dada anti-art movement, but this time only a few of them were displayed. Most of the exhibits were more closely related to a traditional interpretation of art, or at least an interpretation that can be based on Cubism and non-figurative art.

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Any Biennale is worth as much as the names of the artists showing there, for in the present position of the arts the names in the catalogue are unfortunately more effective than the works themselves. However large the crowds attracted to an exhibition of this kind, they represent in fact a very small number. Contemporary art is gradually beginning to live almost exclusively in this documentation. For this reason even if an exhibition includes masterpieces, it will only be an international success, receive wide publicity and become integrated into the worldwide art circuit if it can produce names which have already made their mark among international critics and dealers.

In this respect the Budapest Biennale of Small Sculpture can consider itself lucky, for even at the first exhibition it could boast of a name like Max Bill, and the exhibitors and prize-winners of the present exhibition number among them men like Arnoldo Pomodoro, Jean Ipoustéguy and Umberto Mastrioanni. And there are also the always exceptional Japanese—Shiro Hayami, Monoru Kirasawa, Jo Oda—well-known Greek names such as Théodoros Papagiannis, Thumios Panourias and Georgios Kalakalas, the Soviet Margarita Voskrenskaya, or Bosko Kucanski of Yugoslavia, whose robustly plastic sense was one of the surprises of the show. As a result the Biennale of Small Sculpture is a viable proposition and has developed into something more than invitations extended by the Hungarian art world on the periphery of international art. The summons has grown into a challenge. This means that the Biennale has a future and good prospect before it.

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It goes without saying that any international exhibition also offers an opportunity for the artists of the country arranging it to show their own works, and so compare and contrast trends at home with international tendencies. At the Second Biennale, Hungary was represented by six artist: Jenő Kerényi, István Kiss, Sándor Mikus, Sándor Kiss, Ferenc Kovács and Tibor Vilt, who was awarded one of the prizes.

When we consider the main trends of

contemporary Hungarian sculpture, we can hardly regard this as a very fortunate selection, though Tibor Vilt and Jenő Kerényi are unquestionably two highly important representatives of the older generation. Sándor Mikus, who exhibited decorative small statues in the Neo-Classical style, is no longer young. Sándor Kiss's works are influenced by folk art, and István Kiss mixes decorative effects with a naturalist approach in pieces of sculpture which look like reduced-size copies of larger statues. Out of the Hungarian six, only the works of Ferenc Kovács are clearly abstract, using natural forms to develop them into purely plastic shapes.

Jenő Kerényi exhibited dramatically expressive bronze figures, nervously modelled. Kerényi forms part of that branch of European sculpture originally inspired by Bourdelle and Mestrovic. In the beginning he came under the spell of Andreotti, and among the present artists Marino Marini seems to have exercised the greatest influence over him. Nonetheless if we look for the closest influence of all, we must turn to Lajos Szalay, an artist now living in America, who has, however, played an important part in Hungarian graphic art. Lajos Szalay's remarkable Genesis series* seems to have provided the inspiration for the themes of Kerényi's work, and for their somewhat literary and illustrative character.

Tibor Vilt is one of the most exciting personalities in Hungarian sculpture. It is very difficult to describe his work in a few sentences, or by reference to some style or other, for it is constantly changing, receptive to the new, and always original. The structural foundations of his sculpture have always been too animated, too dynamic to be contained in any set genre. And yet below his almost Baroque variations on movement there lies the severely structural skeleton. His real strength is in his power of, as it were, roughing it out and solving the problems of space and movement in any given subject, without being too concerned to give it a final finish. In his early days his work expressed great psychological insight, but from the sixties on it became increasingly objective, with the accent on questions of structure, abandoning psychological interpretation for an obsession with pure form.

The Vilt works displayed at the Biennale are a summary of his lifework. Constructions of pure plasticity, geometrical forms, glass plates angled against one another alternate with forms more suggestive of the natural world. Within the confined space there is a sense of regular movement and a strict rhythm. What is unique is that Vilt's works are self-contained, purely formal designs, and yet at the same time they set off in the beholder a wealth of associations. It is rare indeed for an artist to produce works at once so self-containing and so open. They are among the best achievement of Hungarian contemporary art and well deserve the prize awarded them by the Organizing Committee of the Biennale.

LAJOS NÉMETH

* See *The N.H.Q.* No. 38, 1970.

RECENT EXHIBITIONS

Miklós Göllner, Vladimir Szabó, Ignác Kokas, Marianne Gábor and Tibor Eisenmayer

The Ernst Museum, one of the best art galleries in Budapest, recently put on a retrospective of Miklós Göllner's paintings extending over twenty-five years. No more than a glance at the paintings of town scenes reflected in water, and at the geometrical blocks outlined in black is needed to reveal the spirit of the Szentendre school, even if the Danube mirrors the flats of Pest instead of the spires of the Serbian churches at Szentendre.

Göllner's attachment to Szentendre stands out most clearly in his reccurring themes, the familiar sections of his much-loved little town. Critics have rightly acclaimed his paintings of well-known corners in Szentendre as his finest achievements. On his very first visits to the town he had been taken by the picturesque surroundings and the close connections existing there between natural and man-made subjects, by the marvellous harmony of water and light, by the buildings and the hills. Göllner has always been receptive to the subject-matter of his paintings and as a born subject painter his attitude to landscape has always been exceptionally intense, and he has been engrossed for long stretches of time in the "micro-geography" os several "paintable" regions of Hungary.

Göllner's first interest was in the Balaton and not Szentendre, and there his artistic approach was inspired by József Egry. After studying at the Academy between 1921 and 1925, he spent ten years in trying to find the subject-matter of his painting most suited to his personality at the Balaton, until he discovered that the banks of the Danube gave the inspiration he needed. What was he looking for precisely in Tihany on the shores of the Balaton, and what did he find in Szentendre on the banks of the Danube?

"I am concerned," he said in 1934, "with shaping the form of light." Today the emphasis in this laconic definition of his aims has shifted from light to form; light has lost its royal position although as a respected and appreciated citizen it still occupies a place in the republic of Göllner-forms. Szentendre offered a good startinsg point for this interest in form, the houses built along the embankment, the terraced shapes of the landscape provided a structure in which the integration of geometrical shapes could be harmoniously accomplished, and the artist faced no dilemma of choice between subject-matter and structure.

The exhibiton reminds us at times of what Cézanne set out to achieve, and the influence structure added to Impressionism on Göllner was not merely general. "The Mountains of Leányfalu" show the direct impact of Cézanne, although the hard, logical forms of the hermit of Aix have changed to more sensuous, softer and more expressive arrangements of colour.

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Vladimir Szabó, whose works are on display in the Csók Gallery, is one of the most interesting and exotic figures in Hungarian art. Through all the different stages of his career, through all the various and divergent theories of painting he has adopted at different times, he has always managed to retain his balance and maintain his own individuality. After graduating from the Academy and a two-years scholarship in Rome, he did not join the group of artists favoured by the Establishment. All through the thirties he preferred to illustrate stories in magazines rather than accept commissions from the Church, and his versatile skills in illustration, his powers of drawing and the folklore flavour of his work soon won him popularity.

After the Liberation he turned towards large, monumental historical themes. His paintings of the horrors of Dózsa's peasant war and the merry pranks of Matyi Ludas, the hero of a comical epic of the early nineteenth century, were in line with the cultural policy of the time focusing attention on the peasant and working-class hero. His paintings, however, showed no trace of any influence of the Soviet painters, then recognized as models to be followed; neither did he follow the masters of the Renaissance whose "perfection" and "fully completed style" were held up as examples for artists to follow.

He continued to paint in the style made familiar by his drawings: the narrative filled the canvas in a continual flow of invention; he paid a meticulous and almost tender attention to every detail; the landscapes and towns, lifted from some remote fairy tale, tempered the heroic subject-matter with a simple humanity.

Vladimir Szabó's romantic and mystic world of imagination is fashionable today; so are his figures, exhibiting a nostalgia for harmony in life, and his paintings contrasting of the beauty of youth and old age: they are in according with the present-day revival of symbolism and Art Nouveau and the rising cult of Mannerism and the grotesque. Not that this makes him one of those passing artists following the fashion of the moment: he jumps on no bandwagon; these characteristics of his painting come from the most profound depths of his personality.

In his latest paintings young and old, blossoming and faded women face each other in fatal confrontation. The older women, decked in all the gay trappings of youth so fatally at variance with their age, patches of rouge on their sallow faces and hats laden with flowers, have no desire to compete with their younger rivals. All they want is to retain some faint shred of the past to comfort their memories and their acting selves. But time is merciless, it strips them of their self-deception and turns even their nostalgia for the past against them. In most of the pictures the artist has included himself in some corner or other of the canvas, sometimes as a self-portrait, sometimes only as an old man: he presents the other attitude to age, looking squarely at his past and his present he faces oncoming old age with courage.

Dreams and reality, things read and things lived are intermingled; in the crystal prism of memory the past becomes a splendid vision, the present a grotesque delusion. He paints buildings which never existed, in a romantic Gothic spirit, with sharply pointed arches, and vaulting reaching to the clouds—but they are quite remote from any desire for historical verisimilitude, or precision of detail—they are only drop scenes for his no less visionary figures. His paintings, evoking suggestions of vast squares, painted walls or the interior of imaginary studios, are peopled by fantastic knights and extravagantly attired ladies, voluptuously shaped models and contemplative artists. Everywhere are musical instruments—violin, cello or guitar—they represent the most important element in this mixed wonderland of ideal beauty and grotesque nightmare, enchanting and enrapturing music.

In Szabó's paintings, the past, the world of youth is idyllic, but never sentimental: old age appears even more unreal and fantastic. Human beings on the periphery of life, the blind musician, the organ-grinder and the beggar are romanticized, as if they were fairy princes enchanted by some evil sorceress. Some secret is hidden in the emaciated face of these vagrants and wanderers—the secret of a life lived and still vivid memories of youth, and these figures, each bearing their secret, acquire a special quality reaching beyond their insignificant appearance.

In Szabó's carefully articulated, sensitively precise drawings the grotesque visage of old age, the emaciated faces, swollen eyes

and sharpened features are deliberately emphasized. The impoverished middle-class interiors crowde with old furniture and bric-à-brac come to life and float around their inhabitants, the cat-keeping old women and the aged art collectors, like phantoms of the past.

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Ignac Kokas only became known to the wider public in 1969, at the age of forty-three, when he had his first one-man show. It was ironical that his paintings had been exhibited at the Venice Biennale of 1968, and in London a year earlier in the exhibition of twentieth-century Hungarian art, before being given a showing in Budapest.

From 1952 to 1969, from the year of his graduation to the final achievement of success, Kokas's career could have been likened to a stream flowing silently underground, with no indication that it would later emerge to the surface. His generation had shared in all great changes in Hungarian life after 1945. He was the son of a village joiner, whose peasant origins, under the new regime, had opened the way for him to higher studies. He was one of those who enjoyed the opportunities deliberately offered him as the first intellectual member of generations of worker-peasant origin, and struggled against all disadvantages of the same condition.

In the early stages of his career his problems as an artist were not personal, they were the outcome of his time. They were due to the contradiction between the cultural policy of the time, and the artistic models to which he was attracted. He wanted to create a consciously socialist art, but instead of the graphic naturalism he regarded as its formal equivalent he chose to follow in the step of Aurél Bernáth, his teacher at the Academy, whose picturesque delicacy he instinctively appreciated. For ten years his rough, earth-bound personality springing from very different roots was decked in the garb of post-Impressionism. He clung to this style even when Bernáth's stronger-minded pupils had broken with their master and turned toward Surrealism.

It was the impact of external circumstances which led Kokas to change his style: he was commissioned to paint murals and the sgraffiti forced him to pay more attention to structure, and led him to abandon his pleasure in tachism. His canvases became harder and sharper, and the soft, tachist delicacy was replaced by definite forms and colours.

His "years of study" ended with a test of his integrity as an artist. In 1965 he refused a public commission for a mosaic, a refusal unheard-of in the history of Hungarian public commissions—although he probably would have done no worse than in his previous large-scale works and his mosaic on account of his recognized position would certainly not have been rejected. In his own words—"every painter dreams of making a mural. For two years, day and night, I made several tons of sketches and designs. But I found myself incapable of adjusting my painterly concepts to mosaic, to architecture... My design resembled everything but myself." His experience of defeat after his final rejection of the commission, the financial straits in which he found himself, having paid back a considerable advance, this probably gave the final impetus which allowed him to find himself.

The Kokas exhibition of 1969 revealed a new artist who had brought together the remnants of subject painting, a Surrealist technique and a severe sense of structure in a new and independent unity. The means he used were now more abstract and indirect, but his earlier emotional and intellectual world remained the same. He continued to paint scenes from nature and village life, the loneliness of old parents, the loss of the world of childhood, the bitter and tormenting conflicts of departure and attachment, of life and death. His chill village evenings, forsaken landscapes and the emptiness that

was behind them are never painted in the literary language of symbols. Nature, or the subject itself, is only a starting-point for the experience: in the crystallized gesture of passion and emotion the clashes of past and present, transmitted to painting, stand out even more vividly.

Kokas, who has made himself a master of large-scale painting, is showing water-colours and gouaches in his exhibition at the Helikon Gallery: they are partly sketches in the classic sense of the term, partly fully finished works. "When I paint," he said a few years ago, "I always think of nature. Very often, indeed in most cases, I work with more assurance without than with the model, the landscape, the subject before my eyes." He invariably returns to the source of his inspiration, to Ginzapuszta, a former manor house, to refresh his memory and imagination with subjects and motifs taken from the same narrow range: dusk descending over the plains, tombstones in the old cemetery, the ruins of the ancient outbuildings or quite simply the wind-blown sedge and the fresh green of leaves. The drawings made on the spot or later are frequently mere improvisations, notes, but often finished works in themselves.

Their structure is crystal-clear, the vertical and horizontal axes are balanced by springing curves and parabolas. Minor details—the semicircle of a bridge, the curve of a hill, a patch of sky—are shaped with accuracy and economy, broken only by slight irregularities in the outlines. A limited range of soft, subdued colour, centring on shades of green, carry forward the main mood of the picture and evoke with great emotional intensity the oppressively dramatic world of the Great Plain.

The genesis of Kokas's painting can be clearly seen in his graphic work; it reveals a creative method which does not accept the theory that the road leading from the concrete figurative subject to the abstract is travelled once and for all; it is rather conceived as a series of steps to be trodden over and over again, repeating each time the whole process of transporting the visual experience into the finished work.

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Marianne Gábor has been a regular exhibitor at the Csók Gallery for some years now. This is her fifth show here since 1957. This regularity suggests on the one hand a half-conscious, half-instinctive attachment to the place, holding so many pleasant memories of past successes, but also an attachment to the inner city of Budapest where the Gallery is located, and where the bank of the Danube and Váci utca are favourite promenades for a stroll.

The work of this artist proclaims her ideal of life with a strange purity and enthusiasm; it attests her love of serenity and gaiety, her affection for sunshine, silence and calm. Travel is so much part of her way of life, she is so much at home among the monuments of Rome and the lagoons of Venice, that we might think we have to do with an alienated cosmopolitan who, in her avid desire for further experience, has rid herself of all ties. Her pictures are proof to the contrary: Marianne Gábor, behind the mask of the world-traveller, preserves a closed, concentrated world of her own, with her own way of thinking and her own artistic discernments.

She began her career in the thirties, carefully and lovingly taught by outstanding teachers of the time. Károly Kernstok was the first to remark her abilities; later she continued her studies in the private school of István Szőnyi and at the Academy of Fine Arts. Her first paintings were shown in 1938, so she has been before the public for thirty-five years.

In the last fifteen years her newest paintings have been unfailingly exhibited to the public, so critics had every opportunity of assessing the characteristic features of her work. They appreciated her delicate and exquisite colouring and sense of form, the

combination of a poetic and ironically wise approach, but critized her for an oversubtle attitude which on occasion threatened to produce a certain monotony. The most perceptive judgement, however, came from a critic who described her paintings as a series of quizzical improvisations on the decline and disappearance of a certain visual approach, an ironic farewell to late Impressionist painting, and who found in her nostalgia this dying world and in her bitterly-jocular mockery, the means to transcend herself, to arrive at an up-to-date post-post-Impressionism.

This is still the best appreciation of Marianne Gábor's work. Her starting-point today is still the pleasure of the eye, the subjects are treated with a dream logic of their own. Objects are replaced by indications—apparently idle scraws—space and atmosphere are rendered with a delicately blurred tachism. Such forms, liberated into all petty descriptive daubs, take us from a light, floating world, into the soft yellows and pastel blues of serene days and the golden lights of falling dusk and night.

The improvised, almost sketchy form, this method of preserving and transcending the original motif, also characterizes her figurative compositions. The "Clown", "Pulcinella" and other pictures and portraits show the world as a fair, an aspect of it only seen by the still fresh and unsated eye. Her typical figures, sketched in one or two lines, are all members of the same family, players in the great comedy of life, and the play in which they are taking part reduces them to the same likeness whether old or young, ridiculous or affecting seriousness.

The pictures in this latest exhibition of hers preserve something essential from the world of childhood, and something of the naiveté of children's drawings. Behind them, however, lie all the skills of a highly sophisticated art, which enables Marianne Gábor's paintings to reflect the youth preserved by their creator.

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Tibor Eisenmayer belongs to the youngest generation of artists. He was born in 1943, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts from 1962 to 1966 as a pupil of Aurél Bernáth. With two scholarships and a few smaller exhibitions behind him, he is now enjoing the first full exhibition of his paintings, on show at the Studio Gallery.

His large-scale paintings attract the attention at once. They represent closed inner spaces, studios or living-rooms, reduced to an abstract of stereometrically divided surfaces with occasional objects left as reminders, an easel or an open door. The cold colours, the zigzagging forms appear at first sight impersonal, but the vigorous brushwork, the dynamic use of colour and the surface fractures of the paint make it impossible to regard the geometrically arranged divisions as dispassionate analyses of space, or a late revival of Cubism. Eisenmayer's paintings appear to have little in common with their French predecessors but rather with a Hungarian ancestor, József Nemes-Lampérth, with whom the young artist, perhaps only accidentally, seems to relate closely.

Eisenmayer's paintings are poetic and man-centred. They illustrate not only the alienation of human relations in terms of their pictorical symbols, the labyrinthine divisions, but also show man, their creator and victim, represented as a head or a semi-figure crushed between the diagonal fences or fading into the backrgound. All around man loom agonizing and fearful forces, night, loneliness and fear, no matter whether they face their fate with resignation or struggle against it.

His graphic work, in comparison with his painting, still bears the marks of experimentation. The theme is the human face: the black-and-white tachism and broken lines do not convey individuals but states of mind, they are in fact for the most part stages in a process of self-analysis.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

HUNGARIAN ACTIVISM

Exhibition at the Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs

The silence which had surrounded the Group of Eight and the Activists, who painted in the early years of this century, lasted well into the sixties, when, half a century after the birth of those first avantegarde movements in Hungary, the time was ripe for succeding generations to assess their art with geniune interest and appreciation. Since that time, the legacy they left has come under increasing scrutiny—individual and group exhibitions have been held and two books written—Krisztina Passuth's Paintings of the Eight, and Julia Szabó's History of Hungarian Activism.

The Research Group in the History of Art in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is now planning a ten-volume history of Hungarian art: specialized exhibitions reflecting the main divisions of this history act as an interesting accompaniment ot this work, so that—following the exhibitions of graphic work put on in 1962 and of The Eight in 1965—the first exhibition exclusively and comprehensively devoted to Activist art was planned. This original exhibition comes at a timely hour, for there is now an accumulated body of research, let alone newly discovered works of these painters, ready to be presented to a wider circle of experts and non-experts, which should lead in turn fo further fruitful lines of research.

The Janus Pannonius Museum in Pécs which housed the exhibition has a fine collection of Hungarian works of art of the twentieth century. The collection and selection of the exhibition material was under the direction of Julia Szabó, the author of the book on the subject. Everything appeared conducive to a successful exhibition along the lines envisaged when at the last moment complications arose due to an overlapping in dates, and instead of several large halls the exhibition space available turned out to be no more than three small rooms. About forty pictures, a considerable part of the material, had to be left out, and visitors to the Museum had to content themselves with a small and intimate show instead of the representative exhibition that had been expected.

Within the limitations prescribed by this lack of space, the organizer made her selection with a sure hand. She highlighted those paintings already well-known and recognized in the world of art; but others were also on show which had been hardly known before—in short, every painter was represented who, for a longer or shorter period, had some connections with Activism. Despite all her efforts, this enforced concentration of the exhibition into inadequate space did it more harm than good; quality in this case did not make up for quantity: the details were lacking; we were left as it were, with unfinished sentences which aroused our interest but could not satisfy it. Both the experts and the amateurs came to grief. This very narrow cross-section of the work of these painters made it very difficult for the public to follow through the complex manifestations of Hungarian Activism, to understand a versatile painter like Béla Uitz, whose every work shows the mark of a different style, ranging from the bold Indian ink tachism of his Sitting Boy through the Cubist plasticity of the Washerwomen and the geometrical formalism of the Struggle to the conscious structuration of the Luddites, and ending with a mixture of collage and revolutionary propaganda in the form of theatrical design.

Although the size of the Activist exhibition in Pécs was disappointing, even in this fragmentary form it has been instructive: it clarified certain connexions which had been perceptible but which had

not been given their proper significance. That Activism is not a style but an attitude, that it is not only one of the many international "isms", but is a specifically social-political movement, is nothing new. Nor is the fact new that the paintings of the Activists expressed the impetus and élan of the radical movement among the intellectuals which prepared the two revolutions, the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1918, and the socialist revolution of 1919.

Here is one of these curious and contradictory questions. How was it that artists with such different attitudes towards their art, Sándor Galimberti[1] (1883–1915) for instance, a Cubist, János Matthis-Teutsch (1884–1960) a Secessionist, and Uitz,[2] an Expressionist, identified themselves with Kassák's magazines TETT and MA, both of which expounded a very definite artistic and political line. The need to transcend the present, the hope in the future rebirth of man, brought in József Nemes-Lampérth (1891–1924), an apparently abstract artist, and Sándor Bortnyik (1893–) whose paintings were overtly political. Why did Kassák, the rationalist, accept Bohacsek and his simplicity, Lajos Gulácsy[3] (1882–1932) with his surrealist Symbolism and the involuntary eclecticism of Károly Kernstok (1873–1940) who had been a member of The Eight? This catholic open-handedness, contrasting so forcibly with the exclusive sectarianism of other avante-garde groups and movements, this variety of styles, as opposed to their carefully protected homogeneity, could indeed stem only from such a social background, from the common anti-war and revolutionary attitude of the progressive intelligentsia: and despite individual differences in modes of expression and style the work of the different painters display the same force, the same momentum and self-confidence.

This means that the best period of Hungarian Activism was that preceding the revolution, and the finest paintings produced were those of large-scale representational art. The focal point of these paintings was the human figure, which took the centre of the stage at one and the same time in the work of Nemes-Lampérth, whose landscapes and nudes, composed in fauve colours and built up of rugged patches displayed an early maturity of style, in the portraits of Lajos Tihanyi[4] (1885–1938), in both Bortnyik's symbolic series taking their inspiration from the working class movement—Red Locomotive, Red Factory—and his futurist drawings, and in works by Uitz, which already contained the germ of his later frescoes. After the abortive revolution of 1919 these artists quite understandably lost their roots, their works in emigration were less personal and more in conformity with international tendencies. Abstract trends appeared and they identified themselves with contemporary avante-garde movements, turning for the most part to abstract geometrical forms and Dadaism.

Bortnyik and Uitz had already shown an inclination towards the abstract before 1919, but under the impact of historical events it developed no further. In the numbers of MA published in Vienna the architecturally constructed paintings of Kassák and Moholy-Nagy[5] (1895–1946) also appeared. Kassák's works are well represented in the present exhibition. As the organizer who first inspired the movement this focal position is well-deserved, but as an artist he belongs rather to the post-history of Hungarian Activism. The same is true of Moholy-Nagy. The examples of his work at the Pécs exhibition are unfortunate: instead of his Constructivist paintings there are only some of the first products of his early youth.

Z. N.

[1] See No. 1. of *The N.H.Q.*
[2] See Nos. 29, 48 of *The N.H.Q.*
[3] See Nos. 45, 49 of *The N.H.Q.*
[4] See No. 41 of *The N.H.Q.*
[5] See Nos. 41, 46 of *The N.H.Q.*

TWO POTTERS

Zsuzsa Morvay and István Gádor

Zsuzsa Morvay is twenty-six, István Gádor eighty-three. Zsuzsa Morvay is a beginner, István Gádor a leading Hungarian potter. Zsuzsa Morvay is self-taught, István Gádor retired on pension from his teaching job at the School of Arts and Crafts when Zsuzsa Morvay was still in primary school. Zsuzsa Morvay had her first exhibition in 1973, István Gádor in 1912. Zsuzsa Morvay got a number of good reviews, István Gádor has had comprehensive essays and even a monograph devoted to him and his work. The juxtaposition of these two may seem bizarre; they are here together because the two of them provided the two substantial achievements of the year in the field of Hungarian pottery. I had seen some of Zsuzsa Morvay's work before the exhibition and found it totally uninteresting. She made brown and yellowish, crackleware cups and saucers in no way different from those of anyone else. At this exhibition, however, I saw with delight something radically new. "How did it happen?" I asked her. "In 1972, at Christmas", she said, "my bigger kiln burnt out. It was impossible to produce anything on a commercial scale and I had plenty of time to play. And a bit later I took the half joking proposal of the Ferencvárosi Pincetárlat (Cellar Show in Ferencváros, a district of Budapest) dead seriously. I kept on playing and experimenting until May because the pieces baked in my small kiln could only be used as test-samples. When my big kiln was ready again I set to work, frantically, feverishly, spending fourteen to sixteen hours a day trying to carry out my ideas. Apart from the technical conditions I was visually inspired by the circle in which I had been living for years, watching the work and following the problems of Tamás Fekete my husband, Miklós Melocco and Pál Kő in sculpture, and Lajos Sváby in painting. I had been learning from them, mainly in ideas and attitudes, I learned the techniques of pottery in work-rooms, in the studios of artists, while I was working. I have been working now for five years." The most remarkable part of the Cellar exhibition (considerable enough in quantity) is made up of bonbonnières, i.e. a series of small ceramic boxes. Without losing their original purpose, these boxes, with their wealth of playful and dancing gaiety, are in fact only pretexts through which the artist conveys her thoughts, her intellectual somersaults, her plastic communication. Instead of providing functional or ornamental knobs or bossess on lids, Zsuzsa Morvay modelled small ceramic figures as lids, standing on their bases or "pedestals" which happen to be bonbonnières. Not that these "pedestals" are simply necessary adjuncts, the artist used them in conjunction with the variety of figures as factors equalling them in importance, shaped in a wealth of sizes, forms and decorations.

This artist has quite deliberately chosen, chosen with pleasure, the most banal subjects: a long-skirted lady with a Florentine hat, a rag-doll Pierrot where the cylindrical high box wears the harlequin jacket, a water-sprite of buxom charms gazing delightedly at herself in a hand-mirror, or—her favourite figure—a thin, drenched devil, rather pitiable than wicked or fearful, an erotic flower-arrangement, an old-fashioned little coach, a small village chapel or church with its attractive forms and many-domed cupola, or simply an old heavy howitzer. The originality lies in the fact that none of these figures is suitable as the knob or boss of a box-lid.

Then there are her ceramic wall pictures. There are the jokes, the old, brownish family photos worked in glazed pottery: there is the soldier—corporal or general?—with his silly wife (designed for lavatory doors), or the distortion of an angelic-faced baby. Even

the mirror frame and the ceramic clock are also wall pictures with no particular meanings attached to them. Her pots also remain in the costume world, such as the bowl with its Millefior foot, the goblet with its big handles, or the vase which is effective without any decoration at all, depending on its line and the play of light on the glaze. This group of pots might be considered a caricature of pottery history.

The "Parrot" modelled on a reversed conical base-form is on a larger scale, in the sphere of big plastic art. Its tousled feathers recall the leaves of the acanthus, its grotesque head is no contradiction of ornithological accuracy. In spite of this fact, or perhaps for this very reason, this piece of animal sculpture is a very fine piece of work indeed.

One of Zsuzsa Morvay's principal works is a very large Devil Fountain, two metres high. Its core is the vertically revolving ceramic figure firmly based and balanced horizontally by the rim of the copper basin. Zsuzsa Morvay, a destroyer of tradition, did not set cherubs or nereids around it, but four little brothers of her devil (known from the bonbonnières already) with extremely long tails on the very top of the well, the whole crowned with a devil blowing a horn. Beside the devil—and this again is an invention of the artist—we find the devil's dog.

In so far as colour is concerned, the artist for the most part uses the most common glazes; potter's blue and potter's green are predominant, giving an azure and sea-like glitter to the figures, like small jewels.

The key to Zsuzsa Morvay's art was defined by Imre Szász in the preface to the exhibition catalogue: "She recreates," he wrote, "a never-has-been early part of the century she could not have known, ironically bantering..." Equally she depicts a never-has-been Biedermeier and a never-has-been Rococo. The potter, whose reactions are sharp and intense, is boldly criticizing under the guise of interior decoration. Her assumed naivety is all ironic. Miss Morvay's fundamental attitude is to produce her own inner criticism to her own outer effects, in the same piece of work; she relies upon the collaboration and perception of the spectator, the recipient. At her exhibition the man in the street accepted the pottery directly at face value, liked the material and enjoyed it without reservation. The dabbler in the arts smelt a rat—and misunderstood to the full what he had seen. "How can such a young woman," remarked a visitor, "produce such a lot of old-fashioned things? Doesn't she realize that modern pottery in different? Self-contained, smooth, streamlined?"

In any case the exhibition was successful. Did the greater part of the spectators interpret these works differently from their surface appearance? Did they misunderstand the intention of the artist? It doesn't really matter. What really matters is that Zsuzsa Morvay, while working with alluring sparkle, while playing dangerously, yet coolly, never touches, never oversteps the line separating her from the trivial and the trashy. She has the right instinct, the necessary energy to halt before this line is reached.

*

István Gádor is a truly "comprehensive" artist. As a very young man his Art Nouveau sculpture with its overtones of Donatello attracted attention, and that in the most distinguished exhibitions. And I remember some ten years ago when an exhibition of his work took place, that he designed the setting himself, in pure Bauhaus-style instead of letting an interior decorator do the job. He is a fine photographer as well; it is a pity that his photographs remain unexhibited, taken as they are for his own amusement alone. His memoirs—if ever published—will be a document in the history of art and of high literary value.

He has no enemies, though he is no charmer. He has never compromised, not even in trifles. He has never courted the favour of the great, or of the general public. He did not even fight to win the favour of

the most important of all, the young. He was the most popular artist-craftsman-professor in the Academy and exerted great influence there. With quiet liberalism he set the standards for his students, inculcating in them an appreciation and reverence for the strictest criteria of this art. His aesthetic theories are so quiet that we hardly listen to them and yet we still find ourselves following them. It is impossible to teach morals, but we can all learn ethics from István Gádor's example.

István Gádor, I repeat, first exhibited in 1912, when some of his sculpture was shown in the Műcsarnok (Exhibition Art Gallery) in Budapest. Two years later he showed his pottery in the same place. In the twenties he worked in the famous Wiener Werkstätte—the mere fact is equivalent to more than a medal. Not that medals did not come his way. He won his first gold medal in 1926 in Barcelona and in the course of years many others followed, both in Hungary and abroad. In 1924 his work was shown in the Venice Biennale—with a one-man show there in 1962. In 1925 he was on the point of being offered a teaching appointment. The commission sent to visit him, however, considered the one-metre-high ceramic of a *puli* —a small, very shaggy black Hungarian sheep-dog standing in his hall—too modern, and reported unfavourably. Mr. Gádor did not get the job. (The dog still stands on the very spot.) In the nineteen-thirties István Gádor taught in the art school "Danube Bank Studio" which enjoyed a high reputation at the time—but without pay. He only became a professor at the Academy in 1945—and during the twelve years of his activity there Hungarian pottery progressed further than in all the previous thirty years.

I visited István Gádor first during the war, in 1943. Pushed into obscurity he worked silently in his basement studio. Today the famous, highly esteemed artist goes on working in the very same place. This cellar-labyrinth is actually a Gádor museum. Some two thousand of his pieces—almost his complete œuvre—are crammed, but in careful arrangement, in this studio. Perhaps earthenware is not so very fragile after all? It is impossible to take in the whole contents of the place, to make a survey of the works of art created over a period of sixty years. Perhaps the final appreciation could only be achieved by a really scholarly book with its listings and catalogue and all.

Gádor's early works are strongly influenced by Art Nouveau. Very soon, however, the influence of Kozma began to show. (Lajos Kozma, architect and graphic artist, created a specific, late Secessionist, sour-romantic style, derived from Hungarian peasant Baroque.) In the twenties Gádor turned to Expressionism, composing grotesque human and animal forms. These bizarre caricatures were followed by a period in which folk and popular art was predominant. This was natural in Hungary, where the ideals of Bartók were having their effect. In those days Gádor concentrated on rural scenes, using folk patterns and associations on his ceramic cubes. He roved the villages, made regular ethnographical trips, took notes, and prepared drawings. At a later date he felt that he was being too directly affected by all his close contacts with folklore and ethnography, that the effect on him was almost photographic. He is not ashamed of these works, but has gone on record that "the way he has used these forms is not really folk art", for "folk art is more modern than that". On the pots and plates made by the artist later the folklore element appears again but in a far more sophisticated manner treated, as it were, at one remove.

After working on practical and useful pottery, and ornaments for the room, the creation of a sculptured ceramic art followed and became characteristic of the artist. These monumental objects, which can be walked round, were designed for gardens, reception halls, hotels and courtyards. They are still pottery, exclusively in black and white glazes. Some of them faintly suggest a figurative origin, a sitting dove for instance,

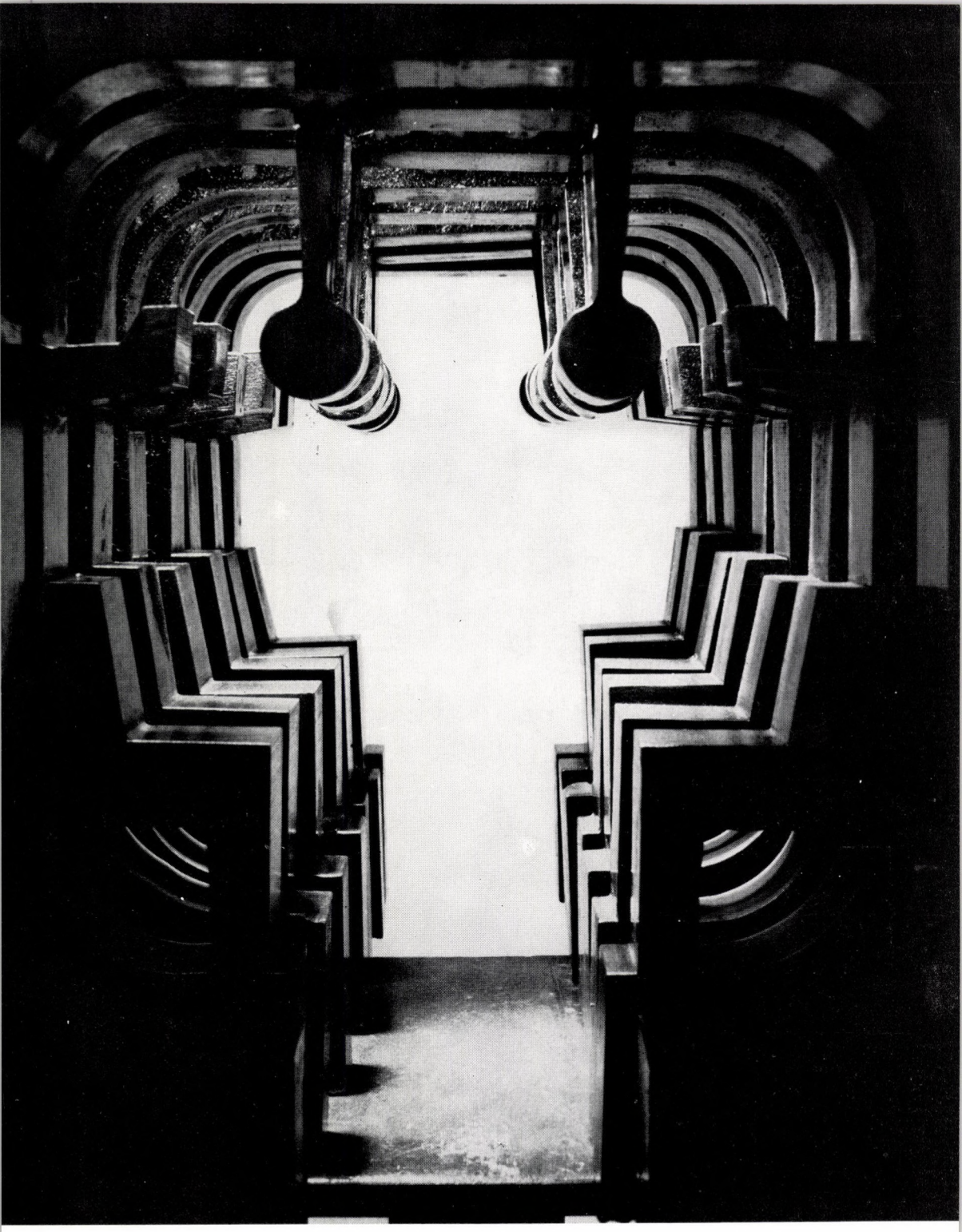
others are definitely and legitimately non-figurative. The style is not important, the expression and the inventive, witty execution are. And then, once again, a new turn: from space he returns to the two-dimensional. In Gádor's wall pictures and ceramic plates we find again the old bird motif, but in his other work architectural and constructional composition is predominant: some of his ceramic plates look like ground-plans, cross-sections, longitudinal sections of houses. The base is a white glaze, decorated with a variety of childlike colours or inset with copper, brass and glass enamel.

In 1973 the potter discovered a new material. This was chinaware. "In Europe," he says, "there was no primitive epoch for porcelain, which is why modern artists regard it as an unpleasant mincing sort of medium. But the unglazed, mat surface of biscuitware is as beautiful and noble as that of Carrara marble." The new material demanded new forms. In the beginning he used industrial porcelain or fire-clay. He collected bits of electric insulators, pipes and so forth, goods which were thrown out as sub-standard by the factories. From these he built and stuck his vertical constructions together, just like the architects of the ancient world when making columns out of natural stone drums. On the top of one of his fire-clay sculptures, in deliberate contrast, he placed an old candlestick with an angel of his modelled as far back as 1922. His work in this medium began to be known, and the famous Zsolnay Ceramic and Porcelain Works in Pécs, a town in Southern Hungary, placed a special studio at his disposal so that he could experiment freely. There he no longer made use of odd, fortuitous bits of junk, but deliberately planned series of components and modules of the new Gádor art.* The possibilities in the way of creating combinations and variations from these parts are endless like the twentx-five letters of the alphabet. He prepared scale-drawings of his components with engineering precision. Everything is factory-produced. Gádor, who once modelled and made his pottery almost sensuously with his own hands, does not touch it any more—he just creates the conception. All his constructions can be endlessly repeated.

The artist who was at bottom a romantic became a constructor of angular figures—he has broken radically with the traditions of ceramic art. He broke with the Gádor school as well. He goes on combatting the obdurate supersition which claims that an artist should find a style of his own by the age of thirty, which is where most of them stop. Gádor has freed himself from it, he has earned the right of permanent revival. In his eighties he still lives his "Sturm und Drang" period.

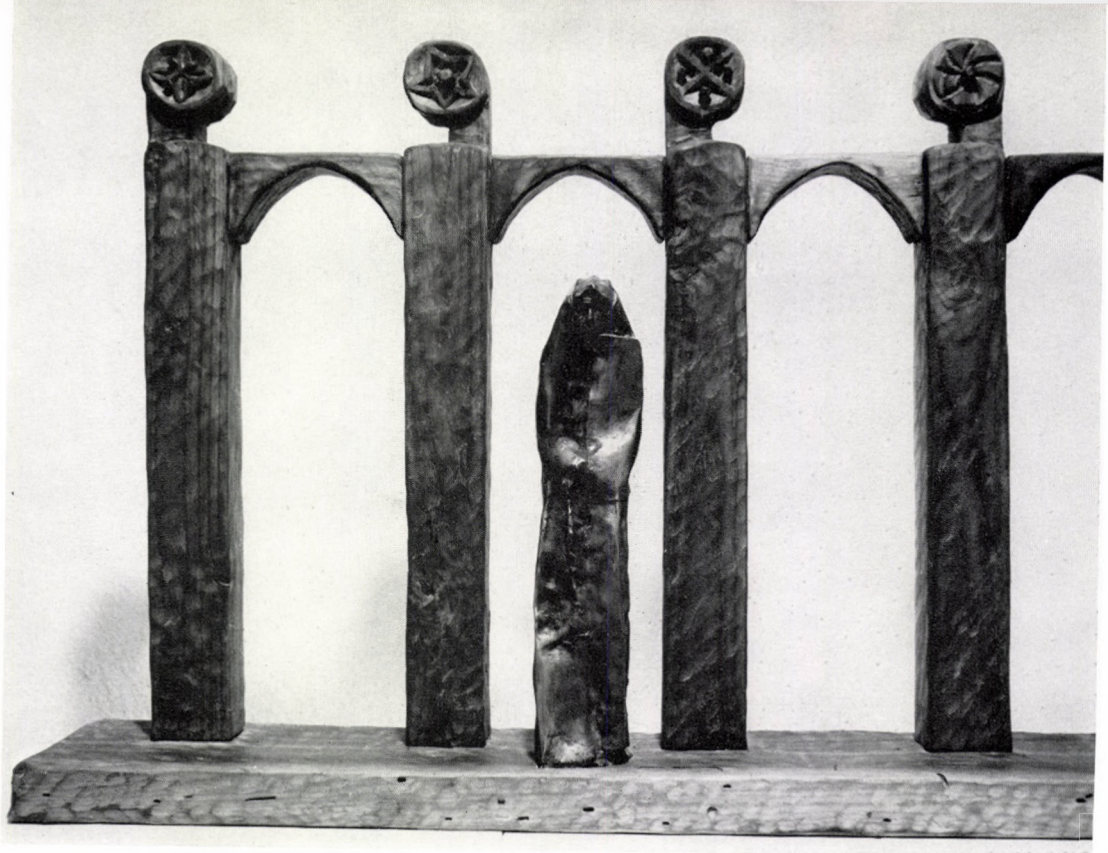
JÁNOS FRANK

* The series consists of twenty pieces only.



TIBOR VILT: COMPOSITION III. (30 × 30 CM, METAL, 1973)

Photo: Károly Szelényi



SÁNDOR KISS: OLD VILLAGE (80 CM, WOOD AND BRONZE, 1973)

ISTVÁN KISS: FAIRY TALE (30×45×45 CM, BRONZE, 1969)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

Jenő Kerényi: Moses (53 cm, bronze, 1972)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

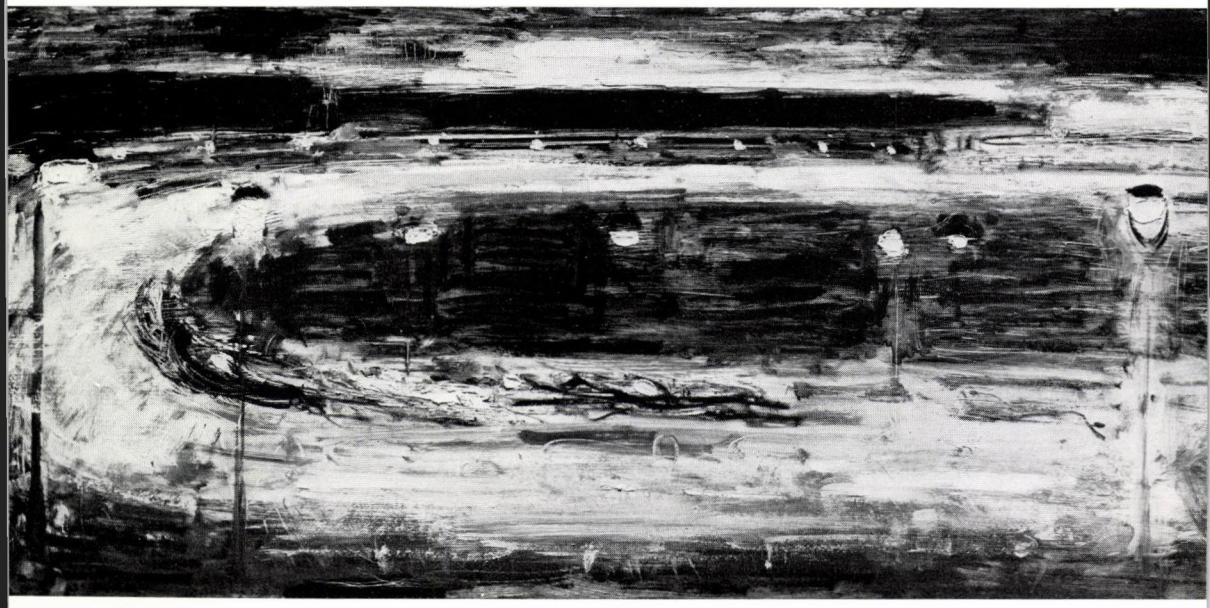
VLADIMIR SZABÓ: THE TALES OF HOFFMANN I. (OIL ON CANVAS, 60 × 50 CM, 1967–70)

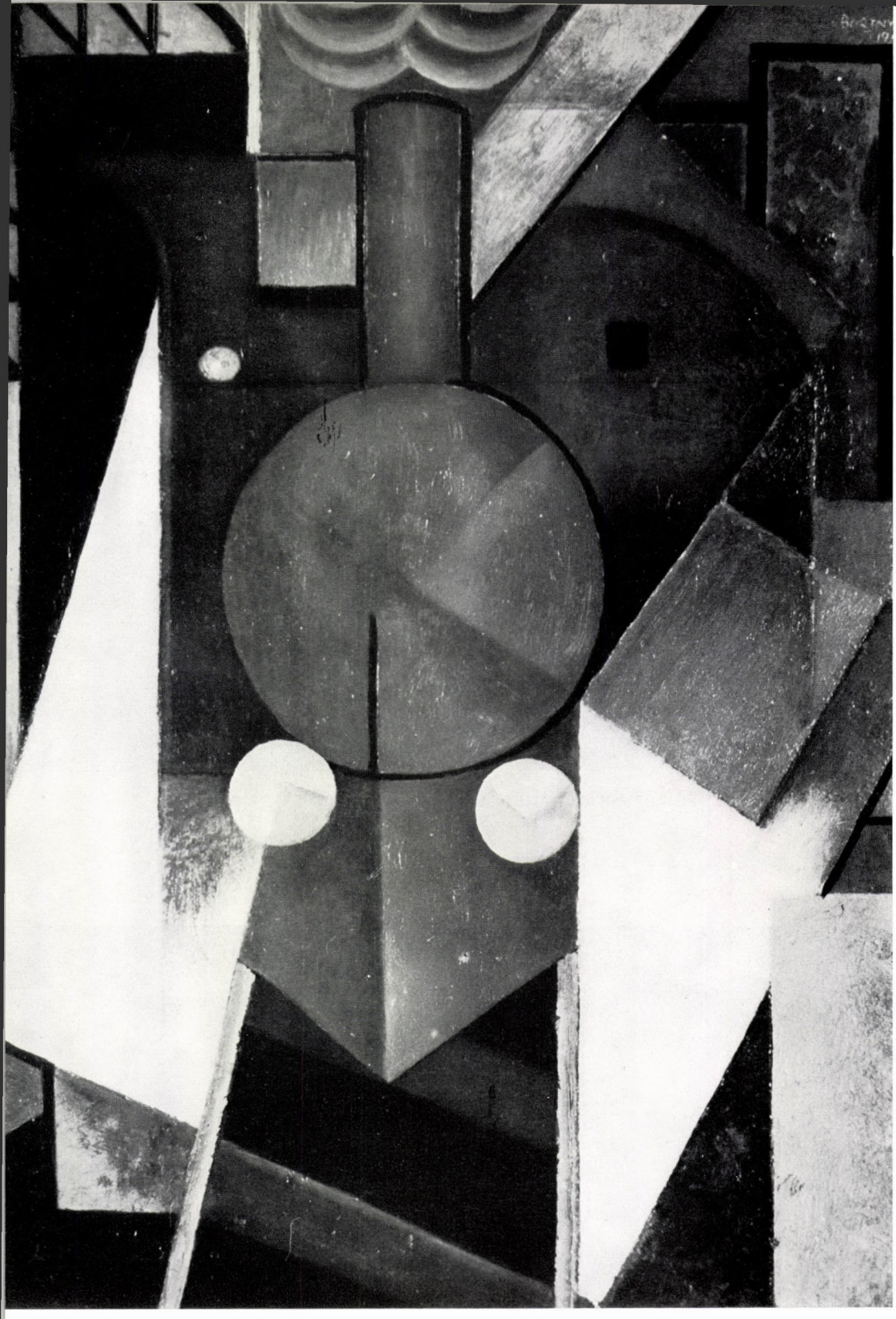
Photo: Ferenc Kovács

Ignác Kokas: Ginzapuszta Landscape III. (water colours on paper)

Marianne Gábor: Horse Race by Night (oil on canvas, 1972)

Photo: Ferenc Kovács





SÁNDOR BORTNYIK: THE RED LOCOMOTIVE
(OIL ON PAPER, 44×34 CM, 1918)

Photo: Ferenc Novotta

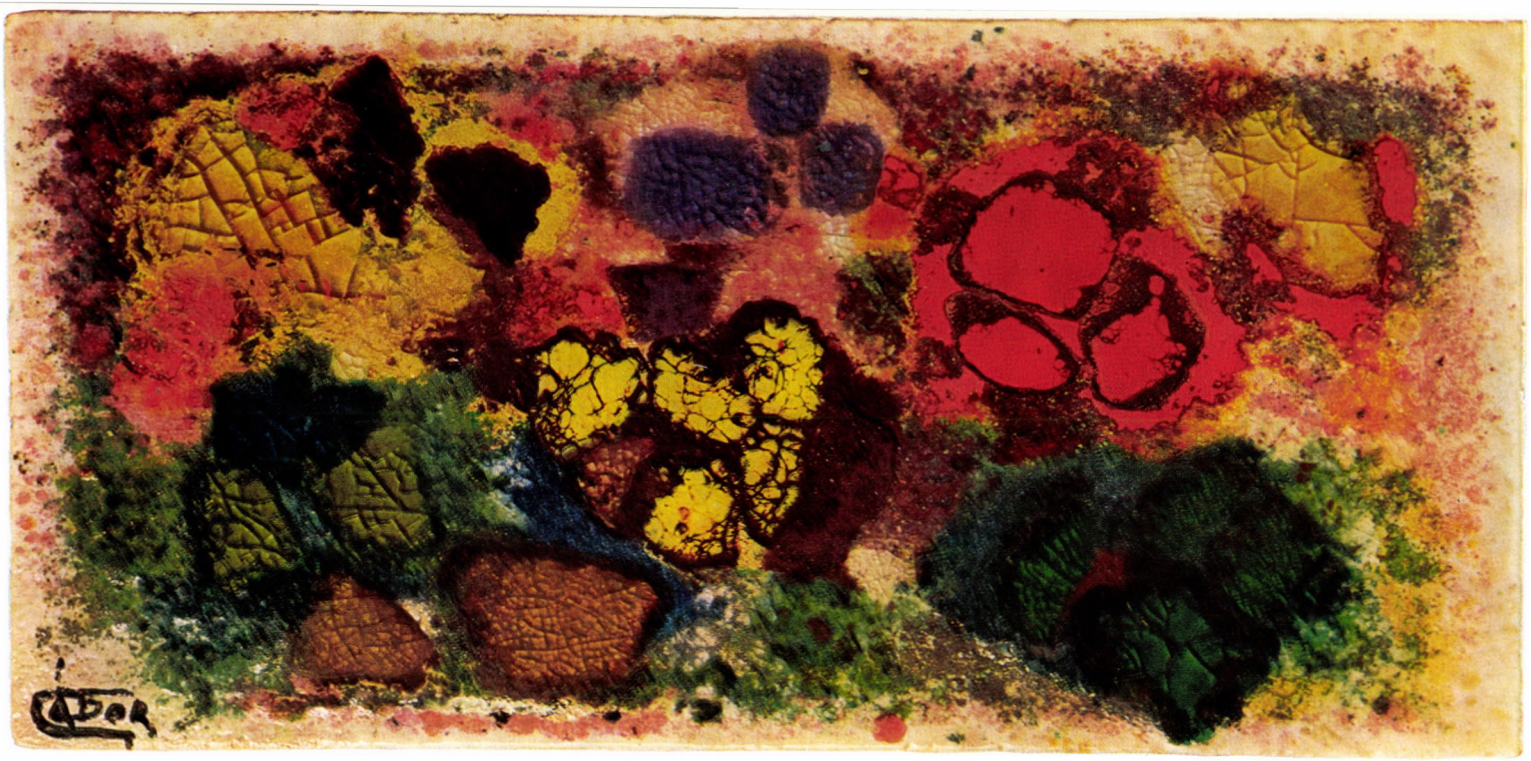
JÓZSEF NEMES-LAMPÉRTH: TREES IN THE CITY PARK
(OIL ON CANVAS, 90 × 95 CM, 1912)

Photo: Alfréd Schiller, Courtesy Corvina Press

Zsuzsa Morvay: Bonbonnière
(240 × 150 mm, ceramic, 1973)

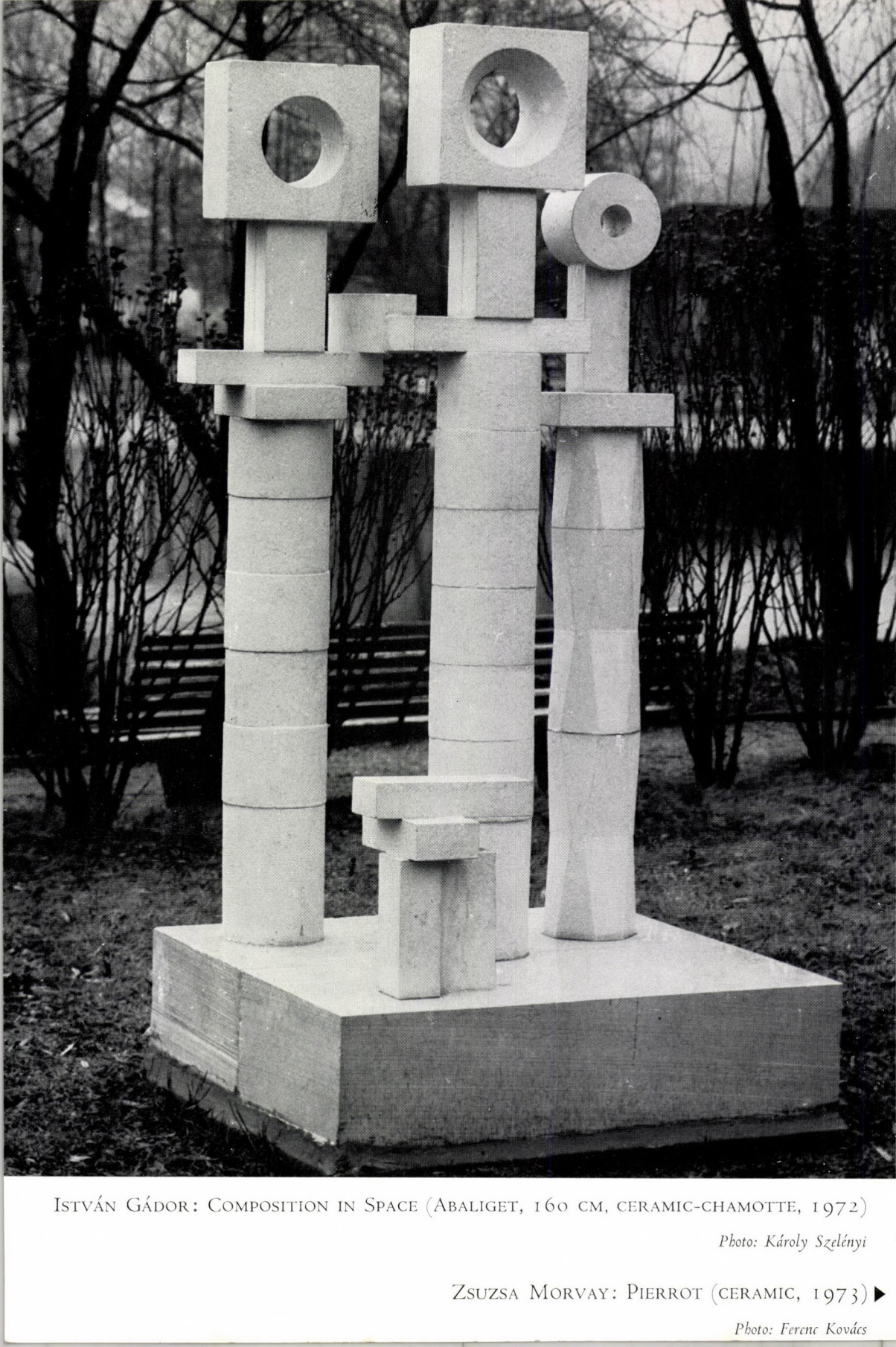
Zsuzsa Morvay: Bonbonnière
(200 × 160 mm, ceramic, 1973)

Photos: Ferenc Kovács



István Gádor: Wall Decoration (ceramic, 50×70 cm, 1960)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

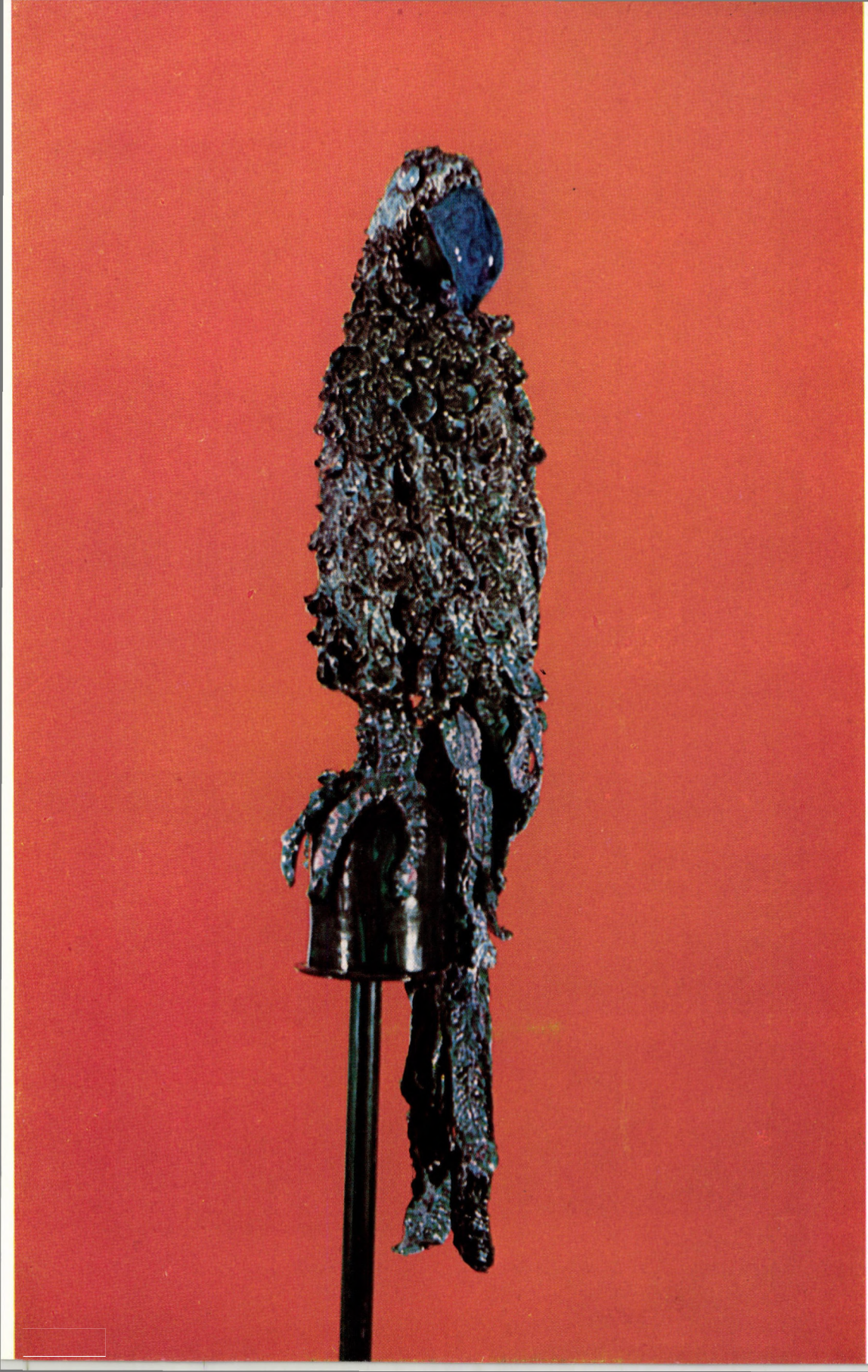


István Gádor: Composition in Space (Abaliget, 160 cm, ceramic-chamotte, 1972)

Photo: Károly Szelényi

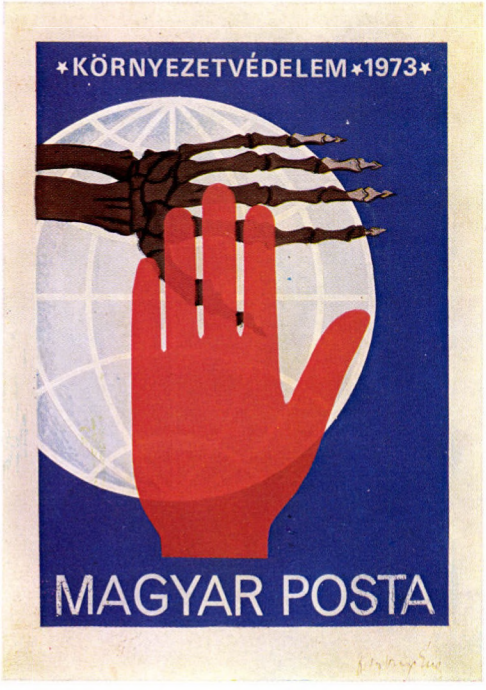
Zsuzsa Morvay: Pierrot (ceramic, 1973) ▶

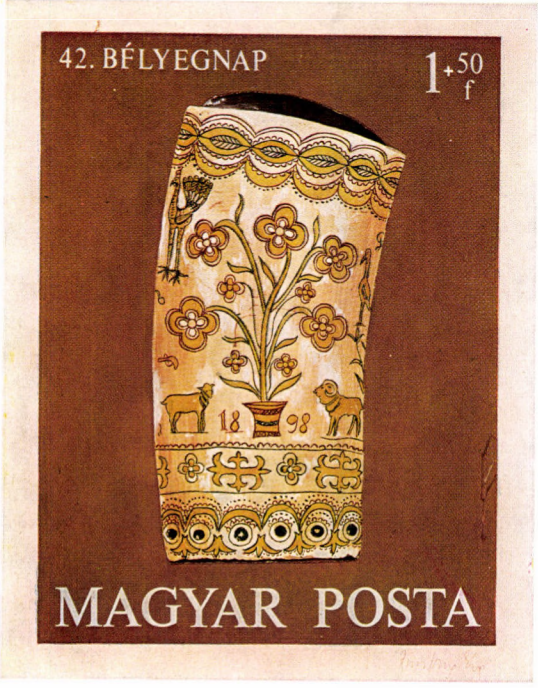
Photo: Ferenc Kovács



ÉVA ZOMBORY: STAMP DESIGNS

Photos: Károly Szelényi





STAMP DESIGNS BY ÉVA ZOMBORY

Stamps and stamp designs in Hungary are almost always judged as philately, and virtually never as art. This appears to be true of other countries as well and can be noticed in the standard of the stamps. Stamps, that is, appear almost exclusively in their functional capacity, and never as works of art abstracted from their monetary value. This made Éva Zombory's exhibition in Tokaj, which later moved to Miskolc, all the more welcome. In addition to designs which actually appeared as stamps, some were also shown that did not and others that were never meant to be. This exhibition allows one to raise questions inherent in modern stamp design as such.

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The postage stamp as a design unquestionably comes closest to advertising as an art form. It is also related to bank-notes that have nothing to do with advertising, though there are limits unknown to advertising in this type of work. Its very function in itself represents a limit, since the designer must think in small dimensions only. A limit more important than any other is that the composition as a rule has to include the name of the country that issues the stamp and the denomination. Already in the period between the two wars, but especially in the years following the Second, there have been special issues that have problems of their own, and offer opportunities as well.

The ordinary stamp series are kept current for years. Most states, relying on the many millions of philatelists, also go in for the business of stamp issuing, indeed, they endeavour to make a business out of it, and this can be done only by issuing special and decorative series even if no special occasion presents itself. In Hungary, the frequent issuing of such series has led to a boom in stamp design. On the other hand it is, precisely in these series that the creative activity of artists is most subordinated to philatelic requirements.

*

The stamp designs shown in Éva Zombory's two exhibitions, both those that grew into stamps and the others, are all the work of the recent past. Older ones were represented only by some designs for the "Halas Lace" series No. 2, which is natural enough since it was one of this series that won her the "most beautiful stamp of the year" award for the first time, in 1965. Five series by her had been issued before. This "apprenticeship" lasted from 1960 to 1964. The first, and already noteworthy, among these designs is the "Halas Lace" series No. 1, the lessons she drew from this can be seen in the above-mentioned second series. After it she received further commissions, but her individual stamp designing style became fully expressed first in the "41st Stamp Day" series and block of 1968. The four denominations of each of the series and the block depict Hungarian folk pottery, showing eight beautiful works of Hungarian folk art. The spatial arrangement, the colour relations of the object and its background, the arrangement of the lettering and digits, have remained much the same in her later designs as well. As the exhibitions show, the designs that were executed have antecedents dating back several years. Some subjects must have been a favourite project of the artist for a long time, subjects she had dealt with repeatedly with affectionate care, for her own pleasure. Sha approached them from several aspects, and projected her ideas in different interpretations. Thus her special style—for by now we can safely us this term as far as Hungarian stamps are concerned—really developed between the year 1964 and 1968.

It was this Zombory style that marked her "42nd Stamp Day" series and block in

1969, portraying the wood carvings of the Hungarian shepherd so successfully that she was given the "most beautiful stamp of the year" award for the second time. Her "Corvina" series and block issued for the 43rd Stamp Day in 1970, as well as the "Hungarian Jewellery" series and block for the 46th Stamp Day in 1973, also showed the marks of her distinctive style.

*

It is an old truth that the subject plays a decisive role in creative activity, but it is equally true that it has a differing intensity in the various arts. This is especially true of advertising, and also of stamp designing. This can be observed in Éva Zombory's designs that have been translated into stamps. While the "Miniatures" series (1971), for which she received the "most beautiful stamp of the year" award for the third time, "Herend" (1972) and "Stained Glass" (1972), due to their subject, belong together, and thus, stylistically, as well, are close. "Budapest 1971" issued on the occasion of the 1970 international stamp exhibition, the series and block "Budapest 1971" of 1971, as well as the "Stamp Day" series and block of 1972, form a separate group. They are, however, related to each other. In these the surface constructions and compositions were given a totally different treatment, in accordance with the subject indicated. In the first group the dominating role is played by colour and patches, and in the latter, by lines. In other words the first represents a more pictorial, the second a more draughtsmanlike solution. In Éva Zombory's art her stylistic explorations lead not to a narrowing down of solutions but to attempts to work out several parallel feasible approaches.

This is also borne out by her latest work, the "Flowers" series. The subject demanded naturalist treatment. This has led most of the designers, judging by the evidence of examples, in the direction of usually bad botany textbook illustrations. And yet there are examples by the great masters of graphic art and painting that could serve as sources from which inspiration could be drawn. Éva Zombory did just this. Some examples of her flower series are of a high standard indeed.

*

Éva Zombory succeeded in developing an individual style in such a manner that she carries out all the requirements of stamp design without making concessions at the expense of artistic quality. She produces thorough, absorbing work, and gives evidence of a search for new ways and for the true character and formal realm of the stamp. She places this at the service of subjects which refer to some of the burning issues of the day as, for example, environmental protection, or timely events like the planned air-mail stamp exhibition. One of the designs for the environmental protection series is reproduced here, so let us only add that it uses clear and unequivocal symbols, expressed by living and dead hands, while the globe in the background indicates the extension of the struggle throughout the world. Another of her designs on display depicts the sun against a blue background at the top, with a light green meadow below divided by a red and brown strip with a recumbent flower. The yellow and red colours—indicating life—gradually fade into brown, signifying decay. Here, too, the symbolism is unambiguous, clear and expressive. Éva Zombory depicts with infinitely simple means and her symbols convey a serious message.

The other sketches deal with the air-mail stamp exhibition to be held next year. In both of them she refers to the theme by the familiar red-white-blue-edged air-mail envelope. On one of them the envelope is twisted funnel-shaped and on the other it is folded into the shape of a bird, and they are presented against a blue field. Both forms show the lettering Aerofila 74.

*

Returning to the starting-point of the present article, let us examine the questions

which Éva Zombory's two exhibitions have provided answers to. Let me only touch on three.

To start with, in stamp designing the artist must not be guided by past traditions to such an extent that her own individuality and own style, within the stamp style of the given country (if such a thing exists), should not recognizably assert itself. One of the most positive characteristics of Éva Zombory's creative activity is that she successfully carries out this far from easy requirement.

In stamps designing—even though it comes closest to the category of advertising—the advertising element has to be avoided in view of the "public" nature of the product. Éva Zombory clearly perceives this. Unfortunately, however, this point has been disregarded in many countries in recent years.

Thirdly, stamp designing is an art, and as such a historical category which means that it is also affected by the vital laws of the arts. Consequently, the search for new ways is an important vital element, something that Éva Zombory well exemplifies.

GYÖRGY DOMANOVSZKY

ADORING STAMPS*

I must begin with a confession: I do not collect stamps, I adore them. I am a layman. Thus I can safely pile comparison upon comparison: a beautiful stamp appeals to my senses like a Japanese garden, like chamber music, like a chiselled cameo.

These similes, however, are poor approximations. A more authentic and lovelier interpretation of the stamp is a characterization aiming at objectivity and objectification that tries to define stamps through themselves.

To do this I have to make a brief digression.

Whenever I mail a letter and watch how a stamp is being detached from the huge sheets, I always have to think: in this same manner, almost like this we also pluck flowers. And I do not know how other people feel about it, but I always notice the colour of the flower first, the red of the poppies in a wheat field, the yellow of sunflowers along the road, the blue harebells even in a dark wood.

* Parts of an opening address delivered at an exhibition of Éva Zombory's work.

The colours in Éva Zombory's stamps enchant as they do in her stamp designs and other sketches. Whenever I look at her stamps, I sense their colours first. A new stamp series by her is being issued to coincide with this exhibition, and the subject is one no one can tire of. Her seven flowers differ from everyone else's, as far as I am concerned primarily because of their colours.

Voilà a poppy. Other people's poppies cry out with their red. Not hers. Her poppy is not presumptuous. Its still uncreased petals tremble with beauty, and also quiver with the fear that this beauty might collapse and fall apart. The poppy most eloquently expresses Goethe's law of beauty, the truly beautiful is in anguish, for things of beauty are doomed to pass, and pass soon.

What an assertive individuality Éva Zombory lends to her daisy and violet as well! The white petals of the daisy are edged in an unforgettably delicate manner by pink, while the fire that burns in the purple of the violet expresses something like this: purity, too, has its eddying whirlpools.

She reveals the individuality of the flowers

in the same manner as in another series, the stamps commemorating the medieval Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle, with their unmistakable reds, golds, blues and greens, she reveals the original illuminations themselves, the varicoloured medaillons and initials, the history of the kings of the Árpád dynasty condensed into miniatures, a history just as bloody as the English Wars of the Roses.

In the "Stained Glass" series the coloured glass comes to life and gains depth from the rays of the sun, the blended tempera paint of the "Herend" series conjures up the colour and material of the Herend factory's eggshell porcelain, and the blue of the cobalt under the finish.

But Éva Zombory is also familiar with the teaching of Renoir: "Black is still the queen of colours!" Of her justly praised and prize-winning "Halas Lace" stamps I like the sketches most, since in them the black background accentuates the gleaming lace patterns.

But could colour alone express all the secrets and refinement of a beautiful stamp?

What of the subject? And the details? The summarizing construction? The finest nets of hairlines? The skill, which on the tiny surface of the stamps puts the most significant element of the composition into focus? And taste, this even more noble knowledge. Éva Zombory's loveliest stamps, the noblest pieces of the work of fifteen years, acquitted themselves masterfully of all this. She grasped the treasures of the Hungarian past and Hungarian culture in her works. But the cares and joys of our daily life also appear, for example the way in which, on her latest designs, she depicts the cunningly growing menace to the environment. The harrowing composition of the witty drawings warn against the danger of the present and future.

ENDRE ILLÉS

THEATRE AND FILM

MOLIÈRE — AND THREE VIEWS OF HISTORY

Molière: École des Femmes—Miklós Jancsó–Gyula Hernádi: Red Psalm—László Németh: Gandhi—István Eörsi: Széchenyi and the Shadows

There were a number of important first performances in Budapest during the last three months of 1973, and nearly all of them gave rise to lively discussion. The rare exceptions were the universally acclaimed *Othello* at the Madách Theatre (discussed in the last number) and—a little later—Dürrenmatt's sparklingly satirical "Play Strindberg" put on by the Hungarian National Theatre. By the beginning of the season it was already difficult to book a seat for "Pop Festival" and *Fiddler on the Roof*. And later on *Othello* and "Play Strindberg" enjoyed the same popularity.

The new adaptation of a classic masterpiece, *L'École des Femmes* of Molière, which was put on at the Vígszínház, has been considerably criticized. The young László Márton, who had scored a big success with "Pop Festival", was chosen to direct it, But some critics now seem prepared to withdraw the faith they put in him.

Marton started from the assumption that the leading theme of Molière's so-called comedy is a dark anguish. Arnolf—dreading an unforeseeable future with an unpredictable wife—prepared his horrible and, one cannot deny, morbid plan of campaign: he selected a little girl four years old and had her brought up in complete isolation and ignorance of the outer world in order that he himself should represent to her everything in the world, humanity, power, everything. During the twelve years of Agnes's adolescence, it is to be presumed, all those sensual reveries and desires were working in Arnolf which were exteriorized by the producer. Just as the childish chubbiness developed into the inviting curves of a woman, just as the man's carefully planned work was done, along comes a handsome, empty-headed impostor to harvest his crop. What could be the result of this cosmic disillusionment? Total mental collapse, a profound melancholy, leading in Marton's view to suicide, a view that the original text does in fact do something to corroborate. A sinister, psychological drama is played out against a carefully planned set, in which iron railings with various systems of locks give the predesigned atmosphere.

Arnolf's morbidly sensual visions are embodied in mime. This introduction of mime has aroused the greatest criticism. The first mime-scene lays bare the sexual dreams of Arnolf as he arrives, his desire, his hunger for Agnes, his search for carnal pleasure. The second reveals Arnolf in the throes of jealous hallucination over the love-making of Horace and Agnes. The third, where the set breathes out an atmosphere of almost Hitchcock horror, sweeps Arnolf into with a frenzied witches' Sabbath, and he hangs himself.

"This blood and thunder world"... wrote one critic—"the commonplaces of the twentieth century's apprehensions, is not

appropriate to Molière's clear, rational comedy..." "We feel as if we had been at the performance of a new, mint-fresh piece, written for us alone..." recorded another. It is obvious that these extremes of criticism are both wrong. Less mime would have been more explicit—but one cannot fail to appreciate this original interpretation of a masterpiece. Nor should we forget that Ibsen arranged for Hedda Gabler to commit suicide off stage, but it occurred on full stage in the celebrated production of Ingmar Bergman's. Shakespeare certainly did not place the *Merchant of Venice* in the Italy of the nineteenth century, but Laurence Olivier did. Or, again, take another Molière play, *Misanthrope*, which was most successfully produced by the National Theatre in England and played against the current political and moral background of Paris. One English critic declared that this was the first Molière performance that did not smell of the museum, but which successfully came over the footlights. I myself have seen many a Hungarian performance of Molière and have been bored by them all. The only exception has been this *École des Femmes*. The traditional way of playing Molière, rationally simple, soberly lit, neatly symmetrical, with its lucid stereotypes of thought and sentiment, fail to transmit any vital experience to the audience of today (not even in France, the home of this traditional style). The Vígszínház production, however, provided a vibrant, nervous, exciting Molière, with problems that come home to a contemporary public. If Molière were alive and in a position to observe the present descendants of Arnolf, he would in all probability approve this extension of his concept, because (and this should be the criterion) this expansion of the play is based throughout on the Molière text and derived from the implications of the original conflict. Though—it has to be admitted—it could all have been achieved without recourse to mime.

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There was further discussion over three Hungarian plays. The most controversial was the production of *Red Psalm* of Miklós Jancsó and Gyula Hernádi at the 25th Theatre. As with their joint film previously, the director and the script-writer adapted their film *Confrontation* to the stage. Both the film and the play were designed to pay homage to the memory of the heroes and martyrs of Hungary of the end of the nineteenth century, who fought and fell in the Hungarian agrarian socialist movements. The critics gave various names to the form given to the stage version, "ritual ballet", "ideological ballet", "sociographical ceremony", or "a secular Passion", in their attempt to indicate that this was no conventional play in traditional form. Hernádi and Jancsó took the old poems and songs of the agrarian socialist movements and transmuted them to a visual plane. Using partly religious songs and evocations, and partly free transpositions of some of the best-known classics of Hungarian poetry, these appeals to the ear recited by the chorus are reinforced by dance and mime, and from their formal and ordered combination the historic process unfolds. We see the commencement of the peasant movement, its climax, and its collapse. The defeat, however, is at the same time a profession of faith, affirming the justice of the murdered peasants and their cause. One of the ciritcs exclaimed "The Emperor has no clothes!" i.e. there is nothing there behind the externals. Jancsó's supporter came back with the claim that "a supreme artist like Jancsó can only be measured by his own standards." That is not true. Even Shakespeare must submit to an objective valuation, to a judgement that *Hamlet* is greater than *Pericles*. Why should we hesitate to say of Jancsó what is perfectly well known, that he is above all a film director? It is true that he managed to recreate the vivid dramatic character of *Confrontation* in the theatre, so that the film became perfectly effective on the stage. What is wrong then with the theatrical adaptation of *Red Psalm*? What

was present in the *Confrontation* that is missing now?

It is not only that the actual flesh and blood conflicts were deliberately omitted; opposed to the tumultuous crowd stands only a single symbolic figure, representing in his sole self every manifestation of the oppressing classes: the army, the priesthood, the bailiffs, for the contemporary theatre has created similar documentary forms, which are able to convey a theatrical stage-experience, without building up traditional conflict. The secret of their dramatic power is that they question our times, that they force the spectator to reflect. *Red Psalm* does indeed here and there suggest the atmosphere of the past by the use of authentic documentation of the age, but it does not relate them to the present. The authors make their statement; they clothe it in moving poetry, but in the end, what are they saying? Only well-known truths about the struggle, the sacrifice and the final victory of the oppressed. The spectators do not disagree, do not consider, they just nod in agreement and leave. And departing they are a little ill at ease because at the end of the performance (with no precedent on the Hungarian stage) they are all given a glass of wine by the author. The public vaguely feels that the drink was meant to requite them for their activity, their participation and sympathy, and remorsefully admit in secret that it was not earned. But what could they do? They knew it all already.

Respect for the author and the director to some extent lessened the criticism of the production of *Gandhi*, a play by László Németh at the Thália Theatre. László Németh is one of the grand old men of modern Hungarian literature. This work of his—written ten years ago—dealt once more with problems constantly recurring in his work as a playwright, and which have been his own personal problems as well. László Németh is concerned here with the permanent problem that occupies him, the lifework of a great man with all his opportunities and limitations and his power of changing the history of his age on the one hand, and his moral choice when robbed of his liberty of action on the other, and analyses the final and relative values of the solitary resister. The great sweep of the Mahatma's life offered a wonderful opportunity for Németh to confront these problems once again. The author chose the last period of Gandhi's life, beginning with the proclamation of Indian independence, and follows events until Gandhi's death. During these years the doctrine of passive resistance—based on a higher morality and the power of truth—ended tragically in failure. Gandhi, having borne the biggest share in the achievement of Indian independence, realizes from the very beginning the relative and inconsistent nature of the victory. He cannot prevent the division of his country, nor the outbreak of a terrible fratricidal war. His heroic hunger-strikes only produce temporary results. The murderous bullet of the fanatic Hindu nationalist is only the final full stop. Gandhi had already learnt that the problems of the historical situation could not be solved through his doctrines and principles.

This play, like Németh's other works for the stage, is above all a philosophical drama embodying a complex sequence of ideas and with dialectically organized dialogues which demand the spectator's full attention. Without complete concentration on the spoken word, the audience will fail to understand the next reply—not to speak of the following scene. In addition—and contrary to most Németh plays, which have their roots in Hungarian history—the unfamiliarity of the subject and the immense amount of information provided, also demand the maximum of attention.

And here Károly Kazimir's direction provides no help. He was bound by two conditions, one external, one internal. The first have been dictated by the fact that this time Németh wrote in a form unusual to him. Németh usually constructs his plays traditionally, with a single set, in a strictly logical

and consecutive order. This time his organization of the play is more open and free, a style long since familiar to Kazimir. The subjective condition derives from Kazimir's earlier experiments. This restless, dynamic director is passionately interested in the forms of expression of the Eastern theatre, a little while ago he directed an interesting adaptation of the *Ramayana*, and he is also an enthusiastic supporter of the stage documentary. This was probably one reason why he appreciated the play, because, laid in India, it provided him with a fine opportunity to use the theatre to tell the public of Indian history, Indian political movements, Hindu customs and way of life, etc.

The trouble is that the two contradict each other. The specific Indian milieu was only an external framework for László Németh; it was the incidental flesh through which his ever-recurrent, haunting problems of the mind could once more find expression. In Kazimir's hands, however, the background and the environment in which the play is set takes over and begins to live a separate life. A shifting background of figures, every type of extra, moving and swirling, provide a wealth of colour and spectacle on the revolving stage. Exotic scenes appear and fascinating and well selected documentary film is projected. All this is most attractive and effective, but diverts the attention; the spectator's interest is distracted from the weighty and complicated words spoken on the stage, he misses the connexions, and in the end, he leaves the theatre without anything coherent in his hand, except a lot of badly arranged historical information and some general rather hackneyed phrases about a great historical hero and martyr. This production could not possibly inspire any attempts to transfer the lesson of Gandhi's struggle and fate into the present equally tangled world situation, though that should be the point of the play. To conclude: László Németh is a great dramatist and Károly Kazimir is a fine director. But they were not born for each other.

And last but not least, the new production at the Pest Theatre, which is the small theatre attached to the Vígszínház, Széchenyi and the Shadows also roused controversy. The author of the new play there—István Eörsi—is familiar to readers of *The N.H.Q.* He is a poet, literary historian, short story writer, dramatist, journalist and a translator of György Lukács. István Széchenyi, the great Hungarian figure of the nineteenth century, is again a subject of interest to writers and artists. Count Széchenyi's tragic existence and fate, his multifarious activities, the great breadth of his life and all the inner conflicts that finally broke him, offer exciting opportunities for various interpretations. Széchenyi was the soul of the Reform Era, which preceded the 1848 War of Independence. He had hoped that all his reforms would come to fruition within the framework of the Monarchy, but the attack they made on ancient laws and the old order was a challenge to the Imperial House, whose reactions almost inevitably led to the War of Independence, with the Emperor and the Hungarian nation facing each other under arms. Széchenyi's sense of responsibility forced him into tormenting scruples and dilemmas of conscience. He dreaded the trend to revolution, he feared immensly for his people, the Hungarians, whom he saw foredoomed to failure in this unequal fight, and this agony found its end in the lunatic asylum at Döbling, where he spent twelve years. During this interval both camps watched him with constant interest. In the end, Széchenyi, unable to find peace in the world or in himself, committed suicide, in 1860. The circumstances of his death have never been fully cleared up. It has been suggested that it was a case of political murder.

István Eörsi found himself fascinated by the subject of Széchenyi's last days: the short period when the twelve-year long agony had stretched to breaking point, the moment when the trap—prepared long ago—finally closed on him, In the opening scenes the delegate of the Emperor deliberately incites

the Count to commit suicide, his existence being an embarrassment to the Imperial house. He even helpfully smuggles a pistol in to Széchenyi. But the Count is not yet ready to strike his flag. He calls up his "shadows"—the important men and women who played a part in his life. He calls on his wife, on his great political adversaries, Chancellor Metternich, the Emperor Francis Joseph, to answer whether there was no other way out. The answers echo one another: the shadows pay him every honour, but no, there is no place for a statesman standing firmly on his principles, maintaining his ideals, unwilling to compromise. Each answers no, each leaves a pistol behind. Earlier Széchenyi had noted ironically "I have two pistols. I am allowed to choose. Some philosophers say that freedom lies in choice. I just wish the choice was not so similar. Two Imperial pistols..." At the end of the play he has five, and one of them goes off... The shadows have given their reply: István Széchenyi, the political genius, the honest man, straining to reconcile two irreconcilable opponents and who became superfluous to both, must not continue to live.

Eörsi demonstrates the bitter inference in a masterful manner. A great strength of the play is its sparkling, acid, debonair language, easily comprehensible despite its intellectual complexities. And yet, nonetheless, there is a certain sterility about the work; its world is too enclosed, its logic does not seem to spring from the human mind and heart but from a somewhat acid geometrical progression.

From the actor's point of view there is only one part in the play, and Zoltán Várkonyi, as Széchenyi, makes the most of the opportunity. His approach is based on a specifically schizophrenic dualism; Széchenyi's intellect is greater, clearer, more profound than all others, but behind it the sickness in his mind continues to whirl in a demoniac dance with death.

JUDIT SZÁNTÓ

HISTORY AND HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

Ferenc Kósa: Nincs idő (No Time); István Szabó: Tűzoltó utca 25 (25 Tűzoltó Street).

The two films are related to each other neither in idea nor in execution. Each is an independent creation, exhibiting its author's individual approach to his unique problems. Both reach back into the recent past and attempt to draw conclusions about human behaviour by making use of historical events. The first, building a rational model on the past, logically unfolds the drama of different behaviour patterns. The second treats its theme lyrically, arousing strong emotional reactions with its oppressive, eternally haunting dreams. Both directors, Ferenc Kósa and István Szabó, are familiar names in the film world.*

Kósa became widely known with his first film, *Tízezer nap* (Ten Thousand Suns) which was shown at a number of international festivals. This film excelled not only in contextual richness in its representation of the life of the peasants, but also with the ballad form and intonation derived from folk poetry.

* See also Graham Petrie's article in No. 53.

Tightly drawn peasant characters, carved from the sufferings of centuries, performed their drama among the stumbling places of history. They expressed their feelings and desires in ritual poetic diction. Kósa's next film *Dózsa*, preserved much of the formal characteristics of his first. It told the struggle and tragic downfall of György Dózsa the early sixteenth century peasant leader. It is not in the ballad style to the same extent, showing also the lighter aspects of peasant life. Nevertheless, the director's basic ideas are the same: the rituals of tragedy, grand, fresco-like composition, a too dense, baroque aspect of movement and elevated poetic language.

In Kósa's latest film, *No Time*, the scene is a Hungarian prison in the late 'twenties. The course of the action is extremely simplified. The language of the dialogue rises above everyday speech, but it does so this time in a rhetorical and logical, instead of a poetic, sense. The succesful team, Ferenc Kósa, the director, Sándor Sára, the cameraman, and Sándor Csoóri, the script-writer, seems to have switched to a new method and to a new formal solution.

The scene appears to be a prison, but only at first glance. It soon becomes evident that it has no real existence. The iron bars, stairs and dynamic open spaces are the pictorially stylized rich environment of dim and bright light beams. The stylized effect is increased by the constant metallic blue in which the iron bar structure always appears. Only what is outside the iron bars is in lively, provocative, thundering colours. In consequence, the prison itself is already more a symbol than the realistic stage of a story. The action becomes symbolic. Outside is freedom, in the rich colours of life; inside metallic blue, deathly imprisonment. The people enclosed within the iron bars strive for freedom.

Symbolic freedom is always limitless, and must be to remain a symbol. Real freedom is limited; its reality calls upon it to harmonize the freedom of many, so it must be determined for whom and for what purpose freedom is intended. Kósa's gaol holds common-law prisoners and only three political ones. The symbolic freedom is identical for all of them, but it is not possible for real freedom to be identical as well. That would be anarchy. And the political prisoners, as Kósa states, are also Communists. The story is based on actual events. In the late twenties, in the prisons of the Horthy regime, the Communist prisoners staged a hunger strike to protest the government's ever more obviously oppressive methods. Not even the most cruel reaction of the prison authorities was able to squash the movement. In the film the hunger strike of the three political prisoners, isolated from the outside world among the common criminals, does not contain such concrete goals. The inner logic of the real events would demand that they break out of their isolation, that they even consider the possibility of a prison uprising, that their action proceed beyond the demand for their own freedom to the demand for more humane treatment. But this is not what happens. The stubborn hunger strike of the three political prisoners is a pretty act from the point of view of dramatic action, but it is aimless behaviour and remains sheer passivity, an extremely abstract example of self-sacrifice in defense of a rather obscure ideal of human freedom. This abstraction and symbolizing of freedom push the film finally onto the plane of symbolism and parable, without the necessary background of previous detailed consideration by its makers.

The symbolism and the alienation from real events are only further emphasized by the split of the prison hierarchy within the iron bars into two camps. The governor represents a somewhat pathetic, humane, democratic point of view, whereas the uniformed chief warder is openly on the side of terrorism, which he combines with mock-cultural activities and opportunism. The freedom chosen by the political prisoners is outside the prison walls, but it remains doubtful throughout the film whether any-

thing exists "outside" these walls. Because of this, the two diverse views of the prison authorities "within the walls" fight each other, as they must, for the freedom ideal of the three political prisoners suffices only as exemplifying an attitude; otherwise, beyond the reality of the action, it would lose its symbolic significance. Their role is merely to protect their passive rejection to the end, even in defiance of the logic of their action. While they engage in theoretical arguments with the pro-prison-reform governor, they become the defenceless, easily conquered victims of the chief warder's unbridled terror. There is no other possibility for them, since within the iron bars the symbolism of their freedom has no surface contact and the aim of their attitude lacks concrete definition.

But in the meantime, this iron bar structure becomes a model of a closed society that never existed, and the activity within it becomes a hardly decodeable, or at least doubtful, parable. Although the model is a closed system, the pictorially stylized representation renders its symbolic quality unambiguous. The aim, behaviour and psychology of the characters in motion within it, and above all, the real meaning and appearance of everything, are dependent on a world outside the model. Of this world, no concrete information, other than symbolic representation, is offered by the film. Thus, the parable remains the very strong symbol of something, but what this something is remains uncertain both within and without the model.

Taking into consideration Kósa's earlier films, we realize that he has always attempted to include not only raw reality but, following the example of ancient classical drama, has also attempted to emphasize the finality and symbolic nature of the conflict by stylizing it in the form of a passion play. It is this tendency that is perceived in his latest film and not some avante-garde creative attempt. That despite this the film became such a model, somewhere half way between realist representation and abstraction, can be explained only in part by outside influences. The reason is to be sought in the director's insufficient philosophical consideration of his material. He could not create a real synthesis between his tendency to stylize, his abstract dramatic conception and the attempts at realistic representation. This can be seen very clearly by breaking the film into its individual scenes, and observing that each picture, each movement, each character is forcefully, plastically represented, even a purely fictive figure such as the prison director — no one like that could have existed in such a position in the Horthy era — that throughout the film the scenes preserve a definite mood and are handled excellently by the director as well as the actors. It bears witness to tremendous progress in Kósa's powers of expression and directorial imagination, as well as to his unchanged devotion to important social problems. If he succeeds, as he probably will, in establishing a connexion of these problems, the weight, power and effect of his future films should show a mature director possessed of an individual style. His artistic means are now ready for the task.

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There are, nevertheless, some unforgettable scenes. One of the prisoners, a common criminal who killed his brother and is now serving a life sentence, has been planted into the communists' cell as an informer. He had, on three previous occasions, swallowed a spoon, just to be transferred to a prison hospital for an operation—i.e., to enjoy some change. Now, under the pressure of his assignment, he does it again. Before the surgeon discharges him from the hospital after the operation, surgeon and criminal have a friendly chat. There is an enormous display case in the operating theatre with a fantastic array of grisly, blackened objects, all removed from prisoners' stomachs: knives, forks, spoons, chains, razor blades, watches, scissors, a pen, stones, a pruning knife, and so forth. Warning the prisoner of the number of stomach operations a person can endure, the

sympathetic surgeon remarks: "There are nations, you know, which leave pyramids behind them when they disappear. All that you people are leaving behind, is this..."— and he points to the display case behind him. There is also a meeting of the country's prison governors in the Minister of the Interior's office that sticks in the mind with the splendidly sinister stupidity and grandeur of the faces, and Kósa surprises us with superb black humour in a scene where the Minister comes to visit the prison and listens enthralled to the anthem on freedom from *Fidelio*, sung with enormous passion, to the oom-ta-ta of the prison brass band, by the inmates' choir.

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Of István Szabó's earlier films, *Apa* ("Father") and *Szerelmesfilm* ("Love Film") are known to audiences beyond the country's borders. As in these films, in his latest as well, he shows greater sensitivity toward the emotional shades of the drama than toward the conflict itself. The substance of his message is a sort of never ending nostalgia which draws it toward an harmonic, imagined state that existed before the drama presented in the movie. This tendency and the bitter-sweet treatment give István Szabó his individual, modern, somewhat melancholy, playful lyricism. This dominates also his latest movie, in which he takes a further step toward poetic freedom, toward the use of dreams enabling freer associations.

Tűzoltó utca is a small, old street in Budapest in a typically lower middle class neighbourhood. Szabó spent his childhood at number 25, when old enough to realize and understand the immediate dangers of the war, the accompanying social upheavals and warnings of political change which surrounded his family. But he was young enough all the same for this to remain alive as a childhood trauma should, demanding eternal compensation. The haunting dreams of childhood, the disappointments and humiliations of adolescence, and the restless memories are not lost. In the director all this demands renewed compensation and an ever more definite objective historical justification, an insistence that the injury suffered is not a personal one only but that of a whole people. Mankind itself was humiliated and seriously traumatized. Thus, thirty years after the war, on a hot night, accompanied by the thundering noise of nearby construction work, he has all the residents of that house recall in their dreams the memories of those long gone, painful days. In other words, the director, who is also the author of the screenplay, generously distributes among the inhabitants of the house his own tortuous dreams, memories and childhood fears. Although this house really exists and its geographical location can be precisely given, the film version, and the inhabitants, are not to be sought in reality, but rather beneath those oppressive dreams and memories which continue to haunt the film's creator. And they do not become any less subjective because at the orders of the director they are dreamed collectively by the entire house on this sweltering night. Psychologically, this is the only thing that makes Szabó's undertaking questionable.

Otherwise, the movie is very interesting with the series of surrealistic details produced by the dreams and with the lively action achieved with a brilliant technique. Requiring the house to dream again the fascist manhunt, the horrors of war, the dangers of the Nazi regime, the humiliation, the shame does not illuminate history in a new way. The inhabitants of the house, including those long dead or moved away, are conjured up from memory and asked to dream someone else's dream, a dream they have only on loan for a night so that they can retell, not from their own reality, but from the director's restless dreams, the frightful events of those days of horror, the days of the deportation, their own little consolations, helplessness, hopeless desire to escape,

willingness to help, and at times cowardice. The dreams have no individuality related to the dreamers. Their dream is the same, and they can move within each other's dreams as through the corridors and open doors of the house. They continue what another resident of the house began in his dream or half-awake memory. In this dream array blooming wildly in splendorous colours, there is only one figure who stands out clearly, touchingly, perceptibly. She is the gentle suffering mother. Her fate unfolds in its soft, tragic shades. Had the director continued to dream her, had he unfolded her fate, he could have achieved what he was unable to do with the rest of the inhabitants. He could have brought his own dreams and painful traumas face to face with reality. This mother, with her real sorrows, speechless bravery and determination could have cast fresh light on this reality. It would not have been necessary for the director to interpose now and then into the occasional surrealistic pictures of the dreams a rather banal, unimaginative reality as an aid towards deciphering the chronology. This was hardly required amid the boldly associative dreams.

These pictures of reality with their own strict, precise time sequence, create not only confusion, but also suspicion of the meaning of the dreams. In other words, these pictures depicting the movements of reality are too flat and colourless. Their historical point of view is too bookish to allow them to compete with the dream sequences. They destroy the illusion of the latter. The two worlds are not commensurate either in dramatic power, of in depth of representation. On the subjective side, in the one depicted in the dreams, there is the painful cry, the real experience, the symbol created with poetic imagination. In the other, there is pure rationality, preciseness, smartness devoid of imagination. In the end it freezes the dreams, destroys their individual, subjective meaning, and cools their dramatic ardour. The dream degenerates into merely a device, contrary to the director's wishes, because here the relation of form and content are also loosened. Finally, for the sake of supposed reality, the movie becomes a hackneyed, pedantic historical picture. This is unnecessary, since the dreams of the house, oppressive, torturous, filled with fear, had already revealed more about the reality of the past than the inserted pedantry.

Dream and recollection are the dominant forces in Szabó's films. So far, they have joined with the objective world, with the requisites of deeper depiction of society most harmonically in his *Father*. This is a debt the director did not pay in his latest movie. Thus instead of artistic generalization, he has had to content himself with a mere "and this happened next." This occured despite that fact that it is in this film that the basic experience, the personal drama and the child's case against history explode at their highest level. It is in this film that the director is the least haunted by sentimentality, that his lyricism is its boldest, his imagination the most encompassing. Even his artistic tools are keener than earlier.

The cameraman was Sándor Sára once again. He has produced, predictably enough, a fine piece of work. The vitality of his pictures, their plasticity, the irony at times leading into the grotesque, his shocking facial studies have contributed in large measure to the unmistakeable atmosphere.

ZOLTÁN HEGEDÜS

SIZING UP MEASURE FOR MEASURE

I arrived in the city too late in the year for the main part of the theatrical season, so I may well have missed both the best and the worst and have put myself in danger, as a result, of forming quite false impressions of Hungarian theatre as a whole. So: no generalizations. Random impressions only. Especially since—I confess with some shame— I have no competence in the Hungarian language and was, therefore, certainly missing some of the subtleties. With all these reservations, however, I would venture to say that the production of Shakespeare's *Measure of Measure* which I saw in Budapest in early June was one of the best presentations of that play that I have ever seen.* Indeed, this is my dominant impression of Budapest theatre—a striking, moving, powerful production of one of the most important plays in the world. Among less vivid and less certain responses this one stands out, though there were others—a pleasant *Così fan tutte,* distinguished more by enthusiasm than finesse but still pleasing; an interesting energetic but perhaps misconceived production of a new Hungarian play based on a recent novel; a certain dour seriousness of approach on the part of audiences which seemed strange, though not unwelcome, to an Englishman (who is used to audiences who are so afraid of appearing pompous, solemn or pretentious that they affect a flippancy and facetiousness); a shock of surprise to find the National Theatre half-empty (not typical, I'm told); another shock to find the theatres even less comfortable than London and New York theatres, which I had supposed impossible—and a good deal bleaker in atmosphere and visual appearance.

But to return to *Measure for Measure:* the production's chief virtue was its fidelity to the sense and spirit of the play itself. There was a time when one might have thought such a comment unnecessary and even little naive and this, for all I know, may still be true in Eastern Europe where, perhaps, it is still assumed that the governing principle of *any* production is the accurate and vivid reflection of the inner senses of the play. In Western Europe and in America, however, this is less and less the case. In more and more productions, the primary objective seems to be to provide a vehicle for the expression of the director's vision rather than the play's. (There is, of course, no objection to the director's vision—or the vision of any individual—being given expression: his views of life may be an illuminating one; but to use someone else's play for the purpose seems both lazy and dishonest. Moreover, when the playwright in question is Shakespeare there is at least the chance that the loss involved in exchanging the play's world-view for the director's may turn out to be considerable.) The usual excuse for this procedure is that the director's view will be more "immediate" and "relevant" than that of some old, musty, out-of-date play, but if this is so then the whole basis of art is undermined. Is its function not that of perceiving the eternal in the transitory? Of discerning and identifying with, and celebrating the mystery of, the inner and truer sense of life which exists beneath all the movements of immediate and passing experience? Otherwise, we may as well accept the theatre, and all other art forms, as being no more than living newspapers, a species of teaching device for the dissemination of mere opinion about immediate issues. Having accepted this, we would presumably decline to perform any play that was more than, say, five years old.

The 1973 production of *Measure for Measure,** on the other hand—though it

* A production at the Budapest National Theatre, directed by Tamás Major.

* Reviewed in No. 51 of *The N.H.Q.*

made every possible use of the skill of actors and directors—seemed to me to be devoted to the premise that the vision of life and the world contained within the play itself is unique, valuable and timeless, and that the object of the production should be to reflect this vision. It started unpromisingly, in that the visual appearance of the play at the start was uninspiring. Costumes were shabby and seemed to have happened rather by accident than design (several were too flimsily made of poor, cheap materials and suggested a child's "dressing-up box" rather than the wardrobe of a major theatre); the stage set, while well designed, looked much the worse for the wear. Visually, at any rate, we were being invited to a very violent exercise in "the willing suspension of disbelief". The *idea* of the set, on the other hand, was excellent—indeed, an exemplary demonstration of what a stage setting for a Jacobean play should be: dignified, with abstract architectural features; anonymous, non-representational and non-localized; providing for the physical necessities of the play yet so designed as to allow the play to flow rapidly over the stage, moving swiftly from scene to scene without pause or dislocation or change of setting. All this the set for *Measure for Measure* provides. It was only in the particularities of its execution that it was wanting. Painted surfaces looked drab and here and there the naked wood showed through. Scuffed by much use, edges and corners were crumpled and splintered. Nothing of this, however, was true of the playing, which had a freshness, vitality and incisiveness which was most exciting to see. It had another quality, too, which one sees all too rarely in productions of Shakespeare these days—weight, solidity authority.

Though the whole production contributed to this quality, the chief source of it was the performance of the Duke, both in the excellence of the individual portrayal and in the restoring of the figure of the Duke to its rightful place at the centre of the play. Many recent productions have succumbed to a weakness which is partly, is must be admitted, due to the writing of the play itself but which must as far as possible be compensated for on the stage if the play is to be made to work. This weakness is the fact that, since the Duke tends—by reason of the structure of the plot—to operate as a *deus ex machina*, he tends also to become a lay figure, devoid of any character or character development. If this tendency is allowed to assert itself, however, the whole balance of the play is upset and, ultimately, the meaning of the play is perverted. The most common manifestation of this in a production of the play is the primacy given to Angelo (in England, for example, this is always regarded, along with Isabella, as the "star part" and it is given accordingly to the leading player of the company); as a result, the relationship between Angelo and Isabella, free of the moderating influence of the Duke, who has been relagated to a secondary position, becomes a simple, melodramatic confrontation of "good" and "evil". This, in turn, not only grossly oversimplifies the central senses of the play and makes almost meaningless much of the verse in the middle of the play (especially Angelo's); it also does great violence to the character and position of Isabella, for it compels her to operate as a mere type, almost a medieval morality figure. There have been critics, of course, who maintained that this is in fact what she is —a figure called "Chastity". A careful reading of the text would not support this thesis. She herself, as a character, more than half believes it at first, but the play as a totality does not lend its authority to the belief. Its natural heart leans toward the feelings which are also reflected in other of Shakespeare's plays—that the puritanical approach is a denial of the essence of life and that virginity/chastity = sterility (Theseus, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, sternly demands of Hermia whether she can

"endure the livery of a nun, For aye to be in shady cloister mew'd... Chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon" and expresses the opinion that "earthlier happy is the rose distill'd, Than that which withering on the virgin thorn Grows, lives and dies, in single blessedness"). Isabella, when she says "More than our brother is our chastity" is sincere, but mistaken. Her mistake is to allow the meaning of "chastity" to be narrowed to a connotation merely of personal fastidiousness and "honour" (in the sense of personal pride): all considerations of both the purity and the generosity of the soul have been eliminated.

The play's true sense, far from being a simple black-and-white issue of chastity overborne by lechery or innocence by injustice, is concerned with the virtue of moderation; not in the sense of compromise or a milk-and-water tolerance (indeed, these it condemns), but in the sense of balance and sanity and a readiness to accept goodness wherever it be found. This, the play postulates, is the only true virtue, a virtue that is "natural", that springs from the nature of life itself, that has nothing to do with the rules laid down by zealots, nothing to do with the rigid fanaticism either of Angelo's cold passion for justice or Isabella's cold passion for chastity. It is the Duke—"a gentleman of all temperance"—who not only stands as a symbol of this virtue in the play but also through the chemistry of his character and personality, operating dramatically in the play, modifies the extremism of both Angelo *and* Isabella and brings them both to a state of grace. In insisting on the centrality of the Duke, therefore, the Budapest production not only rehabilitated the character of the Duke as such but also reflected a much-neglected theme of the play and one which, in fact, gives coherence and proportion to all the others and cohesion to the whole play. The play now emerges neither as a loosely-articulated, rather rambling, "black" comedy, nor as a simple socio-political satire, but as a well-proportioned tragi-comedy in the true vein. And for once even its title makes more sense than usual and does point to the central issue of the piece: "measure for measure" was never intended to suggest vengeance of the "an eye for an eye" sort, but rather to refer to the temperate proportions of natural goodness and natural justice, in which all elements are "measured"—that is, controlled, reasonable, gracious and generous.

The magnificent authority of the Duke in this production, and the splendidly detailed performance he gave, even went far to overcoming the native weakness of the play itself, namely the distinct tendency this character has in the latter part of the play to stop behaving like a human being and to function only as a dramatic device for unravelling and winding down the plot. Even this actor could not manage it totally, for the task is an impossible one, but he came as near as it is possible to imagine and nearer than any other actor I have ever seen in this part.

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Other performances were almost equally good. The Angelo was perhaps slightly too young both in appearance and manner for the Duke's initial trust in him to be fully credible (and it is important that the Duke *must* trust him, not only completely but also automatically; otherwise it will seem that the Duke is already half-suspecting Angelo's weakness and leaves the court in order deliberately to set a trap for Angelo); but the movement of Angelo's character from frozen rectitude through a devouring and ignoble passion to a new understanding was clearly and firmly drawn. Isabella's duality of nature—so often neglected or blurred—was finely represented and the play gained greatly in consequence. This Isabella was no iceberg to whom sexual abstinence would be a natural state and a necessary condition. Warm-blooded and passionate, she yet believed, at the beginning of the play, that physical chastity was the necessary

emblem of her desire for and dedication to the ideal of an absolute purity. Having accepted this as a discipline, she was resolute and unwavering in her devotion to it until, at the end of the play, she comes by painful degrees to understand the profounder reality which the Duke represents and her natural generosity and warmth taking over, she goes gladly to him. Her smile at that moment was a wonder to behold. Her one error, it seemed to me, also came in this final scene and also concerned a smile: after the Friar had, in Angelo's presence, made himself known as the Duke-in-disguise, she turned to Claudio with a covert little girlish giggle and a grin that suggested much more a rather ungracious and unattractive rejoicing at Angelo's discomfiture than a quickening understanding of the nature of grace.

The "lesser people"—Pompey, Mistress Overdone, Elbow, Froth and so on—were boldly and properly treated as caricatures, rather in the vein of music-hall or vaudeville performances and this proved very successful. It sharply delineated these broader and less subtle figures, while helping also to emphasize by contrast the subtleties and complexities of the main character.

A final word about the costumes: a rather wild and uncontrolled eclecticism, though it led to some vivid individual examples of character's being reflected and given a visual reality on stage, had the disadvantage of blurring social class and caste outlines to such a degree as to produce some moments a downright confusion. The stratification of society was, in Jacobean England, rigid, complete and utterly taken for granted. No amount of disapproval on the part of our twentieth-century, allegedly egalitarian, society will alter this historical fact; nor will it alter the artistic fact that the play simply *assumes* such stratification as the basis of social structures. To alter, ignore or deny this assumption is to do violence to the structure of the play as well as of Jacobean Society. The costuming of the play may not have intended such a denial, but whether by accident or design this is the effect it sometimes produced.

Two evenings later, a theatrical portrait of another kind of society in *An Imaginary Report on an American Pop Festival*,* a play based on Tibor Déry's novel of the same title.** I went with mixed feelings, thinking of all the pitfalls into which a performance with such a title might reasonably be expected to blunder. Either—I assumed—it will be brash, Eastern European, anti-American propaganda (all about the Evils of Capitalism, and so on) or, worse still, it will be a bad imitation of the "American Rock Musical" (which is bad enough in itself, even at its best, without being badly imitated). Or, if it manages by some miracle to avoid both of these dangers, it will be a milk-and-water affair of an innocuous, bland kind that avoids giving offence simply by not saying anything and being, in consequence, just dull. I was wrong on all three counts. The "music" was neither as loud nor as persistent as in American and British examples of the "rock musical" and did not seem like an imitation so much as a satire, which was most welcome. So far as I could tell (allowing for the language problem which was at least partly solved for me by an unobtrusive but expert translator), there was no anti-American propaganda as such; the play's anger and sorrow were centred on the violence and disintegration and bewilderment of *all* twentieth-century mankind, not of any one specific nation or country. The "pop festival", at least in the mind of Tibor Déry, the original author, was seen as a symbol of this violence and disintegration and, since the "pop festival" is—like so many sentimental extravagances—an American invention, the action of the novel was set in the United States. But the United States is not being indicted, except in so

* Reviewed in No. 51 of *The N.H.Q.*

** Stage adaptation by Sándor Pós, music by Gábor Presser.

far as that country in itself symbolizes the general twentieth-century maladies. At the beginning of this article I described the production of the play which derived from the novel as "perhaps misconceived": I meant specifically in the use of this central symbol of the "pop festival". There seemed to be an attempt—on the part of the production sometimes, at any rate—to exploit the present popularity of "rock music" and to make this into a "rock musical" of the conventional pattern. That the attempt did not succeed was to the play's advantage, since its qualities of irony, satire and bitterness would have been lost in sentimentality had it succeeded. But that the attempt was made seemed here and there obvious and the fact produces a certain uneasiness, though not enough to demolish the work. In a rather silly review of the play published in *The Guardian* in July 1973 (a rare event, this by the way: the British press virtually ignores Hungarian theatre), the reviewer made the naive assumption that this *was* a "rock musical". "It's the first rock musical ever produced behind the Iron Curtain", he says with a confident air and then goes on to talk about it in that overheated slang—already slightly faded and slightly dog-eared—that is designed to demonstrate that the speaker is young, up-to-date and liberated from such shackles as culture, literature, thought and English grammar. Certainly, *An Imaginary Report on an American Pop Festival* is not a major work (the play, I mean: the novel may be—I can't answer for that, since I have not read it) but it is fresh, serious, attractive and not nearly as silly as *The Guardian* makes it sound.

I suppose I am supposed, here at the end, to draw vast conclusions and make sweeping pronouncements about The State of Hungarian Theatre but it would be both stupid and arrogant to do so on the strength of so slight an acquaintance. I enjoyed and admired what I saw and the recollection of that Duke, that Angelo and that Isabella sticks in the memory even now, six thousand miles away.

ERIC SALMON

SAMSON

A new opera by Sándor Szokolay

"Samson, thou hidest a secret from me". This reproach of Delilah sums up the central thought of Szokolay's opera. She is seeking the mystery, the key to Samson's strength, to his invincibility and his dedication. It is not that she desires merely to subdue or disarm him, and in so doing serve the Philistines. Delilah, Woman Incarnate, longs for more than his mere deliverance into the hands of the enemy. She wants to bridge the gap between Samson and herself. She has set her heart on sharing his innermost thoughts. The theme is by no means new to opera; the marriage of Elsa and Lohengrin was also poisoned by a secret; it was Judith's craving to know that destroyed Bluebeard's love for her.

There is reason to believe that Szokolay was inspired by his great predecessors to concentrate on this particular aspect in László Németh's play *Samson*, making it the central, recurrent theme of his opera. More probably, however, it was the psychological

aspects of the mystery that fascinated him. Delilah's curiosity, a compound of genuine love, anguish and conscience, haunted by nightmares, is more than a simple woman's craving for knowledge: Delilah has an instinctive realization that in Madách's phrase "the beast of burden at the mill" has preserved his mystery. She does not know, but she surmises earlier than anyone that the hero, his hair grown again, has regained his strength; it is she alone, among a crowd of Philistines making merry, who understands that the hour of revenge has arrived. It is this awareness of the immanent mystery in Samson that makes Delilah no simple betrayer but a worthy antagonist, and indeed a worthy partner for Samson, had they had not been separated by his vocation.

Both László Németh's and Sándor Szokolay's versions of the tale deal with the Biblical story after Delilah's betrayal and Samson's fall. It is surely no accident that the main emphasis of Saint-Saëns' opera is given to the seduction scene: a romantic composer would be bound to take the love affair as his main interest and give dramatic play to the betrayal. The artist of the twentieth century, however, is more concerned with the rebirth from defeat, and the significance of his revenge; he is less interested in the loss of Samson's strength by the cutting of his hair than in the renewal of the vital spark.

The difference between Németh and Szokolay lies in the fact that Németh focusses on Samson's dedicated responsibility towards his nation; Szokolay on the ties of love, jealousy and personal revenge. The hero of the opera consequently stands out as a more lonely figure, lonely through the oppressive demands of the mystery of his dedication, by the nerve-racking concealment of his reviving strength and his long cherished plan, and, above all, by his blindness. Szokolay's libretto is indeed based entirely on László Német's play: it takes whole sentences, word by word, from the play, yet the inevitable demands of condensation allow Szokolay to select and give prominence to one aspect of Németh's theme.

The author of the Samson play, written in 1945, declared in his "Foreword" to the opera that "Samson has become a symbol for a hero who is almost a monster... The saint, the hero and the monster: these three figures were... my measuring-sticks in history... The hero, though defeated, still points the way foreword... the monster who possesses all the raw material for greatness, but cannot achieve the sort of greatness that can serve as an example..." Szokolay was also preocuppied with the conflicts existing within an exceptional individual who lives in full awareness of his mission. Samson's agonizing problems arising from his dedicated life, says Szokolay, follow inevitably on the passions revealed in *(Blood Wedding)* and the seeker of truth exemplified in *Hamlet*. "The sign of God's plans on a man's brow cannot be doffed as easily as a man's shirt."

The moments of dedication and mystery are interwoven: The hero's birth was foretold by an angel in the words of the Bible "for the child shall be Nazarite unto God from the womb, and he shall begin to deliver Israel out of the hand of the Philistines". He was essentially greater than his environment, but in emotions and actions only too human and fallible. The loneliness in which he walks is protected by the strong armour of the holy mystery; it is his death that in fact demonstrates his greatness.

The Biblical story was enhanced with a theme of friendship in László Németh's play; Jefte, a soldier of the watch, represented the national struggle and the voice of conscience. Szokolay has given these ideas a more personal content; with the stress he has laid on personal conflict his picture of the relationship between Jefte and Samson calls up all the romantic élan of *Don Carlos;* their friendshp can be compared to that of Carlos and Posa: "I put myself entirely

into your hands: not only a blind man adopts you as his eye, but a hopeless one as his faith."

The structure of the opera is built on these themes; the effectively dramatic elements so important in any musical drama are provided by the vivid Biblical tale and the exquisite words of László Németh. The theatrical elements in the opera include the poetic chorus of the women grinding corn, the brilliant procession on the festival of the god Dagon, the scenes of Samson's downfall and humiliation and above all, the crash of the great hall at the end. A skilful use is made of all means that could enhance the colour and movement of the work.

Musically Szokolay does not exploit the dramatic situation — this is both his strong and weak point. An artist of considerable self-restraint, he avoids the contrasts of dramatic scenes, and save for the great chorus tableaux, builds his opera's dramatic and musical material upon dialogue. The set character of the dialogues establishes the discipline of the composition, but necessarily limits the composer's imagination. Both the central characters and specific situations are indicated by the use of a leitmotif. These themes, constructed on the twelve-tone technique, determine the style of the work. The characters of the main protagonists are indicated by what the composer calls a visiting card theme. These visiting card themes serve to introduce Samson, Delilah and Jefte. But the changes in these character motifs suggest even further connections: when, for instance, Samson's name is sung in a different manner by Delilah, Jefte and the chorus respectively it indicates their different relations with the hero.

The motif of the mystery and the use of the leitmotif might suggest that Szokolay is perhaps something of a Wagnerite, but this is by no means true. Unlike the Wagnerian leitmotifs of the leading characters in Samson bear no special meaning; they arouse no associations or memories; they do not warn, they simply indicate, directly, without transposition or suggestion. The whole dramatic course of the opera is in fact built on these minor motifs, which are mostly sung, melodiously yet dramatically by the singers. The dominant feature of Szokolay's opera is the use of fragments of dodecaphonic melody. If Szokolay's purpose has been a higher synthesis of his two earlier operas, then he has surely succeeded, fusing the spontaneity of *Blood Wedding* with the dry speculative mood of *Hamlet* into a more fruitful whole. The melodious quality of Samson modulates somewhat the formal, exaggerated declamation of Blood Wedding and the forced dodecaphony of Hamlet; it makes the singers' task easier and, what is all-important, makes for an easier acceptance by the general public.

The dominance of these visiting card tunes, however, gives a certain monotony to the musical language; the composer's ingenuity is in vain if the dramatic action is dependent on dialogue and set melodies and allows no further methods of musical interpretation. In opera it is folly on the part of a composer not to avail himself of the expressive possibilities offered by the orchestra, the uses of the chorus, and the various ensembles and combinations of singers, however prolific his imagination may appear. And Szokolay fails to exploit these possibilities. The texture of Szokolay's orchestration is more temperate than in his two earlier opears, but it is still too thick, it fails to communicate anything meaningful, save an echo of the vocal melodies; even his chorus only actively participates in the final scene. And in consequence the presentation of the duets loses any distinctiveness. Szokolay has attempted to discipline his rather melismatic melodies with a liberal use of the twelve-tone technique, with the result that the melodies lose their essential character, and therefore their function.

The structural design of the opera, in the author's view, was naturally advantageous

to the prolonged use of dialogue; and the composer therefore had to struggle with the profound philosophical deliberations of the original play on the one hand, and in accordance with his self-imposed limits, of emtrusting the whole significance of the work to the vocal score on the other.

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The opera begins with a monologue by the blinded Samson—with a mighty choral fugue relating the earlier events that stripped him of his strength. The extremely attractive oratorio-like beginning introduces the leit-motif of the hero and suggests the mill where he is held working as a prisoner. Act I keeps pace, both dramatically and musically, with the course of events: The lyrical chorus of women grinding corn, the fervour os Samson and Delilah's duet, the rustic miller, male jealousy entering with the appearance of Thimenus, and in the end, Samson's and Jefte's oath of loyalty, all course up in an unbroken arch.

The need to abridge is however already visible in the libretto; Samson's desire for revenge is aroused by the behaviour of Delilah's lover, and so, contrary to the theme of László Németh's play, the original reason inspiring Jefte's proposals, the well-being of their nation, recedes into the background. Samson is not induced to use his renewed strength to save his country but as a means of personal revenge on those who have humiliated and tormented him.

The dramatic events of Act II, condensed into two scenes, continues to depend on the theme of personal revenge. Samson's and Jefte's scene, in the original play, where Jefte clearly represents national interests "One nation for another—suffer this that those others be not suffered any longer!" is wholly omitted; and so the opera, in relation to Németh's play, is deprived of one of its essential themes. Delilah's account of the dream, and its reading, are no compensation, musically, for the loss of this added dimension. The bringing forth of Samson before the royal court is a feeble projection of a great tableau that should have been unfurled in the subsequent scene: the confrontation of Samson and the assemblage of Philistines. The second scene, on the other hand, is indubitably a success with its vivid crowd scene, Samson's simulation of weakness, and the exceptionally enthralling finale; it is both visually and musically a fitting end to the opera.

One of Szokolay's most remarkable abilities is this capacity for creating imposing finales; from powerful beginnings that compel attention, through uneven ups and downs, he reaches the peaks again with his endings. Both of the two acts of Samson end magnificently, and the less successful moments are worth forgetting for them alone. Szokolay's secret might lie in the art of impact—which may be one of the reasons for his unusual popularity. Another is his use of elements from the advanced musical experiments of the age which sound modern, but which nonetheless the audience can easily assimilate, leaving them with a pleasant sense of having understood modern music. He has an enthusiastic audience for his operas; his success, thanks to *Blood Wedding* has extended beyond the boundaries of his country. Despite all one's professional reservations and differences in taste, one must acknowledge these facts. Again, some of his solutions may be open to criticism, his music may be overcharged, his instinctive impulses may too often carry him away, but his musical language is without doubt highly individual. Personally, I do not like the uncontrolled ecstasy on the one hand and the—as I see it—calculated "modernity" of Hamlet on the other; even devices of composition in Samson are occasionally too monotonous for me. None the less I have to acknowledge his strong dramatic sense and the unique character of the musical atmosphere he creates, unmistakably his own.

Samson, is in my opinion, Szokolay's

best opera: its dramatic shortcomings and the musical shortcomings which stem from them, as well as its technical roughnesses, are nothing in comparison with the elemental force of his talent. The works of the best young Hungarian composers are almost all characterized by a careful craftmanship, by an absorbed concern in their artistic skill, and a very balanced sense of proportion. Szokolay's eruptive talent cares for none of these things. He is not so concerned with chiselling and polishing his work, with the refirement of its purely artistic qualities; he has instead talents and capacities that cannot be ignored on any stage. If he were to meditate more on his means, his most personal gift, the full, boundlessly flowing dramatic expression of his extrovert personality, would suffer. It was his second opera, *Hamlet*, which proved that the studied control of his feelings brought him no advantage. He was right, when composing Samson, to let himself once more give full rein to his instincts, although in slightly more disciplined manner. His most recent opera is his best, not only because the remarkable experience he has acquired has profited him and László Németh's play has provided magnificent rough material, but because *Samson* is professionally more thought out, more mature in style and more moderate in its means than its predecessors. *Samson* is able to establish contact between the stage and the audience, and stimulate a new faith in the future of opera.

Szokolay, owing to this elemental dramatic talent of his, has always found a welcome among directors and singers. Opera by its nature, attracts a wide audience. Szokolay himself says that his aim is to serve—but not to be a servant of—the audience. The company of the Budapest Opera co-operated with the composer with pleasure in this production. The whole production, indeed, suggested that all, who took part in it were eager to bring out every possibility in the work. The producer stressed the psychological moments of the action. This stress on the motivation behind the mystery, the careful analysis of the main characters, it is clear, on the original play. András Mikó, the director, does not, it is true, foist Jefte's "national motivations" on the leading characters in the opera who are more concerned with their private conflicts; the expression of Samson's sense of election, of his greatness, which makes him "almost a monster", and the interwoven delicate connections, show signs of a study of László Németh's work. One factor in the success of the production are the ingenious crowd movements in the last scene. Szokolay calls his last scene a Passion play, and in it the chorus emerges as the central character; it breaks up into individual people, into groups and persons of varying reactions. The chorus of the opera, in general accustomed to the conventional mechanics of movement and grouping, has taken on new life under András Mikó's direction. The well-proportioned set helps to achieve a unity of style, and at the same time provides opportunities for massed movements and colour. Gábor Forray's settings brilliantly reinforce the producer's concept; the monumental barbarity of his two stage sets produce genuine atmosphere in themselves, and the brilliant tour de force of the collapse of the great hall provides a visual enhancement of the impressive sweep of the finale. Picking up the Oriental theme, Tivadar Márk's costumes are rich in colour and very attractive, though not entirely appropriate to the savage background.

As usual, the Budapest Opera has put on Szokolay's work with two casts. The orchestra has been rehearsed by two conductors, András Kórodi and Ervin Lukács. Both have sensitively interpreted the intentions of the composer, through their own respective temperaments. Both Kórodi and Lukács exerted themselves to restrain the dominance of the orchestra, which had been overscored. It was not their fault that, despite their efforts, the arias could not be

understood. The baritone, György Melis, who took the role of Samson, deserves special mention. He sang well, accurately distinctly; his Samson was clearly the Samson of the composer, the chosen of the Lord enveloped in mystery.

Szokolay believes wholeheartedly in what he does; he believes in opera. And his faith being infectious, he succeeds in winning his performers over, while the audience surrenders with pleasure to the spell of the music and the whole performance.

MÁRIA FEUER

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ZOLTÁN ROMÁN

PRODUCT STRUCTURE AND WORKS ORGANIZATION IN HUNGARIAN ENTERPRISES

The management of the socialist economy endeavours to make use of all instruments available to increase the efficiency of production. Some devolve on economic management on the level of economic policy and planning, others demand more purposeful and efficient work on the part of enterprises. In the course of national economic planning, while setting the objectives of economic policy, as well as when developing the system of economic guidance, the economic leadership takes into account opportunities in its own sphere to increase efficiency, and at the same time draws the attention of enterprises to what they can do. Recently the Hungarian Government set two such tasks for enterprises: the improvement of the product structure, and of plant- and work organization.

The improvement and modernization of the product structure is being emphasized mainly because the most important changes have already occurred in the sectoral structure of the economy, and especially of industry; with the increased share of the engineering and chemical industries the structure of industry has become more or less like that of the developed countries. The most important further changes are indicated by the central developmental projects. Linked as they are to cooperation within the CMEA, these projects envisage a more economical utilization of Hungarian aluminium, growth in the motor industry, the production and use of hydrocarbons and of the chemical processing of oil products, greater use of up-to-date construction methods, and the manufacture and application of computers. The development of the infrastructure at a more rapid rate is also being given emphasis.

A further improvement of the structure does not require essential shifts between industries, but within particular industries. Fewer obsolescent goods must be produced, or such as are produced uneconomically, goods that are not really in demand either at home or abroad, or that are difficult to sell at the right price; and the share of those goods must go up for the manufacture of which domestic conditions are favourable, which are up-to-date, and for which an increasing effective demand is present both in Hungary and abroad.

The efficiency of production may be increased in two main ways: on the one hand, by ensuring the same output through lower input concerning all activities (or a larger output through an identical input), or, on the other hand, by increasing the share of those activities in which the same input results in higher returns. This second possibility means changing the structure, something that is receiving attention right now.

Central planning continues to be the predominant element in the present Hun-

garian system of economic guidance. However, this planning determines only the most important proportions, the main objectives and instruments of economic development, and allows considerable scope to the independence and initiative of enterprises, as well as to financial instruments and market influences. For this reason, the plan sets production, utilization and stock targets only for the most important products (product groups), and even in respect of these products (product groups) it stipulates the tasks of individual enterprises only as a rare exception. The main instrument for the modification of the product structure is consequently the bringing about of circumstances in which the enterprises are stimulated to pay constant attention to their product structure and to transform it in the right direction. In some cases the government conducts individual investigations and makes decisions concerning the most important large enterprises, but in general and in the great majority of cases, the transformation of the product structure must be built on the efforts of enterprises.

Opportunities for Increasing Company Profits

Hungarian enterprises are today interested primarily in increasing their profits, since this ensures them the higher profit sharing fund needed to increase personal incomes, and also developmental funds forming the principal source for investments. Enterprises have many opportunities to increase profits. Especially important are a reduction in production costs, and an increase in productivity, and the economic leadership provides every encouragement to enterprises to achieve this. The rise in profits is also helped by the increase of production, to which market influences must give an impetus, so that enterprises should endeavour to increase the production only of goods that are in demand. However, among goods in demand there are generally great differences as far as profitability, and costs of manufacture are concerned. It is therefore important for profit growth for the enterprise to devote the largest possible share of its resources to the production of goods for which a unit of resources ensures the highest return.

The government stresses the improvement of the product structure also because relatively little movement may be observed in the enterprises in this respect. The well managed enterprises have of course always investigated—and as far as possible exploited—the opportunities for transforming their product structure, but a number of enterprises—due to incompetent management or for other reasons—did not stop the coming about and ossification of an obsolete product structure, and thus find themselves in a difficult economic situation.

The analysis of products has brought to the fore a more through examination of cost of production and, profitability, something somewhat neglected by a number of enterprises in the past twenty odd years. Under the old system of economic guidance the enterprises were primarily interested in the quantitative increase of production, but after the introduction of the new system of economic guidance a number of enterprises looked only at total profits, and if this did not shape up satisfactorily, they tried to obtain various priorities and privileges rather than look for possibilities for the reduction of production costs and an improvement in the product structure.

The ranking of products according to productivity brought to light very large differences in certain enterprises and branches of industry. These differences were due to many reasons. Besides differing stage of modernity an important role is played by the differing age of the machines, of the technologies, as well as by the availability and price structure of the materials used. With enterprises on the other hand, which manufacture similar products on the same equipment, the product structure of which is determined by the composition of the

assortment, differences are rather due to the basic material used and to the up-to-dateness of, and the demand for, various goods.

From the aspect of the steps that may be taken in the short or in the longer run, the differences arise primarily depending on whether production capacities can be converted by relatively small subsidiary inputs, and so an important modification of the product structure can be carried out at a given capacity, or whether the change-over to other products demands much greater technical preparation, including changes in the ratios of the capacities, and investments. The demand for labour is also an important factor. If the modification of the product structure makes new requirements concerning the skill of the employed labour as well, these changes produce mobility of labour, for which adequate preparations have to be made through retraining or through directing staff to new employment replacing them by others with adequate skills.

In a socialist economy a modification of the product structure can of course not be made dependent exclusively on the productivity indices of enterprises. The enterprises have a certain responsibility to satisfy social demand. An enterprise must not suddenly stop the manufacture of goods for the production of which no other Hungarian enterprise is as yet equipped, and which cannot be imported for one reason or another. The position is simpler in respect of products which are not manufactured for the home markets but for export, in their case as well one has to think, on the one hand, of international contractual obligations, and to bear in mind on the other that the foreign exchange which is lost through the discontinuation of the given commodity must be made up for by the enterprise by the manufacture of other goods. For these reasons, in a socialist economy an improvement of the product structure is not the task of enterprises only, but the ministries as well keep a careful eye on it. They assist the enterprises in the planning of such objectives, and in the case of enterprisese linked to each other they bring the partners together. In respect of goods which are not profitable for a particular enterprise but the production of which cannot be discontinued for the time being, they look for other ways to cover demand, or they assist the enterprise in improving the quality of the product, or its manufacturing technology, and in these ways its productivity and cost structure. One of the most important methods which is now becoming popular is value analysis, which examines the market value, use and other parameters of the product together, with the factors of its cost of production and looks for ways of manufacturing the product which is valued higher by the customer, at lower cost.

It is an important element in the favourable developemnt of the product structure that in the case of products of a large volume or which carry the enterprise's overhead to a considerable extent, or where the domestic production of the product cannot be stopped, higher—but at least average—productivity should be ensured through technological development, the perfection of the construction or the technology, and through a reduction in costs.

In the improvement of the product structure both specialization and diversification may play an important role. Specialization on a smaller number of goods may bring about economies of scale, both through the development and modernization of the products and through larger series. On the other hand the customers, that is the users may look for a richer assortment. This can be dealt with in many cases by the typization of components, of the elements adding up to the product, and these are then produced in larger series, and the enterprise may assemble many kinds of final products out of these components. Cooperation within the country and international cooperation may also assist in achieving the benefit of scale while still ensuring a broader

choice of products. Diversification may offer favourable opportunities for extending their sphere ot the Hungarian enterprises but its role is smaller—especially from the aspect of spreading the risk—than in the case of capitalist enterprises.

Making the product structure more economical is considered something that affects the entire acitivty of the enterprise and draws its attention to an important new aspect, that is that in addition to the reduction of production costs—for which they must strive in respect of both the indirect or overhead expenses and the direct costs attaching to the single products, in addition to technical development which includes the development of the product, of production and of the plant, both in respect of the whole of their activity and its individual branches—they must pay special attention to the opportunities hidden in the formation of the product structure. They must investigate regularly the differences that occur in the shorter or longer term, permanently or temporarily, between the productivity of their various goods, and they must consciously strive for an enhancement of the efficiency of the work of the enterprise, which is built on the formation of this structure.

When is an Enterprise closed down?

It may of course happen that an enterprise—after having omitted for a longer period to take note of the obsolescence of its product structure—gets into a difficult position, if genuinely sought after, up-to-date, and economically produced goods represent such a small portion, that they do not suffice for the essential transformation of the basic product structure. In such cases a more resolute intervention is needed. In an extreme case this may also be the closing down of the factory. In today's employment situation the employment of the released workers and staff does not present any problem and, as a rule, a place can be found for the released machinery and equipments as well. Opportunities for such a regrouping are favourable in a socialist economy. Experience shows however that a factory frequently disposes—in spite of its obsolete product structure—of the intellectual and physical capacity to produce more, given better management, perhaps through being taken over by a better managed enterprise. Before a factory is closed down, the economic leadership ponders this aspect as well—in order to avoid larger losses.

The growth of plant and work organization is—just as the improvement of the product structure—again a task to which the management must devote constant attention, one which may be particularily timely at certain stages. This timeliness is now due primarily to the exhaustion of the extensive reserves for Hungarian economic development; a shortage of labour is very much in evidence and the principal source for a further increase of production must be, for every enterprise, an increase in efficiency, that is in productivity. It has been computed that the industrial work force will continue to grow somewhat for the next fifteen to twenty years, but the total quantity of labour will remain unchanged due to the expected reduction in working hours. A growth of production similar to that achieved earlier can only be ensured through an accelerated growth rate in productivity. According to such computations, the number working on the land will continue to diminish, and here the growth in productivity must cover both the reduction in numbers and a further growth of production. In the service industries a further increase in employment figures is anticipated, but the requirements of this sector of the economy are so large that their satisfaction will demand a definite growth of productivity besides an increase in the number employed.

As a number of different types of investigations show productivity in the Hungarian economy is much lower than in the West-

and North-European capitalist countries, and also considerably lags behind the more developed socialist countries, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. For the production of the same quantity of goods Hungarian factories use, on the average, two to three times as much labour as advanced capitalist countries. This difference in productivity is also the main reason for the existing differences in the standard of living and in living conditions. Hungary implements in the distribution of the goods produced, within the framework of the socialist planned economy, a higher degree of rationality and social justice. The difference in living conditions (in "the quality of life", of which so much is said today) is not as big as in the quantity of goods produced, but lower productivity, and lower per capita national income put a brake on the realization of social objectives. The science of political economy is not yet able (and we do not know whether it will ever be able) to demonstrate quantitatively the factors to which the large diffeences in economic progress and in the level of productivity between various countries must be attributed. Such calculations and estimates are always built on a large number of unwarranted assumptions. In determining the factors which play an important or even fundamental role in one country in one period, economic analyses may however prove to be of assistance.

Earlier the geographic situation and natural resources of the various countries were considered almost as solely determinant. In the modern situation the importance of these factors is much smaller, as is evidenced for instance by the example of Japan.

Greater opportunities than before exist today also for overcoming the problems of efficiency deriving from the size of the different countries and the limitations of their domestic market: through trade and other forms of international economic relations small countries may eliminate disadvantages of this kind. Switzerland and Sweden are examples. The continuing importance of this factor is clearly indicated, also by the trend towards integration both in the socialist camp and in the capitalist world.

The structure of the different economies has an important role in the differences of productivity, and the purposeful formation of the sectoral and product structure, which is discussed above, has an equal role in the reduction of these differences. An important precondition for this as well is the exploitation of the benefits of external relations and of the international division of labour.

Technical Level, Management, Organization

A considerable portion of the differences existing in the productivity of the various countries may be attributed to the differing technical level; this finds expression both in the differing degree of technical equipment of human labour (which may be quantified in terms of the value of machinery and equipment per worker), and in the differing "quality" of the technical equipment. This is undoubtedly a basic source of differences in productivity. But much research has shown that this is not the only, and often not even the most important, source of these differences. The labour force (its skill and its attitude to work) as well as the level of management and of organization play an equally important role.

The fact that we consider the role of management and of organization more important today than earlier does not reflect only the fuller recognition of the importance of this factor but also the changes in the conditions of production. Today we have a much better educated labour force, a labour force which is more exacting towards the content and conditions of its work, and capital equipment of a many times over higher value than earlier. Not only the growth rate of production has become accelerated, but technical progress, the replacement of products as well; the division

of labour and cooperation continue to grow—internationally as well. All this demands greater foresight, decisions, bearing in mind an increasing number of factors and a higher degree of coordination; all functions of management have become more complex, and more important in their effects. This is equally true of the management of single enterprises and of the economy as a whole.

The reform in the guidance of the economy introduced in Hungary on January 1st 1968 was an extraordinarily decisive step forward. But to allow the effects of this reform to multiply, a higher standard of management and organization at the enterprise level is absolutely necessary.

As these various surveys have shown, Hungary's above mentioned lag in productivity is only partially due to differences in technical equipment and standards. Aggregate statistical comparisons and more detailed investigations on an enterprise level equally indicate this. According to a survey carried out in December 1970, covering 60 per cent of the processing industries, only one-quarter of the enterprises saw the main reason for the lower level of productivity in poorer technical equipment: they indicated the raising of the standard of management and of organization as the most important way helping to achieve a further increase of productivity.

The improvement of organization in the enterprise is basically considered the task of enterprise management. It is therefore emphasized that the objectives of organization must be determined by the management. The two most general groups of enterprise objectives are: 1) The efficiency of the operation of the organization as a whole; 2) The satisfaction of the requirements of the workers and employees (in relation to their income, work, working conditions, etc.) These objectives may clash, but in that situation as well the management must be able to decide what it expects from organizational activity.

Managerial Training

The managers at all levels must dispose of organizational knowledge, ability and experience of a high degree. This is considered, besides political reliability and professional expertise the principal criterium of leadership. In addition managers require of course —just as in respect of other functions—for this work as well, the assistance of trained specialists. Among the steps foreseen for an improvement in organizational activity refresher courses for managers take an important place, as well as the thorough teaching of the new technical methods and the human aspects (psychology) of organization.

This training programme is built on an estimate of the demand for organizers. It is taken into consideration that next to their basic training—which may be of a technical, economic or arts nature—specialists organizers mostly know really thoroughly only one group of field of the organizational problems and techniques. Correspondingly the sphere of knowledge and tasks of the work- and production organizer (built primarily on technical basic training) is clearly separated from the sphere of knowledge and tasks of the organizer of the administrative process and of the information system (whose basic training may be either economic or technical) and that again from the task of the organizer who needs perhaps less knowledge of individual techniques but a broader general view i.e. the role of the general organizer, the consultant, the expert directing and holding together the activities of the former categories. All three types of organizational specialists must get thorough training in psychology and sociology, in many cases however the need arises to strengthen the organizational teams by the presence of a psychologist and a sociologist.

Concerning the role of organizers the question often arises where they should be situated within the organization of the enterprise? Should larger centralized organiz-

ing departments be created, or should the organizers be decentralized and placed as assistants beside the managers of the production units? In this respect experience abroad is divided, both in the socialist and the capitalist countries. The placing of the organizers depends on a number of various factors and it is therefore not possible to give a general prescription. Hungarian experience confirms that the organizers must primarily have a consultant's role, they should work out their recommendations together with the employees, managers and specialists involved, this improves the chances for these recommendations to be accepted and put into practice. The more the organizers stay in the background, the greater the likelihood that their recommendations will be felt by others as well as their own and then the latter will work for their realization. In the elaboration and introduction of organizational recommendations Hungarian experience has shown teamwork to be very productive, especially the work of teams which unite organizers of various skills with the practical specialists involved in the introduction and practical execution of the recommendations. Such teams may work temporarily freed of other tasks, or part time.

In order to improve organization, the enterprises have worked out medium-term programmes and have set down their tasks for three years as part of them. In addition to their annual plan and their production programme for shorter periods, the Hungarian enterprises elaborate also medium-term plans. These are generally prepared —in harmony with national economic planning—for five-year periods. The indices of these enterprise plans need not be approved by the directing organs, but are determined by the enterprises in harmony the national economic plans, influenced by the regulative system formulated also in national economic planning, and on the basis of consultations with their various partners and the directive organs. We are at present in the five-year plan period 1971–75, and therefore the enterprises, in 1972, elaborated their plans for organizational improvement for a three-year period, i.e. for the rest of the present plan period. These plans were aimed at surveying the organizational situation, and—taking into consideration the conclusions derived from these surveys—at the creation of the conditions necessary for the realization of the tasks foreseen in their medium-term plan.

The directive organs do not have to approve these plans, but request to see them and return them to the enterprises with their comments and recommendations. The reason for this is that many enterprises do not as yet have a sufficient organizing apparatus and expert knowledge to be able to elaborate their plan adequetaly. It is for instance a frequent problem that the plan contains too many tasks without the indication of the main points; or that it does not leave sufficient room for the solution of complex organizational tasks, or that the plan elaborated for work organization (on which special emphasis is laid, among other things for he sake of improving the conditions of work and the continuous supply with work) is not through enough.

There may be many obstacles in the way of putting the organizational recommendations into practice. One such obstacle may be a lack of realism in the recommendations, an insufficient examination of whether the external and internal conditions exist in the enterprise for the introduction of the recommendations. Another group of problems may be caused by resistance to change. The main reason for this open or hidden resistance, which can often be experienced, is that people dislike the changes forced on them, which they may feeel as indicating that they have not been able to do their own work properly. It must also be taken into account that almost every organizational recommendation affects authority, influence and competency, and is therefore linked with feelings and emotions.

The question also arises what the incentive or constraint is that will drive the enterprises towards more efficient measures and faster progress.

It is primarily the requirements induced by the market and by the regulators that have an outside effect on enterprises, improved organization being one of the principal means for increasing production, achieving steady good quality and low production costs. The directive organs may of course also exert an influence from the outside.

It is a very important factor that the enterprises are going to feel an increasing incentive and constraint to improve their organization, from the inside. This is partly connected with the fact that labour becomes more and more scarce, and this enables the workers and other staff to have a greater choice in selecting their place of employment. In such circumstances the enterprise must make better and more efficient use of its existing labour force (because it cannot count on an increase in numbers or on replacements, as it did earlier), and it must further create such working conditions and circumstances which bind the workers and employees to the enterprise.

It is an advantage of the socialist economy that there are great opportunities for an exchange of experiences between enterprises. The ministries can give substantial assistance in commissioning methodological material that may be widely used, and they may also assist financially those so-called "exemplary" organizations which will then form the basis for the more widerspread use of up-to-date methods. Organizational and consulting bureaus are also available to enterprises if they need outside advice or assistance.

The 12th Congress of Economists, held in 1973, discussed the improvement of plant- and work organization. It surveyed results achieved and what was still to be done. It was possible to conclude from the discussions that if they make good use of the opportunities offered by the socialist economy, Hungarian enterprises may achieve, already within a couple of years, substantially improved methods of organization and, through this, more efficient work.

A CONFERENCE OF BRITISH AND HUNGARIAN ECONOMISTS

Hungarian and British economists gathered in September 1973 for the fourth time. The conference was held in Keszthely, a Western Hungarian centre of agrarian research. The four days were part of a series of international discussions organized by the Hungarian Economics Society where Hungarian economists held discussions with American, Bulgarian, French, Indian, Polish, Austrian and Soviet colleagues.

In Keszthely they did not this time concentrate on any special field of economics, the subjects were theoretical and practical questions of economics as such, the connections between economics and economic policy, and, last but not least, the tasks which economists had to face. Consequently, the most characteristic feature of the conference was an orientation toward future developments and not a recording of achievements by economics in earlier years.

The conference brought out in strong relief one of the most characteristic features of the age: the great impact on economics

made by the acceleration of social and economic processes.

The participants kept on stressing that, notwithstanding considerable successes, certain interrelations and problems still lacked scientific analysis. One could assert, for example, that considerable successes had been achived in the analysis of laws concerning the allocation of economic resources and in the improvement of the methodology of allocation. Those achievements have contributed to a firmer basis for development policies, both on enterprise and state levels. However, neither economic theory nor methodology can really meet the demands of the age. The available allocational models do not fit real processes; they are oversimplifications of a highly compound international system, that makes an impact on the allocational process itself, as a result of a transfer between micro and macro (-type) decisions. Some social value judgements, earlier disregarded by economics, have an ever increasing effect on the allocation of resources.

The problem of income distribution is closely connected with the above. Theoretical economics doubtless produced many innovations in the fields of incentives, taxation and the redistribution of incomes, and methodology has taken a great stride forward as well. In Hungary considerable progress has been made in incomes policy, while in England the theory and techniques of taxation have advanced noticeably.

Seeing, however, that resource allocation and the redistribution of income are realized through the pricing mechanism, and cannot entirely be separated from it, possible distortions of the price system can cause similar distortions in the distribution of resources and incowes as well. The solution to this problem is of great concern to Hungarian economists; they also try to discover how income distribution policy can be made more dynamic so as to further increase social mobility.

The English economists reported that they had much trouble with an analysis of the interrelations concerning the economic development of advanced capitalist countries, and with the exploration of the connections between unemployment and inflation. They were also trying, in the field of incomes distribution, to balance rational economic considerations against the demands of social policy.

Seeing that international integration and multinational enterprises are gaining in power, economists have to deal urgently with the international distribution of resources, international fluctuations in the factors of production, the interrelation between international integration and economic development, and the specific behaviour of multinational enterprises. Micro-economic investigations must be extended beyond national boundaries by a thorough analysis of the activity of modern international enterprises.

The backwardness in micro-economics also handicaps macro-economics. The problems to be solved are not, of course, identical in the two countries. Hungarian economists are now busily studying the micro- and macro-economic interrelations of socialist enterprises and their behaviour; the latter being an important prerequisite in the formation of adequate and effective state economic control.

English economists think that an analysis of the behaviour of enterprises may have an important role in the proper timing of state economic control decisions and measures. The enterprise sphere will not react to a badly timed state decision, or its reaction will not correspond to state expectations. Or, what is more, badly predicted enterprise behaviour might cause serious economic troubles in certain cases when state decisions must be carried out.

Regional development, that is, a conscious influence on the regional location of industry, has become a prominent factor in the economic development of the age. Though it is basically a political and social

problem, economists also have made their contribution with analyses of the causes and economic interrelations of regional questions and they aided a scientific and methodical selection of the economic activity to be located in certain regions. Preferences supporting regional development have also proved to be useful. However, economists cannot adequately show whether regional development will increase or decrease the economic potential and possibilities of a given country; or how regional development can be made consistent with a demand for an effective distribution of resources in the long run, or how preferences connected with regional development alter and distort cost and price conditions, and what effect they may have on tariff policy.

The present condition of economics must not, in spite of these numerous and all too complex tasks, be considered in a particularly pessimistic light. Achievements so far encourage a recognition and definition of the problems economists have to face.

We must be aware, of course, of the present limits of this discipline, otherwise we shall not be able to show the direction of its further development and the possibilities of its use. We certainly must disregard the differences in the two nations' stages of development and economic potential, the differing social and institutional structure of the two systems and, first of all, the basic differences in ownership and in the system of economic control. After all, the objectives and directions, the possibilities and limits of any social science depend on social circumstances and the stage of economic development.

The above fact must be stressed all the more as in the "lesson" given to economics there is an ever increasing number of tasks that can only be dealt with bearing in mind a great many political and social processes and factors. Their movements and effects cannot be measured by traditional economic methods aiming at the maximization of output and production. A contradiction of the age is that, as a result of the development of the forces of production, including technological development, the dimension of investments also increases in keeping with the demands of efficiency, and this would call for a greater stability in the long run. Uncertainty, however, is on the increase, precisely as a result of fast technological development. This being so, investments involving particularly great risks and a long period of amortization, serving ever increasing social consumption, are carried out by the state, and the state becomes an active participant in moulding economic processes. The role of the state bears out the fact long since realized by Marxist economists, that economics cannot be separated from politics.

Economics looked on as a social science does not inhibit creative scientific co-operation and exchange of working methods between experts belonging to different social systems. On the contrary, it is the identification of differences that may help to find a common ground for a creative co-operation and a useful exchange of experience. A clarification of the theoretical and political questions has undoubtedly contributed to the success of the Hungarian–English conference.

Mention should be made of some differences in the views of the two countries' delegates. English economists showed a certain pessimism when speaking of the role of economics in formulating state economic policy. The optimism of the Hungarian delegates may well be based on successes in the development of their system of economic control, the better exploitation of the possibilities inherent in a planned economy, and the great economic development achieved by the above facts. In these successes the fast development of Marxist economics has a share as well.

The ever more prominent part of social policy, combined with the fact that governments do not demand an explanation of past events from economics but rather a hand in

the formulation of their economic policy, must suggest to the experts that their science is not some sort of super-social-science; certainly it cannot in itself give an always valid explanation for each social phenomenon. One must not think that the essence of a rational choice or decision can be grasped by the maximization of output, production or growth. The social sciences, particularly sociology, social psychology and law, have a considerable part to play in any economic decision. All this does not mean, however, that economics ought to become part of some interdisciplinary system, or that one must disregard the demands of efficiency as criteria for economic action. Of course that would not be possible.

A dialogue between politicians, political bodies and economists is a prerequisite of the proper incentives for, and orientation of, economics and of a better foundation of economic policy. The dialogue would on the one hand offer economists a better understanding of the socio-political features and limits of their suggestions, and, on the other, warn political and economic-policy management not to divert from economic reality, that is not to run counter to economic rationality. Economists, however, ought to take into consideration the complex features of governmental activity; that is that governmental institutions are partly entrepreneurs, and act correspondingly (e.g. as immediate investors); but, at the same time, they are political institutions; therefore their responsibility is of a highly complex character.

Economics must, to a greater extent than they have done, deal with the practical demands of social development. This applies not only to the choice of subjects for economic research, but to working methods as well. The conference put special emphasis on economic methods of mathematical programming and modelling. It is a true that economists in the fifties thought they found the "philosopher's stone" in mathematical methods. Today one can detect some signs of disillusionment in economic literature; not only in England and in this country, but all over the world.

One explanation for this may be the exaggerated trust put in models. Econometrics was expected to solve problems that could not be solved owing to the method's inherent limits. Another explanation is that those who draw up models were apt to disregard realities and the demands for practical usefulness in decisions; their only endeavour being to construct as "elegant"—or, as a British economist said, as "aesthetic"—models as possible. Mathematical processes cannot be mechanically adapted to economics. The criteria are not the same in mathematics and in socio-economic phenomena. Therefore, econometrics in general cannot provide ready-made solutions for socio-economic decisions.

Disillusion and a rejection of econometrics would, however, be an equally great mistake, all the more so since many important theoretical and practical questions have been solved with its help, and the method is suitable for further improvement. What are needed are realistic expectations and attempts to reconcile traditional planning and decision-taking systems with the employment of mathematical methods.

Is the mobility of economists sufficient in Hungary? That was another question asked.

Public opinion holds that continuity of employment is a good thing. The trend of mobility—if existent at all—shows a horizontal rather than a vertical direction. The fluctuation of experts between enterprises, research and educational institutions and state control organs—notwithstanding some quickening in recent years—is of a limited character. Properly planned rotation would doubtlessly serve the professional development of economists; they would better understand specific problems of other fields. But it would be useful as well for the economic bodies and institutions; they would gain experts of wider experience, who would be more skilful in adapting state economic political intentions to enterprise policy; who, being aware

of enterprise behaviour, would be more efficient in the construction of methods of state economic control; who would creatively realize their practical experience in scientific institutions, and, conversely, would more effectively rely on recent scientific achievements in their practical work. Mutual confidence is the all-important factor in the complex interrelative system that exists between state economic policy and enterprise behaviour. A confirmation of such a confidence—from the subjective side—might also be achieved by more intense "transfusions" between enterprises and organs exercising economic controls.

I remember only too well a discussion on the profession and vocation of economists held early in the sixties. That time our only demand was that certain jobs be occupied only by those with qualifications. Today, seeing that Hungary has nineteen thousand economists (in England two thousand graduate in economics every year), and that the character and social status of the profession is being revaluated, it becomes highly questionable who in fact can be regarded as an economist and what knowledge he must have. A British participant at the conference put it the following way: The economist is neither a technician nor a methodologist, though he needs to know and apply some techniques; he is not a sociologist, but has to know basic methods in sociology; he is not a psychologist, but he must know and use psychological aspects connected to his profession; he is not a historian, none the less he has to have historical knowledge and attitudes, otherwise he will not be able to pass adequate judgement on socio-economic processes.

An economist can be distinguished from a technocrat (who, in his turn, may be either an economist, or an engineer) by the fact that the former is in the habit of questioning and sizing up situations and compares investments and their expected outcome. A technocrat will regard a quick growth in production as the only criterion of success. An economist will express his doubts, having taken into consideration the given structure, the market, investments, etc. An economist, therefore, must know how to put questions. "Knowing how to put a question" means questions concerning the identification of problems, the creation of opportunities for choice, and the support of decisions. Speaking about questions one can say that the Hungarian–British conference was chiefly successful because it has posed several questions which might serve as a working programme for economists the world over.

GYÖRGY VARGA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

I am most interested in your issue *Fifty Plus One*. Perhaps it is because I am sixty minus one. But I have been reading the magazine for many years with interest, sometimes skepticism, sometimes annoyance, but always with a real appreciation of a good job well done.

I think that *Europe—Ideal and Real* is a particularly penetrating piece. I am not really sure to which part of Europe Hungary belongs, but—as you say—the idea of a "possible real Europe, including the whole of the continent" might be viable. You say "it was preserved unimpaired." I have a feeling that this is the old story of the black cat in the dark room. In any event, it is a fascinating article.

There will indeed be for some considerable time, two Europes. Whether the difference is in the number of the verb does not seem to me to be important. What is important is the fact that you do have to live in this Europe and that it is possible to do so.

Franc Shor
Associate Editor,
National Geographic Magazine,
Washington, D.C.

Sir,

The arrival of No. 50 of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* seems to be not only an excuse but an imperative reason for writing to you to say how greatly I admire the evidence of your activities which arrives on my desk four times a year. Many congratulations on your remarkable achievement.

Hans Schmoller
Penguin Books Ltd.,
Harmondsworth
England

Sir,

I thank you all heartily for supplying regularly your interesting informative literary and cultural quarterly. You will be pleased to know that I have translated 12 poems by SándorPetőfi into the Gujarati language, the mothertongue of Mahatma Gandhi and 25 million people. I also wrote a fresh article on Petőfi and my artist wife painted a colourful portrait of Petőfi and we submitted all these to the Hungarian Embassy in New Delhi—they are to publish all these in an anthology of Petőfi's poems in Indian languages.

I earnestly make a suggestion for your Quarterly: Please publish the portraits of the literary men about whose work and life you publish articles in the *Quarterly*.

Krischnavadan Jetley
Sharadagram, Gujarat State,
India

Sir,

The NHQ you mentioned in your letter arrived last week. Thank you very much, it really gave me great pleasure. Unfortunately I have not had time yet to read right through it, but I did read articles which particularily interested me, those by or about persons I knew. It was good to revive memories after such a time. The magazine is well produced, the paper is tasteful, the printing clean and legible. That is the first impression when one picks up and opens a book, before even reading the table of contents.—As regards the contents and quality, I think the highest compliment is that it is always on loan, one passes it on the other, without returning it to me, they just call "Do you mind, if I give it to . . . ?" Of course I do not mind, I shall read those articles I have not read later.

It does one good to read the names of those

who create the literature of today. The Bartók-Vámos interview deeply affected me, it is so clever and beautiful. Bence Szabolcsi's death touched me personally, he was my teacher.

Gisele S. Chobaji
San Francisco

Sir,

I should like to thank you for sending me copies of your excellent Quarterly and congratulate you on the very high standard that you set. I try *not* to read it but all in vain—it is quite irresistible, however hard pressed for time one is.

I particularly enjoyed your account of a day with Edmund Wilson in the latest issue.

Alec Cairncross,
(Sir Alec Cairncross, K.C.M.G., F.B.A.)
St. Peter's College
Oxford

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Prime Minister. See his contributions, "Hungarian Cultural Policy and the Hegemony of Marxism" in No. 42, "Cultural Policy and Changing Reality" in No. 46, "The Political and Social Significance of Education" in No. 49, "Peaceful Coexistence and Ideological Struggle" in No. 51, and "Cultural Policy and Social Progress" in No. 52 of *The N.H.Q.*

ALMÁSI, István (b. 1927). Journalist, senior staff member of *Népszabadság*, the daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Graduated from the University of Agriculture at Gödöllő. Writes about agricultural production and the development of state farms.

BERECZ, János (b. 1930). Deputy head of the Department of Foreign Relations at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a historian by training. Graduated from Eötvös University, Budapest. See "European Security and the Role of Public Opinion" in No. 53 of *The N.H.Q.*

BOR, Ambrus (b. 1921). Author of novels and short stories. Recent publications include *Genezáret* (short stories) Magvető, 1970, and *Útlevélkép háttérrel* ("Passport photo with background") (a novel) Magvető, 1972.

DARVAS, József (1912–1973). Novelist, playwright, a trained teacher. Born into a poor peasant family, he joined the National Peasant Party as well as the writers' populist village research movement in the early thirties. His short stories, novels, social reportage, plays, and filmscripts explore many aspects of peasant life, village living conditions and, more recently, some moral conflicts inherent in the changes brought about by socialist development. Was a member of the underground resistance during the War, became an MP after liberation, and was Deputy Chairman of the Hungarian Peasant Party. Was Minister of Building 1947–1950, Minister of Culture 1950–1953, and President of the Writers' Union from 1959 until his death in 1973. "Mud", written in the early forties, remains a powerful account of poor peasant life despite its slightly dated emotional naturalism.

DOMANOVSZKY, György (b. 1909). Art historian, specializing in folk and applied art.

FEUER, Mária. Musicologist and critic. Editor of *Muzsika* ("Music") a Budapest monthly. See her contributions in Nos. 39, 42 and 47 of *The N.H.Q.*

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art historian and critic, on the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a Budapest weekly. His main field is contemporary art, especially graphic and applied art. See "Béla Czóbel at Ninety" in No. 53 of *The N.H.Q.*

GERGELY, Ágnes. Poet, novelist, translator. Studied English and Hungarian at Eötvös University, worked as teacher and as editor for Hungarian Radio.
At present member of the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Has published several volumes of her own poetry and translated numerous English, American and some Russian, German and French poets, including "The Spoon River Anthology" by Edgar Lee Masters. See her poems in No. 36 of *The N.H.Q.*

HEGEDÜS, Zoltán (b. 1921). Critic, our regular film reviewer.

ILLÉS, Endre (b. 1902). Author, head of *Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó*, a publishing house of literature in Budapest. Has published numerous volumes of short stories, novels, literary essays, criticism, written plays for the stage and television. His translations

include novels by Stendhal, Maupassant, Mauriac, Martin du Gard, etc. Both as a critic and as a publisher he has played an important part in the shaping of Hungarian literature for the last forty years. See part of a play, "The Sand-Glass" in No. 7, and short stories in Nos. 3, 11, 18, and 48 of *The N.H.Q.*

JÁNOSSY, Lajos (b. 1912). Physicist, academician, scientific adviser to the Central Physics Research Institute, Budapest. Member of the Editorial Board of this journal. Taught physics at Dublin and Manchester universities. Has published a number of works on the Quantum and Relativity Theories. See his "Theory of Relativity Base on Physical Reality" in No. 46, and "Copernicus or Einstein?" in No. 52 of *The N.H.Q.*

KATONA, Éva. Journalist, on the staff of *Budapest*, the illustrated monthly of the Budapest City Council, and also of *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary weekly. See "The Luxus Department Store" in No. 42 and "Tête à tête with the Minister of Finance" in No. 52 of *The N.H.Q.*

KEMENES, Egon (b. 1924). Economist, author of essays and articles on economic policy and development. Member of the Council of World Economy, senior staff member of the Afro-Asian Research Center of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See "Three years of the Economic Reform" in No. 42, and "Hungary's Fourth Five Year Plan" in No. 45 of *The N.H.Q.*

KOMÁRIK, Dénes (b. 1929). Architect. On the staff of the Budapest City Council's department for the preservation of monuments. His main field is research in the history of architecture, especially 19th century Hungarian Romantic buildings. Has published several papers in architectural periodicals.

KOMÓCSIN, Zoltán (b. 1923). Member of the Political Committee and Secretary to the Central Committee (in charge of international affairs) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Head of the Editorial Board of *Népszabadság*, the daily of the H.S.W.P. 1957–61 First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Association, 1961–65 editor of *Népszabadság*. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of Parliament.

KOVÁCS, V. Sándor (b. 1931). Historian of literature and bibliographer. Specializes in literature written in Latin in Hungary in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. Editor of *Magyar Könyvszemle*, and also on the staff of the Institute of Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Lectures at Eötvös University on old Hungarian literature.

LUKÁCS, György (1885–1971) An early piece by the philosopher. See the commemorative issue (No. 47) of *The N.H.Q.*

MASTERMAN, C. Neville (b. 1905). Historian, lecturer at the University of Wales at Swansea. See his "Marxist View on Chartism" in No. 39, "Who Exploited Whom?" in No. 40, and "The Hungarian Campion" in No. 41, and "Henrik Marczali, Historian" in No. 49 of *The N.H.Q.*

MEZEY, Katalin. Journalist on the staff of *Népművelés*, a monthly on adult education. She specializes in avantgarde art.

MIKLÓS, Pál (b. 1927). Critic and sinologist. Senior staff member of the Institute of Literary Studies on the editorial staff of *Helikon*, a literary review. Educated at Budapest and Peking University. Has translated numerous classical and modern Chinese works, and published books and articles on Chinese intellectual history and the theory of art and literature. Recent works include *Olvasás és értelem* ("Reading and Meaning"), 1971 and *A sárkány szeme — Bevezetés a kínai piktura ikonográfiájába*, ("The Eye of the Dragon — an Introduction to the Iconography of Chinese Painting"), 1973.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). Art historian, one of our regular art reviewers.

NÉMETH, Lajos (b. 1929). Art historian, one of our regular art reviewers.

PUJA, Frigyes (b. 1921). Minister of Foreign Affairs. Originally a compositor, later a county Communist Party secretary for a number of years, then in charge of a section of the Personnel Division of the Party. 1953–55 Minister to Sweden, 1955–59 to Austria, 1959–63 Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1963–68 headed te Department of Foreign Affairs of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Also member of the Central Committee. See a review of his book "Problems of Peaceful Coexistence" in No. 31, and "The Political Situation in Europe Today" in No. 42 of *The N.H.Q.*

ROMÁN, Zoltán (b. 1924). Economist. Head of the Research Group of Industrial Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His main fields are the economics of industry, statistics and econometrics, on which he has published several works.

SALMON, Eric. Professor of Drama at the University of Saskatchewan, Canada. He worked extensively in British and American theatre before going to Canada. Author of a collection of poems, *Another Morning Coming*, and of a great many articles on theatre and drama. His critical study of John Whiting will be published this year by Twayne of New York.

SIK, Csaba (b. 1934). Art historian, essayist, literary manager of Magvető Publishing House, Budapest. Has published a volume of essays on modern art and artists, *Rend és kaland* ("Order and Adventure" 1972).

SZALAI, Sándor (b. 1912). Professor of Sociology at Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Special Adviser on Studies of the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR, New York). In 1964 visiting professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; 1966–1972 Deputy Director of Research, UNITAR, New York. Recent works: *The United Nations and the News Media*, New York, 1972, UNITAR. Editor and co-author *The Use of Time*. The Hague–Paris, 1973, Mouton. See his "Restratification of a Society" in No. 23 of *The N.H.Q.*

SZÁNTÓ, Judit. Our regular theatre critic.

SZÁSZ, Imre (b. 1927). Novelist, author of volumes of short stories, sketches, and translator of works by Shakespeare, Browning, Melville, Jack London and Hemingway. Spent a year in Iowa City, USA, as member of the International Writing Program; the text published in this issue is a chapter from a book he wrote on his American experience, *Száraz Martini koktél* ("Dry Martini").

SZÉPE, György (b. 1931). Linguist. Heads the Applied Linguistics Group at the Institute of Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and is Secretary of the Committee on Linguistics at the Academy. Vice President of the *Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée*, Hungarian member of the *Comité Directeur de l'Association Internationale de Sémiotique*. His research includes Hungarian phonology and applied linguistics. Has been lecturing at Eötvös University since 1964 and was visiting lecturer at Columbia University in 1967.

VARGA, György (b. 1932). Economist, Assistant Professor at Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. Deputy editor of *Figyelő*, an economic weekly, and editor of *Gazdaság*, the monthly review published by the Hungarian Economic Society. His main field is business management in Hungary and abroad. See his contributions in Nos. 52 and 53 of *The N.H.Q.*

VARGA, László (b. 1939). Historian of literature, one of our regular book reviewers.

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