NHQ

The New Hungarian Quarterly

EGYETEMI BUDAPEST KÖNYVTÁR
1976 JUN 24
(8)
3

eckoning with Reality — *György Aczél*

Changes in the World Economy and Hungarian Economic Policy — *József Bognár*

n Introduction to Modern Hungarian Poetry — *Miklós Vajda*

ems — *István Ágh, Amy Károlyi, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, os Pilinszky, György Rónay — translated by Alan Dixon, hael Hamburger, Ted Hughes, Edwin Morgan*

ies by *Iván Boldizsár, István Csurka*

Difficult Birth of "U.S.A" in Hungarian — *zló Országh*

L. XVII. ■ No. 62 ■ SUMMER 1976 ■ £ 1.30 ■ $ 2.60

62

The New Hungarian Quarterly

EDITORIAL BOARD

József Bognár, Lajos Jánossy, Dezső Keresztury,
Béla Köpeczi, László Országh, Brunó Straub,
Egon Szabady, Sándor Szalai, István Vas,
Gábor Vályi, Anna Zádor

EDITOR

Iván Boldizsár

EDITORIAL STAFF

Zoltán Halász, Deputy Editor,
Miklós Vajda, Literary Editor,
Ágnes Széchy, Editorial Assistant

Editorial Offices
17 Rákóczi út, H—1088 Budapest, Hungary
Telephone: 136-857
Postal Address: H—1366 Budapest, P.O. Box 57, Hungary

Annual subscription: $ 10,— or the equivalent in another currency
post free to any address

Orders may be placed with
KULTURA HUNGARIAN TRADING COMPANY FOR BOOKS
AND NEWSPAPERS
H—1389 Budapest, P.O.B. 149
See also the distributors listed on the back page

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

Published by Lapkiadó Publishing House, Budapest

Printed in Hungary by Kossuth Printing House, Budapest
© *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, 1976

The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOLUME XVII * No. 62

SUMMER 1976

Verse and Prose .... *The Editor* 3
An Introduction to Modern Hungarian Poetry .... *Miklós Vajda* 8
Poems, translated by Alan Dixon, Michael Hamburger, Ted Hughes, Edwin Morgan .... *István Ágh, Amy Károlyi, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, János Pilinszky, György Rónay* 25
Reckoning with Reality .... *György Aczél* 42
Changes in the World Economy and Hungarian Economic Policy .... *József Bognár* 65
Meeting the General (short story) .... *Iván Boldizsár* 79
The New Buda Castle .... *Máté Major* 90
Sopron's Modern Ancient History .... *Dezső Dercsényi* 95
Hungary in 1776: A European Frontier .... *Frank Lipsius* 99
Bottles and Women (short story) .... *István Csurka* 110

INTERVIEW

An Hour with Emil Schultheisz, Minister of Health .... *István Lázár* 118

SURVEYS

Philosophy and Social Development .... *Imre Pozsgay* 128
Hungary's Accession to GATT .... *János Nyerges* 133
The Difficult Birth of "U.S.A." in Hungarian .... *László Országh* 142

REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

The New Economic Regulators .... *István Bart* 145

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

The Art of Politics (János Kádár: On the Road to a Developed Socialist Society) .... *Péter Rényi* 149
Reality in the Mind and Vice Versa (Fiction by Miklós Mészöly, Menyhért Lakatos) .... *László Varga* 153
The Role of Education in Economic Development ..... *Egon Kemenes* 156
The Legacy of Frigyes Antal .... *Zoltán Halász* 159

ARTS

Notes on Miklós Kis of the Janson Types .... *György Buday* 163
Moholy-Nagy Exhibition in Buda Castle .... *Péter Sinkovits* 176
Six Exhibitions, Eight Artists (Viola Berki, Dóra Maurer, József Fürst, Mihály Schéner, Tibor Vilt, János Kass, Gyula Gulyás, János Fajó) .... *János Frank–Z. N.* 179
János Kmetty (1889–1975) .... *Zoltán Nagy* 185
Anna Lesznai's Painting .... *Judit Szabadi* 187
Turkish Miniatures of Hungary .... *Nándor Parádi* 189
Fifth International Congress on Turkish Arts in Budapest *Géza Fehér* 191

MUSICAL LIFE

A New Hungarian Opera (Ferenc Szabó: Be Good Unto Death) .... *András Pernye* 194
After Bartók and Kodály (A book by György Kroó) ..... *Mária Feuer* 196
One Hundred Minutes of Kurtág .... *György Kroó* 200

THEATRE AND FILM

On the Road with the Twenty-Fifth Theatre .... *Gábor Mihályi* 203
Consolidation Without Revelations .... *Graham Petrie* 208
Three Parables (Films by Gyula Maár, Barna Kabay, Tamás Rényi) .... *József Tornai* 215

OUR CONTRIBUTORS 221

This issue went to press on 9 February, 1976

VERSE AND PROSE

Unlike the sixty-one issues before it this one starts with poetry: a paper on poetry to be precise, and poems by five poets. Not that the nature of the journal has changed, far from it, we have stayed true to the fifteen-year-old character of The New Hungarian Quarterly which has always been a literary journal as well.

The shift in emphasis is there to express joy, that is all. Joy, first of all because, in our view at least, we carried out one of our objectives to the best of our strength and ability. To quote the introduction to the first issue which appeared in September 1960, "We want English-speaking readers to share our belief that Hungary boasts some really good poets: we want to break down the barrier of an isolated language and give other nations a glimpse of a literature which, we like to believe, is not unworthy of standing beside Bartók's music."

There is a second, more direct, reason for satisfaction. Columbia University Press are preparing an anthology of Hungarian verse for publication which consists mainly of translations which first appeared in The New Hungarian Quarterly. More than two hundred poems in sixty issues: if one can speak of literature in quantitative terms then this figure in itself testifies that this paper, a quarterly journal whose main business it is to express contemporary Hungarian reality, used literature, and verse as well to do this. We stayed true to our original aim: to show this country and society on the road to socialism. We promised that we would not do our job quoting facts and figures and declaratory statements. We wrote then: "To avoid this, we mean to deal in this magazine not only with the successes achieved in socialist construction in Hungary, but also with its problems. Indeed, these problems will be discussed more often than the successes, because it is our ambition—in the words of our early twentieth-century poet Endre Ady, but with a change of pronoun—to 'Show ourselves to all mankind, That they may look on us.'"

It is chiefly due to two men, one Hungarian, and one American, that a major American university press showed itself ready to publish the unknown poetry of a distant country. Miklós Vajda, who is the literary editor of this journal, is the author of the afore-mentioned introduction. William Jay Smith is a prominent American poet. This creative collaboration started when William Jay Smith first came to Hungary in 1970. He became interested in living Hungarian literature, and was happy to undertake to translate the work of those to whom he felt specially attracted. An interview with William Jay Smith, in which he tells his side of the story, will be published in No. 63.

I should like to pause briefly here, and stray from our established custom of only discussing the contents of the paper in the preface. A word or two about the way these translations are produced may not be amiss. First I should like to rehearse one of the eternal complaints made by all those concerned with Hungarian literature, verse in the first place. The Bartóks of Hungarian poetry are not known as well as they should be not only because the language is isolated but because, for a century and a half past Hungarian verse was not translated into English, French, German, Italian or Russian by fellow poets of equal standing, but by eager language teachers. This spider web of misplaced interest was only broken through in the past ten years, in the first place by László Gara's *Anthologie de la poésie hongroise* (Seuil, 1964), by Martinov's outstanding translations of Petőfi, then by Guillevic's *Mes poètes hongrois*, by the multilingual altempts published in *Arion*, a yearbook brought out in Budapest by Corvina Press, and now by the systematic, long-term work done by the NHQ in English, supported by the Hungarian PEN Centre's translation programme, which extends to French, German and Italian as well.

Now to the tricks of trade which are an open secret. The first and major difficulty is that foreign poets of the first rank generally do not know Hungarian. Looked at from this angle, traffic in the other direction has been much easier. Since the middle of the nineteenth century every major Hungarian poet has translated the work of his best contemporaries writing in other languages. But no-one would expect William Jay Smith, or any of his fellow poets, to learn Hungarian to please us. For that very reason the poet-translator is sent a carefully prepared and annotated literal translation which endeavours to provide the taste and flavour and literary and other associations of very nearly every word. The frequency of the word, whether it is part of common speech or merely an element of refined diction, are all mentioned, as are possible historical, biblical, and other overtones. In addition aspects of prosody are of course also discussed. Correspondence,

often protracted, follows: explanations and additions are asked for and a translation that is more than a translation ensues. It is new verse in a new language but true to the original in the letter and the spirit.

István Ágh, Amy Károlyi, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, János Pilinszky and György Rónay's poems in the present number symbolically represent the anthology as a whole. Miklós Vajda does more than introduce the poets and the literary trends they represent. What he has done is to show how Hungarian literature is related to the national consciousness.

*

Two important papers by György Aczél and József Bognár, starting out from a different direction, carry the same message, reinforcing each other. György Aczél's "Reckoning with Reality" could well be subtitled Marxist *Realpolitik*, a phrase he uses himself. Aczél's point is that contemporary Hungarian political activity derives not only its aims but its strength as well from reality. Bognár discusses the connections between changes in the world economy and Hungarian economic policy. The original Hungarian title uses a single compound word which describes the end of an era and the beginning of another by analogy with the changing of the guard, and it is this coming to an end which is a new beginning in the world economy that he compares with Hungarian developments. He endeavours to establish the nature of those lasting, as well as cyclical, elements which characterise this period of transition and which determine, willy-nilly, the economic behaviour of a small country, going on to those requirements with which Hungarian economic policy must comply in order to adjust to the new world economic era. He neither argues against West-European or American views, be they those of economists or journalists, nor does he try to correct factual errors or misleading interpretations. What Bognár does is to look for the truth, applying that scholarly thoroughness and acute political sense that one has come to expect in his work. In our view, Aczél's and Bognár's articles, read in conjunction, provide a sound picture of the political and economic situation in which Hungarian society finds itself at present.

*

An article by János Nyerges contributes to this subject from another angle. "Hungary's Accession to GATT" deals with a practical aspect of relations between the world and the national economy. The author has been a leading official of the Ministry of Foreign Trade for many years, and as

such he has represented the country on numerous international bodies. He employs his theoretical knowledge and practical experience to explain what Hungary is doing in GATT, which public opinion reckons to be one of the international instruments of the capitalist world.

István Bart who is incidentally a translator of contemporary English language prose fiction once again reports on periodicals—this time on economic articles, more precisely on the continuation of the new methods of directing the economy as supplemented by economic regulators that were introduced later.

An interview has lately become a regular feature of our paper. The present subject is Dr. Emil Schultheisz, the Minister of Health, interviewed by István Lázár. What is especially interesting is that the Minister still continues to practice medicine. Dr. Schultheisz starts his day at the hospital ward he still heads, and that is where he often finishes it too, on the way home from his ministerial duties. Health policy and medical practice are thus organically intertwined in his own professional life, as the interview makes clear.

Special attention should be paid to the ample cultural material in the current issue. It includes a piece by György Buday, the Hungarian wood-engraver who has been living in England for close to forty years, on Miklós Tótfalusi Kis, the 16th-century Hungarian pioneering typographer. It gives particular satisfaction to the Editor of this paper to publish a piece by an old friend, one of the leading young Hungarian intellectuals between the Wars, and a founder of the Art College of Szeged Youth which contributed so much to Hungarian ethnography, sociology, art and poetry.

*

Let us go on, continuing in a personal vein, and in reference to the tragedy of the recent past in Hungary, and say that "Meeting the General", the very first piece of fiction by the Editor to be published in this journal, is also included in this issue. It is set in the period which Hungarians, using a modest euphemism, call the time of the personality cult. The other story, István Csurka's "Bottles and Women" in many ways acts as a counterpoint to it.

*

This preface to an unusual number fittingly comes to a close in an unusual way, by reporting a New Hungarian Quarterly family celebration. It took place in London, at the Hungarian Embassy, and Bertha Gaster was

the guest of honour. Readers will remember the wit and fine writing of her all too rare contributions; her main task, however, was to ensure that the English of the paper be of a high standard. After twelve years of devoted work she has now retired, and, on this occasion, it was the editor's privilege to hand her the Petőfi Memorial Medal of the Hungarian PEN Club, and the diploma which goes with it, expressing the appreciation of all those who care for Hungarian literature for her many years of devoted and indefatigable work. She projected her strong personality with charm and circumspection. This is her style, not only in her writing but also in her life. He referred to Bertha Gaster's journalistic and editorial style, "the rare gift of finding just the right word when easier and cheaper solutions were at hand."

"We all owe you very much", he said, "and this goes not only for the editor, the staff and the editorial board of The New Hungarian Quarterly but for all those whom this journal addressed."

The editor admitted finally, that his words would have sounded better if they had been submitted to Bertha Gaster's scrutiny first.

THE EDITOR

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

A NEW CIVILISATION?
József Bognár

EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND DÉTENTE
János Berecz

AN ACTIVE EXCHANGE RATE POLICY
János Fekete

THE COLLECTIVE FARM AND THE PRIVATE PLOT
István Lázár

AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN HUNGARIAN POETRY

by

MIKLÓS VAJDA

The background to some of the best poems in this collection is nothing less than five hundred years of unjust and debilitating history, with all its inevitable consequences. While Hungary shares the fate of small nations in Central Europe and the poems necessarily reflect this history, no one should be deterred from reading further, for very little of the actual events appear in the poems themselves. Hungarian poets long ago passed the romantic age of national self-pity. What remains and still inspires Hungarian poetry is an awareness of history as a constant presence, pressure and challenge.

Throughout the last five hundred years this nation, together with its culture and poetry, has been tormented, humiliated and toughened by a history which we think of as savage even by Central and East European standards. As a consequence, its best artists, writers and poets sooner or later found themselves and their art yoked to the service of history and the struggle against the oppressor of the day, either directly or as the voice of some national, social or other collective cause. This formidable burden, as everyone knows, can undermine art, and it did indeed in some cases produce parochial and didactic work of the sort Robert Penn Warren has called "diagnostic and therapeutic." But the truly great poets were able to transform their burden into a part of the universal human experience, and did so with the same immediacy that the burdens themselves imposed.

The first lyrical poet of importance, who wrote his charming and personal songs in Hungarian instead of Latin, was a charismatic, full-blooded

This is the introduction to the anthology "Modern Hungarian Poetry," to be published early next year in New York by Columbia University Press. The poems in the anthology were chosen mainly from the poetry section of NHQ over the last ten years. The poems accompanying the essay in this issue will also be in the book. More poems to be printed in the anthology will appear in our next issue.—The Editor.

womanizer, bully, adventurer and soldier-poet, Bálint Balassi. By the time he died at the age of forty fighting the Turks, he had already inspired imitation, or, in modern terms, had made a fashion of expressing what was in the air and in his heart.

But then, Balassi was also writing in the language of a nation in mortal danger. It was not the first traumatic blow to Hungary. Internal power struggles had only aided the Mongol invasion in the mid-thirteenth century, which destroyed an advanced and rich medieval kingdom. But it recovered with relative ease, and in fact soon reached the peak of Hungarian history when, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, the country enjoyed a few decades of development in all walks of life that was unprecedented in scope and pace. In the hands of a brilliant Renaissance king, Matthias Corvinus, the country quickly caught up with the rest of Europe, but the period, so rich in cultural achievement, came to an end in disruptive anarchy, and meanwhile the Turks were already slowly pushing their way up the Balkans toward the heart of Europe. Following the ruthless suppression of a peasant war that originally started as a holy campaign against the Turks in 1514, the biggest, central, part of the weakened country, including its capital, Buda, easily fell into Turkish hands and stayed there for 150 years. The poet Balassi died in 1594 at the siege of Esztergom, the same city overlooking the Danube that had seen the coronation of the first Hungarian king some six hundred years before. But now it was the Turks who held it, and the Hungarians who attacked it. The Turkish occupation and its consequences gave Hungary a history from which it was never able to recover.

This all has a direct bearing on Hungarian poetry and the writers in this book. As T. S. Eliot says in *Tradition and the Individual Talent:* "No poet, no artist of any sort, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists." Hungarian poets in particular were subject to the relentless vicissitudes of their country's history, involving very real and immediate questions of the nation's existence, her fights for independence against foreign oppression and exploitation, her struggles against internal backwardness, poverty and conformity. Such was the life of the nation, such was the heritage of "the dead poets and artists", themselves part of the material to be fashioned into poetry thoughout the centuries. Poetry had to meet the historical challenges of the political and armed conflicts of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, 400 years of an uneasy forced marriage to the Habsburgs, an Enlightenment carried out like a conspiracy, and two world wars in which Hungary was on the losing side,

as a consequence of which it lost two-thirds of its territory and more than half of its population. One of the most interesting features of Hungarian poetry as a whole is, in spite of all this, the variety of individual approaches, the poetic power and the validity beyond topicality of the poetry and the unique blendings of life and work that characterize the poets.

Since the end of the eighteenth century, Hungary has always had at least one poet who, had he written in a language less isolated than Hungarian, we feel would now be revered wherever poetry is read. The Enlightenment produced Csokonai; mid-nineteenth-century Romanticism had Vörösmarty, and populist realism, its offspring, included Petőfi and Arany. At the beginning of this century there were Ady and Babits, and later, Attila József and Miklós Radnóti. Included in this volume are also at least two or three who now, in their own lifetime, may be compared to the greatest, as the reader can judge for himself.

Jonathan Swift once asked, not without malice, "Say Britain, could you ever boast / Three poets in an age at most? / Our chilling climate hardly bears / A sprig of bays in 50 years." In our historically and geopolitically chillier climate, the crop of bays can be considered continuous and abundant. But—and Swift did not have to point this out—Britain had also developed the novel and drama to go with its poetry, while in Hungary it was poetry alone that produced an unbroken line of immortals. With a few notable exceptions, like Bartók in music, none of the other arts, and neither fiction or drama in literature, ever rivalled the level of poetry in this country. In the chaos and destruction following the Renaissance, most Hungarian cities were destroyed, thus preventing urbanization for several hundred years. Poetry was witness to all of this and, indeed, flourished on the turbulence that submerged the other arts. It even expanded and toughened itself to bear its solitary burden. Its cohesive powers grew; Romanticism, for instance, which quickly arrived from England originally as a backlash from the vulgarity of the Industrial Revolution, was dressed by Hungarian poetry in fancy national garb. It gave some confidence to a nation which had to go centuries on end without the slightest sense of success and historical achievement. The giant revolutionary seer, Endre Ady, turned French Symbolism into a cloak. And it was poetry which best kept alive what some sociologists call the super-ego and define as the commonly shared sense of the existence of a higher community interest reaching beyond the individual: the assumption that society is, or ought to be, an organic and continuous common enterprise, expanding horizontally in space and vertically in time, as everyone makes his contribution from generation to generation. In Hungary, however, the kind of philosophy that could

be distilled from a lifetime to be passed on from one generation to the next was the rather gloomy but useful advice to survive, adjust, save, keep silent, mistrust. Poetry, which cannot be shelled like a city, or whitewashed like murals, crushed like sculpture, closed like theatres, or even banned and censored as easily as novels and journals, can spread and be influential even without print or manuscript. And so it dominated the literature of a people that had to live under difficult conditions, luring away the best talents and forcing them to lead dangerous lives and produce extraordinary achievements.

The two greatest Hungarian poets, Sándor Petőfi and Attila József, died before they could have completed half a life's work in any field but poetry. Petőfi had only five years to grow from a miserable childhood as the son of a village butcher into one of the greatest poets of the nineteenth century, to write his several hundred lyric poems which transformed Hungarian poetry; to write also epic poems, a play, a novel, letters, articles, travelogues; to acquire a sound working knowledge of several foreign languages; to translate Shakespeare's *Coriolanus;* to travel all over the country, edit a paper, take part in politics, intrigues and quarrels, make friends, marry, father a child, almost literally trigger the 1848 March revolution in Pest with one of his fiery poems, fight in the army against the Austrians, and die in battle at the incredible age of twenty-six. His life itself was a phenomenal performance while his work is sensibility and lucidity itself—the perfect match of a great role played properly and spontaneous self-realization.

Less than a hundred years later, out of the depth of a more complex society came the son of a soap-factory hand and a washerwoman: Attila József. His childhood, like Petőfi's, prepared him as if by some plan for what he was to become. Misery, starvation, humiliation, solitude and disillusion dogged his life, but at least he was allotted somewhat more time than Petőfi. Visions of the modern industrial proletariat, bleak urban landscapes of factories and industrial suburbs, underground communist activity, antifascism and looming social revolution appear in some of his poems, organized into superbly compressed and tangible images and metaphors. All this is achieved in a language that can boldly apply terms and concepts of Marxist philosophy, Freud, modern science and sociology, and still remain gentle, poetic and highly individual. And—once more the perfect blending of life and work—there is a harrowing tension in his late poetry, coming from the anguish of a man who was left totally alone in a country rapidly succumbing to fascism and imminent war. Forsaken by his love and his party, which was unable to understand the kind of political

poetry he wrote, he was tormented by nightmares and fits of madness, unalleviated by analysis. The pressure and tension that were eventually to crush him produced a crystalline condensation that seems to verge on the ineffable. There is a retrospective quality here that includes the angle of someone already far beyond and above the human condition and capable of speaking for man. With deadly accuracy and utmost simplicity, the totality of a life is revealed in which absolutely everything existed to produce suffering. He foresaw and described his own death, the way it finally happened, when, in 1937, at the age of thirty-two, he threw himself under the wheels of a freight train.

But the most dramatic death of all came to Miklós Radnóti at the end of World War II, when he was thirty-three. He began his career as a mediocre surrealist with strong political inclinations. And then, as the pressures of fascism and war began to mount, and the poet García Lorca was shot dead in Spain, Radnóti started his own poetic fight against inhumanity. Using classical forms which he chiselled and hammered into perfection, he wrote time capsules to encase the essence of everything that was dear to him, memories and landscapes of childhood, love, the quiet happiness of reading and writing, the atmosphere of friendly gatherings over a glass of wine, the small everyday things that make up human civilization. As a Jew, he was first sent in a labour battalion to work in a copper mine in occupied Yugoslavia, then was taken through Hungary in a forced march towards Germany. He was offered chances to escape, but refused and stayed on, continuing to write in the same condensed, classical manner, now about life in the labour camp, and the killing of his comrades. In his last poems it was already his own death he was describing: the men next to him were shot; their blood splashed on his face while he dug their graves. And then he too was shot. His last poems were found on his body after the war, in a mass grave.

His friend, István Vas, one of the poets in this book, wrote of him: "These poems are among the rare masterpieces that combine artistic and moral perfection... Radnóti left us not just an exciting body of work, not just truly great poems, but also an example of human and artistic integrity that is as embarrassing and absurd as it is imperative."

The reader would be entirely wrong to believe that all Hungarian poetry is political and patriotic odes and poems. Not at all; it is just that—as with some other nations—certain conditions made great poets write political poems, thus elevating the genre but also involving the poets in politics, sometimes to the point where it killed them. By now the reader will I hope understand why a poet noted for a clarity totally devoid of

illusion, like István Vas, would see his city become a battlefield again, little more than ten years after World War II, and write in 1957 (in his *Budapest Elegy* included in this book):

"I lived here and never wished to live any place but here"

— for being Hungarian and being a Hungarian poet may mean terrible burdens, dangers and pitfalls, but also attraction, beauty and possible sublimity.

*

The Hungarian poetic tradition, for one. This anthology was designed to survey post-war, that is to say, contemporary Hungarian poetry in the variety of its attitudes and approaches, its richness of themes and styles, with a strong emphasis on the most important poets. Forty-one, the number of the poets represented, is, however, quite arbitrary, for it could have been thirty-five, fifty-five or seventy-one. Similarly—except for the poets who are presented with a special emphasis—the number of poems by individual poets in the book, be it six or just one, is equally difficult to justify and does not necessarily indicate proportionate importance. This collection is selected almost entirely from the pages of a magazine, *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, and put into English by poets who live thousands of miles away. The magazine has been carrying out a programme of surveying living Hungarian poetry, but once the chance to bring out a book arose, the still incomplete survey had to be sampled. There are good poets writing today who deserve to be included, and are not. Others ought to have had more space but could not, as they had not yet had a second chance to appear in the magazine. And, of course, the selection had to be made primarily with the quality of the translations in mind. Not all poetry travels, in general, and in particular not all Hungarian poets have as yet found their proper translators. Translation is, needless to say, infinitely more than a linguistic and technical exercise, and sometimes beyond what even maximum affinity, sympathy and technical brilliance can achieve. It is also a replantation, in the real sense, from one culture to another, and there is a limit to what poetry can endure in different cultural subsoils and climates. Furthermore, English and American poetry, like Hungarian, are subject to their own inherent development, and mutual contact might produce phase shifts that at times can kill something as brittle as a poem, making it seem different, naive, outdated, even ridiculous. And then, there are the translators themselves, who are subject to all sorts of inherent differences, added to the necessarily limited capacity for laborious identifica-

tion that translating other poets' work requires. Translations are of necessity approximations—but there is no limit to how close they can get.

Those poets who did not live to see the end of World War II were not included, and that explains the omission of József and Radnóti. Separate and concentrated efforts will have to be made to present these two poets properly in English, for attempts thus far at translation have been largely unsatisfactory. And two much older poets, Lajos Kassák and Milán Füst, could be included, for though they were important initiators of modern poetry early in the century, they both survived the war and died only in 1967.

The forty-one poets in the book may roughly be grouped into four generations: the two great forebears, Kassák and Füst, who were still working after the war; poets who are considerably younger but began publishing before or during the war; those born before the war who began publishing only after the war; and a few of those who grew up under socialism. But sometimes more important than generational classification is the background they came from, rural or urban, which has a special meaning in Hungarian literature.

Among the few poets there is room to discuss here, Gyula Illyés is the oldest. The son of a farm mechanic, born on a huge estate in 1902, his formative experience was bridging the gap between his impoverished *puszta* childhood and the eminence to which he rose in Hungarian cultural life. Up to now I have deliberately avoided the term "committed". Neither Petőfi nor József can be called committed poets, for commitment is the result of a specific decision based on deliberation and choice. Illyés did have such a chance to choose when, after the fall of the 1919 Republic of Councils—in whose army he served—he fled the country, settled in Paris and wrote his first poems in the environment of the French surrealists he had befriended. He could have become an experimental modernist, an avant-garde poet, for which he was eminently qualified. But his childhood and the loyalty he felt to that world eventually made the decision for him. He returned and committed himself to Petőfi's ideals and style. He is a realist poet with a strong social and moral passion, a master of the political poem, who carries out a mission, a mandate, as it were, from the people he represents. Visiting him one summer several years ago at his house on Lake Balaton, I casually mentioned that an experimental theatre company was to be formed in Budapest. He looked at me sharply, and said abruptly, "Damn, that will cost the peasant another two eggs." And then he broke into an impish smile. He still instinctively measures everything in terms of cost to the people, and rightly so, because this has always been

a country where everything has to be done at the expense of something else; priorities are of supreme importance. Moreover, at the time of our conversation in the mid-sixties, memories of the forced industrialization of the fifties were still fresh in people's minds. It was primarily the peasantry, then still the largest social class, that had to bear the cost of that tremendous economic venture.

Illyés does not share Petőfi's soaring, extroverted optimism, for his elevated diction blends a kind of shy classicism with irony and subdued passion; there is even at times a scepticism infused in his philosophical poems. His work also incorporates elements of his early surrealism, as well as the lessons of numerous brilliant translations and his extensive knowledge of French culture. His fine nonfiction includes, among many other subjects, a life of Petőfi and the semi-autobiographical *People of the Puszta*, in which the detailed shocking account of peasant life on the estate where he was born perfectly blends sociology and literature. Both are considered classics and have appeared in English translation. In this anthology a long, passionate poem, *The Wonder Castle*, shows the glowing but subdued rage of his pre-war poetry; a ride on the cogwheel railway up to an elegant district of Budapest is the occasion for an accurate tableau of society's parasites. One of his recent poems, *A Wreath*, is a declaration of love in the form of an ode addressed to his mother tongue by one of her prodigies. Few writers are more aware of the limitations of a language spoken by only fifteen million people, of whom a third live outside the country. He sees it as almost a miracle that poems are still being written in that language today, and that there exists a public for them as well.

István Vas comes from the Jewish lower middle-classes of Budapest and had to bridge the wide gap that his friend Miklós Radnóti's fate bears witness to. He began writing poems under the influence of Kassák, the socialist poet, novelist and constructivist painter, but soon went his own way. There is a strange tension in his poems, created by the contradictory inclinations of ruthless sincerity and shyness as well as rational analysis and an almost naive longing for belief and capacity for wonder. He combines an unyielding, exact wording with the soft, warm melody that sometimes awkwardly but captivatingly lurks in the rhythm—as if the compulsion to be accurate and objective suppressed an innermost self that found expression finally only behind the words, in the music and finer interior gestures of the poem, like a contrapuntal melody. He almost never resorts to similes, perhaps he thinks they are inaccurate, and can therefore be obscure and even immoral. His most important contribution to Hungarian poetry is perhaps his total lack of illusion, his ability to face and name

anything in a purely intellectual way even if it visibly hurts his suppressed irrational self. Whether he writes on intellectual subjects as in *Gods*, on mankind's cultural heritage as in *The Etruscan Sarcophagus*, observes his own aging self as in *On Approaching Fifty*, or turns to poetic reportage as in *The Grand Finale*, he always manages at once to be highly personal and objective, lyrical and intellectually inspiring, austere and warm, direct and insecure. The same qualities blend in his essays and criticism, and in the successive volumes of his prose autobiography, a slowly unfolding, rich panorama still in progress showing his own development against the background of his life and the ups and downs of the fertile Budapest intellectual climate. Lately he has become something of a highly respected father-figure for young writers and poets who seek his encouragement and advice, which he provides with the same sincerity he has always applied to himself.

The great exception, whose very existence refutes almost everything I have so far said about Hungarian poetry, the critics' constant headache (because he fits none of their categories), the magician and prankster who can spin mankind's entire culture like a striped ball on the tip of a finger, is a boyish-looking, sixty-two-year-old, cheerful, smiling, puckish man with a high-pitched voice: Sándor Weöres. He was a fully developed, ripe poet at the age of fourteen. If Hungarian poetry ever happens to become fashionable in a major language, Weöres will be the first to be famous. His poetry, unburdened by things Hungarian, travels well, and his only restriction seems to be that he happens to write in Hungarian. Floating high above reality in regions of total detachment, he views the universe and man and himself in it as mere manifestations in ephemeral and accidental shape of the endless process of time, nature and matter, all ordained by a mysterious will. Seen from such a vantage point, the concerns and values of individuals and civilizations shrivel: time and history merge into a single gigantic flood and appear as just another aspect or dimension of nature's existence. With his formidable representational powers, Weöres conjures up the gods and idols, charms and rhythms of ancient primitive mythologies. The sophisticated and the primitive, good and evil, joy and suffering, black and white, possible and impossible overlap and become interchangeable, as his imagination and language spell out the unspeakable, drawing on a seemingly limitless stock of ideas, forms, rhythms, rhymes and devices, all used with great facility. There is no conceivable form and rhythm he could not write in if he chose, and probably already has used. He is capable of both total identification and extreme, almost inhuman, abstraction and indifference. He never writes directly about himself and his life;

he views himself as a mere medium through which the poem, like a transcendental afflatus, is transmitted. He was among the first Hungarian poets to make use of Oriental philosophy and primitive myths.

It is as if in Weöres Hungarian poetry were making up at once for everything it had to miss throughout the centuries simply by being Hungarian. His unique quality is a magic virtuosity manipulating the poetic self, shifting the poem's focus back and forth in time and space, up and down the scale of human emotion, while narrowing and widening his poetic lens at will to include microcosms or the macrocosms or both. Anyone or anything can be made abstract or concrete, sublime or intimate, infantile or prophetic, sarcastic or hymnlike, infinitely simple or infinitely complex. He writes sweeping philosophical poems and virtuoso light verse, simple songs of folksong-like perfection and ancient heroic pseudo-sagas. His charming children's poems have taught generations to enjoy rhythm, rhyme, grotesque wordplay, and to know what a poem is. With all these qualities it is not hard to imagine his deft handling of translation from among the dead and living languages of East and West. His recent longer work is the autobiographical cycle of an apocryphal Hungarian female poet of the early nineteenth century. Her intimate revelations of amorous adventures and suppressed emotional life are a masterpiece of empathy and charm, the female impersonation done with ribald humour and spirited linguistic persiflage—and, therefore, unfortunately totally untranslatable.

László Nagy and Ferenc Juhász, though very different in poetic character, are best treated together. Similar in career, background and age, they are naturally friends and rivals. With village backgrounds, they grew up in close contact with folk-poetry, before and during World War II. They joined many thousands of peasant and working-class youths in the enthusiastic belief that with liberation society would be immediately transformed.

It is important to make this clear: the end of World War II saw the collapse of a long since totally rotten, anachronistic and reactionary social structure. Hungary's ruling classes, among the most narrow-minded in Europe (even from their own point of view), had chosen a path that inevitably made them Hitler's last allies and brought the country to the brink of total destruction. The great majority of the population lived at subsistence level and was practically denied any chance of social or cultural improvement. Centuries-old needs and demands cried out for fulfilment—largely the same that had been written in blood on the banners of crushed wars of liberation and failed revolutions. Only knowing this background can one understand the tremendous zeal and energy of the young people who then filled the institutions of higher learning.

At the start both Nagy and Juhász wrote simple and frank folksong-type poems, and Juhász also wrote narratives, supporting change with revolutionary fervour. But when the pure optimism of those first years began freezing over at the end of the forties, both poets underwent fundamental transformations. They completely abandoned direct political poetry and gradually developed their own rich and vast poetic worlds that are completely their own and entirely different. What remains common to them both is their firm adherence to their background and their beginnings. Their entire work expresses and suggests the transformation of this country, so full of suffering and tragedies, in a way that is neither simplistic nor merely descriptive. Both have created powerful metaphors, rich in wild beauty and meaning, to tell of the rapid decline and disappearance of the village way of life, once their own, the source both of social backwardness and the artistic perfection of ancient folk-art. They both witness and sense this transformation in their own and their families' lives. Having been born intellectually, if not literally, into the world of socialism, grudgingly and sometimes uneasily, they still view it as their own, and live through both its achievements and its crises with an insider's attitude in a different, perhaps more sensitive way than previous—or even later—generations. Their work takes cognizance—in quite a different manner—of the technical and scientific revolution, with all its enormous changes and complexities, which reached this society as part of the socialist transformation and interacts with it.

Juhász is a myth-maker and self-tormentor; Nagy considers the poem as magic, prophecy and incantation, a mysterious force that can preserve, destroy and cure. The cosmic and human suffering emanating from the Juhász poem overwhelms and excruciates; the solid and ancient power, the soaring belief in the Nagy poem soothes and elevates. Among the Juhász poems in this book, *The Boy Changed into a Stag Cries Out at the Gate of Secrets*, written in 1955, compresses into a single, powerful central metaphor all that has happened, and is still happening, to this country and to the poet and his generation in it, in a way that manages to encompass the essential drama of history and human life. Images of modern technology and biology stream into the ancient folk-ballad, and the dialogue of the mother and her son suggests the ruthless inevitability of change, development and human fate. The boy transformed into a stag cannot make himself understood by his mother any more, he cannot and must not return. The poem makes all the pain, the sublime tragedy and the inevitability of this condition directly, emotionally and visually, accessible, and also, in the meantime, universally valid. Juhász achieves this by the

power and pitch of his diction, and the irresistible wild strokes of his imagination. The central metaphor, laden with manifold compressed meaning, is supported, as it were, by a linear torrent of words and images. Juhász has ever since been fascinated by images of death, decay and transformation, visions of the beauty, horror and suffering that go with birth and death, and the pointless and unceasing processes of nature that still suggest him hope and order. They have come to occupy a considerable number of his poems—mostly of great length— leading him into hitherto unexplored territory. On its first publication in English—in Kenneth McRobbie's translation—in an anthology of Hungarian writing published in 1963, W. H. Auden said: "... though no translation can ever do justice to a poem, I am convinced that *The Boy Changed into a Stag*, by Ferenc Juhász, is one of the greatest poems written in my time."

László Nagy's long poem, *The Bliss of Sunday*, written in 1954, contains an altogether different though no less complex and meaningful vision. Juhász's poems are mostly jeremiads, huge laments; whereas basically Nagy's poems are always hymns and exultations, even when—as in this case—they also contain defiance and anger. This poem is a passionate glorification of the life of simple people, *the* people, an ode to life's everyday banalities. Simple joys and pleasures, the objects and utensils of life, insignificant actions by insignificant people, acquire a brilliant inner glow and a higher meaning, as the poet, with his magical powers stretching beyond words, makes us recognize that the ultimate source of all beauty, value and power is life itself, as it manifests itself here, in the opulent images of the people's boisterous, colourful and noisy lives. This Breughelian vision, itself a metaphor of great depth and complexity, is saturated with understanding, warm humour and also an unspoken, defiant anger. The latter comes from the bitterness felt by the whole nation in the early fifties, when a deeply mistaken policy, followed in the name of the people, barred those very people from what they had achieved with so much sacrifice. László Nagy's poetic development has since then taken him much further along the same lines. His work continues to radiate the preserving, soothing, elevating power of poetry with ever more sophisticated and concentrated expression, regardless of whether his poem is a hymn, a curse or an exultation.

All these poets discussed have made an impact throughout contemporary poetry, not so much as direct inspirations but as guides to new territories and possibilities. The confrontation between rural backgrounds and a changing modern world produced committed realism with Illyés, magic poetry with Nagy and myth with Juhász; these continue to appear in

individual variations and syntheses, some of them producing very different results, as in the works of poets like Imre Csanádi, István Kormos, József Tornai, Sándor Csoóri, Margit Szécsi, Márton Kalász. István Vas is not the only poet to come from an urban middle-class background and have access to sophisticated culture and the advantages of urban life without painful struggles and self-transformation. Likewise, Sándor Weöres is not the only poet to turn towards universal and philosophical themes while ignoring national and social ones. Among the older generation, we have recently been witness to a second blossoming of two poets, Zoltán Zelk and Anna Hajnal. Zelk was a leading representative of official political poetry in the early fifties, but with an entirely convincing metamorphosis, has grown into a fine poet of time *perdu*, the nostalgia for childhood, youth—and perseverance. Beyond traces of the Hungarian avant-garde of the twenties, his poetry incorporates the experience of a man who received his education in the political trials and tribulations of the century. The poems are mostly about everyday subjects and radiate a bitter-sweet fondness for the small pleasures and niceties of life. They are given an added emotional charge that derives from a painful personal history of persecutions, humiliation and blunders. Anna Hajnal's chief poetic gift of empathy and identification produces quiet painful visions of the way all that lives and strives toward self-realization is thereby condemned to die.

Of the poets of the middle generation, Ágnes Nemes Nagy has produced a new individual synthesis out of the fertile tension between strong intellectual passion and a craving for cool objectivity. Her poems avoid direct personal experience, but are rich in striking, sombre imagery. The struggle, going on and superbly described in the poems, to satisfy a desire for some sort of order and reason in a hostile and mysterious but ultimately sublime universe, is as much an intellectual process as it is a profoundly moral concern, an obligation. Her fine essays reveal one of the sharpest and most sophisticated minds thinking about the writer's craft today, with a deep sense of irony and an eye for detail, and the assured authority of the practicing artist. The taciturn and infrequent output of János Pilinszky reveals with sophisticated simplicity an angelic personality and moral sensitivity akin to that of a tortured, medieval ascetic saint. This modern Catholic metaphysical poet strips a poem down to the bare minimum, forcing almost more from the silences than from the words themselves. Precise images acquire a manifold meaning as the self in his poems confronts the ruthlessness of existence with only naked sensitivity and gentleness. Among contemporaries sometimes given to overstatement,

pompousness and verbosity, his terse and lucid poems stand out in strange and genuine contrast.

The younger generation, whose members began publishing in the second half of the fifties, knew the war as part of their childhood. This experience—as István Csukás's poem, *The Macadam Road Remembers* shows—is entirely different from what those of the same age went through in Britain. Hungary was on the losing side, of course, and saw itself torn with bitter fighting and devastation for many months, but more importantly, the end of the war was also the end of a long period of Hungarian history, and an entirely new and different era immediately began. The work of the poets who were still children in the heroic days of the new order displays feelings that are more direct and personal, but also more sceptical than before. Myth and magic, nostalgia and sentiment are gone. In place of cosmic philosophical visions or gentle verse-music comes a tough, new, inquisitive voice of sober objectivity. In different forms, this considerable change is evident in the work of the three most gifted poets of the younger generation. Ottó Orbán shows it as irony and self-mockery, deflating the inclination towards rhetoric of such an intellectually high-powered poet. He is one of those still viewing the world and himself in terms of history. In *Apparition* a brilliant ironic metaphor connects the family scene to the European past: "... the whole piss- and blood-smelling novel / which Central Europe works up / from the Verona balcony scene." In the name of the original idea and vision of communism, the vagrant poet Mihály Ladányi keeps contrasting revolution with the evidence of a society that is at present engaged in enjoying the fruits of revolution. With Dezső Tandori, scepticism turns against poetry and language themselves. His poems, mainly about journeys, walks and banal memories, give the impression of a poetic diary written in shorthand, full of abbreviations, words cut in half, suffixes standing alone, words italicized and capitalized, question- and exclamation-marks in brackets. The poet is trying to reconstruct reality in its entirety, but does not believe in the possibility of distinguishing between the important and unimportant anymore. The outcome reveals the struggle to grasp reality in a supremely organized, pseudo-scientific way. Not unlike electronic music, pop art and the *nouveau roman*, it emphasizes the infinite complexity of reality and the power of circumstances and accident over man and his choices.

*

This anthology is the result of ten years' hard work—mine and others'. For thirteen years now I have been literary editor of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, a periodical started in 1960 in painful recognition of our stifling linguistic isolation. The main part of my job has been to find the literature that can withstand translation and replantation into another culture from among works considered important and interesting. I knew right from the start that poetry, our most important message to the world, required special treatment, but at the beginning we had to depend on unsolicited translations by non-poets that arrived in increasing numbers but were no good. Nevertheless, we had to use some, in lieu of anything better. Whole books of this kind of dilettante work occasionally appeared abroad under the imprint of important publishers, and did more harm than good. Something had to be done, and so the *Quarterly* decided to start a programme of recruiting American and British poets to translate Hungarian, mainly contemporary Hungarian, poetry. From the start we kept in mind the idea of an anthology—and this is it.

The indefatigable and brilliant Scottish poet, Edwin Morgan, for whom nothing seems untranslatable, was the first to join us. Trips to Britain and the States, random meetings, visits by poets to Hungary, persuasion, discussion, and also the self-generating effect of the work already published, did the rest. I met the poet Daniel Hoffman by chance at a Columbia University faculty dinner in 1967, and persuaded him to do some translations—neither of us realizing at the time just how much.

Kenneth McRobbie's attachment to Hungarian poetry is an old one. His version of Juhász's *The Boy Changed into a Stag*, published in Canada in 1963, was among the first translations I came across that confirmed my belief in the possibility of adequate translation into English. The Hungarian PEN Centre did important recruiting work by inviting poet-translators to come for visits and work on translations in collaboration with experts and sometimes the poets themselves in the milieu in which the poems were written. Iván Boldizsár, the Editor of the *Quarterly*, helped formulate, fully encouraged and gave an entirely free hand to our poetry translation programme. The result is the collaboration of a considerable number of the best poets writing now in Britain, the United States and Canada, who produced an abundance of good translations which we have published over the years—in fact, only about two-thirds of the material could be included in the book.

And last but not least, William Jay Smith, the American poet, had a lion's share in everything. Him I won over on his first visit to Budapest in 1970, and not only has our encounter resulted in a close

personal friendship, but also Hungarian poetry seems to have found in him its main "anchorman" in the States, for William Jay Smith, like Edwin Morgan in Britain and Kenneth McRobbie in Canada, has been doing much more than just translating the poems occasionally sent to him. He has developed a genuine interest in, and a taste for, modern Hungarian poetry, has picked the poets whom he feels closest to himself, and would perhaps go on translating them even without encouragement from editors and publishers. In addition to his own important contributions, he has paved the way for this book on the other side of the Atlantic, by assisting in the selection of the translations and by offering invaluable advice.

Most of the work itself was done by airmail. I selected the poems and was one of a number of people who prepared rough translations. Only those can know what it is like who have seen a literal prose version of a poem, which tries to follow the word order and sentence structure of the original, with lots of alternative suggestions, question-marks in brackets, and even footnotes. They strip from the poem exactly what makes it a poem—even more so when a Danube-size gap exists between the original language, Finno-Ugric Hungarian, and Indo-European English. Rough translations were always accompanied by explanations of rhyme and rhythm structures, a glossary of unfamiliar terms, background information, short characterizations of the poem, its style and diction, as well as its creator. Then the whole thing, together with the original text, was put in an envelope, and disappeared. A few weeks later, a miracle suddenly happened: another airmail envelope arrived, and out of it came something totally different from what was sent: poetry, that in satisfyingly many cases had an authenticity that made it seem to have been written originally in English, a feat, of course, that could only have been accomplished when the translators are poets of the stature of those who have produced this book.

Talking to friends in England, and even more so in America, I have often heard the observation that Hungary, a country so small in size and population, seems to produce a disproportionate number of great individual talents, mainly in music and various sciences. The culture itself, the background out of which these men grew, was, however, totally unknown to my friends, and they looked at me with some understandable suspicion when I mentioned poets with all sorts of strange-sounding names. This book will, I hope, help fill in part of the gap and show something of that culture in which poetry, that infinitely brittle and volatile wonder, has such great significance.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a selected list of magazine and book publications of poems and other major works in English translation by poets discussed at some length. The translators' names appear in brackets.

Balassi, Bálint (1554–1594) 1 poem NHQ 38 (W. D. Snodgrass)

Petőfi, Sándor (1823–1849) 3 poems NHQ 48; 9 poems NHQ 50 (Edwin Morgan). Also: Béla Köpeczi (ed.), *Rebel or Revolutionary?* Sándor Petőfi, as Revealed by his Diary, Letters, Notes, Pamphlets and Poems. Selection, foreword and notes by Béla Köpeczi, poems translated by Edwin Morgan, prose writings translated by G. F. Cushing. Corvina Press, Budapest, 1974

Ady, Endre (1877–1919) 2 poems NHQ 35 (Edwin Morgan)

Kassák, Lajos (1887–1967) 1 poem NHQ 23; 6 poems NHQ 54 (Edwin Morgan)

Füst, Milán (1888–1967) 2 poems NHQ 31 (Edwin Morgan)

Illyés, Gyula (b. 1902) 1 poem NHQ 33 (Daniel Hoffman); 2 poems NHQ 35 (Charles Tomlinson); 1 poem NHQ 37 (Kenneth McRobbie); 3 poems NHQ 46 (William Jay Smith); 1 poem NHQ 46 (William Jay Smith). Also: *Selected Poems*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1971; *People of the Puszta*, Corvina Press, Budapest, 1967; *Petőfi*, Corvina Press, Budapest, 1973

József, Attila (1905–1937) 1 poem NHQ 17 (Edwin Morgan); 2 poems NHQ 26 (Eric M. Johnson); 4 poems NHQ 31 (Edwin Morgan). Also: *Poems*, edited by Tamás Kabdebó. The Danubia Book Company, London, 1966; *Selected Poems and Texts*, edited by George Gömöri and James Atlas, translated by John Bátki. The Carcanet Press, Cheadle Hulme, Cheadle, 1973

Zelk, Zoltán (b. 1906) 1 poem NHQ 23 (Andrew Feldmar); 5 poems NHQ 44 (Daniel Hoffman)

Hajnal, Anna (b. 1907) 2 poems NHQ 35 (Edwin Morgan); 2 poems NHQ 43 (Daniel Hoffman); 2 poems NHQ 45 (William Jay Smith)

Radnóti, Miklós (1905–1944) 1 poem NHQ 18 (Keith Botsford); 2 poems NHQ 36 (Edwin Morgan); 3 poems NHQ 45 (Thomas Land). Also: *Clouded Sky*. Selected Poems, translated by Steven Polgar, Stephen Berg, S. J. Marks. Harper & Row, New York, 1972. 112. pp.

Vas, István (b. 1910) 1 poem NHQ 29 (Donald Davie); 2 poems NHQ 38 (Edwin Morgan); 2 poems NHQ 46 (William Jay Smith); 1 poem NHQ 50 (William Jay Smith); 1 poem NHQ 56 (William Jay Smith); 3 poems NHQ 61 (William Jay Smith)

Weöres, Sándor (b. 1913) 1 poem NHQ 23 (Edwin Morgan); 3 poems NHQ 31 (Peter Redgrove, Richard Lourie); 2 poems NHQ 32 (Daniel Hoffman); 1 poem NHQ 41 (Edwin Morgan); 1 poem NHQ 46 (William Jay Smith). Also: Sándor Weöres–Ferenc Juhász: *Selected Poems*, Penguin Modern European Poets, Penguin Books, 1970. Weöres translations by Edwin Morgan

Pilinszky, János (b. 1921) 1 poem NHQ 23 (Edwin Morgan); 8 poems NHQ 50 (William Jay Smith)

Nemes Nagy, Ágnes (b. 1922) 2 poems NHQ 36 (Daniel Hoffman)

Nagy, László (b. 1925) 4 poems NHQ 27 (free adaptations by George MacBeth); 1 poem NHQ 31 (Tony Connor); 1 poem NHQ 37 (Edwin Morgan); 3 poems NHQ 40 (Tony Connor); 1 poem NHQ 41 (Alan Dixon); 1 poem NHQ 42 (Kenneth McRobbie and George Gömöri); 1 poem NHQ 48 (Kenneth McRobbie and George Gömöri). Also: *Love of the Scorching Wind*, Selected Poems 1953–1971, translated by Tony Connor and Kenneth McRobbie, Oxford University Press–Corvina Press, Budapest, 1973.

Juhász, Ferenc (b. 1928) 1 poem NHQ 23 (Kenneth McRobbie and Ilona Duczynska); 3 poems NHQ 31 (David Wevill); 1 poem NHQ 38 (Kenneth McRobbie and Ilona Duczynska). Also: Sándor Weöres–Ferenc Juhász: *Selected Poems*, Penguin Modern European Poets, Penguin Books, 1970, Juhász translations by David Wevill; *The Boy Changed into a Stag*, Selected Poems 1949–1967. Translated by Kenneth McRobbie and Ilona Duczynska, Oxford University Press, Canadian Branch, 1970

Ladányi, Mihály (b. 1934) 2 poems NHQ 41 (Kenneth McRobbie); 6 poems NHQ 59 (Edwin Morgan)

Orbán, Ottó (b. 1936) 1 poem NHQ 33 (Edwin Morgan); 1 poem NHQ 37 (Edwin Morgan); 2 poems NHQ 46 (William Jay Smith); 4 poems NHQ 58 (Edwin Morgan)

Tandori, Dezső (b. 1938) 2 poems NHQ 33 (Frederic Will); 4 poems NHQ 47 (Danie Hoffman); 1 poem NHQ 49 (Daniel Hoffman); 3 poems NHQ 57 (Kenneth McRobbie

POEMS

ISTVÁN ÁGH

THE DEAD OF MY SONGS

For Rudolf Vig, who collected folk-songs in my village in July 1959

I

A redolent song, the sheaf-smell of dusk
draws the utterance out of the throat,
their ordeals ended, voices release
a garland of songs, cackling like geese
the women gather with coughing men,
sing for the stranger, collector of voices
immortalizing the days of youth,
as if the identical dog in a bush,
the ancestral hens bathing in dust
and the barrel have all been drawn on since,
the tune is still the tune we know
as if herd and castle and ball at Somló
and the three Magi live in the old man,
at the kermis they kick the dust in him,
the old woman's shriek of joy is a crowd of girls,
and barking dogs put the record right,
the hum and creak of vehicles,
the quail's quic-ic-ic in the sultry night
move in beneath the leaves of song
as if a quail could also say it,
as if a car too could convey it,
as if a dog also barked into our future.

II

The oakum of our hair, as white as lime,
falls, stopping the machine, which spills
the songs before us onto our table,
freely disgorged the songs are whips,
they eat each other, they spread squirming
on this winter plain, children's songs,
girls' songs of farewell, keenings,
soldiers' songs, chants,
and a tune gathers again
to shape the prayer of the woeful mouth:
Deliver me, Lord, from eternal death...
a change of clothes can't fend away
death, which unbuttons pelisses,
the gold braid tarnishes, the shako slips
off skulls through jaunty angles,
the unassisted stick rattles its chains
and scythes without the help of hands
harvest the unsown crop, in Mother's coif
we need to weep, our pearls are shed,
it is easier to weep than to laugh:
Deliver, us, Lord!

III

Collector! place your machine on graves,
push rusty wreath-wires down
from snow-filled cypresses to record the tones
of bones which were never silenced,
collect the songs of the bones!

you knew them, where has that girl gone
who displayed her toys in the dust?
and all the ancient men:
Christ in his passion, Peter,
Gizella, dead, Károly the hussar,

Béla the intoning throat, Imre the gypsy,
let them sing to you from their hollows,
the deeper singers need no wine to free

their long constraints, their bold
songs will burst out from subterranean cold.

Translated by Alan Dixon

AMY KÁROLYI

THE THIRD HOUSE

(Parts of a sequence)

I

Like moon-hunted clouds, the two
fine houses of my life drift from me:
the lamb's-wool sky of youth,
my stifling, lightning-flickering summer years—
See me now crowned with vine-leaves,
a bunch of grapes plunged in the vat,
like that I step onto the porch of my death.

(The stairs deceive. They seem to soar
but stop in a ravine.
The old man mumbles his acorn on the valley floor.
His nose drips,
he sits propped on twigs.

O, where is noon, the milk-loaf heart?
The sun was devoured like a slice of bread.)

This porch still takes a friendly part,
the sun still bakes,
the stone still boils,
the full moon lights its linen shade,
but already it's a night with crickets shrilling,
the plum-scent has dissolved into a spirit—
O, transfiguration of things!

Jesus Christ is sleeping in the host
wafer-coloured stripes gliding

under a round sky milled on the lathe
in our eyes its stripe keeps going
cool saliva from old women falling
dribbles down the apron of the year.
Now only the crust is left here,
the sun is devoured like a slice of bread.

III

I comb my hair.
I make my bed.
I wonder where the laundry-bill has gone.
And every one of my bones
is on a bill, to be read.

The vertebrae all billed
first this one clanks then that
the chain of vertebrae bursts
they string a fresh groove in the dust.

Out of the ensemble out of the bone-music
solitary voice
the knee looms
the knee-bone longs
to kneel
even under the loam
wax-yellow like a candle-end
trembling with phosphor-blue flame
the knee-bone longs to kneel
Where is the threshold that would be its home?

O, where is the stone for me to kneel on
that the knee of millennia has worn a bed in
doves' nest fluttering towards heaven
first step of God's stairway
o where is the stone

IV

Once we had got the new flat habitable
and pressed our faces to all the windows
and hung all the walls with mirrors

and gone in and out through all the doors
(here my mother came in
there my father went off)
and lit candles and chandeliers
and sat under huge pictures
and snored under pashas' duvets—
and as the picture the duvet the chandelier
the life the song the lawn
clung to us like a second skin—
all of a sudden
the heart of the pictures blackened
and the gleaming holystoned honey-coloured floor

whirlpooled up under our shoes there.

VII

The animal at the gelding-knife might stand
waiting in such crystal-tranquil mood
its blind fate might begin to shine that way
as it lifts its moist nose, sniffs an inch away—
Destiny's white lightning-flash
is touch and go like a knife-handle.

IX

Only love surely is like this.
The tender dark compulsive force
rises out of strands of pearly nerve-knots,
of cells like coral-islands rising and sinking.
What happens to the gaze of animals
what happens to the mirror melting and panicking
a star soaring from it up to the sky
sharp dawning of March nights.
Green brown yellow fish-scales
circular weaves of living fibre
bitter almonds crafty hazelnuts
portholes made of mica plates
behind them a splash of mother-of-pearl
foaming sea-abyss
silver-secret.

Gallopers in the wheel-ruts of our fate
scramblers onto our wagon-frame
wranglers over us like red whips
liners of our path with weeds for tulips
demi-vegetables

unhurriable
voiceless children of our fables
if we don't speak
their fate swirls off as the leaf-fall crumbles.

A needle's eye will get you into heaven
if you like, but an animal's
melting-mirrored
terror-mirrored
eyes can let you in.

Translated by Edwin Morgan

ÁGNES NEMES NAGY

BETWEEN

The air's enveloping capacious sleeves.
The air on which the bird disports,
which ornithology supports,
wing on the ragged edge of arguments,
foliage bearing astonished reports
a minute of the sky takes, leaves,
the trees of the tremulous mist, spiralling
their longing to the upper branches,
each minute breathing twenty times
the huskiest angels of the frost.

And here below, the weight. Upon this plain
vast chunks of mountain tremulously moan;
rocks, ridges of rock, peaks, though they lie
are able to kneel upon one knee;
sculpture, geology combine;

the valley, a distraction of a minute,
is displaced by blocks, the restless volumes
muscling an outline on the chalky bone,
identity crumpled into stone.

Between the sky and ground.

Loud dislocations of the rocks.
As the translucent ores within sun's heat
almost metallize, if glowing stone
is stamped on by an animal, its claw
spitting out smoke, above the rocks, rise, soar
the twisting ribbons from the kindling hooves,
and then the night in desolation,
the night as it extinguishes, reaches in
to the spine, intrinsic rock, the glacial night,
and as the ligaments, joints, stone blocks
wrinkle and fissure, cleaved to racks
of aggravated endlessness
in a splitting ungovernable trance,
habitually in black and white
the forging hammerings of the lightning strike—

Between the day and night.

The devastations, lacerations,
the visions, the drouth, the privations,
the disproportionate resurrections,
the verticals intolerably taut
between the lower stretchers and the high—

Meridians. Conditions.
Between. Stone. Ruts of tanks.
Scribbled reeds across the desert-margin, black,
two lines, in the sky, on the lake,
on two blackboards, a system, a coding,
accents of stars, reed lettering—

Between the sky and sky.

DEFEND IT

Defend it, call it a thing of worth,
worth all the effort, call it best,
worth climbing, putting it to the test,
the high benevolence, the strife,
the hidden edge on the lagging knife,
the brave death at its stealthiest,
say, say that it was worth the love
of mind traversing a dark recess
flashing its streaky beam to prove
it worth the gasping, the distress
of breath withheld, the postulates
of intellect, the dumb word's gist,
the abstract nouns, distinction, the chest
stiffening as the heart digests
its flame in cloud gravid with snow,
internal cloud, snow biting, to last
in a city where the flames must grow,
say it was worth it to our time,
while on two shoulders not to cease
and on two wrists and on two feet
irrevocable injuries teem
and burst apart, infliction's waste,
continuous blood, a blackened stream—

A COMPARISON

One who rows a storm at the inception,
quadriceps aching to the uttermost,
who strains to push away that rock, the footboard,
whose right hand loses, all of a sudden,
substance and effort as the oar bends backward
appropriated from a fractured handle,
whose liberated body then
convulses—
can gather my meaning.

THE SHAPELESSNESS

The shapelessness, the endlessness.
I almost fall before I cut away
my statement from the timelessness.
With sand I wall a bucketful of sea
against a waste of nothingness.
Perpetual indifference should be
intolerable to consciousness.

Translated by Alan Dixon

JÁNOS PILINSZKY

UNDER THE WINTER SKY

Over my head the stars
jostle their icy flames.
A sky without mercy.
I lean my back to the wall.

Sadness trickles searching
past my orphaned lips.
What happened to my mother's milk?
I smudge my coat.

I am like the stone—
no matter what comes, let it come.
I shall be so obedient and good
I shall lie down full length.

I shall not deceive myself any longer.
There is nobody to help me.
Suffering cannot redeem me.
No god will protect me.

Nothing could be simpler than this
or more horrible.
The biblical monsters
start slowly towards me.

(1943)

SIN

You are still a child but already your limbs
almost deliberately dazzle
in the dawning
system of curves.
And, like a secret smile,
if not your hip, your shoulder
forgets you, and betrays you.
I see you from head to heel.

I look at you, till I can no longer bear it.
One move
and my life starts to slip softly
like a crumbling sand-pit.
You are still fragile—escape
before it reaches you!
Your head topples with a nod.
It was hit by the first blow.

The collapsing years
mine towards you, greadily,
like starved sticks
the immense forest comes to life.
My nights: The shivering
mob of my nights.
They pounce on you bodily—
a morsel of bread.

They snap your young wrist
they crush your back
they are seeking the happiness they never
found with me.

The lost child,
blinding youth!
And they throw you away empty
like a gutted sack.

Is this what you are saving for me?
I watch you, detatched, numb.
Where is the shoulder that flared
the hint of its splendour?
My hands hang, confused,
in empty air. Would it be you that was killed?

Would I be the one who killed her?

PASSION OF RAVENSBRÜCK

He steps out from the others.
He stands in the square silence.
The prison garb, the convict's skull
blink like a projection.

He is horribly alone.
His pores are visible.
Everything about him is so gigantic,
everything is so tiny.

And this is all.
The rest—
the rest was simply
that he forgot to cry out
before he collapsed.

THE DESERT OF LOVE

A bridge, and a hot concrete road—
the day is emptying its pockets,
laying out, one by one, all its possessions.
You are quite alone in the catatonic twilight.

A landscape like the bed of a wrinkled pit,
with glowing scars, a darkness which dazzles.
Dusk thickens. I stand numb with brightness
blinded by the sun. This summer will not leave me.

Summer. And the flashing heat.
The chickens stand, like burning cherubs,
in the boarded-up, splintered cages.
I know their wings do not even tremble.

Do you still remember? First there was the wind.
And then the earth. Then the cage.
Flames, dung. And now and again
A few wing-flutters, a few empty reflexes.

And thirst. I asked for water—
Even today I hear that feverish gulping,
and helplessly, like a stone, bear
and quench the mirages.

Years are passing. And years. And hope
is like a tin-cup toppled into the straw.

(1952)

APOCRYPHA

1. Everything will be forsaken then

The silence of the heavens will be set apart
and forever apart
the broken-down fields of the finished world,
and apart
the silence of dog-kennels.
In the air a fleeing host of birds.
And we shall see the rising sun
dumb as a demented eye-pupil
and calm as a watching beast.

But keeping vigil in banishment
because the night
I cannot sleep I toss
as the tree with its thousand leaves
and at dead of night I speak as the tree:
Do you know the drifting of the years
the years over the crumpled fields?
Do you understand the wrinkle
of transience? Do you comprehend
my care-gnarled hands? Do you know
the name of orphanage? Do you know
what pain treads the unlifting darkness
with cleft hooves, with webbed feet?
The night, the cold, the pit. Do you know
the convict's head twisted askew?
Do you know the caked troughs, the tortures
of the abyss?

The sun rose. Sticks of trees blackening
in the infra-red of the wrathful sky.

So I depart. Facing devastation
a man is walking, without a word.
He has nothing. He has his shadow.
And his stick. And his prison garb.

2. And this is why I learned to walk! For these
belated bitter steps.

Evening will come, and night will petrify
above me with its mud. Beneath closed eyelids
I do not cease to guard this procession
these fevered shrubs, their tiny twigs.
Once Paradise stood here.
In half-sleep, the renewal of pain:
to hear its gigantic trees.

Home—I wanted finally to get home—
to arrive as he in the Bible arrived.
My ghastly shadow in the courtyard.

Crushed silence, aged parents in the house.
And already they are coming, they are calling me,
my poor ones, and already crying,
and embracing me, stumbling—
the ancient order opens to readmit me.
I lean out on the windy stars.

If only for this once I could speak with you
whom I loved so much. Year after year
yet I never tired of saying over
what a small child sobs
into the gap between the palings,
the almost choking hope
that I come back and find you.
Your nearness throbs in my throat.
I am agitated as a wild beast.

I do not speak your words,
the human speech. There are birds alive
who flee now heart-broken
under the sky, under the fiery sky.
Forlorn poles stuck in a glowing field,
and immovably burning cages.

I do not understand the human speech,
and I do not speak your language.
My voice is more homeless than the word!
I have no words.
Its horrible burden
tumbles down through the air—
a tower's body emits sounds.

You are nowhere. How empty the world is.
A garden chair, and a deck chair left outside.
Among sharp stones my clangorous shadow.
I am tired. I jut out from the earth.

3. God sees that I stand in the sun.
He sees my shadow on stone and on fence.

He sees my shadow standing
without a breath in the airless press.

By then I am already like the stone;
a dead fold, a drawing of a thousand grooves,
a good handful of rubble
is by then the creature's face.

And instead of tears, the wrinkles on the faces
trickling, the empty ditch trickles down.

FABLE

(Detail from his KZ-Oratorio: "Dark Heaven")

Once upon a time
there was a lonely wolf
lonelier than the angels.

He happened to come to a village.
He fell in love with the first house he saw.

Already he loved its walls
the caresses of its bricklayers.
But the windows stopped him.

In the room sat people.
Apart from God nobody ever
found them so beautiful
as this child-like beast.

So at night he went into the house.
He stopped in the middle of the room
and never moved from there any more.

He stood all through the night, with wide eyes
and on into the morning when he was beaten to death.

AS I WAS

As I was at the start
so, all along, I have remained.
The way I began, so I will go on to the end.
Like the convict who, returning
to his village, goes on being silent.
Speechless he sits in front of his glass of wine.

EXHORTATION

Not the respiration. The gasping.
Not the wedding table. The falling
scraps, the chill, the shadows.
Not the gesture. Not the hysteria.
The silence of the hook is what you must note.

Remember
what your city, the everlasting city
has not forgotten.
With its towers, its roofs,
its living and dead populace.

Then you may make known,
perhaps, even in your day,
what is alone
worthy the annunciation,

Scribe
then perhaps you will not have passed in vain.

Translated by Ted Hughes
in collaboration with János Csokits

GYÖRGY RÓNAY

THE TEACHING STAFF DISBANDED

Strange, what I thought last night, waking
after the first, short sleep, when one is jolted
by silence, with no more buses running
down in the street. Between one sleep and the next,
in this waking that lasts five or ten minutes—
or less, it could be, only a matter of seconds—
I thought: they've gone. I have no more teachers.
That frightened me. For a moment, before
sleep came again to dissolve it all,
I felt forsaken. Why, I can't say.
The classroom was large, just larger
than the old, familiar one. I sat there alone,
on the old hard bench, my textbooks
and exercise books all neat on the desk.
The morning break is over, I look at the green door
and wait, as the silence hardens, for someone to come.
Nobody comes. The lesson's been cancelled,
with not so much as a stand-in provided.
Then it seems that the bell has rung; and again
I sit on the bench and wait, in a silence
that's hardened now. No one comes. Four periods, five,
and at last the knowledge breaks through:
I'm waiting in vain. There are no teachers
and none will arrive. There may have been
a notice even, saying the staff was disbanded,
and as usual I simply forgot
to look at the board. So I may as well face it,
what sooner or later I have to do:
disenrol from the school and leave as they left.

Translated by Michael Hamburger

RECKONING WITH REALITY

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

The year 1975 proved of great importance for Hungary. It was the thirtieth after the Liberation, the time of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and of Parliamentary elections, occasions for looking at policy in the light of what has been done, and for defining future objectives. The Party Congress clearly expressed its position on all essential questions of domestic and foreign policy and the Programme Declaration carried determined the perspectives of development for the next fifteen to twenty years. The Congress stood for a continued policy based on awareness of what is the case in the present situation and within the dialectic of history. The Party was not guided by notions derived from wish fulfilment either in analysing the state of affairs or in determining future tasks, but by the nature of things, and a realistic estimate of what circumstances and potentialities made possible. Some call this *Realpolitik* with clear pejorative overtones. The reply to them must be that it is *Realpolitik* indeed. Marxists always reckon with reality, they entertain no false illusions, nor do they show faint-heartedness. Following a scientific analysis realistic and socialist objectives which are in the interest of the people as a whole are defined and carried out.

An important feature of the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Party that directs the construction of socialism is that its general line harmonizes a confidence-inspiring stability and dynamism. Continuity of a tried and proven policy is indispensable for undisturbed and effective creative labour, while changes and revolutionary dynamism are necessary to ensure the stability of the socialist system. There will be progress along the road taken so far; that it is the road taken, and that further progress is needed are both equally important.

A careful analysis of reality is what a policy designed to solve contradictions can be based on. There is no history without contradictions, and

there is no way, as Lenin said, of stepping out of history. Socialism is distinguished from capitalism not by development free of contradictions and conflicts but by the fact that—and this is a basic, essential difference— it has put an end to the antagonism resulting from exploitation. The contradictions of socialist development can be solved within the system, their solution as they crop up means also the strengthening of socialist society. Few would disagree with such a formulation, in the abstract.

It is also generally known that contradictions are more or less of two main types. Capitalism is still near, in both spatial and temporal terms, elements of the past survive, including the living past, that is those contradictions which are due to the continued presence of capitalism. Who would deny that the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and way of life are still present in the way of thinking and mode of life of individuals. At the same time, socialism has its own specific inner contradictions. Progress requires the continuous, active resolution based on concrete analysis of all of them.

There are, however, those who absolutize these contradictions, interpreting them in a distorted manner. They either construe them fatalistically, as something in the face of which we are helpless, or look exclusively to subjective mistakes as their causes. The absolutization of contradictions, an absence of differentiation or seeing mere contingencies as if they were contradictions, weakens the implementation of the policy of the Party of the working class, including its policy of alliance. Another mistake is to believe, or to wish, life today to be free of contradictions. Naïve faith in the conflict-free progress of socialism, and pseudo-revolutionary voluntarism which is its brother, sooner or later lead to faint-heartedness and disillusion.

Carrying out the tasks assigned by the Congress depends also on whether the causes of the concrete contradictions following from the capitalist environment and from the internal situation can be displayed in wise and principled persuasion; on the circumstances of economic and social development, and mainly: on how these contradictions can be resolved by taking into consideration the position and strength of Hungary and of the world socialist system. There are problems which can be solved only as part of the historical process of the building of socialism, and there are contradictions which arise again on a higher level. Not every contradiction can be interpreted as the sign of some "trouble" which ought to alarm. The rise in living standards, and the connected growth in demands, to give an example, also create ever new contradictions. It is up to revolutionaries, as Lenin said, to think over calmly and rationally what the concrete tasks are and what methods are to be employed. Carefully considered action is needed.

The Congress, relying on the experience of the past, stressed the systematic implementation of resolutions, and active work, which guaranteed the conditions of implementation. This, however, does not mean the mechanical separation of analysis, decision and action. Constant readiness to analyse the concrete situation is an indispensable link in the chain of implementation. Analysis will invariably remain a condition of sound decisions and a guarantee of their execution. "The essence of party control is to promote the implementation of resolutions, to properly weigh up the situation in a given field of work, to draw up adequate proposals for furthering the implementation of resolutions. . ."[1] The emphasis on execution and on action does not call for pragmatism, it cannot be a pretext for any kind of hostility to theory, but it is a warning that the resolutions must be carried out in a more disciplined, more systematic and more consistent manner than before. The concrete causes of bottlenecks in the execution of resolutions must, of course, be examined. They may be of very different kinds. The most general are that a sense of responsibility, competence or prudence were absent. Sometimes those working in a given field do not sufficiently understand the resolution, have difficulties in finding the means of its implementation or they do not receive adequate or sufficiently systematic assistance. At other times the trouble is that people want to implement a given resolution mechanically, without taking into consideration the concrete and changing circumstances or local conditions. It could happen that the trouble lies not only in execution, one must examine also whether all the circumstances were properly taken into account when the decision was made. In communist policy there can be no right action without conscious theoretical preparation, just as theorizing for its own sake also acts as a brake to resolute action.

The Party consistently adheres to its policy line, that is the strengthening of the leading role of the working class and the Party, and inseparably from it, along with it, the policy of alliance, that is the strengthening of socialist national unity. A fundamental feature of socialism is that the working class stands not only for its own interests, but also for those of society as a whole, thus the Party is the representative not only of the working class but of the people that has grown into a polity. He who tries to provoke distrust and tension between the working classes and sections of society similarly engaged does not serve the interest of the working class in the narrow sense of the term. Those who do not support socialist national unity do damage,

[1] The 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Information Bulletin of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Budapress Agency, Budapest, 1975. Special Issue 1, p. 36. In English.

even if unintentionally, to the interests of the working class and of socialism, since they whittle down the political basis of the Party and of the working class and, last but not least, put obstacles in the way of carrying out the economic tasks that confront the country. "In order to meet the forthcoming tasks of socialist construction and to consciously develop social relations and trends, the leading role of the party has to be asserted even more effectively."[2] Those who interpret this as meaning that things will now go more smoothly, since the need to persuade and argue will not be so important, who are inclined to say "no more democracy games", "the Congress has at long last put its foot down", who expect a bolstering of their "authority" from the strengthening of the leading role of the Party are making a very big mistake.

The Congress has made it unambiguously clear that the strengthening of the leading role of the Party means first of all increasing responsibilities for the Party, and the Party membership; more efficient persuasions in the first place. Working out Marxist-Leninist answers to genuine questions of social progress, improving the ideological and political education of Party members and ideological work as such, strengthening the unity of ideas, organization and action and Party discipline, helping the carrying out of resolutions by a consistent attitude and exemplary work as well as ideological and moral strength—this is what the strengthening of the leading role of the Party means, and must mean. "To be a communist, a party official, to have a public position, does not mean having a nice comfortable job; it means, above all duty, work, struggle, devoted service to the idea of communism, of the working class, of the people."[3]

If the strengthening of the leading role of the Party is interpreted in this way, in accordance with the resolutions and the spirit of the Congress, then it is evident that this means, at the same time, the more vigorous continuation of the policy of alliance and of socialist democratism.

The task of the party as a vanguard is, while relying on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and on the international experience of the revolutionary working-class movement and of socialism both at home and abroad, on the international level, to size up the situation, define the immediate aims and, as the Congress did, future tasks as well. This is done not in its own name and not for itself but for the working class and for the entire working people in accordance with their real interests. That is why the vanguard seeks and designates new and new stages in the building of a developed socialist society which it can and wants to reach only together with its class and people.

[2] op. cit. No. 2, p. 30.
[3] op. cit. No. 1, p. 35.

Leadership does not merely mean marching at the head, it means getting the aims understood, making people conscious of their interests, ceaselessly ensuring being in tune with the working class and the people, thanks to patient persuasion, day after day. "The communist Marxist–Leninist vanguard which has lived and struggled since 1918 and which united the political forces of the Hungarian working class, advanced on its historical path only when it advanced together with the masses. This is our great historical experience."[4]

Socialist democracy

It follows from the right interpretation of the leading role of the Party and of its policy of alliance, that socialist democracy will be further developed and strengthened. There were voices, mainly before the Congress, but they persist, which argue that a "strong-arm" policy ought to be reverted to. But the strength of the Party lies in not isolating itself from the people, in patient, persistent persuasion. Only the conscious will and hard work of the entire people can attain highly developed socialism. Economic construction today requires greater unity in policy, ideology and action, the whole people must put its shoulder to the wheel. It is commonly known that the external conditions of the work of socialist construction have changed, not only in a favourable sense. The economic crisis of the capitalist world has its effects and this in turn makes it indispensable to increase economic efficiency.

It is a mistake to imagine that overcoming economic difficulties requires a curbing of socialist democracy or a suspension of its growth. True, more difficult circumstances can reinforce antagonisms and bring hidden contradictions to the surface, sharpening controversy. But is the silencing of people a solution? The Party cannot pursue such a policy contrary to the idea of socialism which in practice leads to a splitting of forces and the loosening of the unity between the vanguard and the people. Communists build on mutual trust, on frank and open talk, putting difficulties, and proposals, and decisions to overcome them, to assembled men of maturity and intelligence. It is indispensable that citizens contribute, in words and deeds, to the elaboration and carrying out of proposals and decisions. Not even when problems are thick on the ground can the proven path of growing socialist democracy be deviated from. The connection between democracy and the situation of the country in the current stage of development does

4 op. cit. No. 3, p. 83.

not mean that when things go well democracy can be permitted, and when things go less well, when greater efforts are needed, then democracy must be restricted. For socialism, in normal circumstances, democracy is not one of the possible forms of the exercise of power, as it is under capitalism, but means rule by the people in the original sense of the term. Its strengthening is the strengthening of this rule by the people. Socialist democracy is also the democracy of always sharing achievements and anxieties, consequently it is also an indispensable source of strength. At the present the sharing of anxieties, a democracy of thinking together and acting together, is particularly indispensable. So there are difficulties? There is all the greater need for solidarity, collaboration and unity on a nationwide scale. And this can be real and active unity only if the already realized elements of socialist democracy are consolidated and if further potentialities are sought out and exploited.

Care must be taken to eliminate the merely formal elements of democracy. Socialist democracy differs from bourgeois democracy first of all in the class content of power, the nature of those who hold power, in whose interest and who participates in its exercise and the handling of public affairs. That is, it concentrates on the essence. How power is exercised is important all the same. The Party line does not consist of principles only; methods of direction are an indispensable part as well. The people know socialism to be their very own and recognize the essence of its democracy if they are not mere objects, but active participants in the administration of society. The evolution of bourgeois democracy despite its many merely formal elements was a great achievement of the forces of progress under capitalism. But the capitalist class can exercise its power in other forms as well. History shows that if its class interests so demand, chiefly when its power is in jeopardy, democratic freedoms are jettisoned. Fascist dictatorships, reactionary military juntas, conservative and liberal parliamentarianism can all coexist with the domination of capital. Owing to its nature socialism has a far smaller choice. In principle, and in the long term, socialism can choose only socialist democracy, applying it always in keeping with prevailing conditions.

There are a good many misinterpretations or misconceptions regarding democracy in Hungary. Turning a somersault or two, some try to interpret Marx's and Lenin's criticism of bourgeois freedoms appear as the criticism of democracy as such, though it is obvious that Marx and Lenin criticized the insufficiencies and limitations of bourgeois democracy. They demonstrated that bourgeois freedom meant freedom of exploitation, that bourgeois fraternity "materialized" in class oppression, in jingoism, in imperialist

wars. Bourgeois equality served to hide the reality of economic inequalities.

Socialist power expresses the interests and will of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is, however, indispensable if will and interests are to speak in unison, that the people, the working people, should be in a position to assume their share of public affairs, and that they should do so. For this very reason: "It is our primary objective to continue strengthening the most specific and most important trait of our social system: socialist democracy."[5] The bourgeoisie in defence of its power can destroy democracy; the working class jeopardizes its power if it neglects or disregards socialist democracy.

Relying on the results attained so far, the Party continues with its policy of gradually reducing social differences, thereby fulfilling one of the most inportant demands of developed socialism. Thorough transformation and restratification is going on in the ranks of the working class, the leading class of socialist society. This class is improving its political education as well as becoming generally better educated and better trained to do its job. The proportion of highly qualified workers is increasing; the number of workers who take an active and direct part in matters concerning production or public issues is growing; the socialist brigades, which gather the most developed section of the working class, increasingly become communities exemplifying a socialist way of living. All this helps the leading role of the working class. Of course, the process of making the working class conscious of its historic mission is supported by the guidance, leadership and teaching of the Marxist-Leninist party. The vanguard must help the working class better to know, to realize and carry out its tasks.

The peasants of co-operative farms, owing to the historic transformation taking place in their productive activities, living conditions, outlook, material and cultural requirements, are coming ever closer to the working class. The disparity in conditions of housing and urbanization, in cultural and communal services, sanitation and standards of distribution, that is the still considerable differences between village and town, are being levelled out, though it is a slow job.

Professional people do their duty, being part of the people building socialism, and in concert with them. That the socialist and populist character of professional people is more in evidence is not merely explained by the fact that their overwhelming majority either started life as workers or peasants, or as the sons or daughters of worker or peasant parents, but, and more essentially, because their decisive majority identifies itself with

[5] János Kádár: *A fejlett szocialista társadalom építésének útján.* (On the Road to a Developed Socialis Society) Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1975, p. 478. In Hungarian.

socialism, the cause of the people. The growing socialist consciousness of professional people is instrumental in their fulfilling the tasks incumbent on them and undertaken by them in the field of general culture, thus narrowing the difference between intellectual and manual work. A characteristic sign and form of the fading of the boundaries between classes or sections of society is the large number of what are called mixed families. A great many families today have worker, peasant and professional members.

The socialist wage system gives expression to the elimination of basic socio-economic inequalities, contributing to a further diminishing of inequalities, but at the same time it inevitably stabilizes some of them. In addition to the indispensable strengthening and further correction of distribution according to work, however, there is a growing proportion of social benefits independent of work done. Much is done to counterbalance inequalities in per capita family incomes. "As a result of all these processes we shall reach a level where gradually the conditions for the complete and final cessation of class differences will come about."[6]

The interaction of the political, economic, social and cultural fields and their organic unities is already characteristic of developed socialist society at this initial stage. If one of these fields undergoes major change, this presupposes or, more precisely, brings with it, changes in the others as well. Creative continuity as the principal characteristic of the party line, that is a principled adjustment to the problems of changing reality. This means also the consistent enforcement and further development of the well-tried principles of cultural policy. These principles proved just as sound in the tense ideological situation following the defeat of the counter-revolution, as in the period of consolidation and later, when "reforms" of revolutionary content were introduced after the mid-1960s. There is every reason to retain the main principles and substance of cultural and art policy, of course, by refining and developing them further, in keeping with every new situation as it arises.

THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF CULTURAL POLICY

Ideology and culture and the possibilities and tasks of development are increasingly and visibly determined by the new results and demands of political, economic and social development. At the same time culture becomes, in an ever wider circle and more and more obviously, an indispens-

[6] *Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt XI. kongresszusának jegyzőkönyve.* (Minutes of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) Kossuth, 1975, p. 506. In Hungarian.

able and vital propelling force. Culture is more and more directly connected with productive and social practice, and this can only become stronger still in the future. Social practice needs and demands culture all the more as the socialist character of Hungarian society becomes more complete.

The stregthening of the leading role of the working class largely depends also on the further growth in its educational standards. Increasingly direct participation of workers in the guidance of production and of society is equally in the interest of the economy, of the working class itself and of the whole of society. This is why the Central Committee resolution on the situation of the working class dealt in more detail than ever before with the conditions and tasks of the schooling of the working class and its access to culture. This is why the development of working-class education is one of the central issues in the resolution on cultural policy (more particularly access to culture). This is why the resolution on the development of the educational system stresses emphatically improvements of schools in working-class areas and dormitory suburbs, and this is why the cultural pledges taken by socialist brigades are so important. The strengthening of the leading role of the working class, this foremost political and socio-political question, is more and more closely connected with the educational and cultural standards of the working class, with its advancement and the tasks of its development.

The further development of socialist democracy also demands constant improvement in the intellectual preconditions of the effective exercise of rights. The lessening of differences in educational and cultural opportunities is part and parcel of the gradual lessening of social differences, also inasmuch as it promotes social mobility. Study and training help to wipe out the barriers between classes, and constitute an important and relatively easily exploitable opportunity for levelling out social differences.

The process in which science becomes a productive force, the growing role of the social sciences in laying the scientific foundations for the guidance of society, and the formulation of policy, as well as in preparing political decisions are all indicative of the great importance of the growth of scientific knowledge. This is true even of those sciences which have not turned into a force of production or which are that only indirectly. Art, another basic way to study and master reality, becomes an indispensable part and a moulder of socialist consciousness, socialist morality and the socialist life style.

The realization of the Leninist cultural revolution is an organic, inseparable part of socialism. The aim of the cultural revolution is not only to prepare people to carry out productive and social tasks but, inseparably from this and in interaction with it, also to ensure that the members of

society become more accomplished socialist men and women, educated by the productive work they do and by the social and community life in which they take part. The contribution of conscious, active and cultured people to the building of socialism is not only a condition—the human condition—of the effectiveness of construction but at the same time an aim as well. In socialism, ultimately, everything is for man: man, who lives a rational and meaningful life, is builder as well as product, the ultimate objective of socialist society.

The content of education and culture enlarges and changes with the development of socialism. In contrast to conditions thirty years ago, when the main concern was to earn and secure one's daily bread, socialist consciousness and morality are facing a new test today. People have to learn to use the goods produced in a socialist way. What people spend their money on is a personal matter but, on the social scale, it is of public concern. An essential index of culture is what becomes public necessity, and whether we are able to devote it to the fulfilment of our own human nature or whether we become slaves of things and objects.

It is necessary to fight the petty-bourgeois outlook which regards the growth of personal property not as a condition of life, but as its aim and purpose. This way of seeing things is necessarily coupled with social indifference, and the isolation of individuals, which is unworthy of socialism and which cannot be condoned. One has to fight an outlook which measures social progress exclusively in terms of material possessions. Social and human progress is really inconceivable without a rise in the material standards of living, but it is at least as inconceivable without what are real human riches, that is knowledge, social consciousness, morality, culture.

When we talk about culture or education in any context, we naturally mean by culture or education that is increasingly inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. This new type of culture, however, can take shape only as a process and in interaction with the building of socialism. As we can analyse the social and economic conditions and formulate the programme only in conformity with reality, and as it would be harmful to present the long-term aim, the realization of developed socialism, as a short-term objective, it would be just as wrong and unhistorical to declare that, as of the present, Marxism-Leninism alone inspires all aspects of culture, art, science and everyday consciousness, or to suppose that its complete triumph will occur overnight.

It is not by chance that the 11th Congress declared and did so precisely now: "In the places of research, in the teaching of the social sciences which are most important from an ideological point of view, we have to see to

it that work should unequivocallv be carried on in accordance with the ideals of Marxism-Leninism."[7] The formulation reflects those results attained by the Marxist social sciences, which made this demand timely and, at the same time, expresses that, in spite of results, Marxism-Leninism does not unequivocally govern what happens in these spheres. This is true not simply for subjective reasons—although these are also instrumental—but because such an objective has become really timely and realizable only now, during the construction of developed socialism. It is evidence of a profoundly dialectical attitude, and proper attention to continuity and a sense of priority, that the resolution declared the unambiguous dominance of Marxism in key areas of culture as something to be accomplished.

That Marxism-Leninism is gaining ground is not simply a matter of insight, will or decision; on a social scale it is inseparable from the state of the struggle waged for socialism, and the political, economic and social development of socialism. This connection is not automatic, making it indispensable for every Marxist leader, for every Party member, for every research, educational, scientific and ideological creative workshop to multiply and pass on their own socialist world outlook and knowledge more than heretofore. This is a difficult and complex job, but it cannot be evaded. Neither intellectual sloth, nor the misconception that the spreading of Marxism in ideology and everyday outlook can be realized by word of command can serve as an excuse.

The need for discussions

In connection with the possible and necessary strenghtening of the unequivocal supremacy of Marxism-Leninism, two one-sided views have come up and gathered strength. There are those who heave a sigh of relief that the time of doubts and debates is over or, at least, is drawing to a close; conclusive answers being available to all questions of practice and theory. (At such times everyone, of course, regards his own views as the conclusive answer.) Others are anxious: will ideological life become more severe, what will become of the freedom of discussion?

The correct answers to ever new problems posed by life, to contradictions and questions, can be given only after careful analysis, creative debates and scientific evaluation. The classics of Marxism have bequeathed to us not only their works and the truths they had formulated in them, but also the obligation to continue to develop Marxism through a scientific analysis

7 The 11th Congress etc. op. cit. No. 1, p. 27.

of the changing world. The postulate of the unequivocal supremacy of Marxism-Leninism does not sanction theoretical and intellectual sloth; on the contrary, it invites social scientists and the scientific creative workshops to engage in more intensive analytic and creative work. The unequivocal supremacy of Marxism-Leninism is impossible if we fail to make still greater and constant efforts to work out Marxist answers. Correctly interpreting the Party programme, there is no reason to suppose that, in fields where the total supremacy of Marxism is desirable, debates, which are indispensable means for elaborating new questions, will come to an end, that differing views will disappear. It is, however, certain that these debates can take place only on the basis of truth, that is scientific truth, in other words Marxism-Leninism, and must aim at the strengthening of socialist social practice and ideas. It continues to be inadmissible to debate such things as the possibility of "a variety of Marxisms", pushing aside the classical scientific and theoretical foundations of our philosophy. Subjectivism, and political and ideological cunning envy which are in considerable measure still present in the argument, must be opposed. There is no more absurd and hypocritical phenomenon than making principles dependent on personal interests and prestige, holding aloof from the common, collective work of exploring reality. Social practice must be imbued by continued opposition to these.

The unceasing enrichment of Marxism is organically connected with the need for ideological discussion. The effectiveness of discussion and persuasion is mainly dependent on the creative application of theory; on how deeply and thoroughly one is able to analyse and interpret the constantly recurring and changing situation at home and abroad, giving answers to newly arising questions. For, as Lenin said, any general historical interpretation that is applied to a particular case, without a separate analysis of its conditions, becomes an empty phrase. This is a general conclusion, which is applicable not only in the elucidation of questions and problems but also in the elaboration and propagation of results. The mere enumeration and factual consideration of results may be a convicing force in itself. But one must not forget that those results which cannot, or can only superficially, be registered in statistical facts and figures, which require unearthing and analysis, and which more often than not have traits that appear in mutual relations among people and in their moral conduct are new and characteristic of socialism only. What must not be forgotten is that what is unfavourable strikes the eye, but the really new requires acute vision, that must be truly discovered, it does not crop up in large numbers and in a fully developed form. One must learn better how to discover, and get others to discover,

new qualities which—often in important fields—have taken shape almost imperceptibly following on numerous detailed results. It is of particular importance to perceive new phenomena as quickly as possible, and to analyse them as precisely as possible because, in most cases they most readily provide the positive solution.

As has also been stressed by the Congress: the social sciences have to examine and analyse more boldly, and showing more initiatives, those questions which relate to the building of socialism. One could add: the results of scientific research should be more quickly and more effectively used in education, in agitprop work, and in all fields of life. Marxist social science research has to make greater use of work done in these fields, taking note of their needs. Feeble and incomplete answers, passivity regarding ideology and theory, the "incantation" of ideological platitudes offer targets to hostile ideologies. Every problem dodged is a find for them.

Some problems of literary and artistic life are instructive from this point of view. "It is characteristic of the general situation, on the one hand, that the influence of the ideas of socialism is increasing also in this sphere; on the other, a loss of perspective by certain individuals, groups and sections is reflected in our literature, in the arts and in some artistic creations, in the wake of new questions pertaining to the building of socialism in our country, to the international working class movement and the international political situation."[8]

The report to the Congress realistically analyses the loss of perspective in the arts. We Marxists therefore have to take the initiative and answer in a Marxist manner the new questions concerning the construction of socialism at home, certain problems of the international working-class movement and of the international situation, since the absence of answers in itself already raises doubts or misleads. The right to ask, and answer, cannot be ceded to those who, wittingly or unwittingly, formulate questions and answers on the basis of the old or "new" theories that grow on bourgeois soil. Facing up to difficult questions has to be done even if, occasionally, the problem cannot be solved promptly or if there is no complete solution. Such questions must be reckoned with and answers must be looked for since in the teaching and propagation of science and art, Marxism will prove more convincing in this way than if one were to ignore as yet unsolved problems.

Theoretical complacency not only takes away the weapons of Communists engaged in direct scientific, educational and propaganda work, but hinders the effective realization of the policy of alliance. Those who put questions, those with whom we engage in a day-to-day exchange of views, are for the

[8] op. cit. No. 1, p. 29.

most part and in the first place not enemies of socialism but our political allies.

The continuing debate with allies and confederates is a most important aspect of the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the strengthening of its hegemony. This debate extends to ideology and culture, and, over, and above these, to everyday life, to minor and major public questions alike. As János Kádár said: "Clarification of these sphere and questions must be made primarily through ideological debate. We must not forget that the people who are our ideological debating partners in literature and the arts are in the overwhelming majority of cases our political allies. This political alliance does not exclude, but, on the contrary, requires ideological debate which we must conduct in such away that the political alliance will strengthen at the same time. The goal should be to get our allies closer to us also in the ideological sphere on the basis of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism."[9] Ideological discussion is needed to give a chance to the others participating in it to bring their ideology closer to Marxism, the truth. One result would be a strengthening of the political alliance.

This can only happen if the discussion is conducted in a manner ideologically consistent with the truth. There are no concessions on matters of principle nor can there be. At the same time, however sharp the discussion may be, its manner must be determined by faith in the possiblity of convincing the other side. That is the basis of the political alliance. Care must be taken to show joy and appreciation at every step in the direction of Marxism. Amends have to be made, not as regards principles for sure, but concerning the methods employed.

Consistency of principle and an adequate, conciliatory, method of discussion require first of all that the intentions and purpose of the other side be properly understood, analysed and evaluated. One has to differentiate between what is anti-Marxist, non-Marxist, or partially Marxist. In ideological or cultural practice one comes across works of art, or in the social sciences, more frequently journalism, or things said, which cannot be treated as simply anti-Marxist without doing harm to political practice and in particular the policy of political alliance. This must be kept in view at a time when Marxism is vigorously gaining ground at home and abroad; when the increasing number of ideologically heterogeneous works and opinions indicate more often than not a coming closer to Marxism rather than the opposite. The consistency of principle in discussion and the development of an adequate method of discussion alike require careful differentation. In debates with allies one must differentiate between those who, while

[9] op. cit. No. 1, p. 30.

approaching Marxism and agreeing with Marxism on certain questions, take up non-Marxist position on others and those who use a Marxist phrase or two to make themselves "acceptable" but really profess reactionary and conservative views and obsolete ideologies, who look to the past with regret and longing and impudently claim monopoly positions for their muddle-headed ideas, treating all those who represent the position of the working class and of the Party with disdain. Much the same sort of thing can be observed in the regions of the pseudo-Left and the New Left.

Consistency of principle must be manifest in clearly distinguishing, applying sincere and exacting criticism, ideologically contradictory works and utterances. Their respective weight, proportion and direction determine continuing elements that are in unison with our principles and those akin to them, the methods and direction of discussion. Debates so far, and in the future, with allies and friends have, and must, in themselves express and recognize the facets at which such works or attitudes are in contact and coincide with the interests of the people, with socialism and Marxism. There are some who still hold anti-Marxist views today. One must try to convince there as well, at least until such views have coalesced into a coherent anti-Marxist position. Those, however, who proclaim slanders and falsifying and politically hostile views, will be talked to in terms that differ from those used when talking things over with allies.

These are all arguments showing that, being a Marxist does not mean —and has never meant—that being the happy possessor of the ideology that leads to salvation, I feel anger for those who stray, but it means that, relying on the power of the ideas of Marxism, I fight day after day for control of a changing and developing reality, and that, as a fruit of this, I am able to persuade those whose intention is to live and work for the people and for socialism.

But the argument concerns not only questions of national importance concerning science, ideology and politics, and it is not only taking place on the national level. Debate is a means, a driving force to shape ourselves and the smaller community of which we form part to overcome the old, and understand and accept the new. The new is by no means always self-evident. Complacency or incompetence often find varied and pleasing forms to defend the old. The old is sometimes strong enough to press the new into the straitjacket of a sort of radical pseudo-revolutionary pose or to absorb it having degraded it into a mere fashion.

One is often averse to debates, associating them with uncertainty and the absence of stability. There is some truth in this. Sterile and useless debates exist, which do not point in the direction of a solution but which obscure

it and thus suggest a sort of failure; that there is no way out. But this does not alter the fact that the solution of every question, and every major decision, is preceded by a process of maturing in which debates necessarily have a considerable role. This is what really characterizes a genuine debate. It is an irreplaceable driving force of progress in the right direction.

Two important points of view, however, have to be taken into consideration here as well. First: Marxism-Leninism is not only a point of departure for the social sciences, but also the only really scientific method for getting to know and changing reality. Second: one can only ascertain and decide who interprets Marxism correctly through creative debates among Marxist social scientists. A notion which presupposes that in social practice and all scientific questions a precise and final answer is available and only has to be looked for in the works of the classics or in certain documents, must be rejected as alien to Marxism.

Here we have to deal with another important feature of the nature and character of the debates. Communists debate not only with ideological and political enemies and opponents, they discuss ideological questions not only with their political allies, but they argue among themselves as well, not to mention that individuals are also developing and changing in a ceaseless "dialogue" with themselves and their environment. This is as true of Communists, perhaps even more so. Intra-party debates and exchanges of views can be defined thus: they are part and parcel of the movement, and in keeping with the nature of the Party. The Party and Party leadership, enforcing Leninist norms, help and support intra-party debates, for decisions are prepared by collectives, executive bodies and panels of experts. These do good work if discussion is lively, if each person makes a contribution to the team.

The Party is the community of those who are most powerfully committed to socialism and who have the greatest sense of responsibility when it comes to the achievements produced by the creative work of the people, and socialist progress. Communists have to act with the utmost circumspection and with all relating factors in mind when making decisions on political questions concerning the interests of millions. Before passing a resolution, every Party member has not only the opportunity but also the duty to express his independent opinion whenever he has something pertinent to say, when the subject is one on which he has special knowledge or it otherwise concerns him. These debates are thus a preparation for climbing onto higher standards, their purpose is not talk for its own sake but an improvement in practice, raising knowledge to an ever higher level.

This is necessary in a Leninist party, but being a Marxist–Leninist party,

the Party is no debating club meeting over a cup of tea. This means that there is no place for further debate on questions on which the debate is closed by a party resolution of a higher party body. In such cases each Party member has the right to make his opinion known to the superior body, but he should not come forward with his separate view after the resolution has been passed. The difference between an earlier wrong practice and today's sound one is not that debates in the fifties were closed by resolution and there can be debate now after them as well. This comparison is false, it does not correspond to the facts. The difference is that in present practice resolutions are adopted where necessary, and life itself decides where appropiate.

Questions concerning art and taste are in general not closed in this way. Such debates are not closed by resolutions, although there also we have our views and we are not indifferent to what goes on. Specialized scientific problems are not settled by resolutions. The positions taken by the Party cover the fundamental processes of culture and science, and those aspects which are in direct contact with politics.

The debates of a party which enforces Leninist norms have another quality which precludes the "debating society" manner from becoming dominant. The circumstances of debates are determined in agreement with the general policy line of the Party, and the interests of the community. There are debates for which the proper place is a scientific journal read by specialists, and not a newspaper with a circulation of hundreds of thousands. There are others which are best held on television, the radio, or in daily papers, this being called for by the social interest.

The importance of Leisure

Different aspects of life remain closely interrelated also in the initial period of developed socialism. Growing leisure is increasingly important among the jointly determined and interacting factors of economic, social and cultural life today.

It is certainly not a private matter how each person uses this social achievement. Marx, it will be remembered, said that socialism has to ensure that time off changes into "productive" time, that it simultaneously serve recreation, preparing for further work and the needs of a full human life.

Socialist society creates a growing number of increasingly meaningful socialist communities. These all mould men and at the same time put them to the test. They demonstrate what a man is able to give to the community,

and what they get and can absorb in return. One of the principal objectives of cultural policy is to guard and help its "subject", individual man and human communities. This realization was formulated by the resolution on access to culture. It declares that culture pervades all spheres of life, that culture and education are as ramified as human activity itself. "Access to culture cannot be limited to the spreading and transmission of art, literature and learning. An important objective must be to help shape a socialist way of living, life style and attitude."[10] The message is that the growth of the personality can take place only as part of a community. The socialist brigade movement is central to the resolution not because the brigades make cultural pledges, but in the first place because they are socialist communities, because their slogan, "live, work and study in a socialist way", expresses the morality and attitude of a socialist community. Stress is put on spontaneity in the movement since this is a community-creating force.

A cultural policy concentrating on access to culture increasingly reckons with the activity of the people, of various communities and individuals. Culture is not only a sort of "treasure-house" of material and spiritual values, but a living, active social force, not only the passive reception of these values, but living social practice as well. At the initial stage of the cultural revolution, at the time of the liquidation of the cultural monopoly of the ruling classes, it was natural that a primary issue should be the "distribution" of the accumulated values among the millions who by their work ultimately produced and created culture, but were deprived of its material and spiritual values. Understandably stress was placed on the propagation and absorbtion of knowledge: the general form which we called popular or adult education. This "simple" propagation and absorption of knowledge continues to be necessary and certainly not as merely part of the educational system but also outside it. What is increasingly emphasized given the progressive development of socialist society is active culture, that is attitudes which do not merely acquire practice, but that do not merely absorb but are also active in culture. An increasing readiness for self-education appears as a growing factor beside the merely "propagative" and "receptive" attitude. The integral nature of activity and the acquisition of knowledge, which has so far been present mostly in political and ideological learning, has become important in the arts as well. Young people in the amateur movement do not want to substitute for scientists or artists, what they are doing is done for their own intellectual and spiritual enrichment, still they practically collaborate in creative work. In the last analysis, cultural policy is, just

10 *A közművelődés helyzete és fejlesztésének feladatai.* (Access to culture: present situation and future tasks) Kossuth, 1974. p. 60. In Hungarian.

because of its active character, not only an institutional system but, first of all, a movement which has varied and ever renewing forms, instruments and methods, and which not only waits for the ideal external conditions but, by displaying initiative and adapting itself to the possibilities, creates new conditions and forms.

The strengthening of the influence of Marxism requires not only consistency of principle but a right choice of methods and instruments. This is not a task which must or can be carried but exclusively by administrative measures, by personnel policy or by regulating what is to be published. What is needed in any case is that the central and local Party, state and social bodies in charge of a particular field of action should draw up well-considered and concerted plans that can be relied on, thus creating the conditions for the execution of the resolution. The fulfilment of these tasks requires well-considered plans for training and extension training, an adequate supply of new leaders and their deputies, and a healthy interchange between places of research and education, and other places where scientific work is done, as well as creative and principled ideological debates and political activity.

The 11th Congress formulated the timely points that have to be stressed in art policy, taking its start with the present situation, and real demands and possibilities. I quote from the concisely formulated resolution: "In order to further strengthen socialist features, we should more firmly support socially committed literature and the arts, furthering socialist ideology, by means of principle debates, consistently Marxist critical evaluations and by the assertion of ideological and political responsibility in artistic workshops and editorial offices. Central issues of the working classes and those of socialist construction should be given space according to their significance in works of art."[11] Writers, poets, artists, critics and broadcasters have to sense and know that creative artists and their workshops have never enjoyed the opportunities or had the obligations they have today. The "clerks" have always had great responsibilities. Perhaps even more weighty is the positive responsibility entailed in the handling of everyday matters which they have to assume today for the cultural advencement of the people, which the best of them do assume.

The relation of creative artists to the people can be based only on respect. There is no need, nor is it admissible or possible, to talk down to the people. To imagine that the "masses" want to be entertained in a cheap, philistine manner, while the initiated few enjoy the arts is wrong in both theory and practice. The truth is that everyone needs meaningful, good entertainment,

[11] The 11th Congress etc. op. cit. No. 2, p. 30.

and the arts, radio and television have to satisfy this demand by setting ever higher standards. It is their responsible task to awaken in the people as a whole a demand for real art preparing people for the reception of an art that provides genuine experience ensuring that they become more demanding when it comes to culture.

A variety of demands is a consequence not only of the differences between men, it is a part of the individual personality. Whether one chooses cheap, less good, or really good entertainment depends on what is offered.

The ideal is a meaningful socialist realist art capable of discovering the new. We favour neither schematic, mediocre nor demagogic public-mindedness, nor the pseudo-modernity which confronts the individual and society. The many hues of socialist culture, and greater ideological artistic sensitiveness, are a decisive condition for the arts to find a way to the people. And this is not in the least an inner "cultural" problem but—as the Programme Declaration of the Party indicated—an important factor of the policy designed to construct developed socialism, and ensure the predominance of the Marxist world view, and of an up-to-date socialist way of life.

This is a period of accelerated historical changes. Thanks to the growth of economic and political contacts and technological changes in the media, individual men and women are now aware of these processes. Awareness of the close connection between our lives and those of other peoples is therefore increasing. A fundamental aim of Hungarian foreign policy, and of the international policy of the Communist parties, including the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is to take an active part, to the best of our ability, in the history of our times, in the international trial of strength between socialism and capitalism, and to secure thereby good conditions for the construction of developed socialism at home.

Today, when a fraction of the piled-up weapons of mass destruction would be sufficient to annihilate, when peace is really the most jealously guarded treasure of humanity, one can think and act responsibly and sensibly only in this context. A sense of responsibility for the fate of the world determines the peace policy of the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place, a policy which is fully aware that the cause of peace and socialism are indivisible, that at the current stage of the class struggle, peaceful coexistence and détente are important new elements of the history of our age.

This means that we do our best to ensure that no force is used to solve controversial international issues. This policy is a class policy, since it creates favourable conditions for our work of socialist construction and also allows us to meet internationalist obligations serving the cause of progress,

national independence, socialism and peace throughout the world to the best of our ability. The competition and struggle of social systems and the related ideological fight are inseparable from the political practice of peaceful coexistence. This struggle will be decided by the results of social practice and the force of ideas. The long-term historical superiority of socialism is already today a basic and genuine superiority. It is palpable in spite of the contradictions of development and of the temporary successes of imperialism, although these are—it is enough to think of Chile—"successes" which turn new and new millions against imperialism. The growing influence of Marxism which radiates far beyond the national boundaries of the socialist countries, the economic and cultural progress of the countries of the socialist community, the humanism of the socialist mode of life—all this speaks for itself, but this is not enough, we must also learn to speak for it, and learn to present it in keeping with the truth.

Our ideology and our policy alike protect intellectual values and the creation and equitable distribution of new values. We have every right to claim that, from the point of view of the social, cultural, human achievements built upon economic and social development, and that of the harmonious perfection of social communities and individual man, the superiority of socialism but also its basic otherness, and the superiority which naturally ensues therefrom already prevail.

The considerable progress made by socialism offers genuine backing and evidence valid at home and abroad for propagating the successes of the world socialist system and Hungary. There is no cause for silence regarding contradictions and problems of development either. They are those of a new and superior world under construction. We must speak frankly about our problems, and let us not wait for bourgeois propaganda to raise and "answer" them by exaggerations and distortions. Being on the offensive in this way lends credit to the presentation and exposure of the crisis phenomena of the capitalist social system, and of its antidemocratic, anti-humanist tendencies.

What we are doing is to promote the propagation of the truths of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism. The dangers of undermining attempts should neither be overestimated nor minimized. The former involuntarily leads to defensiveness. If one asks who has more to be afraid of, the answer is unambiguously imperialism, the opposite camp. Truth and strength are on the side of socialism the number of the followers and allies of socialism in the capitalist countries and the Third World being substantially higher than our opponents think, higher even than we think.

There is need for cultural and scientific co-operation with representatives of capitalism, but argument and ideological confrontation are also needed.

There is need for an exchange of views as well, but not for a switch of ideas and ideologies! The bourgeois system has the advantage as regards "ideology factories". But we do not compete by the manipulating methods of bourgeois propaganda. Our advantage lies in the truth and strength of our ideas, and in the backing they are given by reality. We have to represent our ideas and achievements more boldly and with more persuasive force: we have to criticize the bourgeois ideology more resolutely, from more aspects still.

The socialist meaning of Hungarian national existence, and Hungary's membership of the socialist community, also require the growth of ideological co-operation with the friendly countries. The construction of socialist society has fundamental, general laws and requirements of general validity. The violation or neglect of these can do serious harm to the community of socialist countries, but also to any one of them. At the same time an interpretation abstracted from their spatio-temporal conditions and the underestimation of what is peculiar to particular nations can also lead to harmful consequences. The collective experience of the construction of socialist society is a source of indispensable strength for the entire socialist community. The mutual analysis of experiences and comparison with Hungarian practice is an essential requirement and content of co-operation which by developing knowledge of one another, also strengthens national self-knowledge. It is the very recognition and enforcement of general laws which make it possible better to understand and develop characteristic national features. While the cosmopolitanism of capitalist countries weakens and atrophies national qualities, the unity of the socialist countries, within the fundamentally common laws and common course, offers scope to heterogeneous national development. Interdependence and co-operation have given new meaning to the term socialist nation. As a consequence of the internationalist character of the working class, its leading class, it is also a member of a historically new type of international community, and a sovereign, equal partner in it. This is a powerful force which multiplies the strength of the peoples of the particular socialist countries, a force which, based on an essential identity of interests, is a fundamental condition of the development of all socialist nations, and at the same time an organic part of the worldwide struggle of the proletariat against all forms of exploitation. There one can find solidarity with the national liberation and anti-imperialist movements, and a guarantee for the successful safeguarding of peace and the active promotion of universal human progress.

Internationalism is a process and force inseparable from the proletariat and from the international working-class movement. It is part of socialism and a process and force which really endanger and historically roll back the

international bourgeoisie. At the same time internationalism serves also the national interests of all socialist countries. Socialist patriotism and internationalism are therefore interdependent, mutually complementing and reinforcing notions, interrelated traits of commitment to socialism and to one's country. The realization and practical enforcement of their unity is a basic requirement of the struggle waged for the building of socialist society and for the worldwide victory of socialism.

An important duty is to ensure social patriotism that is given a modern "economic" meaning as well, an attitude of working people which is at the same time patriotic in the given context, an attitude which promotes production and its efficiency, and can thereby turn economic development to the common advantage of the individual, the nation and the community of socialist countries. Under capitalism economic development benefits the capitalists, under socialism it has to serve the good of all people, that is of the whole of society. An understanding of the national importance of work, making this understood, the shaping of socialist labour morale into a "national morality" constitute an essential new meaning of socialist pattriotism and an important ideological and moral condition strengthening socialist national unity, developing active patriotism and overcoming indifference to national matters.

We do our work in circumstances which do not confront us with the enormous difficulties of thirty years ago but which require us to solve complicated new questions day after day, expecting a common effort from those who hold dear the cause of progress, and the worldwide historic advance of socialism.

CHANGES IN THE WORLD ECONOMY AND HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC POLICY

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

In this paper I attempt to answer two closely connected questions. The first is: how do the changes occurring in the world economy influence the Hungarian one, to be more specific, the conditions of its growth? The second is: what has to be done within the Hungarian economy in order to be able to maintain, or at least approximate, a growth rate in keeping with the inner dynamism of socialist society?

Answering the first, one has to begin with some facts that are not new to theorists but important in their practical consequences.

The present condition of the world economy can be either favourable or unfavourable from the aspect of the growth of particular economies. This frame of reference has a direct effect of almost elementary force in the capitalist world, and is more indirect and can be tempered in socialist economies. Due to the more indirect and reduceable nature of this effect views have always existed arguing that the negative effects of the world market can be parried and averted by socialist economies. However, those who argue in that manner treated the effects of an objective economic process (e.g. rising prices) and the methods by which the internal mechanism of a given economic system mediate or digest these effects as equal. If something has to be bought on world markets at higher prices, production costs rise and the conditions of profitability change in all industries using the raw material or product concerned. The state budget may compensate enterprises in some form, but it needs additional revenues to do so. The question is from what sources the budget is able to obtain them, and how much—leaving the other objectives of the plan unaffected—without endangering equilibria. In addition the question arises whether enterprises which purchase part of their materials as governed by prevailing value relations but obtain others following subsidized, are able to make rational economic decisions.

The mere description of the simplest processes linking imports and the domestic economy makes it obvious that the effect reaches the national economy at full intensity, and at the best this may be tempered, keeping the interests of enterprises and of consumers in mind.

The question must consequently be asked whether, in case of a change occurring in a very important factor of the system of conditions, it is possible to leave unchanged an economic strategy the rationality of which is a function of the system of conditions in question.

When answering we have to take into consideration that the sensitivity of the Hungarian economy to the world economy is extremely high. The share of foreign trade is high within the national product, the link between the growth in national income and the growth of imports is highly intensive (1 : 2, 1 : 3), the weight of those industries, plants and agricultural estates is great in the economy the optimum exploitation of which assumes considerable exports, and that, through trade, additional means of development and up-to-date technical equipment are introduced into the economy. It is obvious that an economy dependent to such an extent on external economic relations is more heavily affected by changes in the international frame of reference than those economies in which foreign trade is primarily that component of rational management by which savings or additional profits may be achieved compared to the satisfaction of various demands from domestic sources.

Let me now examine briefly the character, nature, intensity and time interval (lasting, short-range, non-recurrent, cyclical, etc.) and the scale of the economic phenomena which started the new era in the world economy.

The Long-range Factors of Changes in the World Economy

Among factors of lasting, long-range and strategic economic importance we find such as the relationship between mankind and non-renewable resources, between man and his natural environment, the nutritional problems connected with the rapidly growing population, the crisis and dangers of technology, as well as the economic struggle between the industrialized capitalist countries and the developing world for the redistribution of economic power, the factors of production and income. Of these I only wish to discuss the crisis of technology at this stage, as well as the nature and likely prospects of the economic struggle initiated by the developing world.

The "crisis" of technology is caused by the fact that the majority of the

world's population, that of the developing countries, is unable to fully adapt modern technology given the present distribution of economic resources and capacities. Intermediate technological stages or those derived from the conscious further development of inherited practice are needed. Most up-to-date technology is of a labour-saving nature, which means that the absorbing capacity of modern industry is unable to solve the problem of employment in overpopulated countries. In addition, doubts have arisen in the developing countries concerning those models of industrial development which have led to overorganized, polluted centres of settlement separated from nature. In the existing situation, some achievements of technological progress (nuclear technology, regulation of the climate, etc.) can be applied only with the greatest circumspection and amidst extraordinary perils in the developed world, while other achievements can be adapted only in a limited way in the developing countries. It is even argued by some that, in the course of the economic progress of the third world, "entirely new" technology has to be developed independent of what is done elsewhere. Some even say that technology is not "neutral" ideologically, i.e. it carries to the adapting country the way of living, culture and system of the country that invented it.

The struggle for the redistribution of economic power between the developing world and the industrialized capitalist countries has begun. The oil crisis was the first round. It was conducted by both parties making use —while carefully watching certain limits—of all possible means (military threats, political pressure, economic means, etc.). The oil-producing countries did not desire the collapse of the capitalist system nor did the capitalist countries want to throw over the political leadership and ruling class of the conservative Arab countries. That was the only limitation on the struggle. The Arab countries gained considerable advantages without the capitalist world being noticeably weakened by the pressure to which it was subjected.

As the next step the developing countries, disposing of important raw materials, first organize cartels (sometimes these have an inter-governmental rather than an inter-company nature) and then endeavour to conclude long-term commodity price agreements at the highest possible levels. At some points the economic struggle becomes more acute, at others negotiations lead to compromises and price agreements. All sorts of situations can be imagined on the way: a refusal to deliver, an embargo or counterembargo, military threats, political pressure, etc.

The long-range economic struggle between the industrialized capitalist countries and the developing world, in which acute engagements and temporary agreements alternate, will be a very important component of the

restlessness and instability which is going to be typical of economic processes in the immediate future. Artificial attempts at driving prices up or down, the diversion of purchases, interventionary purchases, intentionally caused troubles, etc. will be frequent. In the course of this struggle the developing countries cannot give up "their ability to cause trouble", since the economic power of the industrialized capitalist countries is great, but their economic sensitivity high, while the situation of the developing countries is the reverse.

In both respects changes are taking place, at greater speed in the latter case, but the situation is not likely to be significantly different in this decade.

Short-term, Cyclical Effects

The structural crisis of the capitalist world should be mentioned first amongst economic phenomena that have a great effect but are short-range, cyclical and concrete. In the second half of 1975 certain signs of a revival can already be discerned in the capitalist economy, but strong restrictive factors operate as regards a real boom or long-term stability.

The following may be considered such restrictive factors in the world of concrete economic phenomena (we have already spoken of the long-range world trends the effects of which came to be felt to an increasing extent):

(a) The inevitable increase of production costs (it is another question that in the longer range the increase of costs may further technological progress),

(b) the presumable strengthening of inflationary processes in the case of the expansion of economic activity,

(c) the growing public debt and balance of payment difficulties,

(d) the continuation of a certain level of unemployment (today unemployment varies between 4 and 8 per cent in the most important capitalist countries, it may be assumed that this will diminish but will continue to vary between 2 and 5 per cent),

(e) the utilization of capacities will be substantially below the 85–90 per cent considered optimal in capitalist conditions,

(f) the internal political structures of the capitalist world suffer from increasing difficulties.

In most countries the governments have no firm parliamentary majority, and the earlier checks and balances between the legislative and the trade unions, as well as the legislative and the executives have been upset.

Indications are that in the course of revival the "golden age" rate of

economic growth (4–5 per cent annually) will not be restored and world trade will also grow at a slower pace than in the past ten years. The capitalist world will catch up with 1973 production levels only in 1976, which represents a time loss of three years. This loss of time exists in spite of the fact that in the course of adapting to the circumstances of the crisis and the efforts made to overcome it, the leading capitalist countries have shown considerable flexibility, capacity for cooperation and vigour.

One can draw the conclusion that the capitalist world economy will not be restored and will not be able to create a new "golden age" but will continue to fight tenaciously and in the awareness of its energies in order to maintain as large a part as possible of its present power and influence.

This situation means that we are moving into a nervous period crowded with many unexpected turns and surprises, in which we can slow down and temper unfavourable effects only with the greatest of efforts and maximum circumspection. This applies particularly to small countries of limited economic power.

The Intensity and Order of Magnitude of World Economic Effects

The intensity and order of magnitude of world economic effects have surprised numerous economists and policy-makers. The misunderstanding of the situation is in essence the resultant of two closely interconnected factors (value judgements):

1. Many are inclined to underestimate the concrete economic power of the leading capitalist countries, setting out from the general crisis of capitalism—which is incidentally the resultant of numerous social, political, cultural, moral and economic circumstances.

2. The bilateralism of world economic relations—which is still characteristic of the socialist countries at the present stage of their development—nurtures a way of thinking about the world economy which does not pay sufficient attention to what are called "cross-currents" and to interdependences. It is obvious that important economic events or changes do not affect us directly only, but indirectly as well; i.e. through that system of decisions, counter-measures, or attempts at "jumping the band-wagon", which are caused by the reaction of different countries or enterprises. Insufficient attention is usually paid to this circumstance.

For instance, price changes forcefully affect socialist countries since they —very correctly—have accepted world market prices as the price principle for trade among each other, with the proviso that they will try to eliminate

speculative effects. Since the rise of fuel prices is in its origin the resultant of objective economic processes (the relative shortage of cheap fuels and the expensive or dangerous nature of other methods of energy production such as nuclear power), it is obvious that prices had to be raised in socialist markets as well.

But the effects mentioned assert themselves not only in prices, or through terms of trade, but affect the economy of each socialist country also through changes in the import markets, the trends of the credit markets and the resources used to renew technology. The last-mentioned factor is not, of course, universal but still characteristic of a number of important branches of production.

Due to these effects the economies of the particular socialist countries export less and import more in the present situation, imbalances occur, measures are taken to counteract the latter, etc. The changed situation of the economy affects also the feasible evolution of relations within CMEA, whether Hungary is concerned or some other socialist country. The changed balance in the economic situation reacts on all other economic processes due to the broad interaction of the processes concerned.

Radical Shifts in the Developing World

Under the influence of the changes in the world economy radical shifts—in certain cases it is justified to speak of turns of events—have occurred in the developing world as well. The oil-producing countries, which are as a rule sparsely populated, have acquired great economic power and carry out huge investments in their own economies (Saudi Arabia, Iran, etc.) or invest considerable capital in Western countries. It is typical, for instance, that Saudi Arabia plans to invest 140,000 million dollars between 1975 and 1980. The densely populated countries of South-East Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), as well as the Sahel countries struggling against deteriorating natural and climatic conditions, have been affected extremely unfavourably by these changes. The economic behaviour and way of acting of the developing countries changed radically due to a variety of reasons. The vigorous steps undertaken to have the "new economic order" accepted represent but the beginning of this process.

It is obvious that these effects will also be felt in the economic frame of reference of the socialist countries.

The above-outlined global world problems affect all socialist countries, including Hungary. The problems connected with the biosphere and the

hydrosphere on the one hand cause rises in costs, and on the other, modify those components of the frame of reference of rational economic management which have, until now, influenced investment decisions. Consequently, economic mechanisms must be developed which make the alternative possibilities of the economic management of air and water an organic part of the system of decision-taking. Problems of similar magnitude occur in the national economies also in connection with the other major problems.

I consider it important to comment on the principal components of the misunderstandings mentioned and the inadequate evaluation of the changed situation. I consider it my duty to do so, because mistakes and errors of this nature may be committed in other areas too. It must be seen that all errors which we committed in the course of estimating the expected effects of the world economic situation were, in an earlier period, partly correct and partly misunderstandings of insignificant magnitude. In the period when the web of political and economic interdependence was still large-meshed in international relations, when East-West trade was still restricted to the most necessary economic contacts, the developing countries did not yet represent an independent economic power and system of interests, and global world problems had not yet appeared. An entire system of direct and accessory conclusions was built on the evaluation of the situation carried out in these circumstances and then decisions of international economic policy were formulated on such a basis. The extraordinary acceleration of world developments and of economic developments in particular—unprecedented in the history of mankind—make it inevitable that those fundamental conclusions on which decisions must in the last resort rely should be reappraised at relatively short intervals (annually or every second year). Due to the acceleration of economic progress medium- or long-term factors as well make their effects felt earlier and more widely than in earlier periods of modern economic history.

The Effect of Relations with Capitalist Countries on the Economies of the Socialist Countries

Setting out from the analogy of "belated" reappraisal, the question arises also in domestic socialist economies whether one evaluates the importance and weight of trade with the capitalist countries correctly. Great changes have occurred in this respect. These changes are the resultants of continuous factors progressing at medium speed, but at certain points the quantitative factors become qualitative ones.

In the fifties economic relations with the capitalist countries were an additional factor in socialist economic growth. From the second half of the fifties on, imports from capitalist countries also played a "trouble-shooting" role. In case of a bad harvest bread grains or fodder was imported, and the same applied elsewhere if there was a lag in production. An analysis of the economic effects of today's imports from capitalist countries leads to different conclusions. Since the beginning of the intensive period of economic development

(a) Hungary imports technology to an increasing extent,

(b) imports special materials and semi-finished products which are not yet produced in the quality demanded by modern technology,

(c) makes use of additional means of investment (credits).

In such circumstances Hungary obtains the means necessary for raising the technological standards and augmenting investments in the course of the exchange of goods; i.e. imports have an economy-developing thus strategic economic effect.

The changes in the nature and effects of the economic relations maintained with the capitalist countries are in harmony with the postulates of international politics and economics since the analysis of events and the forecasting of changes both show that

(a) peaceful coexistence and economic isolation are incompatible; i.e. the satisfactory functioning of the European security system presupposes a certain quantity and quality of common economic interests,

(b) due to rapid technological progress both world politics and the world economy evolve under the aegis of interdependence (a system of reciprocal dependences and determinations),

(c) one can conduct substantial trade with the developing world only given a growing orientation towards and interestedness in a growing world economy.

It logically follows that trade with the capitalist countries plays a strategic and not merely a supplementary role in Hungarian growth. The international political interconnections confirm convincingly that this change is in harmony with the new postulates derived from world changes, and that, from this aspect, the further development and strengthening of these relations is desirable.

Due to the deterioration of the terms of trade and the disproportion in the export and import figures a deficit has occurred in the balance of trade and the balance of payments. How can this be redressed? Obviously, either by reducing imports or by increasing exports. In connection with the latter task it must be pointed out that there is no automatic

link between the domestic economy and world markets. This not only means that it is possible to protect industry or growth strategies, but also that the centre of attraction of a considerable part of the goods produced (from the aspect of quality, standards, costs, marketing, etc.) is not the world market; i.e. the goods in question are not "convertible".

In this way imports may be reduced—within reasonable limits—but in order to increase exports the gap between the system of conditions of the domestic market and the world market must be closed. The correctness of this is confirmed by the pattern of Hungarian exports to the capitalist countries, which lags considerably behind not only requirements, but also possibilities.

The Necessity of Export Concentration

An economic policy which is centred on the increase and structural improvement of exports is described as export concentrated. Such a policy must be conducted not only by the Hungarian economy but by every socialist economy which is not able to counterbalance increasing imports and additional means of development exclusively or primarily through an increase in the export of raw materials.

Export concentration—as an economic strategy—means that export interests must be given priority in economic decisions, in the evolution of the organizational forms of the economy, in the selection and regrouping of staff, in trade policy, as well as in public thinking. Export concentration demands more vigorous action in a socialist economy than in a capitalist economy, because in the capitalist economy in general only those goods are produced which are internationally competitive. In the first period of industrialization it is a big advantage enjoyed by socialist economies that due to relative isolation (the separation of domestic markets from external markets) industrial development can be started sooner and over a broader structure than if new industries were required to be competitive from the start. But if industry does not become competitive in conditions of protection, isolation from the outside world has the consequence that the technical and marketing progress necessary for an increase in exports must be achieved in circumstances of disequilibrium. It is obvious that such a huge task can be realized only on a selective basis, in the form of setting interconnected objectives, simultaneously ensuring markets.

In the period of disequilibrium when export concentration is inevitable, the principle of economic rationality—the requirement of highest return or lowest cost respectively—has to be applied in a way which differs from

the usual. Until now this was applied in a relatively closed economy, protected against the effects of the external markets, but now it must be applied in the interest of external relations. The export capacity of a country depends on whether it is able, and in what time, to transform the available or borrowed means into marketable goods and services. Consequently, that investment may be considered most effective which ensures the highest export income.

The entire organization connected with the production and sale of export goods must be reexamined. As is well known, the present economic organization is not built on the unity of processes which are linked to each other in time, technology and economic circumstances, but on their separation. Every interconnected process consists, of course, of different part-processes, which can also be considered independent units, since in the course of organization it is not only the unity of the processes but their articulation as well that is important. However, in the contemporary economy an organization is out of date if its articulating and separating factors assert themselves more forcefully than interconnections.

It should be made possible that on account of export interests, interested economic units should be linked up in a complex way in terms of processes. One of the up-to-date types of exports is, for instance, that of technological systems of infrastructural systems, which includes, of course, organization and training for the activities concerned.

An example are complex—biological, hydrological, geological—technologies of environmental protection; or a health block: from the manufacture of pharmaceuticals to the introduction of health services; a food block: from agricultural production to the sale of processed and deep-frozen products; an educational block: introduction of a type of trade school together with the equipment and necessary teaching aids.

Up-to-date exports can be assured only on the basis of the complexity of services, which means that at the export poles it must be made possible for economic units to be organized on a vertical basis instead of the usual horizontal one.

Larger and more concentrated incentives are necessary for production and export marketing. It follows from the present disequilibrium that, in the course of the realization of the social plan for 1976–80, brakes and restrictions will also be necessary. It is obvious that a whole number of saving measures will have to be introduced, the growth rate of budgetary expenditure will have to be slowed down, as well as the importing of consumer goods, bearing in mind increasing purchasing power. However, the disequilibrium cannot be redressed merely by savings and restrictions, since

the goods saved from domestic consumption cannot be converted into export goods. It is very important that one should continue to stimulate those branches of the economy from which one can expect a restoration of the balance. In order to stimulate exports a number of novel tasks have to be solved for which the present investment system and wages system are not prepared.

New organizational forms are necessary precisely in the interests of complexity (the fullness of services provided). Enterprises (trusts) are needed which are able to ensure the relative fullness of services selected for export purposes, i.e. are organized on a vertical basis. A faster and more effective system of decision-making is needed, which must partly be on the governmental and partly on the enterprise (trust) level. One has to reckon with speedy decision-taking and organizational abilities of competitors. Competitors are as a rule large capitalist corporations which appear on the markets of the developing countries displaying considerable energy, a comprehensive knowledge of the market and of the infrastructure of their place of operation. These capitalist corporations gave proof of their great production and commercial mobility in 1974 when their exports to oil-producing countries considerably increased. It was one of the indirect consequences of this great mobility that the huge monetary surpluses turned out not to be as large as all that. (In 1974 the US increased exports to oil-producing countries by 80 per cent, West Germany by 70 per cent and Great Britain by 50 per cent.)

A higher concentration of highly qualified manpower (from scientific researchers through engineers to skilled workers) is also necessary, since at present this is the only factor of economic growth over which Hungary disposes in relative abundance—if the right conditions are present. The country is short of raw materials, energy, capital and labour in the quantitative sense. But today the progress of the Hungarian economy (the maintenance of the growth rate and equilibrium, and the growth rate of the standard of living) is threatened by the structural and market limitations to exports. To use another approach: the structural and market restrictions of exports are the bottleneck of further economic progress. It is obvious that the relatively abundant factor (the highly qualified labour force) must be concentrated on the elimination of this bottleneck.

The main problem of the system of guidance and the institutional system (planning, economic levers and economic organizations) will be how to reconcile, in the export sector, complex-vertical (block-like) economic action with the inherited forms of branch organization.

If the time is not yet ripe for a full reconsideration of this aspect, the new

principles must be asserted in the export sector as a minimum. If the new units of guidance and of the institutional system, the new types of vertical trusts succeed there, it will be obvious that they are also suitable for the solution of other, less involved, tasks. It can, of course, be imagined that in order to support the special economic associations some special state organ may also have to be temporarily established. The further development of incentives and new organizational forms may give a new impetus to the domestic background of trade within the integration since any novel form of economic relations, the integration is such a new form of relations compared to the traditional trade methods, demands a more vigorous and bolder concept, a more differentiated system of incentives, and an institutional system which is in harmony with the new tasks.

Export Concentration and Integration

In the course of the development and realization of this concept of economic policy great attention must be paid to the needs of the socialist countries cooperating with Hungary in the integration—the Soviet Union in the first place. The scale of needs of the socialist countries united in the integration is not only broad, but also vertically articulated. One may establish mutually beneficial relations assisting each other in the international division of labour in accordance with the requirements of economic rationality. In certain cases Hungary imports goods (equipment) and services surpassing the average technological level, in other cases these are synchronized with the Hungarian level. In other cases again, goods and services are bought which the country no longer wishes to produce, because the labour and capital necessary for the production in question can be used more profitably elsewhere. It is well-known that the economically most developed countries too continue to export types of goods that may not be considered dynamic from the technological aspect, since comparative advantages based on geographic and natural conditions and on production traditions continue. It is nevertheless obvious that a country endowed as the Hungarian national economy is must endeavour to export goods and services belonging to the first and second category, since it disposes of natural-geographic advantages perhaps only in agriculture. Hungary enjoys this advantage only in comparison with countries further north and with less rainfall.

Given the realization of a selective development policy centred on exports, the Hungarian economy becomes capable of satisfying the needs

of higher technical standards. This ambition, which has to be postulated taking the endowments of the Hungarian economy into consideration, may also be considered an integrationary interest, since a country poor in energy and raw materials is unable to establish a balance of exports and imports with a technologically mediocre or low-standard export structure. And an economy suffering from chronic disequilibrium retards both the progress of its integrationary partners and the successful operation of the whole integration.

In connection with the integration it must also be emphasized that a great need will exist for the reconciliation and harmonization of ideas and ambitions (economic policies), but this will have to be realized in a spirit of initiative and innovation. In an integration one must not await everything from above the way cautious bureaucrats do.

Every transition to a larger economic unit creates a new situation concerning the competency of decision-taking centres and sub-centres. It is however obvious that the achievement of a higher standard will require a more forceful concept and bolder initiative on every level of decision-taking than the previous situation did.

Consequently, a selective and up-to-date structure centred on exports is an attribute of the frame of reference of the integration just as it is of other markets.

Through the integration one may build up this structure in the spirit of careful planning and mutual assistance. But within the integration Hungary must develop forces and resources to the maximum, in the country's interest, those of its trading partners, and of the integration. In a world economy which is changing at such unheard of speed, the greatest, and only, safety consists in the dynamic transformation of structures, and the greatest uncertainty is hidden in their narrow-minded freezing.

Summing up let me emphasize once again that

(a) the present changes represent a turn of events in post-Second World War economic history. The world economy is undergoing renewal in its institutional system as well. In this new period of economic history the gradual and successful following of past intimations is replaced by pioneering which is made necessary by a better approach to the future, made necessary by many scientific, economic and political uncertainties.

(b) These changes shake the foundation of the frame of reference of the growth of the Hungarian economy at a point in time when the economy has become more sensitive to world processes, due to well-known reasons.

(c) The sense of these effects is unequivocally negative, but if an

adequate economic strategy is successfully realized, the growth rate derived from the internal dynamism of socialist society may still be maintained.

(d) The socialist world may turn the changes in the world economy to its own benefit after a difficult but short transitory period if, through export concentration, it creates, in its world economic relations, the fundamental conditions for convertibility.

(e) Again, convertibility of socialist currencies would open up a new chapter in the history of the world economy and further an end to the lack of symmetry which exists between the political and the economic power positions of the CMEA countries.

MEETING THE GENERAL

Short story

by

IVÁN BOLDIZSÁR

"I have been giving a lot of lectures to foreign students lately," said Gábor Medvei, the architect. "The devil only knows why these kids from, let's say, Nebraska, want to know about 'Historical townscapes and modern architectural modes of expression'. Because that's the kind of thing I'm lecturing about, but..."

This is the best of life, thought Gábor Medvei, allowing his sentence to peter out unfinished. To sit in a small anchored sailing-boat on Lake Balaton at three in the afternoon, rest your head against the inner rim of the cockpit where the nape fits comfortably, and peer with half closed eyes at the sky. I'm going to live forever, Gábor Medvei decided.

"You have fallen asleep in the middle of a sentence, Uncle Gábor." It was Laura who startled him out of his reverie.

"So I have," replied Gábor Medvei. He put up with everything from Laura, impudence, impertinence, heckling, even being pushed into the water. "What was I saying?"

"American students."

"Well, it's the discussion period after the lecture that they're more interested in too. Then when it becomes quite clear that they don't understand anything about Hungarian things, I usually tell them that we are a generation older than our western contemporaries. And when they don't understand that either, I tell them a few stories."

"Is it going to be long?" teased him Laura.

"When I design the facade of a building I know exactly where my drawing-paper ends. I like to tell stories because they let me reach beyond the edge of the paper."

He propped himself a little higher up in his half-reclining position. He had sat like this after leaving grammar school, in another boat, listening to his elders.

"It won't be short. You know that in my young and foolish days I got mixed up in politics and was, for a time, an under-secretary in one of the ministries. In the spring of 1949 we were expecting a delegation from Bulgaria. The minister did not feel like going to the airport so I had to go. I had a huge, black Hudson—they don't make them in America any more. Airport receptions bored me even more than conferences so, just to make it a bit more tolerable for myself, I took along one of my assistants to clue me in on the latest news. He warned me that one of the members of the delegation was a general and a military guard of honour had been sent to receive him. 'Do I have to review the troops?' I asked, terrified but laughing. 'You certainly do, sir,' replied my assistant."

Gábor Medvei proceeded to tell them how the Ferihegy airport manager greeted and accompanied him to the reception area in front of the airport terminal. The guard of honour was already there, complete with brass band. The airport chief reported that the plane would be landing in ten minutes. A command rang out and the guard of honour snapped to attention; a captain reported to another officer, then turned back to the troops and ordered a right about-face. The other officer approached Gábor Medvei with long, even, dignified strides. Medvei noticed red general's stripes on his trousers.

"Before I could blink twice," Gábor Medvei continued, "the general stood at attention before me, reporting, 'Mr. Under-Secretary, the guard of honour numbers one hundred and four men.' As representative of the government at that moment he reported to me, but I couldn't get used to it. All my life I have always taken whatever I did seriously, but I never learned how to take myself too seriously. The general requested permission to introduce himself. I nodded and, for the first time, looked at his face. He, too, looked at me for the first time. I felt the blood rush from my head. Immediately I recognized the counter-intelligence captain who, fourteen years earlier, at the Miklós Horthy Avenue prison, had... well... who had dealt with me. He, too, recognized me. He gave his name, but I didn't get it. He had also given it to me at the first interrogation, but I didn't get it then either. True, I'd just had my ear-drum split, so I didn't hear very well. There we stood, facing each other. The general finished his sentence with obvious difficulty, then waited, stiff as a ramrod. There was a slight movement of his right hand. I was expected to offer my hand. My elbow twitched. If someone introduces himself you're supposed to shake hands with him, but my arm refused to rise, not even as much as thirty degrees. I just couldn't touch that hand."

"Why not?" asked Laura's husband, the taciturn Géza.

The small cloud had grown and was now blotting out the sun. Gábor Medvei shivered. He asked for a light cover. He could still see the general's arm jerk back, and at the end of that arm, the white-gloved hand. Back then he had not been wearing gloves. It was only on the second day that Medvei was taken to the captain. Stand to attention, the guard had ordered when marching him into the room. Leather furniture, carved desk, curtains at the window. A tall, broad-shouldered man in civilian clothes sat behind the desk. Gábor Medvei didn't look at his hands. Open-faced, sun-tanned and sitting as straight in the high-backed chair as a man on horseback. He looked up once, then turned back to his papers again.

"Your name is Medvei?" he asked.

"Yes," replied Gábor Medvei.

"I beg your pardon?" the captain was still not looking at him.

"Report properly," the guard whispered in his ear.

Medvei had not done his military service yet. Uncertainly he said that it was Gábor Medvei reporting.

"Don't be impertinent or you'll regret it."

Vaguely Gábor Medvei recalled some military language from novels and plays.

"Gábor Medvei begs to report, sir," he said.

"I thought you knew how to do it. You were deliberately provoking me, weren't you? You want to try my patience, don't you?"

"No," said Medvei.

"I beg you pardon," he said again.

A few years later, a new recruit, a loutish corporal played the same game with him. By then, Medvei knew the right answers but withheld them deliberately. However, there, before the captain, he didn't know what he had done wrong. How could the little word "no" be misunderstood? "No", he repeated more loudly.

For the first time, the captain looked at him. "I'm not deaf, but you will be in a moment. Come closer!" Medvei took a step forward. "Closer. All the way, in front of the desk." Medvei obeyed. The captain rose a little in his chair and hit him full force on the side of the face. The blow landed on Medvei's left cheek, the cheek-bone and the base of the ear. His skin smarted as if he had been stung by a mammoth wasp, but the pain shooting through his ear was as piercing as a dentist's drill touching and lingering on a nerve. He reeled, raising his hand to his ear. The pain did not subside. He felt a warm wetness on his palm and looked at it. Blood was seeping from his ear. "I've got to sit down or I'll collapse... sit down, sit down," he repeated to himself, but he would have had to back away two steps to

reach the chair and he had neither the strength nor the courage to do so. Ever since he was a child he had hated vomiting. Anything but that. The nausea gave him back some self-control. He staggered but did not fall.

The stony face of the captain merged with the carved animal head on the high back of the armchair. Later he thought that the powerful blow might have impaired the focus mechanism of his vision, for while he saw the captain's face through a haze, he saw his hand with great sharpness. Even in his state of vertigo and nausea he noticed that the captain was wearing a heavy signet ring, not on his fourth, but on his middle finger. The ring was set with a dark purple stone. It was still there on the middle finger of the general at the airport. Seeing it, Gábor Medvei backed away a little. He was backing away from himself and his impulse to hit the general with every ounce of strength in him, as he had never hit anyone before, right there, in front of the guard of honour. Then he simply turned away. The general stood there for half a minute and then, like a recruit in the barrack yard, executed a smart about-face, and in a low voice gave an order to the captain of the guard of honour, who at last ordered his men to stand at ease.

The assistant who accompanied Gábor Medvei asked what was wrong. "You look pale, sir." He assured him it was nothing. The young man was observant. "Do you know this general, sir? He behaved very strangely." Strangely? He hadn't noticed anything strange. He didn't even know the general's name. "He introduced himself, sir." Did he? He hadn't heard. "Brigadier-General Lajos Kapy, sir."

"And why didn't you want to shake hands with him?" asked little Lali, the deck-boy.

"I was feeling choosy", Gábor Medvei lightly replied.

He had never again come into contact with the captain's hand. During subsequent interrogations the edge of his palm merely rested on the desk, and when he raised it a little, one of the zealous young men behind Gábor Medvei would respond with a hit, twist, wrench or kick.

"I don't get this business about the name," said Laura. "When you got out of there, didn't you try to find out the name of the captain who had interrogated you?"

"I was happy to be alive. And remember, I was very young, not more than twenty-three... I'd been kicked out of my job over this affair and it took me six months to find another at Szekszárd, with a miserable monthly salary of 80 pengős. I must admit that it never even occurred to me to try and find out who he was."

"But what about him? That general, or captain or whatever? Wasn't

he scared when he read in the papers that you had become a big noise in politics?"

"You don't miss anything, do you Laura?" Gábor Medvei complimented her. "I thought about that, too, on my way back from the airport. But the answer's simple. Either he didn't read the papers, or he didn't notice the announcement. But even if he did, how could he remember, after all those years, the name of one of his many patients?"

"Hey, you silly kids," put in Tibor, the skipper of the boat. "The question you've forgotten to ask is how Gábor was arrested by counter-intelligence in the first place?"

"There was oppression," said Lali.

How explicitly the history of our age is taught, thought Gábor Medvei. He told them that he had been arrested as a spy for the Czechs. In those days in the early 'thirties he had been simultaneously fascinated by Le Corbusier and by arcaded buildings. As he couldn't go see the House of the Sun in Marseilles, he wanted at least to go to Lőcse and Telč in Slovakia and Bohemia to have a look at the arcades in their main squares. That was how he met Straka, the cultural attaché of the Czechoslovak Legation. Those in power did not look with favour upon this connection, especially as Gábor Medvei was already on the black list for two articles he had written, one on unsanitary village houses and the other about a new type of peasant architecture, which, naturally, presupposed a land reform. They decided to scare young writers, artists and architects away from contact with Straka by arresting a few as Czech spies.

"I accompanied the Bulgarian delegation to their hotel then went back to the ministry, but I couldn't concentrate on what was said to me. Again and again I saw the large palm of the captain's hand. A small bottle of Parker's ink on the edge of my desk turned into the purple stone of the captain's signet ring. I felt a sharp stabbing pain in my left ear, although for years that ear-drum had only done service as a weather forecaster. More than once I reached for the phone to call up the Defence Minister and tell him what kind of generals he was employing. Or should I call up Lajos Kapy and ask him: "How are you, Captain? When did you last beat up a Czech spy?" Or should I go to his flat, hit him a couple of times in the face and walk away? Once I went as far as dialling the number of the Defence Ministry but after the first ring I hung up the receiver. I had never before experienced a desire for vengeance but now the new sickness was acute, taking possession of my mind and I felt feverish."

"I rang my secretary, told her not to admit anyone and to disconnect the phone. Then I pushed two armchairs together, lay back in one, put my

feet up in the other and began to think. I waited until the tide of fever ebbed from my brain and its convolutions reappeared above the waves. If that man was now a general in the new army he must certainly have done something to deserve it. Perhaps he had come to his senses in '44; perhaps, he had begun to think after Stalingrad. He may have been in contact with Vilmos Tartsay, who, as you have probably been taught, was the chief of staff of the resistance. Perhaps as a prisoner of war he had been chosen for anti-fascist training by the Russians. The tide ebbed further and my brain began to function normally. He may even have been a member of a resistance group. I really ought to ask the Minister of Defence about him, I thought, and turned to the phone. No. Impossible. What am I to say if he asks me why I want to know? That I had just met him at the airport and was curious about his past?"

"And what would have been wrong with that?" said Laura.

"Apparently American students aren't the only ones who have trouble understanding things. All I have to say is 'spring, 1949' and Tibor here, and all my contemporaries, automatically remember the stifling atmosphere of those days, when anyone who was alive was suspect. I would have drawn suspicion to myself by the mere fact that I was interested in a general."

"You were scared, Uncle Gábor, admit it, and that's why you kept your mouth shut."

"Well, yes and no. But you've put your finger on something. And that's, partly what my story is about. For a while I was submerged in the waves of a torrent of vengeance. Do you remember, when the other day we were caught in that storm below Zánka, when the first waves swept over the deck, we were all drenched, we were shivering in our skins, but inside, we were scorched with fear. All of us grabbed for something, rope, tiller, cabin door; we snatched up our things to save them, leaned to the weather side to counteract the listing of the deck, but deep down we were all thinking, Jesus, if only nothing happens to me, if only I don't fall in, if only I can hang on to the hull and not be swept under if it overturns. There was a minute, then, when I only thought of myself, and so did you, Laura, and so did all of us. But to me, in my office in the ministry, that minute was an hour, a week, a month. I re-lived every second of my arrest. The cold terror when those two black-hatted men rang our doorbell at six in the morning. The hurried dressing. My mother's wordless trembling. The shame when fear moved my bowels and I had to ask permission, in my own home, to go to the bathroom. And the fury when they would not allow me to close the door. The aching emptiness in my stomach in the black automobile as we crossed Margaret Bridge in the early morning.

The despair at the thought that I might not see the Danube again, perhaps for years. They might even shoot me, for there was martial law in those days. I recalled the moment that no writer has so far been able to really describe, though many of them have been jailed: the deafening silence and blind darkness that descends on you when the door is locked on you from the outside. The knowledge that my mother was crying at home. The humiliation of being addressed by my first name by the guards. The split ear-drum. The teeth loose in the mouth. The feeling of utter helplessness because there was no way of proving my innocence. The state of exhaustion after the twentieth interrogation and the hundredth... the hundredth... outrage, and the longing to confess if they'd only leave me in peace. I'll tell them that I received a letter from Beneš himself, or whatever they want, if they will only stop! Then, after the moments of weakness, stubborn, tenacious anger. No, and no, I won't say anything, even if they kill me! Even if they start drilling my teeth again I'll scream but I won't say a thing! The soundless weeping at night in my cell, and the harsh voice of the guard: get your hands out from under the blanket! All the way! Do you hear! The shaky hope that they'd release me when, at last, I could talk to a lawyer, and being dead alive when they didn't."

Gábor Medvei sighed, rose and allowed the breeze to dry the sweat on his neck and brow. Telling it had made him perspire. "It all came back to me in one chaotic mass and I thought to myself that now, at last, I'll make him pay for it. And for the fact that when they finally released me, knowing perfectly well I had done nothing, and with no other purpose in mind than to frighten us, they kept a police file on me and I couldn't get a passport. I was forty-six when I finally saw the House of the Sun in Marseilles. I wanted that man Kapy to find out how it felt to be arrested at six in the morning! Let his mother or wife tremble and cry. I wanted him to find out what it meant to face a desk, and behind the desk a man in whose hands you are more defenceless than a newborn child in the hands of the midwife, or a patient on the operating table in the hands of the surgeon, or any man in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel on the Day of Judgement. That's what I wanted!"

"But slowly I mastered the storm, the flood no longer engulfed me, the sweat on my clothes began to dry. I went on thinking. This was not simply a private feud between Lajos Kapy and Gábor Medvei. My former captain was now a general in the new army. I didn't know what his duties were, but whatever they were he could do a lot of damage if he were still of his old way of thinking. I really ought to call the Defence Ministry's attention to this man. Or, perhaps, I shouldn't, after all. There were two

possibilities: either they knew about his past or they didn't. If they did, then my warning, or, to call the child by its proper name, my denunciation, would be looked on as meddling on my part. I might even get some nasty answers: what did I think, did I perhaps think that they, of all people, didn't know the meaning of vigilance? Vigilance, that was the word, that was the open sesame of those days. But it was a reverse sesame: it closed every door."

"I continued to think, still working from the premise that they knew about Kapy's counter-intelligence past. They know it, I thought, but accept it because of his good conduct later on. If, however, in my full ministerial dignity, I now start the whole thing up again, I upset the status quo, they would be forced to take proceedings against him. Oh, yes, quite possibly Lajos Kapy would be sentenced, but I should certainly make a lot of enemies and I'd have to pay for it. Many of the military and their like would work up a vendetta against me for butting in on things that were no concern of mine."

"On the other hand, suppose his superiors know nothing about his past, did I have the right to kick a man back into the dirt? A lot of water had passed under the bridge since he interrogated me in 1935. And the world had changed in the meantime, turned upside down. Perhaps he had already changed his views in 1938. Perhaps he had shown courage in the resistance, or after being taken prisoner about which I had no idea. There was really no room for doubt. He must have done something really important because otherwise, as a former Horthy officer, he could never have become a general in this new world."

"I suppose you can guess that this is something I don't tell my American students," said Gábor Medvei, looking round to see whether they were still listening. They're staring at me, he thought, like the hero of a TV thriller and he was not very happy about it. "This is not a thriller, children," he said and continued in the same breath, unable to stem the tide of memories. "What I'm going to tell you now is something I've never even really told myself. If I were to unmask Brigadier-General Lajos Kapy, I thought, not only would I antagonize a few ruthless men, but they would suddenly start to practise their wonderful vigilance on me. They would ask me how it happened that the counter-intelligence branch released me? What? They simply let you go? Are we supposed to believe that? Was that the customary practice of the Horthy police and counter-intelligence? They would then begin to drop hints, dig a bit here and there, or even start investigating to find out what services I had offered in exchange for my release. What little favours, or perhaps important services, had enabled me

to be left in peace? How could I prove that I hadn't done anything? In those days the air was heavy with the sulphurous smell of suspicion. No, thank you, I wanted none of that. That's what I was afraid of."

"At the same time, I wondered what that man was thinking. He had recognized me. Perhaps he had even dug up my name from the geological strata of memories of countless interrogations. He, too, must be sitting in his office at the Ministry of Defence, or in the barracks, head in hands... and when I got to this point I had to take a second deep breath. Perhaps he is looking at his hands remembering what they had done before he set out on his road to Damascus. Perhaps he is wondering whether he should call me up or even come and see me. Or telephone his minister and report the incident. Perhaps, he's wondering whether he shouldn't take out his service revolver and... He's suffering, I thought. And that was enough for me. For days, for weeks, for months he will sit there, trembling, waiting for me to denounce him. Let that be his punishment. My thirst for vengeance, which at first would have needed a microscope to be detected, and which only a few minutes before had been spreading like cancer cells, had shrivelled away in a few hours. I had always believed in the human capacity to change. Lajos Kapy has changed. Let him live in peace if he knows how. And that set my mind at ease."

There was a brief silence. Gábor Medvei listened to the gentle lapping of the waves against the cedar-wood body of the boat.

"That is not all. I was really glad I hadn't told anyone about Lajos Kapy only a few months later, when I learned that he, too, had been arrested in the Rajk affair and later, in October 1949, had been executed."

"On trumped-up charges, of course, like the others. You can imagine how I would have felt if I thought that my denunciation had even partly contributed to his death. I would never have forgiven myself if my story had figured in the indictment. The human soul is so strangely constructed that I was even sorry for him. I'd never wanted him dead, not even in the cell of the counter-intelligence prison in 1935."

The silence of the Balaton, woven of a million tiny noises (restful to the ear as the smooth mirror of the lake soothes the eye) regained its ascendancy.

"Do you tell this part of the story to your American students?" Géza asked, surprised.

"Yes, I do. But it still isn't finished. From then on, the death of Lajos Kapy gave me no peace. For a few months after it happened, it gnawed deeply into my consciousness. I should add that I had never before thought of the counter-intelligence prison except perhaps when talking to Czechs, and then I never mentioned that I had once been their 'spy'. What for?

It was finished and done with. But in those stifling 'fifties I dreamed every other night that I was standing at attention before Lajos Kapy, in his office, who was wearing his general's stars, humbly informed me, that, on orders from above, he was compelled to hit me in the face. Or I dreamed ... no, that was no longer a dream but rather my first, hazy thought on awakening, that it was me he had cursed when he was arrested. He knew himself to be innocent as far as the present was concerned, and he was, so what else could he think but that he had been called into account for the past. And since they hadn't done it before, what other reason could they have now except my vile denunciation? Perhaps he stepped on the scaffold believing I was his murderer."

"Only after 1956 did I really begin to breathe freely, for then I learned from one of the defence lawyers, who, naturally," Gábor Medvei turned to Tibor, "was an old classmate of ours, that it never came out at the trial that Kapy had worked for Horthy's counter-intelligence. They were looking for a square to fit into the mosaic of their fictitious structure, and Lajos Kapy happened to be that little stone. He was accused of having been recruited as a Belgian spy and of working through the Belgians for the French Deuxième Bureau. 'Why the Belgians,' I asked, amazed. 'Simple,' explained the lawyer. 'As a small boy, after the First World War, a relief organization sent him to Belgium to regain his health, along with many other thin and underfed Budapest children. He and his Belgian foster parents had come to love one another, and he kept in touch with them and with his Belgian "brothers". One of the boys who had made a career for himself in diplomacy visited Budapest with an UNRRA delegation in '45 and that was, of course, when he recruited Lajos Kapy. Simple and obvious, said our former classmate. Kapy had been a Belgian spy just as I had been a Czech spy. I also learned from the lawyer that Kapy had joined the resistance movement through Vilmos Tartsay and that was how he had been accepted by the new army. It didn't make any difference to him, but I was glad I hadn't said anything."

"Maybe..." said Tibor.

"No, you're right", said Laura, with great conviction. "You don't have him on your conscience, Uncle Gábor."

"Thank you. Though lately I have begun to think it would have been better to denounce him."

Laura almost fell into the water. "You're kidding?"

"Had I denounced him, it would have forced an investigation. Even if they were aware of his past, there would still have been a scandal. He would have been relieved of his rank, thrown out of the army, indicted

and taken before court. He would have been given five years, or six, or at most, ten. He could have left the country in 1956. Or, he could have stayed and started a new life. But he would be alive. Today, he would be a land surveyor, or a forester, a traffic warden in front of the Annabella Hotel or even only a night watchman. But he would be alive. Or his sons would be supporting him and he'd be leading a life of leisure. But he would be alive. Had I yielded to my desire for vengeance, he would already have been in prison by the time the Rajk affair started. They would have had to look for someone else to fit into the mosaic, and he would be alive. And this is something I don't tell my American students."

Translated by Kathleen Szász

THE NEW BUDA CASTLE

by

MÁTÉ MAJOR

After its many historical vicissitudes the former Royal Castle of Buda has begun to have its long deserved reconstruction. The complex of splendid medieval palaces, including the Gothic buildings of the Anjous and Emperor Sigismund, and the Renaissance buildings of Mathias Corvinus began to deteriorate after Buda's occupation by the Turks in 1541 and fell completely into ruin in 1686 during the bitter fighting for its reconquest. With a view of the Danube bank, the Royal Castle as it was known to the world until 1944, was started in 1715 on the southern part of Castle Hill. The original building was Baroque; the palace was successively enlarged on the north and the west sides, and fully completed in 1905 in a somewhat secessionist Neo-Baroque style. This complex of buildings was again destroyed at the end of World War II when, in the last months of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, the Germans used it in their final retreat from Budapest, and thus exposed it to attack and its final destruction by fire.

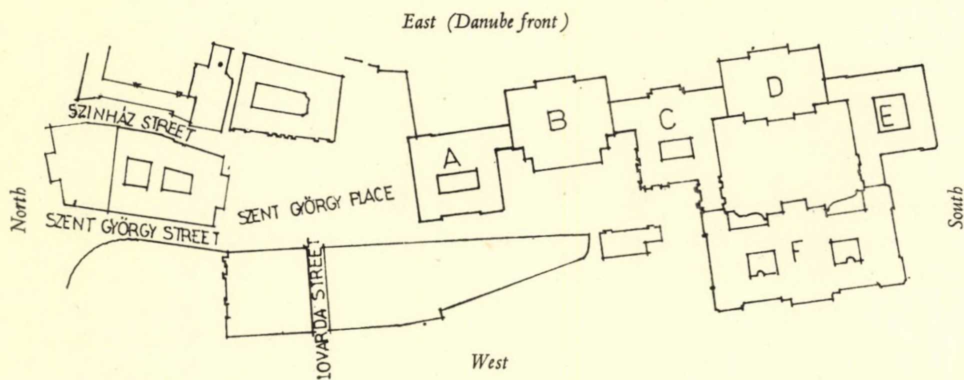
The first plans for reconstruction were made at the end of 1949. Because of the enormous costs of building, work intermittently ceased and stopped altogether between 1956 and 1959. Two other obstacles intervened as well: uncertainty about the building's eventual purpose and the discussions about the methods of reconstruction.

The first idea was to accommodate the highest party and government offices—those of the President, the Presidential Council, the Prime Minister, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—those offices, in short where many visitors are not expected from outside. Another suggestion was to build it into a university town, and even make it a tourist centre with a sumptuous hotel. Building was already in progress when the final decision was made to turn the Castle into the palace of Hungarian culture.

It was not easy to decide on a style of restoration; the topic was contro-

versial and the controversy has not subsided even with the final completion of the rebuilding. Generally in restoration we apply the principle of rebuilding either according to the latest shape—for those building for which we have remains, drawings and photos as guidelines—or restore partly or completely in accordance with contemporary architectural principles and methods. We, however, chose a third way which—against our own principles—resulted in a late twentieth century historicizing style. The most outstanding example of this is the neo-Baroque cupola in place of the old dome: this kind of cupola never existed, and its proportions and form are not completely successful for moderating the old one's ornamentation, it lost much of its liveliness and became rigid and hard. To this, they added partly reconstructed buildings of the earlier, mostly medieval parts of the old Palace — the castle walls, the club-tower, the big round bastion, its gate and the Gothic hall. Altogether, this re-formed and completed Palace remains the chief architectural attraction of the city's panorama.

The large complex of buildings as seen from the Danube can be divided into five parts on the basis of the plastic effect of its blocks. From north to south the first block (A) is the Museum of the Hungarian Working Class Movement, the second, third and fourth (B, C, D) contain the Hungarian National Gallery, the fifth (E) accommodates the medieval section of the Budapest Historical Museum. The sixth (F) block, joining this ensemble from the west, will house the Széchényi Library (the Hungarian National Library). In addition to these, the former Castle Theatre will be rebuilt to the north near the Palace, and, in the so-called Castle district, several small museums and a number of scientific research institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences have begun to make their home:



Ground Plan of Buda Castle

so the Castle Hill of Buda, the former seat of feudal power, has become the major centre of Hungarian science and art.

There was also a plan to build the new Hungarian Ethnographic Museum on the northern esplanade of the Palace to replace a ruined block, and thus complete the complex of museums, but unfortunately this plan was not carried out. This museum has been transferred to the building facing Parliament which in remote past had been the seat of the Hungarian Royal Supreme Court, and then the National Gallery until the latter's recent transfer to the Castle. It is a pity that the original idea could not be realized because we would at last have got an up-to-date new museum and taken a unique opportunity to put one of the richest and most attractive Hungarian cultural collections in a worthy environment.

I just mentioned that we have no up-to-date museum building which would entirely satisfy contemporary museological requirements. The few buildings which had originally been built as museums are several decades old and are marked by their era's secessionist or neo-classicist architectural styles. In these buildings exhibitions are still subordinated to architecture instead of subordinating architecture to the needs of an exhibition.

The situation is still worse in the majority of Hungarian museums accommodated in buildings which originally had another function. True, inside spaces can be changed more or less at will but the thick main walls, the different heights of storeys and above all, the proportions and size of the portals are obstacles to the application of contemporary museological principles. In the minor or major compromises that must be made, architecture should be the more accommodating, compliant and flexible part.

It is interesting that old, medieval complexes, especially where buildings from different epochs are built on top of each other with interfacing smaller and larger rooms, usually make better museums than later buildings shaped to a disciplined system. They seem to adapt better to museological requirements. In fact, as proved in the Castle by the medieval section of the Budapest Historical Museum it is possible to achieve unique effects and perfect harmony between the architectural framework and the exhibits. It is possible to walk through rooms right and left, up and down, although there are some interruptions in continuity: the raw medieval wall surfaces, niches, nooks and corners serve as contours for the exhibits. The building is a unique museum in Hungary, and more or less anywhere in the world. The Gothic hall and small chapel are museum exhibits at the same time, as is most of the building. Appreciation is less unanimous for the middle part of the neo-Baroque Palace, which is now the museum of Hungarian fine arts. Neither its architectural

nor its museological arrangement is flawless. The overwhelming majority of the public is of course delighted with the entire new museum. The first months since its transfer in October 1975 found almost three times as many people visiting the new National Gallery as the old one. This is due partly to its richer collection but more to its new architectural setting which, with the marvellous panorama over the Danube (and the city visible from all windows of the Palace), enhances the possibility of appreciating art. The residents of Budapest, and Hungarians in general, are proud of their new cultural treasure.

The museologists, however, are not quite so happy although they acknowledge the considerable advance over previous museums. First, this new and larger building can not fully satisfy the needs of the collection, which will grow in time, but even now, with the interior design and arrangements not yet complete, shortcomings were already noticeable. It is obvious that the final arrangements will have to include auxiliary exhibition space such as folding-screens, etc. which will only accentuate the shortcomings. The exibition halls of the Palace and especially the big halls continue to reflect the building's original purpose: the broad windows and relatively narrow space between them offer too little exhibition surface. Storing the voluminous stocks of the museum becomes an acute problem, with a substantial part of the small plastics collection already in the office and laboratory corridors. The accommodation of scientific and administrative personnel is a further problem. The available office space can conveniently accommodate about half the present staff. There is no room for a staff canteen so that for the time being they eat in the visitors' snack-bar. (A new restaurant will be built in the vicinity.)

The new building does not quite satisfy aesthetic requirements either. At first glance the building's formal aspects fascinate the architect with their rows of rooms and the impressive spaces, of such length breadth and height. The area under the cupola, with one hall adjoined from the right and one from the left, is more than 70 metres long and approximately 10 metres wide. The inferior space under the cupola is two storeys (more than 11 metres) high, while the space reaching to the cupola's closing part measures 32 metres. But if the visitor enters the main entrance from the Danube and steps into the large (at least 20-by-20 metres) vestibule he will be surprised at the feeling of flatness produced by an inner height of only 4 metres. Impressive materials have been used: red and white marble floors and panelling, precious wood and aluminium doors, ceilings full of light, built in some places hidden level with the wall, in others showing diverse plastics ornamentation.

And here the architect's admiration ceases. He thinks of Mies van de Rohe's pertinent admonition: "Less is more". Here too, less would have been more. The restorers were a little carried away by the greatness of their task and could not get rid of the palace image. Indeed, as a consequence of the modified programme they ought to have substantially modified their architectural attitude. While the former palace was called upon to put architecture in the service of Hungarian kings and enhance the splendour of their power, the mission of architecture here was not to surpass such splendour but to emphasize it through the contrast of appropriate humility and modesty. In a museum, architecture should remain in the background and not compete with the exhibits. Objects of art should be placed against neutral, white or light-tone wall surfaces, and the lights which illuminate them should be flexible. Surfaces between two windows are not the best background for paintings and the unmovable light fixtures in the ceiling do not help either. Bronze and gilded statues cannot be put against a red marble background; white stone and marble-like plastic should not be placed in front of real white marble, and works requiring an intimate environment should not have to compete with crude architectural effects. And yet...

*

...and yet we are, and we can be, proud of the concept which has elevated Hungarian culture and art to royal majesty in the former feudal Castle, and we can be proud of the enormous material sacrifices made by the government to realize it. The Palace of Hungarian culture and its scientific and artistic environment are a great work in spite of major or minor criticism: it is the impressive result of the efforts of a small and not rich nation.

(Illustrations to this article begin facing p. Tb.)

DEZSŐ DERCSÉNYI

SOPRON'S MODERN ANCIENT HISTORY

To celebrate European Architectural Heritage Year, the Hamburg FVS Foundation established a Europe Monument Protection Prize, awarding 25,000 marks annually to an individual or association and Gold Medals for outstanding town and monument reconstructions.

At the recommendation of the international jury the prize for 1974 was given to the Polish Professor of Architecture, Jan Zachwatowicz, and in 1975 to the Ente delle Ville Venete. André Malraux was the first to receive the gold medal for the creation of the French Ancient Monuments Act, as did the towns of Colmar and Svaneke (a small Danish fishing-hamlet), and in 1975 the towns of Deventer and Sopron. I should like to discuss at some length the reconstruction of the inner town of Sopron, from the viewpoint of Hungarian monument protection and the history of arts and architecture.

Parts of fifteen towns and two villages in Hungary are under a preservation order which covers not only the reconstruction of historical buildings but also the approval of new building by monuments authorities. All preservation areas, we believe, are part and parcel of the town or settlement—not a reserve or museum show-case, but an area organically connected with the life of the community as a whole.

Monument protection on a large scale following the above principles is extremely complex and often takes several decades to accomplish. It is even more difficult to accommodate the construction of public utilities, road works and a whole range of other needs not connected with the protection of monuments.

The renovation of a section of the Buda Castle has been completed, and by 1977 the reconstruction of the area of Sopron surrounded by a city wall will also have been achieved. While not exceptional in terms of the care Hungarian monuments receive, Sopron is unique in the variety and artistic value of the historical relics it has.

Centuries ago, it was Scarbantia, an important town in the Roman province of Pannonia, whose Amber Road connected the Baltic and Aquileia. As for its artistic life, it will suffice here to mention the monumental torso of the triad of the Capitol. This sculptural group, carved by an artist from Asia Minor in the first century, was found during the building of the Sopron city hall, and is now in a Gothic vault recently converted into a lapidarium.

From a historical view-point, perhaps even more essential is the result of excavations during the reconstruction of the medieval city wall. Previously we believed that the Roman town was surrendered in the fourth century as the Roman administration and the populace fled from the Hunnish invasion and the province was abandoned by the legions. Then, we thought, Sopron came to life again only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, this time built beside St. Michael's Parish Church on a hill far from the original town centre.

In the course of the reconstruction of the medieval city wall, however, evidence of succeeding migrations was discovered: the Huns, Goths, Avars immigrated into the Roman town, using the Roman structures as well as building their own simple houses. It became the administrative centre of the county, the so-called *ispánság* (approx., bailiwick), when the kingdom of Hungary was established in about A.D. 1000. Its tower was built on the old Roman city wall by a specific technique also used in several other places in Hungary: a clay rampart was put on a timber frame and baked. And in the thirteenth century the Roman city wall was

expanded and reconstructed to make the first protective zone of the town. The discovery elucidates the least known period of Hungarian urban history and sheds light on the history of all towns east of the Danube with a Roman past.

It is obvious from the foregoing that Hungarian monument protection has to proceed according to scientific research on city dimensions, not just monument by monument. Archaeological research into the history of arts and architecture produce results that can be used in the reconstruction of individual buildings but also of settlements as a whole.

This principle holds true first of all in the case of residential houses. In the course of the reconstruction we have examined so many houses in the inner town of Sopron we can now safely say that practically all the houses contain walls from the Middle Ages, the latest being fifteenth-century. Moreover, we can trace the development of the houses and the building regulations.

Originally three-sided houses were built, forming a right angle to the street, joined to the next house by brick fencing with a large-scale entrance-gate in it. This northern, may we say, German-style house expanded, in the wake of the inhabitants' prosperity, not only in the depth of its curtilage but also making it parallel with the street, and by the eighteenth century it had been transformed into a southern, Italian style. By then, the crest-line of the houses was already parallel with the street. Since Sopron was never under Turkish occupation, and the houses were ravaged only by rather frequent conflagrations, especially that of 1676, the walls of previous houses were, as far as possible, used in rebuilding, which created the pleasing variety of façades and urban-scapes.

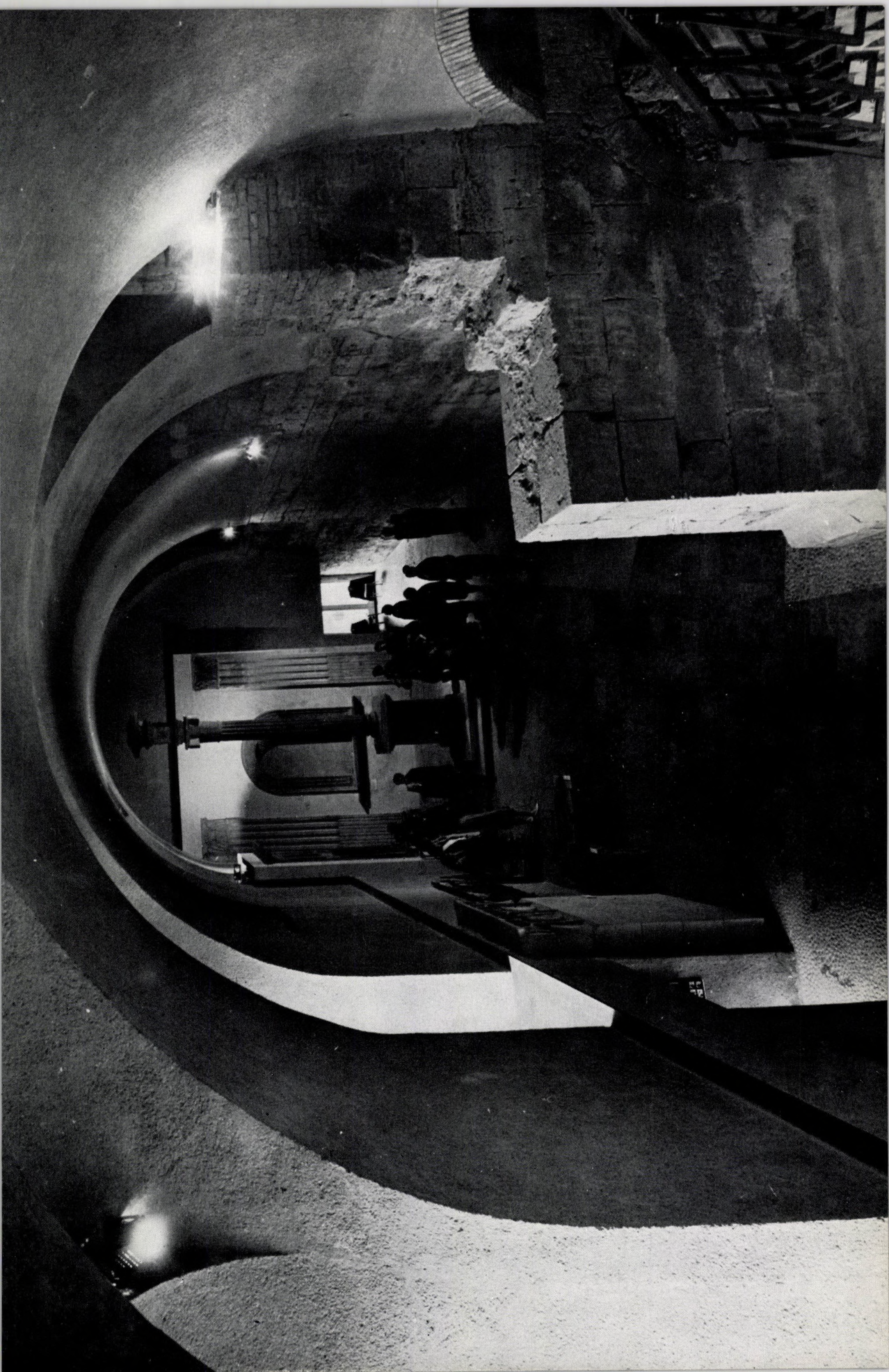
We also found a house particular to Sopron but common there. It was built by the more wealthy burghers who donated church altars and the living of the clergymen performing services there. These altar-residences were built at 1, Halász Street and 3, Pozsonyi Street and have ground-plans different to a certain extent from other town houses.

A knowledge of house-type development was not the only result of the reconstructions. Apart from the façades and the Gothic doors and windows, the greatest surprise was the richly worked timber ceiling on the inside. On the upper floors—or, where there was no vaulting, on the ground floor—there were carved timber ceilings with graven ornamentation, and their interstices were filled by wooden board. The timbered ceiling of the richest house (at 7, Lenin Boulevard), is decorated with flower-shaped ornamentation. This roofing was hidden under a coat of plaster when fire-protection orders were put into effect in the second half of the eighteenth century. It was only in the course of reconstruction that we learned of their very existence. Of course, we also found apartments decorated with wall-paintings, and from the Gothic period murals indicating, for the most part, a kind of ornamental architecture, while from the Baroque we have also found rooms decorated with still-lifes and mythological scenes (at 18, Új Street).

The principles of Hungarian urban monument protection are not confined to uncovering and reconstructing the original shape and artistic ornamentation of the houses: up-to-date apartments also have to be created. In those days such houses usually accommodated one family each, or occasionally, two. Over the past decades, they were broken up into two- or three-room apartments which did not fulfil the most elementary needs of a living place. And so we balance the two requirements: all apartments have to be equipped with up-to-date sanitation, built-in kitchens and up-to-date heating, while showing, at the same time, the original artistry of the house. Both tasks have been tackled, in many instances, on a high architectural level. There are now apartments of a floor-space and cubic capacity exceeding the current standards, with entirely up-to-date fittings, sometimes with space-using and split-level solutions that entail a certain

Buda Castle: main staircase and part of the Permanent Sculpture Section of the National Gallery

Following pages: The Knights' Hall
Parts of the Medieval Palace
part of the Gothic Chapel



Buda Castle: Part of the Old Hungarian Collection at the National Gallery

Photos: MTI and KÖZTI

THE DESTROYED BALL ROOM OF THE PALACE IN BUDA CASTLE, 1945

SOPRON: CHAPTER HOUSE OF THE FRANCISCAN CONVENT

ROMAN REMAINS AND WALLS NEAR THE SOPRON FIRE TOWER

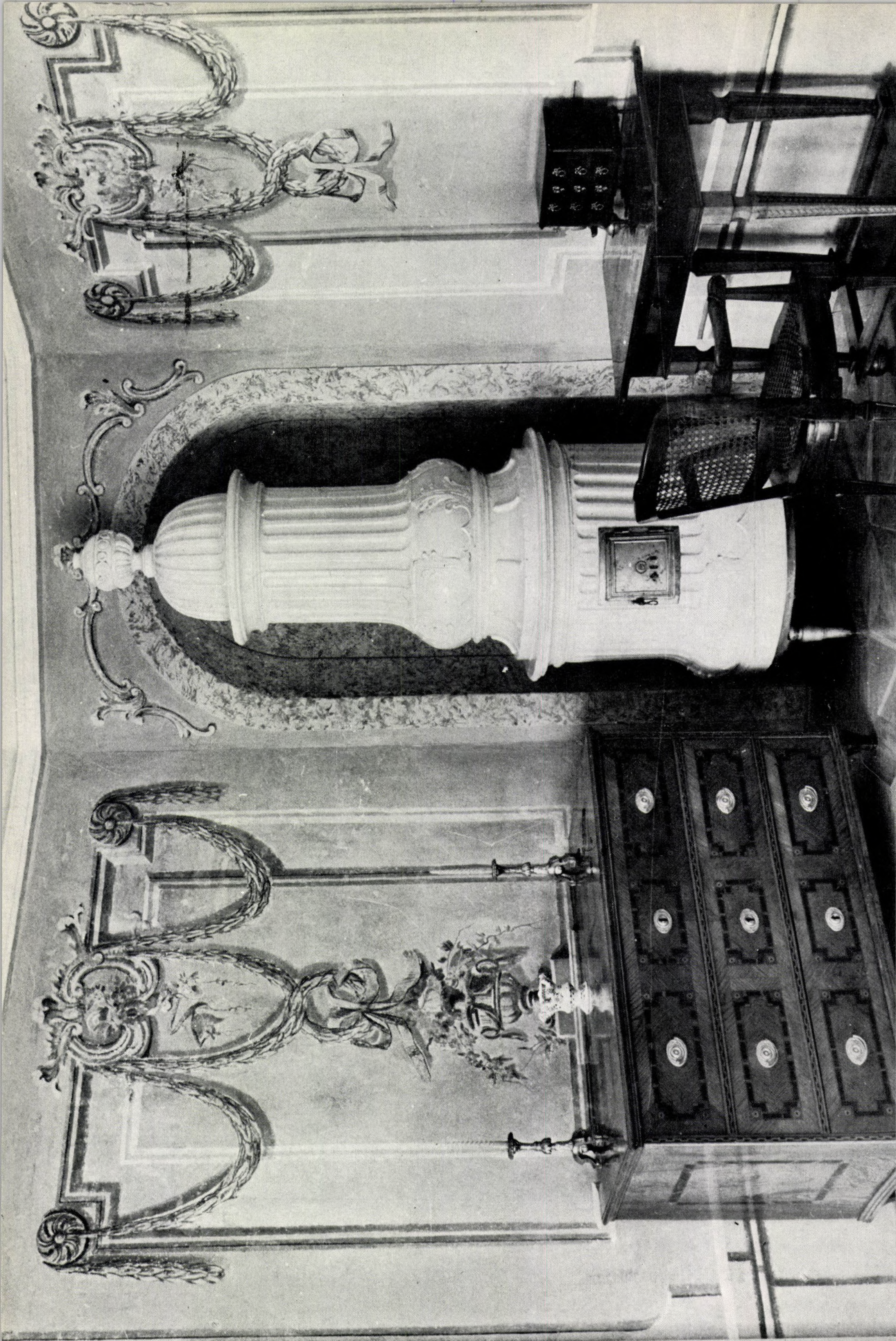
Sopron: Houses in Pozsonyi utca. the Fire Tower is in the background

Following pages: Új utca 11. Interior of the Synagogue
Façade of Saint George Church
New dwellings in Szent György utca
Medieval building at Halász utca 1.

Inspectorate of the Preservation of Monuments

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN STATUES OF JUPITER, JUNE AND MINERVA
DISPLAYED IN THE FABRICIUS HOUSE AT SOPRON

Overleaf: INTERIOR OF THE FABRICIUS HOUSE



loss of living-space but the city council considers them necessary drawbacks in the cause of salvaging the art memorials.

Rooms have been uncovered which would have been a grave mistake to alter, like, for instance, certain narrow spaces with double-arch rib-vaulted ceilings. These have been used to accommodate shops. Elsewhere (6, Beloiannis Square, the so-called Fabricius House) the whole building has been reconstructed to serve as a museum. The front part of the house contains two interior-design museums, each showing a burgher's apartment, from the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries respectively, together with their fittings and furniture. In the Gothic vault of the back wing there is a museum of stone-work finds, on the first floor an archaeological exhibition, and on the second, a room with four pairs of tracery windows which is used for temporary exhibitions.

It is necessary to mention a recurring problem in all towns under monuments protection—new building operations. We believe that any town is the result of historical development, which should include contemporary architecture. And although—as has been mentioned already—permission has to be obtained from the monuments authorities for the construction of new buildings, apart from a few reservations (the observance of the original building line, alignment with the architectural blocks of the area, the use of high roofs) the architect is given *carte-blanche.* In Sopron we have a few successful examples of this principle put into practice (like 18, Szent György Street and 1, Orsolya Square).

The connective tissue of the body of a town is the residential houses, while the public buildings, especially churches, provide the silhouette and skyline. All the churches within the protected area of Sopron have been reconstructed. On the façade and entrance of the early Gothic, one-time Franciscan church exquisite new detailing was found. From the adjoining medieval cloister we succeeded in reconstructing the chapter-house—one of the most beautiful medieval rooms had at one time been used even as a lumber room. Reliefs of an early fifteenth-century gateway arch were found on the front of St. George's Church, while behind its richly decorated Baroque interior is the original Gothic structure.

The most surprising find, however, was two medieval synagogues. Sopron, a lively commercial town, had a considerable Jewish community. In 1526, however, they were expelled from the town, their buildings were sold and the synagogues converted into residences. First a fourteenth-century double arched synagogue came to light in a bakery, then, not long ago, a thirteenth-century, early Gothic one. What was surprising with the earlier one is not only the fact that two synagogues existed almost facing each other, but also that it was possible to reconstruct the whole unit, including the women's chapel and ritual bath.

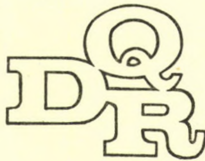
I kept for the end the repairs of the fire-watch tower, now considered a symbol of the town, for archaeological research carried out in the course of the operations proved that this tower follows the course of the town's history. In its place, less than a metre away, was the Roman town gate, through which Amber Road led to the town. The gatehouse which had been erected there burned down in the fire of 1676, and after that it got its Renaissance arcade-arch. The results of the archaeological research are now displayed in a museum raised above the ruins, and its original environment was visible once its trench was dug, while the tower itself needed only to be renovated.

The reconstruction of the inner town o Sopron has not yet been finished. Only after the renewal of public utilities was it possible to start to asphalt the streets, where—apart from special traffic—cars are prohibited. The gravest problem in all historic towns is traffic, which, of course, the medieval road system is unable to cope with. In Sopron we were fortunate that at the time of the abolition of the city wall the inner town was sur-

rounded by wide roads. Thus the original quarter, amounting to thirty hectares, could be cleared of motor traffic. We have to solve the decorative and public lighting of the town in order that, with the required light intensity, old streets can be illuminated by modern yet not emphatic lamps suitable to the environment. We have to finish the esplanade (using parts of the city wall) and the renewal of a number of houses.

Today we already see that in Sopron not only the inner town, surrounded by walls, but other quarters as well are of historical value. The discovery and reconstruction of these, however, are for the future, after the town celebrates its 700th anniversary in 1977.

It was with full knowledge of these facts that the international jury awarded the Gold Medal of the Europe Monument Protection Prize to Sopron. It appreciated that with comprehensive research the relics of two thousand years' history was exposed and preserved. The award emphasizes that in the wake of the reconstruction of the monuments, modern apartments, offices and shops have sprung up, providing the local residents not only with an environment of monuments but also conditions fulfilling the needs of today.



dutch quarterly review of anglo-american letters

Editorial Board:

F.G.A.M. Aarts
J. Bakker
C.C. Barfoot
G. Janssens
M. Buning
W. Bronzwaer

ARTICLES IN 1976

Victims and History and Agents of Revolution: An Approach to William Styron
The Search for Identity in Margaret Drabble's *The Needle's Eye*
The State of Idiomatics
The Dionysian Trampline
Dylan Thomas and Surrealism
A Survey of Recent Shakespeare Criticism
Three Times Morel: Recurrent Structures in *Sons and Lovers*
Philip Roth's *The Breast:* Reality Adulterated and the Plight of the Writer
Crossing the Shadow Line

and much more

Published quarterly by Editions RODOPI N.V.

Ask for a free sample copy US $10 per annum (4 numbers)

Editions Rodopi N.V., Keizersgracht 302-304, Amsterdam

HUNGARY IN 1776: A EUROPEAN FRONTIER

by

FRANK LIPSIUS

The last of the Turks was not expelled from Hungary until 1699, making the eighteenth century a necessarily long period of adjustment, jolted three times by the succession of a Habsburg monarch very different in temperament from his predecessor. 1776 stands at the end of the forty-year reign of Maria Theresa when life in Hungary had got back to normal, or at least had established a normality that in many respects would last unchanged until the 1830s, if not to the end of Habsburg rule in 1918.

Hungary was treated as separate from the Habsburg Austrian domains. While Maria Theresa respected Hungarian autonomy, as she had agreed to do in her Coronation Diet of 1741, her son Joseph II tried unsuccessfully to impose a uniform bureaucracy over his kingdoms—and solved the problem of Hungary's acknowledged autonomy by not submitting to coronation in Hungary, though he took the Hungarian crown to Vienna.

Using a woman's wiles, Maria Theresa tried to inhibit the independence of the Hungarian nobility by gentle persuasion rather than force. Her reign was marked by a spirited court in Vienna, which attracted the young Hungarian nobles as much as their Austrian counterparts. The queen's creation of a noble bodyguard in 1764 brought Hungarians to Vienna and into the arms of Viennese women with expensive taste. Or so one would infer from the mocking tone of Pál Ányos's poem, written in 1782 (in this nineteenth-century translation) deprecating Hungarian life in Vienna:

> Morality favours not perfumed handkerchiefs,
>   Dainty dresses and neckerchiefs.
> Veils, large silver buttons and leopard skins
>   Are more in accord with Hungarian wishes.

Further evidence of Maria Theresa's success in accommodating the Hungarian nobility to Habsburg rule comes from her use of Jesuit funds secularized in 1773: it went to impoverished Hungarian nobles—at 4 per cent interest.

While seducing the nobles to Vienna, Maria Theresa respected Hungarian autonomy to the extent that the country did not recover from Turkish occupation as fast as it might have. Though she had grown into a testy old woman sharing power in Austria with a son of quite different approach, Maria Theresa remains well-thought-of by historians, at least for the relatively long stability she fostered in contrast to Hungary's previous two centuries of conquest and turmoil. In the period of Turkish advances in Europe, Hungary was divided into three parts, the critical central area including Buda belonging to the Ottoman empire, a band running south-west to north-east belonging to the Habsburgs and Transylvania remaining independent. While Transylvania managed to conduct fairly rational and tolerant policies under enlightened princes who defined national interests apart from the Habsburgs, the rest of the country turned into a perpetual battleground. Not only were there dynastic and religious conflicts in the Habsburg–Ottoman rivalry, but Hungarian nobles also had their own selfish interests to pursue which kept peasants supressed—and over a long period serfs in Turkish-occupied territory paid both their new *and* former masters. Hungary emerged from this devastation with areas of completely different econcmic and social attainment and a decimated population.

Originally, the Habsburgs claimed all land taken back from the Turks. After a rebellion from 1703 to 1711 led by the Transylvanian prince Ferenc Rákóczi II,* Hungary was allowed to remain at arms-length from the Habsburgs in Vienna, but the country then could not develop at the same pace as Austria. The royal castle in Buda, for example, was described in 1717 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, as she passed on her way to Constantinople: "The royal palace that was for some time one of the most exquisite buildings in Europe is now completely ruined, since only the fortress had been repaired." Only in 1748 did Maria Theresa give approval for its rebuilding, and the work was finally completed in 1770.

The queen comes down to us through history as an enlightened reformer who, with her close adviser, Count von Haugwitz, built a cohesive and effective bureaucracy to replace the bickering of dispersed and recalcitrant Estates. Hungary was excluded from this reorganization, though a system of centralized control, of sorts, had been established in 1723 with the *Consilium Regium Locumtententiale Hungaricum*. Its primary function was

* On Rákóczi see Béla Köpeczi's article in No. 61.

collecting royal taxes, but its domain came to include education, hygiene and the sanitary burial of the dead. When Joseph II moved the Consilium from Pozsony (Bratislava today) to Buda in 1783, it marked the re-emergence of the town.

Moreover, the Consilium's moving south to Buda meant that by the late eighteenth century the last areas of Southern Hungary to be recovered from the Turks were reasserting their importance and assuming normal functions. Part of that area was in new hands, given in 1691 by Emperor Leopold to the Serbs who had fled across the Danube and Sava in the face of Turkish advances in the northern Balkans. The Serb Privilege of 1691 was intended to be temporary, but the campaign to reconquer the Balkans failed and the Serbs remained. Leopold granted them autonomy in a document that embodies the autocratic spirit of the times: "... that ye may feel at the very outset the gentleness and sweetness of Our Empire and rule, We, assenting with the piety native to Us to your petitions, have most graciously decreed that ye shall freely retain the custome of the Eastern Church of the Greek Rite of the Rascians according to the rule of the old Calendar, and as hitherto, so henceforward, ye shall not be submitted to molestation from any Estates, civilian or secular; and that ye be permitted yourselves to appoint autonomously an Archbishop of the Rascian nationality and language, to be elected by your ecclesiastical and secular Estates, and he, your Archbishop, shall have the free right of disposition of all churches of the Greek Eastern rite, of consecrating Bishops, of disposing priests in monasteries, of building churches, where needfull, at his own discretion, of subordaining Rascian priests in cities and towns: in a word, he shall continue to be in authority, as hitherto..." It left them a measure of privilege that in later years the Habsburgs would look to for ballast against Hungarian movements of independence.

Tranquillity

It must be noted, though, that even at its normal pace, Hungary gave no signs of flourishing commerce or general human mobility. The bridge connecting Buda and Pest, a system of pontoons stretching across the Danube and unusable in winter, was destroyed in the siege of 1686 and not replaced until 1769. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, one of the few English travellers who passed through Hungary in the eighteenth century, noted the dearth of activity on the Danube in 1777: "Much of the road to Buda lies near the bank of the Danube, which is of considerable magnitude. It is striking

to behold so noble a river flowing majestically in silence, through one of the richest countries in Europe; but almost without commerce, navigation, or population. From Raab [Győr] to this city, a tract of near a hundred miles, I saw scarcely a single boat of any kind upon the stream. All is solitary and inanimate..."

This was the period when large numbers of Jews came to settle in Hungary, and later in the century—after Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance in 1781—they were obliged to adopt surnames. Nobles were giving foreigners incentives to settle in Hungary and till the land that had lain fallow for the long period of war and Turkish domination. These new settlers, consisting notably of "Swabian" German Catholic peasants, were made exempt from taxation for a specified period, given commutations of labour services and the right to free movement. Crop rotation and the introduction of staple crops like corn, potatoes and tobacco provided Hungary with exports in 1767 that consisted 52 per cent of cattle, 26 per cent wheat and other cereals, 16 per cent leather and 5 per cent tobacco.

By the mid-eighteenth century, mining also flourished, with modern estimates putting the annual output at 500 kilograms of gold, 13,000 kgs of silver and 20,000 tons of copper. The level of technical sophistication included the first use of steam for pumping water (outside of England), compressed air pumps perfected in the 1750s and explosives for mining. Coal started being mined near Sopron in 1759.

There were even attempts to introduce manufacturing industries. The earliest proposals, beginning with the Diet of 1715, envisioned government-sponsored canal building, abolition of internal tariffs, building of schools, invitations to foreign craftsmen to settle in Hungary, and textile, leather and iron works to make use of Hungarian raw materials. Opposition in Vienna only confirmed Hungarian nobles' own apprehensions at such ambition (which, it was feared, would end nobles' exemption from tax), but when the proposals failed, Count Károlyi led the way to private investment in areas like woollen mills, iron foundries, glass factories and potteries. Craftsmen were hired under contract, a system which did not work and led to the closing of most such ventures by mid-century.

Though the rebuilding of Buda Castle had recently been completed and Nagyszombat University was resettled there in 1777, late eighteenth-century Buda must still have resembled something of a frontier town, judging from Robert Townson's rude reaction when he arrived in 1793: "The entrance into Bude [sic] is the most unfavourable that can be conceived. There are no fortifications nor even gates to this city; and you enter the metropolis of Hungary as you do one of its villages..." And

even its dimensions, for reasons Townson gives, are curiously like the one-horse towns with a single Main Street stretching into the horizon: "If in this direction the metropolis does not strike you with its beauty, it does with its extent. From the time I took in going to my inn, I think the town must be three or four miles long; but as it has the Danube on the left, and the fortress on the right, it is very narrow."

Entertainment in Townson's time included bear baiting, watching an enraged ox or the affection between a bear and some ducks. In the town are horse markets, which Townson describes in some detail: "But the chief articles were the natural production of Hungary, and the principal of these, Horses. These are driven to market in flocks like horned cattle, from the great *Pusztas* or commons: they are quite wild, and have never had a halter about their heads. When they come to market, they are driven into folds. In this manner they are shewn and sold. When a purchaser has bought one, it is not an easy matter to catch it, and take it away; for they do not suffer the near approach of their keepers, who are therefore obliged to catch them... From the great number of horses that are together, a good deal of time is consumed in this first step. As soon as one is caught the greatest confusion takes place; and the spectators who are unaccustomed to this business cannot divest themselves of fear, in behalf of the keepers, from the great danger in which they appear to be in, endeavour[ing] to haul it a little aside to put a halter about its head, which it resists."

In less conformity to the frontier spirit, Buda—besides the university, which moved on to Pest in 1783—got its first theatre in 1760. It was ensconced in a house that still exists in the Castle district called "Red Hedgehog". Pest got its first theatre only in 1790, and Townson described it as "small and with wretched scenery and wretched decorations. The pieces are generally played in German, but within these few years some have been given in the Hungarian language." (The first Hungarian play of the period, written by György Bessenyei, was actually performed in 1792, the year before Townson's visit.) While Pest would soon outstrip Buda in size and importance—especially with Joseph II's partiality to its flat plain and suitability for wide streets and monumental buildings—in 1776, Buda still predominated. A portent of things to come, though, occurred in 1776 when Pest got its first factory, a silk mill established by a Spaniard, Tommaso Valero, which employed 340.

In 1770, Buda already had eight coffee-houses stretched out along the banks of the Danube. Townson's description of one of them, unfortunately unnamed, seems much like the saloons of frontier legend, with their hubbub of life and mixed customs, all managed with a certain style all their own—

slightly more refined than the poorer patrons are used to and slightly less refined than the habits of the noble clientele rubbing elbows with the rest:

> Coffee-houses are little known in the northern part of the continent; but in the southern they are places of resort, time-killing places at least, if not places of amusement. This town has several good ones; but that facing the bridge [still only one bridge] is, I think, not to be equalled in Europe. Besides a very handsome room elegantly fitted up, and with two or three billiard-tables, there is a private billiard-room for those who do not smoke; and two or three other rooms for giving entertainments in; and very comfortable dinners may be had. And here, according to the continental custom, all ranks and both sexes may come; and hair-dressers in their powdered coats, and old market women, come here and take their coffee or drink their rosolio as well as Counts and Barons.

Of course one aspect of Hungary in 1776 was how little it was known about and travelled through by foreigners. Just one century before, in 1664, an anonymous pamphlet on Hungary appeared in London and it characterized the country and people in a way that would have done little to encourage Grand Tours through that part of the world. The little book, "printed for William Miller [bookseller] at the Gilded Acorn in St. Paul's Churchyard, near the little North Door," gives some idea of the extent to which an Englishman in the eighteenth century might have thought of Hungary as an inhospitable European frontier:

> The people of Hungary are strong of body, but somewhat rude of behaviour, respecting neither the Liberall Arts, nor Mechanick Trades. The Greatest aspersion is the name of a Coward, which cannot be wiped off, without the killing of a Turk, after which they are privileged to wear a feather, and by the number of their Feathers to shew how many Turks they have slain in Battel [sic]. They delight in Wars, & like no trade better, desiring to live upon other men's labors, then [sic] upon their own. They are extream covetous, yet they have rather a desir, then any Art to enrich themselves, permitting the Dutch to ingross all their Trading, and to manage such Commodities as their Country yields, which is the cause (seconded by the oppressions of the Turks, and Austrian family, under whom they are) that none of them rise to any considerable Wealth.

Buda may have had a university, a theatre and even 17 street-lights by 1776; it still had a long way to go to convince anyone from urban centres like London or Paris or even Vienna that it was anything more than the last outpost of a wild frontier.

If in its various ways, Hungary was something of a frontier in 1776, in one essential respect it was the opposite. For though new areas were now open to settlement and cultivation, they were settled according to established practice which reduced the mass of peasants to serfs with no rights. Though the Swabians were given certain privileges when they settled, nobles rescinded them as soon as they thought they could get away with it. Similarly, though serfs were better off when nobles had new lands to populate, there was never acknowledgement of peasant rights—just privileges, which were squeezed to nothing at will.

NON-FRONTIER

The truths that Thomas Jefferson took to be self-evident when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, espousing the equality of men and the "inalienable Rights [to] . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness", would probably have struck a Hungarian noble as less a heresy than an impudent joke. It is hard even to imagine a peasant's reaction had a literate person sat down to read him the Declaration and explain its meaning and implications: it is hard to imagine because of the utter servility to which his condition had been reduced since the peasant alliance with Rákóczi came to nothing.

The spirit which informs the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the American republic had its origins in religious dissent, which brought the first settlers to the New World after their defiance of established authority in Northern Europe. Hungary and Central Europe were also affected by the trauma of Reformation and defiance of papal authority. In contrast to Northern Europe, though, dissent never became a matter of individual conscience—except at the highest levels of authority where it was inextricably mixed in with politics. The lands of the Holy Roman Empire were subject to the prescript, "cuius regio eius religio," by which the ruler determined his subjects' religion. The Serb Privilege quoted above emphasizes the degree of generosity an emperor could feel himself to have shown with a small measure of toleration. From our perspective, we may look back to wonder how peasants and serfs put up with such disregard of their integral interests, which had nothing to do with the needs and requirements of government. But the very concept of government as an entity regulating society and providing for smooth commercial, legal and personal intercourse came into its own—and into a practical form—only with the American experience.

Hungary was less a country than a possession divided between the Habsburgs, who held it as protectorate, and particular nobles, who held parts of it as property. The haggling between them was based on certain assumptions about their relationship, but it was all conducted as the grossest form of *force majeure* and power politics. Their interests were antagonistic, and even common cause against the Turkish infidel was filled with calculation at the shift in power relations should the Turks hold or lose certain possessions. The Habsburgs and nobles provided a government and political office not as a trust but as a multinational corporation, with various divisional fiefdoms and aspirations (assuming they would feel some embarrassment at the notion of sheer selfishness) of "doing good while doing well", the kind of altruism one hears from corporate executives.

Eighteenth-century relations between the Habsburgs and Hungarian nobles showed an initial respect for Hungarian autonomy, with Charles III's pledge to respect Hungarian law and govern in agreement with the Hungarian Estates. Nobles, entitled to retain their serfs, were also exempt from taxation on their manors, serfs and income. In return, the Habsburgs were recognized as rulers of Hungary; in 1723, Charles III got the nobles to agree to the Pragmatic Sanction, which extended acceptance of the Habsburgs to a female succession.

The Hungarian Estates, however, had little power once they turned responsibility for the army and its maintenance over to the king. This was done to free serfs to return to the land, and Hungary in fact expressly demanded an imperial army in the country. The burden of taxation and maintenance of armed forces fell on the serfs, and successive Diets willingly gave in to demands for higher taxation since it fell to the peasants to pay. When the Estates refused a royal demand of 1,200,000 florins but agreed to 700,000, it accompanied the legislation with the generous thought (in 1751): "God bless and help the poor taxpayers with this new burden, so that they may be able to pay this new tax in addition to their old obligations. This is the object of all the prayers and hopes of the Estates." And thus the nobles not only provided their own oppression but were also the instrument of the king's.

Attempts to start manufacturing and industry may have got under way in the early eighteenth century, but it could be no more than a half-hearted undertaking when it was the work of nobles, for whom land remained the basis of wealth. As some nobles feared, industry would introduce taxation, while most of them were doing their best to extend their manors by absorbing the lands the peasants had had the right to maintain separately.

Urbanization also suffered the jealousy of the nobles: antagonism to the creation of free royal cities was respected in Vienna, so that after the expulsion of the Turks, only Debrecen, Buda, Pest, Székesfehérvár, Esztergom and Szeged, from among the secular cities, got their privileges back. The merchants in Hungary were Greeks, Serbs and Armenians; if industry was to be developed, as we have seen, craftsmen would have had to be imported, for the trades had not developed beyond the level of the fifteenth century.

Lost Chances

At the Diet of 1741, when Maria Theresa confirmed Hungarian autonomy, the Hungarian nobles had an advantage they might have pressed further, had they thought of asking for more than the right to be left alone. The Prussians had marched into Silesia under the weakest of pretexts at the time of Maria Theresa's accession to the throne. The Hungarians realized in helping her they might strengthen their bargaining position—and help her they did, with money and arms that might well have rescued her throne by limiting the Prussian successes in Silesia. While Maria Theresa proclaimed her eternal gratitude, she had no reason to give Hungary anything more than the noble bodyguard and royal visit to show her appreciation.

Meantime, she tried to get around the noble exemption from taxation in 1764 by claiming that noble commitment to serve the crown would be commuted to a money payment. The nobles refused and that was the end of the matter. But with the Patent of 1767, Maria Theresa limited the exploitation of serfs by setting down the kind and amount of service to be rendered the noble—two days or one day with an animal, per week; prohibiting the inclusion of peasant holdings in "the manor" (which had made it exempt from taxation); and setting forth the amount of land a peasant was entitled to have. These measures, while they obviously promoted the notion of the queen as a liberal reformer, had more than a touch of self-interest in them, since time not devoted to the manor could be engaged in more revenue-producing pursuits. On the other hand, they constituted a positive response to a peasant uprising in 1765, which was easily suppressed but scared the Hungarian nobility enough to accept the queen's patent.

Mercantilist economic policies, the direct cause of the American revolution, were not applied to Hungary, since manufacturing did not need to be discouraged where it was not rigorously pursued in the first place. Still,

Hungary was subject to prejudicial tariffs which eventually confined most of its trade to Austria. When introduced in 1754, the heavy tariff on goods imported from outside the Habsburg empire was meant to re-direct Hungary's traditional trade from Silesia, now lost to Prussia, to Austria. By 1770, 87 per cent of Hungary's trade was conducted with Austria, and while the exports were still confined largely to animals and agricultural products, a previously flourishing wine trade with Poland and Silesia was eliminated. Manufacturing was encouraged and subsidized in other areas; in Hungary such support was refused and the prohibitive tariffs were justified on grounds of nobles' tax exemption, though by 1780 the Hungarian contribution to the royal coffers amounted to some 13 million florins, one-third of it in war levies alone. In addition there was a monopoly on salt and minting, mining privileges, tariffs and property revenue. Quite apart from these, the Estates agreed to contribute almost two million florins for the upkeep of the royal palace in Vienna.

As Hungary sank deeper into the role of an Austrian colony, the possibility of any remedy grew increasingly remote. The worse conditions became, the less likelihood there was of peasant rebellion, since the serfs became weaker, more isolated and more dependent on those they would rebel against. As through most of Hungarian history, the poorest in the society had no voice of their own and their interests were promoted—when done at all—by altruistic nobles, calculating royalty or schemers willing to promise freedom, which somehow never materialized. Meantime, as their condition deteriorated they were increasingly taken for granted, as described by one contemporary reformer, Gergely Berzeviczy:

> The landlord looks on him [the serf] as a tool necessary to cultivate his lands and as a chattel which he inherited from his parents, or purchased, or acquired as a reward. He demands that the serf pay dues and perform *robot* [unpaid] labour for him and regards [him] as one with whom he can deal however his self-interest dictates.

It is worth noting that while in 1767 there were 46 landless serfs for every 100 landed peasants, sixty years later the landless outnumbered the landed by 104 to 100, and twenty years years after that, the figures were 147 landless per 100 landed.

"No taxation without representation"—the battle cry of the American revolution—would have meant absolutely nothing in a society where the taxpayers were serfs and the "representatives" were exempt from taxation. The American colonies started with local and regional governments which gave them the experience necessary to formulate their appeals—then their demands. They had a recognizable and justifiable self-interest that, through

reasonable taxation, would make the state prosperous as they prospered. While such a scheme of things was foreseen in the Enlightenment and early liberal treatises, the American colonies were an important development showing the *ad hoc*—what was considered the "natural"—way such a system of mutual advantage would arise on virgin soil. Once discovered, the American continent opened seemingly endless vistas and possibilities, and yet it managed to show that where man could not be fully controlled, he could learn to control himself by humane and necessary laws that would respect both authority and human rights. The light bloodletting in the revolution, and the willingness to let Loyalists escape to Britain, has largely been forgotten as successive revolutions, starting with France in 1789, sank into a mire of reprisal and violence that is now accepted as the price of revolutionary change.

The United States' present-day conservative horror at the idea of revolution goes back to the very success of the American experience. Today they forget about the entrenched powers that have had to be dislodged to bring about even a modicum of the rights Americans have always enjoyed—even before the revolution. When Americans were pursuing their idealistic and seemingly (to them) reasonable demands, Hungary was ruled by a woman who lent money to the nobles she encouraged in their profligate spending but at the same time decreed (in 1777), "In future no Jew shall be allowed to remain in Vienna without my special permission. I know of no greater plague than this race, which on account of its deceit, usury and avarice is driving my subjects to beggary." With eight million inhabitants, Hungary was burdened with 5 per cent nobility, though only about ten families owned the greatest part of the land. And perhaps most damaging of all, non-agricultural pursuits—the trading and manufacturing that gave the new Americans a particular identity, self-respect and self-interest, marking the birth of a new era and the emergence of modern man—was more remote from Hungary and more inaccessible to the average Hungarian than the possibility of riding into Vienna on a prancing horse, dressed in "perfumed handkerchiefs / Dainty dresses and neckerchiefs."

BOTTLES AND WOMEN

Short story

by

ISTVÁN CSURKA

The mess was more than he had bargained for. To begin with, the room reeked of brandy like a tap-room. As he sniffed the malodorous air, Dezső Török realized that nothing much would come of his "sentimental clean-up" as he called what he had been doing the whole day. In effect he was just reliving their affair by handling, fondling and dusting the familiar objects and putting them back in place. At the office in the morning, he was thinking ahead to the afternoon assignment, which he considered noble and self-sacrificing in the extreme; he deserved of a better fate. "Every object touched is a kiss, a memory, a loving whisper, something to cherish." For example, he had imagined making the bed, the large and wide sofa, restoring it to its original state for good—but not before hurling himself on it, muttering Lenke's name and smelling her body, whining and sobbing in utter agony. He would moan and groan like a viola and the last effusion of the immeasurable passion would purify his soul and give it a ceremonial ablution.

On entering he was embarrassed that nothing of the sort seemed possible any more. "No poetry here, man, you've got to get down to work," Török concluded and strode across the room to open both windows, pausing only to fling his case on the bed. Wine, beer, whisky, brandy and coke bottles in every size, shape and label littered the love-nest wall to wall. The big sideboard with a marble top on which the coffee percolator stood had hardly a square inch unoccupied, while the empty bottles were strewn not only on the window-sill and the small table by the sofa, but literally all over the place, including the corners and the top of the tile stove. Each visit, they brought some drink but never returned the bottles.

Dezső Török was horrified by the sight: what on earth was he to do with this collection of bottles? Insoluble problems stared him in the face: where could one redeem so many bottles in this quiet, respectable suburban

neighbourhood, and even if there was such a place, how could he get them there? "At least a hundredweight if not more," he appraised. What's more he hadn't brought any bag suitable for the purpose. At the same time, cleaning up could not even begin before removing the bottles. His first idea was to sacrifice the rumpled and soiled sheet they had purchased in the "Otthon" Department Store on the afternoon of their first date. They had been unwilling to use the things of the bachelor they had borrowed the flat from. Great love deserves its own bedding. Török thought of making a big bundle by tying up the corners of the sheet—he had learnt the method in the Army—slinging it over his back and plodding down to the nearest grocery store. In a second, he realized his folly. He visualized the scene as he yanked himself through the narrow door of the self-service shop. He would be standing in front of a shop-girl whose pale blue bra and panties showed dimly through her white transparent nylon wrap and would say to her he wanted the deposit back on the bottles. Dump them on the counter, she'd say if she'd say anything at all, and as he'd begin to untie the awkward bundle the shoppers would pile up behind him making remarks, everybody staring at the bundle, and the shop-girl makes no bones about the fact that she took him for a damn fool. A scream. "Balls." And that would only be the first delivery...

Instead he just stood there counting the bottles. Most of them had an inch or so left in them, some even more. He began with the cognac. Once he finished it off (and enjoyed it), he rejected the second solution which had occurred to him. This was to get the Ritter boys, the 10 and 12-year-old kids of the family living in the three or four-room flat downstairs, to carry off the remnants of his clandestine affair in exchange for the not inconsiderable sum they could collect for the bottles. But Török still vividly remembered his bachelor friend's warning in the TB sanatorium where he handed over the keys to the flat.

"Look, I'm on rather friendly, I should say, familiar terms with the Ritters. Now naturally they have no right whatever to tell me what to do in my own flat. But still I wouldn't like anything to be going on there that could have a bad effect on the kids or anything objectionable from the point of view of the kids' upbringing. I think you'll appreciate my request."

Török accepted the terms and made a point of passing their glass verandah with Lenke as discreetly as possible, even letting go of her hand. He also insisted on having the two heavy brocade curtains drawn, a measure that required no little will-power on the hottest summer afternoons. How could he call those well-behaved kids to such a battlefield scene. It was out of the question. What now?

He took a swig from a black-labelled bottle of cherry spirits. Once the nondescript dregs had trickled down to his stomach, he became aware of the puky petroleum after-taste of the cognac he had just had. He glanced through the window towards the garden-gate searching for a third method of disposal. He soon found it in the garbage cans lined up to the left of the entrance. They seemed to fill the bill. One was half full of rotting garbage, the other practically empty. That's good luck, Török thought, grabbing the empty can and carrying it into the room.

Now, of course, all this could not go off without some embarrassment. The younger Ritter boy, sitting in the verandah, presumably studying, caught sight of the man engaged in this funny business, and like a good younger brother called for his older brother's opinion:

"Laci!" At this his brother emerged from the nursery and also started to watch Török. The bigger Ritter boy had nothing to offer but a shrug, while the younger one went on grinning. The noise brought out their mother, presumably from the kitchen, who thought her younger son was having trouble with his homework and needed help. Török, both his hands full, was reduced to a polite nod towards Mrs. Ritter who acknowledged the greeting rather coldly, mainly so the kid would attach no special importance to the matter and get on with his homework. The exertion and the situation, however, made Török break into a sweat.

The garbage can disfigured the room, which was none too homey anyway. It looked like an ugly reptile when he put it down in the room and its vile mouth yawned when he lifted the lid. Even worse, it had an unbearable, putrid smell. The reek of brandy was now just a happy memory. Török was overcome by a feeling of painful shame. He should not have done this to Lenke, he thought. "But what have I done to her?" he asked as he took the first bottle at hand and put it gingerly into the can, bending right down to the bottom. "What?" He no longer felt like having the remnants of the bottles. Instead he poured it into the can, hoping it would somewhat neutralize the stink.

He shut the windows. He found his predicament unjust. The break-up had been Lenke's idea. Leading a double life was too much for her, she could not bear the pain any more. She preferred the humdrum life of a marriage long since drained of feeling and her children to a clandestine love and its unforeseen, threatening consequences. A month before they broke up she had confessed everything to her husband, promising to put an end to it. It was a painful night, hard to live through, but nothing compared to the night she told Török. She had expected Török's sympathy and had dreaded that he might let himself go, be rude and insult her feelings

—as indeed happened. Török was frantic, calling her a silly goose. He simply refused to see her point of view. In the end he called it a betrayal. Later he calmed down a bit, but then the last month together became too matrimonial. The expression had been Török's but Lenke agreed with it. All this did not rule out or affect the sacrificial nature of the break-up, especially on Török's part. His background, as far as he was concerned, had remained intact. This cleaning operation was done in the full consciousness of his magnanimity and noble-mindedness, and so it was utterly unjust—the garbage can, the stink, the humiliating circumstances.

And this method of disposing of the bottles was not going to succeed either; the can could take less than half of them, something Török did not realize before he had half filled the ugly vessel. He had to take out what he had put in and smash them all one by one like a crushing machine. It was the last straw. Török flew into a rage and began to curse. "If this doesn't work, I'll slash my veins." It very nearly happened when he knocked one green wine bottle against another fragile and thin one which broke in his hands and splintered in all directions.

He spent the next quarter of an hour looking for some suitable implement but could not lay his hands on a mortar-hammer or cleaver in this exceedingly ill-equipped bachelor's flat. Finally he resorted to a Russian champagne bottle, which did the job exceeding well. The bottles crumbled to piecces even at a light touch and his spirits revived a little. He almost enjoyed it—except for the noise he was making. If it could be heard through the walls, and he couldn't fool himself that it couldn't, the Ritters would assume he'd cracked up. But, there was no other choice so he went on shattering and crushing the bottles like mad. He held each above the can with his left hand and hit it with the champagne bottle. When it failed to fall into small enough pieces he struck it repeatedly like a stamping machine. After each operation he inspected the champagne bottle to see how it withstood the punishment. His little makeshift implement was performing superbly.

Török was warming up to the exercise. He made great strides in organizing his work as well: he surrounded himself with a dozen or so bottles at a time rather than chase each one individually. "Industrial methods," he reflected with satisfaction. It was his first taste of satisfaction that day. Gradually he even got used to the smell and began to hum familiar tunes. At first old hit songs occurred to him, like "Amado mio" and "Candlelight Waltz", then he switched to folk and popular numbers. "Well, work, particularly physical work, seems to be excellent therapy for times of psychic stress," he concluded and broke into a song longing for a woman

who waits for her husband to come home and gets up to make dinner even when she is ill. The irony of the words compared to his situation amused him enormously.

Meantime it had grown dark. Török switched on the lights. "Bother," he thought, "our rendezvous never lasted as long as this." Lenke was often in a hurry to get home so she could put her children to bed; sometimes she even had to go to the day-nursery when her husband refused to fetch the kids. That meant quite a rush, and hardly enough time to talk to each other. Török never tired of pitying himself and complaining about their harsh circumstances, but he wasn't being sincere. He thoroughly enjoyed these rushed and speechless encounters. They made him feel satisfied and proud—and it was of no secondary consideration that he also got home early without having to make excuses, he could even play at being the good father.

He was doing the last batch—the garbage can was half full of broken glass, when behind him Török heard a familiar voice coming from the direction of the door.

"What're you doing, Dezske?"

Startled, he dropped the champagne bottle into the can. He turned. Nobody, of course, stood at the door but Török had resigned himself to the inevitable as he had once imagined it. He was struck dumb and broke out in a real sweat. His wife Vanda stood in the door in a claret-coloured two-piece suit, green blouse and lizard-skin shoes, slowly pulling off her gloves.

"I'm asking, what are you doing?"

Török was still under the impression that he was deprived of speech.

The woman took a step forward, looked round, sniffed the air and wrinkled her nose. Her expression was almost genial, almost like a person in a situation that did not vitally concern him.

"Are you dumb?"

"What should I say?" Török managed to get the words out finally. Sounds authentic so far, he thought.

"Why, that's it, you'd better say nothing. Just carry on." She went to the garbage can and looked into it. She clicked her tongue. Very good, Török thought.

"Does true love need so much booze?" Then she looked up into Török's face and eyes.

"Wasn't it bad for you? For your heart, your liver?"

Török began a sentence and even finished it, though half-way through he realized it led to a ridiculous dead-end.

"Did you leave the children at home unattended?" I'd be fool enough to say such a stupid thing, he thought.

After a stifled chuckle, Vanda replied:

"My dear, you ought to know that our children are grown up. Zsolt is twelve, Szabolcs ten. They go to bed when they're supposed to. It's only seven, and in any case I'll be home by eight." Yes, Vanda wouldn't miss a chance, she never would, he thought smiling.

He walked from the can to his jacket on the sofa, took out his cigarettes and lit one. After this Vanda was present only in voice. Török stared before him occasionally glancing at the can while listening without comment to the exchanges that followed.

At last he found a useful argument.

"I never looked for, I never chased after this er...er..." he was unable to name what. Vanda helped him.

"This love affair."

"Yes, that's it."

"It all came like a bolt from the blue. And one has a right to love," Vanda declared without irony.

"Sit down," Török said, anxious to cut her short. Vanda appeared again in a physical form. She looked round, took a glance at the wide sofa as if for a moment she was considering whether to sit there, but then she demonstratively passed it up for the shabby armchair between the two windows. Before lowering herself into it she dusted it with her gloves, though only as a formality.

"I don't think it makes any difference where I sit knowing you as I do. It's highly improbable that the armchair hasn't been a scene of love's battlefield—considering how long it's been going on. You can't go a year on one piece of furniture no matter how great the love might be..." Very shrewd she is, Török reflected, completely forgetting that it was all his own imagination. "Well, after all..." Suddenly he compared the two women and voted—Vanda, damn it, it's Vanda.

This seemed enough deliberation. Török immediately went over to the offensive.

"You needn't have come here, darling."

"That's right. I didn't expect this stench and filth, and Mr. Török standing in front of a garbage can smashing bottles. I could'nt have caught you in a more repulsive activity. It makes me sick. Don't come home. I think I'll have to disinfect the flat after being here! It's unthinkable that you should set foot in it!"

"That's straightforward, you see." Dezső Török rose to his feet and picked up the whisky bottle, still half full, which he had brought for the last night and intended to leave behind for his cartographer friend. They

couldn't drink much that night. He poured some whisky into a clean glass. Vanda had never before seemed so sensuous a reality. He stood before her. Only now, at close quarters, could he see how pale, haggard and tortured Vanda's beautiful face had become. Her eyes sat in an unusually deep brown hollow and the face betrayed no sign of life at all. Török was frightened and despairing. That face suggested a tragic denouement.

"No, thank you," said Vanda. Török put the glass down on the table and sat back on the sofa. They were silent for a long time. The dismal silence made the whole thing unbearably irrevocable for both of them. There seemed to be only one way out, one straw to clutch at: to get Vanda to say through her tears, in ringing tones, "Dezske, Dezske" nothwithstanding all that had happened. But Török could only repeat the words to himself. She refused to comply.

Nothing happened, nothing stirred in the next few minutes. At long last Török fetched up a deep sigh, got up and padded in circles round the can then between the can and the bed. Vanda vanished.

"The century of women! Gynocracy. Petticoat government. Life is full of women from the cradle to the grave. Everything revolves round you. Everything is run by you, there isn't a place without your crying, wailing, blubbering, demanding and forever sacrificing yourselves. It's an ill-arranged world. Nothing's worked out properly. I can't control my instincts. I CAN'T! I'm bombarded by sex, demands; my life's short, why should I check myself when I'm not doing anybody any harm? And when I make the greatest sacrifice and satisfy the crazy rules and laws invented by women, my judges smite me down with common consent. My judges? My executioners!"

"Don't say that again, 'the greatest sacrifice', because it makes me sick!"

Török was astounded. It was Lenke's voice. He looked round but Lenke was nowhere to be seen. Yet he accepted her presence and answered her.

"You were all I needed, darling! What're you doing here? I told you I'd do the room alone."

He struck at the air.

"I've had enough of you!"

Then he started, or rather resumed, his favourite theme, passionately, almost at the top of his voice.

"Life's drab, eventless, vacuous. Great feelings are welcome once in a while. One's only too pleased to fall for them."

Working himself into a rage he went back to the garbage can to get on with the job of breaking glass on glass.

The two women were now chatting with each other, but somehow remained in the background.

Vanda: "I've known about it for a month... I haven't been able to sleep, eating my heart out, suffering and crying like a baby. Even the kids have noticed it, but not him."

Lenke: "He's tired of me too. I noticed it about a month ago."

Vanda: "What's he doing it for then?"

Lenke: "I have no idea. I really don't."

Vanda: "Isn't there a solution?"

Lenke: "There isn't any good one."

Török rounded upon them:

"Shut up for goodness' sake!"

The two women went off snivelling out of the background.

Török collapsed under the weight of loneliness. After a few movements he stopped smashing the bottles and put his jacket on. He felt he couldn't stay in the room for a minute longer, he had to go out into the open and meet people.

After a half hour of walking at a good pace he returned. He could not resist knocking at the door, but there was, of course, no answer.

The garbage can was still in the middle of the room, and the stench seemed there to stay. Everything appeared dismal, distressing, repulsive in a frightening way, and Török felt that all that emptiness, filth and stink would inevitably bury him.

The whole thing's so bloody awful, he thought. Simply dreadful; there's no way out.

There were at least another forty bottles to destroy.

Let me just finish the lot, Török thought and got down to it.

He had scarcely "squashed" two or three bottles when the window pane projected the shadow of a moving figure; then the figure appeared. It was Mrs. Ritter. She was going down to the garage. Török clicked his tongue in approval when he saw her in a fancy frock. "My, isn't she well-preserved..." Török sensed the sweet smell of milk through the window, despite the prevailing stink, for Mrs. Ritter had a full figure and was ripe and desirable—more desirable at the moment than Lenke and Vanda put together. Török began to toy with the idea. "I wonder."

He heard the garage door creak.

Translated by L. T. András

INTERVIEW

AN HOUR WITH EMIL SCHULTHEISZ, MINISTER OF HEALTH

Q: On July 1, 1975, free health care became a citizen right in Hungary. There is more in this than a matter principle. What percentage were insured earlier? What made the new measure possible and why was it introduced at this particular point in time?

A: The introduction of free health services as a civil right is sure to be accorded a prominent place in the history of public health in Hungary. Socio-economic and political changes following Liberation required health services new in size, in spirit and quality. Specialists and institutions of high standards were inherited from the earlier regime, but they only satisfied effective demand, that is, not the medical services needed, but those paid for. Social insurance covered barely 30 per cent of the population, and nearly half the people were thus in part or completely excluded from medical care.

Sizing up the situation prompted the first decision: health services had to be made available to all within a reasonable time. This could be done of course only in keeping with economic growth. By 1950 close to half the population were covered by social insurance; by 1955 60 per cent and by 1965 97 per cent. By 1972 already more then 99 per cent of the population were covered by health services. Something had to be done to put meat into such measures. The required number of qualified staff on all levels, from medical auxiliaries to consultants had to be trained and properly equipped institutions had to be provided.

Since July 1, 1975, as you said, every Hungarian citizen has been entitled to free health care. This is not merely a well-intentioned but empty phrase since the appropriate practical conditions are present.

What has to be done now, and this will of course again take some time, is to ensure that every diagnostic aid, therapy etc. known at the time is equally available to all wherever they may live, and whatever their occupation or social standing, etc. Once this is done the next step will be primarily concerned with preventive medicine, including regular tests of varying kinds covering everybody.

The temporal differentiation is of course not a rigid one. Early on when the basic aim was the progressive and speedy extension of accessibility, much was already done to diminish gaps in standards of health care, and increasing emphasis was laid on prevention, and such things as the care of expectant mothers and TB screening tests.

Now, when the basic aim is the bringing up standards to the highest common denominator, more is done than earlier in the way of prevention, extending medical care, broadening the scope of co-ordinated and comprehensive screening tests.

The Public Health Act of 1972 flexibly established the outlines. It already expressed

access to free medical services as a right. This provision was however not immediately put into force until mid-1975. The conditions have also become ripe for important new reforms providing for dozens of measures. Economic growth has made it possible to introduce reforms that are costly indeed. We have come to a turning-point, when something new and very substantial is making a start. Free medical services are not a mere formal gesture but a necessary consequence of social development.

Q: Are there indices that allow for a comparison to be made with other countries in Europe?

A: There are none as yet. Work is being done throughout the world to develop a standard possibly a single index that will reliably reflect the standards of the health services in a particular country. Until something tangible comes of it, any kind of judgement is bound to be more or less subjective, or rather the index numbers are necessarily of relative value.

It must be said that what counts is the speed and the standard at which new achievements are applied, and how extensively they pervade practice, that is what proportion of the population has access to them.

Looked at from that angle Hungary is doing all right by comparison with other countries in Europe. The position is kept under constant control. There are special institutes whose business it is to judge what is being done in this or that particular field. Let me emphasize that the following figures reflect first of all the potentialities of medical work and do not provide, or only do so indirectly, information on its essentials. Among thirty-three countries in Europe Hungary is placed fourth in the per capita number of general practitioners, twenty-first in that of dentists, fifteenth in that of nurses, and twenty-second in the supply of hospital beds.

Figures for a single year can be misleading in judging efficiency. Reviewing a span of 5–10–15 years is a much more reliable way of judging changes for the better or for the worse. It is worth more to produce results modest by international standards but which are backed by consistent improvement over a longer period, rather than a high position that has stagnated over many a year.

Thus, for example, infant mortality, which in Hungary is still high by international standards, or TB mortality, should be regarded as shaping satisfactorily since they indicate a continual, enduring and considerable improvement over the years.

On the other hand, it is warning signal that out of twenty-seven European countries, and allowing for differences in the age distribution to be compensated, Hungary's mortality rate was the 16th best in 1961 and only twenty-first in 1969. This is one more reason prompting the extension of health facilities. The supply of instruments and equipment must be improved to permit the latest methods to be used to extend life expectancy.

Q: Looked at from the inside Hungarian public health appears to be overadministered. What I have in mind here is not so much excess paper work—though that is the subject of justified complaints as well—but rather that too many medically qualified people are employed on non-clinical duties. Is the number of medical practitioners working in Public Health and on other administrative tasks not excessive?

Could not more be delegated to non-medical personnel, or be done by doctors as additional to their normal duties?

Aren't there too many who will never see a patient again, not even doing an additional spare time job?

A: The modern view the world over lays stress on preventive medicine. This is only natural since people hope first and foremost not just to be examined and treated by a doctor or institution but to remain in good health. What has to be done in every field is not merely healing, but prevention. The possibility of relapses or deterioration must be anticipated.

Man depends on the environment.

Personal health cannot be handled in isolation. The environment must be controlled from a health point of view. Some of this work can only be done by men and women who have had medical training, such as can judge the effects of the environment on health.

The Public Health Department has a staff of six thousand five hundred, but only about 650 of them are medically qualified. The others include engineers, chemists, biologists and health inspectors. Medically qualified personnel thus make up 10 per cent, or 2.8 per cent of all active medical practitioners.

Or take administration. In a modern society, but especially in a socialist society, where public health has to be planned and managed, information must always be available and control must be exercised. What is involved here is not merely the usual professional control. The structure of morbidity must be kept under constant surveillance.

Up-to-date information on the quality of medical care has to be available for action whenever called on. This is attainable only if necessary data are collected in a manner allowing for immediate evaluation. This is supplied, or ought to be supplied by medical officers who are part of the public administration.

The question is therefore not whether an excessive number of physicians are engaged in such duties, but how efficiently they carry them out. In most cases not efficiently enough, therefore there is need for a reform of this system of data gathering, making use of electronic data processing, so that the information will always be available in a form allowing for decisions to be taken.

There is, it ought to be said, much else in the work of public authorities that requires medical training, and the positions concerned must therefore be filled by such as have medical qualifications. Of course there are medical graduates who look for administrative jobs because they are afraid of clinical work. This is not as it should be. What are needed are men well versed in social medicine, who feel it to be their calling and not as have proved failures elsewhere.

Q: The fight against tuberculosis is one of the success stories in Hungary. When, however, equipment and staff, precisely because of the successes obtained, became redundant, the question arose what should become of them. Other diseases of the lungs appeared as a logical field of activity. It has been proposed, however, that they might be suitably used to fight another "endemic disease", alcoholism.

What is your reaction to such a suggestion?

A: Following submission by the Ministry of Health in 1968 the Council of Ministers already dealt with the issue. A fifteen-year plan under which the released capacity —time, skills, hospital beds—would be used in the taking over of other duties as well, first of all in the fight against chronic lung and respiratory disease (lung cancer, asthma, chronic bronchitis, etc.).

Unfortunately, the incidence of such diseases is fast rising. TB specialists have a close familiarity with the anatomy, pathology and pathophysiology of the respiratory system, and their practical skill can be properly used in the treatment of other diseases of the lung as well.

In the course of the past ten years part of the anti-TB network and institutions have been restructured as general pulmonological wards, clinics and institutes. In 1974 there were 17,200 TB patients and 39,000 other lung patients under treatment in TB sanatoria for adults: TB out patient clinics were attended by 59,000 consumptives and 65,000 other lung patients. Considering the present situation and probable future trends it must be said that diseases of the lung do not fully exploit what were originally anti-TB facilities. Since 1966 more than 5,500 pulmonological beds have been put to other uses.

Mental hygiene is one of the stressed aspects in the duties of my ministry. In recent years about 1100 beds formerly used by pulmonary patients were reallotted to psychiatric wards. Within this field alcoholism causes considerable concern. About 10 per cent of patients in psychiatric wards are chronic alcoholics. To this extent the first steps in the direction you suggested have already been taken.

There does not seem to be much point in using even more of the TB wards for the treatment of alcoholics. The alcoholic requires an entirely different approach, case study and treatment than a lung patient. Training in psychology is needed. The skills and experience of lung specialists would be wasted.

Q: In the recent past the birth-rate —owing partly to demographic factors and partly to the measures taken rose to an extent that surprised even the health authorities. It seems likely that the birth-rate will later decline again. Are any demographic forecasts available to the public health authorities? If so, what measures can be contemplated on the basis of these?

A: In 1974 there were 186,275 live births, 20 per cent more than in the preceding year. This increase was in excess of what had been forecast. Yet it cannot be regarded as extraordinary, for at the time of the 1954 demographic boom there were 223,000 live births in Hungary, and women of that age-group have now reached child-bearing age. What was not foreseen was that the social policy measures introduced in 1973 would produce results so quickly. The 15,000 more than expected childbirths caused difficulties in mother and child care, but by joining forces we have overcome the gravest of them, and neither childbed nor infant mortality rate has increased.

Now the most dependable way of forecasting was to keep a close eye on the number registering for antenatal counselling. This made it clear that nearly as many childbirths could be expected for the first half of 1975 as there were in the second half of 1974. In the immediate future the number of childbirths may be somewhat smaller than the average for these two years, but the rate of decline is not likely to be fast. The demographic policy objective is a family with two or three children, and the years to come will show if we succeed in attaining this. I hope we will. Last year 44 per cent of all births were first children, and only 10.7 per cent were third children. It would be desirable if in the three to four years to come these families showed themselves ready to have a second and then a third child.

It is an imperative of the essential humanism of our society that we should protect in advance the health of every child about to be born and to endeavour to save and heal those who were nevertheless born handicapped. For this reason we will in the future expend still greater material and intellectual resources on the improvement the medical care of pregnant women and new-born children.

It is a welcome fact that the number of induced abortions went down by about 40 per cent in 1974. However, this decrease in numbers continues only slowly, numbers are pretty well stagnating. What is alarming is that nearly 30 per cent of the officially authorized induced abortions are performed on young unmarried women. They very likely want to bear children later, but their ability to do so is put in jeopardy by previous interrupted pregnancies. We are looking for new methods of providing informations and protection for this age group. The preparation of adolescents for a healthy way of life and responsible sexual behaviour must be improved.

Q: How many men and women are there in Hungary today who make no use whatever of medical qualifications obtained at a social cost of hundreds of thousands of forints? For how long do medical qualifications that are unused remain valid? What is done to overcome serious local shortages in qualified medical staff, and to distribute more evenly

the burden of medical duties, to diminish the gap between medical qualifications that exist in theory and such as are put to practical use.

A: Contrary to public belief there is only a case or two every two to three years of a graduate in medicine making no use of his qualifications. This could be due to ill-health, family problems, or the attraction of some artistic career (singing, music, literature). A great many more find a job that suits them only after a year or two. Those who fail to practice medicine over three years have to do a refresher course.

But let us look at the facts of the much-talked-of shortage of doctors. The number and the ratio of medically qualified staff in Hungary is good by present standards. Still there is a relative shortage in certain areas and within certain specialized fields. In the first two years of the current five-year plan the number of vacant positions rose sharply, and mostly for insufficient reasons. The proportion was higher than in earlier years and higher than tolerable, and reached 9.3 per cent by the end of 1972. Newly qualified doctors were free to choose amongst available vacancies leading to disproportions, both territorial and between particular types of work. The rise in the proportion of vacancies was stopped, then reduced in 1974 (to 8.6 per cent), and the territorial disproportions also somewhat diminished.

The responsibility of universities and local councils in career advising of prospective medical graduates must be extended. The students must not be confined by university walls and familiarize themselves with medical practice as such, and not only what is done in university clinics. The Universities of Pécs and Szeged already send students to country hospitals where they spend a number of weeks in each academic year. The University of Debrecen is planning to do likewise. The University of Budapest will also more frequently assign students to country hospitals for summer practice and will no longer arrange sixth-year practice almost exclusively in Budapest as has been the custom so far.

The system of the social study contracts is disturbed by certain institutions which employ young people who have already contracted their services elsewhere. Former holders sometimes go as far as repaying the scholarship.* This should be prohibited. The medical register must be changed to improve the allocation of positions.

Graduates are yearly allocated in cooperation with local councils. This system will be regulated by law. The plans of local councils and central authorities to create new posts will be revised on the basis of the real needs and the available staff. The position of earlier medical and dental graduates as well as their territorial and professional mobility, must be properly assessed to permit more systematic influence using time-limits, an integrated public health organization, etc.

Q: It is only right, in order to stimulate further study and research, that promotion should be made dependent on post-graduate degrees. This may lead to a department where a broad spectrum of ailments is being treated being headed by a man who spent much time on narrowly specialized work, one whose experience and knowledge regarding much of the work done is well below that of a member of his subordinates.

This contradiction cannot be entirely resolved and causes no great difficulties in a good team. Nevertheless, isn't it advisable to supplement post-graduate degrees, by a system of recognitions for conscientious and sound work done over a period? I am not of course thinking of honours or decorations.

A: In universities and national institutions, where patient care is highly specialized, and teaching as well as research are intensive, it is natural that those in charge, and others promoted to higher posts should be highly

* University students in Hungary often sign social scholarship contracts with institutions or enterprises. They undertake to work for them after graduation for as many months as they received the scholarship.

qualified in an academic way as well. In the case of senior medical officers in hospitals, academic qualification cannot be a necessary requirement though they should count where other qualifications are equal.

Reasonable specialization in research and practise is of course inevitable. The system of training has to be adjusted accordingly. Universities must provide firm foundations in theory and practice on which one can build in the course of postgraduate training. The training of specialists provides knowledge of the basic branches of medicine on a specialist's level, which an individual will either develop further in some special direction in the course of further post-graduate training and raise to a higher level still working on his own and attending ad hoc course. Further post-graduate training is e.g. available to those surgeons who wish to work with children. Earlier this was done in an unsystematic way as part of practise only now this is the "second rung" of a system of specialist qualifications. This sort of training is a great help in assessing who is qualified, to what degree and how intensively, for the discharge of certain responsibilities or of duties requiring higher professional standards. Various titles of distinction will thus continue to be honours awarded for outstanding community or professional work.

Q: Some argue that senior medical officers, both in hospitals and polyclinics ought to be denied the right to private practice to avoid abuses of power. Is any such restriction to be expected, and to whom would it apply. If this is going to happen how will counterselection be prevented, i.e. a situation where the best choose to maintain their private practice and give up positions with responsibilities?

A: Private practice is a historical category. The experience of the socialist countries clearly shows that it is regressing and will gradually disappear. This can be observed in Hungary as well where four to five thousand out of 23,000 medical practitioners today have private patients. Now that medical care has become a citizen right, the pursuit of private practice is becoming less and less justified.

The new ministerial instruction which regulates the right to maintain private consulting rooms forbids the heads of state and council hospitals and polyclinics, and doctors with senior administrative functions to continue private medical practice. This also applies to the rectors of universities and to newly appointed university professors. It does not as yet explicitly extend to heads of wards or departments but makes it possible to stipulate, when inviting applications, that those appointed will not be allowed to carry on private practice.

The purpose of these provisions is to allow those in charge to devote all their energies to their job so that a mixing up of their state health service duties and private practice would not disturb them. Today the required number of highly qualified men and women are available. The best, among them heads of national health institutions, do not maintain a private practice, devoting their entire working time to the discharge of their responsibilities.

Q: Are you in private practice? I do not imagine you are now, but how about the past, and what was your experience in that respect?

A: I have never been in private practice. I shall tell you why: I have never wanted to assume the related burdens and obligations. When I was still a young doctor I already wanted to be independent: doing what I thought should done, and not what the patient asked for. The most honest of private practitioners has to satisfy unjustified demands. Things which are of no great importance and do not affect treatment either way. Say he asks me, for example, to prescribe vitamins for him as well. But I quite simply am not, and was not willing to put myself in a state of dependence *vis à vis* patients in this sense. I can avoid this only if I have no private practice... Let me add that proper private practice without the right

equipment was already impossible thirty years ago.

Q: When it comes to medical ethics, most people immediately and almost exclusively think in terms of gratutities. With social progress this will I hope lose importance in time or could it be that their role will grow as standards of living improve and the demands of men with them. What other ethical problems do you consider important?

A: Let me insist in the first place that I look on all problems of medical ethics as important, since the picture and practice are complete only in context. A doctor who does or says something wrong regarding minor details (words sometimes do more harm than deeds do!) violates ethics as a whole.

Nearly a hundred years ago Oswald Ziemsen defined the notion of medical ethics in these terms: "Medical ethics deal with what our behaviour should be like so that common sense, the voice of reason, and practical judgement be equally active in us." A hundred years ago this applied to the relationship of doctor and patient, today it is already applicable to society as well. The doctor to doctor relationship is also far from unimportant. Concerning the relationship between doctor and patient, the doctor's knowledge has to be mentioned. It is his fundamental ethical duty to acquire a maximum of knowledge, to be able fully to meet his responsibilities. Formal logic perhaps classifies this as deontology, personally tend to emphasize the basically moral aspect as well. This duty which I call moral norm means at the same time that it should also be a source of satisfaction to the doctor. Maximum knowledge and work done having it means that it does not make sense for a patient to try and obtain better or presumably better treatment by offering gratuities. Something ought to be done to influence social attitudes as well, and not only the relationship between doctor and patient.

I am convinced that a real doctor, if his living is assured, finds pleasure in his work as such. The secret of this is the interplay of intellectual, humanitarian and moral forces. He who is lacking in any of these three is a long way from what a true doctor experiences or from being a good doctor.

Let me add, and this is verified by thirty years' development in socialist public health, that the overwhelming majority of Hungarian medical practitioners are true doctors in this sense are as well, they know and understand their social responsibilities.

Q: In some countries, such as Switzerland or Austria, health has turned into a foreign exchange earning industry. The professional qualifications of Hungarian doctors and certain factors—mainly immense balneological resources, certain caves but also the country's climate itself suggest that in this respect, too, there are things in Hungary that could be better exploited. Do you think this illusionary? If you don't, what would be the conditions for Hungary to partake in the international division of labour in this field as well? Have cost calculations been carried out for example, concerning investments for this purpose?

A: In a modest way the health service produces foreign currency for the country even now. The question of expansion has long been studied. Initial steps have already been taken. The Hévíz spa hotel has been completed and the building of a spa hotel on Margaret Island has begun. These hotels are intended in the first place for arthritic and similar patients from abroad who are not bedridden.

Institutionalized foreign currency production by the health services depends on a number of conditions being fulfilled. To mention only the most important: new establishments with modern equipment have to be built, especially in the vicinity of natural therapeutic facilities. Considering the resources of the country and obligations towards citizens, this will not be feasible for some time to come. Opportunities ought to

be found for such establishments to be financed by loans to be serviced by the treatment which they make possible. But this is not only a matter of public health, it is a complex question concerning the economy.

I see far more possibilities particularly in the further exploitation of balneological resources without prejudice to domestic requirements, on the contrary the development of the institutional network would help everyone the allocation of foreign currency income to health would be an added advantage, I am sure. I am not alone in thinking this.

Q: It is generally known that bottlenecks in the building industry handicap first of all investment projects of a cultural or health sort. Wouldn't the establishment of one or more building enterprises specially for the health services be advisable?

A: The state of the building industry truly considerably delays investments in public health projects. Work in this field as well can be speeded up and cost can be reduced only if modern technologies are employed. This needs the facilities of the large building enterprises. It is not likely that anxieties would be lessened by further specialization in the building industry. For example, the original hospital development targets of the fourth five-year plan had to be changed, giving preference to the use of fast constructed and assembled structures and elements because of labour shortages and technological progress. To this end, the Ministry of Construction and Urbanization undertook to elaborate a series of draft programmes, based on the use of prefabricated panels for the building of hospital pavilions, social welfare homes, child health homes and other establishements.

The point however is that what is being built may be more important than how it is built.

Q: Is it a mistake to believe that hospital construction should be given highest priority in Budapest in the first place, but elsewhere as well?

A: The construction of what kind of hospitals? Hospitals, wards and beds—this last item is actually the basic unit—should be classed according to the intensity of the treatment provided. We can distinguish at least three categories, and if we do so, it is easier to understand why I emphasize, besides the necessity of development, the need to change the hospital structure. If one distinguishes active beds, within which category an additional quality is represented by the best equipped intensive care unit beds, chronic beds and social beds, this makes it possible for a patient who occupies expensively equipped bed, not needed for the treatment he requires to be transferred to a hospital or a ward of another category which can be run at considerably lower costs and by a smaller number of doctors. In this way a very large percentage, about 20 to 35 per cent, of active beds could be freed.

Doctors and the authorities who maintain hospitals are equally convinced that real treatment is obtainable only in a maximally equipped hospital. Whereas not even the richest Western countries can afford this luxury but work out a consistent principle and practice to ensure that the patient is taken to the place where he can obtain the fullest medical care he needs. Certainly, a patient requiring less active treatment is also well attended in an active bed, but this is a waste of resources. Building a new hospital, and laying its foundation-stone is a symbolically great event. It is a far lesser thing but of no smaller importance, I think, to start a hospital ward where there is no Siemens Gigantos X-ray equipment, or no 16-channel EEG apparatus...

It happens that a chronic ward is nevertheless established, and the man in charge starts to argue that he needs an encephalograph, X-ray apparatus, a laboratory—and before we realize what has happened the ward has become an active one. To head a chronic ward today seems disreputable to some, the heads of active wards are believed to be of higher status.

Here approach and discipline alike must be improved. The head of a chronic ward of course comes out with the argument that one of his patients has relapsed and he cannot treat him. But the solution here is not the transformation of his ward, what has to be done is to build up organizational units making treatment within large units. This is a matter of good and timely diagnosis or just an ambulance. And it is linked to more flexible organization which I am now very much concerned with and which may become an integral part of our entire health policy. I use the word integral because this is a question of integration.

Q: This is the second time you mention integration. First you talked of the necessity to establish an integrated public health organization in connection with overcoming of the shortage of qualified medical practitioners and their mobility.

A: One can organize only what one has, but what one has must be organized a little better. Let us look at that certain "class distinction" which there is or appears to be between doctors. A hospital assistant looks with a certain superiority on a polyclinic or panel doctor until his term expires. Integration means that they be not only institutionally integrated but also as regards their outlook within the organization switching the round so as to level out the differences that now exist.

Integration means that hospitals, polyclinics and panel doctors on the county, district and town level are included in a single organization in which doctors can be assigned as required by professional needs and not merely on the basis of vacant posts. Thus the branches where there is a shortage, for there are such, can be radically reduced even without the creation of posts, by the better utilization of working capacities. This does not mean exploitation of the doctors, but quite the contrary. An ear, nose and throat specialist who today is appointed to a polyclinic and will have no opportunity to operate any more may be a somewhat frustrated man, his possibilities being limited. He therefore does not always perform his work with the degree of satisfaction that more work but allowing full scope to his abilities gives him. We would like to carry out this integration within about two years beginning next year, of course in close cooperation with local councils, who maintain these institutions.

The initiative was taken by a method used in the country in County Csongrád to be precise. I was still deputy minister when a professional survey covering the county and the University of Szeged together was carried out. Some senior consultants' posts were vacant in the county at that time. It seemed reasonable for me to say being new to high administrative responsibilities that there are highly qualified men two blocks away, at the University of Szeged, why should there be separate posts for senior consultants, let us appoint university professors, lecturers and even, *horribile dictu*, professor's assistants to those posts: let them carry out the duties of senior consultants. The idea was accepted, and it seems to work. If this can be done in a county though the cooperation of state and county were needed it should I think be even easier on a purely county, district or town level.

We dealt with these two interrelated subjects, the transformation of the hospital structure and the establishment of an integrated public health organization, rather late in this interview, but I consider them more important perhaps than all that we have discussed before.

Q: There are only two more concluding questions left. Being involved in the management of the Semmelweis Museum of Medical History, you must have views on the role of medical museology and medical historiography?

A: I was director of the Museum of Medical History for a number of years. When under-secretary of state I handed over the direction of the ot Museum Dr. József Antall, the present acting director. I con-

tinue to take part in the guidance of the Museum's scientific work as chairman of the Scientific Council.

As regards medical museology, the Museum of Medical History given its character as a professional teaching institution is as organic a part of the educational system as any other museum. It is an important place of research into the history of medicine.

Important changes are taking place in the history of medicine. One usually has difficulties in sizing up the historical importance of one event or the other, in finding out how particular results should be defined and how they can be compared with one another. Comparison still cannot be dispensed with. Events that took place centuries or decades ago may possibly, and not even infrequently, make themselves felt decades or centuries later. They become fused with new and sometimes most recent developments, exerting a determining influence upon them.

The past teaches us to evaluate our own age, including our own discipline, that is medicine. This is what the Museum of Medical History itself intends to achieve by its displays and exhibitions.

Q: In conclusion, a personal question: What were the main stages of your career, in what do you find relaxation, rest and recreation, inasmuch as your many official duties permit?

A: The latter is a rather embarrasing question. I do not want to appear to be what I am not, a man who is said to be ready to sacrifice himself. The truth is however that all my life, my work has offered me relaxation as well. Sunday at noon I go into the hospital and look round the ward. That is no trouble to me I eat all the better afterwards. It sounds funny to say but it is true I am sure there are many of our sort about. Then I get relaxation from my second occupation which also gives me pleasure. When I am absorbed in research on medical history I feel the way other people do watching an opera.

And as concerns my career, it is the simplest career of all that can be imagined. I graduated in 1949. I started on the lowest rung in hospitals and, with frequent breaks as an army medical officer, I rose step by step till I headed a hospital. Then I moved to the ministry as deputy minister, later first deputy minister, undersecretary of state and finally minister. All along I worked in Budapest, in different municipal hospitals, then in the State Hospital, from there I came to the ministry, but I still have a ward in my old hospital. Since it is a small one with few beds and a very good staff, it is no burden. It means that I start my day as a doctor and I head my ministry as a practising doctor. I should like to emphasize that social medicine is also part of medicine and not even the easiest specialized field.

I start at the hospital at seven, or a quarter to seven every morning. At nine I go to the ministry and if any of my patients causes particular anxiety I look in again. But that is no trouble. I have always felt at harmony with my medical work, and I still do so.

Something else. Being really interested in the humanities I first enrolled, as a matter of course, in the Faculty of Arts at Kolozsvár University. Then I realized that this was not for me. During the second term I decided to switch, however interesting and beautiful my studies were, the way of life was not what I was looking for. One can cultivate the humanities, and I have never really given them up entirely, but that alone did not offer me what I wanted. That is how I came to study medicine and qualify as a doctor.

István Lázár

SURVEYS

IMRE POZSGAY

PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

For Marxist philosophers the prime question is always the relationship between practical socialist construction and philosophy, uniting theory and practice so that existing objective reality can be accompanied by conscious planning to surpass what exists today. As a result of the 11th Party Congress resolutions synthesizing social experience and scientific knowledge, philosophers, social scientists and politicians must together formulate the new goals and tasks for the social sciences and philosophy. For philosophy this requires an organic unity and harmony between cognitive-orientating and ideological-educational functions. While carrying out these two most important functions, philosophy also criticizes what has already been surpassed in social evolution. In thus making conscious the dialectic of permanent and changing elements in evolution, it spreads and confirms the Marxist–Leninist ideology and the commitment to socialism. It is still valid today that philosophy not only explains the world but also participates in changing it. Only in this way can it serve as a true explanation and be a truly scientific ideology.

The 11th Congress of the Party asked the philosophers and social scientists a whole number of new theoretical questions, to achieve a unity of theory and practice in political decisions. It must become an organic link between objectives immediate and remote, apply principles and experience of international validity in accordance with our historic particularities and fit the socialist evolution of our country into the international framework of the socialist world system.

Though no concrete question can be alien to philosophy and philosophical research, I want to concentrate on the specific tasks arising from the Programme Declaration. The new Programme Declaration of the Marxist-Leninist theory to summarize authentically the historic path already covered, drew the conclusions and set further goals. It reflects the style in which the Party works, its method of guidance, the intention of further deepening mass contacts and the unity of society.

Before examining the philosophical problems as formulated in the Programme Declaration of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party we have to consider the methodology that is closely linked to Party practice, for the main political line of the Party includes not only ideological principles and objectives but also methods of application. The most convincing method is the one following the most proved, most suitable way to direct society and maintain the relationships between Party and masses and Party and other organizations, while pursuing the set objectives. On the basis of this method, daily and on-going tasks form an organic unity with more remote objectives in such a way that the Party reconciles everyday

needs of the masses with the requirements of social progress. Thus can the masses be convinced through their own experience that major undertakings for the future are not contrary to today's needs but grow out of them. Evolution is built on the requirements and interests of the masses, whose highest interests in social progress must achieve the highest consciousness among the working class and its Party.

The Party must be fully aware of the social conditions, the aspirations of the people and the tasks through which the masses have matured. It must proceed at the head of society in such a way that it does not lose contact with the masses; on the contrary social unity must be further evolved. As it has over nearly two decades, so in the future the Party can fulfil this requirement, because of its ideological, political and organizational unity; its correct Marxist-Leninist line; its struggle on two fronts against right and left deviations; the discipline and responsibility of its membership; and its grasp on reality to provide the necessary convincing force.

The political practice of the Party shows a great consciousness of and sensitivity to reality. Its lively relationship with the masses guarantees that actions are not led by abstract ideas or "musts", while theory arms us against the panglossian view which knows no better than the existing world, no more important results than the (considerable) ones already achieved and knows no possibility of greater evolution.

The Programme Declaration is not a collection of practical instructions or dogmas, giving retrospectively planned objectives and tasks set on the basis of assumed and desired abstract objective. It sets objectives based on the general principles of Marxist-Leninism. Practice and practical problems also play a role, so that the objectives are not isolated from the path that led up to them. This presumes that further practical and theoretical problems may arise and require adjustments. To be sure, the new Party Programme is also theoretical, partly because it raises theoretical problems that need to be solved, and partly because its practice requires a theoretical consciousness, and thereby requires a theory which is organically part of the practice.

The goal is the creation of an advanced socialist society, as defined thus in the Programme Declaration:

In the next fifteen-twenty years, our task will be to continue our advance in building socialism, to create a well-developed socialist society in our country and thus come nearer to our historic aim—Communism.[1]

The first question is what sort of socio-economic conditions can be expected of an advanced socialist society? According to our present knowledge, it does not entail separate conditions, but rather continued evolution based on existing socialist relations with the practical development of production relations, human relations and communities characteristic of communism. In order to achieve this degree of development, which is not distinct from but still substantially differs from today's, considerable economic, social and political changes must occur.

One of the important tasks of philosophy is to explore the characteristic and determinant laws of advanced socialist society—as a relatively separate stage of development.

We do not consider an advanced socialist society as some intermediate stage between socialism and capitalism, which unites both. Rather it is a socialist society which has attained an advanced condition characterized by the many-sided exploration of the advantages of socialism, a consistent linking of the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and new social relations. The February 1975 number of *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review) quotes from the address of Soviet Academician P. N. Fedoseev to the vice-presidential conference

[1] Information Bulletin of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. 11th Congress Special Issue 2, Budapest. March 1975, p. 44.

of the academies of science of the socialist countries. As the economic laws of socialism evolve, their range of applicability and the opportunities for their realization become broader; the social results of applying the laws increase considerably, and as a consequence, favourable material and intellectual conditions foster the many-sided evolution of the personality.

Such research into the advanced socialist society demands a complex approach. Not only do several sciences have a bearing on the subject, but also these sciences, including philosophy, must be applied in a complex way to encompass the postulates of a high standard of production, the further development of property relations, the emergence of an entire people through the evolution of political conditions, as parts of a united, interconnected and unifying evolutionary process.

Marxist philosophy too faces great tasks in exploring and summarizing the criteria of the advanced socialist society. It must participate in the clarification of such questions as the economic-technical base of advanced socialist society; the interconnection between socio-economic efficiency and socialist economic planning; the national economy of our country as part of the socialist world economy; the peculiarities of commodity and monetary relations, and property relations at this stage; the interaction between these and the social and political structure; the way of life and public thinking and the implementation of the cultural revolution in the Leninist sense.

Out of the many tasks that have to be solved, some problems for historic reasons are specially suited to philosophy and exercise Hungarian public opinion more than usual. Among these is the problem of property and interest relations. To some people, laying the foundations of socialism has been conceived in the somewhat simplified form of bringing socialist property relations to power through *organizational* action. (The complex part of this analysis is reached with the approach to national property and, even more so, cooperative property.) Now that a complex approach is required to analyse advanced socialist society, it is imperative to overcome all over-simplification. In this, philosophy has an important role to play, based on the guidance of the Programme Declaration. It is necessary, first of all, to clarify theoretical and practical tasks in developing property relations—including first of all what is meant by the development of property relations. Certainly not a movement characterized by some sort of organizational action. This would contradict both the concrete historic situation and every close or remote need. Popular ownership of the communist type must evolve organically from economic, political and juridical co-operation between the two dominant socialist forms of ownership.

No document of the Congress gave or could have given a detailed description of the property of a communist type. But on the basis of the experience of other socialist countries (first of all the Soviet Union), it appears certain that it is not one or the other present form of property that will characterize the property of communism. But with the development of the forces of production, the scientific-technical revolution and the evolution of the social structure, a new kind of disposition over the means of production will be developed to serve as the foundation of communism.

One of the most important questions connected with the evolution of property relations is the transformation of interest relations. In Hungary this was one of the most debated political questions in recent years. It is still a cause of considerable error, for some people, usually motivated by special interests, seek a direct link between the form of property and level of interest. They postulate that group interest is the harmful product of group property, from which they conclude that it is not difficult to designate the future forms of property. This experience in itself justifies doing more

theoretical work on the interest relations of socialism, as a result of which politics may obtain new arguments against arbitrary decision-making.

The social structure cannot be understood without first understanding the relations among property, the division of labour and interests. Only with the huge amount of empirical and theoretical information accumulated by the various social sciences can one begin to grasp the complicated determinations, interactions and theoretical processes involved. For instance, historiography, economics and sociology may together tackle the question of needs and what economic, power-political, ideological and moral mediation socialism provides for satisfying social demands—indeed, how it transforms the system of needs and itself increasingly becomes a need, the unity of instrument and objective. (This process can gather strength in social production where work in general is not as yet of a communist nature, and where for many people it could not already have become a need.)

Marxist-Leninist philosophy has a system of concepts and a method to express new interconnections through new concepts. They can follow the changes in reality to solve the given questions while still bound to historic processes and action—that is, not in a speculative way. It is especially necessary to make use of this attribute where reality may be most distorted in the prism of interests and presumed interests: in politics and ideology.

The Congress has passed exceedingly important resolutions concerning political conditions, the development of constitutional life and socialist democracy. The Programme Declaration reads:

As class distinctions diminish in the course of the socialist development of our society, the all-people's features of the socialist state increase. With the creation of a developed socialist society, the state of proletarian dictatorship will gradually be transformed into all-people's socialist state, of which the working class will remain the leading force. In a developed socialist society, the elements of communist socialist self-governement will emerge ever more fully.[2]

The report of the Central Committee voiced the view that "socialist democracy is an important indicator of the degree of development of our society". It was expressed more concretely in the resolution of the Congress as: "Our people's power is all the stronger the more support it gets from the masses, the broader and the more intensive the socialist democracy is."[3] This means that the institutions and practice of socialist democracy are a yardstick of the degree of development of society—not only production indices and production relations indicate social progress. In this light socialist democracy is not a power which is given to the people as a concession, but it underlies socialist power itself and grows stronger the larger the number of committed, responsible citizens who actively participate in public life. This is why socialist democracy may be ranked among the complex criteria indicating the stages of socialist development.

Among questions on the way of life, culture and ideology, the greatest attention must be paid to those interconnections which advance the evolution of the socialist communities, and the transformation of the social consciousness and behaviour. We must make use of an advantage which is not characteristic even of the most developed capitalist countries—only we are able to spread culture on a massive scale.

Philosophy as an ideological science must perform tasks of historic importance in the formation of the consciousness of socialist man and in developing the socialist elements of social consciousness. This is emphasized in the Programme Declaration:

"The development of social consciousness, the change in the people's thinking and

[2] op. cit. p. 47.
[3] op. cit. p. 13

moral aspect and the acquirement of education are inseparable parts of the socialist development of our society. Marxist-Leninist ideology has a decisive role in the entirety of our social life; it has spread in a broad circle and defines the thinking and attitude of a significant part of our people.

The role of the factors of consciousness will increase in the coming period of our country's development. The building of a developed socialist society requires the work and activity of such people who, in addition to disciplined and good work, participate in public affairs to attain our social aims, who are knowledgeable in and adhere to the norms of socialist morals, and for whom the love of our socialist country is inseparably entwined with internationalism.

Our improving material conditions have to be utilized in a socialist manner. Therefore, the more rapid and more powerful transformation of consciousness, the universality of socialist morals and mode of life is a key question and indispensable condition for the development of the whole of society."[4]

The efforts of a single science are, of course, inadequate for the fulfilment of a task of such importance. In the formation of a man of socialist convictions the entire social environment and economic, social, political and ideological relations must play a role. The education of social consciousness occurs in and through this environment. It is linked to this given and constantly changing, evolving social existence. Marxist philosophy offers an ideological knowledge by which the man of socialism may find his way in the conditions of contradictory reality, and fit his personal interests and ambitions into the interests of the larger community and society. Philosophy—by offering a scientific ideology—may assist the people on a massive scale consciously to fit their part-actions into social action.

For its ideological educational work, party policy makes it clear to the masses that the promulgated principles and objectives correspond to political practice, and all these together serve the interests of society. Yet, there are still circumstances that obstruct a clear view. Under socialism, besides the community of fundamental interests, there still appear important differences between the interests of the various classes and strata, and this also has an effect on the evolution of ideological conditions. The ideological struggle is made more difficult by the fact that the ideas differing from the scientific ideology are not today represented by classes opposed to each other. In the struggle of ideas within socialism there are no frontlines drawn along class or stratum frontiers. Progressive and retrograde thinking can be in the head of the same person.

The ideological struggle of philosophy cannot be separated from the epistemological-critical function of philosophy. Any ideological struggle—including that of philosophy—would be barren if it failed to answer the topical problems of society that demand solution. A philosophy content to defend itself and fight against alien, hostile ideas cannot be successful against opponents either, because it cannot win over the masses which every day expect new answers to the questions of life. Avoiding the problems that arise in the course of social progress has always been alien to consistent Marxist-Leninist philosophy. Marxists must shoulder the risks attending cognition if they wish to acquire a convincing strength in the ideological struggle. Only a philosophy which is closely and organically linked to life and faithfully follows the constant changes in reality can struggle successfully against imperialist ideological subversion as well as the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and attitudes generated internally for both historic and new reasons.

To contribute a universal Marxist-Leninist ideology is a cause to inspire Hungarian philosophers participating in

[4] op. cit. p. 56.

changing society and people's consciousness of society. The 11th Congress of the Party and the Programme Declaration adopted there formulated very important new theses of principle, and at the same time made demands of the social sciences and philosophy concerning research into the conditions of socialist reality and the solution of new theoretical problems. We are therefore justified in claiming that the programme of society is also the scientific programme of the social sciences and philosophy.

JÁNOS NYERGES

HUNGARY'S ACCESSION TO GATT

The international background

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade could be called the somewhat illegitimate child of the Havana Conference and of the Havana Charter itself. It was meant as a provisional instrument to salvage the most important part of the Charter, which had the misfortune not to please the United States Congress.

"Ce n'est que le provisoire qui dure"—as the French say. In spite of several difficulties the provisional General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade has come of age in pretty good shape.

It is not the purpose of this paper to generally assess the achievements and failures of this Agreement but rather to outline the attitude of Hungary, as a socialist country, to those principles and practices which are embodied in the General Agreement, giving the reasons why the Hungarian Government asked for accession to GATT, and assessing the implications of this membership.

At first sight it is clear that the General Agreement is an attempt to revert to free trade, or at least to try and find second-best solutions. At the time of the drafting of the Havana Charter and of the setting up of the General Agreement, a number of countries already had a planned economy. Foreign trade monopoly was not unknown to the participants of the Havana Conference. At that time the U.S. delegation, for instance, proposed to solve the problem of the absence of an effective tariff system in the Soviet Union by inducing a scheme, whereby the Soviet Union, and for that matter other socialist countries, lacking effective tariffs, should undertake some kind of import commitments as a *quid pro quo* for tariff concessions. The question of a *quid pro quo* haunts the international scene. Heated discussions went on, and they still flare up, based on home-made value judgements regarding the character and working methods of a state trading system. No wonder that the basic question of the equivalence to be asked from socialist countries for tariff concessions has never been properly put. What is the *quo?* What is the meaning of a tariff concession given by a developed market economy country in economic terms? First of all it is not an absolute value, measurable by clear uniform standards, in economic or real terms. Twenty-five years of discussion about the value of tariff concession, during the negotiations of GATT, are a sufficient proof of the futility of any attempt to measure tariff concessions.[1] It is therefore difficult to ac-

[1] The traditional view of GATT on this matter is that "governments participating in negotiations should retain complete freedom to adopt any method they might feel most appropriate for estimating the value of duty reductions and bindings."

cept that an undertaking to buy could be the equivalent of a tariff concession. On the contrary, a tariff concession reciprocated by a firm buying commitment is largely overcompensated.

Another problem relevant to the interest of the socialist countries in the General Agreement was the status of "state trading". At the time this question was resolved by the participants by the introduction and adoption of Article XVII of the General Agreement.

In this context the following issues arise: participation of state trading enterprises in international trade, and the correlation between planning, a planned economy and the principles and practice of international trade.

The regulations concerning state trading were elaborated first by the drafters of the Havana Charter and later by GATT from the viewpoint of free trade doctrines. This fact in itself would not create any problem if the interpretation of free trade doctrines would not have been distorted later.

The regulations of GATT on state trading enterprises provide that such enterprises, that is, enterprises owned by the state, should act in accordance with commercial considerations.[2]

[2] a) Each contracting party undertakes that if it establishes or maintains a state enterprise, formally or in effect, exclusive or special privileges, such an enterprise shall, in its purchases or sales involving either imports or exports, act in a manner consistent with the general principle of non-discriminatory treatment prescribed in this agreement for governmental measures affecting imports or exports by private traders.

b) The provisions of sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph shall be understood to require that such enterprises shall, having due regard to the other provisions of this Agreement, make any such purchases or sales solely in accordance with commercial considerations, including price, quality, availability, marketability, transportation and other conditions of purchase or sale, and shall afford the enterprises of the other contracting parties adequate opportunity, in accordance with customary business practice, to compete for participation in such purchases or sales.

There is nothing objectionable in this requirement and, as we shall be able to see in what follows, the existence of a state trading enterprise does not mean that it does not operate on the basis of commercial considerations. The distortion lies in the fact that regulations concerning state trading enterprises are interpreted starting out from the principle that a private trading enterprise, by its very nature and in accordance with the laws of the market, acts always and under all circumstances according to commercial considerations so that its operation is not, and cannot be, in conflict with the governing principles of free trade.

This thesis is entirely false. There are international, multinational companies whose production is greater than the national income of some countries, including some which have a planned economy, where foreign trade is a state monopoly. What guarantee is there that such a multinational company will not use its enormous power for political purposes, applying non-commercial considerations?

There are some questions relating to commercial considerations. What is to be considered "commercial consideration" is not defined by GATT.

Is it a commercial consideration if a firm acts solely in keeping with the prevailing market situation? On the other hand, the commercial nature of the consideration cannot be denied if the firm does not take into account momentary prices, but sells its products over or below prevailing prices due to long-term market tendencies, or because of its own foreign trade or economic strategy; if the firm makes decisions concerning its markets or sources of supply in accordance with a long-term trade strategy which is economically and commercially justified. The right of such decisions cannot be denied to either private firms or state enterprises.

GATT has shown great flexibility in interpreting commercial considerations. This flexibility is evident in the case of the "tied loans". A tied loan is when the lending

country stipulates to the borrowing country that it can use the loan only for the purchase of products and services of the lending country. It is clear that it may happen that competitors offer investment goods cheaper than the lending country. GATT has found a very simple way of resolving this contradiction: a loan tied to purchases is a commercial consideration. In this case, too, the flexible interpretation of terms shows that a doctrinaire standpoint cannot be maintained in practice.

Another aspect of this question is that a private company, according to the doctrine mentioned above, can be regarded as free and as acting solely on commercial considerations, if it is independent of the government. The legal system of the capitalist world formally requires and secures this independence. No capitalist government has the legal right to force an enterprise to enter into a transaction by central, administrative instructions. If, however, we look into the reality, the question of independence is not so simple. How can e.g. a capitalist large company be considered independent of the government, if its biggest customer, through contracts, is the government itself.

The aim of these arguments is not to doubt the justification and usefulness of provisions concerning commercial considerations, but to illustrate that such an interpretation of the thesis that private enterprises start from commercial considerations in each case, while state enterprises usually do not start from commercial considerations, is totally unfounded.

This is clear in the case of socialist countries where enterprises are state-owned and which have a monopoly of foreign trade. These countries and these enterprises are bound to carry out plans. It is known that economic development plans, as shown by the objectives published, set economic and economic development targets which are achieved through economic means. The system of plan instructions does not exclude, not even in the most centralized form, that enterprises and workers should be interested financially or that they should have the possibility to decide on economic considerations; far from excluding this, it is one of the preconditions of the planning system. Economic considerations can be, and are, fully enforced in countries with a planned economy.

It has to be recognized that the problem of non-commercial considerations is of a politico-psychological nature. This, however, does not diminish its practical impact on the whole "philosophy" of East-West trade. The most widespread expression of the fear of discrimination on political grounds by state trading enterprises is the argument concerning the lack of transparency of the socialist economic system, i.e. one cannot prove or disprove the existence of political motives behind the decisions of state trading enterprises. This implies again that the market economy is transparent enough to allow outsiders to see that decisions of individual firms are not influenced by political considerations. It is obvious that there is no such transparency allowing outsiders to see the motives of decisions, whatever the economic system.

Decisions by enterprises based on the socialist planned economy as well as on intergovernment agreements on co-operation among socialist countries should be presumed to be based on commercial considerations in the same way as the decisions of any non-socialist enterprise.

It should be recalled that the article of the General Agreement on state trading was intended to be used for cases where the state monopoly operates under the conditions of a market economy, e.g. a state tobacco or salt monopoly, state railways, etc. It this wording the provisions for state trading apply to an exceptional situation and are not applicable, therefore, to countries where "state trading" is the general rule and private enterprise is the exception.

The capitalist view whereby it is directly the government, the official bodies of the socialist country concerned, which should be made responsible for the operation of social-

ist enterprises, their actions and market behaviour follows from this deliberately distorted concept of state trading and planning. Let us put it in a more positive way: the intention is to lay trade relations on a foundation where the capitalist state assumes no responsibility for the purchases and sales of their allegedly freely trading firms, for the conditions under which they trade with socialist countries, whereas they wish to induce the governments of socialist countries to undertake a commitment to buy a certain quantity of goods in a specified composition, or at least to undertake a commitment for a fixed proportion of the foreign trade turnover between socialist and non-socialist countries. On the other hand they impose discriminatory quantitative restrictions on the imports originating from socialist countries, on the ground of differences in the economic system. The paradoxical situation arises that capitalist countries benefit from the advantages of the planned economy where their exports are concerned, but penalize the countries with planned economies, when it comes to imports.

The Hungarian background

Times have changed since the period of political, economic and trade policy confrontation. In 1966, after an open and rather lengthy nation-wide debate, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party passed a resolution outlining a far-reaching reform of the economic management system. In the period of the relaxation of the international tension, and of several multilateral and bilateral attempts to normalize trade relations between countries with different economic and social systems, in which Hungary took a far from negligible part, the Hungarian authorities felt prompted to have another look at GATT activities and possible advantages to the country.

When assessing the international trade policy implications of the reform, an important conclusion was drawn. For all practical purposes, Hungary's trading system enabled the Hungarian authorities to adhere to GATT's rules and practices, and in addition, the introduction of new Hungarian custom tariffs allowed for multilateral negotiations in this important field.

In the light of this situation, the question arose: was it worth acceding to the General Agreement?

The answer must be in the affirmative.

It should be pointed out from the outset that the primary considerations were not material advantages, but essentially those of a trade policy character.

Socialist Hungary was subjected to discrimination by a large number of capitalist countries. The concept of discrimination as it here applies must be elucidated. Hungary has valid bilateral treaties or trade agreements with the overwhelming majority of its capitalist trading partners. Many of these agreements date from the period between the two world wars or even before 1914. All these agreements contain the most-favoured-nation clause.

The practice of discriminatory quantitative restrictions is regarded as non-consistent with existing bilateral agreements. The reasons for these discriminatory practices were related to the difference in the economic and social system of Hungary from that of the discriminating countries. The only country which openly declared political motives for denying most-favoured-nation treatment was the United States. According to U.S. legislation most-favoured treatment was to be denied to the communist countries, or "countries under domination or control of international communism". The provisions of the new Trade Reform Act are not different in their motivation, scope or intent. The discriminatory treatment of goods originating from socialist countries was limited to tariffs. No discriminatory quantitative restrictions have been applied so far against socialist countries. The new

Trade Bill, however, does not exclude such a possibility.

Discriminatory quantitative restrictions were widely used against socialist countries by a great number of countries in Western Europe.

The reason given by those applying this form of discrimination was that the price formation in the socialist countries differs from that in market economy countries and thus could disrupt the market there. This allegation alone, without any concrete proof of market disruption, was sufficient in a number of countries to maintain discriminatory quantitative restrictions against Hungary. One is even more hesitant to accept this argument, when one is faced with the conditions for lifting the quantitative restrictions. One is tempted to say that the whole scheme pursues trade policy aims, trying to force socialist countries to reserve a given share of their imports to some Western countries in exchange of import quotas, whereas other countries enjoy the general liberalization scheme.

GATT's main attraction to Hungary was and is the fact that it unconditionally postulates the most-favoured-nation treatment and prohibits discrimination or quantitative restrictions. Moreover, it provides proper procedures in cases involving market disruption, dumping, balance of payment difficulties, etc.

On September 10, 1973 Hungary became a Contracting Party according to the rules of procedure of GATT.

The first question from a doctrinal point of view is: How a socialist country with a planned economy can adapt itself to the provisions of GATT? This question requires some analyses. First of all, in the case of Hungary this question was never raised, and this for sound reasons. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is not a declaration of faith, or the embodiment of abstract ideas on economic or social system, but—it may surprise those for whom the letters GATT have magic value—an agreement among contracting parties, with clear legal obligations and rights in a specific field: tariffs and trade, and nothing else. This was clearly understood by the Contracting Parties, who declared, prior to the accession of Hungary, that the requests of accession of state trading countries should be regarded on their own merits. It should be remembered that at the start of the examination of Hungary's accession, the Hungarian side made it clear that "they are prepared to discuss only those questions where the General Agreement prescribes contractual obligations and rights".

The only relevant question is: was Hungary willing and able to accept the contractual obligations of the General Agreement, and to what extent? One should also remember that the character of the General Agreement's contractual obligations underwent important modifications in the 25 years of GATT.

The Hungarian negotiators, when asked if Hungary was willing and able to undertake full GATT commitments? was the Hungarian Government able to accept existing rules?—answered that "having applied for full membership, Hungary expects the full observance of the most-favoured-nation treatment, as described in GATT, from Contracting Parties and is ready to reciprocate by the full observance of this most-favoured-nation treatment. Moreover, according to Article XXXIII of the General Agreement terms of an accession will have to be agreed between Hungary and the Contracting Parties. We desire, however, to define in a more precise manner the concept of full GATT commitments in the sense whether it relates to the unreserved adherence to the original text of the GATT Charter or does it also include all reservations, exceptions and procedural possibilities that have come into force among the Contracting Parties".

I would like to point out that Article XXXIII of the General Agreement stipulates: "A government... may accede to this

Agreement... on terms to be agreed between such a government and the Contracting Parties... Consequently there is virtually no limit, no qualification, no pre-condition, as to what country, on what terms can acceed to the General Agreement." The accession of Hungary to GATT took place in full conformity with the above rules, therefore it is pointless to regard this accession as an act of conversion to the true faith of a pagan tribe. While undergoing the sacrament of baptism one cannot bargain on the Articles of Faith, while acceding to GATT one can.

Nevertheless the Hungarian system of economic management was subjected to a close examination which lasted more than three years. The outcome of this scrutiny was that there were no elements in the existing economic management system, which had to be modified in order to fit into the framework of the General Agreement. It can thus be said that the Hungarian system of economic management is in full conformity with the letter and spirit of GATT.

It should be noted that Hungary has not renounced the planned character of the economy, nor has the country given up the state monopoly of foreign trade.

One of the peculiarities of Hungary's joining is that Hungary acceded to GATT paying an "entrance fee" in the form of tariffs. Since the Hungarian tariff system was an important innovation in a socialist country's trading mechanism, it was subject to close scrutiny by the Contracting Parties. The Secretariat of GATT in a note, though not passing "any judgement on the effectiveness of Hungarian tariffs as a trade policy instrument" had a number of important suggestions to make.

"The Hungarian customs tariff came into force on January 1, 1968 as part of the country's new system of economic management. It consists of three columns. Column I is the preferential column to be applied to imports from developing countries in the context of the proposed Scheme on Generalized Preferences. Column II contains the most-favoured-nation rates, applicable to countries from which Hungary, in turn, receives most-favoured-nation treatment. Column III contains the maximum duties applied to goods from a relatively small number of countries which do not themselves grant Hungary most-favoured-nation treatment."

"At present, the tariff applies to all countries other than the socialist countries with which goods are exchanged at fixed prices and under quota."

"The tariff is based on the Brussels Nomenclature, Hungary being a member of the Brussels Customs Co-operation Council. Duties in the tariff are, in all cases, levied on an *ad valorem* basis."

"As to the rates of duty, the level in Column II is generally half that in Column III. The average level of most-favoured-nation duties, for both industry and agriculture, is, for raw materials 0–5 per cent, for semi-manufactures 5–20 per cent, manufactures and consumer goods 40–50 per cent." (This has been substantially reduced during the tariff negotiations linked with the accession of Hungary to GATT.)

"The customs duty is nominally paid by the importing foreign trade enterprise which, in turn, passes it on to the domestic company on whose behalf the import is made. The actual incidence of this duty, of course, varies with market conditions. The value for customs purposes—the basis for assessment of the duty—is the c.i.f. foreign price converted into forints at the customs rate of exchange of the foreign currency."

"In establishing the tariff rates, the Hungarian authorities have taken the internal price level into consideration. The tariff is meant to influence, along with other factors, import prices either in the direction of affording protection to domestic production or in the direction of encouraging competi-

tion. The tariff is generally not used as an instrument of internal price policy."

"The tariff system permits the waiving entirely or reduction of customs duties in a number of cases by the use of tariff quotas, tariff concessions, tariff suspensions and by other special procedures."

"It is the objective of the Hungarian Government that imports should be made from all sources and that purchases should be made in the cheapest market. Hungary considers that the tariff should play the predominant role towards this objective which entails that the tariff should become the chief means of regulating imports as well as the main instrument of protection of the domestic economy."

Since this study was published, Hungary has conducted tariff negotiations in order to determine the schedule of the country's concessions linked with her accession to GATT. Hungary has negotiated tariff concessions with the European Economic Community and twelve other interested countries.

The concessions given have affected 41.7 per cent of non-socialist imports, and included 865 tariff headings, of which 165 were consolidated. 9.5 per cent of their value was in agriculture, 26.5 per cent in heavy industry, 20.8 per cent in the light industries and 42.9 per cent in the engineering industries.

Following the concessions the average nominal tariff is about 21.3 per cent.

It should be added that the U.S. has not participated in the tariff negotiations with Hungary, since the U.S. delegation invoked Article XXXV—therefore "the U.S. could not accordingly participate in the discussion of Hungary's Schedule".

The U.S. delegation added, however, "that if the U.S. should decide to disinvoke Article XXXV, it might wish, in due course, to enter into negotiation with Hungary".

It goes without saying that under such circumstances Hungary, on her part, applies the maximum duties on import from the U.S. This has its bearing not only on the level of trade between the two countries but also on the composition of imports.

First of all, there is a great probability that goods subject to maximum duties cannot enter the markets concerned. In other words, only 40 per cent of Hungary's exports to the U.S. could carry the weight of tariff rates, and only 25 per cent of U.S. goods could be sold in Hungary given Hungarian maximum duties. The unfavourable consequences for the competitive position of the U.S. on the Hungarian market may be illustrated by the fact that while Hungarian imports from the Federal Republic of Germany comprised 664 B.T.N. tariff headings in 1970 those from the U.S.A. did only 172.

This is simply to illustrate the fact that the most-favoured-nation treatment is not a plant which grows only on U.S. soil.

Conditions of accession of Hungary to GATT

The Protocol of Accession of Hungary and the Report of the Working Party on the Accession of Hungary contains no qualification of the existing economic management system. It merely notes that "the Hungarian trading system has to be examined in the light of the existing system of economic management in Hungary".

The Report refers to the Memorandum on the foreign trade regime of Hungary to the questions and answers given by the Hungarian delegation to the Contracting Parties "as well as (to the) considerable supplementary documentation supplied by the Hungarian delegation".[3]

It is clear from the outset that the accession of Hungary disproved the notion that a socialist country with a planned economy cannot have effective tariffs and that it should therefore give concessions in

[3] This question-answer exercise contained 10,000 items.

the form of quantitative commitments of imports or commitments as to the share of the market economy countries in its overall imports.

The Protocol of Accession of Hungary and the attached Report of the Working Party on Hungary's Accession contain, however, certain specific dispositions in order to cope with problems as they arise or with specific wishes of certain Contracting Parties in respect of their trade relations with Hungary.

The most important such specific feature is the fact that it gives Hungary the right to maintain her existing trading regulations with a number of socialist countries which are thus declared to be not inconsistent with Article I of the General Agreement. The factual situation is that—as was pointed out in the Report of the Working Party on Hungary's Accession—Hungary does not at present apply customs tariffs to goods from some socialist countries, but a special turnover tax, and that the modalities of this trade are based on fixed prices and quotas.

In the discussion the Hungarian delegation was able to demonstrate that the absence of tariffs in the trade between certain socialist countries and Hungary was due to fixed prices and quotas and not to a decision to discriminate against goods from non-socialist countries.

The non-discriminatory character of this situation was underlined by the undertaking on the Hungarian side that these "trading regulations or any change in them... shall not impair her commitments, discriminate against or otherwise operate to the detriment of contracting parties".

Liquidation of discriminative quantitative restrictions against Hungary

This was the most controversial issue during the negotiations. The main supporters of the discriminatory quantitative restrictions were the countries of the Common Market, and to a lesser extent some other countries like Sweden and Norway, countries whose main trade policy instrument against socialist countries consisted of the maintenance of these quantitative restrictions against socialist countries. Australia, New-Zealand, Canada, Japan and the U.S. have not applied discriminative quantitative restrictions against Hungary, and there was no discrimination in this field from Spain, Greece, Turkey or the developing countries.

The earlier protocols of accession of socialist countries dealt with this question in another manner. The protocol of accession of Poland contained a firm commitment to remove discriminatory quantitative restriction but after a period of transition only, which was to be determined later. It is one of the peculiarities of the Polish case that since 1967 the European Community has not been able to indicate a period after which it would discontinue discriminatory practices.

In the case of Rumania a Working Party was set up to examine the fulfilment of this particular obligation. It has been agreed, however, that the increase in the amount of the existing bilateral quotas is regarded as a measure of the removal of discriminations.

One can ask again why countries apply such discriminatory quantitative restrictions against Hungary and other socialist countries. The argument put forward in the Hungarian case, as in other cases as well, was their having another system of price formation. The argument ran: since you have a price system which differs from ours, since this price formation can disturb our markets, we have the right to apply any measure against you, at our discretion, without any examination or confrontation with the facts whatsover. It was difficult to understand the insistence on such measures of an *ex ante* character without any possibility of checking the validity of the reasons for restrictive action.

Let us analyse the documents of Accession

of Hungary from this aspect. Since the European Community was not prepared to set a target date for the elimination of these discriminatory quantitative restrictions, agreement was reached on a text calling for "progressive" elimination of quantitative restrictions, inconsistent with Article XIII of GATT.

The Protocol of Accession provided a procedure of notification and examination of such quantitative restrictions "with a view to their elimination"—the notification was to contain, among other things, information on "measures adopted with a view to eliminating these prohibitions and restrictions".

The attached Report makes this commitment even clearer. First of all, the Report on Hungary's Accession has not accepted an increase in the amount of the existing bilateral quotas as a measure towards doing away with them, since the existence of bilateral import quotas in the absence of such quotas for any other countries' product continues to be a violation of Article XIII, whatever the size or increase of such a quota might be. Second, according to the Report, the Working Party set up to examine the process of removal of discriminations "will take into account all relevant elements in order to be able to evaluate the situation and will report its findings to the Council; the mere existence of the price system in Hungary—as distinct from its effects—is not to be considered as the only relevant element."

This disposition has a great significance. It straightens out procedure. It no more permits the use of a specific price system as a sufficient reason for unilateral action or for maintaining discrimination. Measures are permitted in cases of market disturbances caused by Hungarian exports only. It reasserts "affirmanti incumbit probatio" (He who states should prove).

There is a serious loophole, however. Contracting parties which still continue with discrimination were not able to fix a target date on which discriminatory quantitative restrictions would be discontinued. The commitment, however, is straightforward, the agreement on the accession of Hungary to GATT specifies it in point 4/a of the Protocol of Accession.

The legal status of the remaining quantitative restrictions, up to the day of their final elimination, is an interesting legal question. The text of the agreement is explicit. First of all, it underlines that they are inconsistent with Article XIII of the General Agreement, thus they should be examined with a view of their elimination.

Second, the method of the notification prescribed by the Protocol of Accession implies the obligation of the elimination of the restrictions and this without qualification or any condition, providing that contracting parties in question "shall notify..." among others "measures adopted with a view to eliminating these prohibitions and restrictions".

These restrictions and prohibitions are therefore not justified, or even justifiable, under the paragraph of the instruments of Accession.

In the hypothetical case that a contracting party would wish to maintain or introduce quantitative restrictions, it has to resort to normal GATT procedures described in Articles XI, XII, XIII and XIV or to invoke paragraph 5/d of the Protocol of Accession:

"If, following action under (b) and (c) above, agreement is still not reached between the parties concerned, the Contracting Party concerned shall be free to restrict the imports of the product concerned to the extent and for such time as is necessary to prevent or remedy the injury. The other party shall then be free to deviate from its obligations to the Contracting Party concerned in respect of substantially equivalent trade."

The Protocol of Accession contains, however, a very significant departure from normal procedure in cases of safeguard measures. This, however, is conditional. The specific safeguard clause was accepted by

the Hungarian delegation on a reciprocal basis, and "in anticipation of the early elimination of quantitative restrictions maintained against imports from Hungary, inconsistently with Article XIII."

Conclusion

1. Hungary is a Contracting Party to GATT with equal rights and obligations since September 10, 1973.

2. The peculiarities of Hungary's trading system were dealt with by the relevant dispositions of the Protocol of Accession of Hungary.

3. Hungary's schedule of concessions consists of reductions and commitments of its customs tariff, without any qualification.

4. Hungary's right to non-discrimination as regards quantitative restrictions was explicitely recognized.

5. Since the examination and discussion of the Hungarian trading system was conducted on a factual basis and the Contracting Parties' decision was taken on the merits of the case, Hungary's accession cannot be regarded as a sort of model or pattern for other socialist countries. Conditions of accession of a number of socialist countries, which preceded Hungary, were not recognized as precedents. In fact, there are substantial differences in the conditions of accession of various socialist countries.

LÁSZLÓ ORSZÁGH

THE DIFFICULT BIRTH OF "U.S.A." IN HUNGARIAN

It is a curious fact that finding the definitive Hungarian version of the name of the U.S.A. was a painfully slow process. The English name, coined by Thomas Jefferson and first used in the Declaration of Independence, became accepted in America at one stroke of the pen. In Hungary it took the greater part of a century in the course of which some fifty or more Hungarian name-variants were tried and gradually discarded until the now official and generally used form: *Amerikai Egyesült Államok* was first established in the late 1850s.

The inordinate length of this process was due to peculiar historical circumstances. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Kingdom of Hungary was still an integral part of the Habsburg Empire, an oppressed and exploited feudal country in a multinational conglomerate. It was all the more carefully shielded, indeed sealed off, from all Western European political movements, as an abortive attempt had been made by anti-Habsburg Hungarian patriots in 1794 to introduce the ideology of the French revolution into Hungary. Consequential Austrian suppression in the form of rigorous censorship, the curtailment of personal contacts with the West, especially with France, the United States and even England was designed to keep the country as backward as possible for as long as possible.

With Hungary's entry into the modern world in the early nineteenth century, the latent tendencies towards independence and national unity grew increasingly manifest. Efforts were made to reassert national identity through language and culture.

Owing, however, to the underdeveloped state of the national vernacular, the existing medium of communication was felt to be inadequate, particularly where abstract intellectual and social as well as the more concrete technological terms were involved. A powerful nationalistic movement, called language reform, was started by Hungarian intellectuals in the last decades of the eighteenth century and gathered force in the nineteenth. This entirely unco-ordinated but very energetic reform movement amounted to a veritable revolution in the Hungarian vocabulary. Latin and German terms were cast out by the hundreds and replaced by a wealth, occasionally with a superabundance of home-made coinages, some of them loan-translations, some of them native words freshly formed for new concepts. While the language reform movement was running its course—and that took five or six decades—the Hungarian language was in a fluid state, far from standardized as regards vocabulary and spelling. And this was exactly the period when Hungarian journalists, authors, politicians, geographers, etc. were grappling with the question how to translate most expressively the new concept "United States of America" in their native language.

As a study of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Hungarian printed matter up till about 1850 shows, the real difficulty lay, of course, in rendering the term "United States". These words proved to be so laden with politically combustible connotations as to preclude a quickly effected and emotionally valid translation into Hungarian. For both "united" and "states" there were, or rather have come into being, several Hungarian words, some of them brand-new. The astonishing variety of possible and actual combinations and permutations of these two words in Hungarian translation is a testimony to the inventiveness of the language-reformers and translators. The sizable number of translation variants was made even larger by the vagaries of still unregulated and therefore often erratic Hungarian orthography which resulted in not a few spelling-variants.

The chief and ultimately victorious Hungarian contender representing the English word "united" *(egyesült)* first appeared on a Hungarian map of the world as early as 1789. For a considerable time, however, it was thrust into the background by numerous occurrences of the two equivalents of "allied" *(szövetséges, szövetkezett)* which sounded more emphatic to Hungarian ears. But there existed further equivalents as well, as will be seen later.

The English word "state" had several contenders in Hungarian. For over forty years the Latin word *status*, long familiar to educated Hungarians, was employed with a Hungarian plural affix. Early in the nineteenth century one could even meet occasionally with the Hungarian equivalent of provinces *(tartományok)*. From 1836 on the new coinages of the language reform took the place of these *(álladalom, állomány)* until 1845 when a third new variant came up *(állam)* that from 1854 on gradually ousted all the earlier translations of "state".

The principal difficulty lay in finding the best Hungarian rendering of the compound of these two words (i.e. "united states") in the language of a society that was unacquainted with this modern type of supranational organization. As a consequence a number of the early Hungarian names of the U.S.A. eschewed the use of both "united" and "states" and stressing the to them novel (and forbidden) idea of republicanism preferred instead the well-worn Latin word *respublica* with a geographical adjective added, as "North-American Republic". In due time the Latin word was replaced by its newly coined Hungarian equivalent *(köztársaság)*.

Not a few Hungarian authors of the early nineteenth century found even this republicanized translation somewhat pallid and as early as the 1790s gratuitously added the adjective "free" *(szabad)* to the various renderings of the "united states" concept,

experimenting at the same time with various Hungarian words to express the closely knit quality, the union of the thirteen or more states. Translated back into English these early Hungarian attempts such designations appear, for example, as "Allied Free States of America", or "North-American United Free States", or "American Allied Countries". Liberal use was made in the first four decades of the nineteenth century of the words "society" and "association", in such renderings vas the "Society of American Democratic States", or "American Allied Free Association". We even meet with the terse designation "American Association". A hundred and thirty or forty years ago one could occasionally read in Hungarian texts the single Latin word *Unio* as the name of the entire U.S.A. It is noteworthy that the word "federation" was not tried or used either in its Latin *(foederatio)* or Hungarian form *(federáczió)*.

The present-day, generally, indeed exclusively, used Hungarian name, *Amerikai Egyesült Államok*, the verbatim loan-translation of the English name, first appeared in 1858, significantly in the diary of a Hungarian emigrant living in Boston, Mass. The spread of this version was relatively slow. Such earlier variants as the "United Republican States", or "Union of North-American Free States", and even the "Great Alliance" lingered on for several decades even after 1858.

Let us return to the question of why it took nearly ninety years and some fifty or more translation-variants for the definitive, now generally accepted and current name of the U.S.A. to establish itself. We have already pointed to two factors acting as challenges. One was conceptual: the idea of the federation or new type of republican union of semi-sovereign states had to be expressed with the limited means of a geographically very distant local vernacular that was still geared to a feudal political ideology.

The other was purely linguistic. The turbulent period of language reform in a country energetically trying to adjust its means of expression to the march of the times, yet without a central authority guiding this development positively encouraged experimentation in the creation of new terminologies for all walks of intellectual and social life. These are among the typical teething troubles of emergent nations.

There was yet a third factor and that was of a diplomatic character. Up till 1918 Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and—though she had a government of her own—foreign policy remained part of the "common business" directed from Vienna. It was there that the ambassadors and ministers of foreign powers resided. In Budapest, the capital of Hungary, the United States was represented, from 1870 on, merely by a consul having very limited powers. It was only after she had broken loose from Austria and had become fully independent that in 1920 the U.S.A. recognized Hungary, entered into direct diplomatic relations with her and set up a legation in Budapest. Had this happened a hundred years earlier it is very probable that the series of highly inventive attempts to find a good translation of that foreign country's name would have come to fruition much sooner.

It must finally be added that over the past thirty years a new Hungarian name of the U.S.A. can be observed emerging, at least on the conversational level of the younger generation. It is nothing other than the Hungarian spelling pronunciation of the abbreviated English name of the U.S.A. This new Hungarian word sounds like *ooshaw*, with stress on the first syllable.

REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

THE NEW ECONOMIC REGULATORS

The fourth Hungarian five-year economic plan was successfully completed in 1975. In Parliament István Huszár Vice-Premier and President of the National Planning Office summarized its achievements, which include a national income annual growth rate of 6.3 per cent (compared to a predicted figure of 5.5 per cent), 6.5 per cent annual growth rate in industrial production (as against the planned 6 per cent) and an annual growth rate in agricultural production of 3.3 to 3.5 per cent (surpassing planned 2.8 to 3 per cent).

Although, as these figures show, Hungarian economic development was quite good in the past years, now, at the beginning of the new planning period, it has been necessary to introduce a few changes in the system of economic regulators. The reasons for this are manifold—from the impact of the oil crisis to imbalances caused by increased production efficiency. The regulating system of the economic mechanism was introduced in 1968 and has stood the test of time: hence it will be kept and modified in accordance with the latest requirements, and new economic goals.

Economic regulators fulfil a double role in the Hungarian economic system: they are a means by which the state can direct the country's economy and, together with other methods, ensure the execution of the economic plan (which has the binding force of law); at the same time they also encourage rational management. The new economic mechanism works through a co-ordinated system of central and decentralized decisions. The present modification is aimed at evolving the best proportion between direct and indirect control.

Economic experts worked out the principles of reform long ago and knew the measures which would regulate economy after January 1976 but the public was informed of the changes only in an article which appeared in the December 1975 issue of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical and political review of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on "The Next Tasks in the Modification of Economic Regulation" by Attila Madarasi, under-secretary of state in the Ministry of Finance.

Madarasi's article explained that regulation as a system of control must be changed in various ways to provide "a more rational evalution of wasteful manpower, improvements in price relations, appeasement of economic and social tensions arising from a rigid relation between wages and profit, improving incentives through the taxation of profits (by ending the rigid tax structure, encouraging selected exports and increasing the requirements for state investment in an enterprise)."

The changing conditions of economic life must also be taken into account. "A socialist planned economy partially counterbalances the destructive effect of the capitalist

world market. However a lasting and economically justified change in price relations (stripped of the element of prosperity) also effects the trade between socialist countries." As we change our domestic price relations, the resulting loss should not just become a burden on the state budget: the changes should be felt on the world market as a stimulus to further adjustments.

Another motive for changes arises from the Fifth Five Year Plan, the main aim of which is to improve the balance within the national economy. This requires a system of regulations to increase centralized revenues and decrease the income of enterprises.

One of the chronic ailments of the Hungarian economy is that wasted manpower is too costly and useful work too cheap: the system does not encourage economizing on manpower, and this, apart from many other harmful effects, is all the more troublesome as our labour reserves are exhausted. The reform offers a spectacular example of planned change through amended regulators. In the simplest terms, this is done through an increase in wage contributions; that is, an extra wage tax of 10 per cent. This applies to both social insurance contributions and salary tax. Another amendment, begun last year, increases the impact of this measure by reducing an enterprise's contribution on fixed and current assets. Together these two measures increase the specific cost of wages by 0.7 per cent and decreases the cost of material assets by 1.2 per cent. "It is expected that enterprises, in the interest of higher profits, will give more consideration to increasing productivity and opt for more rational manpower management."

The system of taxing profits will also change. Till now, net profit had to be divided between the workers and a development fund distributed in proportion to wages and fixed assets. From now on, enterprises will pay a uniform tax of 36 per cent, and will then be free to distribute what remains. It was asked whether this will not lead to a drastic reduction in working capital and a random ratio of consumption and accumulation. (The previous division in two parts was supposed to prevent this.) The solution to this problem shows how the system now functions: after profit-sharing, enterprises will pay a progressive tax to discourage an irrational division of profits. The tax is worked as a percentage of the ratio of profit-sharing to wages, so that profit-sharing up to 2 per cent of wages is tax-exempt and graduates by every 2 per cent of wages starting at 200 per cent taxation and ending up with 800 per cent on profit-sharing, that is 14 per cent of wages.

Another aim in changing the profit-taxation system is to ensure that enterprises with valuable fixed assets can count on an *average* level of share distribution. This is to prevent a shift in income detrimental to heavy industry as has occurred in the recent past, with a resulting loss of manpower. The economic policy will now try to loosen the connection between profit and personal income and prevent fluctuations of prosperity and depression. The new tax system will no doubt set off a chain reaction causing other problems that will then need regulation. One example is the demand that enterprises perform their profit distribution in a particular order. Madarasi expects that a more flexible taxation system will make enterprises want more flexible policies here too.

In the earlier system many investments did not fulfil expectations, but now the full cost of centrally decided investments will be exacted from enterprises, which will thus have an interest in their maximum exploitation. (Until now, they have had to pay back only what they could afford.)

Many changes stem from rises of price on the world market disadvantageous to Hungary. Until now, the state budget has fully covered the rising price of imports, thus subsidizing the difference between the higher prices abroad and unadjusted domestic prices. Profits increased but the loss on prices was covered entirely by the state budget;

export profits, however, were shared by the state and the enterprises. Thus, enterprises could detach themselves from reality, a consequence, that would certainly not favour their development in the long run, and at the same time state income had diminished since 1970 by 4 or 5 per cent of net revenue. This of course was untenable.

From 1976, enterprises will not be subsidized from the state budget and will have to bear the cost of using more expensive material at the expense of their own profits. Enterprises which profit from price increases will be taxed to benefit the state budget. Madarasi: "We should understand that the aim is not to increase centralization for the sake of abstract budget interests but to restore a proportion of revenue centralization which characterizes the early seventies and is in accord with our plans. This change of proportion will of course reduce incomes and the opportunities enterprises had in 1975. Business managers and social leaders in enterprises should be prepared for this. It is most important as a political question—that these measures do not provoke a sudden standstill in development. On the contrary, enterprises should endeavour to gain back their former positions by taking on greater responsibility to make up for their loss to the national economy as soon as possible. They must counter the decrease in revenues with development measures and efficient management. This, at the same time, will also reduce the losses to the national economy."

It is clear that the "reform of the reform" was born out of need: Madarasi's article is in reality a study of a planned economy's wrestling with interior and exterior changes which threaten development and modernization, but through an enforced slimming diet, it can be turned to advantage. "The enterprises are not 'powerless' against the impact of these measures. They can do everything to reduce the losses to the national economy by meeting the requirements, improving management efficiency and increasing production and sale, especially exports—all of which can only improve their own situation."

Madarasi's key word is "efficiency". It is today probably the most used word in both political speeches and economic studies. István Szlameniczky's article, also in the December, 1975 issue of *Társadalmi Szemle*, carried it in its title: "The Possibilities of Increasing Efficiency in Agriculture". This sector has no exemption, and new conditions demand new tasks.

Attempts at efficiency emerged in the early seventies in both agriculture and industry. This is clearly shown in the relation of gross and net production values, where gross value from 1960 to 1970 increased by 1 to 3 per cent but net production value diminished by a few percentage points (amounting to 6,000 forints per hectare of land over a ten-year period), while in the past four years net value also became positive and in 1974 attained 7,230 forints per hectare. Such favourable developments occurred only in some products, like wheat, maize and eggs.

Efficiency must now increase throughout agriculture. Szlameniczky lists a number pressing reasons including:

—diminishing manpower resources (in the past fifteen years the number of employees increased by 450,000 and in the next fifteen years the growth will be only 150,000),

—the growing need of mechanization (while a 5 or 6 per cent growth of national income limits the 25 per cent ratio earmarked for investment);

—increasing costs of energy and raw material imports.

"Increasing efficiency requires a change in outlook and action on all levels and in all fields of economy and management," declares Szlameniczky, who thinks we have ample unexploited reserves which he enumerated as follows:

Better co-ordination of production factors, so that, for example, with adequate feeding the genetic capacities of the Hungarian

speckled cow can be better utilized; or that plants are not assumed to yield a quantity and quality of nutritive matter beyond their capabilities. Technology does not live up to expectations partly because machines are so expensive but chiefly because the conditions do not exist for their optimal utilization. The lack of agrotechnical know-how means for example the waste of a third of the active agents in chemical fertilizers (costing six billion forints in 1975, mostly imports). The better use of fixed assets would also increase efficiency, while in recent years efficient use of assets has decreased: the production value from 1,000 forints of fixed assets was 540 forints in 1965, 370 forints in 1970 and 280 forints in 1974.

A better way to utilize present capacities is on household farming plots, which are approximately half a hectare each and belong to the members of the agricultural co-operatives. This form of farming accounts at present for one-third of the gross agricultural production in Hungary, while using only 25 per cent of all fixed assets in agriculture. According to estimates, 750,000 to 800,000 family members contribute "fragmentary working hours" to this sector, and in 1974 they produced 61 per cent of all pigs for slaughter, 39 per cent of the country's poultry, 68 per cent of its eggs and 40 to 45 per cent of its fruit, vegetables and grapes. "If the two and half million pigs purchased from household plots had been produced on large farms, almost 10 billion forints would have had to be invested."

And the possibilities are far from exhausted. A survey by the Central Statistical Office in 1972 showed that 45 per cent of all cow-sheds and horse-stables, 35 per cent of all pigsties and 30 per cent of the poultry-sheds on household plots were unutilized. "We know that families in agricultural co-operatives are full of energy and their fragmentary working hours are a source of tremendous new value. Apart from personal interest, they serve a purpose in organizing small-commodity production, so that he laws and rules should tap the unrealized potential of household farming. Increased production can only benefit society and increase national revenues."

Of course productivity can also be increased in agriculture—and in the past few years it has increased by leaps and bounds. It grew by 6 per cent annually in the Third Five Year Plan and 8 per cent in the now completed Fourth Five Year Plan. This of course was mostly due to mechanization and fertilizers. We still lag behind world standards, with production per agricultural worker only a third or a quarter of that in Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands and other leading countries.

Szlameniczky mentions also the role of vocational qualifications in productivity. The number of university and higher school graduates in agriculture has grown from 4,200 to almost 25,000 in the last 15 years with at present about 170,000 skilled workers. Yet too often new units start to function with a work force of about 20 per cent skilled workers instead of the desired rate of 40 per cent.

"The nature of the topic required an examination of negative factors... This does not mean that I underestimate our impressing achievements compared to the past", Szlameniczky concludes. "But if we want to improve things we must sincerely face the situation and start to work on every level with concerted outlook and determination."

István Bart

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE ART OF POLITICS

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: *A fejlett szocialista társadalom útján.* (On the road to a developed socialist society.) Kossuth Publishing House, Budapest, 1975. 212 pp. In Hungarian.

Politics, I mean good politics, is a difficult business, maybe the most difficult, the most thankless, the most complicated of all. This can also be demonstrated theoretically, since politics is the science and art of the guidance of living society. Somehow all aspects and processes of society meet in complex interaction in politics and expect guidance and answers to a host of basic issues. Lajos Kossuth called politics the science of exigencies. Undoubtedly this is one of its substantial features. Only what is realistic, only what is possible and feasible, is right in politics. Anyone can indulge in fantasies, entertain wishes and cherish beliefs or illusions, all except the politician. Politicians and political bodies always have to be aware of their responsibilities: they have to know what are the objectives, the ideals, the future prospects, but they also have to act, and action is possible only in the present, in today's given circumstances, on the basis of existing resources and reserves. If politicians are incapable of this, if they do not have the courage to set aside and reject what is not yet ripe for change, then they will not be in a position to act tomorrow when action will perhaps already be possible. (Of course, the opposite is true as well: what can be done now must not be put off until later: possible and necessary here mean wellnigh the same thing.)

But this art has another specific feature, and this is that politics—of course, particularly and especially the politics of guiding a socialist society—has to deal with the whole of society, with all classes, all sections, all generations, all aspects of material and intellectual production, and of society as such. Not one by one, in succession, but collectively and concurrently as befits a living organism. One frequently mentions the socialist unity of society, and the deepening and broadening of this unity; it is less frequently considered what that really means, and how difficult a job the deliberate development of the unity of an entire nation is. There are, of course, a number of common notions regarding it, but they are for the most part one-sided.

Some look on the readiness to accept those who in some ways still find themselves a long way from socialism as the principal criterion of unity. Others see the essence of unity in the adjustment of conflicting interests in society, in a pragmatic attitude which, if possible, prevents conflicts or promptly smoothes the surface, removing tensions. The criterion for others is the creation of ideological unity, in the propagation of socialist ideas, and the establishment of social justice. There is even a way of thinking which looks to economic progress

for the clue, that is the rise standards of living; and no doubt, prosperity—if it is general and comprehensive—creates an atmosphere in which people more readily rally to the common cause. These are all approaches, which are correct and justified, but each is too little in itself: a really effective policy of unity has to include all of them, and a lot else too.

He who attends only to the "fringes" of unity may easily lose sight of the middle of the ground, the meeting-place of the basic forces. He whose attention is absorbed by the required adjustments that are however tied to the needs of the day will waste his energies in the Sisyphean effort of repetition, for, even though he may shore up unity from time to time, he does not continue to develop it, and to broaden its foundations. On the other hand, those who want to settle everything in an intellectual way or through morality alone are in danger of soon being left isolated aloft in the pulpit, without a congregation or in the company of a few fanatics only. Neither sermons nor abstract principles can bridge the gap between lofty postulates and actual needs and abilities. Nor can one expect that friction will automatically disappear in the course of economic development.

It is not mere chance that the reading of János Kádár's recent collection of articles and speeches covering the 1974–75 period evokes such thoughts. Not only because the author's name and activity are inseparable from the history of those most recent nineteen years in the history of Hungary of which the thriving of socialism, the strengthening of unity and balanced all-round progress are most characteristic.

There is no period in history in which development is absolutely steady, in which problems do not accumulate from time to time. Such occurred even in these past nineteen years, after post-1956 consolidation reached a successful conclusion, problems tended to concentrate around agriculture, and the successful continuation of socialist construction in the country made it necessary for small farms to be united in co-operatives allowing for large-scale production. In the middle and the second half of the sixties it became evident that under the established system of economic management it would be impossible to mobilize properly the forces needed for intensive development, including the internal reserves of enterprises, in order to properly exploit potentialities, complying with domestic and external demand. This is why a reform was proposed and carried out in 1968. In the early seventies again conflicts of a new kind arose: the reform of economic management had initiated dynamic development whose effect, however, did not always and everywhere make itself felt in the desired direction. For example, investment activity was too lively and consequently unprofitable, the distribution of income, did not proceed according to plan and the system of incentives did not ensure equal chances to the necessary and possible degree. Before these trends became established, corrections became necessary and were made in good time.

The art of politics and the proof of the politician lie not in the assurance of perfect uniformity of development which is impossible. He who puts the question this way has already left the ground of reality, neglecting the complexity of the task. The real standard is the way problems in more difficult situations are tackled. János Kádár's new volume is particularly instructive from this point of view: it mirrors the political thinking and practice of the Central Committee in the period of September 1974 to June 1975; in other words, during the preparation and meeting of the 11th Party Congress and the initial implementation of the Congress resolutions. How could one describe the special and particular tasks of this period? Something had to be put in order, something had to be "consolidated". But what? Not state power, of course, which was strong and firm; and not the leading role of the Party either, which had been operative

all along. And not the economic situation in general, for the important and necessary corrections had been made much earlier. (Of course work has always to be improved and this is true for all sectors of social activity and was true for this period as well.) What was still left to be done by the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975 was to resolve the clash of opinions relating to the reform, to economic policy and cooperatives policy, primarily among those who sought the root causes of the practical problems, who were mainly concerned with the political and theoretical aspects of economic questions. It was here that order and unity had to be established an order and unity that recruits the conceivably broadest possible group to to our policy, guarantees the creative equilibrium and advancement of today, and stimulates progress materially, intellectually and morally alike, that is to say, a unified code which covers not only people and efforts, but social relationships as well.

The 11th Party Congress dealt with a far wider range of subjects, yet it had as one of its essential objectives the need to establish a consensus on disputed isses, to throw light on what was not entirely clear and thus to create a secure basis for the practice to be pursued and to get rid of misleading interpretations. When reading the book in the awareness of all this one can better see where the emphasis is, and what I mentioned as a preliminary in connection with politics as a complex, interdisciplinary science of the construction of society is underlined.

It becomes comprehensible, first of all, why so great, as it were, massive stress is laid on the continuity of politics, on the fact that the policy line confirmed by several Congresses has stood the test and has basically prevailed in all fields. There is here no concealed intention of providing apologetics, no endeavour to confirm at all costs. Certainly not. It is not in the least the author's style to overestimate results achieved.

He is inclined to understatement, rather. His aim is different: it is to show the size, weight and import of controversial issues, to show that these problems, even though they are important and have to be dealt with, could not change the direction of the main processes and could not fundamentally divert the course of development. This approach not only places the whole complex in the proper frame of reference, it tallies not only with the scientifically objective truth but also with the needs of political practice.

If one has in practice succeeded in limiting, isolating and even eliminating in part negative tendencies, and in taking measures that will inhibit their recurrence, then one must not blow up their importance in the social consciousness either, on the contrary one ought to stand in the way of any *ex post facto* ideological dramatization. The politician who acts in this way does what is right and acts wisely, since he knows that living society is a sensitive organism which it is his duty to protect from needless shocks.

The point was, therefore, that consolidation should take place in a way that would not disturb what was already consolidated. The purpose of this delimitation was not the preservation of peace for peace's sake, but that ordering of things which was unavoidable. It appears from the report of the Central Committee, which János Kádár presented to the 11th Party Congress, that this was the point at issue particularly in most of the thoroughly discussed subjects, that is the elucidation of disputed concepts and ideas, even where the drafting is not controversial and does not evoke a divergence of views. Whether the subject be property in land or forms of property in general, mutual relations between the co-operative and the state sector, the system of economic management as a means of economic planning, or the interpretation of the leading role of the working class (as regards the policy of alliance or the interests of the working class) or the concurrent maintenance of political alliance and ideological struggle, views on the dangers of nationalism and

cosmopolitanism, the conditions which make the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party fit to fulfil its leading functions (and we might add a good many other issues)—it is always evident, and the meticulous formulation and precise definitions make it clear, that what is at issue is not a routine repetition of well-known things but clarifications of fundamental importance and the expounding of the principles elucidated through debate.

János Kádár's formulations are refined not by academic pedantry but, among other things, by the realization of the postulate that politics, at the current level of development, can do its job only when it is so precise and differentiated. This is connected also with the fact that the construction of developed socialism, the structures of which have, to a large extent, already taken shape, is taking place, and that major discrepancies and departures can be eliminated by a constructive approach, by deliberate action. It is no longer sufficient to signalize that something hurts, that something is wrong somewhere. We have to examine what hurts and what is wrong. We have every opportunity of finding this out in an objective manner, with great precision, and therefore of defining with similar precision what has to be done. This is also what is meant by the art of politics, and by a complex interpretation of present tasks. This meticulous elaboration of politics is one of the decisive conditions for improving work. Social unity also means that the threads of the fabric of classes, politics, economics etc. are closely interwoven. It follows that if something is to be changed here or there this must be done so that the fabric should not entirely come asunder; one has to loosen or adjust broken threads and such that are twisted in the wrong direction, and not pull apart those which are sound.

A series of quotations from the volume could demonstrate to what extent the author emphasizes this, how carefully he selects the problems, how sensibly he separates what has not been dealt with, due to wrong ideas or inconsistent implementation from what will take longer to be carried out, how he defines tasks in one case and how in the other; how he distinguishes practice made necessary by a given situation from absolutely unjustifiable deformations. And what specially characterizes his argumentation is the way he lays stress, in the first place and first of all, on the objectives, on constructive, progressive action, and on the search for solutions and the implementation of the resolutions adopted.

I have spoken of the art of politics, I have not enlarged on timely issues, nor on positions taken up. I have mentioned one or another of the problems, that is all. But work style, method and methodology are not mere formalities in politics either, no outer cloak, but an expression of substance. János Kádár's articles and speeches collected in this volume offer convincing proof that such a high degree of differentiation, such a comprehensive way of seeing everything that is essential, can characterize only the kind of Marxist-Leninist politics which has the ability, as Leonid Brezhnev said at the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, "to lend a sensitive ear to the voice of the masses, to direct the most complicated social processes, safely and with confidence, in keeping with the interests of the working people."

PÉTER RÉNYI

REALITY IN THE MIND AND VICE VERSA

MIKLÓS MÉSZÖLY: *Alakulások* (Transformations) Szépirodalmi, Budapest 1975. 826 pp.

MENYHÉRT LAKATOS: *Füstös képek* (Smoky Images) Magvető, Budapest 1975. 455 pp.

While Miklós Mészöly can be characterized as "professional" and "expert", he is also an enthusiastic experimenter. His short stories and novels search out and widen the methodological, stylistic, and genre possibilities of prose, which both attract readers and arouse the slight suspicion of being stratagems rather than art.

His latest volume is a selection of short stories written between 1942 and 1973. (NHQ readers will already be familiar with two of these, "Report on Five Mice" and "The Falcons", which appeared in issues 31 and 40, while issue 41 carried a review of his novel, *Accurate Stories along the Way*, published in 1970.) The distinctiveness of Mészöly's career (and the direct evidence of it that can be found in this volume) is the way the first and the last stories ("Beggar's Dance" and "Transformations") share the same ideology and yet display marked artistic development over three decades. The storyteller in the "Beggar's Dance" misses his train connection and is compelled to spend a few hours in a humdrum, deserted small town in the stifling heat of summer. During his walk, he encounters only a beggar dozing on the steps of a church, where he stays not out of conviction, but out of habit, not expecting much business anyway. When the man walks by, the idea occurs to him to kill time by playing a game with the beggar: he keeps throwing money in ways to arouse a reaction in the beggar. First he puts on sunglasses, not so much to disguise himself as to indicate a disguise, which astonishes the beggar. Then he approaches more openly —even at one point suggesting belligerency— the beggar gets increasingly suspicious but is placated by the money he gets. Finally, with rude decisiveness, the traveller admits to playing with the beggar. Stepping out of his role the beggar looses his temper, swears, and takes a swing at his benefactor. Below the anecdotal surface is a picture of pathological defencelessness. As a story, its tragicomical aspects show Mészöly's considerable resources, for these are only variations on one basic plot, with the writer trying to do the same thing as his hero, namely, to find different ways to convey the same message.

In the volume's concluding story, "Transformations" Mészöly applies a double mosaic technic. First, the writer constructs his text on small fragments of thought, action, and allusion; then the reader has to perform the same manipulations, which he can take as either a cheerful, intellectual game or infuriating, tiresome work, depending on his temperament and conditioning. (No matter how much I try to squeeze "Transformations" into a definite genre, it resists classification. It is not a short story; at first it looks like a sketch for a novel, but this soon turns out to be only the surface; we are not dealing with a novel to be written but with the actual process of preparing and writing the novel. As such, "Transformations" stands on its own as an independent, valuable literary work, and in defying the conceptual conventions of the genre, it is, in my opinion of particular value.) Even more difficult and intricate than defining its genre is describing what the text consists off. On the first page, for instance, fragments of sentences in a date book resembling notes follow one another; some describe the writer's personal obligations, some give variations for a scheme for a novel, with names and traits of its characters taking form in the mind of the writer. The first page is not understandable on first reading; its purpose and function, not the mean-

ing of the individual lines, can be revolved only with the information given in the following pages. This requires the reader's cooperation and familiarity with similar types of fiction. Gradually the structure of the work becomes clearer. The text of the developing novel, marked in italics become more numerous in proportion to the rest of the story.

The "Beggar's Dance" and "Transformations" both experiment with variations and final texts, and both are more than the sum of their variations because the texts explore the whole process of creation. The two works, nevertheless, show a significant difference: in the earlier one, a man of flesh and blood plays out the variations of a realistic situation, and the surface plot unfolds in a completely logical way; in the later one, however, even the basic setting is an abstraction, and Mészöly does not resort to any spectacular devices, action-filled plots or particular animation—the writer's mind is both the scene and the theme of the work.

The most distinctive features of Mészöly's prose are evident in these two stories while the other works in the volume are also of a high quality and branch out into numerous genres. The forms range over the parable ("The Falcons") and fairy tale ("The King Without a Profession"), to apathetic objectivity ("Accurate Story") and grotesque irony ("The Three Colorado Beetles", "Report on Five Mice"). Judging from the shape of the book, Mészöly believes that writing aspires not to perfection but to constant development and formation. One of the lines in "Transformations" can be taken as the motto for the paradox in his methodology: "I'll linger stubbornly on the trail, attracted by an absolutely invisible scent."

*

After the structured and almost ostentatiously artificial world of the "Transformations", with the professional writer evident in every line, the rich personal experiences and actual life in Menyhért Lakatos's novel, illustrates the opposite possibilities of literary expression. An autobiographically inspired novel, it is the fifty-year-old writer's first published work, and, at the same time, the first artistic selfportrait by a Hungarian Gypsy. As early as a few decades ago, the only possible life for a great part of them was in the Gypsy "rows" of half-nomadic begging, and only occasional steady work. It was a community of withdrawn and outcast people, looked down upon and considered inferior by non-Gypsies. Unfortunately, neither the settlements nor the prejudices has completely disappeared even today.

The story takes place in the years immediately before and during the Second World War. It is told in the first person by the hero, a teen-age boy fortunate enough to have the option of living with his people or abandoning them to better himself. His opportunity to study in a nearby village, and later, in a small town gives him the knowledge to broaden his horizons, which inevitably increases the distance between himself and his people. Returning home becomes ever more difficult and strained, and his desire to belong to the community clashes with the attractiveness of the new world he discovers. He begins to look unintentionally down on his background and increasingly senses the impossibility of returning to that way of life. His repeated departure and return give a distinct rythm to the novel's whirling action; the changes in tone and mood accompanying the changes in attitude are completely natural, and through them, the Gypsy settlement is always presented from a different point of view, varying from total empathy to cool criticism.

The novel is filled with the action and adventures that go naturally with a nomadic life. Student life constantly tests the hero from two directions: on one hand, he has to stand his ground in a foreign environment, which includes discrimination and doubles the work load to retain his scholarship; on the other hand, his people make increased

demands on him, expecting a polymath and ready helper in their troubles. In one tense but comic scene, an old Gypsy goes to the boy to extract an aching tooth, and since the boy's objections would be taken as haughtiness or malice, he is compelled to extract the tooth—luckily, successfully. This incident however, strengthens his people's belief in him, and gradually they search him out with all their complaints and illnesses. They are averse, anyway, to professional doctors and their medicine, they believe that a child can be born into the world without help, the ones that fit for life able to survive, while the others can be buried without aid of a doctor. Superstition guides their thinking, and even schooling cannot easily dispel its influence; "I resist supersition as someone resists himself; I do not believe in it, but fear it. Everything is entwined by thousands and thousands of threads—and there is nothing to take their place. If one thread breaks, only shadow, empty darkness is left, leaving nothing for faith or confidence",—says the novel's narrator.

In the self-governing world of the Gypsy settlement, everything has a different value compared to surrounding villages. A horse is most important, it is admired and comes before family, wife, and honour, because it brings the opportunity to travel and escape the humbleness of "life on their feet". People keep their childhood nicknames, which may describe a person's shortcomings a peculiar characteristic, or his resemblance to some animal or person—and this nickname accompanies him through life. Real names are used only in front of officials, and are often not even recognized when they are addressed that way.

They do not like to save or prepare for bad times; they throw themselves into unexpected, vivacious festivals and the abundant violent, oblivious gaity, which they consider the expression of the free life. Such enthusiasm also characterizes their love affairs and makes life-time unions, and even conventional ties, rather rare.

In eerie lines bordering on poetry, the author describes Gypsy mythology, which is sustained by nostalgia for the disappearing past and is kept alive by dreams magic legends, and superstiton. Their heroes are the one time courageous and free gypsies. Beside the campfire, elders hand down stories to their children. "They stared at the dwarfish flames as they do at the frisking of their horses. Their eyes were like the lurking moonlight, one minute shrouded in clouds and the next shining with the happy, crisp brightness of a pleasant memory... It was our lives which put the fire in our blood; no wind or winter, however stubborn, can put that fire out."

But the writer leaves no doubt that this glittering past will never return and merely expresses the yearnings of a people squeezed into a shabby present and hopeless future. Smoky Images, despite some overwritten and coarse passages, is a sweeping and convincing novel of a world that had to vanish if Gypsies were to survive.

László Varga

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The change in world national income distribution since the end of 1973 has opened new possibilities for economic and social progress among the developing countries. The rise in price of fuel and other mineral raw materials will allow, within a relatively short time, the fulfilment of long overdue economic and social goals, and in particular, those related to overall development.

In most of the developing countries, highest priority is given to education and quenching the burning needs in this field to which Unesco has so long and so often pointed. Still, there are specific problems in education in a period of economic growth, as studied in the field of the economics of education.

A new book from the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences addresses this very subject—the connection between education and economic growth in the developing countries.[1] Its author, Péter Mándi, is widely known among those, in Western and in socialist countries alike, who deal with problems of the developing countries. Research director of the Institute of World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he has published a number of essays in English, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes. An active participant in international science organizations, which represent both Western and socialist countries, he has also more than once been called upon to advise various UN specialized agencies.

Péter Mándi's work gives perhaps the most complete account available of the economics of education. His own research was carried out in several developing countries, but he also surveys the pioneering work of such scholars as Guy Hunter, Frederick H. Harbison, V. Komarov, Michel Debeauvais and Isabelle Deblé, and takes account of the reports of Unesco publications and the Unesco-sponsored Institut International de la Planification et de l'Education.

The book covers a broad area of experimentation, experience and fact, including the Meiji era in Japan and the latest work in Tanzania, pre-Adam Smith economics and the recent notion of brain drain. Questions of education are considered in conjunction with the theories of economic growth of such authorities as the Soviet S. G. Strumilin, the American Edward Denison and the Hungarian József Bognár.

The book's admirable synthesis brings together three main areas of the economics of education as it pertains to the developing countries. These areas, which are usually discussed in isolation, constitute the three main parts of the book:

—the importance of education (and intellectual development in general) in economic growth;

—the connection between education and a society's manpower demands;

—the efficacy of education policy in the development of education.

Education policy is particularly important in developing countries, for an inappropriate system will delay national development, no matter how great the income a country can derive from oil and other exports. The questions that must be faced are:

—At what rate should the education system be developed?

—What are the desirable ratios among various levels of education?

—What type of schools should be established and how far should they be developed?

[1] Péter Mándi: *Oktatás és gazdasági növekedés a fejlődő országokban* (Education and Economic Growth in Developing Countries). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1975, 187 pp. In Hungarian.

Several scholars have tried to define the contribution of education to economic growth, and the proportion of economic growth due to the education of working people. Of the many calculations and results reviewed by the author, two have a striking correspondence: E. F. Denison attributed about one-fifth of the economic growth of the United States between 1929 and 1957 to advances in education and S. G. Strumilin came up with a similar figure for the Soviet Union between 1940 and 1960.

The lack of statistical data precludes such calculations for the developing countries, but it is at least evident that a precondition for breaking out of economic backwardness is an efficacious education system.

What is the gap between developed and developing countries in education? It is, among other things, the 800 million illiterate adults in the world, almost all of whom live in the developing countries. In the second half of the sixties, half the school-age population of Africa did not attend school at all, and a much smaller proportion completed the primary grades. The percentage of those attending school is 56 per cent in India, 69 per cent in Iran and 20 per cent in Afghanistan. On the other hand, Latin America came close to achieving comprehensive and compulsory school attendance during the sixties.

The above data refer to the very fast development in the years between 1950 and 1969, when education more than trebled in Africa, Latin America and Asia. In the developing countries altogether the number of people in school increased from 73.2 million in 1950 to 241.2 million in 1969.

Unfortunately in some regions this tremendous development is completely undermined by the accompanying population explosion. In Africa, for example, in spite of the rapid progress in education, the absolute number of children not attending school and the illiteracy rate continue to grow. As a result, the system of education is still undeveloped, with few traditions and experiences to build on, and continuing serious qualitative and social problems.

The developed countries simultaneously and gradually developed their education and economic systems over two centuries or longer. The developing countries have to cope with education along with major challenges in investment, production and social organization. And without improving education they will end up lacking a labour force capable of running a modern economy.

Of particular interest is Péter Mándi's discussion of the quantitative and qualitative problems of education policy in developing countries, the subject of the author's own research.

The quantitative problem starts with the fact that the great population increase means young people comprise a far greater proportion of the population than in developed countries. While in Hungary only 13 per cent of the population is five to fourteen years old, in India it is 26 per cent of the population, in Ghana 25 per cent and in Nicaragua 30 per cent. And the school-age group of children will continue to grow very rapidly in the decades ahead.

The most important recommendation of the Unesco regional conferences held about fifteen years age was to get fully comprehensive primary education in Latin America by 1970, and in Africa and Asia by 1980. In spite of the remarkable development since then, the Unesco objectives will not be attained in Africa and Asia, as was predictable even at the time they were announced. Nevertheless, in the field of education over the last twenty to thirty years, the Third World has achieved an excellent result. And yet by presenting a calculation made for Uganda, the author demonstrates the debilitating effect of the population explosion on any attempt to achieve fully comprehensive primary education. For Uganda to get its schooling ratio to rise from the actual 41 per cent in 1965 to 100 per cent by 1981, its six-grade primary schools, instead of 550

thousand pupils, will have to be teaching 2.1 million children. And even if the number of children in school is trebled to 1.5 million, then in 1981 there will be 763 thousand children out of school, just as many as in 1966.

The greatest problem of third-world education is the huge number of those who can never go to school. Furthermore, since the number of school-age children doubles every 25 years, this mass will only start to be reduced in the eighties and nineties.

The second major problem is the quality of education. The unusually—by European standards—large number of drop-outs and repeaters occurs at all three levels of education in most developing countries. An article in *Unesco Chronicle* graphically noted that, "Paradoxically an 80-year-old man may now have a better chance of reaching the age of 86 in some countries than his six-year-old grandson has of completing the full six years of primary school."[2]

What should education policy be in this situation? Should it maximize numbers, knowing this will seriously impair the quality of education? Or should it give priority to quality, thereby depriving tens, even hundreds, of millions of children the chance to attend school?

Most interesting to policy-makers will certainly be the chapter of Péter Mándi's book in which he formulates nine proposals. He takes into account the financial implications of the development of education as well as the requirements of socio-econom development and, last but not least, the state of employment. Many will perhaps find these proposals disillusioning: "One has to reject the principle which says that by 1980 comprehensive and compulsory primary education should be introduced in the developing countries, essentially on the European model, for children from 5–6 years to 11–14 years of age." But the preceding chapters and the subsequent proposals of the book show that this is merely being realistic. If we read Péter Mándi's further proposals (concerning, among other things, the need for a radical transformation of the primary school system, specific educational needs in urban and rural districts, technological and agricultural training, the rate of expansion of education, as well as general recommendations for secondary-school and university education), then his ideas amount to a great step towards solving the education problem of the developing countries.

We hope that the Academy Publishing House will not delay in bringing out Péter Mándi's book in English to make the foreign professional public acquainted with the author's ideas and proposals on such a topical subject.

EGON KEMENES

[2] "Educational Wastage Studied by International Conference of Education". *Unesco Chronicle*, No. 8–9, Aug.–Sept. 1970, pp. 361–363.

THE LEGACY OF FRIGYES ANTAL

It was the second time in a week that I found myself in London's Eaton Avenue. A few days before I had come to see Arnold Hauser, as I have already reported.* Hauser, now past the age of 80, was at the peak of his mental powers, working in full vigour. He had just published his *magnum opus*, *Soziologie der Kunst*, which was soon to be translated into twelve languages.

Now I was on my way to the home of Frigyes Antal, and this second visit was also prompted by recently published, notable works—Antal's Füseli studies, Hogarth monograph and the even more significant collection of studies published very recently, *Classicism and Romanticism*.

Antal, however, has been dead for more than twenty years. During his lifetime, he attained world fame under the name of Fredrick Antal, though he published only a single work, the monograph *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background*. But he left behind such a vast number of unpublished manuscripts that—aside from the volumes listed above—posthumous publication of his work will continue for years to come. The guardian of the legacy and editor of the manuscripts is Evelyn Antal, the scholar's widow, herself an art historian.

As the obituary in the London *Times* noted, Antal's "influence on contemporary art history was of great importance in spite of the fact that comparatively little of his writing has been published". I hope it is not considered presumptuous of me to refer to my own experience: In the 'fifties I was collecting data for a book; through the good offices and the far-sighted policy of the Szabó Ervin Municipal Library (especially considering the conditions of those times), I happened upon *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* which had been published only in English in 1948. The revelation was comparable to having discovered as a student Lajos Fülep's writings for the first time. What captivated me above all was the manner in which Antal linked the various stylistic periods with the prevalent economic, social and political forces. Neither did he ignore scientific, religious and philosophical ideas or literary and other artistical trends. Despite his embracing "panoramic" view of history, he did not neglect tiny details or the "minor masterpieces" hidden behind the outstanding *chef d'oeuvres* of the age. All this is permeated by a deep and irresistible passion for visual beauty. It is a peerless work.

*

"He had collected the material for *Florentine Painting* over a period of more than two decades," Evelyn Antal said, "but his ultimate aim by far surpassed the bounds of the published volume. He wanted to produce a trilogy: the three volumes would have followed Florentine painting from the early beginnings to the age of the Grand Duchy. Since he attributed tremendous significance even to the tiniest detail, he travelled and corresponded with experts all over the world to amass the data, since the masterpieces, as well as the minor works, have been dispersed among the museums of five continents. After long and meticulous work, the material was collected. And now, from his notes, and partly even from manuscript fragments, we have compiled the second and third volumes, as it were."

So—following the other posthumous works which have appeared in recent years—can we count on the publication of the second and third volumes of the trilogy in the near future?

"No," Mrs. Antal answered. "The second and third volumes will probably not be published. Although the material, as I mentioned, is all together, the essence unfortunately is missing. No matter how familiar one might be with the subject, it is impossible

* See NHQ, No. 58.

to add the originality and spirit that only Antal could give the work."

She recalled a tiny episode which, as she said, best characterizes his working method.

When he was working on his Hogarth monograph, Antal suddenly interrupted his work. He went to Paris to see a Tocqué portrait in a private collection, which he supposed might have had a strong influence on Hogarth at a certain phase of his career. He spent altogether two days in the French capital. One day he devoted to studying the portrait, and the second to looking up the 1743 Salon catalogue in the Louvre's library.

The outcome of the Paris research justified Antal's assumption: the Tocqué portrait had in fact been exhibited at the Salon and Hogarth, according to the biographical sources, had visited it and thoroughly examined the painting. And it is obvious that this portrait influenced Hogarth's unusual "worldly" approach in the works he painted directly afterwards—as for example on "Mr. and Mrs. James' Portrait". "All this," Evelyn Antal added, "became one brief footnote in the Hogarth monograph."

The episode characterizes the *connoisseur* in Antal, who always sought facts to corroborate his intuition, however fanciful it might have seemed at times. But this forms only one aspect of Antal's working method, and not even the most fundamental one. What made his work so significant and pioneering was doubtless the historical materialism of his approach.

In connection with this I told Evelyn Antal of an experience I had in America. At a distinguished San Francisco college for wealthy young ladies, I made the acquaintance of Professor N. The Vienna-born Professor N. now lives in America, and lectures his young ladies about Giotto in a competent, pithy and interesting way. In the course of our conversation about Giotto I naturally mentioned Frigyes Antal. The Professor shouted in a voice that could be heard by everyone in the hall, "But that man was a communist!"

In the eyes of a liberal like N.—even in America, where liberalism is relatively progressive—the name of Frigyes Antal was still like a red rag to a bull, two decades after his death.

"If you asked why Antal had to struggle with so many obstacles until virtually the last moment of his life and why so many of his works have remained unpublished, I would say the main reason was the modern spirit of his writings: he seemed to be a revolutionary in the eyes of the conservative art historians," Evelyn Antal said. "The publication of *Florentine Painting* was followed by a storm of protest."

Since then, of course, many things have changed. Antal, the "one-work" author, has created a school. Publishers grab for the manuscripts that come to light, but Evelyn Antal wants to make public only those which, even in a fragmentary and unfinished form, reflect the spirit of the scholar.

*

Frigyes Antal was born in 1887. His father was a well-to-do Budapest physician, and the family's circumstances made it possible for Antal, after completing university studies in law, to pursue a career in art history. He studied first with Wölfflin, then with Dvořák, a master of the Vienna school, who exercised a great influence on his spiritual development. Even forty years later Antal recalled that Dvořák, "stated as early as in 1904, in writing about the Van Eycks, that art history in itself was unable to account for the unanticipated appearance of their art. The new Flemish bourgeois culture which gave rise to the art of the Van Eycks could only be understood through the study of economic history. Wölfflin would never have made such a pronouncement!"

Although his outlook incorporated "progressive features" in the bourgeois sense of the term, Dvořák remained tied to *Geistesgeschichte* (the history of ideas) and never developed a class approach. Antal's en-

counter with Marxism did not take place in Vienna but in Budapest at the beginning of the century, in that inspiring environment of the Sunday Circle. This group developed informally out of the Sunday afternoon get-togethers of writers, poets, historians, physicians, teachers and other intellectuals in Béla Balázs's home. During the years of the First World War—as we clearly see in retrospect—it had become a centre of Hungarian intellectual life. The discussions, which often lasted from Sunday afternoon till dawn the next morning, were attended by the outstanding intellectuals of the period, including György Lukács, Arnold Hauser and Béla Balázs. Antal was one of the young men who at first had been brought along and later became regulars at the Sunday Circle. Soon thereafter he himself was giving lectures at the Free School of Intellectual Sciences, as part of an evening adult-education programme held in the empty classrooms of a Budapest secondary school. After the 1918 Michaelmas Daisy Revolution and even more so in 1919 when the Hungarian Republic of Councils was established, most Sunday Circle members became active in public events. Antal, who until that time worked in the National Museum of Fine Arts, became the deputy head of the Art and Museum Directory and was put in charge of taking art monuments into public ownership. As a result, he had to emigrate after the overthrow of the Republic of Councils, and after some years in Austria and Germany, went to Britain in 1933. He settled in London, and spent the last, highly active two decades of his life there.

It was a fertile but difficult period for him. He gave lectures at the Courtauld Institute and London University; he wrote articles for distinguished journals like the *Burlington Magazine* and the *Art Bulletin*. But in actual fact he never "arrived", and never became a member of the "establishment". Up to his death in 1954, he remained professionally respected, but always an outsider to be watched somewhat distrustfully.

Confession about art history

Antal recognized the insufficiency of Dvořák's method in the course of studying the development of Florentine painting. The phenomenon of different stylistic endeavours emerging at the same time and place, he pointed out, cannot be explained satisfactorily by *Geistesgeschichte*. The full explanation is provided by the emergence in art of differing, or indeed clashing, ideologies reflecting different social classes (and even of strata within the classes). Antal's materialistic, class-oriented analysis was of pioneering significance. He himself, however, refused to accept credit for it. "The strictly historical view of the Vienna school," he wrote, "and Warburg's definite stand against the *l'art pour l'art* approach, jointly anticipated a deeper, richer and purer art history. It became a science which draws on all aspects of history: social and economic, political and religious, literary and philosophical as well as the insights of social psychology. Nowadays the art historian takes into account the full range of ideas and concepts in the different layers of society prevailing at a given time. Thus he can also clarify which style is linked to which view of life, 'style' naturally meaning not only formal phenomena but also the content related to them. Looking at society as *a whole* and not only its top layer, we can understand the *raison d'être* of every painting, not just of the most famous and best works, which themselves cannot be understood if isolated from the rest."

The above-quoted analysis by Antal forms part of his study "Notes to the Method of Writing Art History" which was published in the *Burlington Magazine* in the spring of 1949, one year after the publication of *Florentine Painting*.

"The study," Evelyn Antal said, "was written in the barrage of attack which followed the appearance of the book. For this reason he emphasized so strongly that the method applied in his book had been

used by other art historians, too, ones who were "beyond suspicion" (that is non-Marxists): not only Warburg but also Meiss, Gombrich and others. In an atmosphere of animosity and intolerance, he was compelled to apply such tactics rather frequently. 'I have to speak in the language of Aesop but even so I tell the essence,' he said more than once. In order to have his articles and studies published he very often substituted synonyms for the terms of Marxist terminology. On the other hand, in the unpublished manuscripts which he wrote not for specific publishers or periodicals but for the future —for his prospective reading public—he expressed his ideological stand directly without concealing it under euphemisms."

Evelyn Antal listed some of these unpublished writings: "The Role of Museums in the Soviet Union"; "The Role of Museums in Our Age"; "The Survival of Medieval Religious Feeling in the Age of the Counter-Reformation in Italian Painting"; "The Painting of the Age of the Reformation", among others.

Can we count on seeing these unpublished Antal manuscripts (as well as any which may still come to light) in the near future? The answer is a definite "yes". Evelyn Antal intends to publish another one or two volumes of studies, making a thematic selection from Antal's literary legacy.

In the same way that the author originally intended the book on Florentine painting to be the first volume of a trilogy, so he also intended the "Florentine trilogy" itself to be the basis of an even greater, more imposing intellectual edifice. He considered his life's work to be the search for the origins of modern painting, and he expected to find them in the study of mannerism. So first of all he wanted to write the history of Florentine painting—along with a careful study of economic, social and ideological forces—in order to reveal the development of Tuscan mannerism. The third posthumous volume, published as a result of Evelyn Antal's devoted work, is lent special significance by the studies in it which clearly indicate the outlines of that huge intellectual monument Antal had planned. "Notes on Girolamo da Carpi" reveals the sources of Italian mannerism which, according to Antal (in opposition to other art historians), can be found not in the Counter-Reformation but in the turbulence in lower bourgeois society, where religious problems were basically motivated by the economic-political situation. In "The Problems of Mannerism in the Netherlands" Antal follows the spread of the mannerist style from its Tuscan origins, through various agencies to the Netherlands, where it gained a new character and local colour. As we know from Evelyn Antal, the study "Reflections on Classicism and Romanticism" was in its original form the Ph.D. thesis that Antal submitted to Professor Dvořák. It is of special interest, for it penetrates to the fundamental principle of his life's work. In this study, which he later reworked and expanded to a considerable degree, Antal examines French painting from David to Géricault. His analysis grasps the political and social roots and artistic idiom of classicism and romanticism (as Antal says, "interspersed with progressive naturalistic elements"). It presents one of the most profound and powerful writings in modern art history.

London's Eaton Avenue is a priceless repository of Hungarian intellectual life. Hungarian Television recently sent a team to Eaton Avenue to interview Arnold Hauser. The programme already has been presented in Hungary, and so Hauser himself could be seen symbolically coming home after nearly half a century's absence.* Unfortunately, we cannot bring Frigyes Antal back to Hungary where he belongs by heritage and temperament, but in the near future, at least, his works will be published in his homeland.

Zoltán Halász

* The major part of the interview appeared in the monthly magazine *Kritika*, issues 5 and 6, 1976.—The Ed.

ARTS

GYÖRGY BUDAY

NOTES ON MIKLÓS KIS OF THE JANSON TYPES

The wavering appreciation of the achievements of the seventeenth-century type-cutter, printer, and scholar Miklós Kis de Misztótfalu is a fair example of the traditional lot accorded by his compatriots to any Hungarian who in some way or other distinguishes himself. His youth was nothing but auspicious: the brainy boy earned the patronage and friendship of leading personalities in the religious, scholarly, and political life of Transylvania as well as some of his own age-group.

The next stage in his life, the years spent in Amsterdam, confirmed the promise of his youth in every respect. In the field of scholarship, with the assistance of two young compatriots studying at Dutch universities, he corrected the errors and mistakes in the John Jansonius printing of the Hungarian Károly Bible (Amsterdam, 1646) and, as an almost 'by-the-way' achievement, introduced the reform of Hungarian spelling which has been the basis of Hungarian writing and printing ever since.[1]

During these exceptionally productive years he learnt in the most advanced country in this field at that time, all that was to be learnt about type-cutting, type-casting, and printing, and had the corrected Hungarian Bible printed in Amsterdam at his own expense and with his own type. Officialdom of the Principality had intended but not managed to bring out the long overdue new edition, though for a mostly Protestant country, as Transylvania was at that time, this was a national concern.

In this context, though originally setting out to produce type for printing the Bible in the Hungarian language in Transylvania, Kis contributed to human civilization in a wider, international level by creating type-faces of roman, italic, Greek, Hebrew, and Oriental letters, some of which, under various names and in renewed issues, are still much favoured by good printers and publishers in at least two continents of the world.

Amongst these the type-faces, until recently accredited to and named after the distinguished Dutchman, Anton Janson, were identified by Harry Carter in 1953 as being in fact the creations of Miklós Kis.[2]

Reprinted from a special issue in honouring Harry G. Carter of *The Library* (Transactions of the Bibliographical Society) March 1974.

[1] Ferencz Toldy, *Régi Magyar Nyelvészek* (Old Hungarian Philologists), Pest, 1866.

[2] This was first published in 'The Origin of the Janson types: with a note on Nicholas Kis', by Harry Carter and George Buday, Linotype matrix 18, March 1954; then in more detail in 'Nicholas Kis and the Janson Types' in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1957, pp. 207–12. Gábor Tolnai in '*Tótfalusi Kis Miklós világhíre*' (The world-wide fame of M. Kis), *Filológiai Közlöny*, 3–4 (1968), pp. 563–75, referred to the identification of the Janson type as a 'most surprising, almost sensational result' in studies of Kis's work. In the following year the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* article, somewhat condensed, was reprinted in Hungarian in *Magyar Könyvszemle* (Hungarian Bookreview), Budapest (1969), pp. 136–41.

This vindication of the Hungarian master-craftsman came two and a half centuries after his premature death, and far away from his native land where he was buried in 1702, a disillusioned, disabled, and humiliated man.

When in the optimism and freedom of Holland, and in the midst of a flourishing career, he remembered his original enthusiasm to serve his God in any country by providing fine books at cheap prices, so that poor people could by them, he committed the most tragic mistake of his life. He returned to Hungary, more precisely to Transylvania, in 1690 to find a situation which could no longer provide the status he had once enjoyed and a 'homeland' which could not and would not offer him the home he merited.

During Kis's absence conditions in Transylvania had deteriorated terribly owing to ceaseless war and military occupation. In addition, most of his former patrons, supporters, and friends had died before or soon after his return from Amsterdam. In their place envy, a feeling of inferiority, and pure hatred developed. A legion of ardent enemies intrigued against him on account of Coccejanism, Cartesianism, and his 'irritating habit' of noticing and correcting mistakes in their manuscripts before printing. They showed their resentment at the place he was allowed to sit in at church, and at the dresses his young wife wore, which they thought were far too good for the wife of an 'ironmonger'. After Amsterdam all this pettiness and the general conditions of life made the miserable man's last decade a hopeless struggle full of tribulations.

The eighty-odd smaller and larger publications which he managed to bring out between 1694 and 1702 in Kolozsvár are valuable achievements in Hungarian printing history, though in many cases the reader is reminded of the serious technical handicaps Kis had to overcome in his work there and then. But bearing in mind how good his work was at its best, it is worth while to record some more facts concerning the development and work of this prominent Hungarian type-cutter of the late seventeenth century. Before doing so, I should like to say how glad I am of this opportunity to point out that the credit for the identification of the Janson-Kis type was entirely Harry Carter's, my humble share in the work was only to assist him with some of the Hungarian aspects of the research.

Kis's career in his native land began promisingly enough. He was born in 1650 in a village, the name of which, Alsó Miszt-Tótfalu, was not infrequently fully or partly added to his name in printing. Nothing is known of his parentage, but one of the orators at his funeral referred to his late parents as, 'no gentry, yet respectable folk'. Although in his writings he never claimed to have been a 'prize pupil', young Miklós must have done well enough in the view of his masters at his first school in neighbouring Nagy-Bánya, for next we find him 'eating the bread of the College of Nagy-Enyed', as alumni of that famous Transylvanian academy were described as recently as the time when my own father studied there. During his theological studies Kis distinguished himself in Latin and Hebrew, and—as one of his new biographers, József Molnár, points out—the epitheton ornans, later so frequently associated with him, 'famous', was first used of him in those college years, when one of the most prominent pupils of the college recorded in his still-surviving diary the appointment of a 'famous' new preceptor, Miklós Kis.[3]

Amongst the professors were some internationally known personalities and it was in these years also that Kis's lifelong friendship with Ferenc Pápai Páriz, a year older than himself, originated. The advice of Pápai turned out to be decisive for the most im-

[3] 'The awakening of T. Miklós Kis' by József Molnár, *Új látóhatár*, Munich, 5 (1971), pp. 465–93. The article is, I understand, the first chapter of a volume on Kis, to be published in Munich in Hungarian.

portant decade in Kis's creative life, the years he spent in the Netherlands. This advice was given when he had completed his studies and spent some three years as the master of the school in Fogaras, and when Kis had put aside enough money to set out for the Transylvanian scholars' usual peregrination to west European countries—in the seventeenth century this usually meant the Netherlands and Britain—to crown their academic education at the universities of those countries. 'I would recommend that you take pains to learn all you can in the field of typography, for of preachers—thanks to God—we have got plenty in Transylvania, but a man versed in printing is badly needed, as we have none', said Pápai Páriz. The local minister, later bishop, I. Horthi, and Professors M. Dézsi and Pataki, with whom Kis discussed his plans, fully endorsed the suggestion; while Miklós Bethlen wrote to him when Kis was already in Holland exhorting him to 'pick up the crafts of the Dutch and let us turn Transylvania into a little Holland', adding jovially, 'so that both of us earn a ton of gold each'. Bishop Toféus, too, told him that with correcting the Bible, he could serve his nation better than by preaching.[4]

In the autumn of 1680 Kis set out for the Netherlands with 350 thalers in his pocket, joining the company of Prince Apafi's emissaries led by Daniel Absolon, a professional diplomat, to Louis XIV of France. Officially, and besides theological studies, he was to act as corrector of the new edition of the Hungarian Bible, but in his heart of hearts he intended to learn what he could about printing.

On arrival in Belgium—as the Netherlands was frequently called at that period—Kis left the emissaries and visited Leyden and Utrecht before deciding to settle down in Amsterdam. From his letter to Absolon, by now in Paris, dated from Utrecht, 12th November 1680, it appears that his party left for France before he could say farewell in Amsterdam in the guest-house under the sign of 'The King of Sweden' as arranged, and before Absolon could confirm whether the 'Teleki Beneficium' promised to Kis would or would not be forthcoming. From the letter it is not clear whether this beneficium was to assist Kis personally during his studies in Holland—its most likely purpose—or for use in connection with the preparation of the publication of the Bible, or for something else. Kis requested that letters be addressed to him at the Elsevirian Printing House.

From Miklós Kis's *Mentség*,[5] written and published by him in Kolozsvár nearly twenty years later, it is known that the owner of the famous Blaeu printing-house, after Kis explained to him the conditions and the needs of printing in Transylvania, advised him, in

4 *Mentség*, pp. 70–71 and p. 40.

5 *M. Tótfalusi K. Miklósnak maga személyének, életének, és különös tselekedetinek Mentsége*. . . (Apologia or perhaps more precisely 'Defence', 'Exculpation' for his own person, for his life, and for his curious deeds (or doings) of Miklós Kis, which he was forced to write at Kolozsvár in the year 1698, against the Envious, who thus prejudice the Public Good). This autobiographical book of over 100 pages, contianing much data and information about printing and life in general both in Holland and in Hungary in the late seventeenth century, should not be confused with Kis's *Apologia Bibliorum*, Kolozsvár, 1697, which—in Latin—defends his corrections as well as his improvements in the grammar and spelling of his edition of the Hungarian Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1685. The outspoken *Mentség* did not provide an effective defence for poor Kis. On the contrary, it turned most of the rulers of the Principality against him. The Governor Bánffy extracted a public penance to the congregation, something which most hurt a deeply religious man like Kis, in addition to the withdrawal and destruction of all copies of his *Mentség*, as well as the written and printed retraction (13 June 1698). Péter Bod saw a copy of the retraction but stated that in the eyes of posterity it was 'no longer a defamation of Kis but of his enemies', *Magyar Athenas*, p. 302. Reprints of the surviving copy of *Mentség*, now in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, were published by Farkas Gyalui, Kolozsvár, 1902; Gábor Tolnai, published by Kner Press, Gyoma, 1940; Imre Bán, Budapest, 1952; Zádor Tordai, Bucharest, 1954.

spite of the fact that he had passed the age of the usual apprenticeship, to learn first the art of type-cutting. Though Kis does not record his name, from indirect references it is most probable that he engaged Dirk Voskens to give him six months' tuition in letter-cutting for 200 florins.[6]

"Although my teacher told me when we made the agreement that though he will pass on to me all the principles faithfully, only nine or ten years practice makes a man 'perfect' in this craft—as I told him that I would have liked him to make me 'perfectus' in it."[7]

But Kis's efforts were crowned with success. Soon he was in great demand not only as punch cutter and caster of roman and italic types, but of Greek, German, and Hebrew as well as various less frequently made Orientals: Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian letters. From his *Mentség* and from some correspondence which has survived and has been published, it is known that his services were required by printers in England, Germany, Sweden, Italy, and Poland.[8]

Distant lands, Georgia for example, which had never had printing types before, 'but-like the Turks—wrote only by hand', ordered their first typographical alphabets from him whilst he was in Amsterdam. While this Georgian order was a result of his experience in Amsterdam, as Gábor Tolnai suggested,[9] perhaps he was most proud of an order from Italy, from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo dei Medici, who, 'being a generous man decided to set up a good type-foundry in Italy' and whose men after full inquiry learnt that Kis was the best type-cutter in Europe. He thus not only obtained from him a great deal of equipment for the new foundry, but also tried to persuade him 'to go to Florence for six months or so to teach disciples on the spot how best to use the equipment'.[10] As this happened when he was already preparing his homeward journey to Transylvania, he did not go in spite of the generous terms offered to him. 'The Hungarian nation ought to consider it a glory that the Italians from whom they formerly bought the type, now themselves depend upon us for printing types', he commented.[11] Posterity, however, must consider Kis's negative decision to the offer from Italy not only ill judged from his own point of view, but even more so in the history of type design and fine printing. The Medici's patronage for the maker of the Janson types might have resulted in something equally or still more memorable in printing history.

Instead Kis went on with his plans to return to Hungary, making sets of the numerous accented letters which he preferred to the combinations resembling ligatures which were widely used at that time in Hungarian printing. This was consistent with the gathering of religious and lay authorities some years earlier in Kolozsvár, called together by order of the Prince, to discuss in good time the problems posed in the printing of the Bible. Among other things they petitioned Prince Apafi to inform the King of Poland (the regular route of men and goods between the West and Transylvania was at that time through Poland, when the front line between the Emperor's and the Sultan's armies lay somewhere between Buda and Vienna) that 'His Highness wishes to obtain typographical instruments and exemplars' (here 'exemplars' means printed books in sheets, collated or not) and that, regarding the safety of these as well as the customs charges and the "thirtieth" *ad valorem* duties to ask His Majesty to show his good will; *quod justum et aequum*

6 *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1957, p. 209; see also Kis's letter to Pápai Páriz dated 15 Jan. 1681, Amsterdam, printed in note 27 (to verse 45) in Bod's edition of *Erdélyi Féniks*, Szeben, 1767.

7 *Mentség*, p. 2.

8 Bod's ed. of *Erdélyi Féniks*, note 28 (to verse 47).

9 'A great Transylvanian printer', The Hungarian Quarterly, 4 (1940–1), pp. 567–77.

10 *Mentség*, p. 69.

11 *Mentség*, pp. 67 and 69.

His Highness Prince Apafi himself will be responsible'.[12]

However, news from home worsened and it became clear that not only could the printing of the Bible not be carried out in Transylvania in existing circumstances, but

יהוה
SZENT
BIBLIA.
AZ-AZ,
Istennek Ó és Uj.
TESTAMENTOMABAN
SZENT IRAS.
Magyar Nyelvre Fordittatott
KAROLI GASPAR
által.
KIS MIKLOS

Title page of the 1685 Amsterdam edition of the Bible translated into Hungarian by Gáspár Károly (first published at Vizsoly, in 1590)

the Prince and the authorities could not transfer funds to Amsterdam to cover the cost of printing it in Holland, whether or not the copies were to be bound. (As with Prince Apafi's support a fine bookbinding industry had developed at about this time in Transylvania, binding could be undertaken locally.) Thus Kis decided to have the Bible not only prepared, but printed in Amsterdam, 'to show that a poor lad's heartfelt devotion can achieve something more than the perfunctory efforts of a country'.

As it happened, later on in 1690, when Kis travelled with his bound and unbound volumes of Bibles, Psalms, and New Testaments, through Poland, although two sizes of roman and italic types and four sets of Hebrew letters were handed over to representatives of Marcus Frankel of Poland (for which he was promised safe-conduct through that country), a Polish nobleman actually seized the books. Prince Apafi appealed to the King of Poland, requesting his intervention with his over-zealous countryman so that the books might be released, but the Pole was adamant and would not obey the orders of king and bishops. 'The books will be sent to the Pope in Rome', he insisted, 'and then it will be seen what His Holiness thinks of them.' His reasoning was that when he intercepted Kis he found on him his list of the boxes of books, and noticing the items '*Aranyas Biblia*' (in Hungarian 'Bibles in gilt bindings') interpreted these as 'Arian Bibles'. Arianism had been condemned by the Council of Nicea in 325 but was revived at the end of the seventeenth century, not only in central and eastern Europe, but also in England. John Evelyn refers to it in his Diary.[13] In his *Mentség* Kis blesses the memory of the late Prince Apafi for his good intentions and for what he must have spent on the matter of rescuing the Bibles, but explains that it was mountain

[12] See János Herepei, *Adattár* (Documents of the history of cultural life (of Hungary) in the 17th century: 'The transport of books in past centuries'), Budapest—Szeged, 1971, Vol. III, 268 pp.

[13] In 1699 and in 1702 Evelyn describes it as 'a doctrine now wonderfully seminated'. On 26 July 1699 he refers to a preacher who, after his 'afternoon Cathechisme... shewed the damnable Errors of Atheists, Arians, Quakers & Libertines... of this age'. In Transylvania the Unitarian Church still survives and in the seventeenth century it was quite flourishing. In the best Transylvanian tradition, during his work in Kolozsvár, Kis did print some Unitarian books, for example the prayer-book of a Unitarian bishop and a minister, but of course, in the same spirit, by the late 1690s, he was printing books and other material for revived Jesuits of Transylvania.

highwaymen to whom the release of the boxes of books was due.

By co-incidence it happened that about the same time a gang of robbers made repeated raids on country houses and monasteries in that part of Poland, causing much damage and loss in the district. The Poles somehow suspected that the Hungarians sent the marauders upon them as a punishment for the detention of the goods confiscated. 'We were given back the Bibles etc. on condition that we promised not to send the robbers of the mountains on them again—though in actual fact we were nearly as much afraid of the rogues as they were.'[14]

But to return to the printing of the Bible in Amsterdam. Is was clear that to finance it Kis had to do more and more type-cutting for customers who were willing to pay well for such work. He mentions that he earned one thaler per hour for type-cutting, but that in the winter he had to do it by candlelight. 'Mine is a kind of work which requires full concentration of mind and eyes, one cannot do it well while talking. This is how I became such a silent man after nearly ten years of this work up there in Amsterdam', he wrote, trying to explain why he was not preaching. 'Since my return home the many tribulations caused much more sorrow than can be expressed in words, and cast me into a deep melancholy'.[15] The general conditions he found in Transylvania were not happy. The towns were in the hands of the Duke of Lorraine's German soldiers: liberated or occupied by them—opinions no doubt varied. The soldiers were billeted on most houses and the generals who followed the Duke by the time of Kis's return were little despots, leaving no doubts about their treating the Principality as occupied territory.

Although the Emperor, at this time when the independence of the Transylvanian Principality was virtually abolished, granted —as a result of the intervention of British, Dutch, and Prussian ministers—the Diploma Leopoldinum which promised to retain the previous laws of religious freedom, and altough in England 'a forme of Thanksgiving was ordered to be used in the (as yet remaining) protestant Chappels, & Church of White-hall & Windsor for the seccesses against the Turk', as Evelyn somewhat earlier noted, 'the new law in 1691 of confessional equality meant a period of ordeals for the Transylvanian Reformed (or Presbyterian) Church'.[16]

Late seventeenth-century upheavals, however, were not confined to the lands of the Danube and the Carpathians. Religious and political intolerance did not entirely avoid the shores of Britain either, in spite of her long history which usually provides good examples of how changes and advancement can be achieved in a less violent and less cruel manner than happens in most other countries of the world. The 1680s, when Kis lived and worked across the Channel in Holland, were such a period. In 1683 the so-called Rye House Plot was discovered and the conspirators were harshly punished. This was the period of Judge Jeffreys and the 'Bloody Assize'—a little before the bloodthirsty General Caraffa, predecessor of the equally hated General Babutin, was appointed as the Emperor's Commissary in Tiansylvania. This was the year when Miklós Kis's Hungarian Bible came out of the presses of Amsterdam.

[14] *Mentség*, p. 100.
[15] *Mentség*, p. 16.

[16] G. Nagy, 'The Reformed Church of Transylvania', The Hungarian Quarterly, Budapest (1940), pp. 672–3. Regarding the position of Protestantism in Transylvania see *Histoire de Transylvanie*, par L. Makkai, Paris, 1946; '*...C'est en Transylvanie, en 1550, que l'Europe connut le premier compromis religieux. A cette date la diète transylvaine proclama le libre exercice des religions catholique et protestante. Avec la mort de Martinuzzi le catholicisme perdit son principal défenseur et, en 1556, la reine Isabelle rentra dans un pays à majorité protestante. ...Sous son (Pierre Méliusz-Juhász) influence, le clergé de Kolozsvár adopta en 1559 le tendance de Genève que l'on appelait alors de préférence religion « hongroise », a côté du luthéranisme « allemand ». A la suite de ces controverses fougueuses et parce que la majorité du pays était devenue calviniste...*', pp. 164–5.

An apologist of the infamous judge points out that, 'The assessment of Jeffreys involves the historical discipline of seeing him in relation to his own age and not ours. The seventeenth-century Tories are not the modern Conservative Party; the Dissidents are not the twentieth-century Methodists'. But he quotes approvingly the 'hard Northern sense of the Lancashire J.P. who 'divided the population of England at this time into knaves, fools, and wise men; the first made plots, the second believed in them, the third saw through them'.[17]

The exceptional character of the period must be reckoned with if we attempt to understand the bitter Latin couplet Kis wrote and which he quoted in his *Mentség:*

Anglica terra vale: fueras mihi Carcer & Orcus;
Angelicam quo te dicere jure queam?

The context is his bitter sentences blaming his own motherland for making him feel his life had been useless, for depriving him of his former ambitions and keenness to work. 'No wonder that I reached old age prematurely, for I dare to say that in Belgium I would not have turned grey and aged in thirty years as I have done here in nine. Thus I could truly say about Transylvania what I said about England when I came away (for I had some trouble there also):

Farewell, Anglic land, that wert to me prison and a hell,
How can I call thee an Angelic land?[18]

It is only natural that the writer of these notes, who was born and brought up in Transylvania and who, as a schoolboy, used annually to put flowers on the solitary grave of Kis in the old Házsongrád Cemetery and whose experiences of England are so very contrary to those of the famous printer of the College in Kolozsvár, should be much puzzled by his bitterness. It makes one somehow embarrassed as when two of one's intimate friends dislike each other. It all happened centuries ago but one would still like to discover the reasons for this inexplicable and seemingly irrational grudge. As stated in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* article in 1957, English records have so far yielded no trace of Kis and this is still the position.

As to Kis's matrices and types used in England, Harry Carter and Christopher Ricks identified a double pica Hebrew typeface which in their view is 'recognizable as one cut by the Hungarian, Nicolas Kis', This was named as 'Augustin. Hebr.' in his Amsterdam specimen sheet. They stated that the type was used for a Passover Haggadah in 1695.[19]

Besides some other type faces, Carter and Ricks found in the same publication of the James Foundry Specimen, item 103, the two-line English roman and italic faces which they stated are, respectively, mainly and wholly identical with Kis's 'Clein Canon'. According to the Catalogue, James had '235 matrices of this face' and they were 'probably the same of which (Robert) Andrews had 255 matrices'. Harry Carter referred to these two-line English types amongst the notes added to his facsimile edition of Horace Hart's Notes on a century of typography at the University Press, Oxford, 1693–1794, originally published in 1900.[20] The two type-faces were apparently used in London from 1692 onwards and the purchase of founts from them is recorded in the accounts rendered to the Delegates by the Warehouse-keeper at Oxford for 1695: '13 Sept. To Mr. Andrews for Brevier Greek and 2-line English letters'. In his own notes, writing in 1899, Hart stated that at that

[17] P. J. Helm, Jeffreys, London, 1966, pp. 12 and 16.

[18] *Mentség*, p. 38.

[19] Edward Rowe Mores, A dissertation upon English typographical founders and foundries (1778) with a catalogue and specimen of the typefoundry of John James (1782). Edited with Introduction and Notes by Harry Carter & Christopher Ricks, 1961, p. 105.

[20] Carter's edition was published by the Clarendon Press in 1970.

time no punches, matrices, or types of the face existed at the O.U.P. and that the three examples in his book were reproduced from 'process blocks' but recorded that the original types 'were used in the half-title pages in The works of Mr. William Shakespear, 1770; Royal 4 to, Clarendon Press', adding, 'That the founts were still in existence in 1794 is proved by other examples of them re-appearing in the Press' original copy of the Specimen of that date.'

No Transylvanian-Hungarian type-cutter could—and I am sure even Kis would not—claim greater glory, especially since the continued interest in the type-face shown by Updike, van Krimpen, Stanley Morison, and of course Harry Carter has resulted in renewed versions of his old designs being issued by both Linotype and the Monotype Corporation (though named Janson and Ehrhardt) in recent years.

But presumably these founts—and possibly others not yet identified—were obtained by British printers indirectly only, not personally, and throw no light on his actual and apparently unhappy visit to this country.

This need not necessarily have taken place after he produced the Hungarian Bible, or the Psalms or the New Testament, or indeed after he had brought out his specimen-sheet which is thought to have been printed around 1685–6. We in the West, especially since the republication of his Amsterdam specimens, and still more since the identification of that 'mysterious Dutch "Janson" type',[21] are inclined to appreciate Kis principally as the prominent type-cutter he was. This was the field in which he contributed to international civilization. But in his native land he was mostly valued as printer and publisher, writer, translator, even poet and philologist, which helps one to understand that even after the finding and reproduction of his specimen-sheet in Kolozsvár in 1940 and in Budapest in 1942, none of the historians or typographers, though several of them admirers of Kis, could identify his 'Janson' type-faces.

It should not be forgotten either that when he left for 'Belgium' the main task he was expected to carry out was the correction and preparation for printing of the Hungarian Bible, a national cause for mainly Protestant Transylvania at that time. Could it not be that he was given some more and similar work, similar also in national importance for the then leaders of the Principality?

In the 1680s Prince Apafi felt compelled to join forces with the infidel Turks against the Habsburg Emperor to relieve the population of 'that goodly K:dome of Hungrie', as Evelyn once referred to it, and to relieve the Protestants especially from the oppression of the Imperial armies and their harsh commanders. To explain his action he carried out an extensive propaganda campaign in order to assure European Christendom that far from abandoning the Christian faith, the undertaking was to bring freedom of religious practice to all Hungarians.

In the course of this campaign a rather well-produced sixteen-page folio pamphlet was published, in Latin and English, entitled,

> *The Declaration* of the War Lately set out by the most Illustrious *Michael Apafi*, Prince of *Transilvania* against the Emperour's S.Majestry. According to the Transylvanian Copy 1682.

It was addressed,

> To all Kings, Princes, and Commonwealths of the Christian World, to the Estates and Orders of the whole S.Roman Empire: Lastly, to the miserable People of Pannonia, that groan under the burthen of their Oppressions: For everlasting Memory, Michael Apafi, by the grace of God Prince of Transylvania, Lord of (several) Parts of the Kingdom of Hungaria and Count of the Siculians, I do declare and testifie in sincere Truth and unfeigned Faith...

[21] Stanley Morison, by Nicolas Barker, Macmillan, London, 1972, p. 173.

Groot Canon Romein

Intramus mundum autore, inhabitamu arbitro, derelinquimus judice summo illo numine; cui tribuuntor laus honor ac benedictio, in secula seculorum.

Groot Canon Cursiv

Intramus mundum autore, incolimus arbitro deserimus iudice summo illo numine; cui tribuuntor laus, ac benedictio, in secula seculorum: amen, amen.

Clein Canon Romein

Dominus ille omnium liberrimus, summe bonus summe potens summe sapiens, in quem nulla cadit mutatio aut conversionis obumbratio, a quo per quem in quem omnia, in quo nos etiam vivimus movemur & sumus. mmmenelanana

Clein Canon Curs

Dominus ille omnium liberrimus, summè bonus, summè potens, & summè sapiens, in quem nulla cadit mutatio vel conversionis obumbratio; à quo per quem in quem omnia, in quo nos etiam vivimus movemur & sumus. Adfligi

Afcendonica Rom

Ipse quidem erat ab aeterno in se ac per se satis beatus, cui nihil omnino ad complemen

Afcendonica Curs

Ipse quidem erat ab aeterno in se ac per se satis beatus, cui nihil omnino ad complementum omnimodae beatitudinis desideraretur; proposuit nihilominus ante tempora secularia, secundum merum beneplacitum suum alias etiam naturas certo tempore producere

Parangon Romein

Itaque dum oportunum censuit, vocavit ipse ea quae non erant, stiteruntque se illico ad nutum vocantis potentem unumquodque secundum speciem suam, absque mora; adeo ut numero dierum non ultra senarium impenso, in. sam hanc mundi machinam cum omni suo ornatu ac plenitudine consummatam cerneres.

Parangon Curs

Dum itaque oportunum censuit, vocavit ipse ea quae non erant, stiteruntque se illico ad nutum vocantis potentem sine mora; adeo ut numero dierum non ultra senarium impenso, immensam hanc mundi machinam cum omni suo ornatu ac plenitudine consumma tam cerneres.

Text Romein

Dignum revera admiratione opus, tantopere superans captum humanum, ut permulti hominum, & ii quidem sapientes habiti mundum increatum putarent aeternumque pronunciarent; cum penitus nequirent lumine rationis perscrutari & eruere, quo tandem modo, quibus machinamentis, qua vi aut arte tam incomprehensibilis, tam decenter ordinata atque ornata moles e nihilo educi potuerit

Text Cursiv

Dignum revera admiratione opus, tantum superans captum humanum, ut permulti hominum, iique sapientes, mundum increatum putarent, aeternumque pronuntiarent; cum penitus quirent lumine rationis perscrutari eruere, quo vi aut arte, quibus machinamentis, tam incomprehensibilis, tam decenter ordinata atque ornata moles, e nihilo potuerit educi.

Augustin Romein

Illi nihilominus contra, qui magis sobrie ratiocinati sunt, agnoverunt in ipso etiam genio ... ubi nullum supernaturale lumen splenduit, quod universum hoc ... aliquando habuerit initium ...

Augustin Curs

Longe autem magis ii, qui rerum divinarum cognitionem e divinis sacrarum scripturarum ... hausti ... sed gratia ... illustrati ...

Mediaan Romein

Profecto non immerito, nec absurde aut inconvenienter nominare licet mundum hunc theatrum divinarum virtutum, ac perfectionum; in quo creator ipse luculenter spectandam proponit tum aeternitatem suam, tum omnipotentiam, tum incomprehensibilem sapientiam ac omniscientiam, cum bonitatem, tum denique omnipraesentiam, immensitatem, rectitudinem, justitiam, sanctitatem, misericordiam; imo omnium perfectionum, atque omnium eorum, quaecunque concipiuntur divinae naturae quadrare, bonorum cumulum ac thesaurum.

Mediaan Curs

Profecto non immerito, nec absurde aut inconvenienter nominare possumus mundum hunc theatrum divinarum virtutum ac perfectionum ...

Descendiaan Romein

Ne vero splendidum hoc amplissimumque theatrum ...

Descendiaan Curs

Garmont Romein

Garmont Curs

Burgois Romein

Brevier Rom

Brevier Curs

Colonel Rom

Colonel Curs

Nonpareil Rom

Nonpareil Curs

Peerel Rom

Peerel Cur

Descendiaan Nooten

Mediaan Griex

Parangon Hebraus

לב טהור ברא לי אל
הים ורוח נכון חדש ב
בקרבי אל תשליכני
מלפניך ורוח קדשך
אל תקח ממני צפץ

Augustin Hebr

The upper part of Kis's Amsterdam specimen sheet (around 1686). National Széchényi Library, Budapest. 465 × 302 mm.

London: Printed for Francis Smith, Sen. at the Elephant and Castle in Cornhill, 1682.[22]

Various manifestos were known to have been issued by Apafi from 1678 onwards, but the Smith pamphlet is interesting as its publisher, Francis, 'Elephant' Smith (from Elephant and Castle), also known as 'Anabaptist' Smith, was the publisher of John Bunyan's work. Opponents referred to him as 'Dissenter', 'Impudent cheat', 'Forger', and a 'Whig Pamphleteer'. Judge Jeffreys's punitive career practically opened in 1680 when he was employed 'to conduct prosecution of two Whig pamphleteers, Harris and Smith'. Smith was accused of committing libel in a pamphlet under the name of 'Tom Ticklefoot', 'the Tabourer'. In the autumn of the same year he appeared again on a similar charge when Jeffreys, calling him 'an ingenious man', tried without success to persuade him to plead guilty.[23] Smith's periodical, *Protestant intelligence*, printed Hungarian news items.[24]

It is not impossible that promoters of opposition views of the Hungarian situation found themselves in prison, for Thököly's attacks on the Imperial forces, in association with the Turks, were discussed in England. That Kis was associated with such protestant and 'dissenter' publishers or printers, perhaps Smith himself, cannot be excluded. It is more likely that he experienced tribulations on such account than in connection with his type-faces which entered this country about 1685. To refer again to Prince Apafi's bilingual Declaration of 1682, it is mentioned by Count Miklós Bethlen in his memoirs that it was actually written by the Revd. Professor I. Pataki with Bishop Kovásznai.[25] Pataki was one of Kis's old and most appreciative friends and with him he kept up a correspondence from Amsterdam. It was Pataki who advised Kis to marry on his return, thus making it clear that he intended to settle in Transylvania, in spite of his well-known connections abroad.

Another circumstance which might have prompted Kis's Anglic-Angelic couplet was the smuggling of English Bibles from Holland into England, a flourishing enterprise at the time. Kis twice mentioned the Athias-Schipper printing office in Amsterdam.[26]

In his *Mentség*, Kis contrasts the limitation of editions in Hungarian, due to the comparatively small number who understand and read Hungarian, with 'Bibles in English printed by Athias in Amsterdam alone; annually c. 50,000 copies are sent to England though this has to be done by smuggling them into the country secretly; how many would be printed in England herself? . . . there the people are interested and love books and knowledge—unlike here [in Transylvania]. Even quite ordinary people own a decent bookcase there.'[27] These rather flattering sentences show that Kis had experiences other than prison and hell during his stay in England. (Curiously these lines are overlooked by most writers.)

If Kis, who for some time was associated with the Athias printing-works, was prosecuted for Bible-smuggling, it would not

[22] The Dutch version carried the words: '*Unt 't Latijn vertaald, Na de Copie, Gedrukt in Sevenbergen Anno 1682*'; quarto with twelve unnumbered leaves (RMK III 3225 H. n.—1682). The Hungarian Old Books reference publication (RMK), under number II. 1483 records a 1681 Latin pamphlet by Mihály Apafi from Kolozsvár; quarto, two sheets, six unnumbered leaves, beginning, '*Universis Orbis Christiani Regibus, Principibus, . . .*'

[23] Helm, pp. 62–69.

[24] László Országh, '*M. Kis és az első magyar könyv Amerikáról*' (Kis and the first Hungarian book about America), *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Budapest, I. (1958), pp. 22–41.

[25] *Önéletírás* (Autobyography) by Miklós Bethlen, Budapest, 1955, vol. i, p. 423.

[26] In letters from Amsterdam, dated 15 Aug. 1684, to Mihály Teleki, the 'omnipotent politician', and Michael Tofeus, the Presbyterian bishop, he mentions that he was advised by his Dutch patron and adviser, Professor John Leusden, to follow the method of the 'Anglicana Bible' produced in Amsterdam by the Athias and Schipper workshop.

[27] *Mentség*, p. 89.

be judged shameful or disgraceful in his native land. The fact that his failure in England is not as such mentioned by his enemies in their vilification of him suggests that, whatever the consequences, his activities in England were not such as would discredit him in popular opinion in Transylvania.

M. TÓTFALUSI K. MIKLOSNAK
maga ſemélyének, életének, és különös tselekedetinek
MENTSÉGE.
Mellyet az Irégyek ellen, kik a' közönſéges Jónak ezaránt meggátolói, irni kénſerittetett.
KOLOSVÁRATT,
1698. Eſztendöben.

ELöLJÁRÓ BESZÉD.

IGazán mondják a' Theologusok, hogy Iſten az övéit (azért, hogy megidegenítse minden világi jóktól) abban ſokta meglátogatni, a' mit legnagyobb javoknak tartanak világ ſzerint. Nékem Belgiumban ollyan állapatom vólt, hogy ha pénz gyüjtésben gyönyörködtem vólna, és czélúl ki nem töttem vólna azt, hogy hazámat, valamint lehet, ſegitsem e' ſzerint: *Publica privatis anteferenda bonis.* Az-az: A' közönſéges jót eleibe kell tenni a' magánosnak, annyi idö alatt könnyen 40000 vagy talám 500000 forintot-is gyüjthettem vólna, és ha eddig ott maradtam vólna, azt merem mondani, kevés Erdélyi Úr vólna, a' kivel tserélnék pénz dolgából. Amazt colligálhatom ebből, hogy minekutánna az én könyveimnek nyomtatásoknak gondjától megszüntem, és egéſzen magamat a' munkára adtam (noha még akkor-is vólt foglalatosságom és idöm töltéſe a' könyveknek köttetések miatt) az utólsó két eſztendömben kerestem én többet 15900 az-az tizenöt ezer forintnál (mellynek 11000 ... forint-
A

Title page of Tótfalusi Kis's Mentség, *published in Kolozsvár, 1698*

This campaign of slander was so intense and thoroughgoing that after Kis's death, the funeral orations by Professors Enyedi and Pápai Páriz were torn out from every single copy of the publication in which they appeared.[28] However, one copy of Pápai's versified life-story of Kis, probably Pápai's own, survived till the eighteenth century, possibly in the College of Nagy-Enyed. This is how Péter Bod came to read the '*Erdélyi Féniks*' (Transylvanian Phoenix) and to reprint it, with annotations, in his *Életnek Könyve* (The Book of Life) in Nagy-Szeben in 1767. Bod's introduction concludes:

> Such a man was Miklós Tótfalusi Kis for the Hungarians, as Frobenius and Oporinus were to the Swiss, Henricus Stephanus amongst the French, Manutius for the Italians, Plantinus, Elzevir, Jansonius amongst the Belgians, Bombergus for the Jews amongst the Venetians; but he differed in this respect that he did not carry on his art with riches left to him by his father, but earned wealth by his own mastery of type-cutting and thus pursued the needful good to the public benefit. He well deserves, then, the name Phoenix, about which Seneca writes: *Semel quingentesimo anno nascitur.* I wish that not in five-hundred, but in every five or at least every fifty years such a Phoenix would be born in Transylvania.

Bod further relates that he came across both manuscript and printed forms the poem written by Professor Pápai Páriz, which he edits, adding some relevant notes, wishing that in this way the '*Daciae Phoenix*' might come to life again.

Since then the copy and the various manuscripts have disappeared, but Bod's edition and other books, born in a less destructive age, survive and help to do justice to the man whose name he wanted to perpetuate. Bod also wrote appreciatively of Kis's edition of the Bible, understanding both its linguistic and typographic aspects, in his *Szent Biblia Históriája* (The History of the Holy Bible), N. Szeben, 1748.

Another revival in the appreciation of Miklós Kis took place around the turn of the century. Gergely Herepei, minister, later Dean in Kolozsvár, found and showed Kis's then derelict and forgotten grave and tombstone to some interested printers and

[28] Farkas Gyalui, '*Vita M. Tótfalusi Kis M. ravatala fölött*', (Debate over the bier of Nicholas Kis), Erdélyi Múzeum, Kolozsvár (1909), No. 3.

college professors in the 1880s.[29] This modest gesture marked the renewal of public interest. Farkas Gyalui, L. Dézsi, J. Koncz, Gy. Csernátoni, and others published articles; Professor Dézsi wrote his still authoritative book on Kis; F. Gyalui reprinted Kis's *Mentség* and, for the 190th anniversary of his death, the *Siralmas Panasz*. This was a lament in verse with music also composed by Kis, describing the great fire which ravaged much of Kolozsvár in the spring of 1697. Kis interpreted this as well-deserved punishment from God and ended with a pledge for the amendment of life and with prayer for forgiveness on behalf of all of the city. The printers set up a memorial in the cemetery in 1902, the second centenary of Kis's death. On it he is commemorated as 'printer and type-cutter of European fame and the founder of our [Hungarian] orthography'.

Since then Kis and his *Mentség* have become an acknowledged part of Hungarian, and particularly Transylvanian, cultural tradition, though somewhat dormant as such relics usually are. If remembered, he was usually recalled by historians of literature.

The next potentially important event in the appreciation of Kis's work was the discovery and reproduction of the only surviving copy of his Amsterdam specimen-sheet. It includes an extensive selection of his typefaces and some musical notes for sale at his address in Amsterdam in the 1680s.

It turned up accidentally—or providentially—thanks to a journey by Imre Kner, of the distinguished Kner Press in Gyoma, to Kolozsvár in the summer of 1942. In the course of a talk with Lajos Kelemen, head of the University Library, and former Archivist, Kis's name was mentioned. Kelemen, who in my time was generally known as 'a man who wrote little, but knew all', told Kner that the specimen-sheet was in Budapest and gave its exact location in the National Archives, amongst the papers of the Hatfaludy family there. On his return to Gyoma, Kner passed on the news to Paul Szentkuty, for whom in 1940 he had printed a publication on the specimen-books of old Hungarian printing-offices. Kis's sheet was found and reproduced with an article about it in the *Magyar Könyvszemle* (Hungarian Book Review).[30]

Copies were not received in London until long after the war. Ironically, however, as has only quite recently been revealed by G. Haiman, Kis's Amsterdam type specimen-sheet had already been reproduced in near-by Kolozsvár in 1940 from a photograph obtained from F. Gyalui.[31]

Since the discovery of the Amsterdam specimen-sheet and the identifications of his work, Kis's life-work is, quite appropriately, becoming more and more a subject of study by typographers and historians of printing.

As a conclusion I should like to report the appearance of two such publications which came out recently. Both are by György Haiman, Professor of Typography at the Hungarian College of Arts and Crafts.

The first is a longish article entitled 'On the type-cutting and typographical heritage of T. Nicholas Kis'.[32] It publishes and analyses a newly discovered inventory of the printing equipment in Kis's estate made in Kolozsvár on 25 April 1702, i.e. soon after his death. The fact that such an inventory of Kis's belongings was made has been known for some time from repeated references to its preparation in the autobiography of M. Bethlen and in the diary of György Czegei Vass.[33]

29 *Adattár*, iii, 161.

30 '*M. Tótfalusi Kis Miklós amszterdami betűmintalapja*' (The Amsterdam specimen sheet of Miklós Kis), Budapest, 1942, It was reprinted (in facsimile) separately by the Royal Hungarian University Press, Budapest, 1943.

31 Gy. Terhes, 'Misz-Tótfalusi Kis Miklós, 1650–1702', *Grafikai Évkönyv* (Graphical Yearbook), Kolozsvár, 1940.

32 '*Tótfalusi Kis Miklós betűmetszői és tipográfusi hagyatékához*', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, Budapest, 3–4 (1972), pp. 193–209.

33 *Czegei Vass György és Vass László naplói, 1659–1739*, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica*, Budapest, 1896, XXXV.

Haiman relates that this very interesting document was found by Kálmán Krizsó, who edited the Graphical Yearbook of 1940 mentioned above. He came across it in 1971 in the Central Archives of the Reformed Church, Kolozsvár diocese. The inventory consists of six leaves, 200×315 mm each, and is written in a single hand. The final page is blank and the document is, unfortunately, unsigned. Krizsó copied the eleven pages literally and it is thus printed in Haiman's article, pp. 205–8. A photocopy of the manuscript has recently been received in Hungary but is not yet available in England.

Haiman, very sensibly, compares the newly discovered 1702 inventory with the one dated 21 October 1711 which was exactly transcribed and published in Typographia by the then printer of the Reformed College in Marosvásárhely, Sándor Imreh, in 1880. Although this inventory was known to, and mentioned by, Dézsi and others, the comparison of the two lists now provides Haiman with revealing data about Kis's equipment.

The 1702 inventory records the whole range of types in Kis's Amsterdam specimen-sheet, but, for example, while in the latter there were thirty-seven types, in the inventory there are fifty. The greater number of the type-faces indicates that he made many of these in Amsterdam and brought them back with him to Hungary. Some of them were never used in any of his work known to be printed in Kolozsvár. One of the many interests of the inventory is the refined instrument called *contrapensum contrapensorum*, which must have been useful for somebody who produced large numbers of punches and matrices as Kis did in Amsterdam.

Haiman continues by comparing Kis's type-faces known to have been left in Leipzig in 1690 on his way back to Transylvania, which were mentioned repeatedly in *Mentség* and in various letters. These, as is now known, reappeared in the W. Drugulin printing and type-foundry works of Leipzig and some in the *Schriftgiesserei D. Stempel* of Frankfurt a. M. Haiman thinks that the 'Paragon' of the Amsterdam specimen-sheet is the equivalent of the 20-point type today in Drugulin's successors, the Andersen Nexö printing-works, and the Frankfurt specimens of c. 1920. Kis's 'Groot Canon' type is the equivalent of the Frankfurt printer's 36-point type. 'What is most interesting', Haiman writes, 'is that Kis's "Groot Canon" and "Paragon" are identical with the Frankfurt samples' italic titling types, while the two smaller sizes of this type are of other hands.'

Thus what was missing in Kis's Kolozsvár stock according to the now-discovered inventory appears in the material left behind in Leipzig and what he brought with him to Kolozsvár, for example his 'Clein Canon', roman and italic (now about 24 point) are missing from the Leipzig set.

The 1702 inventory is full of very interesting information instructive not only with regard to Kis and the 'Janson' type, but also to seventeenth-century typography in general. Haiman's article deserves more detailed review than can be included in this article, and, perhaps, translation into English or into another more widely understood language.

The other publication I should like to mention also by Haiman, is one of the books produced to celebrate the 500th anniversary of printing in Hungary.[34]

This is a very carefully written and well-produced book in which Haiman gives a good account of the research into Kis's type-making and typography. Besides the author, the Magyar Helikon and the Kossuth Press, who claim joint responsibility for the publication, should be congratulated. Readers of the book will, however, regret that the

34 György Haiman: *Tótfalusi Kis Miklós, a Betűművész és a Tipográfus. Élete Műve Betűinek, Nyomtatványainak Tükrében.* (M. Kis of Tótfalu, the artist of printing types and the typographer. His life work, as mirrored in his type-faces and printed works), Magyar Helikon, Budapest, 1972. 318 pp.

publishers did not provide an index. (It is clear that the author is not responsible for this omission: on p. 106 he praises Kis for his great care in equipping his publications with contents, index, etc.!)

Here and there Haiman's historical references and views could be debated—this is in the nature of books of this scope—but perhaps the greatest service he makes in this volume is the good reproduction of samples from most of Kis's printing work in Kolozsvár. These are scattered across numerous frontiers today with varied regulations in respect of research work and reproduction. Knowing something about this, I find the volume a particular achievement in this respect.

I for one am also very grateful for the bibliography of Kis's printing compiled with care and efficiency by Mrs. Zoltán Soltész at the end of the volume. (It reminds me of the keen but necessarily hopeless time I spent on attempting to produce some sort of 'emergency' bibliography from sources available in the Reading Room of the British Museum in the 1950s!)

Now all these data are available in this fine volume, together with selected reproductions with captions and comments by an author who is knowledgeable also in the technical and typographical aspects of books and printing.

Although in some small details Haiman differs from the views expressed in our articles on Kis, besides correctly referring to them in his historical sections, his foreword attributes to the identification of the Janson type in 1954, the focusing of attention on Kis's work as type-cutter in countries outside Hungary. This is of course true and it must give some little satisfaction to the scholar who, besides his many other achievements, actually made the identification. Acknowledgements do not always follow work well done.

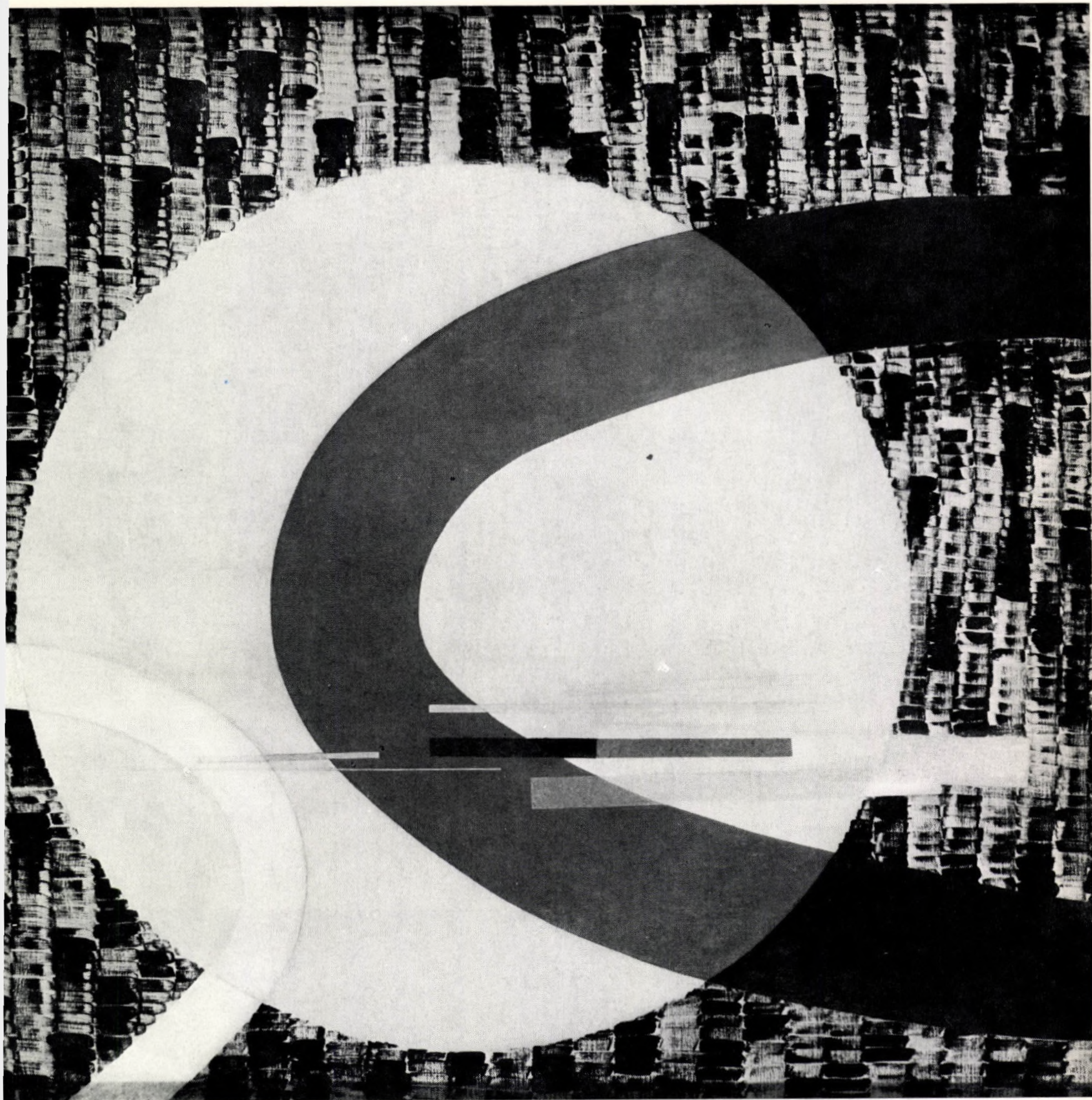
MOHOLY-NAGY EXHIBITION IN BUDA CASTLE

Now that the National Gallery occupies its new permanent home in the restored Buda Castle*, both permanent and temporary displays will acquaint visitors with the history of Hungarian art. The series of temporary ones begins with the collection of László Moholy-Nagy.** There could be no more exciting and appropriate premiere than this touring exhibition, which has visited the larger cities of Western Europe and reaches Hungary supplemented by some of the artist's earlier works.

The first of the temporary displays already shows the directors' intention to display the interaction between significant Hungarian and international art. The career of Moholy-Nagy is especially suitable for this, being a Hungarian artist who emigrated after the fall of the Republic of Councils in 1919, and along with other Hungarian and east European artists, became a leader of the Bauhaus, one of the most progressive artistic movements of the age. In a cultural environment substantially different from his own, Moholy-Nagy adapted so well that not only was he a teacher of the introductory course and the head of the metal workshop,

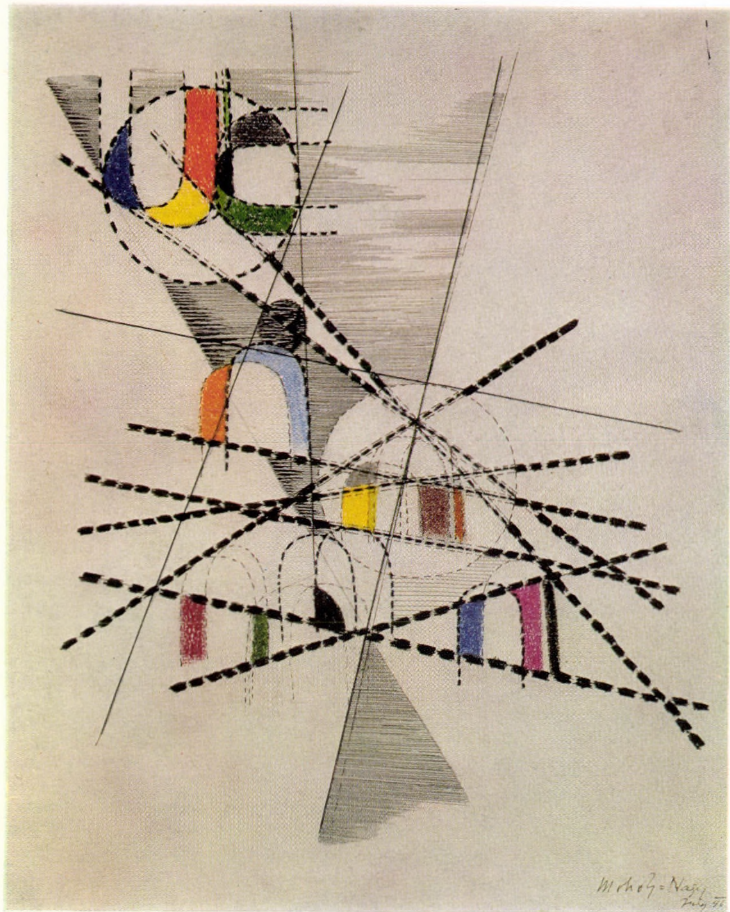
* See Máté Major's article on p. 90. of this issue

** See Nos. 46, 57

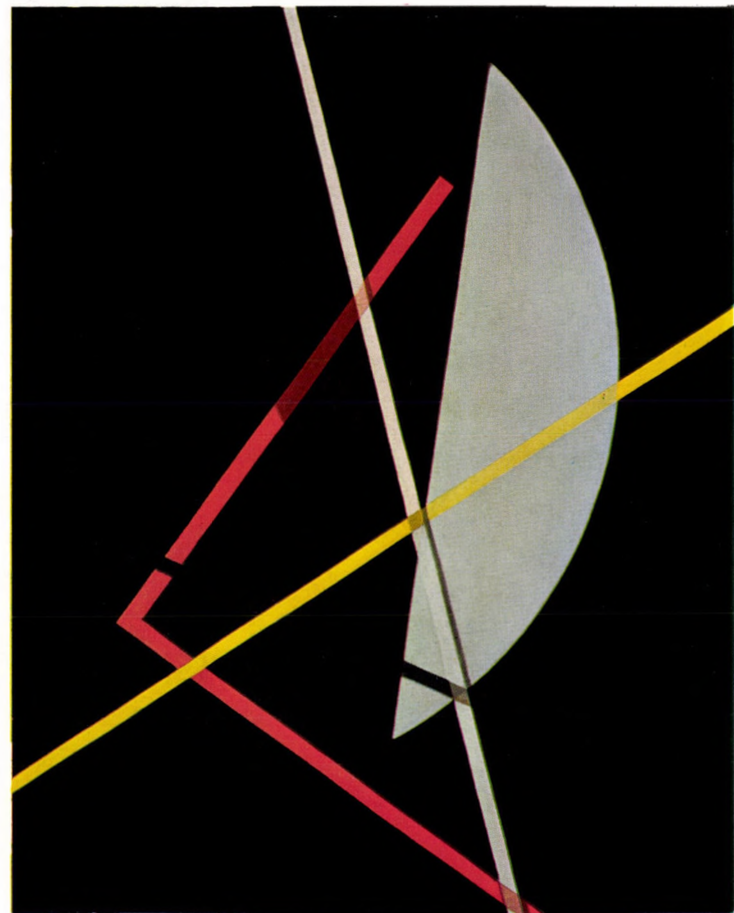


Mrs. János Magyar

László Moholy-Nagy: Composition CH XIV
(oil on canvas, 92×120 cm), 1928

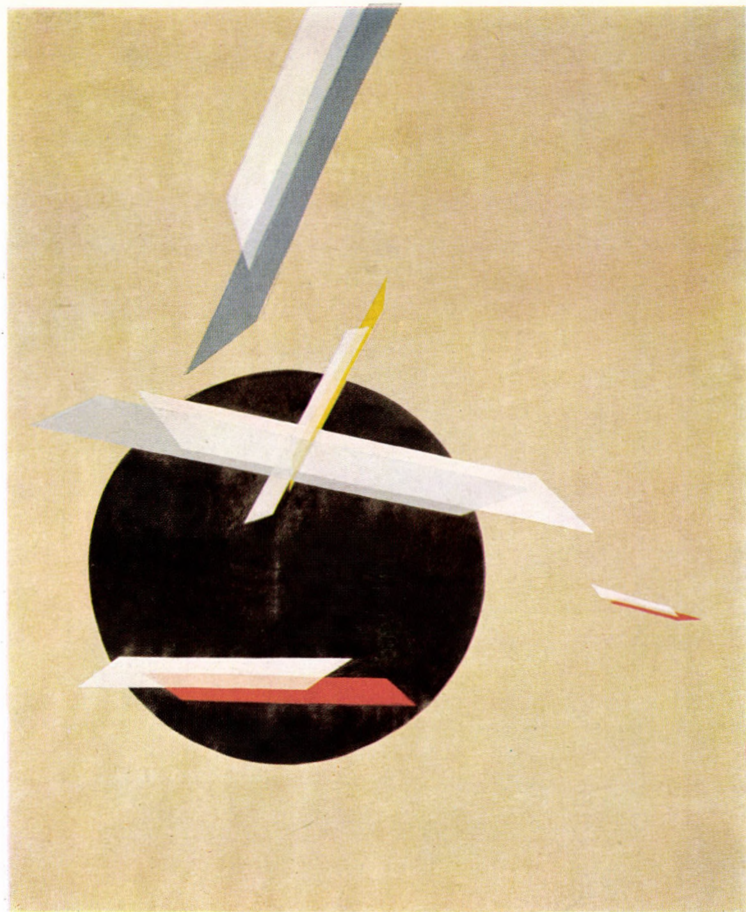


LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY: CH 1946 NR. 1.
(CHALK ON PAPER, 30×22.5 CM)



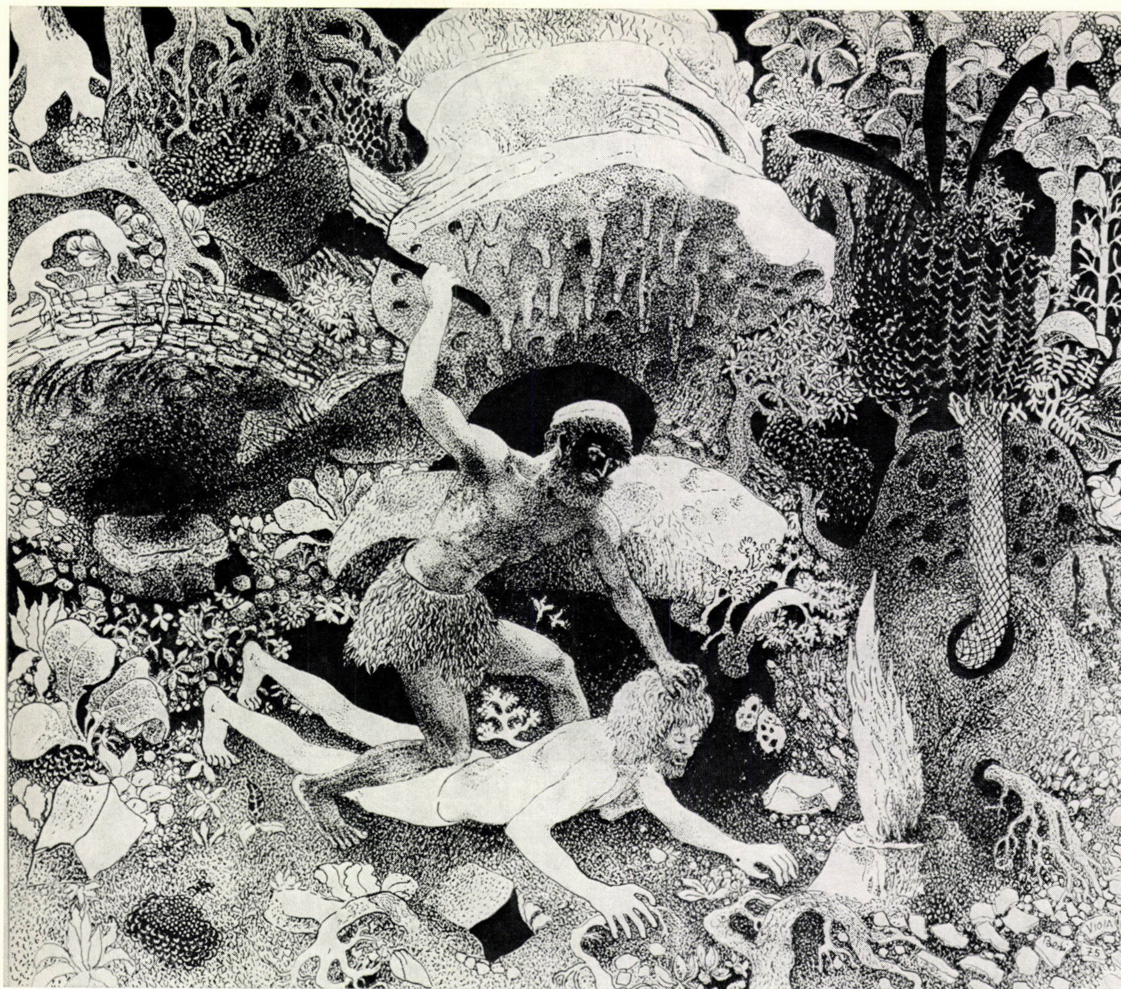
LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY: COMPOSITION E IV.
(OIL ON CANVAS, 110×80 CM, 1922)

Károly Szelényi



LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY: CONSTRUCTION (1932)

LÁSZLÓ MOHOLY-NAGY: COMPOSITION A 19
(OIL ON CANVAS, 60×96 CM, 1927)
Károly Szelényi



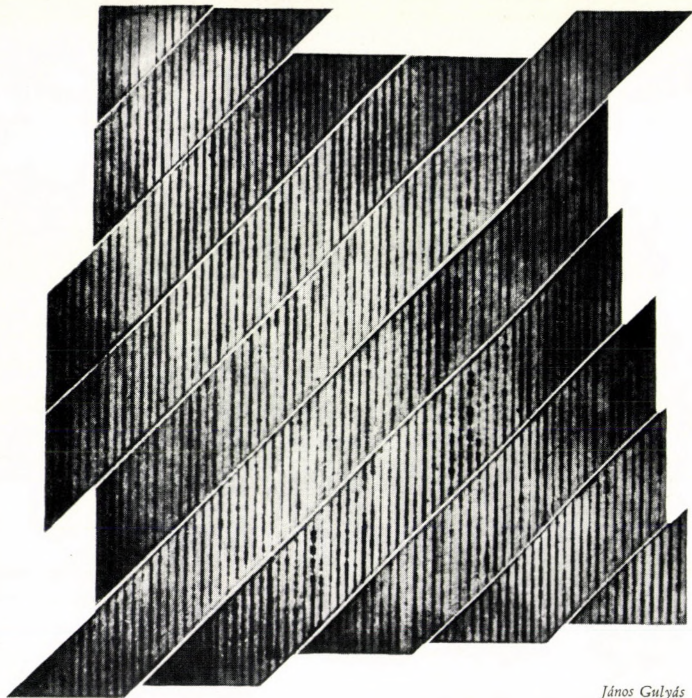
Ferenc Kovác[illegible]

VIOLA BERKI: CAIN AND ABEL (PEN AND INK 30×35 CM, 1974)

JÓZSEF FÜRST: JUNKSHOP (OIL, 120×80 CM, 1975) ▶

Károly Szelényi

OZV.
BECSÜLETES
JÁNOSNÉ
ÓCSKÁS
FÜRST

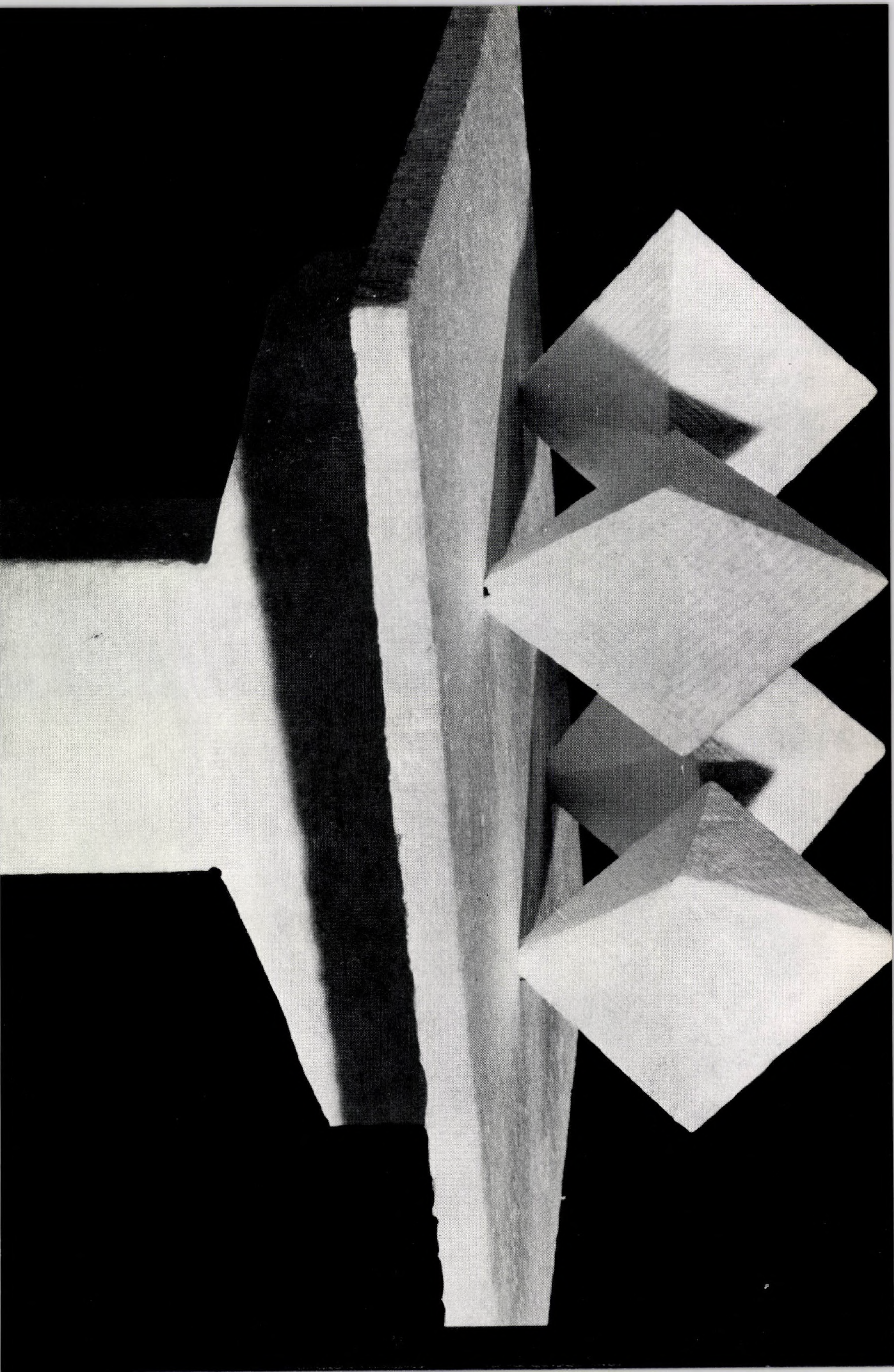


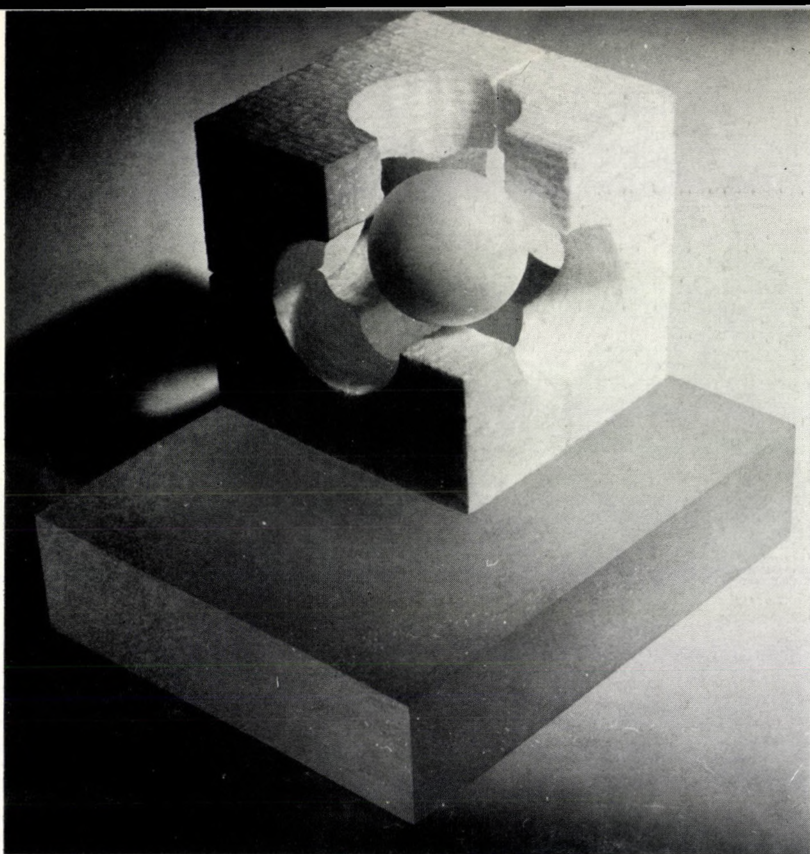
János Gulyás

DÓRA MAURER: THE PUSHING ASUNDER OF A SQUARE
(COPPER ENGRAVING, 48×45 CM, 1975)

Ferenc Kovács

MIHÁLY SCHÉNER: PLAY OF METALS, 1975





Károly Szelényi

GYULA GULYÁS: G/CSE, (POLYURETHANE, 30 CM, 1975)

JÁNOS KASS: K/EEK (POLYURETHANE, 83 CM, 1975)

Károly Szelényi

Preceding page: TIBOR VILT: V/KLO (POLYURETHANE, 31 CM, 1975)

but he also designed the programme, along with Gropius, which formed the basis of the Bauhaus educational system.

When asked about it himself, Moholy-Nagy admitted the influence Hungary had on his work. Later, the periodical *Nyugat* founded in 1908, and Lajos Kassák's* *Ma* widened his horizons beyond Hungary and specifically towards the west—or in Moholy-Nagy's own words "towards a significant culture and cultural structure that opened Hungarians' eyes and prevented reversion to a romantic past in isolation from the factors shaping today's world."

In the tenth issue of *Tett*, the predecessor of *Ma*, Kassák first adumbrated the new role of the arts "in an entire discordant world where the arts alone are what, deaf and blind, delude themselves in a jungle of phrases about 'national pride' and 'heroic' romanticism." He gave his ideas, always expressed in a sharp, expressive style, in the periodicals *Sturm* and *Tett* which prefigured the Bauhaus. At the same time, they fundamentally differed from the Bauhaus inasmuch as they were concerned with the distinctive state of Hungarian artistic life and, aiming at tightly interweaving artistic and political activity, filled a gap left by the disintegration of The Eight** after the war.

The manifold struggle and attacks against the *Ma* circle drew the group even closer together. The ideological unity, with its clearly professed aims and Kassák's dynamic and untiring organizational skills, was a base for Moholy-Nagy to develop his talents. The ambitions of this exclusive "ideological society" in many ways resembled the endeavours of later Bauhaus workshops to develop individual talents. And the struggles and attacks of the *Ma* group against conservative and retrograde forces in the arts and politics were a way for Moholy Nagy, coming home from war and trying out different artistic expressionistic forms, to test his own strength and convictions.

Among the members of the circle, he was most attracted to the expressionist work of Béla Uitz*** and József Nemes-Lampérth****, and later carried on elucidating debates and conversations with them on obscure questions. In the exhibit, Moholy-Nagy's water colour, *My Brother* has the same structure as Nemes Lampérth's *Lying in State*, in motif, composition, and collage. Other members of the *Ma* circle also influenced Moholy-Nagy; traces of Uitz's expressive style can be found in his *Self-Portrait* of 1919.

Besides these direct influences, the personality of Lajos Kassák made itself felt in his very presence, as well as in his programme, endless struggles against ideological opponents, and the lively atmosphere he encouraged to bring out as yet dormant talent.

*

Moholy-Nagy originally studied law and began to draw only for pleasure; he had difficulty choosing between literature and fine arts at the beginning of his career. He then joined the *Ma* circle and like many, came and did not leave, giving support to Pierre Reverdy's remark, "An artistic trend is defined by only a few, but there is a short time when everybody plays a role in its development. There are other participants of the movement who, though part of the larger mosaic, also form a complete picture in themselves." Moholy-Nagy belongs among these select "others".

While acknowledging his start in Hungary, we must emphasize his decisive encounter with the Bauhaus, which would last to the end of his life. He taught the method not only in Weimar, but later also in Dessau. He then organized and led the New Bauhaus in Chicago in 1937. Thus, Moholy-Nagy identified himself fully with the Bauhaus, not only contributing to it but

* See Nos. 28, 54

** See No. 54 on the group of artists known as The Eight

*** See Nos 29, 48

**** See No. 54

also keeping it going. The exhibit in Buda Castle gives a limited picture of this extremely wide scope of activity that covered not only teaching, but also photography, sculpture, painting, stage art, and collage, to name a few.

Unfortunately, his *Light-Space Modulator* (1921–30) appears only in the documentary material of the exhibition; with it and like constructions Moholy-Nagy is considered the father of Kinetics. He could not have been aware of the significance of this work when he set out to apply his observations on matter and motion, as expressed in his book *From Matter to Architecture,* the textbook for the Bauhaus introductory course. His kinectic structures were didactic visual aids for the course, as were tactile boards, turning forks, rubber-panelled, elastic structures for producing the sensation of pressure, and various parabolic and hyperbolic plastics. Of course, the list can be continued at will with photograms, photoplastics, and "underground" films, (as labelled not in his time but long after.)

With his films he aimed at an objective similar to Malevich's whose "white square" was conceived as the projected surface of light. Moholy-Nagy used light plastics in his films to visualized space as drawn by light. These endeavours were closely related to the abstract films of Viking Eggeling and Hans Richter, which had been shown several times under the auspices of *Ma*. The Buda Castle exhibit includes earlier films of Moholy-Nagy which are now regarded among the most significant works in the history of underground film.

Our survey of Moholy-Nagy's pioneering work would not be complete without mentioning the relation between artistic trends in the recent past and Conceptual Art. Conceptual Art does not judge the quality of a work by its execution but by the effect of its idea. This kind of art values equally art that uses industrial tools and products and art based solely on an artist's design, idea and execution.

Next to Marcel Duchamp, Moholy-Nagy is called the father of this movement, for in 1922 some of his work was executed over the telephone, with his ideas worked out beforehand. In front of him, and his partner, lay graph paper (on which the position of the individual forms could be precisely defined), and a colour chart. With these Moholy-Nagy could specify the work of art he wanted to create—or, in other works, the industrial product he wanted to process. From Conceptual Art's point of view, its significance lay in the fact that for the first time the artistic idea was separated from its graphic implementation.

Moholy-Nagy started out from the *Ma* Circle in Budapest, and throughout his career, was a propagator of Bauhaus principles and a craftsman dealing with matter and forms of expression in the fine arts. We recognize him today as one of the most significant artists of the century because he explored the possibilities of both traditional and new forms, leading to ever new discoveries. He believed ambition should develop, not ahead of a work's creation but along *with* the work, to allow it to surpass the intentions of its creator.

PÉTER SINKOVITS

SIX EXHIBITIONS, EIGHT ARTISTS

Viola Berki–Dóra Maurer–József Fürst–Mihály Schéner–Tibor Vilt–János Kass–Gyula Gulyás–János Fajó

"For a long time I did no drawing outside of my painting," writes Viola Berki in the preface to her graphics exhibition at the Helikon Gallery. "For I could not imagine how to express myself in black-and-white after I had acquired a language in painting. The reason I finally began to draw was not mental pressure but financial need. Editors encouraged me to do tint-drawings for their papers, adding something to the kitty. I was all excited when I sat down with brush and China ink to do my first drawing. I was glad to find that the material obediently directed the brush in my hand. And even when my financial situation eventually took a turn for the better, I did not break off drawing. That was for reasons of vanity, having heard from various sources that my drawings were being cut out of the papers and preserved. Therefore I am forced to accept the fact that my drawings, as they become increasingly intricate, take more and more time from my painting."

Like her painting, Berki's graphic art is meticulous and reminiscent of the work of the *trecento*, yet also abundant in invention and oblique *bon mots*. The drawing fills the whole surface, evoking the *horror vacui* laws of primitive art. Being illustrations, the subject-matter of the drawings covers such fields as the Bible, popular ballads, Hungarian history and Hungarian poems and novels of the eighteenth or first half of the nineteenth centuries.

The romantic artist in Viola Berki takes the spectator on a trip, if not to distant countries, at least to distant ages. She has a comprehensive imagination, which she externalizes in a playful way, with a pinch of irony and humour. Folk-tales are made believable. She is sympathetic to man and beast—to all that is alive. We could style her painting naïve or neo-primitive or, rather, Viola-Berki surrealistic. An interesting point in her artistic evolution is a paradox: her masters are constructivists, but they led her this way. She follows their artistic morals, but never their manners. Neither does she have any foreign models, and—though a critic seldom ventures to make such a statement—she really cannot be assigned to any school. She is an autochthonal artist, an original in her own world.

Dóra Maurer is *par excellence* a graphic artist with the behaviour and moral attitude of Rembrandt the etcher. Even as an "apprentice" she had a reputation among critics and her colleagues. Her work at that time was characterized by figural surrealistic landscapes, emphasizing meticulous draughtsmanship. About a decade ago Maurer got tired of her role as the high priestess of art: "The very process of printing had become her sole experience and message," writes Tibor Gábor in the preface to the catalogue of her exhibition at the Helikon Gallery.

The titles of the pictures at the same time, provide a description of the subject: "The Pushing Apart of Crumpled Objects," "(De)formation," "Objectivation", "The Pushing Asunder of a Square," "Circle-Marks". These are prints composed of straight lines, squares and curves. It is perhaps strange that now, in Maurer's geometric compositions, we perceive more vigour, maybe lyricism, than in her former visionary prints. Still, there is no abrupt change in style and her message remains clear—that, I think, is most important in every work. While turning against her own background, she managed to remain a graphic artist. Now, however, she takes

that Rembrandtesque moral attitude more and more self-ironically, so that the genre, copper-sheet and printing block themselves each play a part. The technical descriptions in the catalogue, precise to the point of prolixity, themselves constitute a work of Conceptual Art. For example: "copperplate, intaglio, overlaid, aquatint, sheet-crinkling", or "surface-milling, sheet-perforation and rending". With the formulation of the catalogue, and so with her prints, she wants entirely to draw the spectator into her creative intellectual orbit. She even makes him an—apocryphal—collaborator. On her print entitled "Paedotypia" she preserved the footmarks of her visitors—carefully pressed between plates of glass and hung on the gallery wall.

The young József Fürst works with a skill reminiscent of the Italian mannerists of the sixteenth century. His draughtsmanship is consummate, his brush-work is brilliant, the surface of the picture is painted with a brush-point smooth as ice, his canvas, though highly colourful, is consciously temperate, never intensive. With traditional device and a splendour suited to princely courts, he sets forth a contemporary message with mundane things, especially the seamy side of life: old age, death, war, destruction and ruin. Sometimes he cannot cope with overcomplex philosophical messages in the idiom of painting; his less indirect and connotative pictures are more "complete", yet even when Fürst is unsophisticated he is far from direct. His collection is not homogeneous, either, from the artistic viewpoint; it seems that the pressing deadline of the exhibition prevented his finishing all his pictures to his own satisfaction. Perhaps after the exhibition.

József Fürst is an exponent of so-called magic realism; we feel that it was not he who chose his school, but rather, was chosen by it. With such capabilities, so much patience for minute work, what else can he do, if he does not want to turn conservative? After so many lyrically rough-and-ready pictures and belaboured efforts, it was a pleasure to find at the sixth District premises of the Hazafias Népfront (Patriotic People's Front) a creative artist whose achievement widens the spectrum of Hungarian art, working with the humbleness of a member of St. Luke's guild in search of his own artistic language.

Among fifty-year-olds one seldom finds a person with such a keen susceptibility to modern ideas as Mihály Schéner. It is not the clinging followers of fashion that I am thinking of, for we have quite enough of that sort of thing. Schéner is a painter; after strict academic schooling he became a post-impressionist, then an expressionist. He found his true personality when Hungarian folklore began to influence his pictures, never as an external or ancillary emotional element, but essentially as part of the painter's personality. This, however, did not satisfy him, either: albeit a painter, a few years ago he grew to envy the three dimensions that sculptors can work in. If we recall the wooden horses of one of his earlier exhibitions we are bound to be reminded of the works of Marisol (Escobar) and Pop Art; I asked him about it at the time: "American, Spanish and Japanese Pop are entirely different from one another," he replied. "Pop expresses the popular temperament, reawakening figurativeness and sometimes going as far as the shoddy aggressiveness of the market-place." In any case, the village market, with its merry-go-round and wooden horses was a basic experience of the painter's childhood and an object of his longings. What is particularly interesting with Schéner is that the line of his artistic development can be precisely followed, for his changes of direction always come about gradually.

At his exhibition arranged in the bare room—was it a gymnasium?—of the Cultural Centre of the Third District we saw a selection from his recent stylistic experiments. The material contains green-glazed tile, closely related to folk ceramics

and former paintings reminiscent of certain peasant designs. More interesting, however, are the objects made partly of wood, partly of steel.

Schéner's wood carvings remind one of those primitive popular "domestic appliances"—pressing calenders. A favourite motif of his is the wooden horse; hobby-horses—not figuratively but literally—turn up every now and again, as well as a coach with horse, complete with passengers.

An even more daring, out-of-the-ordinary and individual theme of Schéner is the steel coach series. I now have to forget the vocabulary of the catalogue. I saw something like a tricycle, and a coach, with the coachman in his box, a bowler on his head; there is a beam for harnessing the horse but no horse; suspended on a shaft set up on the vehicle are puppets, Pierrots, shepherds in wide sheepskin coats and other figures. They are meticulous works in their get-up, constructed in fact of lathe-turned round bodies (constructed with the mechanical engineer István Kelecsényi).

The critic cannot—for the artist does not want to—decide what these pieces really represent: are they substantial statues, pseudo-sculptures, pseudo-machines or pseudo-toys? They are first of all exhibition pieces, yet children would surely love to play with them.

*

Three artists: Tibor Vilt, János Kass and Gyula Gulyás have started a series of experimental statues made out of prefabricated units, which were exhibited at the Institute for Cultural Relations, under the title "Forms in Space".

In this art everything is given; the artists chose samples from the Concrete and Steel-Concrete Industrial Works, "just like from a composing-frame", as the critic Kincső Verebélyi put it. Their arrangements—juxtaposing and superimposing various units—made their own unique forms. The basic element is precast building materials: beams, lintels, I-shaped girders, pencil-form, stakes, two-branch street-lamp brackets, bridge structures and tubing rings. The only alien material is steel balls. To the steel concrete unit, created purely for a certain function, which in itself is so beautiful, these artists can add something from themselves. Despite their variations and mutations, they worked within a strict rule of not casting any kind of atypical concrete forms.

These three artists have never previously worked together, they do not even belong to the same school. Indeed—and this is particularly interesting—all three of them in this new collective are exceedingly different. Vilt is the senior, Kass is in the middle, while Gulyás belongs to the youngest generation; Vilt and Gulyás are sculptors, Kass a graphic artist. They are radically different even in temperament: Vilt, in fact, is of an expressive, Baroque-like make-up, which shines through even his constructivist works. Kass is sober and elegant, while Gulyás has pinned his (so-far short) career on the avant-garde, and made his mark with plexiglass pieces and later with Concept works.

The exhibitors obviously enjoyed their new game; an incomparable animation is evident in these works—a joy of discovery. It has been pointed out already how different they are from one another in every respect and, yet, at this exhibition, if I had not seen their names, I would have been unable to decipher which belonged to whom. Here a spontaneous group has sprung into existence which works in the impersonal, collective spirit of the workshop of a medieval cathedral. Of course, there are pieces that immediately identify whose works are whose; yet sometimes I read Vilt's temperament in Kass's statue. In fact I almost always mistook Vilt for Kass and *vice versa*. Even the quality of the pieces fluctuate, sometimes irrespective of their author's talent. It is clear that the sculptors,

in the excitement of creation, concerned themselves only with the result, never themselves.

What then was this game good for? Even if for nothing, it would have been amusing; but let us observe the *ars poetica* of the whole endeavour, as described not by the artists but by Professor of Architecture Máté Major in the catalogue of the exhibition: "... though they do not directly remedy the buildings' lack of plasticity, such forms in precast units placed in the squares between the buildings, would—by their plasticity, their contrasts and disruption of even spaces—go a long way towards dispelling the mood of emptiness, dreariness and ennui."

One has to have a great deal of empathy and practice to be as enthusiastic about this work as its artists. The models are only centimetre-high statuettes, done in firm, snow-white plastic foam sponge with steel balls like ping-pong balls. The sculptures had to be squeezed into boxes to fit them into the cramped room. Just as architects visualize houses from ink-lines on drawing paper so we, the exhibition-goers, had to imagine these toy-sized white objects as grey, steel concrete colossi, ten times as big as they are now. They will be contemporary Stonehenges, to be set up not in the nooks of exhibition rooms but out of doors in parks with the whole perspective of space. Then the "how" will rise to its proper value and the Vilt-Kass-Gulyás experiment acquire its real life.

JÁNOS FRANK

*

The Exhibition Studio 66 was a significant event in the history of the young generation of Hungarian artists, for it was then that the public was first acquainted with the young exponents of abstract and surrealist art, including János Fajó, who experiments with geometrical forms. Unfortunately there were misunderstandings in art criticism that appeared then, which have attended his—and their—art to the present day.

Since the forms that Fajó built up from geometrical configurations and unmixed colours do not conform to traditional art the bulk of the criticism complained of his degradation and emasculation of art. Not knowing how to approach his pictures, they reproached him for vapidity, impugning the works' raison d'être and individual significance. One critic said of Fajó's pictures: "Coldly rational decorative painting, weighed down with mere optical rules, is scarcely suitable, with its strict mathematics, for the expression of rich emotion, the message of individuals' art." The painter himself on the other hand, wrote the following: "It is not psychological expression that I am after but objective visual rules." —to make it clear that they ask something of him which was not his intention.

At his exhibition in Budapest in 1968 the catalogue almost created a greater sensation than the pictures themselves. Fajó, who is conscious of his responsibility as an artist, feels obliged to explain his artistic conceptions and interpret his recondite pictures for the layman. His compulsion to express his views in writing has another motive, too: his fear of not being understood, or to be more precise, of being misunderstood. The various combinations of simple geometrical forms and clear colours in Fajó's art reflect his whole personality and Weltanschauung; they comprise the moral values of a future universal order, which they are intended to embody. This is what Fajó has described in words as: "Reason is assurance—assurance is resolution—resolution is exactitude—exactitude is light—and light is order itself."

In 1975 the butt of criticism is again primarily the text of his catalogue, which, arguable as it is in some of its formulations, purports to be an instructive description of the artistic attitude as seen from the inside, as well as an all-round meditation on the mission of art, its fashions, parasites and

the danger of mixing intellectual values. The devil of misunderstanding, however, interfered and lines taken out of context gave rise to the charge of sectarian isolation, intruding bad feeling into the success of a well-documented exhibition. But Fajó has doubtless made considerable progress in the the past five years, and his achievement deserves more than the formulaic dismissals "good taste" or "evidently significant technical skill".

"As Vasarely observed, there is a time in the life of every artist when he is not sure of himself and the value of his work. It is his most creative period, the time he turns from a saturation with the familiar to something new he must find in himself. He gives and creates his essential work in these few especially fruitful years. He makes such rapid progress in this period that he leaves his contemporaries behind. Yet when he has found his way, he then faces the enormous task of elaboration, clarification and finally propagation of the finished work, leaving little time for further search. Henceforth the artist feeds on his own work rather than on himself."

It was at the end of the sixties and the early seventies that Fajó experienced the unsureness described by Vasarely; it was then that he reached the state of inward saturation which produced an essential change. The change was promptly noted by critics of his exhibition in the Fészek Klub in 1970. Compositions devided into tiny squares and animated by shades of colour were succeeded by quieter and softer forms. He grew independent of Vasarely as he pushed the "variational" technique into the background and reached out toward new realizations. "Fajó was right in feeling", wrote one critic, "that the luxurious richness of Vasarely's decorative effect could be achieved only with the extremely sophisticated tools of the graphic arts. This technical sophistication is scarcely available to Hungarian artists, and it is not worthwhile just to imitate its results. More modest compositions might create a more sincere effect and be more successful; thus through this exhibition Fajó has somewhat 'domesticated' the monumental decorative genre. He works with fewer, smaller and simpler elements, standing, however, a better chance of being persuasive."

This essential realization overtakes the course Fajó had followed since the sixties. Having graduated from the Applied Arts School in 1961, he started his career as a figurative painter with a strong interest in monumental decoration. He soon gave evidence of his predilections: between 1962 and 1964 he made a plastic wall-picture 6 square-metres in size with the theme of "Learning Boys Playing", which adorns a public educational establishment in Budapest. As a result of his frequent participation in competitions, he got another commission in 1966, this time to compose a mosaic wall for the University for Agricultural Sciences in Gödöllő.

He could easily have pursued the lucrative but less intellectually rewarding career of a successful ornamentalist, when specific influences and the general inner agitation of young artists diverted him to more serious things. First of all, there was the constructivist painter, socialist avant-garde poet and novelist, Lajos Kassák (1887–1967), for whom Fajó has become, as it were, a spiritual successor. It was from Kassák that he learned the classical constructivist art of pure formal relations, where the artist creates an order on canvas which surmounts the chaos in the world and the anti-human forces in the mind and society. Fajó, however, combines the static order of Kassák's "pictorial architecture" with the motif of movement, following the examples of two other ex-Hungarian artists, Moholy-Nagy and Vasarely.

The sixties also gave him the chance to absorb the lessons of op art, minimal art and new abstractionism: among them, from a formal view-point, are a radical simplification of the composition; a reduced number

of motifs; homogeneous, sharply delineated areas; and technically, sterile impressions wing serigraphy and plastic colours.

All these influences seemed mixed together at the outset. In one of his early three-figure compositions, for example, he casts shapes in the spirit of precubism, matching the somewhat ponderous and rigid complex of figures with the lively, animated colour scheme of the geometrical background. Later, abandoning the ballast of figures, the constructivist background floated into an independent scheme toward the etherial regions of pure form.

His present exhibition at the Institute for Cultural Relations shows him as an already mature artist. The earliest works on exhibit are at the same time the most complex. The line of development begins with *Form Feast* and its variants, the biological configurations with their undulations and colour-arcs piling on one another to suggest with various patches of colour the lively rhythm which unite the whole construction. The self-same rhythmic play, the variations of interwining colours and shapes are evident in the paintings of sponge-like fingers. The essence of the picture is the variability of the basic motif and the dynamic complex which can be built from it.

The continuous generation of forms is missing from his later works, replaced by the relatively closed, discrete motifs of pear and water-drop configurations. The emphasis is transposed from rhythmic repetition to the motif, symmetrically divided and intersected. In the pictures based on St. Andrew's cross, he supplants continuous variation with closed, integrated compositional units. Here, however, the internal richness of the motif, together with its turning in diverse directions, ensures an appropriate place for Fajó's concentric ideas, without letting him slip into the exaggerated simplifications of the preceding phase. Indeed, we observe an enrichment of detail.

This change in form has interesting consequences, as if organic forms have not merely been exchanged for geometrical ones, and the rhythm of the colour-arcs by spatial and optical illusions. The previous stable work structure disappears, and with it goes the solid grounding in graphics and witty application of plating-models to large-size panel-painting and on to monumental decoration. The series composed of undulating motifs seems, as it were, to leap out from the frame to occupy its due place in architectural composition, whereas the more-recently conceived concentric structural designs seem expressly made for large-scale tableaux. This tendency, were it to be pursued exclusively, would be conductive to a one-sidedness which is by no means desirable, even if it did result in such successes as the *Self-Revolution* of 1973.

"Our devotion to information is over", writes Fajó in the catalogue. "This orientation of my generation has come to an end. Let those just beginning their careers pursue such things but we can only orient ourselves through, for and in the interest of, our work."

The direction and nature of Fajó's orientation is obvious and unequivocal. Yet besides investigating the possibilities of combining pure colour and form he has never been averse to the application of art to public uses. He intends to take part in shaping the new environment; that is why he chose a form of expression that can be made and distributed by industrial means. Despite his inadequately understood conceptions, his unfortunate experiences in competitions and the failure to get backing in Hungary for his juvenile art-education Kit, he still has successes to put in the other side of the scale: his clearly formulated, articulate book jackets. As to his monumental ornamentation, we can only hope it will not remain an unrealized preoccupation.

Z. N.

JÁNOS KMETTY
1889–1975

A memorable event in the history of Hungarian art occurred in 1912. A few years after the appearance of an important group of artists, the Eight, who were searching for the equilibrium between French fauvism and the artistic fermentation that had started in Hungary, a young artist, unknown till then, entered a Cubist picture to the exhibition of the Művészház (Artists' House). The young man making his "début", the "first Hungarian Cubist", as critics later liked to call him, was János Kmetty, and the noted exhibit was his "Bearded Self-Portrait." That work has since sunk into oblivion; in order to illustrate his role in the transmission of Cubism, art historians prefer to mention his graphic "Self-Portrait," also from 1912, which primarily evokes the Cézanne phase of Cubism. Without divorcing itself from the conditioned reflexes of the traditional study of figures, it only vaguely reflects the aspirations of the analytic period in its geometrical background.

The young artist exhibiting the Cubist picture was born of humble parents in Miskolc in 1889. He lost his father, who had been a railwayman, at the age of six months; his widowed mother raised the children alone. The young Kmetty comes up to Pest after the maturity examination, at the age of 19; there he simultaneously works and studies. From 1909 to 1912 he attends the painting school of Ferenc Szablya-Frischauf. The new aspirations of Hungarian art inspire him to see their source, and so at the age of 21 he quits his job and leaves for Paris. There he spends some half a year as a student of the Julien Academy while frequenting the museums. He is especially interested in those painters from the past who "bear a straight-line relation to the moderns—Tintoretto and Greco, as the forefathers of Expressionism, Leonardo, as a seeker after the truths of perspective and observation, as a forefather of Cubism."

His yearning for plastic forms even turns him in the direction of the Renaissance at a somewhat later period, during the war. However, it is not in his practice but in his approach, on a theoretical plane, that the traces of this background are traceable. Cubism continues to have a key influence on him, although he never becomes a self-proclaimed Cubist; he simply makes use of its lessons in his own painting, which remain naturalistic. His environment—the Young Artists, with whom he mounts joint exhibitions annually at the National Salon and the activist reviews like *Tett** (Action) and *Ma* (Today)—all trigger off a rapid development in his art. In his paintings and etchings he uses the motifs of reality with more and more freedom; he paints stylized, symmetric compositions, and makes original mural-sketches.

The Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919 awakens the public-spiritedness in him; he puts his organizing ability into the Directorate of Artists where, together with József Nemes-Lampérth,** he makes a recruiting poster for the Red Army. After the collapse of the Hungarian Republic of Councils he gave up politics and concentrated on his own art. His music-making figures and Arcadian nude compositions of that period inspire the young proletarian painter, Gyula Derkovits,*** with whom Kmetty forms a friendship around 1920.

* Periodicals of Lajos Kassák the first of which appeared between 1915 and 1917 in Budapest, and the second, from 1917 to 1923 in Vienna.

** József Nemes-Lampérth (1891–1924), painter and graphic artist.

*** Gyula Derkovits (1894–1934).

In the second half of the twenties a blood transfusion is given to his art by another trip to Paris. It is in his encounter with the aftermath of Cubism, first of all perhaps in the works of Braque, that he comes to realize his latent aspirations. He now exploits his ability to create plastic forms in the framework of large-scale compositions and monumental works. He meticulously expands his world of painting, carefully working up every small section of surface, deliberating on every problem of representation. The entirely covered, formally exploited surface of the picture is held together by a strict composition, bringing out a searching spirit, which, as a matter of course, excludes both great themes and great proportions. Kmetty consigns great works to the future, maintaining that they will be born out of persistent application in the present. For the time being he is concerned with the mode of representation; his work as a painter can make do with a field limited in motifs yet wide in the quantity of still-life variations, self-portraits, figures, interiors and landscape detail.

Critics and a considerable part of the public at large took a dim view of Kmetty's analytic and constructivist aspirations. They regarded it as too cold, doctrinaire and ascetic; they regretted that he sacrificed his talent for the phantom fashion of the age, modernity. They were all the more pleased then when, at his one-man show in 1937, he displayed his new direction. Abandoning the theoretical plane of Cubism, he returned to the more direct approach of Naturalism.

Later on there were less belaboured styles, some richer in colour and an emphasis on construction as periods succeeded and alternated one another in Kmetty's art. An advocate of more abstract artistic aspirations, Lajos Kassák, felt that the year of these experiments was more successful than the preceding two years of softened lyricism. The fifties seem to have favoured again a naturalistic style, while at the end of his life the artist returned to the more emphatic and structural form of expression evident in his youthful work.

The absorbed, industrious creative artist, Kmetty, was all along an active participant in the world of art. He was an original member and one-time vice-president of the Képzőművészek Új Társasága (The New Society of Painters and Sculptors), which brought together the most significant personalities of Hungarian art between the wars. He was present at the birth of the Szocialista Képzőművész Csoport (The Group of Socialist Artists), with which—in the teeth of the ideological differences that had emerged in the meantime—he engaged himself even in the strained political situation of 1942. First he taught at the Podolini-Volkmann private school, then, in 1945, at Derkovits College, and from 1946 at the School of Arts. It was at the last two that his pedagogic talent fully developed. For his artistic and pedagogic activity the Hungarian state awarded him, among other honours, the Kossuth Prize and the title Eminent Artist. He took part in a number of exhibitions abroad, at the Biennale of Venice in 1962, and in 1948 and 1967 in the London exhibition, Twentieth Century Hungarian Art.

The most apposite appreciation of his clean, shy painting, based upon the development of the tonal values of light blue, came from Dezső Szomory*: "Life does not require great heat or passion to last and unfold its flowers. One sound is enough to ring out from the chaos and mark that which is beautiful. One sound is enough for the eternity of poetry. This one sound, in a hundred versions and an unshakable unity, makes Kmetty's art."

ZOLTÁN NAGY

* Dezső Szomory (1869–1944), writer, playwright.

ANNA LESZNAI'S PAINTING

Exhibition in the Hatvan Museum

Anna Lesznai was unique in the Hungarian artistic world of the 1910s. A sensitive intellectual and at the same time a woman with a wide range of emotions, she wrote poems which appeared in the literary review *Nyugat*, she designed embroidery inspired by *art nouveau* and made charming and delicate illustrations for fairy-tales. She was a poet, novelist, painter and craftsman—and remained a true lyricist in every genre. Her poems were published in several volumes: *Verses Returning Home* (1909), *Garden of Eden* (1918) and *Stray Litanies* (1922).

Anna Lesznai corresponded with Béla Bartók, conducted a lively exchange of ideas with György Lukács and exhibited with the "Eight", a progressive painters' group founded in 1909. Although not a group member, she identified with their radicalism and their new artistic vision which introduced them to Fauvism and Expressionism.

She had an unusual life, starting in Körtvélyes, in Upper Hungary, where she was born in 1885 and described in her autobiography as "a backward little village, a nice old house which at the time was already a Wonder Castle revolving around outdated illusions..." She died in New York in 1966. She characterized the distance between her birthplace and the America she moved to in 1939 as a "three-hundred years' journey". Nevertheless Körtvélyes, despite all its backwardness, remained for her the object of life-long nostalgia, for it meant not only the old home but also the Garden of Eden, that is, the ideal place where plants, animals and humans lived in harmony, simplicity and affection. This Garden of Eden appeared not only as the title of a volume of poetry and in the title of her novel, *In the Beginning was the Garden:* it also hovered in all her compositions of floral ornamentation and animals holding on to each other, and in her fairy-tale illustrations which evoke and suggest an ethereal environment.

Anna Lesznai emigrated to the States in 1939 with her third husband, the excellent cartoonist Tibor Gergely. In the following decades she taught painting and wrote a theoretical work on teaching applied arts.

Tibor Gergely wrote about Körtvélyes as the inspiration and moulder of Anna Lesznai's soul and vision: "A Baroque castle stood in the middle of a beautiful garden which extended up the hill. Behind the hill hid Leszna, a tiny village of a dozen houses—the place from which Anna Lesznai got her name. In her poems she gave the garden of Eden in Körtvélyes the symbolic name of Leszna. 'The garden of Leszna', 'The Valley of Ondova', 'The Blue of the Vihorlát' all belong to a symbolically limited world which, at the same time, embraces the infinity of spring and autumn, earth and sky, life and death."

The exhibition of Anna Lesznai's works in Hatvan, a small town sixty kilometres from Budapest, drew people's attention to a painter who is more or less forgotten by now. She was known first and foremost as a poet; she was a marginal figure in the history of Hungarian art, scarcely known and less appreciated, whose last and maybe only one-man show was in 1932. The present exhibition was made possible by Tibor Gergely's generous donation of his wife's artistic legacy to the museum in Hatvan, which prepared a small but concise and harmonious selection of her works.

The selection was based on the artist's best period, the 1910s: her art is forceful, pure and uniform. It derives its strength from a homogeneity that the artist could imbue with originality.

Anna Lesznai's basic, almost exclusive, expression is of the biological experience of existence, which removes from her art any conflict, anxiety, feelings of want, and even drama. She was a free-thinker with a full share in her epoch's intellectual world, sharing the era's sense of tragedy and its experience of the crisis in which "every whole was broken" but it never touched her art. Her embroidery and fairy-tale illustrations represent plenitude itself: they are the expression of rapture, enjoyment, self-revelation, open-heartedness, fertility, abundance, love, and even motherhood. With modesty and without affectation, she expressed her relation to the world: "I painted the soil I enjoyed of my home, and I wanted to preserve the image of its swarming creatures."

The grateful and joyous indulgence of her senses characterized her attitude as a human being and as an artist, while she expressed her inner and visual experiences in stylized and decorative forms. She did some of the embroidery herself, but also designed on paper, rich, luxuriant streaming vegetation or fantastic animals whirling and clinging to each other by supple limbs. All this lavish, wild exuberance merges elegantly and decoratively in the mostly symmetric compositions, which always maintain the discipline of artistic balance.

One recurring theme is an exotic, or rather fantastic, bunch of flowers pressed into a chalice-like vessel, slender vase or bulky basket. Pomegranates, bluebells, daisies, ferns and tulips are pressed together in this bouquet or spread out into garlands: their wild, fleshy tendrils break out of the vessel or their fine, pearl-like clusters flow gently from it. These living and breathing plants are full of eroticism and *joie de vivre*. Though the theme always remains the same and patterns and composition vary within a narrow range, the designs show much artistic ingenuity. Every composition seems to be born of new impulses: the vigour of their lines creates a strong picturesque tension, and the bunches of flowers arranged according to different "ideas", or rather emotions, are done in diverse colour combinations which carry the message of a thousand different moods, states and sentiments. Anna Lesznai had a vivid sense of colour: her combinations are surprising, bold or sometimes over-refined: at one time they may evoke the colours of Mezőkövesd peasant embroidery which she highly valued, another time reflect the more intellectual, refined combinations of lilac-orange-green or red-lilac-blue.

Her fairy-tale illustrations covered a wider range than the embroidery. Her imagination was not restricted to variations on one pattern: she created epic moments imbued with lyricism. There were always new magic scenes in which nature was dreamlike and exotic, full of miracles, and interiors which were the artistic evocation of exact but always poetically inspired "description" and subdued decoration. She also wrote the text to many books of fairy-tales which enjoyed great popularity in their time, like *The Days of the Baby*, *The Tale of the Strawberry-sized Heart*, *The Tale of Furniture* and *The Little Boy*.

The drawings are characterized by a translucent crystalline composition in which perspectives and horizontal panels together ofter a harmonious, interesting and stylized three-dimensional effect. The pure glow of homogeneous colour spots and graceful forms enclosed by fine contours create a serene and aesthetic surface and an intimate atmosphere which suggest that objects, flowers and birds have a soul and unfathomable life of their own. The reader penetrates into this environment step by step as into a mirage, for the artist reveals beauty and "secrets" in the same way she senses and elevates her own real environment almost to a myth.

Anna Lesznai's art is, without doubt, a late Hungarian extension of *art nouveau*. Thinking in planes, transposing it into ornament with a graceful and sometimes

affected distortion of lines, stylized motifs and ornaments are all features of secessionism.

Although it is marvellous that the Hungarian tradition in secessionist fine arts can now be augmented by Anna Lesznai's inventive and characteristically feminine work, we must be very careful not to reduce Lesznai's œuvre to a style. Her secessionism reflects a fascinating paradox. The work exhibited in Hatvan is shrill and reverent at the same time. No other secessionist was so radiant with health and vitality.

JUDIT SZABADI

TURKISH MINIATURES OF HUNGARY

GÉZA FEHÉR: *Török miniatúrák a magyarországi hódoltság koráról* (Turkish Miniatures about the Turkish Occupation of Hungary). Magyar Helikon–Corvina, Budapest, 1975, 30 pp. 51 colour plates. In Hungarian. (English and German versions will appear in 1976)

Few illustrated medieval manuscripts survived in Hungary, most of them having been destroyed together with other works of art. Of those which survived some found their way to other countries. There are, however, sixteenth and seventeenth-century copper engravings of contemporary Hungarian events. The travelling artists mostly expressed the attitudes of the Habsburg kings who then ruled the northern and western parts of the country. Similar representations by the other conquering power, the Turks, were until recently just about unknown. The discovery of any single one of them is thus of considerable importance for the better knowledge of Hungarian history.

The book here discussed is a first publication of much of the material it contains, and it thus has much to offer on the history of Hungary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Osmanli Turks started on the conquest of the Balkan peninsula even before they completed the occupation of Anatolia. By the end of the fourteenth century the rulers of Serbia, Bulgaria and Wallachia had submitted to them and they began to menace the southern frontiers of Hungary early in the fifteenth being a direct and immediate danger. At first they were successfully repelled, but after the death of King Matthias Corvinus (1490), under impotent kings such as Wladislas II and Louis II, the defence system collapsed.

In 1526 Suleyman the Magnificent invaded Hungary at the head of his huge host and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hungarian forces near Mohács on the Danube. He subsequently conducted five campaigns in Hungary and occupied the capital Buda in 1541 and one-third of the country's territory and died in 1566 during his last campaign while his forces besieged Szigetvár.

Hungary was then divided in three parts: the western and northern regions were ruled by the Habsburgs, the eastern part enjoyed independence as the Principality of Transylvania (although more or less subjected to the Turks), while the central and southern parts were under direct Turkish occupation until the end of the seventeenth century.

From the fifteenth century on Hungary was thus an important field for Turkish expansion—a fact which might sufficiently explain the very existence of Turkish miniatures related to Hungarian history. In the sixteenth century most of the campaigns were conducted by the sultan himself, and since the chronicles were written for him, the chroniclers were anxious to immortalize his heroic exploits, the main events of the campaign and particularly the victories.

As a member of the close retinue of the sultan, the chronicler usually accompanied him during the whole campaign and was thus able to describe events as an eye-witness. The chronicles were prepared in the sultan's workshops where the chronicler as eye-witness could supervise the work of the illuminator. The miniatures therefore fitted in with the text and represented events in vivid colours.

In his preface Géza Fehér gives an overall view of the contacts between the Hungarians and the Turks. After the sixteenth century there was considerable interest in the language, the history and the customs of the Turks. At the end of the nineteenth and early in the twentieth century substantial parts of sixteen Turkish chronicles were translated into Hungarian and published. However the miniatures on Hungarian subjects were not then published except for one, and only few appeared now and then in foreign publications. Their compilation was anyway the duty of Hungarian scholarship and was actually accomplished with the publication of this book.

The author leads us through the antecedents, the early story and the golden age of Osmanli Turkish miniature painting. Mural painting with human figures in Central Asia, Mesopotamia and Northern Africa as well as painting of the Tamerlane period in Central Asia (fourteenth–fifteenth) may be regarded as remote antecedents.

The opposition to statues and portraits in Islamic art was related to the struggle against non-Moslems and idolatry. The illustration of books, just like mural painting in palaces being for high ranking personalities and not for the people, were exempted from this prohibition. Painting in Islamic arts was thus practically limited to the illustration of books. The decorative script allowed for the combination of figurative representations with masterpieces of calligraphy.

The finest chronicles from the sultan's illuminating workshops are from the sixteenth century including those with descriptions and illustrations of campaigns and other events in Hungary.

Géza Fehér discusses the historical miniatures on Hungarian subjects in the chronological order of the chronicles, and so the reproductions of the 51 coloured and 9 black-and-white miniatures follow the succession of events. The discussion of the pictures is based on the translated Turkish or Persian texts and, according to need, on additional data taken from other chronicles. The description of the event is followed by a more accurate explanation based on historical and artistic aspects and stylistic analysis.

The hand-written volumes of miniatures of Hungarian subjects in the *Topkapi Saray*, Istanbul, are discussed in a separate chapter.

The oldest chronicle with miniatures related to Hungarian history is that of Celâlzade Mustafa; the original is unknown and was copied in 1575 in Szolnok. Some pictures are of rather low standard but those of Belgrade and the battle of Mohács are valuable works of art.

Matrakçi Nasûh, armour-bearer to the Sultan, was a trail-blazer, he describes the Hungarian campaign of Suleyman the Magnificent in the year 1543. His illustrations are of the topographical and cartographical school; avoiding the figurative representation they usually present the site. The miniatures have been attributed to him but this hypothesis is refuted by the fact that his earlier chronicle is decorated by

miniatures of a finer finish and more artistic ingenuity; nor are the illuminations of the volume on the Hungarian campaign of equal standard either.

On the miniatures of a chronicle written in 1558 and dealing with the realm of Suleyman the Magnificent, the representation of the landscape, plants, trees, buildings as well as of the facial types, the hair and clothing of Christians show the effects of European medieval panel paintings; oriental and occidental stylistic elements can be found together on one and the same work, as proved among others by the book of accounts of the artists and their assistants who worked in 1557–58 in the Sultan's workshops. The names of the Turkish, Persian and Western masters and of their assistants are listed separately, including the names of Hungarian painters (Cafer-i Macar, Ali Macar, Pervane-i Macar) and of an assistant (Hüseyn-i Üngürüs). The fact that Hungarians also took part in painting the miniatures explains the agreement of the battlefields, buildings and landscapes with the actual sites and the likeness between portraits, armour and dressing of Hungarians to Hungarian descriptions of the time.

Copied in 1548, the chronicle *Hunername* includes a miniature representing the helmet of János Hunyadi, the great Hungarian leader of the fight against the Turks; the helmet lies on the ground after having been cleft in two by Sultan Murad II (1421–1451)—something that never happened and was merely invented by the artist to glorify the Sultan.

Turkish miniature painting is marked by a style of its own, very different from that of medieval European painting. Due to the participation of artists with European training in the second half of the sixteenth century the confined limits of this type of painting were somewhat loosened; with the appearance of trees, plants, buildings, arms, clothing, coiffures and faces of "European" character the style of the pictures became more lively. Fine compositions of battle-scenes and single combat point to such changes.

It should be specially emphasized that almost every miniature represents an event of Hungarian history unrecorded in other sources, thus being the only authentic representation thereof. At the same time the dead bodies of Hungarians killed in action, the heads pinned on spears, the counting of cut-off heads, the prisoners in chains all tell of the sad fate of Hungary in the sixteenth century.

NÁNDOR PARÁDI

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON TURKISH ARTS IN BUDAPEST

The first International Congress on Turkish Arts was arranged in Ankara in 1959 on the initiative and under the chairmanship of the art historian Suut Kemal Yetkin, at the time Rector of Ankara University. Similar meetings of leading Islamic and Turkish art scholars subsequently took place in Venice (1963), Cambridge (1967) and Aix-en-Provence (1971).

Owing to the extensive research on the subject done in Hungary and, last but not least, because of the numerous Turkish and Islamic works of art in this country Budapest became the venue of the 5th Interna-

tional Congress on Turkish Arts held in September 1975. The Hungarian National Museum was responsible for arrangements.

Around one hundred and sixty scholars from sixteen countries were present and ninety papers reporting on recent work were given, which, richly illustrated, dealt with various aspects of Islamic architecture, painting, applied arts, numismatics and calligraphy.

Some papers discussed basic principles in Turkish architecture, elucidating chronological issues, specifying the functions of buildings and parts of buildings, their style as well as sound methods of reconstruction.

H. Tayla lectured on minarets; A. Kuran and Y. Ötüken threw new light on the activity of Sinan, the architect of Suleyman the Magnificent. A. Terzioglu specified the architectural criteria of Seljuk, Mameluke and Osmanli Turkish hospices, pointing out their effect on Western buildings. H. W. Haussig described the construction of Anatolian buildings and their Central Asian ornaments.

Papers on painting drew attention to a wealth of sources. E. Sims lectured on the illustration of chronicles, while Z. Akalay and N. Atasoy presented illustrated Turkish codices related to events in Hungarian history. Papers by S. K. Yetkin and K. Kreiser were of fundamental importance: a much debated question of Osmanli Turkish painting, the prohibition of portraits, was presented in a new light. Beginnings of Turkish carpet-making were discussed by N. Diyarbekirli with the help of colour slides. S. Yetkin, F. Spuhler, L. Golvin and Y. Durul discussed Turkish rugs from the sixteenth–seventeenth century describing also their manufacturing technique, while K. Çig lectured on two beautiful Koran cases discovered recently in the Top Kapi Saray of Istanbul. Gy. Gerő's contribution assists differentiation between locally made ceramics and such as were imported from the East. Two ethnological papers aroused great interest: V. N. Tör discussed Turkish folk-dances and M. Önder presented reconstructions of clothes Seljuk women wore.

*

Hungarian soil produced much in the way of archaeology of the Turkic tribes and nations. Many centuries before the Hungarian conquest in the ninth century the Danube Basin was inhabited by people closely related to the Turks and with a similar way of life.

In the 420s the Danube valley within the Carpathians was occupied by the Huns. However, their vast empire had but a short life and collapsed in 454, after the death of Attila.

The Avars maintained their power for a longer period (567–800). There are about 1,200 archaeological sites dating from the Avar period and more than 30,000 Avar graves in Hungary.

The Hungarians who are of Finno–Ugrian origin frequently found themselves in contact with Turkic tribes in the course of their early history and even absorbed ethnic groups who spoke Turkish. When they got to the Danube Basin their way of life, social organization and equipment was much like that of the Turks. The archeological remains of their ruling class are also indicative of early Turco-Hungarian contacts.

In the thirteenth century the Cumans settled in the country, and in the sixteenth century a considerable part of Hungary was occupied by the Osmanli Turks who stayed a hundred and fifty years.

As a result many Turco-Bulgarian, Petcheneg-Cumanian and Osmanli Turkish terms covering most aspects of life were added to the Hungarian vocabulary.

*

Turkish studies have been much cultivated in Hungary for centuries now.

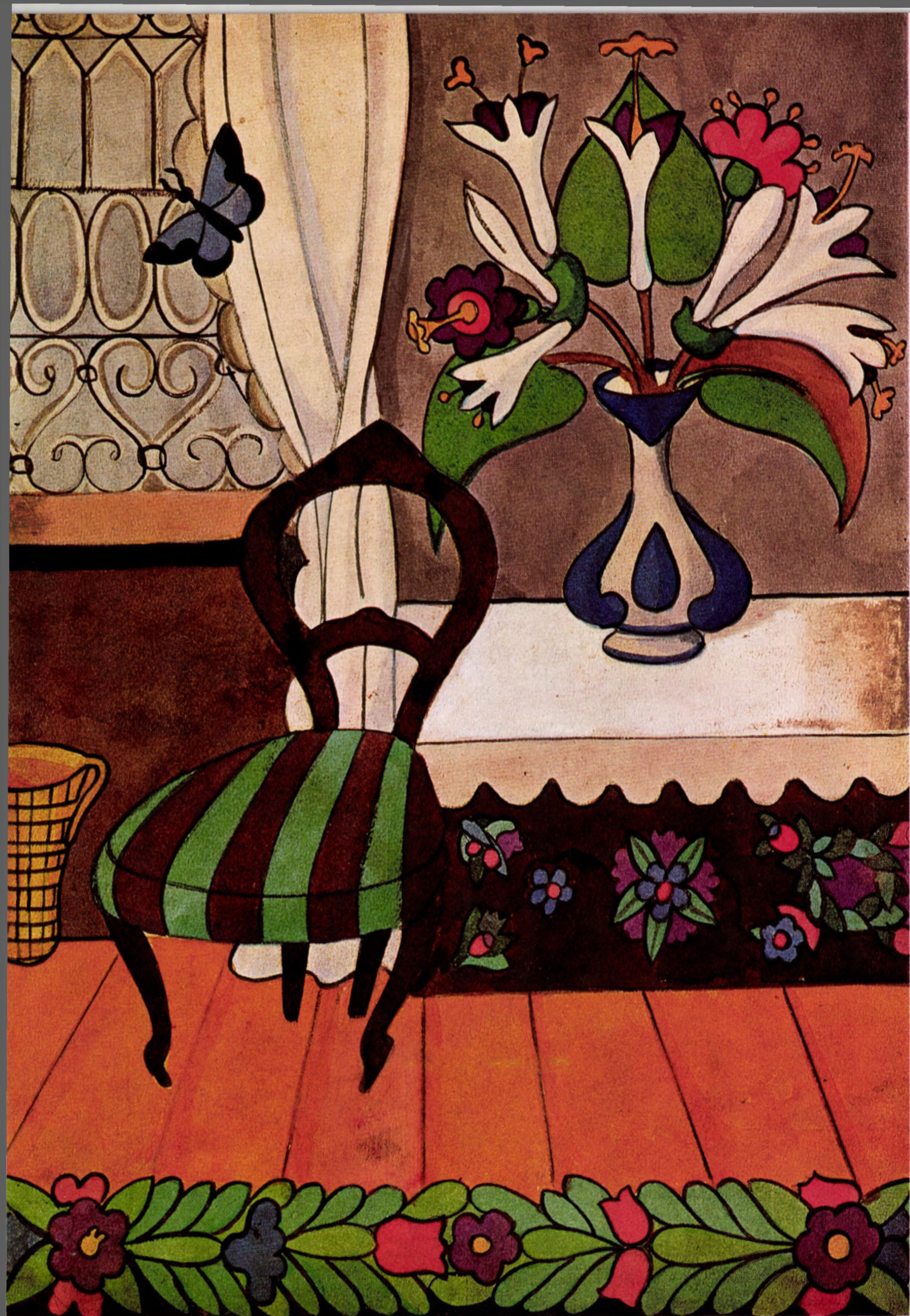
Early evidence of the keen interest shown

JÁNOS KMETTY: CITY PARK (OIL, 1913)

Károly Szelényi

JÁNOS KMETTY: SELFPORTRAIT
(CHARCOAL ON PAPER, 85.2×50.4 CM, 1912)

István Petrás



Károly Szelényi

Anna Lesznai: Tale of the blue butterfly
(watercolour, illustration to a fairy tale, cca 1910)

SIEGE OF TEMESVÁR IN 1552, BY UNKNOWN MASTER, FROM A PERSIAN CHRONICLE OF 1558 (29×19 CM)

Géza Fehér

in the subject is *Hungaria et Attila* by Miklós Oláh which was published in 1536. A number of those taken prisoner after the battle of Mohács in 1526, or later, collected valuable material. Murat the Interpreter, an anonymous Hungarian, was one of the first Europeans to have recorded Turkish texts using Latin script. Bertalan Georgievits, who lived for a long time as prisoner of war in Turkey, produced two works. One of them presents a picturesque description of Turkish customs, with a short grammar added as a supplement, while the other analyses the origin of the Osmanli Empire.

The beginnings of Turkish studies in Hungary coincide with the life of Bálint Balassi the poet who died in action during the siege of Esztergom. In the years 1552–1556 he translated Turkish poems into Hungarian and even wrote one in Turkish.

Linguistic and historical research in the seventeenth–eighteenth century was followed in the middle of the last century by work on Turkish written sources. Such work, which preceded the Hungarian edition of Turkish chronicles, proved of great importance for Hungarian history.

The archaeological relics and the applied arts of the Turkish are in Hungarian history—covering the greater part of the sixteenth–seventeenth century—were not worked on systematically in the past. Even a systematic collection and processing of the material was only done lately. Buildings and other applied art, being mostly insignificant and modest in appearance and rather provincial in character, did not attract the attention of Hungarian scholars. Thirty odd years ago there were what is more two diametrically opposed schools, one of which overestimated the cultural influence of the Osmanli Turks while the other denied it altogether.

Scientifically objective research work done since accorded their proper place in Hungarian history to the Osmanli Turks. Historic buildings are skilfully reconstructed after a proper checking of the sources and careful preliminary archaeological studies. Relics of Turkish applied arts are examined with great care.

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century the Turks, who kept a major part of the Balkans under their control for a long while, there introduced a Turkish way of life. Their customs, eating habits as well as their crafts and their applied arts gained in influence—together with their specific forms and ornaments. These territories are close to Hungary. Collaboration with Balkan craftsmen introduced these new features to Hungary in the sixteenth century.

Further research is required to discover whether the Islamic arts in the Hungarian areas occupied by the Turks were locally influenced and whether the pottery techniques used in Hungary found their way to the rest of the Osmanli Empire.

GÉZA FEHÉR

MUSICAL LIFE

A NEW HUNGARIAN OPERA

Ferenc Szabó: Be Good Unto Death

Ferenc Szabó (1902–1969), one of the most versatile personalities in Hungarian musical life, was an outstanding composer in the years after 1945.

Since most of the important English and German musical encyclopedias adequately deal with his activities, I can proceed right to the point: at the end of his life, up to his death, he was working on his first—and sorry to say—his last opera. Nevertheless it remained unfinished and was finally completed only at the beginning of December 1975 after years of additional work. It was then performed by the ensemble of the Budapest State Opera House.

The opera enjoyed a mixed reception. Stylistically some critics did not consider it modern enough, asserting that it was half-a-century behind the times or it had a weak plot (that is, they blamed the composer for the hero's accepting his fate rather than fight it). I formed my own opinion unambiguously and without reservation.

Before acquainting the reader with the plot and music of the opera I should like to discuss the principles that will enable us to get to the bottom of things more simply and quickly.

The most resolute apostles of modern music boldly assert that opera is flourishing in our century while they can count on the fingers of one hand the worthwhile modern operas and see that the overwhelming majority of twentieth-century operas do not run past five or six performances or past their own borders.

In this respect the greatest modern master is Puccini, though he can hardly be called modern. At the time of his last opera, *Turandot*, the New Vienna School had already developed the techniques of twelve-tone music, and Bartók was writing what could be called some of his most advanced compositions (at the beginning of the twenties).

What lesson can we draw from this?

In my opinion the really enduring twentieth-century operas—including Benjamin Britten—are after all, old-fashioned, at least compared with other musical genres. We are not even sure that it is possible to compose an enduring opera in today's musical language. The opera is first of all a melodic genre while our age does not favour melody and the billowing, surging, catchy tunes suitable for characterizing individuals.

As for Hungarian opera, in particular, it would be unfair to dismiss Ferenc Szabó's work which is unique.

It is melodic in the proper sense of the word. Further, it has a symphonic construction so that the very essence of the plot is expressed in music, and the musical elements, their elaboration and sequence are linked, as are the passages of programme music.

It is also programme music because the

orchestra is independent, and like Liszt's "Mazeppa", we can enjoy the piece without knowing the programme.

The plot is based on Zsigmond Móricz's novel of the same title, written in 1921. Its hero is Misi, a secondary school pupil living in a boarding-school in Debrecen. He is the son of very poor parents who can meet the expense of Misi's education only with difficulty.

Reading the newspaper to a blind old man named Pósalaky, Misi is cajoled into investing his tutoring earnings in the lottery numbers the old man dreamed of.

Promised half the prize, Misi shows off the check to Pósalaky's cousin, who steals it and uses it to court the daughter of an impoverished nobleman. Misi, tutor to the nobleman's son, acts as the lovers' intermediary. The numbers win and Misi has to confess their loss, while the lovers elope to Budapest. Pósalaky assumes Misi stole the money and denounces him to the school headmaster and since the boy cannot clear himself he is punished. Though the girl who eloped eventually reveals all and Misi is exonerated, he feels that after these events he can no longer live in Debrecen.

The climax of the opera is the disciplinary scene, where Misi faints. The rest is only a symbolic appendix, for the composer concentrates on the hostile environment that undermines Misi's health and ruins him, nearly to the point of death.

The uncle who appears at the end of the opera to take the boy to another secondary school might not even be a real relation, but somebody taking him to another world.

In a way the opera follows the Puccini method of following a single person to the end of his unresisted but dire fate. Defenceless, he can do nothing, and he is so defenceless perhaps precisely because of his mother's admonition: "Be good unto death!" The simple plot is enriched by spiritual overtones, which develop as Misi becomes estranged from his school-mates, and hopes for a crumb of comfort from adults.

Everything on stage is connected in some way with Misi, and in this way but only in this way, the opera is resembles Berg's *Wozzeck* or Puccini's *Madame Butterfly*.

From the point of view of the music, the opera can be considered a grandiose symphonic movement or a rondo in which the central motif always returns to Misi and the other motifs express the world hostile to the boy. The central motif continually changes, growing richer and deepening as Misi becomes increasingly lonesome and the accusation of embezzlement make people turn away from him—even those who supported him at the beginning.

He suffers the fate of Wozzeck, but in a little boy's way that is saved only the bloodiness of the grown-up's world.

As I have already mentioned, Ferenc Szabó's opera is supremely melodic. Szabó's œuvre, consisting mostly of symphonies, has numerous examples of hymn-like ethereal and surging melody, but not in the way it is so distinctly used in the opera.

To characterise this world of melody to those unfamiliar with Ferenc Szabó's work, it is necessary to emphasize its complex nature, in which joy is always modified by pain, though the clarity of expression evokes maximum sympathy from the audience. One feels great compassion for Misi and wants nothing more than to take this child by the hand and lead him into another, more understanding and friendlier world. If it sounds a bit romantic, it is. The opera was meant for those who unashamedly confess their feelings even if they are "romantic". On the other hand, my own conviction—which I cannot explain in detail—is that regrettably, *Be Good Unto Death* does not express the really "new", true "modern" age.

The music of our age is based on the denial of the romantic, but it succeeds only rarely. In general we are grateful to the artists who confess and reveal their feelings without dissimulation. For this very reason Ferenc Szabó's opera is so important: it is the drama of childish confidence and bitter

disappointment. By the vigourous accentuation of this musical motif, Ferenc Szabó elevated Zsigmond Móricz's rather specifically Hungarian and provincial novel to a level which endows it with universal human meaning.

I am convinced that foreign audiences can comprehend and join in the spirit of Misi's tragedy and experience it with the deep commiseration that the Hungarian audience felt.

As I mentioned, the composer did not live to see his opera performed or even finished. The orchestration was done by his former disciple András Nurgulya, who also supplied missing parts based on Szabó's notes and sketches. He had a great share in making the performance possible and successful. The State Opera House was responsible for the excellent performance and cast of the premiere.

I am not well-placed to make predictions, but I am convinced that at least on the Hungarian stage, Ferenc Szabó's opera will enjoy a long life. Of course it is impossible to foresee its reception abroad, but it cannot fail to satisfy audiences wherever simple but at the same time inventive music is appreciated.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

AFTER BARTÓK AND KODÁLY

GYÖRGY KROÓ: *A magyar zeneszerzés harminc éve* (Hungarian Compositions in the Last Thirty Years) Introduced by József Újfalussy. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1975. 206 pp. (In Hungarian)

People in general know little about the anxieties and achievements of contemporary Hungarian composers. The names of some composers are known to those on the inside: Hungarian musicians participate in the work of official bodies and international committees; Boosey and Hawkes regularly publish the works of the élite, and on some international forums such as the Paris Tribune of Broadcasting Corporations, Hungarian compositions are the highest placed every year; still, all these are more or less individual successes and do not contribute much to spreading knowledge about Hungarian composers as a group.

This situation is about to change. Opportunities for hearing new music are increasing, "Hungarian concerts" are organized here and there, outstanding performers show themselves ready to present some compositions—the scores come alive, and critics begin to discuss Hungarian music. This change was most obvious in the programmes of international festivals in 1975. Last summer Hungarian music filled whole programmes in Witten, Lucerne, Warsaw, Graz and at the Dutch Festival. This result is largely due to promotional activity by Editio Musica, a Budapest publishing house which decided not to content itself with the publication opportunities offered by cooperation with Boosey and Hawkes but to do everything possible to give voice to the scores. Thanks to the persistent and patient efforts over long years contemporary Hungarian music has become a factor or at least a subject, something worth knowing about in the world of music.

Promotional work was an absolute necessity but obviously in the absence of interesting material skill in that field would achieve nothing. Hungarian composers object to being grouped as a national school but the country's history and the history

of its music gives rise to characteristics which, beyond individual differences, show certain common creative characteristics.

The analysis of individual styles and the study of common aims are the tasks of musicologists. If they are able to follow developments with a clear eye, and without prejudice, summing findings and drawing the appropriate conclusions they will not only inform the world and popularize the works, but also help the composers themselves.

György Kroó's book on the most recent history of Hungarian music is such a clear-sighted work. He has studied hundreds of scores, and although he prosecuted individual works, he managed to find the common features in the make-up of compositions. Since he did not base his judgements on legends but on the analysis of the works, he did not worry about sensibilities but went ahead and successfully separated those processes which served progress from those which encouraged stagnation. Outsiders may find it strange but this consistent approach required courage: he could not avoid coming up against certain national prejudices. To put it simply: he was the first who had to doubt the equivalence of Bartók and Kodály without diminishing Kodály's standing as a composer.

Kroó's starting point is the present situation. He obviously did not rest content with the well-known, and justified, defence that in the early fifties Hungarian composers had been made to lose touch with the outside world, and this deprived them not only from knowing about the achievements of others but also left to depend only on the resources of their past. Saying this does not require special courage, and the chapters about the post-war years only tell well known facts about the songs for the masses which expressed the dynamism of the new era and satisfied a natural social need, and the light music which started as the expression of real joy and deteriorated gradually into shallowness. Kroó studied the facts but he had to delve deeper into history to look into the contradictory role played by the Hungarian tradition and analyze the germs of progress and where development was obstructed. Taking that step required real determination. He summed up the development of Bartók's and Kodály's style, defining their place, impact and influence in the history of music. He describes the difference of the "orbits" of the "Twins" as people called the two masters, and wrote about the different heritage left to their successors. Kodály's "Hungarian conservatism nurtured by world culture" is different indeed from the legacy of Bartók who "did not only go his own way, but always forward". His road continued to be fed by the folk music of Europe, Asia and Africa as well as the most advanced art music.

Kroó goes a step further still. In an analysis of the stages in individual creative styles he shows the influence of the two different heritages: how they boosted and how they weighed down composers, how the new negated, and then accepted them, how they followed in their wake, and then abandoned them for good, Kroó then differentiates the aspect of the heritage to which liberated composers from that which subjugated them when at last they could shake off the sectarian and limited cultural policy of the fifties.

Biographical facts are included as well, and through them he describes the way in which Hungarian composing lost its way, and how it found its place again in the European main stream. The story of the way is the best part of the book. It tells of the synthesis between the national tradition and the European musical idiom. This detour hindered the recognition of Hungarian music. All the chances for reception were there but the composers found it difficult to find the right balance. Sometimes they exaggerated the importance of technique, sometimes again they could not find an up-to-date form of expression. Fight and struggle

are contemporary phenomena, what Kroó has to say is therefore to the point. Kroó implicitly proves that only ideas expressed in the idiom of the day can become true works of art. A composer may address a large audience he may have a worthwhile message but his efforts will be vain if his means of expression remain stuck in the conceptual terms of the day before or if they are only the dim reflections of an earlier style: and vice versa, the presentation may be brilliantly modern, the experiment fascinating, and yet this cannot mask the absence of attractive, original ideas.

The book is objective throughout. There is no empty talk, convincing examples are given. Kroó refrains from clear praise or rejection but the reader can feel judgement backing analysis.

A first version of this book was written for the 25th anniversary or the country's liberation and appeared in 1971. Another chapter was added for the 30th jubilee but this relatively short survey is much more than a simple appendix, or a necessary step on in time. The chronicler of contemporary Hungarian composition has summed up the events of the recent past in a way which justified his earlier thoughts and he enlarged the horizons outlined five years earlier. Although in the introduction of his Epilogue Kroó almost excuses himself writing that the past five years had not produced any substantial change and no outstanding work had been born in that period, this retrospecting glance enabled him to observe already crystalized tendencies. It is clearer now that the international avant-garde of earlier decades is in retreat and that the works on the best Hungarian composers are more or less in line with what is going on elsewhere. Hungarian composers have nothing to be ashamed of, they must not complain of their "lagging behind", it seems on the contrary that their deliberate intellectualism, their message expressed using an up-to-date technique built on traditions begins to be the fashion everywhere.

Kroó's concise, factual synthesis is important because, without concrete argumentation, it makes the reader aware of the maturity of Hungarian composing and, without mentioning it in so many words, he offers a possible explanation for the success of the promotional activity of Editio Musica.

Naturally there are big individual differences in what was produced in the last five years. Older composers remained more attached to their own ways, they insisted on the importance of the message, and did not really renew their methods. The works of György Kósa the oldest Hungarian composer (born in 1897) show his literary inspiration. The rich variety of his expressionist works is evidence of his refined taste and of his understanding of the relation of text and music. The other old master, Pál Kadosa (1903) did not write much of late. This avantgardist of the twenties is attracted by purely musical forms: among his tart symphonies and chamber music there is a beautiful lyric exception: a song cycle on the poems of Nelly Sachs. Ferenc Farkas (1905) also old enough to have achieved an international reputation is in many ways Kadosa's opposite. His programme music provides evidence of his cultural background and his training in a variety of styles.

György Ránki (1907) has a penchant for the grotesque and the ironic, his style is colourfully illustrative. In his latest works he abandoned his characteristically humorous style and, except for a balett for Wiesbaden, he turned to philosophic themes. His *Cantus Urbis*, a melodramatic oratorio written for the centenary of the unification of Pest and Buda is evidence of his affection for the declamatory style; it is an experiment in setting a text to music which seems to be absolutely unfit for the purpose. Endre Székely (born in 1912) is the most experimental older composer, He is able to adapt to changes and in his latest works *(Trumpet Concerto, Solo Cantata, String*

Quartet) he offered more than pure technical perfection. Gyula Dávid (1913) and Rezső Sugár (1919) are attached to Kodály's school. András Mihály (born in 1917) expressly continues in the tradition of Bartók. The latter is also leader of a chamber orchestra and teacher of chamber music at the Academy of Music. As such he does much to propagate new Hungarian and in general contemporary music. His *Musica per 15*, written for the Lucerne Festival shows his reverence for his master. Tibor Sárai (1919) reveals himself mostly in his works with texts but his recently composed successful *Music for 45 strings 2nd Symphony* show that he expresses the same ideas with purely musical means as well.

Rudolf Maros (born 1917) is the most open-minded composer of his age-group. He is ready to innovate, his special interest lying in the aesthetic expression of harmony. His conscientious, painstaking work shows great skill rooted in the Kodály-school. István Sárközy (born in 1920) deliberately rejects innovation, he uses new techniques only if and where his musical message (rooted in the special Hungarian neo-classicist world) demands it.

International interest was aroused mainly in the generation of composers who did not have to wrestle so much with the weight of tradition. Philosophic-minded János Decsényi (born in 1927), the theatre specialist Frigyes Hidas (born in 1928) the manysided Kamilló Lendvay (born in 1928) who also writes for the theatre, the erudite and slowly and consistently maturing József Soproni (born in 1930), and László Kalmár (born in 1931) started their career after the art policy struggles of the fifties and so—unlike their elders—they did not have so to struggle against their own earlier styles. Miklós Kocsár (born in 1933) also belongs to this generation. His *Repliche* for cymbalo and flute has been successfully performed at international festivals in Witten, Lucerne, Warsaw, Graz and in Holland.

A separate chapter on the newest Hungarian music is devoted to the two opera composers, Emil Petrovics (born in 1930) and Sándor Szokolay (1931). Petrovics is the more intellectual and the more disciplined of the two. His *Petőfi-cantata*—one of his latest works—"has successfully stepped over the border which divides the public message from the personal," according to a note by Kroó. Szokolay is the most extrovert Hungarian composer: sometimes he uses his tools instinctively but his sense for drama is indisputable. His latest opera, *Samson* shows that he is settling down: this work "is the justification of the melodic opera style guided by the singing voice."

Kroó classes György Kurtág (born in 1926) among the best although the "self-made laws of creative rhytm" which characterize this slowly and broodingly working composer limit the chronicler. Kurtág's beautiful *Splinters* for cimbalom and the piquantly humorous *Four capriccios*, however, allow Kroó to appreciate his concise and consistent aphoristic spirit.

"Three other representatives of the Hungarian élite", as Kroó calls István Láng (born 1933), Zsolt Durkó (born 1934) and Attila Bozay (born 1939) are productive enough to allow their portraits to be outlined. In the past Láng had been attracted by the stage, now he is interested in the possibilities of different instruments by means of which he realizes his ingenious ideas. *Concerto bucolico* —concerto for horn, *Intermezzi*—for the piano, *Flashes*—for the violin, *Improvisation*—for the cimbalom. *In memoriam N. N.*—a setting of a poem by János Pilinszky can twin into a "standard for a choral technique close to choral declamation and built on textual poliphony".

The works of Zsolt Durkó, Láng and Bozay are sold by Boosey and Hawkes; Durkó is quite well known, he has composed several works on commissions from abroad. (Koussevitzky foundation: *Chamber Music*, *Fire Music*). His music becomes increasingly attached to the Hungarian tradition: his *Funeral Oration*, based on a Hungarian 12th

century literary text is one of the peaks of newer Hungarian music. It is a mature and pure work which revives the tonal sphere of great Baroque music, and won first prize at the Paris Tribune of composers.

Attila Bozay's new works are characterized by abstract thinking and mathematic control *(Series, 2nd String Quartet)*. His very popular *Improvisation* for the cither contrasts with his severe structures. This piece embodies freedom, and the folk instrument expresses new ideals in sound.

Kroó devotes much attention to discussing two composers who made their name over night. András Szőllősy (born in 1921) had been described in the first edition as a "hope for a poetic spring", and Sándor Balassa (born 1935) was mentioned among the "promising young talents". In the recent past these two "original talents" have matured and met with success not only in Hungary but also abroad. Both were placed first at the composers' International Tribunes.

Szőllősy's symphonic works *(Trasfigurazioni, Musica per Orchestra, Sonorita)* and his chamber music piece *(Musica concertante)* deliberately avoid all spectacular effects such as percussion instruments, on which much contemporary music is based; the composer creates balance by puritanic means, his refined mode of expression and structure is in harmony with his engaging message. "The mature assurance in the execution of ideas, the economic arrangement of his material" bring Szőllőssy's works to classical music.

Balassa has written vocal compositions *(Requiem, Y cantata, Motetta)* followed by chamber and works for orchestra. *(Iris, Xenia, Lupercalia, Tabulae)*. His music is characterized by melodic invention, personal passion and a feeling of being part of nature. His choral poems, "Landscape and cosmic hallucinations" are among the finest pieces of new Hungarian music.

The aspirations of the new Hungarian avant-garde, László Sáry (born 1940), Zoltán Jeney (born 1943), László Vidovszky (born 1944), are also described, Kroó expresses his concern because of absence of a really new young generation. He places their experiments in the context of the international avant-garde, outlining the contemporary tendencies in composition and so makes clear that a historian should not only record phenomena but also stimulate new ideas, and herald new shores.

MÁRIA FEUER

ONE HUNDRED MINUTES OF KURTÁG

The Composer's Concert of György Kurtág (b. 1926) at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest comprised a selection of pieces over sixteen years beginning from Opus 1 to the present. Lasting one hundred minutes, the concert was an infinite concentration of Kurtág's music—white-hot from inspiration and representing about a third of his output.

The two new cycles *(Plays, Four Songs on János Pilinszky's Poems)*, first performed here, are compositions for the piano, songs and chamber music which organically fit in with his previous work. If anything jeopardized the success of the concert, it was the recurrence of sounds and genres, which was not fully counterbalanced in depth of content.

But Kurtág was not here interested in opening new directions toward the unknown. He develops as a snail builds its shell, expanding and maturing in harmony from the inside and in all directions simultaneously.

If the first bench-mark of his creative course was the Bornemissza Cantata, finished in 1968 (and Kurtág hints at this great Balázs–Bartók moment with the title of a short piece of the *Plays*), he now exhibits the panorama of his vigorous art in another way: as in his Microcosmos, Kurtág arranged the approximately 190 "Piano Pieces for Two-Four-and-Six Hands"—written continuously since 1973—both pedagogically and in the sense of the *ars poetica* as a large-scale album. The composer says it is neither pedagogic nor piano-school work, for he is evidently afraid that the public listening to his 39 pieces for "Two and Four Hands", as performed during his cyclic concert, could be misled by the youthfulness of the pianists, skilled virtuosi though they were.

Of course neither the four booklets of Microcosmos can be called piano tutors (perhaps they are but only secondarily) for they are really the quintessence and marvellous poetry of contemporary and Bartókian music.

In this sense the *Plays*, too, are complete, multiform and almost inexhaustibly varied in colour. The *Plays* can introduce a child to the manual and formal problems of new piano music. The fingers keep to the black keys while the palms turn in a definite direction over the white ones *(La Nuova Campanella)*, or both hands wind alternately up and down over the keyboard *(Thing Found)* with two, three, four or five fingers with the fists or palms on neighbouring keys *(A Palm-Play)*, or all ten fingers are made flat and used as if both hands beat a drum *(Hommage à Bartók)*—such are Kurtág's typical manners and styles.

He accustoms us not only to sounds, but also to bunches and clusters of sounds, not only to musical notation, but also to graphical signs marking musical motion. Severe discipline of musical make-up and composition combines with "cautious risks and chances".

In this environment he gives new meaning to such old melodic fragments as ostinato, to the succession of tones (as in the chromatic scale), to the kind of composition (as the canon). He educates his public in the perception of time, combining genres and characters together with a polyphony of sound and voices (one hand plays a waltz while the other a march) and further augments the music of today and yesterday with historical material *(Hoquetus)*.

At the concert some pieces of the *Plays* were not performed, but as far as I know they are available to the young pianists in notation by Machant and Schütz. Since these album pieces "represent all degrees of difficulty", from the point of view of piano-playing and composition technique, they can be compared to the Microcosmos.

But Kurtág's unusual poetic world begins after all this with the range of the Hommage-pieces, which reflect more of Schumann than Bartók. The fine weaving of allusion and suggestion, the dozens of portraits, outlined with irony and love, give evidence of Kurtág's excellent faculty for expressing his observations and insight into human characters with considerable style.

The models for these pieces can be recognized and identified in a characteristic gesture *(Tchaikovsky)*, or through a widely known Bartók motif, reminiscent of a female character *(A Portrait)*; sometimes a face suddenly bursts into view or we discern only hands playing the piano (*Pöttyös-pötty*, "Strumming Tones"), also setting silence to music, *Szervánszky*, named after Endre Szervánszky, b. 1911, one of the eminent composers of the generation, following Bartók and Kodály; mocking somebody through a popular dance character *(Mihály Halmágyi)*, or capturing a character through motion or action (*Petrovics*, after Emil Petrovics, b. 1930); playing with telephone

numbers *(The Numbers of Our Dear Friends)*, musical instruments *(László Borsodi)*, or scales (*Sárközy*, for István Sárközy, b. 1920).

Kurtág can animate a whole musical world which is both dream-like and real; he brings to life his friends and colleagues, pupils and teachers, even masked "carnavali" figures.

The allusions and relations can be interpreted only in the framework of his total œuvre including the most beautiful pieces down to the intrinsic depths of the *Plays.* The composer and his music are all connected with his central work, returning, swarming and paraphrasing the great moments of the Bornemissza Cantata. It is no surprise that one of his Hommages, from the final movement of the Sopron String Quartet, seems to have Bornemissza's bells and Bornemissza's stars glittering.

As works of art, the pieces for four hands are the most valuable among all his compositions, but all the miniatures of the *Plays* are pearls of modern music for their piano technique and stylistic studies.

They are the realization of no principles but inspired self expression. There are no spasms or stutterings behind them. The composer becomes freer and freer as he flies into ever more spacious worlds in style, technique and expression. An excellent example of this upward movement is the Pilinszky song cycle.

In November 1973 Kurtág's piece for cimbalom, *Splints*, indicated the poet in him. The next summer Kurtág set to music one of the works in the volume of poetry *Alcohol.* It was followed a year later by the music set to Pilinszky's "In Memoriam F. M. Dostoevski".

In January last year he wrote the Hölderin-song and recently finished this cycle by composing music to the poem, *Thrashing.*

Though perhaps not important, it is characteristic of Kurtág that the music of these four songs is also related to the *Plays: Alcohol* is based on a single sound like the miniatures *Preludium* and *The Waltz* from the *Plays*, while the ostinato of the cimbalom-part of *Thrashing* is identical to the *Three Sounds in Three Rhythms* of the *Plays.*

In *Alcohol* Pilinszky's idea is brilliantly set to music with variations of a single sound formed at the roof of mouth: it is done by pressing the throat, causing vibrations while lowering the voice.

The second song grows gradually from this rhythm and develops into a dialogue, while the bass voices and violin parts, which are constructed round the recitative singing and declamation, build a brilliant musical palace...

In the Hölderin score the tempo of the series accelerates and becomes a kind of folk-dance scene which runs amok and gets caught by the important question of the three-line poem: "What have I not yet been?"

Finally—now accompanied by the whole chamber ensemble—comes *Thrashing*, towards which the whole cycle was moving, which finally completes it.

It is a fantastic work of art, growing from the initial note to an ensemble; moans change into syllables, then into words and sentences. Melodic speech becomes declamation, is then transfigured into song, as the parts coalesce together more and more closely, getting denser and denser, to a final melodic resolution:

"And now,
now and alone,
here and now and
for ever
only you and me!"

This wonderful, beautiful sostenuto music is the climax of Kurtág's œuvre to date.

György Kroó

THEATRE AND FILM

ON THE ROAD WITH THE TWENTY-FIFTH THEATRE

The Budapest "Twenty-fifth Theatre", founded as an experimental one, has been touring the regions of the country for three years now. At the beginning of every season, they perform some repertory and special programmes in the province and this season it was the turn of Borsod County in North-east Hungary. Thinking the opening ceremonies would distort the real picture, I skipped the first night and met the company on the fourth day, in the village of Tiszapalkonya.

In Budapest I got a stencilled programme with details and instructions for the company, stating that the Tiszapalkonya performance would begin at 3.30 with a lesson in literature at the village school. I arrived a few minutes early. A young woman with a schoolgirl appearance stood at the entrance. It turned out that she taught biology and was the school's new assistant headmaster and has been waiting since 2.30 for her guests, while the seventh and eighth-grade pupils were huddled in the classroom with the headmaster. (The next day the same thing happened in the village of Gönc but there several of the children who came an hour earlier had already left by the time we arrived.)

Nobody knew why the schools were told to arrive an hour early. Even the teachers said they had no idea when the programme was supposed to start—they were merely told to be ready at 2.30. We were interrupted by the arrival of the bus. We gave a hurried reception to László Gyurkó, the director, and the actors. Three carried guitars, another, a shepherd's flute. After a general round of shaking hands the actors formed a group and marched singing and playing into the classroom. (In Gönc the pupils of the seventh and eighth grade, mostly girls, waited for us in the yard of the cultural centre.)

At first, the children were overawed by the gaudily-dressed troupe that broke in on them but they soon relaxed, and in Tiszapalkonya they clapped to the rhythm of the songs. (In Gönc one wide-eyed little girl asked them boldly after the first song: Who are you? In the rush nobody had introduced them.)

The literature lesson was conducted by one of the actresses with pleasant informality but not without some hitches. The other actors also participated, asking the children about their favourite poets. When Petőfi and Arany were mentioned, one actor told a story about Petőfi as a child and recited one of his poems. A pupil responded with another poem, and the children were then asked what folk-songs they knew which the class and the actors sang together. Since the contemporary poet Sándor Weöres was known to the children (who even knew one or two of his poems by heart), they sang some of the poems of his that have been put to music.

I was delighted with the improvisations and the enthusiasm of the group, sparked by the life the young actors infused in Petőfi's and Arany's poems, which over the years have been dulled and faded by obligatory readings in school.

Having once been a teacher myself, I eventually sensed that the lesson had not been sufficiently prepared. Despite their efforts, the actors fell back into the traditional role of active performers facing a passive audience. The most they could achieve was collective singing a few children's recitals and some awkward questions to which the pupils gave faltering, shy replies.

To overcome these limitations they must prepare these lessons better. They should find out what the class is actually studying or make some special programme with a literary content. Some methodological problems should also be considered, such as the proportion of recitals, singing, conversation and detailed information. Should the lesson centre around one poet or be spontaneous and try to awaken an understanding and love of poetry?

Of course such lessons are valued chiefly as gestures, as was the original intention. Even in this unrealized form they satisfy the children and give them an unusual experience.

*

After the lesson we went to the cultural centre, the scene of the evening performance. It was on the next corner, an old building functioning primarily as a cinema. Its walls were plain and dirty, the chairs in the auditorium dilapidated and the stage pitiful. The director of the centre was nowhere to be found; we were later told he had gone to a neighbouring town to take his secondary-school-leaving exam. László Gyurkó was furious: all the bulbs had been screwed out of the fixtures, the house obviously had not been in use for a long time, and posters announced that tickets being sold for 20 to 25 forints, had been given to the village free by the county government. Nobody knew whether the tickets had been sold or if anybody would be coming to the performance. Before the rehearsal some actors went out in the street, played music and distributed leaflets to passers-by, inviting them to the performance.

The same problem occurred the next day in Gönc where only a quarter of the tickets had been sold in advance. But this cultural centre's director had no school-leaving exam to pass and was on the scene to reassure the company that people would come. Just to be on the safe side, the young actors walked out into the main street trying to attract the villagers with their singing and guitar-playing. They stopped to have a chat with the pedestrians. A Gypsy couple said that they could not afford a ticket. Never mind, said the actors, you will come as our guests and, indeed, the couple did come and watched the performance open-mouthed. I must confess that they affected me more than almost anything else the whole evening.

While the actors were on their audience-recruiting mission I wondered how many companies in Budapest or the provinces would be ready to act in the same way?

Then, when they came back to rehearse, I went out to explore the town, to learn how they lived, how they received the Twenty-fifth Theatre and who could be expected this evening at the cultural centre. I thought that the best people to talk to would be the village teachers, who must know the local people well.

The headmaster's house was only a few steps from the school. A powerful, stockily built fellow (he had originally been a physical-education instructor), he first reminisced about the past when, with his father, who was also a teacher, he used to go hunting near the village in his summer vacations. At that time they still bathed in the river Tisza—before the giant power station which now reaches almost to the village and kills the fish. This year, he

complained, he went fishing no more than three times, the fish smelled of petrol, and they were inedible. Spring-water was also of poor quality and if the wind blew from a certain direction everything was covered in dust and smoke. The Public Health and Epidemic Office issued warnings and protested in vain because filtering equipment would cost millions and the plant preferred to pay fines of a few hundred thousand.

At the same time the expanding plant and Leninváros, the new industrial town in the neighbourhood, were bringing prosperity and an easier life. Workers in the plant get a salary of 3–4,000 forints, and in addition have household farming plots and can sell their produce at the market. Members of the agricultural co-operatives also make good money. People rack their brains looking for ways to spend it. Some families have two tv sets, one for the adults, the other for the kids.

I told the headmaster that the evening performance would be *The Miser* by Molière in Kristóf Simai's Hungarian version of 1792. István Örkény adapted it and also wrote a witty introductory part giving the play the milieu of an amateur worker's ensemble performing before their friends and relatives in 1946, at the height of post-war inflation in Hungary. (This framework twists the play's original message quite considerably.)

"The message, I think, will be clear to everybody that ten forints are not worth as much now as when they were new," I commented lightly.

"You leave the forint alone!" protested the headmaster. "It's good money if you can make it. I drove to Italy with friends this year and we saw their inflation. I know the value of money also fell elsewhere."

We stopped here and I was getting curious at the village's reaction to the play's indictment of money-grubbing.

"Will we have an audience this evening?" I asked. The headmaster reassured me that the director of the cultural centre had sold and distributed all the tickets. Most of the 400-and-something tickets had been distributed.

The house was packed. The diverse audience included leading functionaries of the village and district, intellectuals, old peasants, young workers, children and, of course, soldiers.

The last time I felt I had to keep my fingers crossed for a Hungarian performance had been at the Theatre of Nations in Warsaw. My anxiety now was totally justified: the public of Tiszapalkonya was scandalized by Iglódi's directing which bore the influence of Meyerhold, Brecht and Ariane Mnouchkine. They considered *commedia dell'arte* frivolous clownery.

"You know we are not used to this kind of theatre," explained the headmaster's wife at the interval. "The actors enter and exit here and there, you never know what to watch."

The headmaster hurried to a parents' meeting before the interval (the teachers had been unable to come). My neighbour, a honest countrywoman, compressed her lips in an effort not to laugh.

When the new forint was announced in the frame play the audience applauded heartily, without noticing the irony behind the enthusiastic welcome and the actual attack on materialism: the very essence of the play was lost on the Tiszapalkonya audience.

The soldiers watched and laughed for a while. Then they found out that the sergeant's enthusiasm for culture had more or less dissolved in a nearby pub and they soon started leaving the auditorium one by one. It did not take long for the "counter-culture" to got the upper hand outdoors—the bawling and singing of drunks almost drowned the actors' voices. When the performance ended the audience could not rush out fast enough to get back to the television or the pub. The curtain call had to be cut short. Dejected and in low spirits, the actors reviled the village and recalled

Rudolftelep, where the miners had enjoyed *The Miser.*

I spent the night in Miskolc. On the way I discussed the evening with the driver, who was not much of a theatre-goer; so the play and the performance required some explanation. When I described the artistic cunning, refinement and sophistication behind the apparently simple clowning he asked whether any actors in this company had ever been taken on by a serious theatre? So I had obviously not convinced him of the seriousness and artistic quality of the Twenty-fifth Theatre and its performance.

The next morning there was a meeting in Csanyikvölgy with the participants in a six-week course just under way at the cadre training school of "KISZ", the Hungarian Communist Youth Organization. These young people are the movement's propagandists: and in the radiant early-autumnal sun we could bask in the waves of agreement and understanding that pervaded the open-air amphitheatre. The members of the company were in their element, conversing with a public which understood them (like the youngsters who fill the house in Budapest).

After lunch we rode with the bus to Gönc, a village 80 kilometres north of Miskolc on the Czechoslovak border. Though not as rich as Tiszapalkonya, I learned from my local informants that it was proud of its cultural past: Gáspár Károli, who translated the Bible into Hungarian between 1586 and 1590, had been the minister of Gönc during the Reformation; the Hussite generals had had their headquarters here; Rákóczi elevated it to the rank of a town; it had been a county seat; later only a district centre and only now a village. There is no industry in Gönc, young people commute to and from work to Miskolc or Kassa. It is hoped that in future Gönc will become a lower-school educational centre. With a population of 2,000 inhabitants, the general school has 700 pupils, some of them from neighbouring areas who live in a boarding school built for them in the village. There is also another beautiful, modern educational establishment whose children also go to the village school. These establishments employ about 70 teachers, many of them seemingly open-minded young people. The new president of the council, formerly employed in adult education and a native-born man of high standing in the community, has made a special point to encourage culture and education in the village. He has even organized a successful club for the intelligentsia with weekly compulsory attendance and, probably after the English model, a membership restricted to men. When we expressed disapproval they excused themselves, saying that the wives could, of course, come if they wished to, and *in principle* unattached women could also join. New members were admitted by a two-thirds majority vote and somehow no woman candidate had so far obtained the necessary votes.

The evening performance was a great success in Gönc. They presented László Gyurkó's drama about Don Quijote. The play had left me cold in Budapest; I found its message too simple, but here the simplicity and clearness of the idea had a terrific impact. The spectators discovered themselves (rather, their better selves) in a Don Quijote who, instead of a real sword grabbed a water pipe and set out to protect the poor and oppressed by fighting to get them the truth and help. The spectators laughed heartily at the play's humour and the ideas and gags. A buxom young woman behind me almost fell off her seat. My new acquaintances among the village teachers were delighted. "This is the kind of theatre we need here more often," they said. Such praise also expressed a fear that they probably would not have a similar theatrical experience in Gönc for many years to come. Miskolc is far and Budapest even farther.

Since its first night in Budapest, the

production has been enriched with amusing gags, the choreography has become brilliant and the acting has matured. "Since the première we rehearsed *Don Quijote* another two hundred times," said Iglódi to explain the spectacular changes. "In preparing for this, we didn't dream we could rehearse a new play for four months."

The actors were elated because they felt that they had won the battle of Gönc.

*

These ten days in Borsod County had their little defeats and little victories. Just a drop in the ocean. In a certain sense it is quixotic in the era of television to try to spread art in the manner of the ancient jugglers. To what extent can they make any impact? What is the fruit of so much effort? When will they get back again to Gönc and Tiszapalkonya?

The questions should not be put like this: the point in question is that the Twenty-fifth Theatre experiments with a new form of popular theatre. Instead of feeding the public on cheap operettas like the *Count of Luxemburg* they try to win audiences for an educational, political and thought-inspiring theatre.

GÁBOR MIHÁLYI

FROM OUR NEXT ISSUES

WOMEN IN THE LIGHT OF TIME-BUDGET RESEARCH

Sándor Szalai

SÁNDOR BÖLÖNI FARKAS
THE HUNGARIAN TOCQUEVILLE

Theodor and Helen Benedek Schoeneman

SHORT STORIES

Gábor Thurzó, Gergely Rákosy

POEMS

Gyula Illyés, Zoltán Zelk, László Benjámin, Mihály Váci,
József Tornai, Sándor Csoóri, István Csukás, Szabolcs Várady,
translated by Alan Dixon, Barbara Howes, Edwin Morgan, William Jay Smith

LUKÁCS AND THOMAS MANN

István Gál

INTERVIEWS

Archbishop Lékai, William Jay Smith

CONSOLIDATION WITHOUT REVELATIONS

Some notes on recent Hungarian films, directors and trends

The last two years appear to have been a period of consolidation in Hungarian cinema, rather than one that has produced many striking revelations of new talent. Established figures like Jancsó, Kovács, Fábri, Makk and Szabó have all produced work of high quality, while younger directors like Kósa, Gyöngyössy, Sándor, Rózsa and Sára have confirmed beyond all doubt the promise and quality of their first films. These are certainly encouraging signs, though the fact that of the fourteen recent films that I saw on a visit to Budapest this summer, only two were first features and—even more significant—only three made any attempt to deal directly with a contemporary subject,[1] may provide some cause for anxiety about the direction that Hungarian cinema is taking.

That other foreign critics have been struck by the same sense of uneasiness is evident from the comments recorded in *Hungarofilm Bulletin* 75/1 after the Hungarian Film Festival held in Budapest in November 1974. Writers from Britain, Czechoslovakia and Spain all voiced concern about the Hungarian "obsession" with historical subjects, even while acknowledging that, in most cases, the films had a universal and even a contemporary application. As a counterbalance to this, however, it should be noted that the three "contemporary" films were either the first or second features of their respective directors, and that this may be an omen of future tendencies.[2]

Despite this, it is fascinating to observe how films as utterly different in style and subject as Jancsó's *Electra*—with its timeless costumes and featureless landscapes—and Sára's *Pheasant Tomorrow*—with its up-to-the-minute characters and bright, modern trappings—can come to very similar conclusions about the nature and effect of tyranny and authoritarian behaviour. Jancsó's film is sure to revive the endless controversy as to whether he has become nothing but a gifted mannerist, obsessively exploring a formal structure that has less and less to do with human realities with each succeeding film. Though this charge may have some validity when applied to some of Jancsó's Italian-based work, such as the recent *Rome Wants Another Caesar*, it seems to me that in *Electra*, his ritualistic, hieratic style fuses with the demands of his subject-matter to produce a work as complex and fascinating as anything he has ever done.

I have analysed the film in some detail elsewhere,[3] but would like to point out here how the artificiality of Jancsó's style enables him to make every shot, every image of the film even, serve as a metaphor, pointing beyond the overt words and behaviour of the characters to a representation of the nature of oppression and the lethargy and cowardice that inhibit or thwart at every turn the struggle for freedom and liberty. Ægisthus justifies his rule by arguing to Electra that his subjects are content not to think for themselves and to allow him to make their decisions for him this idea is dramatically visualized in two later scenes of the film. In one, Ægisthus proclaims a "Feast of Truth" at which his subjects can speak their minds freely, without fear of reprisals. They respond with a sycophantic chorus of praise to Ægisthus for the benefits of his rule, crediting him with the success of their crops,

1 Szabó's *25 Fireman's Street* and Makk's *Catsplay*, which are concerned essentially with the interplay between past and present in the minds of the characters, are not included in this category.

2 István Dárday's *Holiday in Britain* and Gyula Maár's *At the End of the Road* are first features, while Sándor Sára's *Pheasant Tomorrow* is his first film as director since *The Upthrown Stone* six years ago, which he made together with Ferenc Kósa.

3 In *Film Comment* (September/October 1975).

the quality of their food and drink, the health and even the existence of their children, rising to a ludicrous and hyperbolic crescendo with the claim that salt never tasted so salty, sugar never tasted so sweet as during Ægisthus' rein. Satisfied with this demonstration of the effectiveness with which he has cowed all opposition, Ægisthus is then able to devote his energies to crushing the one true dissenter, Electra.

Later in the film, Electra tries to awaken the populace to a sense of shame at the oppression they have so passively and numbly accepted: instructed by Ægisthus to save her life by making public confession of her guilt, she walks instead among the people and accuses them of cowardice, lethargy and treachery. As in other sections of the film, the crowd is arranged in a neatly geometrical formation that symbolizes both the completeness of Ægisthus' control and the fear of individual thought or action on the part of his subjects; here they are lying in straight lines, face downwards on the grass and, as Electra moves among them, they stand up row by row and clasp their hands over their ears to avoid hearing her. They listen to Ægisthus, however, when he assures them that blind obedience to the law is the only guarantee of happiness.

There are numerous other examples of this method throughout the film, but these might be enough to indicate that Jancsó's formal researches have, in this work at least, led him to a fusion of theme and treatment that would be impossible for a director more committed to the reproduction of external reality. Nevertheless, Sándor Sára's *Pheasant Tomorrow*, which is much closer to the mainstream of contemporary cinema in its handling of character and event, manages to provide some shrewd insights into the means by which an authoritarian personality can size, exploit and—in this case at least—lose power, that parallel and confirm to some extent the conclusions reached by Jancsó.

Here we are in a contemporary setting, where a group of young people on a carefree holiday—casual, disorderly, untidy, but also happy—allow a middle-aged man and a group of his friends to begin to organize and control their activities. At first it is all comparatively harmless (and the film throughout maintains a light-hearted and amusing tone that is refreshing in the overall context of the normally sombre Hungarian cinema): he organizes dances at which the older and younger people can get together; he persuades them to tidy up the camping-ground a little and begin to work out a routine for the day's activities. Before they quite realize what has happened, the young people find themselves in a rigidly ordered environment, with their tents arranged (by colours!) in neat rows and their days divided up into a series of formal activities to which they are summoned by brusque blasts of a whistle. And always there are rationalizations: if the streets of the tent village aren't given names, children will get lost; if you swim beyond the limits laid out for you by the authorities, you are liable to be drowned. It is all for your own good and if we have to employ a little force to save you from your own worst impulses (like hauling a vagrant swimmer into a rowing boat by means of his long hair), then it will teach you to behave more circumspectly in the future.

As the film proceeds, the satire sharpens and becomes more ferocious. The "Leader" and his cronies consolidate their position and the sexual and material privileges that accompany it; their every move religiously recorded for posterity by a team of photographers. The campers are instructed to dig a swimming pool a mere ten yards from the river in which they had swum so freely a few days previously. The new élite set out on a hunting expedition that is filmed in a way that subtly mixes farce and a sense of genuine horror at the cruel, savage expressions on the hunters' faces: they succeed only in shooting a cow (which is duly photographed) but turn this into a victory with a triumphant procession back to camp with their trophy. A banquet follows at which the

Leader and his friends exchange garlands of flowers and mutual congratulations, while the audience wildly applauds their every remark. Retribution is at hand, however: flushed with confidence, the Leader attempts to take a second mistress, rousing the jealousy of the young woman who had opportunistically attached herself to him the moment that his climb to power began. He is publicly humiliated and forced to flee ignominously down the river in a boat. Even before this, however, signs of discontent had manifested themselves, and one disillusioned young couple had already made preparations to leave; with the Leader's departure, his whole artificial power structure crumbles and we are left at the end with the empty, disorderly camp site, rubbish blowing idly in the wind and harsh, discordant music on the sound track. Amusing as it is, the film leaves a rather bitter aftertaste, and one wonders what alternative Sára is proposing to the extremes of tyranny and chaos with which he has presented us. Perhaps he is simply suggesting that if the natural and harmless behaviour of the young people had not been interfered with at the start, a situation would never have emerged in which only extreme positions could be adopted.

*

István Dárday's *Holiday in Britain* also provided a refreshingly comic treatment of the subjects of leadership, change and individual initiative. Here a young boy or girl must be chosen to complete a contingent of young people on a trip to Britain: the successful candidate must possess a pleasant personality, be a member of the Pioneers' Organization and be mildly, though not exceptionally, talented as a musical performer. The film shows the process by which a youth, Tibi, is selected and then the resulting confusion when his mother changes her mind and withdraws her permission for him to travel. It is difficult for an outsider to pick up all the subtleties involved in the arguments that follow, but Dárday is clearly very much concerned with the totally different mentalities of the peasant environment to which the mother belongs and the more politically sophisticated world of the officials organizing the trip, as well as with the further split between the world of Tibi and his young friends, and that of his parents. Much of the apparently casual, merely scene-setting imagery that opens the film announces this conflict: modern posters and photos of contemporary personalities and events are contrasted with religious images and ornaments; later the clean bright offices of the bureaucrats, with their Che Guevara posters, are set in opposition to the clutter of traditional souvenirs, photos and ornaments with which Tibi's mother surrounds herself. She fears that her son will be "changed", made different by the experience offered to him, but in particular she resents the insensitivity of the officials who dragged her away from her work in the fields and made her give public approval to a project she hardly understood while still in her bare feet. She has her way in the end, stubbornly forcing her husband to fall into line with her, and oblivious to the despair of the officials who openly criticize her for stupidity and privately lament their impossible task of bringing enlightenment to such people.

Dárday has fun with the attitudes of both sides and with the closed mentality that each exhibits; Tibi, caught in the middle, is little more than a cipher and he is finally replaced, in the one unnecessarily cruel touch in the film, by a plump, blonde young accordionist who is even less talented musically than he and who accompanies the other successful candidates on to the plane to the strains of inspiring music. Much of the film was apparently improvised, with many of the characters playing the roles they perform in real life; despite its surface casualness, however, it is very carefully organized and contains some finely comic moments.

The third film that I saw with a contemporary setting, Gyula Maár's *At the End of the Road*, is totally different in tone, bleak, harsh and disquieting and clearly much influenced in its pacing and the organization of its black-and-white imagery by the early films of Antonioni and Bergman. Essentially it is a study in failure: on the first day of his retirement, a former factory manager tries to come to terms with the decline of his career after its peak several years before, and with his inability to understand or communicate with his son, despite the genuine affection that exists between them. The film is at its best when it creates its theme obliquely, by inference rather than direct statement: the son constantly conveys important messages to his father by means of a tape-recorder instead of personal confrontation; the father goes to an appointment in a café with a colleague, but the camera focuses on an old man patiently chewing his food rather than on the ostensible subject of attention; and, in the finest and most powerful scene of the film, the central character stands helplessly in a train corridor while, in the carriage he has just vacated, a brash and self-confident younger man quickly and confidently seduces a young woman. At the end of this sequence, the embarrassed, shame-faced girl leaves the train and is seen in extreme long-shot as she walks across a barren, misty landscape dominated by a distant, solitary poplar tree—an image that crystallizes perfectly the mood of this, admittedly uneven, film.

One interesting feature of recent Hungarian film production has been the fact that two respected veterans, Zoltán Fábri and András Kovács, have each produced their best film in several years. Fábri's *The Unfinished Sentence,* based on a huge novel by Tibor Déry, suffers from this director's characteristic vice of heavy-handedness, notably in the endless repetitions and variations of the central incident in which a young worker is murdered by Fascist thugs, and in an embarrassingly overplayed scene in which the young bourgeois "hero" is humilitated by an impossibly noble woman worker to whom he attempts to offer charity.[4] Stylistically too, it is perhaps excessively dependent on techniques associated with the work of Bergman, Fellini and Resnais (among others). Yet the film maintains the viewer's interest over all its nearly three-hour length, contains some impressively structured scenes that move easily between reality and fantasy or imagination, and contains a fine performance by András Bálint in the leading role.

*

Kovács's *Blindfold,* which can stand comparison with his masterpiece, *Cold Days* (1966), is almost the antithesis of this in its sober, unobtrusive style and the stark clarity of its black-and-white images. Based on an actual incident towards the end of the Second World War, it studies the spiritual torment of a young priest who believes that his prayers to a minor saint have brought about a miracle that saved the life of a confused, simple-minded soldier about to be shot for desertion. Later events force him to modify this belief, but by then his superiors have become alarmed at the rumours of miraculous interventions that are sweeping through the army and the priest finds himself caught in a conflict between expediency and truthfulness, between dogmatic belief and a faith that admits the possibility of honest doubt—a conflict that pushes him inexorably towards madness.

Another veteran, Károly Makk, has not been quite so successful in his latest work. Beautiful as *Catsplay* is to watch, subtle and intricate as its rhythms may be, it cannot avoid arousing the suspicion that Makk is

4 A comparison of this film with Andrzej Wajda's thematically similar *Land of Promise* (1975) would demonstrate that it is possible to be flamboyant, and even melodramatic, without resorting to stridency and overemphasis.

trying too hard to repeat the success of *Love* (1970), which also centres round the memories, illusions and fantasies of an elderly woman. It contains some fine scenes, nevertheless, notably one in which Erzsi prepares, then angrily destroys a dinner for her fickle, aging beau, Viktor; and another in which she catches him dining instead with a hated rival and proceeds methodically to demolish that meal too. Surely, however, Makk cannot seriously expect us to credit the beautiful Mari Törőcsik in the role of Erzsi's dowdy, unattractive neighbour!

István Szabó's *25 Firemen's Street* is also concerned with the interplay between the present and memories of the past and it recapitulates a good many of the themes, settings and events that have obsessed Szabó in all his films to date. Yet here there is no sense of *déjà-vu* and Szabó's total mastery of his medium sweeps us along with him, even when the images are as puzzling and fragmentary as many of those in this film undoubtedly are. The setting is an old house on the eve of its demolition: the numerous inhabitants—and the house itself—indulge in dreams and recollections of the past thirty years and especially the period of the Second World War. As the film proceeds, Szabó wisely narrows the focus to concentrate on the stories of two or three of the inhabitants, but the film presents throughout a complex interweaving of several destinies that often involves some extraordinary leaps in time and space—shots that bring together in one continuous camera movement characters from totally different areas of the past, or compress into one unbroken sequence several quite distinct events; scenes, even, in which living and dead characters are reunited. All this has its own logic, however, and, without resorting to easy moral judgements, Szabó gradually distinguishes between those who, even in the most desperate circumstances, retained their self-respect and their concern for others, and those who compromised their behaviour to suit the shifting political circumstances. Above all, the film lingers in the mind as a collection of superb images, often bizarre and exotic: a girl calmly swimming through a series of flooded rooms; two postmen covered in snow standing at the foot of the bed of a dying colleague; an old man sadly munching flowers and broken glass in the ruins of his workshop.

*

Several other important films have also handled Second World War themes. Imre Gyöngyössy's *Sons of Fire*, which is loosely structured around the "Stag Boy" legend that forms the subject of a major poem by Ferenc Juhász, deals with the attempted escape from prison of a group of Communist captives towards the end of the war. This is a complex and—it must be admitted—confusing film that probably demands at least two viewings before the various image patterns that compose its structure fall into place. Gyöngyössy appears to think in the associative patterns of a poet rather than in any kind of conventional narrative form and many of his images have to be interpreted as metaphors rahter than literal representations of reality. The central sequence of the film, in which the escaped prisoners are hunted down like animals, while shots of dying birds and deer, together with images of the fruitfulness and calm placidity of nature, alternately supplement and contrast with the violence of their deaths, is an astonishing *tour-de-force* that compensates for the obscurity of much of the remainder of the film.

Ferenc Kósa's *Snowfall* shares both the defects and the virtues of Gyöngyössy's work: a collection of magnificently evocative images is combined with a fragmentary and elliptical narrative that finally leaves the viewer exasperated rather than intrigued. Whereas Gyöngyössy, in the tradition of Eisenstein, dislocates, then recombines his images in a pattern that is intended to be

mutually reinforcing, Kósa prefers to create a consistent impression of tiny characters picked out by means of a telephoto lens and isolated among the bleak and awesome scenery of Transylvania. The story, of a young soldier and his grandmother attempting to trace the whereabouts of the young man's parents, is clearly intended to have mythic overtones, but Kósa's refusal to provide more than the most minimal information about his characters must leave even the most sympathetic viewer frustrated and dissatisfied.

A slightly earlier film by Kósa, *Beyond Time*, is both less ambitious and more successful. Here the setting is a prison in 1929 in which a well-intentioned but weak prisoner governor tries to put into effect some mildly liberal reforms, but finds that his muddled political thinking leads him to handle symptoms rather than causes and leaves him at the mercy of the crude, but effective Fascism of his chief warder, Babella. Also, the highly motivated Communist political prisoners who form a tiny minority among the ordinary convicts, are not willing to be fobbed off with Christmas parties at which nuns sing "Silent Night" to men still cooped up in cages, or excursions into the countryside during which trusted prisoners are allowed to paint landscapes to decorate the governor's office: they go on hunger stike and contemptuously reject the governor's pleas for compromise and reconciliation. Gradually the situation escalates: the governor comes undei increasing pressure from the Minister of Justice to put an end to the hunger strike; while he vacillates, Babella starts to take matters into his hands and, one by one, the Communist prisoners are beaten up or murdered. Events are seen largely through the eyes of Kallós, a nonpolitical prisoner who shares a cell with the Communists and is gradually driven into active sympathy with their cause; meanwhile disorder spreads throughout the prison and finally the governor is forced to retire and is replaced by Babella. In a scene that mirrors the Christmas Eve sequence that opens the film, Babella addresses the caged prisoners: he tells them that things are going to be different now, but that they will be encouraged nevertheless to think and act for themselves. "Now you can clap", he concludes sardonically, in an illustration of the kind of freedom they can truly expect. The style of this admirable film is sober and restrained; the only obtrusive element, the use of black-and-white[5] for scenes within the prison walls and colour for those outside, is not perhaps totally necessary but is effectively handled nonetheless.

Pál Sándor's *Football of the Good Old Days* is likewise set in the twenties—1924 to be precise—and, despite its apparently lighthearted subject (the attempt of a small-time football manager to put together a team that can defeat their local rivals), it emerges as almost as much of a political work as Kósa's more overtly "engaged" film. This becomes particularly evident in the closing sequence, where Minarik joins the crowd at the Budapest railway station waiting for the return of the beaten and humiliated Hungarian Olympic soccer team: a near-riot breaks out and the booing, jeering crowd takes up the chant: "We need new leaders!" Much of the focus of the film, however, centres on an affectionate pastiche of the style of the silent cinema of the period: Dezső Garas in the leading role is a Chaplinesque figure who often, in fact, recreates situations and poses from such films as *The Cure* and *The Kid;* there is much use of tinkling piano music, fast motion, comic chases and an inevitable—and unfortunately overdone—fight with cream cakes. An interesting sub-theme of the film compares the problems faced by a football manager with those of a film director, notably in the areas of choosing, disciplining and inspiring their collaborators and in the need to produce tangible (preferably financial) results.

5 Strictly speaking, the film has a blueish tinge rather than normal black-and-white.

János Rózsa's *Dreaming Youth,* which is based on an autobiographical novel by Béla Balázs, also makes use of the early silent cinema as a key element within its structure. This film has already been harshly criticized within Hungary[6] for failing to give any indication that the young boy at its centre possesses exceptional qualities that destine him for a great literary career; though this is true, it does not seem to me sufficient reason for condemning the film out of hand. Rózsa's main concern appears to be with the child's growing awareness and comprehension of injustice, bigotry, treachery and cruelty, within the framework of the slow decline of the secure, comfortable, bourgeois world of his parents. All the major episodes, whether ostensibly public or private, contribute towards this understanding and the deliberately dreamlike atmosphere of endless sunshine, green leaves, white dresses and parasols, darkening only towards the end, is crucial to an understanding of the theme of illusion and awakening. The "cinema" episode, in which the child joins his fellow townsmen in a tent to watch a series of short newsreels, also contributes to his realization that there is a larger, bleaker world outside: riots, demonstrations and barricades in far-away cities replace the opening images of the townspeople themselves relaxing at the fairground; gradually the remainder of the audience melt away, but Herbert remains, fascinated, to the very end.

All the films mentioned so far appear to me more or less successful both in fulfilling what can be assumed to be the intentions of their makers and in communicating these intentions to a sympathetic foreigner. The one exception to this otherwise favourable assessment would have to be Ferenc Kardos's *Unruly Heyducks.* Kardos is obviously an extremely talented film-maker: his film is brilliantly photographed (by János Kende), contains many strikingly memorable images and boasts a fine (though underused) musical score. In anything beyond the most general possible outline, however (and even here I required the assistance of a synopsis from Hungarofilm), I failed almost totally to make any sense of what was happening, to whom, where, and why.[7] No doubt Kardos will produce something much better in the future, but this work can serve as a warning of the dangers inherent in the concern for reinterpreting the past that has served other Hungarian directors so well in recent years.

One other disappointment: every major Hungarian film-maker has produced a feature-length film in the past two years, with the exception of István Gaál. For those who see his work as crucial to the stature of Hungarian cinema elsewhere in the world, it can only be hoped that he will produce another film of the quality of *The Falcons* or *Dead Landscape* in the very near future.

Graham Petrie

[6] See the review by József Tornai in NHQ, No. 57 (Spring 1975).

[7] I was somewhat reassured to discover that Hungarian friends had many of the same problems with the film.

THREE PARABLES

Films by Gyula Maár, Barna Kabay, Tamás Rényi

Gyula Maár: In the Wings

Around the mid-nineteenth century, when the Hungarian theatre had barely made a break with the German theatrical life of Hungarian towns, there lived a wonderful actress whose legend remained part of living memory up to the present day—perhaps because hers was the first truly great histrionic talent in Hungary, or perhaps because her figure became also inseperable from renascent national feeling. After 1945, the name of Mrs. Déry, who used to travel the country, was adopted by one of Budapest theatres—the travelling theatre which today, too, gives performances in the countryside. It would have been easy for Gyula Maár, whose earlier film, *At the End of the Road*, met with as vivid a response within and beyond the country's borders, to make a lovely, inspiring and above all nostalgic film about the life of Mrs. Déry, née Róza Schenbach (later changed to Széppataki) (1793–1872) by merely sticking to this legend. A pleasant biographical film, something fashionable and rewarding these days.

Gyula Maár did not make such a film, and let me add right away, he fortunately did not. It is possible that more would have gone to see the film, but in that case I could now, at best, praise the dubious merits of a stereotyped work. Instead I am pleased to be able to speak about a real, novel, artistic film, which, even though not a great one, is pure and human having hardly anything to do with its point of departure, the renowned nineteenth-century actress, Mrs. Déry. The fact that the diary of the aged Mrs. Déry serves as the basis for the film is, I am inclined to argue a mere pretext, a condition or a framework. The director needed a point offering a firm foothold. The message, however, is something other, it is unrelated both to Mrs. Déry and (even more so) to the last century. Hungarians who counted on a real Mrs. Déry story might feel disappointed but this will help those to whom Mrs. Déry means nothing, since they encounter issues of general human validity in the film. There is no need of any knowledge of Hungarian conditions of the time nor of the myth of the far-famed actress.

Naturally in its colouring, costumes and certain linguistic elements the film is related to the last century: this, however, only plays a stylistic and accentual role here: one may become more deeply pervaded with a world which can take pride in distant beauties. The present is much too earthbound. Thus the period dresses, buildings and the way of life only serve as the director's tricks to make the very topical, familiar human deadlocks appear even sharper, more painful and at the same time more easily tolerable. This is perhaps also reason why the film is not as moving as it could be. To me even this touch of history suffices to slip in the excuse offered by the past, something which can only be seen imagined, and already I have escaped the necessity to face up to the deeply cathartic effect, as I would certainly be forced to, in a drama explicitly taking place in the present. The direct dramatic shock is also dampened by Mrs. Déry being a real historical figure, which does not allow me to fully identify myself with her.

The plot of the carefully composed film tells of a time when the aging actress, who however is still at the zenith of her fame, is unexpectedly visited by her husband, István Déry, also an actor, from whom she had been separated for many a long year. Déry, whose love and fidelity have brought him to white heat, persuades his wife to move to his newly acquired estate. Mrs. Déry, who perceptibly is only fond of, and not in love with her husband, cannot resist

the wooing and follows him to riches and a carefree life, to unhappiness and restlessness rather as it soon turns out. The day-by-day boredom radiating from the enraptured Déry cannot compensate her for real love and the theatre. Mrs. Déry soon packs her bags and returns to the stage. Though she found no love in her emotions for her husband, she could at least nurture her other passion.

To me this sudden departure is the most beautiful scene of the film. The slightly balding, pot-bellied, freckled husband drops on his knees on the gravel-walk meandering under the tall trees of the provincial park, he embraces his wife's legs, beseeching her, "don't go away, you cannot leave me". His tears flow. This is a moment of complete human humiliation and self-revelation. Even at that dreadful moment one envies this miserable man, since being no longer a child one can never again behave in such an elemental manner, shaking off rank, prudence, masculine restraint. The impossible scene is brought to an end by the mother of the sobbing husband, who reminds her son with a resounding slap on the face of the duty of dignified (and, of course, sufficiently empty and stupid) behaviour prescribed by his age and status. Get up instantly and "retire" to the house. After that nothing prevents Mrs. Déry from getting into a stage-coach and returning to Pest (at that time there were still two cities on the two banks of the Danube: Pest and Buda), in order to get back on the boards. Only by that time a new, young and talented actress has appeared, and *tout le monde* speaks of a new style which cannot be Mrs. Déry's realm any more. In a dreadful dream she plays the love scene in *Romeo and Juliet*—old, wrinkled and with white hair. She slowly turns into an observer of the theatre: a highly respected actress whom her director has already decided to do without. An old fellow-actor continues to adore her just as in the past, he is firmly convinced that there never will be another like her. But the director yearns for a new leading actress, and it is for her, and with her, that he organizes the strange early dawn festivity, the initiation rites for actresses on a forest clearing, which is slowly enveloped in mist. Mrs. Déry and her old friend can only be spectators of the whole histrionic hocus-pocus: they have not even been told, they are not needed for the dancing, drinking, and the symbolic homage before the throne of the new stage-queen. This is the end of all: marriage, love, histrionic dreams. Déry was right when he warned Róza. He was only wrong in thinking that the quiet family home would offer a remedy against getting old. Mrs. Déry was unable to accept the alternative, just as every passionate person like her is unable to do so. And thus, sitting beside her old fellow-actor and helplessly gazing at the celebrations in the wood, and the slowly swirling mist, enveloping old and young alike, nothing remains for her than getting up and getting lost in the fog, fading into it, into this fog which represents time, nothingness, hopelessness—a certain lyrical, poetic relaxation for Gyula Maár in a physical and visual sense as well.

Barna Kabay: The Rabbit Stew

Barna Kabay, who has already written several scripts together with Imre Gyöngyössy (*Legend about the Death and Resurrection of Two Young Men; Suns of Fire; Expectation*) has now directed his first film. *The Rabbit Stew* is based on a picaresque novella by Jenő J. Tersánszky, the oddest figure in twentieth-century Hungarian prose writing I should say. Tersánszky mostly lived in the same way as his favourite characters: in poverty or, indeed, in privation, a rolling stone, but cheerful, with a wise, modest sense of humour. *The Rabbit Stew* also has such a poor, unfortunate, simple-minded character, almost a dupe, for its hero. Almost every village contains such good-hearted individuals who have led a lonely life without a family, and by the end of their

life, when they have failed in everything, they linger out their days in a stable, sty or summer kitchen belonging to one of the farmers, or inn-keepers, or, as in this case, as the servant of a game-keeper. Gyöngyössy and Kabay wrote a script about such a happy-hapless tramp, which was turned into a fairy-tale film meant equally for old and young. I cannot even say that the film has deviated from the novella to any great extent. As a matter of fact, I think it a matter of small importance whether or not a film is true to its story.

The trouble is that while writers and director fairly closely adhere to the details of the original story, including the episodes, in place of old Gazsi, the hero of the novel, we find a different kind of figure (and even that would not matter if that had been the intention) and also a different message and truth. Leaving the story out of the game, the message is still false, within the realm of the film itself. That is at least what I think.

In the figure of Gazsi, Barna Kabay created a mythical tramp, the apotheosis of a tramp if you like, a profane Hungarian Saint Francis. In doing so he was possibly affected by the fact that the part of Gazsi is played by a—highly gifted—Polish actor. The Poles are more given to myths, they are more "catholic" than we Hungarians, and perhaps the make-up of the Polish actor also played a part in shaping the director's notions. This I do not know, and it is perhaps also of secondary importance. What counts is that in this way we are presented with a character extremely attractive to animal-lovers and members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Gazsi becomes the patron saint of pheasants, rabbits, boars, dogs and all other two- and four-legged creatures. He warns the animals of the forest in advance of the approach of guns and dogs. And that is not all. When the horrible battue-shooting starts he saves what he can by running in front of the guns: driving away the animals, the hares in the first place, who are stupid enough to offer a good target. Thus he, too, almost becomes a victim of the shotguns. Finally, however, the extravagant young countess brings him back to life with artificial respiration. But then this new Saint Francis is launched into an even more difficult situation; his master, the game-keeper, sends him to the hunting-grounds to fetch his knife which he has left behind, and there Gazsi finds four or five bagged hares hidden away. Making a truly magnificent effort he drags them home to his master. The master's wife prepares a wonderful paprika jugged hare, but they do not give one bite to Gazsi who richly deserved it.

And what am I, a member of the public, supposed to do at this point: shall I feel sorry for Gazsi, the poor simpleton, or shall I rejoice over God not having led Saint Francis into temptation to sin against the animals? And indeed, where does this Saint Francis begin, and where does poor Gazsi end? During the course of the whole film the director does not draw an unambiguous dividing line. But let us suppose he wanted to create just such a tramp-Saint Francis. What did he want to say with that? Because Gazsi as a poor old dupe does not cause any headache to anyone watching the film. Poverty, and above all simple-mindedness, deceit, desolation and the kindness that goes with it will always be with us. We may cry over such human situations, or we may rage and revolt against them, but there they are.

Gazsi as Saint Francis? Perhaps even Saint Francis could not maintain such a pseudo-pious view that animals must not be killed, and must not be eaten. Condemning blood sports and slaughter-yards, including paprika chicken, slices of roast meat, rabbit stew—and this is what the director uses his own Saint Gazsi to propagate—is false affectation. Surely it would have been better to stay with Jenő J. Tersánszky's down-to-earth parable. He simply wanted to agitate by portraying a Gazsi who is taken for a

dupe by society, who, though gentler than other greedy people, can work for his daily bread like everyone else. That is why his story ends by Gazsi getting a secure job at the estate.

The Gazsi of the film—in some contrast with his holy vegetarianism—makes the firm resolution that he will be more careful at next winter's shoot and will certainly demand his share of the hares he drags home. But what happens by next year? Poor Gazsi misses the shoot altogether because the bolting horses trample his master's dog to death, and he has to take the dying hound home in his arms. Heaven's reward, however, unfailingly arrives, because a poor bunny, much like him, seeks refuge in his summer kitchen. Gazsi nurses his bunny with warm affection, and by springtime, when he is looking after the swine, the tame hare turns to his pigman's hut, bringing along her young and at the very time when the excentric but kind-hearted countess comes to look at the miraculous rabbit. When she sees the transfigured smile on our Gazsi's face amidst his big and small hares, she believes witnessing a real miracle and asks the old man whether he has any wish since she is ready to give him anything. Gazsi feels embarrassed: what could he really need when he has everything in the world? But suddenly it must occur to him that he is actually Saint Francis and not a swine-herd, in other words, that he is fighting against the killing of animals. In the spirit of this idea he asks for the double-barrelled shotguns of the countess and the game-keeper. And thus peace is ensured on earth. Both adults and children may safely go home. Gazsi has finished shooting and the massacre of bunnies for ever.

And I am sorry that Barna Kabay has gone so far astray with the basic idea of his first film. He wanted to achieve something very lovely, very philosophical right at the start. He has not succeeded. But even so his film is not the worst among the autumn releases. You may see lovely landscapes and animals, and it is not lacking in ideas either, even if these are somewhat "Buddhist". A first-film director can be forgiven.

Tamás Rényi: When Time Began

Both the above films are parables, in other words, they convey a train of thought which is hidden behind the story. Tamás Rényi's film does so even more. Rényi has always liked to express himself in remote parables *(Deadlock, Makra)* and now he has gone all out in this direction. *When Time Began* takes the viewer back to post-war conditions in Hungary in 1946. At least this is what it appears to do. The Communist Party is still a minority, the fight is going on within the coalition government, in the factories and—around the issue of the distribution of land—in the country. Zsigmond Nagy and Zoltán Deák, the two main characters, were members of the then illegal Communist Party during the war and in that time of illegality they had spent long stretches in prison together, under the Horthy régime. After 1945, Nagy, the elder of them, became a county party secretary, and Deák, the younger, after holding various posts, became the chairman of a factory committee in a Budapest iron works.

The film starts by introducing Deák and the conditions in the iron factory. The workers want to go on strike because they have nothing to eat. Deák promises to get food by noon, although he himself does not know where from and in what manner. His cleverness and assertiveness help him to success, and he wins the confidence of the workers, and mainly that of the Communist Party members. Next the film portrays the noisy, vigorous, revolutionary mood of a youth centre: with marches, youthful speakers and an enthusiastic young group tearing down, in the dead of night, the Budapest statue of Werbőczy, who in the sixteenth century stabilized and aggravated serfdom in Hun-

gary. It is here that Deák gets to know his future love, a young tram-driver. This, however, is only a minor detail. Now comes Deák's great undertaking: he carries a waggonload of iron goods to the provincial town of Kuntelek, to exchange it for food. He wants to take nails since he knows that this is what the peasants badly need. But he can get the nails from the factory's general manager, Count Winkler, only in return for some unfounded production promises. As a consequence, the workers, whom he had failed to tell and who do not undertake the surplus production work involved, get rid of the director. In other words, Deák uses somewhat reckless methods but he succeeds in everything. Later he is severely criticized for this in the Party Centre.

Deák and his companion, who at the same time is his body-guard, get to Kuntelek with the nails. And here one can be truly struck dumb. In contrast to the democratic fermentation in the capital, he here encounters a totalitarian proletarian dictatorship. Nagy has created a left-wing power which "tolerates no compromise": Red Guard units armed to the teeth are in the streets, on the railway station and in the public buildings. The enemy, reaction, is being fought. Deák finds Nagy, the "dictator", in a Sam Brown and a Lenin cap, at a funeral. The enemy has killed the chairman of the land distributing committee. The two communists, two former cell-mates, embrace one another with great affection. Nagy takes it for granted that a comrade and friend has arrived who not only agrees with him but also understands his methods. When, however, the younger communist sees the mayor buried up to his neck beside the heroes' statue on the main square of the town, he declares that no such brutality should be used. But this is not all yet: Nagy shows him several hundreds of the "enemy" who are kept in the basement of the town-hall. Priests, members of the Smallholder's Party, black-marketeers, Arrow-Cross men, and what is really surprising, Communists, are there awaiting here their fate. Already at this point I had the feeling that the film wanted to foreshadow the abuses and breaches of law of the fifties. In real life such blind terror was impossible in Hungary in 1946. My suspicions strengthened when it turned out that the Communist Party had sent a comrade with a letter from Budapest, but Nagy had him, too, locked up and pronounced the letter to be a forgery. The Communists kept in captivity, disregarding all threats, tell Nagy to his face that he is pursuing the wrong course. After that Deák reads the "forged" letter. It orders the replacement of Nagy. Deák want to convince his friend, and former prison-mate, that he had no choice, he must admit to the Party, that he has been mistaken. Nagy has him, too, locked up. This already is tantamount to the formula of the trumped-up trials of the fifties, when it was the members of the Communist Party who suffered most from the unlawful arrests.

Here, however, comes a turn in the film: the Kuntelek dictator unexpectedly releases everyone, he has a nervous collapse, he resigns all his offices and, together with Deák, he returns to Budapest to submit himself to the decision of the Party Centre. Now only a brief episode of Deák's love-affair remains, and then, one night, he is summoned to the Party Centre. He is told that he has been appointed the county secretary in place of Nagy and he has to leave at once for Kuntelek to set things right, since in Kuntelek, the enemy has seized power. Every minute may count. Deák is driven down by a Party jeep, and indeed, already at the town outskirts, they find the Communist secretary who has been beaten to death. The town is desolate, there are signs of destruction and anarchy everywhere. Deák goes to the town-hall, to the Party room and finds everything in confusion, there is no one there, all the papers are scattered. He sits in the armchair of his

predecessor and looks round the cheerless room. Here Tamás Rényi abruptly finishes the film. Is this the time when time began, I asked myself, when the Hungarian Communist Party clarified once and for all how dangerous Leftism is. When, after October 1956, the new Party leadership and the new policy announced the new basic principle: "Those who are not against us, are with us." During the film Deák says on two occasions, in two situations: "one cannot, and must not govern by force, against the majority." In my eyes this was further evidence that Tamás Rényi did not want to look back on the past but wanted to take a stand against leftist errors and to provide a criticism of the ultra-left attitude which essentially is present here with us as well, in a latent form, and which is evident in other, mainly West European, countries.

To my way of thinking this is the film's message, only thus do I feel the parable to be timely. That is what made the film exciting: I was surprised by its political meanings, even though I was unable to fully enter into its spirit, and could not identify myself with the characters, not even with Deák. I do not think this is my fault: Tamás Rényi concentrates on asserting the political parable to such an extent that he misses out on human feelings, human relationships, those accidental but necessarily important minor details and authenticating episodes which complete the picture. Therefore *When Time Began* cannot convey a true artistic experience, only recognitions of journalistic force. One either agrees, or takes issue, with what one sees since the director is not able to create the visual, formal and realistic equivalent of his message. More precisely, at places he does create it while at others he offers only rough-and-ready signals. The convincing force of the scenes of the "Kurtelek dictatorship" go hand in hand with the triviality of the episodes in the iron factory or the shots at the youth club. Nevertheless, this does not belittle the significance of his undertaking.

József Tornai

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Deputy Prime Minister. See his contributions, "Hungarian Cultuial Policy and the Hegemony of Marxism" No. 42, "Cultural Policy and Changing Reality" No. 46, "The Political and Social Significance of Education" No. 49, "Peaceful Coexistence and Ideological Struggle" No. 51, "Cultural Policy and Social Progress" No. 52, "Peaceful Coexistence and Ideological Confrontation" No. 54, "Access to and Participation in Culture in a Socialist Community" No. 56, as well as an interview with him by Jacques de Bonis, No. 60. The article in this issue is based on a lecture given in September 1975.

ÁGH, István (b. 1939) Poet and freelance journalist. Studied Hungarian and librarianship at the University of Budapest, worked as librarian and editor of a literary monthly. Has published four volumes of poems and a collection of articles. Original title of his poem in this issue: *Dalaim halottai.*

BART, István (b. 1944). Editor at Európa Publishing House in Budapest. Reviews the press regularly for NHQ. See Nos. 58, 59, 60, 61.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist, M.P., Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Heads the Institute of World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board of, as well as a frequent contributor to, NHQ. See "Economic Growth and the Quality of Life" No. 48, "Economic Objectives in an Independent World" No. 49, "The Changing World through Hungarian Eyes" No. 53, and "New Forces in the International Economy" No. 58.

BUDAY, György (b. 1907). Graphic artist. First a painter, later wood engraver. Studied in Kolozsvár and at the University of Szeged. Illustrated the ballads of János Arany, "Rubaiyat," and Transylvanian folk ballads. His woodcuts for Mauriac's "The Life of Christ" won him a Grand Prix in Paris. Lives in London.

CSURKA, István (b. 1934). Novelist, author of volumes of short stories, playwright. See his satire "Why are Hungarian Films so Lousy?" No. 32, parts of his play "Fall Guy for Tonight" No. 39, and a short story "Nothing Simple" No. 45. Hungarian title of this story: *Üvegek, szerelem.*

DERCSÉNYI, Dezső (b. 1910). Art historian, Director of the National Inspectorate of Historical Monuments in Budapest. Has published numerous works on medieval Hungarian art. See "Hungarian Art in the Age of St. Stephen" No. 39., and "Protection of Historical Monuments" No. 46.

FEHÉR, Géza (b. 1917). Art historian, archeologist, on the staff of the Hungarian National Museum. Studied in Budapest and Istanbul. His main field of research is the archeological and artistic remnants of the Turkish occupation of Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Published a monograph on Turkish miniatures of the 16th century showing scenes of Hungarian historical events. See "The Battle of Mohács in Turkish Miniatures of the Osmanli Period" No. 48.

FEUER, Mária. Musicologist and critic, Editor of *Muzsika* ("Music") a Budapest monthly. See "Sámson, a New Opera by Sándor Szokolay" No. 54.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art historian, critic, on the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary weekly. One of our regular art critics.

KÁROLYI, Amy (b. 1909). Poet, translator, wife of the poet Sándor Weöres. Author of five volumes of poems, numerous books of nursery rhymes and the libretto of an opera based on a tale by Andersen. Her translations include poems by Emily Dickinson. Hungarian title of her poem: *A harmadik ház*. Other poems appeared in No. 45.

KEMENES, Egon (b. 1924). Economist, author of numerous essays and articles on economic policy and development. Member of the Council on World Economy, senior staff member of the Institute of Woıld Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See among recent publications "Hungary's Fourth Five Year Plan" No. 45, "Past and Future of Development Efforts" No. 54, and a review of Mátyás Timár's "Economic Policy in Hungary" No. 56.

KROÓ, György (b. 1928). Musicologist, Professor of Music History at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest. Has published books on Mozart, Schumann, Berlioz, et al. See his review of Sándor Balassa's "Requiem for Kassák" No. 50, and "The Hungarian Cimbalom" No. 59.

LÁZÁR, István (b. 1923). Journalist, an editor on the staff of the Budapest monthly *Valóság*. Works include: *Angliai nyár* ("Summer in England") 1961; *Adriai vakáció* ("Holiday on the Adriatic"), 1964, and a book on Sárospatak, 1974. See his interview with Deputy Premier István Huszár, No. 61.

LIPSIUS, Frank (b. 1947). American journalist, on the staff of this review. A graduate in English and History of Cornell and Cambridge, he has written a biography of Alexander the Great, published in 1974 by Saturday Review/Dutton in the US and Wiedenfeld and Nicolson in Britain. See "Rescuing the Classical Repertoire from Oblivion" No. 59.

MAJOR, Máté (b. 1904). Architect, Professor (ret.) of the School of Architectural Engineering at the Budapest Technical University, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. See among his recent contributions: "Theory and Practice in Architecture" No. 42, "Thirty Years of Hungarian Architecture" No. 57, and "Károly Kós, an Uomo Universale" No. 61.

MIHÁLYI, Gábor (b. 1923). Literary historian, critic, English and American editor on the staff of *Nagyvilág*, a Budapest monthly devoted to translations of contemporary foreign literature; author of a book on Molière. See his "Beckett's *Godot* and the Myth of Alienation" No. 24, "Directors' Theatre in the Provinces" No. 58, and a review of Miklós Almási's "American Frequencies" No. 61.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). One of the regular art critics of this review, a staff member of the Research Group for Art History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

NEMES NAGY, Ágnes (b. 1922). Poet and translator. Studied Hungarian and art history at the University of Budapest, for a time on the staff of an educational magazine, taught secondary school for years before devoting herself entirely to writing. Has published four volumes of poems so far, a collection of essays and translations from Rilke, St. John Perse, and many other English, French, German classical and modern poets. Translations also include plays by Corneille, Racine, Molière and Brecht. Original titles of her poems in this issue: *Között; Védd meg; Hasonlat; A formátlan*. See other poems in Nos. 23 and 35.

NYERGES, János (b. 1918). Head of the Tariff Policy and International Organizations Section of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Special representative of the Hungarian Government to a number of inter-

national economic bodies. Studied in Vienna and Paris. Works include: *Vámpolitika* ("Tariff Policy") 1972, and numerous articles on East-West trade and tariff policy.

ORSZÁGH, László (b. 1907). Professor (ret.) of English at Kossuth University in Debrecen. Author of a book on Shakespeare (1948), a history of American literature, General Editor of the standard Hungarian–English, English–Hungarian dictionary (1963). Travelled in the US on a Ford Foundation grant in 1965. A member of NHQ's Editorial Board. See "The Life and Death of English Words in the Hungarian Language" No. 31, and "Ups and Downs in the Teaching of English" No. 48.

PARÁDI, Nándor (b. 1928). Archaeologist on the staff of the Hungarian National Museum. Published articles on archaeological finds in medieval Hungarian villages, on pottery, Turkish miniatures related to Hungarian history, etc.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Professor of Music History at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest. Our regular music reviewer.

PETRIE, Graham (b. 1939). British film critic and literary historian living in Canada; teaches English and film at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. Spent some time in Budapest in 1973 and 1975. See "History Must Answer to Man (The Contemporary Hungarian Cinema)" No. 53, and a review of István Nemeskürty's "History of the Hungarian Cinema" No. 61.

PILINSZKY, János (b. 1921). Poet, journalist, on the staff of *Vigilia*, a Roman Catholic monthly in Budapest. Drafted toward the end of the war and taken to Germany, where he saw the concentration camps while making his way back to Hungary in 1945. His collected poems, *Szálkák* ("Splinters") appeared in 1972. Original titles of the poems in this issue: *Téli ég alatt; Bűn; Ravensbrücki passió; A szerelem sivataga; Apokrif; Részlet a KZ-oratóriumból; Amiként kezdtem; Intelem.* Other poems appeared in Nos. 23, 30, 50.

POZSGAY, Imre (b. 1933). Deputy Minister of Culture. Graduated in history and philosophy from the University of Szeged and the Lenin Institute, Budapest. Worked at the Bács County Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and was later deputy editor-in-chief of *Társadalmi Szemle*. Does research in sociology, philosophy and aesthetics.

RÉNYI, Péter (b. 1920). Journalist, specializing in cultural affairs. Deputy Editor of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See among his recent publications "Reform in Socialism" No. 50, "Caring for Europe" No. 52, "Thirty Years to Change a Society" No. 57, and "Accents" No. 58.

RÓNAY, György (b. 1913). Poet, novelist, essayist. Studied Hungarian and French at the University of Budapest. 1937–47 reader for a publishing house; now Editor of *Vigilia*, a Roman Catholic monthly. Besides many volumes of poems, also published novels, short stories, essays, criticism, a book on French Renaissance poetry, another on Hungarian poetry in the late 19th century, an anthology of French poetry in his own translations. Has also translated poems by Michelangelo, Hölderlin, Novalis, Rimbaud and many others. Hungarian title of his poem: *A tantestület feloszlatása.* Another poem appeared in No. 23.

SINKOVITS, Péter (b. 1943). Art historian, a graduate of the University of Budapest. Works on the staff of *Művészet*, an illustrated monthly. See "Arnold Gross" No. 55.

SZABADI, Judit. Art historian, on the staff of Corvina Press, author of several books on Hungarian art. See "The Iconography of Hungarian Art Nouveau" No. 49, "Secession in Graphic Art" No. 45, and "Current Trends of Western European Painting and Young Hungarian Art" No. 61.

TORNAI, József (b. 1927). Poet, translator, critic, our regular film reviewer. See also his poems in Nos. 38, and 61.

VAJDA, Miklós (b. 1931). Critic, translator, Literary Editor of NHQ.

VARGA, László (b. 1939). Literary historian on the staff of the Research Institute for Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, one of our regular book reviewers.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE.

TIME IS MONEY

You save time by flying to Budapest. Direct flights from 35 cities of Europe and the Middle East

THE NEW HUNGARIAN QUARTERLY

may be obtained from the following distributors:

AUSTRALIA: C. B. D. Library and Subscription Service Box 4886, G. P. O., N. S. W. 2001

AUSTRIA: Globus, Vertrieb Ausländischer Zeitschriften (VAZ) Höchstädtplatz 3, A-1200 Wien XX.
Rudolf Novak Gmbh., Köllnerhofgasse 4. (Postfach 739) A-1011 Wien I.

BELGIUM: Du Monde Entier S. A. Rue du Midi 162, 1000-Bruxelles

BRASIL: Livraria D. Landy Ltda. Rua 7 de Abril, Caixa Postal 7943. 01000 São Paulo

CANADA: Pannonia Books, P. O. Box 1017. Postal Station "B", 164 Spadina Avenue, Toronto M5T 2T8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Madarská Kultura, Václavské Nám 2. Praha I.,
P. N. S. — dovoz tisku, Vinohradska 46, Praha II.,
P. N. S. — dovoz tlace, Leningradska 14, Bratislava

DENMARK: Munksgaard's Boghandel, Norregade 6. DK-1165 København K.

FINLAND: Akateeminen Kirjakauppa, Keskuskatu 2, SF-00100 Helsinki 10.

FRANCE: Agence Littérarie et Artistique Parisienne, 23, rue Royale, Paris 8.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: Zeitungsvertriebsamt, 1004 Berlin, Strasse der Pariser Kommune 3-4.

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC: Kubon und Sagner, 8000 München 34, Schliessfach 68,
Kunst und Wissen, 7000 Stuttgart 1, Postfach 46, Wilhelmstr. 4.
W. E. Saarbach GmbH. P. O. B. 101610. Follerstrasse 2. 5 Köln 1.

GREAT BRITAIN: Central Books Ltd. 37, Gray's Inn Road, London, WC1X 8PS
Collet's Holdings Ltd., Denington Estate, Wellingborough NN8 2QT
Wm. Dawson and Sons Ltd., Cannon House, 10/14 Macklin Street, London WC2B 5NG

INDIA: National Book Agency Private Ltd. 12 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta 12.

ITALY: Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni, Via Lamarmora 45.
Casella Postale 552. 50121 Firenze
SO. CO. LIB. RI. Export-Import, Piazza Margana 33. 00186 Roma

JAPAN: Maruzen Co., Ltd., P. O. Box 5050, Tokyo International 100-31
Nauka Ltd., 2-30-19 Minami-Ikebukuro, Toshima-ku Tokyo 171

NETHERLANDS: N. V. Martinus Nijhoff, Postfach 269. 9 Lange Voorhout, Den Haag
Swets & Zeitlinger, Keizersgracht 487. Amsterdam C.

NORWAY: A/S Narvesens Litteratur Tjeneste, P. O. Box 6140 Etterstad, Oslo

POLAND: B. K. W. Z. Ruch, Warszawa, ul. Wronia 23.

RUMANIA: DEP, Bucuresti
DEP, Arad

SOVIET UNION: Soyuzpechaty, Moscow, Prospect Mira 112-a,
Pochtamt-Import, Moscow
Pochtamt-Import, Leningrad

SWEDEN: AB Nordiska Bokhandeln, Altrömergatan 22, 101-10 Stockholm

SWITZERLAND: AZED AG. Dornacherstrasse 60/62. Basel 4002.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: Center of Hungarian Literature, 4418-16th Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11204
FAM Book Service, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10003
Hungarian Books and Records, 11802 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44120
Stechert-Hafner Inc., 31 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

VENEZUELA: Luis Tarcsay, Caracas, Apartado 50.892

YUGOSLAVIA: Jugoslovenska Knjiga, Terazije 27. Beograd
Prosveta Export-Import, P. O. B. 555. Terazije 16/1. 11001 Beograd

or

Kultura Hungarian Trading Company for Books and Newspapers,
H—1389 Budapest P. O. B. 149.

Index: 26843