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The New Hungarian Quarterly

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The New Hungarian Quarterly

VOLUME XVIII * No. 66

SUMMER 1977

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

FROM THE PRESS

ARTS

MUSICAL LIFE

THEATRE AND FILM

ECONOMIC LIFE

This issue went to press on 9 February 1977

REFLECTIONS ON A CENTENARY

Most major themes treated in this issue of NHQ: foreign relations, socialist agriculture, cultural legislation, educational reform, minority rights and feelings, the present relations of church and state in this country, and even international trade, are somehow related to the life and work of a Hungarian poet who was born a hundred years ago and died in 1919. Endre Ady was one of those rare artists of genius whose impact reached far beyond their own medium and helped shape the entire cultural and intellectual profile of modern Hungary. This is a country whose geographical location and historical conditions inescapably burdened artistic sensibility and perception with the additional and sometimes crushing responsibilities of acting as a social, political and moral compass. Ady managed to absorb the latter into the emotional and intellectual experience of his life in a way that is both universally valid and totally convincing as art. To use a point of reference that is perhaps more familiar, he followed much the same path as Bartók did, on whom he exerted a deep influence and who set some of his poems to music. They both started from a rural background in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, gradually discarding all available traditional ways of expression in order to create their own, rebelling against cultural conservatism, choosing the lonely fight of the innovator and, being deeply concerned for their country, finding themselves more and more challenged by the enormous explosive pressures, social, political and intellectual, simmering under the surface in a society which had not so long before embarked on rapid capitalist development without, however, changing its essentially feudal character. Budapest society in the early years of this century experienced the optimistic thrust and the pangs that come with rapid growth and provided a rich dough for intellectual ferment. It was, however, not quite prepared yet to fully understand and support the kinds of innovation that Bartók and Ady were soon to produce

in the face of accepted values, and so both men were, aside from relatively small groups of admirers and followers, frequently attacked, derided and ridiculed. Both were revolutionaries in their own fields. Both based their innovations not on total rejection of all tradition but, on the contrary, both dug down to the very roots of Hungarian culture and were thereby able to renew and transform not only their own art, but the entire course of Hungarian music and poetry. Bartók found his source of inspiration in folk music, while Ady identified with rebels and revolutionaries of the tempestuous Hungarian past (in which social causes intertwined with national ones) and enriched his language with that of the beautiful Hungarian Bible translation of 1590 and popular anonymous anti-Habsburg verse from the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only Hungarians are, or can be, truly aware of the fact that Ady's achievement stands beside Bartók's in scope and importance. In one of several essays he wrote on Ady whom he considered a decisive influence on his intellectual development, György Lukács pointed out that in all, and not only Hungarian, literature it was Ady's poetry in which everything that was eventually to lead to the catastrophe of the First World War found its most powerful expression.

In the same piece (*NHQ* 35) Lukács also voiced scepticism as regards the chances for a successful translation of Ady into foreign languages. Numerous attempts have been made, into English as well, and the results are none too heartening, one of the reasons being that most of the translators were enthusiasts rather than poets who aimed at total semantic accuracy and missed the poetry. The other, even weightier, reason is something of which we ourselves have become painfully aware, that Ady's poetry does not travel, a fact which has nothing to do with its value as poetry but makes its universal acceptance extremely difficult, if not outright impossible. Historical references only understood by Hungarians combine with an ingenious and highly arbitrary use of the language, the application of obsolete or self-coined words and expressions and often idiosyncratic syntax.

That is where *The New Hungarian Quarterly*'s method of giving rough literal versions plus all the explanation and factual information they may need to sympathetic and highly skilled English poets, so successful in countless other cases, clearly falls short. Right from the start we knew that this time a costlier, more painful compromise would have to be made. In order to be able, however, to present at least something of Endre Ady in English to poets from all parts of Europe when they meet in Budapest in October for the centenary celebrations, we decided to print a carefully made small selection, and two well-known English poet-translators, Edwin

Morgan and Michael Hamburger, were asked to help. *NHQ*'s literary editor was sent to Britain armed with the texts, the roughs, and all the background and technical information the latest critical scholarship could provide, to work with them. The results, we feel, though missing some of the peculiar Ady flavour and also some of the liberties only Ady could allow himself with his language, are poetry, always faithful in content and close, if not always faithful, to the form of the original. We would like to believe that only we Hungarians feel that something is missing; and, after all, *NHQ* is not intended for Hungarians who can read their Ady in the original.

Those whose interest in the man and his work, both so very Central-European and Hungarian, is kindled, will perhaps look up *NHQ* 35 which, in addition to Lukács's essay already mentioned, contains an appreciation by Dezső Keresztury, as well as two of his finest poems in Edwin Morgan's truly successful translation. A limited number of copies of this issue is still available and a letter to this office will secure one.

*

Another prominent member of the great Ady–Bartók–Lukács generation, Count Mihály Károlyi, President of the first Hungarian Republic who also figures in this issue, reached the vanguard of social and political progress from a rather different kind of background. His most prominent ancestor fought at Rákóczi's side but when the cause was lost and the Prince and many of his followers went into exile, Sándor Károlyi signed the Peace of Szatmár with the Habsburgs in 1711 and was rewarded with a title and huge estates. Mihály Károlyi was one of the richest landowners in the country—and he voluntarily began the long needed land reform by giving away his estates to peasants when, at the end of the Great War, he became President of the Republic. All his life, both at home and in exile, he remained a man of high principle, and a true statesman. To indicate the fabulous wealth he had, and also the Hungary in which this generation was young, here is a passage from A. J. P. Taylor's memoir from *NHQ* 31: "Shortly after the last war, I was in Bratislava. Károlyi happened to pass through, and we had dinner together. I asked him whether he had ever been in Bratislava before. He replied: 'Once, in 1913, when it was called Pozsony. I had heard that before 1848 the Hungarian nobles had palaces here, to live in when they attended the Diet. I wondered what had happened to mine. I found a large staff of servants and horses in the stables. The beds were made. Meals were prepared every day in case the Count happened to arrive. I had a meal and left.'—Such was old Hungary," Taylor concludes.

Such it was indeed. Ady saw it as a barren plain covered with weeds reaching the sky in an early poem, and elsewhere as "small, old guignol-country" on the crest of which sit "the peacock's envy, / a vulgar, all-usurping, gun-clutching / blackguardly rout of hunting gentry." He had countless other brilliant images and epithets of contempt and abuse, and also of passionate love, to describe it. He was keenly aware of its obsolete social structure that cried out for nothing less than revolution; he saw backwardness, ignorance and deprivation; he attacked the Catholic Church, the biggest landowner of them all, and the beneficiary of immense political power, as a main obstacle to progress. And he also recognized and dreaded the reactionary nature of a minorities policy that was sowing hatred among suppressed ethnic groups in the multilingual population that lived under the Hungarian crown. As it happens there are in this number of *NHQ* contributions of various sorts and sizes on the present-day aspects of most of these issues that once fuelled Ady's poems and journalism.

Just mentioning the topics should suffice as there is no need for a paraphrase. János Kádár's Vienna press conference in December 1976 dwelt in good part on the delicate problems of Austro-Hungarian relations, which have been excellent in recent years but have a history of friction, rivalry, domination, oppression, and armed conflict. His statements on it and other pertinent questions are supplemented, as it were, by the basic goals and principles of Hungarian foreign policy as outlined in an article by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. What this policy is all about is nothing more and nothing less than a series of continuous efforts to secure the peaceful atmosphere necessary for the building of socialism; progress, in other words, all those things that Ady stood for, without having been a Marxist: land reform, the separation of church and state, equal opportunities, abolition of entrenched privileges, a more just distribution of wealth, respect for minorities' rights, and so forth.

None of these centuries-old burning problems could be solved before the end of the Second World War, and even then not at once and with complete success. Transforming the backward and traditionally land-hungry peasant class into the efficient socialist farm operators of today who run one of the most highly developed and productive agricultural sectors in the socialist countries of Europe was a slow and painful process with many pitfalls. Studies we publish on the problems of socialist agriculture, we are frequently told, have a keenly interested readership in countries of the Third World, especially in India and Pakistan. The second and concluding section of Ferenc Donáth's in-depth study describes this transformation in rich technical detail.

The Ady parallel has perhaps been overstretched already but any Hungarian intellectual reading of relations between church and state or access to culture or the rights of national minorities cannot help being reminded of him. While still a young journalist with a provincial paper he wrote a scathing attack on the wealth and the might of the Catholic church in Nagyvárad, which has become a classic of its kind. The separation of church and state had been long overdue in his day but it only came about at the end of the forties and then in the manner typical of that period. Deputy Prime Minister György Aczél, writing here on the essentially sound relations between the state and the churches today, analyses the moving forces of this new relationship: on the one hand socialist policy which strives for a kind of unity of action between church-members and non-believers; and on the other hand the positive development which took place within the Churches themselves. He makes no secret of the fact that, in the government's view, what was a necessary and pressing political and ideological confrontation or showdown should not have turned into a conflict of power.

*

With the publication in New York of *Modern Hungarian Poetry*, a 320 page anthology collecting the best poetry printed in this journal over the last ten years or so, an important goal of *NHQ* has been achieved. In his foreword to the readers of the first issue of the magazine published in 1960, the editor said: "...so far as the limitations of translation make it possible..." (we shall publish)... "also poems, for it is in lyric poetry, perhaps, that Hungarian writing is found at its best." The book, simultaneously published by Columbia University Press in New York and Corvina Press in Budapest, contains some of the most important work Hungarian poets have produced after the war. The question now is how it will strike English and American readers. To find out, we have asked an English poet and scholar to review it for this issue of *NHQ*. Eric Mottram, who is Reader in American Studies at King's College, University of London, and a poet deeply concerned with the state of poetry in his country and elsewhere, is a new contributor to the magazine. He has not been to Hungary so far but has indicated his interest in Hungarian culture by publishing a poem on Bartók and another on the poet Ferenc Juhász in an American magazine not long ago. In his review he touches on the crucial problems of verse translation, asking to what degree the text that is there on the page in English translation should be read as a true substitute for the original; who is to be held responsible, poet or translator, for the particular given

oddities of syntax, diction, emphasis, and a good number of other factors that are involved in making a poem what it is and requiring choice and decision from both. There is no way someone unfamiliar with Hungarian can tell, Mottram concludes, and so his judgement must be based on the translations—and, we might add, on his own ear. The fact that he then goes on to discover for himself exactly those Hungarian poets whom we too think are indeed the best, is a tribute to both. And it is a particular pleasure for us that we are able to publish a review of the book that is authentic in both its praise and its criticism.

*

Readers not interested in the "frilled" world of poetry might suspect this is a poetry issue unconcerned with the more mundane aspects of life. Far from so. Even the poet Gyula Illyés, always ready to defend a just cause and to identify with the underdog, appears in it in another capacity, that of the publicist. In the wake of recent democratic development in Spain, he writes on the plight of the Basques who, like Hungarians, live surrounded by a sea of alien languages. His seemingly lighthanded treatment, also drawing on some personal recollections from his youth, is of course very serious. The question he and Lukács used to debate, i.e., whether the door leading to the oppressor's torture chamber should be pounded upon, whether resistance and action would only worsen the plight of the oppressed or eventually overcome it, is neither poetical nor just theoretical.

Those not directly involved in such work rarely think of culture as something that also has a legal side to it and that in the course of the systematic process of the democratization of culture, some legislation is also required. Imre Pozsgay, the Minister for Culture, explains why such legislation is indispensable in the broader context of the development of a socialist society, and also points out the problems involved and the areas where legislation cannot and should not mark out the way for future development.

In this age of transition when the historical framework of national economies is becoming more and more inadequate in dealing with the pressing problems of resources, division of labour and the development of the Third World, a new system of international cooperation is of utmost importance. József Bognár lays out the theoretical groundwork for such a new economic order in his article. The proposals he makes would provide for a better cooperation of countries which have a different economic order, for a more reasonable allocation of financial and material resources on an

international scale, and also for arrangements which allow Third World countries to develop their economies in a more efficient way, eventually helping them to overcome their dangerous disadvantage much faster than can be expected on the basis of their present rate of growth.

*

Ady lived and worked in an age of transition. His attitude as well as the compelling intellectual and poetic force with which he grasped and expressed those changes cannot miss their effect in this transitional age.

THE EDITORS

POEMS BY ENDRE ADY

Translated by Michael Hamburger and Edwin Morgan

I AM BREAKING NEW WATER

(Új vizeken járok)

Courage, my boat! Tomorrow's hero boards you,
Let them guffaw their fill at the drunken oarsman,
Fly, my boat,
Courage, my boat: Tomorrow's hero boards you.

Scudding, scudding, scudding always onwards,
To new, new Waters, great and virgin Waters,
Fly, my boat,
Scudding, scudding, scudding always onwards.

New horizons shimmer in the distance,
Life is new and awesome every minute,
Fly, my boat,
New horizons shimmer in the distance.

I have no use for dreams of other dreamers,
I break waters of new wants, wounds, and secrets,
Fly, my boat,
I have no use for dreams of other dreamers.

Let squares and dullards find some other minstrel,
I rise on pub-fumes or the Holy Spirit,
Fly, my boat,
Let squares and dullards find some other minstrel.

(1906) *E. M.*

BURIAL ON THE SEASHORE

(Temetés a tengeren)

On Brittany's beaches the dream comes too.
The pair of us are sleeping, white and dead
In the drab halflight of a wintry shore.

Then sturdy lads of Brittany will come,
And earnest girls draped in their long head-shawls.
A sorrowful, religious chant begins.

Singsong and mist. Roar of a heavy sea.
Into a small red boat they carry us.
And carry flowers, and fear for us, and weep.

The fury of an icy gale erupts.
Its red sails flapping, the small boat drives off.
The pair of us are running, white and dead.

(1906) *M. H.*

A POET OF THE FUTURE

(Egy jövő költő)

When in Hungarian gardens human kind,
The rose, is gone, for ever passed away,
One pure, sad youth alone will stay behind,
Needing no grief beyond that destiny.
Youth of the future, how I envy you!
For by that time, when your late song you sing,
Gone will our great Hungarian curse be too.
And no one, no one will be listening.

(1907) *M. H.*

LAZARUS AT THE PALACE GATE

(Lázár a Palota előtt)

I

Midnight. Someone is feasting.
From the luxurious palace whispering wafts
with the wind.
Someone is counting coin.
O music of music.
I have never heard such a sound.

Listen: papers of silk
Are singing a psalm, subdued and proud.
The infant metals tinkle,
Heavily gold rings out.
Tears roll down my face.

And I'm propping up the palace, idle.
Music surges, freezes, roars on.
A festive chorale indeed!
As though the whole world's joy
Were in that singing.

Whose money is it?
Tears roll down my face.
May his hands wither,
The corrupt, the happy
Hands of that wretch.

II

In a house that's tall, ornate,
To flush and celebrate
The rich have met together,
The rich are singing together
In a house that's tall, ornate.

Listen: down in the street,
At the corner, fierce, not sweet,
A psalm rings out. Lazarus sings.
Looks up to the windows and sings
From his corner, down in the street.

Now the alleys are dark and bare
Who brought such music there?
The rich turn pale,
The rich fall silent,
Now the alleys are dark and bare.

And silent Lazarus stands.
Then, a clapping of hands.
With their hands the rich applaud.
With loud laughter the rich applaud.
And silent Lazarus stands.

III

In autumn and full of sadness
Old biblical Lazarus comes.
Uneasy the rich acknowledge him.
And Lazarus breathes, walks on, keeps silent.
And together with him, unseen,
Come old great powers, limping.

Often inside his chest there's a rattling:
There's a great guffaw inside him, explosive,
But his mouth begins to twist for weeping.

For ever Lazarus is the autumnally lame,
But here on earth they are still rejoicing.
There are times when he too would like to rejoice.

And there are times when he's tempted to dance
In the reddish woods with satyrs as reddish,
And feels like dancing to limber bagpipes.

He will even stand among the lined-up dancers,
Waiting for women despite the state of his lungs,
And waiting for something that would make him laugh.

Grape juice and old wine they bring
For him to drink, the startled herd of the rich,
And he sips the sweet juice, to try it.

He tries it, and his body begins to tingle
Now at a girl, now at a woman,
And that remains his only adventure.

Asthmatic, choking, out of his chest
Rises the cough of autumn, so much
Like the groaning and moaning of lust.

And this frenzy of coughing appals
The faces and hearts around him.
Autumn comes. As though it were death.

(1907) *M. H.*

GIVE ME THOSE EYES OF YOURS

(Add nekem a szemeidet)

Give me those eyes of yours,
Let me plant them in my fading forehead,
Let me see myself as splendid.

Give me those eyes of yours,
Your blue sight always building fitly,
Adding beauty, adding pity.

Give me those eyes of yours,
That can find me beautiful
And can yearn and burn and kill.

Give me those eyes of yours,
Loving you I love myself too,
And it's your eyes I envy you.

(1907) *E. M.*

"THE LORD CARRIES OFF LIKE ELIJAH"

("Az Úr Illésként elviszi mind. . .")

The Lord carries off like Elijah all
Whom he afflicts with his great love:
Their fierily whirling hearts are
Chariots of fire sent from above.

The Elijah-people race to the sky
And stop at snow's eternal crust,
On the Himalayan icepeaks
Their chariots clank and puff up dust.

Sad exiles between sky and earth,
They are driven by the wind of fate;
Up to fiendish cool perfections
It rolls, Elijah's chariot.

Their hearts are glowing, their minds are frozen,
The earth laughs at them from below,
And then the sun takes pity, throws
Cold diamond-dust on their ice-road.

(1908) *E. M.*

IN THE BOAT OF MEDITATION

(A tűnődés csolnakján)

Meditation, sad-straked boat,
I slip you off from my death-port:
We go
And I let my blue flag float.

My old, fast craft still beckons me,
But I leave the all of life behind me,
We go,
And may our wake efface memory.

This is marvellousness, the finest,
Our soul is being laid in state,
We go,
Our life and all: godspeed at last.

Between life and death is our ocean;
Drawn by a divine far-off confusion
We go,
Set on the waters of meditation.

Meditation, sad-straked boat,
I slip you off from my death-port:
We go,
Till sun-death cuts tomorrow short.

(1910) *E. M.*

IN TIME'S SIEVE

(Az idő rostájában)

Holding a giant sieve,
Time stands, for ever sifting,
Picking out and sifting whole worlds,
Quite cheerfully, not bitter at all.
And nobody minds but those who are dropped.

Whoever falls through the mesh deserves it.
Time has no pity for chaff.
The miasmal desires of senile nations,
Worlds that have lost their fire, broken lives:
All these deserve death, their loss no matter.

Let me speak the new words of prophets:
Not those who disavow the past
But those who are no seed for the future
Will always fall through the sieve:
Worlds, nations, ideas grown effete.

They withered and fell away,
Proclaims the new prophet-song,
But the Lord and Time endure.
Listless nations decay
And, with them, the spotless Lots.

Oh for the senile, the unfulfilled,
And oh for me, sharing my kind's fate.
How truly we're falling through
The cruel giant sieve,
Disapproved by Time.

(1914) *M. H.*

BEFORE THE DISPERSAL

(A szétszóródás előtt)

> *"And in his estate shall stand up a vile person . . . but he shall come in peaceably and . . . he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province . . . he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strongholds, even for a time." Daniel 11.*

Our War God also scatters his people, then:
That is the way of the stricter gods,
As a dejected Transylvanian priest
Wrote long ago,
Looking for our blood kinship with the Jews.

With bad morals we came to a bad place,
Highwaymen once, then midwaymen,
And while our gentry preyed on their peers and
the poor
Hailstorms ruined our sloppy dreams,
And even our Temple remains unbuilt.

Never we stood firm, never could hold our ground,
And that, from the beginning, has been our curse.
Not even our lecherous blood is ours.
Anything may come to take our place:
It's us our ravaging has ravaged.

Nor world-wide shall our kind be scattered,
Victorious even in forsakenness:
We were not steeled in the hot rage of ages,
But in the foundry of the world shall melt,
Lost to the world because we lost ourselves.

(1914) *M. H.*

NIGHT TOWER

(Torony az éjszakában)

Silent village, summer's night.
Staring out, white and worried,
The tower
Imagines blood-news from the burning
Wrinkled world.

Keeps its bells unmoving, mute,
Sends no message to the god
It houses,
Stands, trembles, stares: a tower
That seems spellbound.

Marvellously the clouds in the sky
Swim, skim across the moon,
And the tower
Greets its moon, its celestial
Bus of wisdom.

But what is a tower to the moon
That's never anxious, never late,
Not startled
When this little earth-star takes
Knocks from fate.

Maybe tomorrow our godly guard
Will be plastered bright, and the blood will fly,
Our tower,
And our martial past will show its verb:
Conquer or die.

Maybe tomorrow the tower will avow
Its old heroic falcon-times,
And its sons,
The bells, stop dreaming and begin
Their linking chimes.

Only the moon will jog along,
And the earth too, when man is gone,
And the world
Of moonlit tower-rubble will
Find peace again.

(1914) *E. M.*

THE COMPLAINT OF A DISCONTENTED YOUNG MAN
(at the beginning of our conscripted century)
(Elégedetlen ifjú panasza)

Paris, Peking... London or Rome?
How dreary is this city, the world!
City or village, it all means the same: nothing.
To move from one place to another
Is utterly senseless now.
If only something different,
A great affray would begin.

For who can still bear this greyness
In which liars brightly sparkle?
O clenched fist, come:
Let this worthless life capsize
And Death, the great doctor, come,
And after death a great opening of eyes,
And horrors.
Something different, come!
Revolutions, why do you wait?

Blood, blood, blood.
Human beings will be more beautiful
Once they have cleansed themselves with blood,
And better too.
So come with your angels and trumpets,
Day of Wrath.
And come with your millions of troops,
Drive the vigour of youth into
This dreary globe of ours.
And come, redeeming rifle!
Amen.

(1918) *M. H.*

NEW PROPHET'S CURSE

(Mai próféta átka)

> *"... the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence... and they shall seek peace, and there shall be none... Mischief shall come upon mischief..." Ezekiel 7.*

More shamed than the spat upon,
I probe my muscles, my mood:
Where has the frenzy gone
That rages heavenward?
Has cursing even decayed?

Have we hurtled down into Hell,
As though for scourging and purging
We'd lacked the fury to yell?
Never before have His Angels
Destroyed a whole era so well.

We can't even count our losses,
Nor die of new losses to come.
We act like sleepwalkers, numb,
And dream like numb sleepwalkers, acting.
No devil has fallen as we have.

Already the shame of all beasts
Is God's famous offspring, Man,
And even the prophets gibber:
Deeper Hell! More of Nothing!
Give us that, famous Lord. Amen.

(1918) *M. H.*

LONG LIVE THE VICTOR

(Üdvözlet a győzőnek)

Don't tramp on it too heavily,
Don't stamp on it too heavily,
Our beautiful, poor, blood-slowed heart
Which—look!—still tries to race.

Sad black-starred folk the Hungarians,
Knew revolution and they brought us
The remedy, War, that Vampire,
Blackguards damned even in their graves.

A dull rumbling fills our barracks,
Oh how much blood they have to remember,
Oh crypts of mourning, crypts of horror.
Catafalque, catafalque at your door.

We were the idiots of the earth,
Poor drained-out Hungarians,
And now let the conquerors come:
Long live the victor.

(1918) *E. M.*

THE TIMELINESS OF ADY

by

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

"From Seir did the Lord call to me: Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night?"

That is how Endre Ady expressed his sense of calling. It is the epigraph of "On the Margin of the Book of Isaiah," written during the Great War.

The poet Ady was born into an impoverished Calvinist family, a member of the petty nobility, in 1877, the first year of that Russo-Turkish War which served as the occasion of the Congress of Berlin, which defined the European situation for some forty years. He died in 1919, surviving the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—and Apollinaire—by three months.

Bearing in mind Bloch's notion of generation used so tellingly by S. H. Hughes in his *Reorientation of European Thought (1880 to 1930)*, Ady's contemporaries in and outside the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy included men like Freud, Kafka, Buber, Bartók, Bergson, Apollinaire, Proust, Blok, Gorky, Bial, Cavafy, Joyce, and Edgar Lee Masters.

The books of the prophets were occasional writings and so were those by the poet, short-story writer and journalist Endre Ady. Ady was an attentive and desperate witness to Hungarian and European events of two decades, ending in 1918. With the determination of a prophet he tried to call the attention of the nation to the national and international catastrophes that loomed ahead, calling to action as well.

I

I know of no poet anywhere who stressed his national allegiance more consistently than Ady. He kept on repeating that he was Hungarian—with false and true pride, in despair, but in the first place to state the simple

fact. The social and political establishment of the time called him a traitor to his country, someone purely destructive. The literature then written on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary belonged to Europe and the world. A Serbian poet, Todor Manoylovich, who had translated poems by Ady into German in 1910, described the Hungarian poet and Apollinaire as precursors of the modern spirit in a collection of verse published in Belgrade in 1930. The Slovak poet Jan Smrek spoke of Ady as a world-size poet. Avigdor Hameiri, admitted to emulating him not only in a volume of poems in Hebrew published in Hungary in 1912, but in later works as well. Examples could be continued by the dozen, they are not meant to illustrate Ady's early influence or impact on the literature of other nations. There is another, quite different, reason. At a time of bitter hatred between nations Ady stressed his nationality more than anybody and the fact that he belonged to one of the ruling nations of the Habsburg Empire. And yet poets from the ethnic minorities did not feel hurt in their sensitivities. Instead they were encouraged by him, showed affection for him and translated his poems into their own language, trying to make him their own.

Ady stressed his Hungarian nationality in the last 15 years of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This state organization, which came into being through the Compromise of 1867, has recently been a subject much debated by scholars. The question is who dominated this state headed by Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary. It has been held in Austria for a hundred years past, irrespective of political attitude, that the Hungarians dominated. In Hungary, however, the majority, if not all, and again regardless of political attitude, felt the Austrians did. In the last ten to fifteen years Hungarian historians have been striving to provide a more subtle analysis of the issue, rejecting the earlier view that Hungary was a mere Austrian colony. Lack of space does not allow me to go into detail and describe the Hungarian domestic political scene at the turn of the century, including the relationship with Vienna of various dominant Hungarian groups. I only want to note that Ady, earlier known for his brilliant journalism, when he wrote his first poems, expected the Habsburgs to carry out long overdue reforms, such as the introduction of universal suffrage.

Defence, foreign affairs and finances were handled by Austro-Hungarian ministers, but Hungary as well as Austria had independent governments and parliaments. Hungary in 1910 had 20,886,487 inhabitants, 48 per cent Hungarians, the rest ethnic minorities (Germans, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, etc.). In 1910 a mere 5.9 per cent of the country's population were entitled to vote, and 8 out of a total of

Aladár Székely / Courtesy Petőfi Literary Museum

Endre Ady, 1909

Aladár Szíkely

ENDRE ADY AND "LÉDA" (ADÉL BRÜLL), SUMMER OF 1907

▼ ENDRE ADY AND "CSINSZKA" (BERTA BONCZA), HIS WIFE, 1915

Aladár Székely

ENDRE ADY AND HIS MOTHER, 1917

413 members of parliament were non-Hungarians. The ethnic minorities were looked upon as Hungarians on the basis of the one state—one nation principle. Especially at the turn of the century there were efforts to Magyarize the ethnic minorities.

Following the Compromise of 1867, the official liberal Hungarian policy tended to regard as Hungarians everybody who claimed to be Hungarian (that is why the liberals opposed the anti-Semites who wanted to reverse Jewish emancipation in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.) Gyula Szekfű, the pro-Habsburg Catholic Hungarian historian, soon after the collapse of the Monarchy thought this policy was an error and weakness of Hungarians. However, a more recent English historian of the Monarchy, Edward Crankshaw, judged it to be the strength of Hungarians. Ady himself, who always stressed that his family was noble and Hungarian from way back, supported the official Hungarian liberal policy when he wrote: "Robbed, poor little Hungarian, my arm extends to him, who was turned Hungarian, by reason, order, fate, intention, or occasion."* (Prose translation.)

But that is the only similarity between Ady and the official policy. Ady, when he claimed to be Hungarian, was at the same time a most severe critic of his nation, as the prophets were in their time. He rejected Hungarian nationalism including the theory of cultural superiority and proclaimed the equality of nations and minorities. The nobleman Ady considered social discriminations and privileges shameful and the Calvinist Ady recognized that denominations were of equal value. His biggest political foe was the prime minister, Count István Tisza, himself a Calvinist, called by Ady the "fool of Geszt" (The Tisza estate. The Ed.). Ady was a native of the Partium, Eastern Hungary, whose historical development along with Transylvania's differed from that of most of the country largely due to the particular course of events in the Turkish period and at the time of the Reformation. The Ottomans occupied the central part of Hungary for 150 years, the West and North were under Habsburg Kings who, shortly before 1700, drove out the Turks and also seized the Partium and Transylvania which had been ruled by semi-independent Hungarian princes. Religious tolerance had prevailed there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and it remained an important factor despite the extension of the counter-Reformation due to Habsburg rule.

* Kirabolt, szegény, kis magyar,
Kitárul felé a karom,
Kit magyarrá tett értelem,
Parancs, sors, szándék, alkalom.

Ady's claiming to be Hungarian in despair, in pride and always not only did not offend the sensitivity of other nations and ethnic minorities but encouraged and justified it.

This was obviously not the only reason why they did not feel Ady's Hungarian patriotism to be offensive in "The Song of Hungarian Jacobins." That poem closely resembled in concept a poem "To the Peoples of the Caucasus" by the Armenian Tumanyan. Ady said: "The Danube and the Olt speak with one voice,"* going to declare that "Hungarian, Vlach and Slav sorrow will always be one sorrow."** (Prose translations.)

In the closing lines, the poet calls on the Hungarian and non-Hungarian oppressed to join forces. Of course, just one poem can be chance, even an error. But Ady was, from early youth, opposed to all kinds of nationalism, in print or by word of mouth. As early as 1903 he wrote in despair that the nationalists would soon go to the Social Democrats to learn how to become nationalists, and Jaurès already saw himself in an emperor's cloak. These lines express despair and in an article in 1900 he wrote: "Nordau puts it with alarming cleverness: it is a peculiar characteristic of the age that men are either radical or reactionary. There is not one conservative among us... If our enemies were conservatives, an opportunist kind of liberalism would do. But our enemies are reactionary, therefore our duty is to be radicals." That is why he tended towards the Social Democrats. In his act he was all confirmed by the last will of Mommsen who said the liberals could only manage to keep militarism, nationalism and clericalism at bay with the support of the Social Democrats. That is why the nationalism of the Socialists shocked Ady, who, however, softened his attitude, and bade a last farewell to Jaurès in a magnificient poem when he was murdered.

During the First World War Ady proudly called himself an internationalist though there was a press campaign against him. Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig, Landauer, and Ady as well turned against the war. He raised his voice against official war-mongering, the "betrayal" by the clercs, be they Hungarian or French.

That is the point where Ady's personality can best be understood. He professed to be internationalist by passionately stressing that he was Hungarian. He persistently asserted his nobility but also called for a bourgeois revolution in the absence of which the Hungarians would perish. He called the proletarians "my own blood," dedicating his heart, "this old Ark of the Covenant" to them. Ady never pretended to be bourgeois or

* Dunának, Oltnak egy a hangja

** Hiszen magyar, oláh, szláv bánat
Mindigre egy bánat marad.

proletarian, or a nobleman ashamed of his ancestry. He was a class-conscious nobleman with a clear conscience, and a Calvinist versed in the doctrine of predestination. As such, he wrote in the 1908–9 volume of the periodical *Szocializmus:* "This new literature, even if it does not seem socialist (it probably is not) from afar and in feudal and bourgeois heads, still exists through and by socialism. Its symbolism and alleged incomprehensibility symbolize what these people cannot and, what is more, do not want to understand. The devil knows only what will happen to this country near the Danube and the Tisza. The devil only knows what this Potemkin interest in literature will add up to. One thing is certain and the author of these lines senses it and acts by it: this literary war is an offspring of the social war—that is why so many fear it (so many and so movingly, ludicrously, a promising sign of beauty and great things for the writers and this sad country.)"

The "new literature" and the "literary war" are linked to the name of Ady. To avoid misunderstanding, Hungarian intellectual life was certainly not barren at the time when Ady appeared. The torsion balance of the physicist Loránd Eötvös had prepared the ground for Einstein's theory of relativity. A school of mathematics existed in Budapest. There were brilliant historians like Henrik Marczali.* Energetic, young sociologists were coming forward like Oszkár Jászi, who was influenced by Spencer, Durkheim and Fraser. Works by Marx were beginning to be reckoned among the indispensable criteria of general knowledge, almost irrespective of party standing. Some of Freud's early disciples lived in Budapest, including Sándor Ferenczi. The arts scene was also truly alive. The painter Csontváry's strange genius was, however, still a figure of fun. Budapest opera performances had an international reputation. Béla Bartók was a contemporary of Ady's.

Poetry was, however, still barren. Young men who pursued their studies at universities, were ready to come forward fully equipped after Ady's first important poetry was published. These perceptive members of the young and old generation made up the staff of the journal *Nyugat* (founded in 1908, wound up in 1941), whose leading member was undoubtedly Ady. *Nyugat* has often been called the Hungarian *Nouvelle Revue Francaise.* Ady's influence was vital from two points of view: he created a new kind of poetry, and changed the political and social views of the large public regarding the role and possibilities of poetry.

But the age was a burial-ground for poetry. One of the best names in Hungarian criticism, Ignotus, himself eight years older than Ady, and a great supporter of the new in literature said that the "murdering analysis"

* See NHQ 49

of Ricardo and Marx "who had the greatest impact on contemporary thinking," was incompatible with the "synthesis of poetry." In the view of the German Social Democrat Franz Mehring, the bourgeoisie was no longer able to produce great poetry, and the proletariat could not do so as yet. Nietzsche and Max Nordau spoke about the bankruptcy of contemporary poetry. Much later, T. S. Eliot justified, as it were, these ideas when he said he could learn nothing from English poets of the age before him. The poems of Gerald Manley Hopkins which so stimulated Auden's generation were only published by Robert Bridges in 1918.

From the vantage-point of 1977 this feeling of vacuum seems justified. Nekrasov and Blok were separated by decades just as Heine and Rilke and Verlaine and Mallarmé were from Valéry and Apollinaire, as Tennyson and Swinburne were from Pound and Eliot. Rubén Dario and Bialik, Pessoa and Cavafy created great poetry without direct predecessors. To oversimplify the case, one might say that at the moment when renowned and influential politicians, philosophers and critics buried poetry, the young men who would later be the creators of a twentieth-century poetry renaissance from Russia to Latin America, were just maturing, still unrecognized.

"I was not born to be a poet, but to be the Whole, the Whole is all I wanted, and I am entitled to Nothing," Ady wrote.* (Prose translation.) In prose he commented: "Nothing proves better our sad and beautiful primitivism than the fact that we have to get life and death out of literature." Hungarian intellectual life was not dead at Ady's coming. But he was the one who after many years of practice and experience as a brilliant journalist unexpectedly synthetized the great questions of life and death in poetry.

II

"Sometime back in the past, old documents show, we used to be a prominent and rich family, but by the sixteenth-century we had become the noblemen with the seven plum-trees sort.** A many-horse-powered arrogance in our souls signifies that with greater skill we could still have the power of dynasties. My mother's side were all ministers of religion, men of learning and poetry, followers of Calvin since the beginnings of protestantism. My mother's father was the minister in Érmindszent where I was

* Én nem költőnek, de Mindennek jöttem,
A Minden kellett, és megillet a Semmisem.

** I.e. owning no more than seven plum-trees. A common figure of speech at the time to describe the poor lesser nobility. [The Ed.]

born... I am only just 31, and my doctor, the scholarly Konried, is puzzled, since my blood, body and nerves are dangerously ancient. I inherited a precocious, foolish sensitivity, I understood, loved and suffered early... Goethe's *Tasso* and the poet János Vajda won me over to poetry... My first poem was published in 1896... In Nagykároly in 1890–91, at the Piarist college, some of my classmates and I produced handwritten broadsheets. I would be a different man today if they had not switched me from a Calvinist school to a Catholic one. Then, after the Fathers, a new world again in the Calvinist college at Zilah. I was good at my work, among the best, sad family memories tightened the reins. Even so there were complaints. When I started working at a newspaper office as a law student in Debrecen, everybody except my poor martyr-mother said that was the end of me. From Debrecen... where I had my first collection of poems published, I moved on to Nagyvárad to earn my living as a journalist."

After Nagyvárad, Paris; then back to Budapest. The following passages are quoted from an autobiographical article by Ady published in 1908:

"I had no teachers, didn't need them, because I was living, and I really sensed life. I felt deeply, I was determined to live fully, to the limit, and because of my intemperate thirst for life do my physicians shake their heads so disbelievingly after a check-up. I wanted to tell all, all the instincts of a Hungarian living today, everything that drives on contemporary man like a belt drives the wheel. Today I can claim: I believe I am the conscience of Hungarians today, the civilized Hungarians, I feel myself to be their conscience, and this conscience cannot always be clear. What I have done so far, I realize, and what I could still do, I realize that too. Right now I do not expect anyone to see me as I really am, and I would not like it myself if Endre Ady were well-known or famous for his true merits. Right now I should like to force life to grant me two-three-four tolerable years, and I would also like to sleep, and write a couple of things I alone am capable of writing. And that Doctor Konried should look at me next week in a more relaxed, relieved and confident manner after he has done all his examinations. I would also like my enemies to whom I am most grateful for giving me stubbornness, arrogance and superhuman strength, to keep up the stimulation."

After publishing two insignificant collections of poems in 1899 and 1903 (he later wrote that for years he had been afraid to write more poems lest he "should make it to the college of meek poets"), the first really noteworthy book by Ady appeared in 1906, his *Új Versek* (New Poems). The book's prologue, which is a prologue to Ady's mature poetry, is a programme and provocation in one:

"I travelled the famous Verecke road, An ancient Hungarian tune still rings in my ear,"* (prose translation) says the poet, identifying with those said to have come that way a thousand years earlier to settle in present-day Hungary. The poet, returning from Western Europe now wants to break into the country "with the new songs of new times." And this song "...should it be condemned by Pusztaszer is nevertheless victorious, still new and yet Hungarian."** Pusztaszer—where the conquering Hungarians held their first-ever legislative assembly in the country a thousand years ago—is the symbol of Hungarian backwardness and reaction in the poem. From then on the poet vows to be the "hero of tomorrow" who keeps on demanding "new and new horses" until he dies lest "I turn into a pillar of salt before the wonders of today," he writes in one of his last poems.

Not even Ady was left unaffected by the influence of Baudelaire. In the "New Poems" appeared the Hungarian translations of three of Baudelaire's sonnets. Later, in 1917, on the 50th anniversary of Baudelaire's death, he wrote: "...he is our suffering, mournful ancestor, Carducci, Swinburne, Dehmel, and the much smaller Bryusov are his direct and undeniable offspring. He encouraged me, as I did others, but I shook him off for his Gallic forms, even though I adored him for them." At the time of the publication of "New Poems" and *Vér és Arany* (Blood and Gold) (1907) Nietzsche was another influence. Especially Zarathustra's creativity carried Ady away to the extent that he expressed from time to time his criticism of Hungarian domestic conditions with Nietzschean symbols. Ady thought the Hungarian Zarathustra, published in 1908, noteworthy: "The time has come for us to translate Nietzsche's most Nietzschean work into Hungarian. In this unique semi-Asiatic society never-before existing needs, peculiarities and documents are born. One is that a greater role awaits the intellectuals here than in any other country. Socialism will hardly be able to cope with the masses now led by adventurers. Bourgeois radicalism is practically unknown here... Confessional freethinking is barely more than nothing, and freemasonry is an unveiled bogey... One thing I should say for Hungary is that when she is on the way to becoming another Spain with her established clericalism, there does already exist a militant camp of intellectuals to fight it. This camp or at least part of it is fortified by the translation produced by Samu Fényes."

One of Ady's most personal, self-revealing confessions is to be found in

* Verecke híres útján jöttem én,
Fülembe még ősmagyar dal rivall.

** ... ha elátkozza százszor Pusztaszer,
Mégis győztes, mégis új és magyar.

an obituary on Ibsen. Let several passages from the necrologue "Ibsen Is Dead" stand here. In parantheses I will quote (in prose) from some poems of Ady to show that the poet reveals the same thing about himself or his nation that he says about Ibsen. They comment on some of his statements. "A grim and magnificent Messiah of the North rebelled for the last time and then died." (Ady called himself Messiah several times.) "The tragedy of his life and personality is twofold. That of the offspring of a ruined family and the son of a small nation." (Both problems worried Ady.) "Nobody has put up a more human and majestic fight with life than the apothecary apprentice of Grimstadt." ("We have fought our fight," wrote Ady of himself and his Hungarian political allies.) "It is certain that he suffered much from hunger when young. It is certain that he went through all the calvary stations of exceptional souls. The life of a hundred persons cannot be as rich as his." ("He was free a hundred times in a hundred forms," he wrote of himself.) "Do you want to know what became of the ape-descendant walking on two legs who is called man? Three people answered that question at the turn of the century: Ibsen, Spencer and Tolstoy. First his being a Norwegian pushed him into inferno. He castigates and flails his petty types." ("We need Mohács," exclaims Ady. Mohács is the scene of a crucial defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks in 1526, a great national tragedy.) "He is all but crazy with joy when he can flee abroad." ("Paris is my Bakony," Ady says elsewhere. The Bakony forest in western Hungary used to be a highwaymen's hideout.) "Beneath the skies of Italy does he feel and see the tragedy and comedy of the new type of man in its formidable reality." (His repeated trips abroad, especially to Paris, helped Ady to understand the problems of the Hungarian reality and international issues.) "Man in society: this becomes the question, the damnation, the snake biting his honest and free heart. The fate and fall of the personality: that is the horror of his tragedies, verse or non-verse, vivid visions... The yearning, will or vice of past centuries exudes from an Ibsen character." ("Until I came, they couldn't even cry beautifully," wrote Ady or: "The intention in me is the intention of many centuries.")

"Then he pushed forward. He could no longer be angry with society like before. And the world slowly followed in his track. But where was he by then? He soared higher and higher... Until he reached the spot where he felt it was best to be alone." (Ady: "I Am Praying to My Holy Self.")

Ibsen, fashionably criticized earlier, turned to be a key figure at the turn of the century. In a letter addressed to Chekhov, Gorky hankered after a Russian Ibsen. The then 19-year-old James Joyce wrote a letter to the

73-year-old Ibsen: "In your absolute indifference to the public canon of art, friends and shibboleth, you walked in the light in your inward heroism... I give you greeting—not humbly, because I am in obscure and you are in glory, not sadly, because you are an old and I am a young man, but joyful with hope and love." Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* chose his own destiny in the spirit of that letter.

In May 1906 Ady wrote: "Ibsen soared into the skies as an anti-Elijah: on the carriage of frost." In 1908 Ady published a collection entitled *Az Illés szekerén* (On the Carriage of Elijah): "The Lord carries off like Elijah all / Whom he afflicts with his great love: / Their fierily whirling hearts are / Chariots of fire sent from above."* (Translated by Edwin Morgan. See the whole poem on p. 15—The Ed.)

The collection was a turning-point in the then mature poet's career. Other collections like "New Poems" and "Blood and Gold" mainly contained love songs and political verse. Love had never been treated like that in Hungarian, not before Ady. As for the political verse, Ady called Hungary the "big desert" where "the Hungarian Messiahs are a thousand times Messiahs." A special feature of the "Blood and Gold" cycle was the new tone concerning money in Hungarian poetry and prose, used by Ady. Money and sexuality were taboos which Ady ignored.

The "On the Carriage of Elijah" cycle was a turning-point for two reasons. The journalist Ady had from the beginning of the century dealt with the struggle of the proletariat and (more seldom) his own religious problems. But the fact that these problems can be subject of verse and the possibilities of poetry are richer than those of prose, was demonstrated only in "On the Carriage of Elijah."

The second turning-point concerns the Bible. There had been earlier biblical references ("I am sitting by the waters of Babylon") but it was from 1908 on that the Bible became a regular source of reference for Ady. For the first time the Bible was used to enrich the idiom of modern Hungarian poetry, i.e. the Bible in the beautiful sixteenth-century version by Gáspár Károli as well as Albert Szenczi Molnár's metrical psalms of 1606. From 1908 and rather from 1914 on, Ady declared himself to be the descendant of Old Testament prophets. He used variations and paraphrases of Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Joel, and Hosea among others to express the tragedy of the First World War. The last great period in Ady's poetry

* Az Úr Illésként elviszi mind
Kiket nagyon sujt és szeret:
Tüzes, gyors szíveket ad nekik
Ezek a tüzes szekerek

coincides with the Great War. His poems of the time are contained in the collections *A halottak élén* (Heading the Dead, 1918) and the posthumous *Az utolsó hajók* (The Last Ships, 1923).

In October 1914, the U.S. ambassador in London wrote to President Wilson: "It is not the same world as it was the last July, nothing is the same." Ady struck a similar note in his poem "*Mai próféta átka*" (New Prophet's Curse). The epigraph "... the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence... they shall seek peace, and there shall be none. Mischief shall come upon mischief..." is from Ezekiel, Chapter 7.

The poet answers that he will not withdraw from history that "has become unbearable."

"Guards, be on guard, life lives and wants to live," although "It is so sad to be a man, and the gospels of animal-heroes are terrible."*

Also during the First World War he wrote: "Horror belongs only to Today." "Let my eyes look over the monstrosities of a brief Today."** He did not give up the "dream of joy."

III

Tradition can put shackles on you, or it can inject a new lease of life into you. Tradition gives Ady new strength, he is released through tradition. All of tradition and not just a small fragment.

I have already mentioned that he hearkens to Baudelaire, Marx, Nietzsche, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Jaurès. He spoke through the voice of the prophets of the Old Testament. Christ moved him passionately. During the First World War there were times when Ady completely identified with him. Many other times, mainly in the period of the "New Poems" and "Blood and Gold," he resorted to Greek themes. At the same time he never failed to avow that he was the "nobleman crying for his people." In a poem he called himself the grandson of the nobleman leader of the sixteenth-century great peasant revolution, György Dózsa, who was burned on a throne of fire.

Ady stood for three things in Hungary's tradition of the nobility:

* Őrzők, vigyázzatok a strázsán,
Az élet él és élni akar...
.....
Oly szomorú embernek lenni
S szörnyüek az állat-hős igék.

** S csak a Máé a rettenet.

Förtelmeit egy rövid Mának
Nézze tul szemem.

the nobleman identifying himself with the people, fighting for independence and for bringing about culture. He severely criticized Brunetière for announcing the bankruptcy of science. When the law and sociology professor Bódog Somló was hampered in disseminating his views in Hungary, Ady passionately defended free scientific enquiry.

Despite his noble origin, Ady fought for a bourgeois Hungary, and looked ahead to socialism. He wrote an article on the possible alliance of Calvinism and socialism as early as 1902.

The prologue to the collection *A magunk szerelme* (The Love of Our Selves, 1913) is one of Ady's most important poems because he defines his own scale of values and interest in it. Only two things are vital to him: politics and love.

His life is only worthwhile as long as he can "talk in a stubborn way" with his "palatine-electing" ancestors, and "can chase women after words and meetings." (The palatine was the highest-ranking dignitary after the king.) Ady's sense of vocation drew on three sources: the nobleman (the freedom of the Hungarian nobleman was the greatest in Europe, next to Poland), the poet and the Bible-reading Calvinist. In the sixteenth and mainly the seventeenth century the Calvinists represented the best Hungarian aspirations for independence against the Habsburg rulers. Freedom of religion was from time to time supported by the English and Dutch, mostly allies of the Habsburgs. Calvinist students frequented Dutch and Scottish universities. Ady's afore-mentioned internationalism was threefold: it drew on the nobleman, the poet, the Calvinist, but his internationalism was also based on radicalism, and last but not least on socialism. The Calvinist Ady talking about his "palatine-electing ancestors" reached out to the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to the ethnic minorities resident in Hungary, and intransigently criticized the aristocracy and the clergy. Ady, who considered himself to be responsible only to his inner self and his personal God, discussed taboo subjects such as sex.

Ady was a contemporary of Freud. To the best of my knowledge, he never wrote his name down, though he must have heard about him having been Sándor Ferenczi's patient in 1913. I do not think it was chance that Ady never wrote Freud's name down since he could not have been of interest to the poet. Freud regarded Nietzsche as the man who knew himself best—and Ady knew his inner self in a Nietzschean way. His origin, education, social position, sense of vocation enabled him not to lie to himself, and face the socio-moral, or as he called it, the "pseudo-moral" taboos. He discussed his sexual yearnings as openly as his V.D.

Sexual anguish, characteristic of the Vienna of Freud, almost completely

lacked in Ady. Sexuality was not a problem of individual psychology for him, but a political issue. He wrote sarcastically: "In this awkward country it is patriotism that determines a man's performance as a male." He was a proud, handsome male, sure of himself, who even dared to reveal his failures. His constant homelessness and search for companionship was not caused by the lack of sexual partners or by sexual problems. As a journalist at Nagyvárad, he was admired by women. Ady's problems originated apart from sexual issues. Despite the reminiscences of Baudelaire, his poems may be read as if they had been written after the sexual revolution.

All the nuances of mood in the man–woman relationship were recorded in his poems. Ady was yearning after women like Petrarca (he always had a soft spot for the Italian poet), he called women "the lovely, sustaining" ships who carry through life, of whom "none was less—and none of them was worth more." He complained that "Our stimulant, our real self woman has been torn from inside us."* "For through me you live, I saw you first / and you are long dead long out of my eyes."** (Graceful Message of Dismissal, translated by Edwin Morgan. See the poem in NHQ 35.)

Dozens of Ady's love poems ought to be quoted only to intimate the rich variety of his poetry. But poems should inevitably have been cited here that tell infinitely more than any commentary. Experience suggests and Hungarian literary opinion holds that Ady's poetry is untranslatable. Should the future prove the contrary, what is it that does make his translation a tough job?

Ady wrote mostly in rhymed stanzas. There is no other Hungarian poet whose treatment of rhymes, use of stanzas, and within each stanza the length and rhythm of each line, is more varied than his. With some exaggeration one might say that no two poems use an identical technique. In a particular way he transformed the form of expression of seven hundred years of Hungarian lyrical poetry. His technique was influenced by the language of the psalms, the *Kalevala* and the modern French poets. His vocabulary is rich and has several layers, extending from long-forgotten words to the most up-to-date. What's more, he uses them arbitrarily. Ady drew for his images and idiom on the scriptures, classical antiquity, Hungarian folk poetry, the symbols of the contemporary labour movement, the events of Hungarian history, and the works of nineteenth-century poets and philosophers. Each of his poems is a synthesis of the content, rhythm and

* Ösztönzőnk, igazi valónk,
Kiszakadt belőlünk az asszony.

** Általam vagy, mert meg én láttalak
S régen nem vagy, mert már régen nem látlak.

metaphor of many civilizations. Today, 100 years after his birth and nearly 60 years after his death one gets the impression when reading his best lines that Ady's special language and poetry are being composed under our very eyes.

Obviously no great poet can have an *alter ego*, but there are degrees. It appears to me that of all the Hungarian poets Ady is the least possible to mimic. Malraux says in the *Musée imaginaire* that the truly great artists are like next-of-kin. He probably meant that they are so rich, so versatile that they make the reader, spectator and admirer receptive to new vistas and possibilities. I cannot tell what Ady may possibly mean to readers abroad in 1977. But a Hungarian, thanks to him, becomes at the same time receptive to the past and present of Hungarian and universal culture.

THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL POLICY

by

FRIGYES PUJA

The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic coincides in its major features with that of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. In the developed capitalist countries some seek to put a false interpretation on this fact; articles are published suggesting that Hungarian foreign policy does not lay emphasis on national interests and has nothing specifically Hungarian about it. It would be wrong to exaggerate such misrepresentations but they may confuse some people all the same. Taking this as my starting point, I think it appropriate to clarify some connected questions.

There is no need to stress specially that Hungary, like other socialist countries, formulates its home and foreign policies independently, on its own, and that there is, and can be, no outside interference. There are deeply embedded reasons of principle and policy which explain why Hungarian foreign policy and that of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are in harmony. One must however also show awareness of specific aspirations and specific traits in the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic as well as in that of other socialist countries.

I

The main objective of the current foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security. Lasting peace and firm security is at the centre of foreign policy activities, and all the steps taken serve this purpose. Such a definition of the major objective is not contingent but results from the principles we hold, from the character of the socialist system, and the soundly interpreted interests of the people. Only in conditions of international peace

can we carry out the great and beautiful tasks we have set ourselves: to construct a socialist society, to secure a better and more promising future for the Hungarian nation.

The general lines of foreign policy were determined with a view to the carrying out of the major objective. These can be summed up as follows:

1. Strengthening the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, adding to their political, economic and military weight; developing of multilateral relations with other socialist countries.

2. Solidarity with the forces fighting for democratic freedoms, peace and social progress in capitalist countries; and assistance to national liberation movements in their struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as imperialist oppression and aggression.

3. Multilateral cooperation with the newly independent developing countries.

4. Peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems; a consistent safeguarding of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Why then does this general line of Hungarian foreign policy coincide with the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community? The reasons can be summed up as follows:

—foreign policy is determined by home policy; these countries are socialist, and their foreign policy follows from the character of this system;

—the most important international interests of the peoples that dwell in these countries are identical, and this goes for their national interests as well;

—their strategic and most important tactical aims are also identical;

—their foreign policies are guided by identical general principles;

—their foreign policies are purposefully and systematically coordinated and brought into harmony.

In formulating its foreign policy the Hungarian People's Republic commonly takes into consideration two basic factors: (a) the national interests of the Hungarian working class and of the Hungarian nation, (b) the general interests of the international working class and of the socialist community. Hungarians are convinced that their country was only able to emerge from semi-colonical status and the backwardness of centuries by taking the road towards socialism. Only the building of socialism can secure the progress, the prosperity and well-being of the population. The objective set by the 11th Party Congress, the successful building of a developed socialist society, is today a vital national interest.

Service in the cause of the Hungarian nation and working class requires

first of all that national duties be properly carried out. But not only this; it implies also that Hungarians must do as much as is in their power to further the common interests of the socialist countries.

Bearing in mind international working-class interests in Hungarian foreign policy means that an endeavour is made to promote the common strategic aim also using official government policy; Hungary contributes to the strengthening, development and growth of the world socialist system, to making it more what it should be like—an example to be followed by the nations fighting against oppression, for the radical transformation of society; a basis and hope of the revolutionary movements.

As can be seen, the national and international interests of the working class are dialectically interrelated notions which cannot be separated. The national interest of the working class is at the same time an international interest, and conversely, the international interest of the working class is at the same time an interest of the people of each and every one of the socialist countries. This in itself already refutes the claim that Hungarian foreign policy loses sight of the national interests.

Can a contradiction arise between national and international interests? This may happen, especially when leaders of a socialist country fail over a period to coordinate national with the international interests. The position of the Party on this issue was explained by János Kádár in the festive meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Party. "We take the view", he said, "that contrasting the general principles of socialist construction with national features is anti-Marxist. Omission and neglect of either disturbs, and eventually makes impossible, the building of a socialist society. Historical experience shows that national and the international interests can and must be coordinated."

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic agree with the other members of the socialist community in the strategic aim—which is to build socialism, and later communism, in their own countries and to ensure the victory of the ideas of socialism the world over. In unison with the other countries of the socialist community Hungary holds the view that the most important international political task of our days is to strengthen and preserve peace and security.

The main features of foreign policy are naturally similar in Hungary to those of the other socialist countries.

The foreign policy of Hungary—like that of the other socialist countries—is based on two general principles: proletarian internationalism and peaceful

coexistence. These two complement each other. They necessarily follow from the essence of the socialist system.

Proletarian internationalism governs Hungary's relations with the other socialist countries and the socialist-oriented developing countries which have embarked on the road of progress. Proletarian internationalism is the basis of solidarity with revolutionary movements elsewhere.

Those who write and speak about neglect of the interests of the Hungarian people are wont to refer to proletarian internationalism as something the acceptance of which is allegedly opposed to national interests. In reality the dominance of the principle of proletarian internationalism in the foreign policy of the socialist countries is important for the enforcement not only of international interests but also of national ones. The principle plays an extraordinary part in ensuring favourable outward conditions for the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is commonly known, for example, that the road towards socialism has been opened to the Hungarian people, not only by their own efforts, but by the combined international forces of socialism and of progress, first of all the assistance of the Soviet Union. Without active support from the Soviet Union and from the other socialist countries and the international proletariat Hungary could not have reached the position it now holds. This unity, based as it is on proletarian internationalism, is one of the most important forces which help us carry out our national programme. Under different circumstances and in a different form this holds true of every socialist country.

One still meets with the argument though less frequently than before that a sort of speculation is hidden behind the second general principle of Hungarian foreign policy, that of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems. The fact is that the principle of peaceful coexistence in relations between countries with different social systems, i.e. between socialist and capitalist countries, is a principle valid for the entire historic period of transition from capitalism to socialism. We know that those in the West do not like our faith in the victory of socialism and the fact that we proclaim it openly; they would rather believe in the failure of socialism. But this is another matter. Socialists do not believe that capitalism saves. But today's objective reality is that basically two social systems exist: socialism and capitalism; and unless they wish to go under in war, they must find a *modus vivendi*, a form of coexistence and cooperation. It does good to mankind as a whole if the struggle between the social systems shifts to the plane of peaceful competition, in order to prove in a peaceful manner which of the two is the better and more viable, which is fitter for the fuller satisfaction of the needs of working men.

There can be no doubt that the transition can have stages in which peaceful coexistence suffers damage through no fault of the socialist countries. In our view the socialist countries must of necessity pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence, and if they depart from it, they should do so only when they are compelled to do so by the policy of extremists in the imperialist countries.

The Hungarian People's Republic has always endeavoured to make the principle of peaceful coexistence prevail in its relations with the capitalist countries. It is no fault of ours if this endeavour has not always been successful.

The identity in general lines then of the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the other countries of the socialist community follows from the essence of the socialist system. So there is no question of imitating or copying. objective laws are being reflected by policy.

A great role is played, in addition to the objective factors, also by a subjective momentum—the readiness of the countries of the socialist community to coordinate and harmonize their foreign policies. Both Hungarian Party and Government leaders have always emphatically maintained the need and usefulness to harmonize the foreign policies of the socialist countries.

Experience shows that the socialist countries cannot rest content with stating their strategic agreement, nor can international tactical aims be achieved without the union of the forces of socialism and progress, that is without their concerted action. Unity in action has always been, and will in the future be, a guarantee of the international successes of the socialist countries and of the communist movement. This in turn demands that the leaders of the socialist countries shall coordinate their international activities by stages, step by step.

This is made indispensable also by the doings of the opponents of socialism and progress. It is an old Marxist truth that the struggle of the capitalists against the proletariat takes place on the international plane. This is true also of the moves they make against the socialist countries. There may be, and there are, divergences, sometimes sharp differences, in the foreign policies of the governments of capitalist countries, but when it comes to the main problems, to essential questions of the struggle against socialism, they can still act in unison today as well. Let us take the NATO countries as an example. Some of their leaders, while accusing the socialist countries that their foreign policy is supposedly not independent, openly say that one ought to subject national interests to common interests. What is called the common interest usually reflects the interests of the

strongest of the NATO countries, in the last analysis the interests of the most powerful international monopolies, and often has an anti-Soviet and anti-socialist content.

It is worthwhile to note that the Western propaganda agencies which take lead in discrediting the principle of the international solidarity of socialist countries support the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet "internationalism" of western conservative and other reactionary parties and their style of international solidarity. The goal is obvious: to do their utmost to weaken the forces fighting for socialism and progress, to strengthen the combination of the forces opposing progress. The best weapon against these machinations is the continuous coordination of the policies of the socialist countries and their concerted international strategy.

II

The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic bears specific traits in addition to features that agree with the other countries of the socialist community. Let us examine more closely what reason there is for these specific traits and what they manifest themselves in.

To begin with, the following must be stressed:

—The specific features of Hungarian foreign policy manifest themselves not in primary issues, that is those of a strategic character, but in the secondary issues, those of a tactical character. Consequently these specific features cannot be allowed to dominate foreign policy.

—There are situations in which one or another socialist country has greater opportunities than the others. To make use of these is not only possible but also necessary. Thereby equally good service is rendered to national and international interests.

From what do the specific traits of Hungarian foreign policy derive?

—The coordinated general line of the foreign policy of the socialist community does not, and cannot, cover all the fields of external political activity; there are possibilities which Hungary alone is interested in, making use of them in the spirit of the general policy line; what is more, Hungary alone can successfully exploit them.

—Although the interests of the Hungarian nation basically coincide with those of the other socialist countries, there could be and are specific interests as well. If the promotion of these does not conflict with the interests of the socialist community, and the international working-class Hungary is duty-bound to assert them.

—The situation of the country and nation also has an effect on foreign policy. Hungary is a small country with limited means and possibilities, it cannot pay equal attention to every field and question. Attention must be concentrated first of all on those countries, fields and matters which are most important for us so as to best serve the interests of the nation and the cause of socialism and progress. The geographical context is also influential in this respect.

—The economic situation of the country, and the scarcity of raw materials also leave their mark on foreign policy. Nearly 45 per cent of national income are realized in foreign trade. Consequently the country is extremely sensitive to the processes taking place in the world economy, and foreign policy has to devote greater attention than most to economic relations.

—One of the sources of these specific features is that the Hungarian nation—just like others—has its own national traditions, customs and historical links, which are reflected to some extent also in foreign policy. Hungarians identify themselves with the traditions of Rákóczi's independence struggle, those of the 1848 bourgeois revolution and war of independence, and of the Hungarian Republic of Councils of 1919. It is obvious that we disown all connections with the imperial merceneries, the pro-Habsburg opponents of the 1848 war of independence, or the foreign policy of Austro-Hungary or that of Horthyite fascism.

—But traditions of a different kind may also have an effect. For example, Hungary and Austria were members of one and the same empire for close on four hundred years; the German labour movement played a major role in the rise of the working-class movement in Hungary; the Hungarian working-class movement had close connections with the social democracy of Western Europe, etc. It is obvious that the positive aspects of these traditions can and must be put to good use.

—One has to mention the style of Party and State leadership as well, which equally lends Hungarian foreign policy certain specific traits. Foreign policy as well shows firmness of principle and a high degree of flexibility, a steady and even pace, a thorough study of all questions, circumspect initiative, and well-considered and well-founded progress.

The specific traits of Hungarian foreign policy can be seen in many fields and subjects. Let us look at some of these.

1. The most important feature of this foreign policy is that it devotes particular attention within the socialist community to relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union. It may be objected that this striving for good Hungarian-Soviet relations is nothing specific since other countries of the socialist community also share this endeavour. This is true. But it is

also true that the relationship between Hungary and the Soviet Union also bears specific marks.

The rise of the Hungarian revolutionary working-class movement, the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919 created a link with the Russian revolutionary movement, with the October Socialist Revolution. The blood shed by a hundred thousand Hungarian internationalists for the victory of Soviet power and the fact that Hungary was the second country in the world to accomplish a victorious socialist revolution have created unbreakable bonds between Hungarian and Soviet Communists.

In 1945 it was the Soviet army that liberated Hungary from the domination of Hitlerites and Hungarian fascists, thereby enabling the Hungarian nation to start on the road to progress. The armed might of the Soviet Union made any imperialist interventionist attempt impossible from the start, one analogous to what had been done so successfully in the interest of capitalist restoration in 1919. The Soviet Union provided invaluable assistance in the industrial and agricultural reconstruction of a country lying in ruins, helping it to come to life again. The Soviet Union also rushed to the aid of the Hungarian people in 1956, at the time of the counter-revolution. The Soviet Union always supported and still supports the Hungarian people in the building of socialism.

This particular course of history greatly contributes to the shaping of close relations between the two nations. The lessons of the common struggle give clear evidence that it is in the vital interest of Hungarians to further Hungarian–Soviet relations and close cooperation. It is especially important to continue to improve relations with the Soviet Union in the political, economic and cultural fields.

Hungarian Communists have never wavered in the matter of relations with the Soviet Union. They are still convinced that no one who is anti-Soviet can be a true internationalist.

2. Hungarian foreign policy strives to build close relations with the neighbouring socialist countries: Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. In shaping relations with neighbouring socialist countries Hungary starts from the fact that these countries have a socialist system, thus the basic condition of good relations is given. The second factor is neighbourliness, the many bonds which have linked Hungarians and the peoples of those countries for more than a thousand years. There are numerous examples of the interdependence of these nations and their common struggle against oppression. One also had to take into account, however, that, throughout the centuries, the ruling classes artificially kindled hatred between these

nations. The landowners and capitalists of the old Hungary oppressed and ruthlessly exploited the national minorities. At the same time it is also true that the then leaders of certain of the neighbouring peoples—except the most outstanding of them—did not understand the Hungarian people's aspirations for freedom and sometimes supported the reactionary Habsburg Monarchy or later, at the time of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, sided with the Entente powers. Horthyite fascism pursued a revisionist policy which aroused the suspicion and opposition of neighbouring nations. A very important task of the foreign policy of socialist Hungary was to promote the development of fraternal cooperation, instead of the old discord, between our country and the neighbouring socialist countries.

Hungarian foreign policy can register great results in this field. The memory of Horthy Hungary is fading, and socialist Hungary is known also to its neighbours as a firm advocate of consistent internationalist policies. Relations with Czechoslovakia are extensive, cooperation is good in every field. Mutually advantageous and developing relations are entertained with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in spite of the fact that on a number of international questions our positions are not wholly identical. Relations with Rumania have also developed a great deal. In the further extension of cooperation with these countries a major role is allotted to the national minorities who live in them and who may assume the role of a connecting bridge.

3. The Hungarian People's Republic today concentrates particular attention on two areas in the non-socialist world: Western Europe and the Arab world which is close to Europe.

Relations with most countries of Western Europe are fruitful; with these countries the Hungarian People's Republic maintains constructive contacts in the political, economic and cultural fields alike. Economic relations are of particular importance since they can be employed in the solution of considerable domestic tasks ahead. How the fate of Europe will shape—whether it will be a Europe of peace and security or one of confrontation—depends to no small extent on those countries.

Among the developed capitalist countries Hungarian foreign policy lays especially great stress on Finland and Austria, with which extensive relations are maintained that are traditional for differing reasons. This was well demonstrated by the visit to Budapest by President Urho Kekkonen of the Republic of Finland in November 1976 and by the visit to Vienna of János Kádár in December 1976. Hungarian relations with both these countries can rightly be called examples of peaceful coexistence.

An important place in Hungarian foreign policy is occupied by the

Federal Republic of Germany. This can be explained primarily by the great political and economic influence the Federal Republic exerts in the capitalist half of Europe, but also by the fact that relations, especially in the economic field, are extensive and have been steadily developing for twenty years.

The relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and Italy have developed particularly in the economic and cultural fields.

Recently relations with France, the United States and Great Britain have also been considerably extended.

The importance of the Arab countries is evident. The Arab world is near Europe, and everything that happens in that area inevitably affects the conditions of peace and security in Europe. Hungarian foreign policy has also to keep in view that remarkable progressive tendencies have got off the ground in some of the Arab countries, and that the world has to face a crisis that endangers peace in this area. From the point of view of bilateral relations with this or that Arab state it is an important fact that about 40 per cent of Hungarian foreign trade with developing countries is transacted with the Arab world. Opportunities for the development of economic relations with Algeria, Iraq and Libya are particularly favourable.

4. Within the developing world Hungarian foreign policy is striving to build fruitful relations first of all with the progressive developing countries. There is a desire to help these countries become political allies of socialism so they can cooperate actively in the consolidation of peace and security all over the world.

5. Hungarian foreign policy lays particular emphasis on some timely questions concerning Europe and Asia.

(a) In foreign political activity wide scope is given to efforts made to promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Government has taken important initiatives for the implementation of the Final Act, acting through bilateral relations. Relevant proposals have been presented to the governments of capitalist countries and have in general met with a positive response.

Hungary insists that the political détente should be complemented by a military détente. Everything is done to curb the arms race and to promote the solution of certain disarmament problems.

(b) Hungarians follow with particular sensitivity the shaping of what is called the German problem. Today, we know, the fate of Europe is decided under circumstances different from those of the past, but a disquieting fact is that it still has not been possible to remove all vestiges of German militarism and revanchism. The interests of peace in Europe

demand that all parties observe the bilateral treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and several other socialist countries with the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the quadripartite agreement concerning West Berlin. Reactionary attempts to upset the established situation must be categorically repelled, especially in cases when they use the slogan of German reunification or "aid" to West Berlin. These attempts are manifestations of ideas that have proved to be abortive.

(c) Geographically, Hungary is situated in the vicinity of the Balkan peninsula. This is why the country cannot be indifferent to the state of relations between the countries of this region. The consolidation of peace and security and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act gives scope to regional cooperation as well; this could be extended by closer cooperation between countries of the Balkan peninsula and neighbouring ones. It should be borne in mind that the fate of the Balkan countries has always been interwoven with that of the peoples of the Danube basin; they are linked by common traditions as well as by common interests. Hungary is interested in development which takes this into consideration.

(d) The Hungarian People's Republic has always paid great attention to the Indochina area, including the struggle for freedom of the Vietnamese and the Laotian people. The Hungarian nation, the Party and the Government have always supported the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. aggressors. When it was necessary, we took part in the work of the International Commission of Control and Supervision in Vietnam and did our duty there as well. The struggle of the Laotian people also enjoyed steady Hungarian support. Today there is peace in Indochina, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, together with the Democratic People's Republic of Laos, is a stable factor of peace and security in South-East Asia. Imperialism and local reaction, however, are unwilling to admit that they have definitively lost the game. In unison with the other countries of the socialist community we are of the opinion that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Laos must also in the future be given assistance in the healing of war-inflicted wounds, and in the extensive development of their policy in the service of peace and security.

III

The Hungarian People's Republic is aware that all these aspirations and aims can only be attained subject to certain conditions.

—Hungarian foreign policy expects that the international balance of

forces will in the future shift increasingly in favour of socialism and progress. The most decisive role in this is played by the socialist countries. This is the "material" basis of détente without which peaceful coexistence can hardly be imagined.

—It is indispensable that the unity, cohesion and concerted strategy of the socialist countries be strengthened. The events which have taken place in the international arena these past few years offer convincing proof that the socialist countries' joint action is the most effective factor in the growth of détente, and the consolidation of peace and security. This is why the Hungarian People's Republic will remain an active advocate of the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries and their concerted action in the international arena. For similar considerations Hungary warmly welcomes the creation of the Committee of Foreign Ministers and the Joint Secretariat of the Warsaw Treaty; these organs will certainly be a considerable contribution to the better and more consistent co-ordination of foreign policies.

—The socialist countries could hardly fulfil their historic mission without the active alliance of the revolutionary and liberation movements and of the progressive developing countries. These factors have an increasingly important part to play in raising and solving the problems of world politics. Without the collaboration of the socialist countries, the revolutionary working-class movement, the liberation movements and the socialist-oriented developing countries, progress would slow down also in the consolidation of peace and security.

—The aims of socialist foreign policy cannot be realized without an unremitting struggle against the intrigues of extremist imperialists and other reactionary forces. These people seek to disrupt peace, aiming to foment a new kind of cold war. It is therefore in the vital interest of all nations, Hungarians included, to denounce and isolate the objectives and activities of such people. At the same time the forces fighting for peace and security will also in the future have to find the modalities of co-operation with those in the ruling quarters of capitalist countries who endorse realistic ideas. They have already played a great role in the process of détente and will in the future continue to grow in importance.

The Hungarian People's Republic is using its own specific methods to further improve the conditions mentioned above.

THE SOCIALIST STATE AND THE CHURCHES IN HUNGARY

by

GYÖRGY ACZÉL

The relationship between the State and the Churches in Hungary may be briefly and tellingly described by pointing out that the representatives of the socialist state consider this relationship to conform to Hungarian social conditions and political principles, and church representatives have declared it to be in conformity with the interests of the Churches.

In practice this means that—

1 The separation of the State and the Churches is complete.

2 In the national and the international field alike there are questions which both the State and the Churches are interested in solving.

3 The relationship between the State and the Churches is regulated by agreements.

4 The open approach to the ideological problems and differences and the varied forms of the dialogue have a clarifying and fruitful effect on socialist national unity.

5 The State respects the internal laws of the Churches; the Churches recognize socialist society and the socialist state in their own articles of faith.

Present relations are influenced by much national and international historical experience. The lessons drawn from the development of Hungary and other socialist countries are embodied in the actions of the Hungarian socialist state. The Churches have also learnt from their own experience, as well as from that of the churches in other countries, concerning changes in the social system. Furthermore, the relationship between the State and the Churches in socialist Hungary is necessarily also in interaction with today's world situation, and general ideological and political conditions.

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The problems of the closing quarter of the twentieth century prompt all responsible people, the world over, in the face of dangers of unprecedented dimensions, to make a more intensive search for the conditions and realistic possibilities of promoting peace and social progress in a world where people of different views and ideologies live and work together. The world wars broke out in Europe, and the continent was the home of colonialism, the slave trade and many other inhumanities, but in spite of this, or for this very reason, public minded people of no continent sought as feverishly for the common denominator which could somehow unite in action men and women of different ethnic origin, native language, faith and ideology. This has deep-lying roots. We all remember Terence's "I'm a man, nothing that is human is alien to me", which was one of Marx's favourites or the New Testament's "before God there is neither Jew nor Greek".

A twofold tradition

The desire for coexistence and cooperation is deeply rooted in the tradition of Europe, but part of this tradition is also the awareness of recurring strife. This same continent has had to endure conflicts between Rome and Byzantium, between the Pope and the Emperor, between Catholicism and Protestantism, the shedding of blood between nations, when priests of the same churches blessed the flags of armies about to destroy each other. Not only the optimism of Rousseau, who took man to be originally good, is part of the European tradition, but also the scepticism of those thinkers who believed that the wood of which man is built is too twisted to be hewn into a straight beam. What is more, Nietzsche is part of it as well, who held only tragic and heroic pessimism to be worthy of man. A variant, typical even in its extremism, of this negative tradition was represented by Hitler, who extolled the brute in man.

This dichotomy is a fact, independently of the way one explains its causes. According to us, Marxists, the ultimate reason for this twofold tradition is to be found in the struggle between the ruling and the oppressed classes of all times, a struggle which basically influenced and even determined the prospects of the world, including Europe. But it is also beyond doubt that, in opposition to a vision of dreadful catastrophes, there has always been alive, and occasionally soaring high, a desire to put an end to war in the interests of peaceful development.

Peace and security, however, could in no way materialize in a world which had aggression in the guise of national defence rooted in its structure,

and the dominant forces of which heeded selfish class interests and not the objective interests of the nations. The inhabitants of Europe have to face different forms of division and to understand who are the real exploiters of this division; who profit by the social antagonisms between capital and the world of labour, by the national hatred which still not infrequently dons a religious guise, by the blood which flows in the streets of Belfast (and not only of Belfast).

It cannot be left out of consideration either that if it is true—and it is—that a people which oppresses another cannot be free, it is also true that Europe could not have freedom and peace as long as the European powers were able to increase their wealth through the cheap labour and raw materials available in other, non-European countries. Yet it has become possible in our days to ensure—even though at the cost of political struggles and ideological disputes—social progress together with peaceful coexistence, to create a meaningful life worthy of man in this world. This is a new feature. Development is today largely influenced by new forces which have delivered their countries from capitalist exploitation, have made it possible to put an end to the colonial system, and which, by combining all creative forces of society, are working hard in order to secure more equitable conditions and equal conditions of personal improvement. These forces are creating socialist society.

1917 and 1945 created realistic conditions for the peoples of Europe to rid themselves of both wrong alternatives: that of illusory optimism which tried to put a fullstop to history with a Utopian image—supernatural or secular—of a harmony that might be created once for all, and that of no less illusory pessimism which not only regarded evil, and brute force, as ineradicable but made its domination a natural or mythopoietic principle of history.

The nations of the world are today confronted with tasks which, despite ideological disagreements, oblige every man of goodwill to join in bridging the existing political, social and economic gap.

The year 1945 opened the way to the people of Hungary. Marxists and religious people, democrats, socialists and communists were able to join forces not only to heal the wounds inflicted by war but also to create a radically new social order. Although a certain degree of cooperation between Marxists and certain progressive churchmen had already existed during the war, it was nevertheless not easy to make use of the new opportunity.

The explanation of this can in part be found in Hungary's past. Those in capitalist countries who attack the socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe sometimes because of the absence of a multiparty system, sometimes because of an alleged lack of democracy, are inclined to forget

that—for example in the case of Hungary—it was the armed forces of the French bourgeoisie, and indirectly those of the British bourgeoisie, which helped the counter-revolutionaries to defeat the Hungarian Republic of Councils of 1919, and even in muzzling the representatives of Hungarian bourgeois radicalism and democracy, forcing them into emigration. This is how the semi-feudal régime of the time between the wars, the system of latifundia, of poorly and one-sidedly developed industry, an administration rotting in the hands of the gentry, not only survived the inter-war period but even blocked the chances of social reform within the extremely narrow limits of the existing order, and stifled progressive trends in the Churches.

As a consequence of the peculiar historical development of Hungary, the dominant forces of the Catholic, and in part also those of the Protestant Churches, profited by this state of affairs. The Catholic Church was the biggest landowner in Hungary, the churches possessed enormous wealth in this country of three million landless peasants, and supported not only the struggle against liberal democracy and communism but also the state policy of discrimination among established, tolerated and unrecognized denominations. Their power and influence in the kingdom without a king between the two world wars even grew owing to the membership of church dignitaries in the Upper House and to privileges of medieval origin. They exercised direct influence on the decisions of the executive power. This makes it more understandable why, after the liberation of the country, Cardinal Mindszenty, the Archbishop of Esztergom—who, with reference to the feudal constitution, regarded himself as the highest dignitary of the country—was equally opposed to the land reform liquidating the system of large estates, to the democratic republic replacing the monarchic form of government, and to the separation of Church and State, that is to those measures of democratic change which had already been carried out by the bourgeoisie in Western Europe, but which were left to the workers' and peasants' power in Hungary. Similar opposition was manifest in the higher reaches of other churches as well. All this, however, could not stop the carrying out of the desires of the masses, that is the social renewal of the country; on the contrary, it contributed to the isolation of the relics of the semi-feudal past even within their own churches.

A historic choice

The struggle for democratic and socialist change brought the conflicts to a head also amongst the faithful, and the Churches were faced with a choice between their own earlier social commitment and the sympathies

of the majority. In this process, under the impact of the position adopted by the great majority of the religious working masses, those elements in the hierarchy gained the upper hand which did not wish to part with their flock and which considered the well-being of believers, and the social objectives, shared by the vast majority of workers, peasants and intellectuals, to be so important that they gave up absolutizing ideological differences which raised barriers between the faithful and those who did not share their beliefs. Church leaders who represented more modern trends of thought found themselves in closer touch with the idea of socialist and democratic national unity.

Hungarian history certainly has positive traditions in this field, too. The backward church leaders of the time could not entirely erase from the minds of Christian believers the memory of progressive and even revolutionary Christian movements. At the time of the Hussite wars there were similar movements in Hungary: the fifteenth-century peasant war led by Antal Budai Nagy. The Franciscan priest-ideologues of the 1514 peasant rising headed by György Dózsa were political leaders of the people. Protestant pastors played an important role in the independence struggles waged against Habsburg domination from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Priests showed themselves responsive to the ideas of the enlighthenment and of bourgeois change, including Bishop Mihály Horváth who took the side of the people in 1848–49. Among the priests sympathizing with the 1918 democratic movement, and even with the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919, there were some who became martyrs in the cause of the people.

After 1945 these memories began to revive. Besides, the Churches found it advisable to take into account Hungarian historical precedents of the democratic ideas of religious tolerance and freedom of conscience. As early as the middle of the sixteenth century the Principality of Transylvania had been among the first in Europe to include Unitarians, Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics among the privileged religions. Miklós Zrínyi, who was against both Turkish and German domination, proclaimed religious tolerance in the seventeenth century, as Ferenc Rákóczi II did in the eighteenth or István Széchenyi, Lajos Kossuth and József Eötvös in the nineteenth century.

Such traditions inspired Protestant and Jewish leaders already in 1948 and Catholic ones in 1950 to conclude agreements with the State. In the terms of these agreements, and in keeping with the separation of State and Church, the religious leaders recognized the legal order and Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. At the same time the State provided

legal guarantees for freedom of worship, contributed to the creation of proper living conditions and social security for the clergy, and to the protection of buildings of an ecclesiastical character, including maintenance and restoration, in keeping with their historic and architectural value.

Parallel with this process of consolidation, the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic laid down the principle of freedom of worship and conscience, and eliminated to the full discriminatory practices affecting the various Churches and religious communities on the political plane.

The improvement of the condition of the Churches in Hungary captured international attention. It could not be accidental that in the years following the Second World War the most prominent figure of twentieth-century Protestant theology, Karl Barth, studied several aspects of the situation of Hungarian Protestants and their views regarding those social forces which have tended towards cooperation between believers and non-believers. The spirit of cooperation, through an extensive and more complex process but in the interest of peace and progress, gradually forced its way also within the Catholic Church.

One must not forget, however, that in the fifties these efforts could not be carried out without difficulty. The atmosphere of the Cold War made it difficult to apply the right principles. On the Catholic side pressure was exercised by those reactionary forces in Rome which earlier had regrettably supported Mussolini's fascism, entered into a concordat with Nazi Germany and failed to do all in their power against the atrocious crime of genocide perpetrated by nazism.

On the other side, sectarian distrust, dogmatism and the personality cult had become predominant in the Hungarian political arena. In this atmosphere the methods of political struggle against reaction and those of ideological opposition to religion often became confused.

These negative tendencies bolstered one another and, together with the other causes leading up to the 1956 counter-revolution, put too heavy a strain also on the relationship between Church and State.

A step forward

After the counter-revolution the Party and the Government were engaged in a struggle against both sectarian dogmatism and revisionism, and gradually restored the national and international prestige of Hungary's socialist leadership. The Party strengthened the relationship of trust between the working class and the peasantry, between manual workers and the

professions, and not only proclaimed but implemented in the process of constructive work the political unity of workers of different ideologies in the interest of the socialist transformation of the country's economy and society, the raising of the standard of living and the large-scale improvement of general education, as well as the solution of the problems of women, young people and families. In this situation it became possible to unite people of different ideologies in the service of common objectives and against dangers facing all of them.

The national unity thus created does not, of course, mean a kind o homogeneity; this is the dialectic unity in diversity where ideologica hegemony is held by Marxism–Leninism, for this scientific world outlook can by its nature explore most thoroughly the problems of this age and provide the most relevant answers to them. Therefore the exponents of Marxism always have to work and join in order to explain the tasks ahead, getting them widely discussed, working out genuine alternatives for decision in a scientific and creative spirit, carrying out political resolutions born in democratic discussions by making people conscious of the goals and giving material and moral incentives to their realization. In this complex process—where the Party has to exercise self-control—no real progress can be made unless it is possible to put to use the plans and proposals of all creative forces of society in the formulation of economic, political and cultural goals, unless it is possible—despite existing ideological differences—to inspire common activities in a socialist direction for the good of all working people.

Let me to quote János Kádár: "It is impossible to look into the minds of people. I imagine though that there are far from few people in this country who hold religious beliefs. When we speak about all-embracing union and socialist organizational unity, we think of them as well: we all have to pull together. This is why we are glad to see that, in connection with the 30th anniversary of Liberation, the Churches also have declared themselves in the spirit of patriotism, and at the same time in harmony with their own intentions and purposes, thus helping to make this anniversary a fitting celebration. Thereby they have been of great assistance not to professional politicians but to the faithful. In the past thirty years they have overcome dilemmas of conscience and inner conflict, whether to side with the political forces working for the good and well-being of the people or with the Church. This means a great deal from the point of view of our past and our future."

This policy has not been dictated by tactical considerations or manipulative ideas. The grand objectives of the progress of Hungarian society, just like

other great problems of the world situation, presuppose this kind of working together. This union in action is, of course, no simple matter. The Marxist party acts soundly if it wishes this practical cooperation just as sincerely as it abides unequivocally by its scientific, dialectical and historical materialism. It seems to be clear to church leaders in Hungary that the realization of major historical goals benefits not only the welfare and well-being of their followers, it meets also the requirements of the principles of their faith. Therefore, beyond mere loyalty, beyond the recognition of the *status quo* manifest in the socialist social order, active support for certain aims of socialism is also increasing in the ranks of the clergy.

In this respect the Churches in Hungary may possibly be favourably influenced, in addition to their own progressive historical traditions, by the actual transformation of the social ideas of the laity in the course of socialist construction. A role is certainly also played by international aspects, the *aggiornamento*, that historical self-examination, the signs of which in the past two decades could be seen in most of the great churches and their international centres, the Vatican and the World Council of Churches. They may have been influenced by the warning of Pope John XXIII that believers must cooperate with people having different ideas in the interest of the good or of things leading to the good; by the example of the Catholic Camillo Torres who died a martyr in Latin America just like Ernesto Che Guevara; or by the words of Archbishop Helder Camara of Recife who demanded land and a life worthy of man for the exploited peasants, and by the attitude of Martin Luther King or the French Catholic worker-priests.

Love of God—love of man

All this as a warning to the faithful and their priests that the supernatural dimensions of faith cannot absolve them from the responsibility to decide "here and now", to take a stand on this earth, against the inhuman world of exploitation and class oppression, in favour of another, a better and freer opportunity, that is to choose in Hungary the road on which, in no easy circumstances—committing mistakes on the way—we shape a more humane life by building a developed socialist society. As the Church might put it: the love of God and the love of man must be cultivated together.

Why indeed would it be natural for the Churches in our circumstances to see their allies in the opponents of social renewal, in those who anathematize the Catholic revolutionaries of Latin America, in the inveterate enemies of progress in France and Italy? Why should they not recognize their allies

in the ranks of those who fight against the idolatry of blood and money, in forces which do not confine themselves to lip-service of love of one's neighbour amid circumstances barring love, but which struggle for the effective establishment of more equitable, freer and more harmonious relations?

It follows from the historical materialism of Marxism that in the course of social struggles one should not start from what people think about themselves—from their world outlook, their religion—but mainly from their objective interests and needs which define the outlines of common tasks for classes and sections of society that are different but allied to one another. By disclosing this Marxists strengthen their allies in co-operation.

Marxists search for this practical union bridging even ideological differences by starting from their most essential principles. In this century the policy of the outstretched hand was represented (before Thorez and Togliatti) already by Lenin, who thought it necessary to write an article on the "honest priest" taking a stand for the movement, and who protested against the kind of agitation in consequence of which workers would be divided not by whether or not they took part in a strike but whether or not they believed in God. Likewise the overall union was alluded to by János Kádár's well-known statement paraphrasing the gospel, saying that he who is not against us is with us, and so the faithful also can stand by us. We do not agree with those who regard a person as an ally of the Marxists only if he agrees with us on all matters, including ideological questions.

The policy of alliance of the Marxists is a firm policy also because, in the ideological dialogue with their allies, they endeavour to make themselves understood better, to understand their partners better, and to promote the spread of the scientific ideology also outside the Party.

The Marxists, precisely because they respect the sincere convictions of their allies, consider it also natural that the Churches should continue the propagation of religious views and strengthen the faith of their followers. In the ideological sense there is no peaceful coexistence. By this we mean that we cannot be reconciled to ideological indifference, or its demoralizing effect. The confrontation of ideas makes co-operation honest and rooted in conviction. Besides, it is also borne out by experience that the better the day-to-day relationship between believers and Marxists the more thorough is the dialogue about ideological questions.

Practice has demonstrated that what is necessary is also possible: ideological differences do not preclude practical cooperation between those who believe in God and those who do not. One may have differing views regarding the creation or the eternity of the material world, the immortality of the

soul, and even the origin of moral values. But this difference of opinion does not prevent the religious and atheists from coming to an agreement on all those questions the solution of which they consider necessary in the interests of their well-being and of social development. Some might say to this that different ideological bases lead to disputes not only in the philosophical but in the political and moral sphere, too. This is true, of course, but this dispute—as evidenced by experience in Hungary—is not between enemies but between people going the same way who exchange their views by starting from different ideological bases but from a common responsibility, and who themselves grow richer by the exchange of views.

Socialist democracy—the development of which has been so categorically emphasized by the latest, the 11th, Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in 1975—requires a sincere exchange of views, an effort to win over, and not to prevail over, one another, an effort by which all participants grow richer, and which leads to the deepening of human relations, to the refining of arguments and, last but not least, to a better foundation of decisions. This democracy presupposes also freedom of thought, including personal and institutional religious practice and a freedom of worship. Thus this democracy connects the circuit of collective social action with impulses coming from different sources, it releases and unites social forces for the benefit of the community.

Debates

Marxists hold the view that the discussion of ultimate ideological questions is admissible only through the propagation and confrontation of ideas, and not through the use of force. They are led in this respect not by tactical considerations but by the position of principle which was pointed out already by Engels in his dispute with the Blanquists and with Dühring: atheism cannot be declared a "compulsory article of faith".

Ideological disputes, including the debate between scientific materialism and the religious faiths, must be brought into harmony with the struggle waged for the great historical goals of mankind. This dispute must be conducted with circumspection also because in our days a debate is going on within the Churches themselves over the concrete content of those moral values and principles which are intended to play a role in the regulation of action. It is not up to us to answer questions raised by the Churches, but it is a fact worthy of note that the debate taking place within the Churches also displays new features.

Every thinking and conscientious Christian knows that the command of

love—just like the prohibition of stealing, killing or bearing false witness—has throughout two millennia been interpreted controversially, in keeping with controversial interests, that mankind has long been troubled by the question: is it possible to realize the love of man in a society torn by class interests? Is it possible to reconcile the love of one's neighbour with warmongering, with fascist ideas, with racial discrimination, more concretely with tolerance for the bloodshed in Chile or racial persecution is South Africa? Is it possible to love the exploiters of the unconsciousness of poor, simple and helpless people? Or do not the struggles of our days prompt us to subordinate, if need be, our own interests and the immediate church interests to the objective interests, to the active collaboration, of the community of working men and women precisely by shaping a freer and more harmonious society, to create better conditions for the substantial development of the free, creative personality and of human relations or for the extension of the dimensions of love and for its real implementation?

We do not doubt but, following Engels, we even emphasize that Christianity was the first to give expression to the negative equality of every man as a sinner before God and, in a stricter formulation, to the quality of all of God's children redeemed by Christ' grace and blood. But the Christians themselves also know that the ancient notion of equality later became eclipsed in Christianity itself, while the theory of modern socialism has raised the new demand for a veritable, social equality on earth of people—not for the sake of uniformity but precisely for the more unrestricted development of different human potentialities guaranteed by equal opportunities. Can a religious man be indifferent to this great objective if he wants to do his duty as a man?

The need to accept the given state authority is taught by the Bible. The way this question is posed in our socialist life, however, is not analogous to rendering unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, but is rather that one has to undertake to render active service to the cause of the community—for this community is no longer that of oppressing and oppressed classes—and thus it is possible and necessary to give assistance to those state and social organs which act and work in the interest of the common cause.

The application of the principle of freedom of conscience greatly promotes this activity in Hungary, where citizens of different ideologies and conceptions work together in public life. One could list the names of those religious men and women who handle community business in important positions, in the National Assembly, in the county and municipal councils, in the Patriotic People's Front and in the National Peace Council.

Useful experience has been gathered in Hungary with regard to the col-

laboration of people of different ideologies. We feel bound to make use of the experiences also in the future in order thereby to promote the solution of national and international tasks common to believers and Marxists alike.

Of course conditions in Hungary are not free from problems and contradictions. There are differences of opinion between churches, between particular churches and the State, and it is also natural that it is impossible always to solve all questions to the satisfaction of all. But mutual patience will help all sides to get over the difficulties.

Cooperation on various levels

This patient cooperation takes place on various levels. One is the relationship between religious and non-religious working people of different ideologies in everyday life: in the factories, producers' cooperatives, offices, institutions and schools. These relations are proof of an intention to work together in essential questions if only because the overwhelming majority of people, in organizing their mode of living and their work, in the first place pay attention to their real needs and basically common interests.

The ideological foundation of social action is, of course, not irrelevant to a Marxist, but he is conscious that under the conditions of socialism there are a great number of people, even religious people, who—while approving of socialism in practice and supporting its construction—have not become adherents of Marxist theory. By reason of their work and attitudes these people can and do enjoy the full respect of their immediate or larger community.

Another plane of relations is between the State and different churches as institutions. The democratic separation of the State and the Churches has secured the sovereignty of the people's state in public life, has guaranteed Churches the unhampered conduct of their devotional work and has excluded the possibility of anybody enjoying an advantage or suffering a disadvantage owing to their denominational affiliation (or their not belonging to any denomination). Of course there may always come up questions relating to the guarantee of the conduct of specific activities of the Churches, questions to be discussed from time to time between the Churches and state organs; and opinions regarding their settlement may differ and occasionally do. Experience shows that patient talk, with regard for each other's interests, makes it possible to find solutions to emerging problems for the benefit of the community.

Of course both the Hungarian State and the Hungarian Churches main-

tain relations with the great ecclesiastic centres of the world. Since the 1964 agreement relations between the Hungarian government and the Vatican have been gradually improving, and this development has made it possible, among other things, to fill all the vacant bishoprics and archbishoprics in Hungary, including the archbishopric of Esztergom, to reorganize the Hungarian Pontifical Institute in Rome and to settle other questions. With proper tact and patience, by striving for mutual understanding, it has been possible to reconcile the legitimate wishes of the Vatican and the competence of the Hungarian People's Republic regarding particular personal and other matters. The Hungarian Protestant Churches have for decades been pursuing successful and positive activities within the framework of the World Council of Churches, the Christian Peace Conference and other international bodies, which from time to time conduct negotiations also with representatives of the Hungarian government.

The third plane of relations is that of ideas. As is well known, we do not find it possible to efface the boundaries between ideologies, or to effect compromises between Marxist materialism and religious belief. The Marxist concept of ideology, however, is not limited to the sphere of world outlook in the strict sense: it comprises, as a projection of the social interests, all the ideas which play an essential role in the regulation of political, economic and cultural measures. These ideas, these norms, may—with differing emphasis and a different philosophical background—be partially present in other ideologies, too. The fact that the Marxist is ideologically opposed to the system of religious thinking and of religious ethics does not prevent him from agreeing in a certain sense—over and above economic and political questions—say, with the moral requirements of "thou shalt not kill" or "thou shalt not steal". True, Marxists do not stop at the mere prohibition of moral evil, they want social guarantees for the elimination of wholesale killing, of the wholesale expropriation of the labour of others, of deception and false witness, they wish to show a positive way also in the fields of morality in the interest of developing human relations of a higher order. In the midst of our debates we may be close to one another on these questions of principle even if we do not forget the different, contradictory ideological background and contents of the principles.

However, this ideological difference itself calls for thorough consideration. In the Introduction to the "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" Marx writes that to abolish the illusory happiness of the people is to demand their real happiness. This concise and very significant thesis of Marx's, which illuminates an exceptionally complicated historical process, prevails under the conditions of a long historical period. In

keeping with this Marxian maxim one can say that, on the basis of surmised or already recognized interests, an ever growing number of religious people today demand the people's true happiness in cooperation with Marxists. Such religious people feel greater affinity with the humanist atheism of Marxists than with the attitude of Pharisaic idealists and hypocrites. The ideological confrontation hinders the practical union of communists and Christians only if in the meantime they lose sight of the great, common historical goals which are determined by the current national and international social relations under the shadow of the danger of thermonuclear war.

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Of course those who still do not see clearly the connection between ideological differences and the necessity of social action in common with people of different ideas are not few in number. Two things, however, seem certain. First, Marxists and Christians have to answer the same questions put by the same world, they have to avert the same danger of war, they have to form an opinion in their own way regarding the same capitalist and the same socialist system. Secondly, Marxism and religion will coexist for a long time to come. Even if these systems of ideas cannot be reconciled, their representatives may agree in what has to be done, also in case of differing ideological motivations, in the interest of the well-being of man and in the name of humanism, and against the flames of hatred and against war. On the basis of experience we can say this is not only necessary but also possible, and it is not only possible but also necessary.

THE SCOPE AND LIMITS OF LEGISLATING ON CULTURE

by

IMRE POZSGAY

Hungarian history is at the same time a history of the education of the Hungarian people. Education and culture, in addition to many other factors, have been highly instrumental in allowing Hungarians to accommodate themselves and survive here, in the heart of Europe, keeping their native language, and their own culture, as an independent people; and education has had an inestimably great role to play in the process of emerging into nationhood.

He who has a knowledge of Hungarian history knows also that the struggles of Hungary for social progress and national independence were always fought also for the education of the communality. The demand for education has always been concretely coupled with the demand for progress, and this is why—despite successive defeats—every struggle, every revolution in the history of the Hungarian people, has yielded gains valid for centuries in the cultural sense. These struggles enriched Hungarian culture with specific new values, ever strengthening at least the realization that culture has to be democratic, that without the education of the masses the nation cannot advance or make further progress.

In quieter periods when revolutions were at the preparatory stage, the political movements developed and exerted their social effect in conjunction with cultural movements, as an integral part of them. The progressive cultural-political movements of the age of the Hungarian Enlightenment, of the Reform period or of the time preceding Liberation (the working-class movement, the progressive populist writers, *Nyugat* etc.) became great periods of Hungarian history, including cultural history, by linking the notions of progress and education, endorsing the idea of a democratic culture and pressing for popular education.

Based on an address to the National Assembly introducing a bill promoting access to culture. (Delivered on October 14, 1976)

Efforts made to democratize culture could not become effective since, at the time, there was no possibility of a radical transformation of the structure of society. But the spirit of the defeated revolutions or major cultural-political movements lived on in the people, in the best representatives of the intellectual life, and thus secured the continuity of Hungarian culture as well as its ability to develop.

The need for popular education, however, was creating extensions in the depths of social movements demanding recognition. Proof can be found in the fact that the idea of legislating for the regulation and promotion of general education first came up already in the Reform Diets of the early nineteenth century. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the idea of legislating to ensure access to culture cropped up on several occasions, but these proposals remained mere proposals. The fact is that as long as the people were reduced to the stagnation of second-class citizenship in their economic, political and social conditions, there could be no cultural progress for them. A society in which a minority ruled and excluded the people from political power could not have had a different approach to education either. This is why no legislation giving the people access to culture could be enacted before the Liberation.

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Hungary embarking on the road to socialism, inherited from the pre-Liberation period just as heavy burdens in culture as in political and economic life. A high level of illiteracy, that is a low educational level; an obsolete and antidemocratically structured school system; distorted higher education; an anarchical and limited network of cultural institutions; cultural desolation in the Hungarian countryside; an emerging proletariat settled on the outskirts of cities and debarred from cultural facilities and an urban petty bourgeoisie for the most part brought up to follow obsolete ways and show poor taste. It inherited also a high culture that was born in spite of the old regime and in opposition to it, a high standard cultural and intellectual life which could be depended upon, but which had thus far been out of the reach of the great masses. It also inherited the spirit and oeuvre of Ady, Móricz and Attila József, of Bartók and Kodály, of Derkovits, Dési-Huber, Radnóti and György Bálint; the collective consciousness of the agrarian socialist movements; social sensibility of the bourgeois radicals; the heart-warming memory, despite their bloody lessons, of defeated revolutions; the country-exploring and nation-improving intention of the majority of the populist writers; the true solidarity of working-class organization whose social consciousness was able to point the way, but

it did not inherit masses capable of appreciating cultural values and the arts, capable of keeping in touch with art of great value. It inherited a rich folk art that had developed over the centuries, but it inherited culturally repressed social classes confused in their approach to their own culture, and hindered in respect of education.

After Liberation, even in addition to the reconstruction of a country devastated by war and the new start to economic life, as well as the preparation of political stabilization, there was sufficient energy for the organization of education. Then the people really gave evidence of their hunger for learning, knowledge, and information. An unprecedented impulse was imparted in Hungary to general education which was then organized by the best representatives of intellectual life, Communists and their allies and sympathizers, the leaders and members of pre-war progressive intellectual movements, the best of professional men and women.

The policy of extensive economic development that started in the 1950's characterized also the Hungarian cultural policy of the time. A network of houses of culture, public libraries and cinemas was established, and these helped create the primary conditions of extra-mural education and community life in the most backward areas of the country. The economic difficulties and political mistakes, however, led to serious aberrations in cultural policy, and consequently in the whole of cultural life. This is why the established network of institutions is today not only a foundation for us but also a cause of many worries.

The aberrations of the period of the personality cult entailed more serious consequences in substantial matters of education and culture. The schematism resulting from sectarian dogmatism, impatience in questions of cultural policy and an inclination to vulgarization were present in schools, houses of culture and libraries just as in the press or in the work of art institutions. The pernicious effect of this inheritance is, although only in an indirect manner, still present today in our institutions, in our taste, in our consciousness, in our cultural affairs. This is particularly evident if we keep in mind that what in those years suffered damage owing to ideological aberrations was—in spite of the emphasis on large numbers, on extensive endeavours, and together with them—precisely the proclaimed goal: the democratization of culture.

It was also due to this that 1956 caused great troubles not only in ideology and politics, but also in culture and especially in the arts. After '56 therefore political attention was focussed on ideology and the arts, literature in the first place, and not only on political consolidation and the surmounting of economic difficulties. It is easy to understand that there was neither the

time nor the energy to analyse, and interpret culture and all it implied on the level of Party and government policy. Results had to be attained first of all in those fields which had an immediate effect on the process of general political consolidation.

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Simultaneously with the conclusion of the period of consolidation and the acceleration of the development of Hungarian society, in the first half of the sixties, attention was increasingly focussed on access to culture, that is on substantive and institutional questions affecting the education of the whole community. This process resulted in the adoption of Party resolutions, first on the principles of science policy and later on public education and the improvement of access to culture in 1974. These resolutions were already born in the spirit of intensive social development, and accordingly pressed for an intensive development of culture and promoted the qualitative enhancement of educational activites.

It was this period, the past decade, when the notion of "adult education" was replaced by that of access to culture, and this also reflects well the changing social processes and their influence on cultural activity. This has produced not only a change in terminology but also in attitudes to, and views on culture, as reflected in everyday practice. We have substituted the notion of access to culture for that of adult education which had mechanically divided people into educators and those to be educated, into those that create, propagate and passively receive. This stimulates to a more democratic, more community-minded behaviour, one which acknowledges that education is a right, an opportunity and a duty of the entire community and of each and every citizen. The notion of access to culture implies that education means not simply reception and passive acquisition of knowledge but also active participation in the process of creation and dissemination. All this of course does not mean that we can draw a sharp dividing line between a period of adult education and one of access to culture. An attitude of mind more in conformity with the spirit of the age, with the current state and aims of socialist society, is beginning to take shape in relation to culture, and this is reflected in the change of concept and terminology.

The notion of access to culture approaches the meaning and social utility of culture in the mutual relationship of persons and in the integrity of personality, from the aspect of the community, and places emphasis upon personal participation, communal character, and continuity. At the same time it presupposes that every man carries some specific knowledge or experience which is worth sharing with the community. Marx's notion that

the educator must also be educated can thus be interpreted to mean that those being educated also educate. The people are not only the object but also the agent of education.

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The closing decades of this century, particularly given the development of socialist society, have created a situation in which it is impossible today to think of culture without reference to the people and to everyday life. Responsible scientists, artists, educationalists, as well as politicians the world over are seeking new opportunities for mankind, and ever more of them find these in human culture, notably in the education of the people. For man now to become master not only of the forces of nature but of the relations and tools he himself has created, socialism, culture, and an ongoing process of improved education are needed. For the people to take part successfully in the shaping of their own fate, they need, in addition to indispensable economic and political conditions, a high level of education. We are confronting the basic notion of the Leninist cultural revolution. The world does not satisfy man, and man decides to change the world.

A rethinking of what is involved in access to culture also has more concrete and more tangible causes. The continued progress of Hungarian society requires a steady and powerful development of the socialist mode of production and socialist democracy. For this purpose a much higher level has to be attained in attitudes to work and in political education. We are all responsible for this, both to the present and the future, as we are for an education which serves a cultured way of life helping as many people and as many families as possible to recognize the prospects of a meaningful existence, organizing their lives, bringing up their offspring, and finding their place in their immediate or larger environment in keeping with the requirements of the age. A happier and fuller human life is to every man, and to the whole Hungarian nation, largely a matter of culture.

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The new Hungarian programme of access to culture is not in opposition to material welfare, the object is that the masses should learn how to make proper use of the goods thus made available, that people should have the possibility not only of obtaining a dwelling but also of turning it into a cultured home, that they should be able not only to purchase a motorcar but also to make sensible use of it.

The service of access to culture is closely connected with the future

of society and socialism, and therefore this legislation is an essential and organic part of social development. This realization prompted the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to review the position of access to culture and to pass a resolution in 1974 on the tasks ahead at the same time proposing new legislation to cover the subject.

After proper and thorough preparation the draft was submitted to various state and voluntary bodies and widely discussed, using the good offices of the Patriotic People's Front, in March 1975. Representatives of all sections of society took part in the discussion, and subsequently more than a thousand observations, verbal or written, were formulated. The general consensus was that legislation on access to culture was timely. Great emphasis was placed in the discussion, among other things, on the necessity of a general development of educational activities, the coordination of guidance, and the practical and systematic utilization of available resources. The need for a higher status of educational activities was specially stressed. A considerable part of the proposals made in the course of the public debates, were useful in the drafting of the definitive text.

The most important decisions are made with the direct participation of the citizens, in the lime-light of publicity. This was true once again. The need for this was already formulated by the poet Ferenc Kölcsey more than a hundred and forty years ago when he wrote: "...our constitution requires publicity. Our national and county assemblies are public, and so is everything that happens, everything that is said and done in them to become generally known. And still, when news sheets by their hundreds fully tell us of national assemblies and even private gatherings in other nations of Europe, our Hungarian press does not mention the proceedings of our own national and county assemblies, and constitutional publicity is thereby limited to so narrow a circle that it hardly deserves the name."

The man who wrote the national anthem, the member for the County of Szatmár in the Reform Diets of Pozsony, could not know that abuses of the publicity for which be clamoured would first be the rule for a hundred years before the time would come for the people's actual participation in public affairs.

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The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic declares the right of citizens to education. The state guarantees citizens the basic educational facilities and helps augment these by introducing statutory provisions concerning certain ascpects.

In the spirit of the Constitution the draft legislation on access to culture,

relying on the existing body of law regulation various fields—summarizes the principles applicable to the whole of public education and the general duties, rights and obligations. It provides a broad framework for cultural activities and for progressive initiative, and at the same time systematizes and flexibly regulates established pratice. It follows that it does not regulate the actual forms of activity or deal with methodological questions, for these are likely to change quickly under the impact of reality, thus their regulation might result in rigidity.

The preparation of the programme has been made difficult by fast changes in forms, methods and means. It has had to ensure in particular that the law does not conserve the present but gives free play to new aspirations, promoting, the creation of new opportunities.

Another difficulty has been that access to culture is an extremely complex and ramified process, so the programme could refer only to major aspects. The complexity and ramification of the subject naturally had to be reflected.

In the course of preparatory work we started from the current social situation, the existing educational standards and long-term objectives. Therefore the ideas there formulated carry on from the most important aims of social policy, supporting them by cultural policy measures.

—The basic idea running through the entire programme of public education is to promote the continued democratization of culture by ensuring access to it. This serves also the further growth of the cultural aspects of socialist democracy by promoting more conscious action, acting also on production, and the improvement standards and of course upon the totality of educational processes. To this end we have to strive to make the values of national and universal culture public property to the fullest possible degree; participation by the people, and each individual in the process of creation and dissemination has to be encouraged much more resolutely than in the past. Assistance has thus to be provided in unfolding the creative abilities and in awakening the demand for such participation.

—An important determinant of this legislation is the new interpretation and dimension of access to culture also conceived in the spirit of the aforementioned processes and aims of social policy. The essence is that it does not permit any sort of restraint on access to culture. Access to culture is made to refer to the growth of personality as a whole and to the whole of one's life, human life, extending it to every citizen, and the community as a whole not excluding, or absolving from the responsibility of participation, any section of society; every component unit of society and every area of social life is part of it. This is why it emphasizes, for example, the role played by the family, as well as the opportunities offered where

people live and where they work, as well as the related obligations. It follows logically, that something is required of every organization and institution, including cultural ones, teaching institutions, as well as, for example, of the mass media and art institutions, breaking with the "adult education" institutional approach which approach restricted the network of educational institutions in practice only to houses of culture and public libraries.

When stressing the comprehensive, general character of the programme of access to culture, one should not forget that there is an extensive network of institutions the basic task of which is to improve cultural standards. We know also that the aims of access to culture are not conceivable without a progressive school system, and its influence on social mobility, apart from that on training and education. It is also increasingly evident that the limits of a narrow interpretation of what are institutions of adult education have been stretched beyond repair by the large-scale diffusion of the press, radio and television, that is by the mass media explosion which drew every family into the current that gave access to culture.

When I refer to the *cultural* responsibilities and duties of economic organizations and other institutions outside the immediate purview of education, I do not of course think for a moment that their designed activity ought to be replaced by work in the cultural field, but rather that the carrying out of their proper duties should show the effects of the programme of access to culture. The point is that they should operate more efficiently and those who work there should enjoy a more civilized life at home and on the job. This is how more intensive education at the same time furthers the growth of a better life and of the forces of production.

For this reason we reject every kind of formal solution. It would be in no one's interest if this thing were worked by bureaucratic ways of thinking, those of a man who, when he has been raised to high office and entrusted with a political task, brushes aside everything in order to live up to the actual or imagined expectation. The programme of access to culture calls for sound thinking, and committed people who are the right men for the job. It requires staying power and sound qualifications and it of course, needs to be backed by the appropriate material resources.

—In the cultural field fundamental duties are allotted to state organs. It is up to the state to create and develop the decisive part of educational facilities, to guarantee the staff needed and the material conditions of work to ensure access to culture, and to manage operations as a whole. The social character of access to culture is evident, and it is natural that various voluntary and professional bodies should also in the future undertake a major role in organization and, to a certain extent, in ensuring necessary conditions.

Therefore the programme emphasizes the need to bring what is done into harmony with what can be done. To this end it is necessary to intensify the work of state guidance and coordination as well as to press for joint organization and financing in cases where this is appropriate and possible, when such a form of support derives from an identity of interests and serves to promote the good cause.

—The emphasis on the tasks and responsibilities of state organs does not mean a take-over by the state of access to culture. On the contrary, it serves the purpose of helping to make better use, in accordance with the interests of society, of the valuable cultural experience accumulated in the trade unions, the Young Communist League, the Patriotic People's Front and other important bodies and movements. These organizations expect resolute organizational guidance from the state which will allow them to operate more successfully than heretofore in the cultural field in the interests of their members and of society.

A key issue of the guidance of access to culture, now subject to legislative regulation, is the growth of sound and well organized cooperation, based on high principle, between central state organs and local government councils. The unity of principle and practice in access to culture requires coordinated guidance together with the decentralization of the guidance of organized cultural activities.

—The spirit and letter of the programme of access to culture are intended to promote the public image of educational activities. At present, despite the results attained, we cannot be satisfied with the social status of such work. The cause of this lies in part in the interpretation and the approach, and in part in the shortage of staff, low remuneration and lack of facilities. The new act is destined to solve such contradictions of approach, and a gradual improvement in the supply of personnel and funds is expected from particular provisions included, which however call for a whole series of other measures to be introduced later to the extent made possible by the economic growth of the country, a growth which depends to no small degree on the assistance culture is able to offer.

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Mere legislation is not enough to ensure access to culture. There is need for further measures and consistent work of guidance and organization.

We have to cope even more adequately with two important duties the education of workers and of youth by continuing to take further effective measures. Attila József wrote as if a participant of our deliberations today

"in the wise assembly of the working people": "The culture of the future will be fashioned by the class that will create the future. That class is the proletariat." This thought refers also to youth, mentioning the future as it does and one could not, even today, put this better than he did.

The role of the arts in the life of man will not decline in the future, it is expected to grow. It is an important task to enhance the cultural consciousness of those working in institutions devoted to art, making sure that these institutions are able to meet the demands of the community on a high level, serving the purposes of the whole of society.

Part of this is that the government has to devote greater attention to representative artistic institutions which express the culture of the nation on a high level. What I have in mind first of all are the National Theatre, the Hungarian State Opera, the Academy of Music and the concert life of Budapest, as well as the Museum of Fine Arts. In keeping with what can be done we have to make better provision to ensure the intellectual and material resources they need to function properly. If we bear in mind that, for example, nearly eight hundred thousand attend performances by the State Opera every year, it becomes clear that it does not cater to the requirements of a narrow section of the population only. The functioning of these institutions is of importance to access to culture also because they exert a direct influence on social consciousness. It is by their success or failure, that the public and not only artists—judge whether culture enjoys high esteem in this country. This is why the reconstruction of Buda Palace to serve cultural purposes* has been of so much benefit to national consciousness, and public thinking as such.

It is considerations of that sort which have to be borne in mind when surveying the state of Hungarian literature, and that of the theatre and music in Hungary, the films the country makes, fine arts and applied arts, and the ecological condition of the country.

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Social and economic programmess and resolutions speak clearly about the situation and future of the country. The provide a true and therefore convincing picture of achievements and of the contradictions accompanying development. But they could not answer all the problems and questions posed by life, and social progress. It is up to us to continue concrete research into all important aspects of society. This happened and is now

* See Máté Major's article in No. 62.

happening in the cultural field. If for a short time tensions accumulate for external, internal or other reasons, the solution is not promoted by a dissimulation of the facts, but only by a better social self-knowledge more suited to reality. This requires publicity and frankness free from distortions. It requires that passions accumulated for honest motives directed against the contradictions and mistakes should be transformed into energy furthering socialism, that is, social progress. This consideration has guided us in the formulation of this programme and in the preparation of legislation, and will be the guiding principle also in the course of its implementation.

Such an attitude, however, has as an important precondition. It must be based on achievements, on the preservation of the achieved socialist unity of society and on the continued strengthening of this unity. Those who raise and examine all these questions have to be aware of the immense responsibility they bear for this social unity which is the fruit of great struggles. They have to be aware that he who wishes to employ theories and practices applicable to past situations as norms for the solution of today's problems endangers the interests of the working class and consequently those of the whole of society.

Our unity, including the unity of cultural life, is not an idyllic one. It is full of pressing, unavoidable contradictions. It is nevertheless a real unity built on genuine socialist foundations, in which every contradiction has to be solved so as to serve further progress. This view of unity admits, and even holds desirable, the debates which clarify issues on the basis of agreement on the main points. Only those are able to understand the necessity of debates involving different ways of approach who take seriously the requirements and realities of unity.

We reject the yardstick of abstract ideals. In doing so we do not strive to justify the existing state of affairs. We do not believe and do not proclaim that everything in Hungarian culture is good as it is. A consensus is aimed at merely (and this "merely" means a great deal) to establish that there is reliable, tried and proven policy which improves cultural policy as an inseparable and not arbitrarily exchangeable part, one which has been able to release creative energies precisely by stressing the rights and responsibilities of people in the building of socialism, by making institutions of socialist democracy, together with citizens, the thinking and active participants of socialist construction. The result which this policy has achieved is that also those who have not yet made our ideology and all the goals of our social programme their own, have nevertheless wholeheartedly accepted socialism as a common goal.

If one were to be asked whether it is more difficult to find one's way amidst cultural conditions today than those of a few years ago, one has to answer in the affirmative. But one should add also that this is not because there has been decline but because we have risen higher in spite of tensions and the pressure of circumstances. To overcome the resulting confusion that is encountered here and there, those professionally concerned with culture have to elucidate a few questions of principle which concern and express the changed conditions. Questions which imply the cultural content of developed socialist society under construction, its quality criteria, the values guiding the way of living of socialist man, its organizing principles. Questions which help find solutions to the cultural contradictions of socialism under construction in such a way that the contradictions should not lead to the dissimulation of the mistakes, and the hushing-up of responsibility.

While seeking the answers one has to avoid the one-sidedness that has caused so much trouble in the course of Hungarian history. Not a single one of our true values should be allowed to go to waste. Illusory solutions have to be avoided, but also the contingency that the painful farewell to illusions should lead, even in a narrow circle, to the squandering of the socialist ideals, and a refusal to take long views. It is all the less admissible that the mood provoked in the few by such a refusal and the concurrent defeatism should serve as a justification for questioning, for a negative revaluation, of the achievements of socialism, as it exists, including its cultural achievements. A lot of trouble is due to impatience when confronted with problems.

When we speak of patience, we do not ask for tolerance: What we encourage is not acquiescence in mistakes. We speak only against unproductive intolerance, against protesters who look on busy people coping with everyday problems as disturbing elements in the realization of their great plans.

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It is held that it is indicative of the decline of a nation if citizens defy its law. Hungarians are, in the poet's words, a rising nation. Our self-esteem shall therefore be coupled with respect for laws enacted by common consent by implementing them in every way.

INTELLECT AND VIOLENCE

by

GYULA ILLYÉS

There were subjects which turned György Lukács that patient man impatient indeed, as he grew older. He interrupted you. He raised his voice, sometimes his hand even.

The relationship of morals and tactics, I mean of individual and collective action, was one of his oldest concerns as well.

Mostly it was I who took my almost obsessive brooding to our meetings.

How must we, humanists, behave in the face of barbaric forces of mass oppression such as the deprivation of rights of race and nation, of native language and national minority, so that our personal attitude would be of public use?

And in general, in the face of dangerous elemental aggression, power-madness so irresponsible that it forms a public danger, that is so unreasonable that it demands to be overcome.

BUTTING THE WALL?

Freedom has to be fought for. Every fight, a campaign in the first place, has a strategy of its own. One must not butt the wall, not even fighting for the right to be free, nor a prison gate, however unjustly it may have been locked on the evidently innocent. One must reckon with a tyrant's madness even. He has the upper hand, the big battalions.

"There is no need."

Nor must one reckon with the possibility of a clinical case. One must bang on the door and keep on banging!

I agreed. In theory. Since the beginning of time, however, every kind of arbitrary action has shouted its request through the rattled door not to be bothered, or else it will be still more severe, that is, more cruel, and will

"set an example". Just in order to show strength? Not only that. The oppressor, like a lover, prefers to be alone with the one he takes possession of. As if the same electric current transmitted the pleasures, be they positive or negative. And the more shameful a perverse desire, as is known, the more it flares up.

This was the simile I interjected.

Lukács began to smile, but only to pause before saying his piece all the more forcefully. He, a master of playful argument in his own right, thought humour out of place in this question.

If the door is not pounded, that morbid lust will be satiated just the same, and the perverted mind will demand still more victims, possibly raging till death.

We both agreed on that.

Should one kick at that door?

And what if the raging madman capable of everything really finishes off him who can do nothing in self-defence?

Strategy is the business of war-lords and political leaders. They have to learn its tricks.

But how far does the strategy of the intellect extend, and what is its real nature?

The question cuts to the quick. The marks left by the knife are only superficially covered, a first-aid bandage so to speak, and it's worth the trouble to examine the subject once again, more thoroughly, to repeat the parable with Christian patience.

TWO CAMPS

The lord of the castle went on and on, his men in armour carried off the young of the villages, those who did not return, did not return. Those who did, talked of horrors and their bodies bore evidence, even more so those of women and girls. More than once the people in anger went to the castle walls and pounded the gate, clamouring for the release of the captives. They were dispersed, of course.

If you irritate him his bite will be all the more vicious, the armoured men said this time also as a piece of advice. But not only they did. For the scream behind the door was not confined to mere words.

"We only add to the suffering of our own people," many of the villagers finally said.

Should we therefore forget the scream of the victim? (If he can still scream at all.)

Two camps took shape. One of those who were for giving up the ineffectual protests. The other of those who were not under any circumstances prepared to put up with the misdeeds of tyranny; for the simple reason that they felt threatened by it themselves.

DEBATE IN FRONT OF THE DOOR

It seems as if that subject we talked about with György Lukács is turning into the most burning issue of the twentieth century.

Thumping? Bomb explosions; that is, machine-gun fire, the thunder of crashing aircraft. And the law is almost ineffective in preventing the sacrifice of victims.

And who indeed is the victim?

And who will be next?

The word nihilism rose from Turgenev's pen; it was a hundred-odd years ago that Bazarov, the hero of *Fathers and Sons*, set off on a journey, distributing weapons together with his ideas to mad and also criminal anarchists. For where is the dividing line between the idealists of "People's Freedom" and the brigands of Bonot's hand? As if history made us face the *fin-de-siècle* dilemma of morality and action. Bakunin was expelled from the First International mainly for his advocating the "propaganda of action", of individual action. "Direct action" only provokes reaction and thereby impedes community movement. This was the real argument.

It seems that this sound doctrine had been taken into account also by those on the inside in the service of evil.

And what about the thumping? Lukács's fiery attitude, his suddenly smouldering impatience, which I evoke only to support my attitude?

No doubt about it, the thumping must be changed responsibly into public action, into a disciplined collective movement that eventually that door will not only be rattling but broken in.

The political world can show more reasons still today to reject individual action. And the intellectual world? Obviously fewer, or rather none at all. One or another poet, philosopher, historian or critic, whatever courageous individual action he may undertake, sets in motion other forces than a bomb-throwing nihilist does. Giordano Bruno also touched off an explosion; and although running head-on against the wall is really a harmful exercise in futility, many walls have nevertheless crumbled because fine heads had butted them, and butted hard with a courage inspired by duty. Clercs rarely waste so much beating about the bush as when they have to comment upon

the relationship of duty and courage from their own point of view as the link between morality and behaviour. There are reasons to be considered. Let me therefore insert a bit of my own beating about the bush.

PERSONAL DISTANT EXPERIENCE

Chance makes me know more than Hungarians do generally about the increasingly burning issues of Euskadi—or the Basque country. In the twenties in Paris the Bureau du Travail allotted a special room to workers who were not French. Like cinema audiences, swarms of people exchanged places every two or three hours in the evening. In the corridor we either waited for the Basques or they waited for us. Of course we mixed, while exchanging cigarettes, ideas and emigrant's complaints.

I remember one of their grievances fresh at the time. Why had they to struggle also there, in Paris, to have nursery schools, courts, newspapers and a university in their own language beyond the Pyrenees? Because, with the struggle letting up, this is how reaction advances: Stage 1, no teaching in the vernacular; stage 2, prohibition of the use of the vernacular in the playground; stage 3, punishment for those who speak loudly in their native language, even though in their own village street. The loudness of the voice is judged by the magistrate or police on duty.

Before lectures at the university of Bordeaux I had to present my registration papers. The professor summoned me into his room, kept shaking hands with me until he gave me a hug: "Monsieur," he shouted, "I know there is no relation between the Basque and the Hungarian language, they only bear some striking resemblance; but my father devoted his whole life to demonstrating their relationship. I am a Basque! Come, call on my family, let them see a living linguistic fact." I knew only one sentence in Basque, and I immediately made use of it: *Gora Euskadi!* I replied. Long live the Basque country! This is how I got to know a few things about this people, and it helped me later to gain the sympathy of a great French poet, Supervielle, equally of Basque origin, for our people, so much so that it even gave birth to a poem.

But why indeed should I make propaganda for the distant Basque people not just among those who pay heed to philosophical truths? Those who apply truth in practice can also study some examples in their case.

Barely more than a million Basques exist, a quarter of a million are already scattered in the diaspora. They live on both sides of the Pyrenees, in a compact mass six hundred thousand plus in Spain, and maybe two hundred

thousand in France. A hundred years ago their poorly protected autonomy was destroyed by the Spaniards. Their autonomy, re-granted in 1936 simultaneously and together with the republic, was created to be destroyed by Franco, who marked out Guernica for the German bombers to test with live ammunition their town-devastating preparedness. The other Basque towns and settlements were left for Italian military aircraft, to perform "heroic deeds" on defenceless people, safely. As a great feat to be boasted about three great Western European nations broke down the defensive walls—but not the backbone—of the only non-Indo-European people in Western Europe. The resistance of the Basque country, as is still reported by newspapers day after day, continues. Euskadi shows, quasi philosophically, three examples of the trends of its struggle for life. The first example is perhaps the most enduring one, that by which the French spirit at the time did not give up Alsace-Lorraine, making the slogan a battle-cry: *Jamais en parler, toujours y penser!* That is, no individual action, only loyalty. The second trend is just the opposite. On its banner another classic adage might glitter in its complete absurdity: *Pereat mundus, fiat iustitia! Eta,* the secret army of the Basque armed resistance, defying elementary arithmetic, places this startling formula on the walls as a self-destructive appeal: $4 + 3 = 1$. For this announces defiance of any rearguard whatever, proclaiming that the four Basque provinces situated in Spain and the three in France, daring as the desire may be, should be united in one country.

WHICH OF TWO WAYS?

La Pasionaria; this Spanish *nom de guerre* which means passion flower is used by the legendary heroine of the Spanish republican independence struggle and later of the emigration, who so deserves the name. She is a Basque herself, born Dolores Ibarruri, and her camp still proclaims today what was accomplished at the time: the struggle for the rights of the Basque people must go hand in hand with the struggle for the rights of the Spanish people; the restoration of Basque autonomy is also conditional upon the restoration of the Spanish republic.

This also met with universal approval.

The opponent, over there behind the door, behaved wrongly, even considering his own objectives. Hispanization stopped in all, even more remote, Basque territories. What is more: an increasing number of their people have again learnt the already forgotten vernacular. And it has been learned, and spoken aloud in the street, also by others who are not of

Basque origin. Euskara has become the language of freedom. No university? Never before have the folk song and folk dance gained so much ground. And the Basque beret has also gained ground—even in processions in Spain.

A few things transpired from behind the obstinate doors causing public horror but also public ridicule.

General Franco's sick-bed had not turned cold yet when French cartoonists—and not only on the left—already trained arrows into the eighty-odd-year-old body. (The most malicious in doing so were the draughtsmen of *Le Monde*.)

A current French caricature has no caption. It has to explode soundlessly, right into the brain, all the more violently. In one of the pictures the dying man in hospital is given a blood transfusion; the devoted attendants give him an infusion of the blood of the Basque revolutionaries executed at his last order. In a later picture the General stewing in boiling oil is tearing his hair; Beelzebub shows him a newspaper with the headline: "Amnesty?"

WHAT SHOULD WE TRIUMPH FOR?

Of course we might have found examples, not only in so remote places, of such and other symptoms that can be observed as a consequence of the thumpings György Lukács urged. And we also might ask heart-breakingly: What is the use of all this sulky assembling, even independently of the said doors? Who benefits by these many Babel-like groupings? By the drowning heroic people's clutching at every straw? Right, it was the Basques (not the Saracens of the poem) who at the time ambushed Charlemagne's rearguard, the heroes of the *Song of Roland*, in the Pyrenees but with the wheel of Fortune turning, would not the Basques, forgetting Euskara, also gain?

An equally hard philosophical nut from the harvest of morality and action, of principle and practice. Let me tell another parable by way of illustration.

NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND WEEKLY WAGES

Who will have to pay if the family operates badly, if the family spirit is bad? Members of the family themselves will do so most heavily. And what is the family spirit, a good one? A stable framework for mutual aid based on mutual knowledge and adjustment, if community spirit is the ocean, it

is the drop in that. Its working is good if I, the child, with whatever characteristic individuality I may have, can count on support, being brought up in this way to lend support.

That precisely is the criterion of a soundly operating nation. Why is it not superfluous after all to recall this illustrative, catechistic parallel? One point of the similarity really needs clarifying. He who fails to follow the spirit of the family, he who thus does not prove to be a fit member of the family, can quit either of his own free will or at the will of the other members of the family. He may seek or found another family, or may even remain without one.

What thought clarifies does not yet put feelings in order. What the nation is in effect has been clearly defined not only by philosophy and politics but also in law books. What is meant emotionally by living as one should in a nation, or rather what the spiritual norm of our relation to those who share our language should be, is something in respect of which confusion has never been as great—or growing as much—as in our century.

The present writer is a poet, one for whom to advance, to be avant-garde, will remain a sacred duty until death. Here he does not undertake—not even with a surrealist drive—to get down to the core of this matter. Let us just set right, from the outside, what is visible to the eye; nay, what is as plain as plain can be. Where communal consciousness—national minority consciousness included—is paltry, wages are also smaller than average.

Common sense, morality and justice demand that, as long as humanity lives within the framework of national communities, the good working of these national communities, like that of the family, should be important and in the public interest—as long as the family will also be a form of community.

The word socialist means in Hungarian: "community developer," "good socializer."

How good a socialist somebody is—that is, the question whether a person is a socialist at all—can be measured by whether he weakens or strengthens the closer community he belongs to, recognizing the national and vernacular framework as a life-protecting and life-giving community. That is, if I feel it natural and thus expect that my community will be a sort of bulwark to me in thousands of things, will I also join in the defence of our common rights. When they are the eternal rights of man at the same time! In this there can be no difference of opinion. But do you, the man of intellect, with your tools, and do we all, using the instruments of thinking at least, undertake to do the clamouring? For these rights at least? And is it our duty to do so?

Naturally, if we can count up to two at least. Where do the Negroes lack the right even to get white public transport It is where they did not clamour for even that much for many years. And what is the next stage, where people do not speak up against being forbidden to utter a good cry in their vernacular in their own town—as the Basques complain. They get even banished from their own town.

THE GREEN LIGHT OF PHILOSOPHY

What kind of lance of Theseus or St. George could the spirit raise against all this, until now? First there is the lance of pure thought, that of logic placed in the public arena.

The major premise—the primary truth—of the national (the religious, the vernacular) question is this: He who does not join the defenders of his own community upholding the rights of man is a traitor not only to human rights as such but also to the most elementary material well-being of those having identical interests, one might say, to his weekly wages, his daily pay. La Pasionaria had from the outset recruited supporters for the *frente popular* by demanding equal pay and equal treatment, fair chances for members of "minority nations", also in the Basque provinces, and in all other regions of the world. The second premise is this: Can there be, in case of illness, any other concern than the medicine, especially when the recipe is at hand? Can there be, among relatives, not only idle beating about the bush but even such as that is customary amongs poets? György Lukács, who was also a scholar of responsibilities, endorsed this premise, so clarifying the relationship of ethics and tactics declaring it not to be any odd sort of relation but a close connection.

But whither can a man of ideas set out on a bridge so nicely built upon these two pillar premises? For example, and mainly, in the Basque country; and in all those places where not even the French can for the time being imagine and kind of autonomy?

With György Lukács, at that time, we did not get far in the solution of the question; we did not even cut a ribbon towards this region as cabinet ministers cut with a pair of scissors lifted from a velvet cushion, opening the way to traffic over newly built roads and bridges. True, this time also it was about the battle rules and possibilities of historic forces that Lukács spoke in a general way and not with such local interest as I did by way of example about the people of Euskadi I had met by chance.

The author of *The Dethronement of Reason*, who in this work masterfully

biscusses this question and who as a genuine philosopher, when his time was running out, became more and more impatient in the matter of his recognitions, accepted the "don't forget" part of the French motto but rejected the "don't speak" advice. He fought for the moral commandment and practical need to keep at it.

No one who uses his pen is as disciplined by these forms as a poet. I was strongly inclined to make the philosopher's impatience my own. Still, I looked for compromise; I very much felt responsible towards those who are inside the door at all times, towards the defenceless whom I could not protect. But I knew the destructive force of silence as well. It is well to condemn a community of the kind which feigns deafness to its members in trouble anywhere, precisely when it can best understand their speech. So it is bound to hear, and to listen. Thus it is necessary to find the means, and find all the ways, for the men of the intellect to speak up, at the spiritual level, ultimately for the defence of truly social rights, for equal material and cultural opportunities, for which the not quite one-million-strong Basque nation is wrestling with a persistence arousing world-wide attention. "National in form, proletarian in content" was Gorky's pointing the way to socialist realism. Only the first—the topmost—level of the Basque truth is national; everything that is underneath is internationally social, imbued with the spirit of class struggle valid on a world scale. This is why words of cheer sounding from all parts of the world, like a response to the slogan of every human freedom, reply to these two non-Indo-European words: *Gora Euskadi!*

And more than one such cry comes in reply. Merely in defence of the vernacular.

"EXPECTATION" AND "APPROACH"

The new—or the newest—generation of Hungarian literature has an exciting opportunity ahead if it gets an inkling of it as a collective, and if it is united not only in years but also in recognitions and duties. The attention of circus spectators is always mixed with a warm feeling of affection, whenever a whole family makes an entrance below the nets and trapezes.

Looking for the causes, the spectators of literature represent an alarming recession of today's European belles-lettres, comparing them with the works of the years between the wars and with those of the Resistance. The literatures of preceding periods throughout the world contained a considerable quantity of ferments which exacting aesthetics called, often and deservedly, something extraliterary, detached from other fields. We have

many such examples also in remote times. This is how the generation of Berzsenyi and Vörösmarty led forth into the arena the generation of Széchenyi and Kossuth. In the same way Diderot and his circle led out the Jacobins.

Literatures are generally grateful later if their time had given them extra tasks. Grateful posterity then says almost ungratefully: they lived up to expectations. As if this had been an obligatory act of courtesy.

Viewing the situation (and the trapezes) from under such skies—from a historical perspective—we can suggest what "expectations" a future Hungarian literature will have to meet. The answer almost lit up in the preceding explanations: a right "approach" to a national consciousness that makes international claims. Since Ady fell silent, if I remember right this was as long as sixty years ago, our literature—our intellectual life—has confronted national consciousness in the service of humanity in confusion.

The instruments of the Muses are all hand tools. Being unable to outshout the elements or the rotary printing presses, the Muses need a certain silence to make their voices audible. As generations give voice as well. Perhaps Hungarian intellectual life itself does not sense what a relatively favourably growing silence of attention is waiting for highly responsible work, for the performance of its duty in the life of the community.

In the last century we had two such silences after storms. The Reform period after the Napoleonic Wars, and the time of the 1867 Compromise after the Világos surrender. Needless to list all those who took advantage of the acoustics of the first, for Arany as well learnt to speak at that time. In the second it was Jókai, a teller of tales feebly conscious of his responsibility, and Vajda a worthy genius almost reduced to a stammer by responsibility and loneliness.

It seems that our century offered another kind of acoustics for the expectations of our vernacular community.

MODERN HUNGARIAN POETRY
"INCOMPREHENSIBLE TO OUTSIDERS"?

by

ERIC MOTTRAM

Gábor Garai's poem, from which this title is taken, is a tribute to the resistant forcefulness of his language, and its particular nourishment:

> you are living water on the tongue:
> you are my religion, and if need be, my mask,
> my aerial roots . . .

But outsiders ought to be let in, if possible. The Hungarian language and culture are so peculiarly integrated as to be related only to Central Asian and far Northeastern European societies. It is a community, individual, attacked and vulnerable, even eroded and full of the vestigial archeology of centuries which can be opened up by poets at the very moment they identify their survival with national survival. Where the best American poets of the period of Miklós Vajda's collection* investigate history as if for the first time it presses in to expose their vulnerabilities, Hungarian poets speak from within historical events and remain as survivors in an environment at once hostile and the homeland. Only the most recent Americans are realizing that their country would willingly send them, platonically, to the outskirts of the City. British poets since 1946—with few exceptions: Bunting, MacDiarmid, David Jones, and a handful of younger poets—have been pastime poets of middle class entertainment, the class that satisfies its minimal urges for culture by reading the culture supplements of the Sunday papers, and appoints to the chair of poetry at Oxford University poets such as Roy Fuller and John Wain, hardly even second-rate individualists. As William Jay Smith infers in his foreword to this collection, a Western European poet can judge the difference

* *Modern Hungarian Poetry*. Edited and introduced by Miklós Vajda, Foreword by William Jay Smith. Columbia University Press, New York, 1977. 320 pp., 41 photographs. $ 11.95. The great majority of the translations in the book first appeared in this journal.

by reading Gyula Illyés's "A Wreath". Here the language itself sounds "more often with the helpless rage of the humiliated," resists Tartars, Turks and, presumably, more recent invaders, and grows secretly under the ears of the prison guards. But then the use of Hungarian is separated here from the complacent middle class and from the ruling class, as well as from tyrannical invaders. It is as revolutionary as Luther's vernacular: "testimony of the suspect."

Does this mean that Hungarian is an historical container of those who remain? a peasant system of words, slow to absorb the new? or does Illyés make what he needs afresh out of his basic instrument? An outsider cannot know. In any case, a Central European poet is bound to be and feel more encroached upon than a British or Norwegian poet—although we in Britain have had to absorb and then move out from the necessary new forms of the major Americans of the 1950s and 1960s. This was not just the cultural equivalent of economic and political domination, but still something which could have been a malignantly invasory virus. Hungary has no sea (and the high incidence of sea images in these poems is part of their local resonance); we are islanders, and the historical habit continues even when air transport and the adverse balance of payments tell us daily that no man is an island. Yet the boundaries have been continually crossed. Hungarian music hardly sounds national now—not since Bartók's last two quartets, one or two inflections and tunes apart. Ligeti is international, and so is the style, at least, of such a fine director as Jancsó. Maybe national freedom has now to mean international style. But not yet in words. Poetry's sounds are only international in some forms of concrete and sound text works. Verbal poems remain obstinately frontiered by a language, and inside the language history seethes and rests. Poetry, like wine, sometimes cannot travel, and wine at least is hardly translatable. Poets can travel only if freely permitted, or through the limited permission of translation. Vajda's poets have been metamorphosed into English by Americans and Britons, and we find ourselves hoping for something as exciting as Marlowe's Ovid or Pound's Propertius or... and then we have to think hard for examples of translations we read again as poetry rather than translations (and we exclude such hybrids as Lowell's "imitations".)

The issue is translation, and from one culture into another, since it is never a matter simply of linguistic transference, of water into wine—or, more usually, wine into water. The miracle is expected. So we enter what Vajda calls "nothing less than five hundred years of unjust and debilitating history, with all its inevitable consequences," to which the best artists have responded. Run of the mill poets may respond with calls to resistance,

collaboration—or imitate the ostrich. Better poets may relate local experience to some inner action—one hesitates to say, with Vajda, "the universal human experience" because the phrase is too reductive and leads to tyrannies of simplicity. But it hardly needs Auden to inform us of the quality of Juhász's "The Boy Changed into a Stag. . .". We experience it as a great work. But when we who have no Hungarian read it in English, what exactly do we encounter? The differences between the translation by David Wevill, in the most available British version in Penguin paperback, and the Kenneth McRobbie version in Vajda, are dismaying. Just take passages in the opening lines (Wevill on the left):

a flag, tasselled, black, for the wind
the firedamp dusk that smelled of blood.
. . .
to the stocky, cluster-balled bulls
. . .
to the welding rings of water—
  Hush; you birds and branches
hush, because I'm calling
. . .
  fin-quiver, leafy parasols
be still, deep humming of sap

A flag for the wind with ten black tassells
a shroud, the fire-stabbed blood-tainted dusk.
. . .
to the clench-balled bulls rooted so firmly
. . .
to the mauve oil-rings afloat fleetingly:
  you birds and boughs, hear me
listen as I cry out
. . .
  you vibrant fins, astral-seeding parachutes,
decelerate, you humming motors of the saps

The complete effect of the McRobbie is more varied, more vivid and more powerful than the Wevill. Which do we choose? Yet both translators, as Vajda and Wevill write in their introductions, had access to similar translating apparatus, since neither knows Hungarian. English readers do not have that apparatus—as they do, to some extent, in Stanley Burnshaw's *The Poem Itself.* We read gratefully but sceptically. Wevill's Juhász comes in the same book as Edwin Morgan's Weöres, and Morgan translates him for Vajda—he is clearly one of the main translators on whom *The New Hungarian Quarterly* has relied. But again, the difference between Morgan's version of "Landscape with Mountain" and Peter Redgrove's, also one of our best contemporary British poets, is striking. The Morgan is a tight little poem, condensed and terse; the Redgrove is discursive (on the left below):

Landscape with Mountain
In the valley: ever-rumple of the brook,
And the ever-rustle of bird-voices.

Above: silence hangs
Where the rocks reign. Rock-face;
God-face.

Mountain Landscape
Valley brook
birdsong squabble.

High quiet
home of god-faced
rocks hanging.

Higher still and very high, assuredly nobody sings.
At the very top: grindstone-screech,
Icy crackling headpiece.

And higher, Nemo's song,
hilltop grindstone-squeal:
ice cracks smart.

These are two different *kinds* of poem, and since one of the issues which Vajda's collection raises is the nature of innovation in syntax, measure and lay-out in modern Hungarian poetry—what is "modern" about it—the difference in translation could radically mislead. One of these poets is fusing Weöres into his own preoccupations with poetic procedures. Or perhaps they both are.

Inevitably, the English reader wants to judge from such a compendious anthology how far Hungarian and English poetries differ and are similar in their usage of what Harold Rosenberg calls "the tradition of the new." He has to take it that the selection is representative. It is unlikely that Hungarian poets should be any different in quality than other national poets, and this proves to be the case. The quantitative relationship of first-rate poetry to middling and middle of the road poetry is pretty usual. More important for us is that we now have a large collection of 20th century Hungarian poetry, with a first-hand introduction—this is in itself a major achievement. There are no excuses now not to be aware that Illyés, Vas, Pilinszky and László Nagy are major poets—or that, apart from these and Tornai and to some extent Petri, inventive forms are rather rare; that really inventive forms apparently emerge in Somlyó; that no one in this country or America writes on their own language like Garai's "In Hungarian"; that Ferlinghetti has a rival in Ottó Orbán. In nearly 280 pages here there are only two downright dull poets, and that in itself again is an achievement. But few surprises come out of these pages either—apart from, for this ignorant reader, Pilinszky who is clearly a poet to be reckoned with. His lines ring in the head: "The shivering mob of my nights"—"He is horribly alone. (His pores are visible"—"Your room breathes darkness: coal-dust sleeping."—

> All that's needed is the sight of a face, a presence,
> and the wallpaper begins to bleed.

And the end of "Apocrypha," a work which shows that some Hungarian poets have opened up their methods through symbolist and surrealist practices with the image:

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

Pilinszky's explicitly religious poems have less intensity, at least in these versions, being largely expressions of dogmatic position, but the vitality of image in, for instance, "Under the Winter Sky"—a poem of violence and disaster—is unmistakable. The lonely figure there in such rich imagery of vulnerable conditions has no complement in English work. Nor is there a parallel, except possibly in St. John-Perse, for Juhász's "Power of Flowers," a poem of magnificent explorations; within the great accumulations of imagery placed at the disposal of a clear natural philosophy lies a sense of what "homeland" can mean to a Hungarian. The poem, to judge from Vajda's introduction, represents not only the strength of Hungarian but the streak of resistant survival in a country historically invaded to a point where being a Hungarian writer means inheriting invasion and harsh decisions whether to assimilate or dig in, in anarchistic revolt.

Illyés's "The Wonder Castle" is a major example of how to get explicitly social consciousness into a poem, without turning the work into a documentary or a form of propaganda. The presence of the peasant worker in the poet's perhaps necessarily bourgeois other life must be an action close to the centre of what art comes to mean in political and utilitarian society—a society which tries to call the tune aggressively and persistently. The scene is only too familiar to us in Britain, but we have not known for many years now that occupation which militates in Vas's "The Grand Finale." To judge from the translation, he achieves his tensions within a light, even jaunty, strategy. His poems, especially those of old age, demonstrate a life, and they reach into you finally as just that: a record of a life. Any poet knows that the poem of private life avoids with difficulty the penetrations of sentimental self-preoccupation or public humility. Vas watches himself at fifty like an anthropologist.

The imagic onslaught of Nagy's poems appears to be extravagant in exuberance. Reading "The Bliss of Sunday," Whitman comes to memory—it is a long hoard of activities. But the images fail in resonance; is it the translation? The exception is "Squared by Walls," an extraordinary examination of despair and guilt, part of a dark and painful region of Vajda's collection Nagy shares with Garai's "A Man Beaten Up" and a few other poems coming to terms with tyranny.

But to continue singling out first impressions, hoping they make sense and that they will last, would be to increase the danger of invidious criticism, when in fact the book has only just arrived into our knowledge. Criticism might legitimately be offered in a couple of cases. First: in the procedures of a good deal of the poetry here, a dominant adherence to sentence syntax limits the range of possible statement; and an insistent

use of "like" introduces images which are not really similes. Easy forms of personification seem to attract Hungarian poets far beyond modern usage in Europe since the 19th century. These structural methods throw curiously old-fashioned tone over much of the poetry. Or again, is it the translators who are responsible? Certainly, those poems which come across most vividly—even in those with not obviously strong imagic configurations —are generated from relatively uncomplex syntactical procedures and imagery techniques—Ágnes Nemes Nagy's "Statues," for example, and the skillful worldliness of Görgey's "Interview," the love poems of Csoóri, and the witty melancholy of Orbán.

Secondly: the sheer amount of translationese in the collection is disturbing, considering the reputation of most of the poet-translators. Translationese is to poetry what cliché is to the politician—a stock response which hopes to convince enough to get by. A poet is supposed to rejuvenate language, or at least to keep it fit. But in this book you do not have to look far to find: God, where is my laughter, where too is the great motiveless sobbing: When again and again—O blood-drained webs of reverberating daybreaks!—

. . .

reeds and waterplants make merry

. . .

To don bright garments—custom called for it

. . .

to shape the prayer of the woeful mouth

After all, we have English texts to read, not Hungarian. The Graves translations of Devecseri have the movement and intonation of the translator's own work to the point where the Hungarian poet has submerged. When we find elsewhere "spooningly" and "pastry-shops," "love-in" and "clishmaclaver" the effects of language disturb a sense of Hungarian origin. Social continuity is virtually wrecked. More seriously, although Illyés, for instance, generally receives translations which read powerfully in their own right by four of the best translators in the book (but who is responsible for the cliché of "the boat plows on"?), is Zelk really as pretentious as these versions present him? Is Vas as frequently discursive as this? The end of his "Gods" and all of "It Doesn't Count" have an authentic excitement; why does it not extend into other work here? Is it the translators who make Weöres seems so often simply virtuosic, in spite of evidence to the contrary in the marvellous exuberances of "Le Journal"? "The Seventh Garden" comes out as a 19th-century poem with odd 17th-century overtones: is this the method of the original? The rhetoric in Nagy often seems too loose in organization—"Without Mercy" and "Love of the Scorching

Wind"—and in the latter, particularly, more destructive than creative in its hysteria. The new English reader must finally leave such impressions as impressions until he learns better.

Miklós Vajda's introduction is, as befits the work of a man with his country's poetry at heart, useful, and the factual apparatus on the poets is clear and detailed. But it does lack clear description of possible interactions between 20th-century European literary activities and indigenous, Hungarian concerns. Too often, he simply leaves it at "avant-garde," a meaningless term in the 1970s, because it is now abundantly clear that this century's innovations are part of the general process: there is no traditional norm from which to judge what is "avant-garde" and what is not. Vajda might also have been a little more precise in historical detail and a little more particular about the language in particular poets and poems. And he does use the term "irony" too often to describe a poet's ability. But all this said, we know more about Hungarian poets from his work, both in *The New Hungarian Quarterly* and in this collection, than before. He has benefited readers throughout the world.

Poets love boring platitudes about "life" and love boring clever metaphors. The Hungarians are no exception. Perhaps their rhetoric and eloquence is native and tends to the grand philosophical gesture. Certainly, very few poets here have the condensed, laconic economy of Americans such as George Oppen and Louis Zukofsky, or risk the ideogrammatic discontinuities of Pound and Olson, or attempt the intense localness and domesticities of William Carlos Williams. Missing, too, is the overt political commitment of a Pound or Zukofsky or a MacDiarmid—perhaps of necessity—and the risks, quite common elsewhere in this century, of collage and parataxis. Curiously, the internal strife of the nation appears more in recent American poetry than in Hungarian, to judge from this book. And to an Englishman there is an unusual feeling for the sea which he takes more for granted. Perhaps a Hungarian poet would notice our British insularity. But now the Hungarians have invaded our island. We have known that Juhász, like Bartók, was a great man. Now we know that 20th-century Hungarian poetry is a field of considerable strength, as vital and committed as that of other countries, and not at all as isolated as we injuriously believed. What remains is that indefinable ache to understand Hungarian which we feel on hearing *Bluebeard's Castle*, seeing *Red Psalm* and reading "The Boy Changed into a Stag..."

THE OUTLINES OF A NEW SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

by

JÓZSEF BOGNÁR

By way of introduction reference should be made to those limitations which necessarily derive from the aims and nature of this paper and of the scientific analysis underlying it.

The first limitation is that this paper contains relatively few statistical data and quantitative relationships. It is obvious, however, that trying to press too many part-relationships into the framework of this study would weaken concentration on a set of major interconnections, diluting the essence of the message until it reaches a stage where, as the Hungarian proverb goes, the wood could not be seen for the trees.

The second limitation, which is very similar to the first, derives in its turn from the manner in which questions relating to the new international economic order are discussed. The new economic order itself has many components, each of which constitutes important separate problems that are interesting in themselves. Trade in raw materials and commodities, technological transfer, monetary questions and the problems of countries without access to the sea are all complex questions and processes whose proper survey is made extremely difficult by the related complex and contradictory set of interests. Therefore, economists and specialists in commerce and monetary matters must study these problems extremely carefully, being always aware of the fact that it is these part-processes which determine the whole. The task of the members of this body is, however, to predict the fate and movements of the masses and to channel their resultant activity into an organized political action serving the good of mankind. This statement implies by no means that we can be satisfied with generalizations, declaring that crises and conflicts are bound to arise, since international politics, namely peaceful coexistence aimed at warding off a world catastrophe, is necessarily tangential, at certain points, with crises that elicit increased political activity. But even in the awareness of

this fact it must be emphasized that expertise and professional aspects alone constitute but one, though a most essential, factor of progressive political actions.

1

Since political independence was secured, the weight of the struggle for independence has shifted to economic questions. This shift derives from the present position of the developing world on the one hand and, on the other, from the present and future role of the economy in the living conditions and progress of humanity.

Political and social factors play an essential, either promoting or restricting, role in doing away with economic underdevelopment. They can ensure the best, satisfactory or unsatisfactory conditions for economic progress, but economic underdevelopment can eventually be eliminated only by economic means.

The weight and significance of economic activity has been increasing since the middle of the 1970s because the basis of the survival of humanity is modern economic development. Earlier, whole nations or major regions, even continents could be left out of economic progress, and yet they survived, though in misery and exploitations. But, owing to present-day population explosion and interdependence, this is no longer possible. Each country, and each economy, will have to progress if it wishes to survive. The efforts to formulate a new concept of a new international economic order, and to get it accepted, an attempt most recently made by the non-aligned countries at the Colombo Conference, point to the fact that the developing countries recognized the necessity of this shift in emphasis.

These new demands signal the beginning of the struggle waged by the Third World against the present system and operating mechanisms of monopoly capitalism. System is the right word, since the inherited international economic system is one of the most powerful supports of the economic power of monopoly capitalism today. Given certain transfer mechanisms, economic power is political power as well, particularly in the present circumstances when political and economic questions as also shown by the struggles and actions of the developing world are closely intertwined. The anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist nature of the prevailing tendencies is not altered by the fact that the interpretation of the fight (the ends and means) has not only its progressive but also its conservative (moderate) varieties.

The declaration and the action programme accepted at the 6th extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and the proposals of other international organizations allow the outlines of a new international economic order to be discerned. This order is based on the principles of equality and justice, in which the states renounce every type of economic dictate, making it also impossible for economic organizations to behave in an aggressive manner, in which there is no exploitation of nations, in which the nations maintain mutually advantageous economic relations furthering each other's progress.

Throughout the world, the forces of peace support the fight for a new international economic order, since such an order would not merely nip in the bud numerous tensions and conflict between nations, but would also be an important support of the structure of peace.

These forces are aware of the difficulties and complications which derive partly from the fight to overcome resistance and obstacles and partly from chosing and creating the appropriate weapons of this fight in such a way that they should both make effective the new international economic order and ensure the preservation of peace.

The struggle for a new international economic order demands a peculiar combination of economic and political tools and efforts. In our days, however, the political and economic ends and means are intertwined in such a manner and to such an extent that is unprecedented in history.

It is not only that it is fully possible, indeed experienced, that political means are used for economic ends, and vice versa, or that one is converted to the other in concrete situations and processes, it is also true that political structures contain an increasing number of economic components, and vice versa. In a modern sense, a political result, structure or step is merely such that more political than economic components are involved in the processes or actions concerned, conversely, an economic result, structure or step differs from the corresponding political result, etc. in that each contains more economic than political components. Given that interpretation, I should like to point out that the successful inception and carrying out of the struggle has three predominantly political preconditions:

(a) Those new political power relations which have taken shape in the course of numerous struggles in the past ten to fifteen years, must be maintained and further improved. The new political power relations have come into existence as a result of the increased political and economic strength of the Soviet Union and the allied socialist countries on the one hand, and of the developing countries, on the other.

(b) The developing countries must purposefully strengthen their existing

alliances, the community of interests and solidarity with the countries of the socialist camp in the economic and political fields.

(c) The unity of action of the developing world must be maintained, its anti-imperialist character strengthened and economic co-operation amongst them must become a reality.

It follows from the nature of things that, in order to ensure these political preconditions, numerous economic means have to be used in our days.

2

As a result of the historically given endowments and character of the developing countries

(a) a set of internal conditions of their economic growth can only be improved with the help of a specific political system of alliances, as part of a coherent and interrelated system of social, economic, political and educational reforms; such a process is necessarily a lengthy one;

(b) the set of external conditions for growth is extraordinarily intensive and sensitive even under the assumption that the economic dependence on the Western powers can gradually be reduced. Though stressing the extraordinary importance of such conditions, it must be pointed out that this set of external conditions—in view of the present-day institutional order of the world economy—cannot be superimposed on the set of requirements of growth. This would be opposed, on the one hand, to the sovereignty of nations, and to the principle of equality in relations on the other, since the other party always sets out from its own economic interests when establishing these relations. At present the most decisive test and requirement of the operation of the world economic system is the successful development of the national economies and integrational organizations. Other criteria are justified, for the time being, only in the case of global problems. Therefore, what is needed is the honest reconciliation of interests rather than the subordination of the interests of the economically weaker party to those of the stronger one, in the interests of a so-called "rationalization" of the division of labour.

3

The interconnections of the sets of internal and external conditions of growth require that a type of development should be realized which performs the change of the two sets of conditions in an interrelated, coherent way.

Gradualness involves the recognition that the application of purely administrative measures in the exercise of power does not suffice, since attainment of objectives in economic policy cannot be divorced from the behaviour and efforts of social groups and individuals who co-operate in their realization. New forms, on the other hand, are needed because the forms of economic organization, which come into being in the course of production, must be coupled with (and supplemented by) such forms as arise on the basis of (the satisfaction of basic needs).

This requirement means that in the course of social development progress on the basis of production (reforms) should be carried out only if the resulting new structures and forms of organization ensure a better satisfaction of needs. When accepting and applying the principle of the satisfaction of basic needs care must be taken that both the new interpretation of this concept and the economic options open to developing countries are duly considered. Not only needs of an economic kind have to be satisfied, but also such as are connected with education, housing and town planning, health and hygiene, and politics. In the majority of developing countries such needs can only be satisfied on a rather low level for the time being, and the attainment of higher standards will depend on the progress made in economic development.

(c) Industrialization on a selective basis must be initiated in terms of a well-thought-out and coherent long-term plan:

—the export sector should be built, as far as possible, on a domestic raw material basis;

—the investment sector should rely in part on home production (building materials) and in part on imports;

—the consumer goods industries, i.e. the economic activities serving the want satisfaction of the population, should be organized on a territorial (decentralized) basis. This might help to slacken the unhealthy flow of the population from areas not yet industrialized to heavily populated centres.

(d) In the economic development of our own times agriculture not only helps to bring about and maintain equilibrium, but has a considerable role in ensuring (or creating) economic independence as well. These days it is only the North American continent and Australia which have major grain surpluses, a fact which may set limits to the freedom of action of the governments of developing countries suffering from grain shortages. Therefore the forceful development of agriculture is a decisive precondition of a healthy economic growth. Agriculture must therefore be developed

—in the interests of nutrition (to fight famine and improve diets);

—to reduce economic dependence since for the time being only the Western industrial powers have at their disposal significant grain surpluses;

—in the interests of a relative equilibrium in the growth model (since growing agricultural imports reduce the volume of imported investment goods and technologies);

—in order to stop unhealthy territorial labour mobility. (At present the danger is imminent that by 1985 there will be 147 towns in the developing world with a million or more inhabitants and with no or hardly any industry.)

(e) Every possible growth model in the developing world is highly foreign-trade sensitive.

After the acceleration of growth, there will be a need to import

(a) technologies;

(b) supplementary means of growth (capital, credit and investment goods);

(c) highly qualified specialists in order to ensure technological transfer;

(d) missing raw materials and special materials;

(e) (possibly) agricultural products (if agriculture is of a low standard, or of a monocultural structure);

(f) (possibly) arms;

(g) (possibly) consumer goods (depending on the distribution of the domestic purchasing power and on the progress made in consumer-goods production).

As against this, the volume and range of exports will be limited in this (initial) stage of growth to

(a) certain raw materials (at present primarily those representing a low degree of processing). It would appear advisable to link some of the exports of this kind to the transfer of processing technologies;

(b) certain agricultural products of the tropics;

(c) certain products of the industries that are in the process of establishment.

The inevitable foreign trade disequilibria will have to be mitigated first by increasing exports and then by reducing imports. Thus in respect of raw materials such flexible solutions will have to be sought to ensure the above-mentioned conditions all the time keeping the stock of raw materials under national control. Agricultural exports should only be increased if after the satisfaction of the needs of the fast growing population there still remains land allowing the development of, or the transition to, intensive agriculture. The export of the products of the new industries can be given an impetus by the growing international division of labour.

It would make no sense to reduce those imports which ensure a speeding up of domestic production. It would be appropriate nonetheless to reduce, if possible, and to the extent that is possible, agricultural imports as well as the import of arms and consumer goods (particularly luxuries).

4

The foreign trade situation here outlined indicates deficits over many decades even if the developing countries are able to achieve essential improvements in the conditions of their export, and if they are granted various benefits or deferments to pay for their imports. This is because the contradiction between the export potential and import needs is due to the present division of economic activities, and becomes automatically effective through prices. The new international economic order does not, and cannot, put an end to this contradiction. It can only disappear in the course of economic development.

It is in this sense that the capitalist market mechanisms are said to operate in a way that favours the rich and puts the poor at a disadvantage. A different situation can only come about if the parties in the economic cooperation are guided by the principle of mutual aid. This means in practice that the economically stronger party ensures special concessions to the weaker one in all relations that are connected with development policy. It follows from the concept of interdependence that the economically stronger parties have greater responsibilities in the world economy than the economically weaker ones.

It was this fluctuating character of the capitalist world-market mechanism which was the decisive cause preventing the developing countries from reaching an appropriate growth rate even in the boom years of the capitalist economy (1960–1972).

As against this, all developing countries, with a few exceptions, were affected by the unfavourable effects of the crisis of the industrially highly developed capitalist countries. It is the consequence of the capitalist world-market mechanism that the boom effects are hardly felt in the economically weak countries, while they are the most heavily afflicted by recessions and crises. It is clear, therefore, that the need for a new international economic order is made all the more urgent by the ever sharpening inner contradictions (crises) of the capitalist economy.

Let us think of the serious inequalities produced, even within the new international economic order, by the factors listed below:

(a) the nature of the existing division of labour (the structure and technological standards of the economies as manifesting themselves in their exports);

(b) the existing monetary system and its connected institutions,

(c) multinational corporations, which are already responsible for 1/7 of world production;

(d) the rising interest-burden of a growing stock of loans (150 thousand million dollars);

(e) inflation, also effective in international trade and felt by every country engaged in import transactions;

(f) other consequences of the division of economic power.

Clearly, the developing countries, despite their disadvantageous position in the capitalist world market, cannot exist without economic relations with the industrially developed capitalist countries. It is, therefore, essential that the negative effects of these relations be minimized. In this respect, a decisive role is to be assigned, in addition to the new international economic order, to the various inter-governmental organizations and continental committeees, to the goverments of particular developing countries. These new factors and institutions provide the various governments the possibility to act circumspectly, but with determination in the defence of their economic interests.

5

Thus the new international economic order would bring about qualitative changes in those systems of norms and conditions of international economic relations which most closely affect the developing countries. It must be stressed, however, most emphatically that the fight for new and more favourable conditions is not the outcome of one single voting process of a legal action, but the result of concrete, everyday economic practice. More favourable conditions can only be maintained and further improved in the course of concrete economic activities if

(a) the internal progress in the economies is fast and successful, without periodical breakdown resulting from the cumulative consequences of serious disequilibria;

(b) the political structure taking shape is able to ensure dynamism and stability simultaneously. The intertwining of political and economic factors, situations and processes must repeatedly be emphasized. It follows therefrom that the views which try to divorce the political processes from the economic ones are particularly dangerous in this period. It must be

emphasized that not only economic one-sidedness, the neglect of social and political factors can be extremely dangerous, but political one-sidedness, too, that is, the ignoring of economic factors may give rise to failures;

(c) cooperation with the socialist world in political and economic fields will be fruitful;

(d) proper solidarity and economic cooperation is evolving between the developing countries. It should be stressed that what is meant in both cases is strategic cooperation, that is such as is confined to fundamental political and economic issues. There is no other way to ensure a conformity of actions between countries, movements and organizations in different positions, with differing endowments and interests. Only the crucial and the most important questions should be used for testing cooperation on basic issues. The system of alliances must not unnecessarily be put to test on points that have a tactical importance only. A practice like this not only aggravates the behaviour of the allies, but also loses its moral and political credit with the outside world.

6

A circumspect organization of the political and diplomatic struggle for the formulation and realization of the new international economic order must be looked upon as one of the major achievements of the developing countries. The elaboration and gradual introduction of the basic principles of the new order is absolutely necessary, just, useful and progressive. Necessary, because it is a precondition for economic growth, just, because it is aimed at reducing inequalities rooted in the present international economic order, useful, because it furthers the unity of action of developing countries with differing political views, and progressive because it attacks the powerful positions of monopoly capitalism.

To get things quite clear we must point out, lest problems of terminology should be misleading, that the progress finding expression in this unity of action is relative. What the new international economic order is aimed to do is to put a brake on the negative trends inherent in the nature of the monopoly capitalist system and its hegemonic aspirations (power relations) in the interests of the Third World and international economic relations. In this sense the new international economic order means essential progress, since it aims at replacing what is old, unjust and historically obsolete by something better. It also ensures better starting positions in the international political and economic arena for the developing world. Such a new international economic order—or its variants improved in the course of the struggle

—is needed because the victory of the revolution in a few countries does not in itself make inherited economic order ineffective. But a genuine new international economic order can only be introduced when a revolution comes to power in the economically most powerful countries and makes it possible to introduce an international division of labour based on socialist principles.

Let it be added for the sake of completeness that international economic co-operation of this sort (i.e. forcasting the future) is gradually coming into being in the intertrade relations within the CMEA.

Finally, mention ought to be made of the fact that, in keeping with the needs of our times—I mean peaceful coexistence—the European socialist (CMEA) countries are also fighting to ensure that international economic relations be placed on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. They aim to realize their demands in a positive form, that is by an essential expansion of East-West contacts. These expanding economic relations serving each other's interests may provide conclusive evidence of the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems and contribute to the cause of European security and the peaceful progress of the world as a whole.

The growth in East-West trade also releases new energies for speeding up economic development in the Third World.

It ought to be mentioned briefly that East-West economic relations directly and indirectly form part of the international economic order (either of the old or the new type), therefore, neglecting them would be a mistake.

7

The European socialist countries (the Soviet Union and the CMEA countries) are intended to establish in the years to come such contacts of economic strategy with the developing world which will be an important contribution to their growth and development. The character of these economic relations is such that they will not only enable the countries concerned to perform certain tasks better, more efficiently and less expensive than they are able to do now, but these relations will also make it possible to set up a new economic structure, to adopt new, complex technologies and to mobilize, in a novel way, already existing natural and human resources. Care is also taken to ensure that the mutual economic interests involved contain a sufficient measure of cohesive force in the socialist economies, too, since the establishment of long-lasting relations is inconceivable in any other way. Long-term, dynamic and lasting relations

can only be realized by the coordination of plans. And the coordination of plans reveals the possibility to establish new relations. Relations must come about on a complex basis, which means, among other things, that the CMEA countries cooperate with the developing countries not only in improving their production and adopting new technologies, but also in the training of the labour force. (Ranging from the professional education of the national intelligentsia through vocational training to instruction in various productive processes and methods.)

The CMEA countries are also ready to cooperate in the exploitation and utilization of natural resources, inasmuch as the technological, economic and scientific tasks involved prove to be beyond the present capacities of any individual developing country.

It is clear that some of these contacts can only be established on a multilateral basis, that is, if their organization in that way results in economically more efficient solutions. Therefore the socialist countries are ready to organize cooperation on this in any given case, though this has only been done to a limited extent so far even in their intertrade. Along with the development of the classical exchange of commodities, such forms of the international division of labour must be found to an increasing degree which ensure a market for industrial commodities and semi-finished goods produced by the developing countries.

Together with economic relations—but in justifiable cases also independently of them—assistance in the scientific, educational and medical fields as well in the transfer of experience must be developed.

Finally, it should also be noted that the socialist countries have been planned economies right from the start, that they have achieved high standards in the methods of control, direction and management by the state, and have, in the course of time, accumulated a great deal of experience concerning the problems of economic management in different stages of development. Thus it stands to reason that the experiences, and capacities they have acquired in economic development, are important even for those countries which from the point of view of property relations cannot be regarded as socialist, but in which the state plays a major role in economic development, in formulating and supervising the implementation of its basic tasks.

Economic relations with socialist countries promote the development of the Third World not only directly through the effect exercised on the domestic economies of the developing countries, but indirectly as well, since co-operation and contacts with the CMEA countries open up new options for alternative attitudes by particular developing countries. This

improves their bargaining positions even in such cases in which a concrete economic transaction is made with a capitalist company or country.

Besides emphasizing such possibilities which were duly pointed out by responsible representatives of the socialist countries in their Joint Declaration at the 4th UNCTAD Conference on Trade and Development mention should also be made of two important factors which set limits, for the time being, to economic relations with socialist countries.

The first limitation is the convertible international economic energies of the CMEA countries. It is not only, and not primarily, that the socialist countries have to cope with increasingly immense tasks in socialist construction when switching over from the extensive to the intensive stage of development. The need for capital, qualified labour force and scientific capacities is many times greater in the intensive than it was in the earlier extensive period. An even greater problem is that the power relations of the CMEA countries are not as good in the world economy as in world production. This is due, among other things, to the fact that, as a result of the economic blockade and later of the embargo and discrimination policy of the capitalist countries, some of the economic energies have come into being independently of the world-market requirements, and their entry to the market requires a new transformation (adaptation). This process of transformation is taking place now.

The second limitation is imposed by the economic sacrifices needed to prevent a shift in international power relations. International power relations are made up of several components a detailed discussion of which is hardly possible within the scope of this paper. It is obvious, however, that military power relations are playing an essential role in them. A shift in military power relations to the detriment of the socialist countries would endanger not only their security, but also the increased potentialities of the developing world which arise from the balance of military power. To put it briefly: at present circumstances the Western industrial countries cannot undertake the risk of an all-out war or the development of a regional conflict which would involve the risk of escalating into a general conflagration. Nor can they risk using military technologies in regional conflicts which, owing to their very nature, are likely to have global consequences.

The prevention of a shift in the balance of military power in face of the economically and technologically mightiest powers of the capitalist orbit demands, of course, considerable material sacrifices from the Soviet Union and the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty. The Soviet Union and the socialist states in general have done and are doing all in their power to put a brake on the arms race, since the economic resources used

for this purpose (300 thousand million dollars on a world-wide scale) have to be withheld from other uses such as economic development, consumption, education and training, health and hygiene, etc. It is clear that the energies thus used by the socialist countries are sorely missed in the economic relations with the developing countries.

What is called economic diplomacy has become and essential area of economic co-operation between socialist and developing countries. The role of inter-governmental international organizations in setting international economic issues is likely to grow in the decades to come. This process is connected partly with the growing economic responsibilities undertaken by states, partly with the emergence of such global problems as can adequately be dealt with only by means of comprehensive international economic and political agreements. The governments are morally responsible, and for that matter legally, too, for such socio-economic systems which allow the various economic units to threaten the interests, or even the sovereignty, of other states.

It is also true that the international organizations today tend to be forums rather than organs able to take effective decisions. Yet they cannot be ignored since by-passing them would mean that the national economies would also act arbitrarily, strictly according to their own interests, on questions which also have considerable bearing on the position and future of other economies.

The CMEA countries have supported, and continue to support on various international forums, all the constructive initiatives of the developing countries ranging from a new system of trade in raw materials to the introduction of purposeful forms of the transfer of technology. But it would be justified, in our view, if the various ideas and proposals were coordinated ina more circumspect way.

8

Close cooperation with the socialist countries and economies might protect the developing world against two serious dangers:

(a) Sacrificing long-term economic interests to those of a temporary, short-term character.

In taking decisions on economic matters, circumspect goverments must make every effort to reconcile the two interests, on the one hand, and to prevent, on the other, the occurrence of emergency situations. The Western industrial countries are aimed at exploiting the possible mistakes and the resulting equilibrium difficulties (shortage situations). Therefore, they

extend credits and grants in aid and place their orders always in compliance with their political interests, often using the means of political blackmail. Even grain deliveries are subject to such considerations. As regards grain, it may become a constant means of political blackmail, unless the agriculture of the developing countries develops at a faster rate. While only Australia and the North American continent have major surpluses, excepted shortages will be substantially greater in the 1980s, with several hundred million adults and children suffering from undernourishment.

Short-term needs mostly appear in the field of basic goods, and are therefore essential factors. In addition their satisfaction in most developing countries is one of the components of a highly fragile political equilibrium. It is, on the other hand, commonly known that individuals and nations are blackmailed by their opponents or enemies on their weak points; the aim is, therefore, to pursue a policy which lessens their exposure to blackmailers.

Renouncing long-term considerations and demands, however, would amount to giving up the true objectives of development and the purpose of liquidating one-sided dependence.

The best remedy to ward off such dangers is a circumspect, firm and consistent policy, which is able to distinguish between what is essential and what is merely a matter of prestige.

(b) The second danger lies in the acceptance of such seemingly radical ideas and attitudes which lead to isolation from the genuinely revolutionary forces of the world, and under the pretext of self-reliance, stimulate to economic introspection.

As a matter of fact even countries pursuing such policies cannot do without international economic relations, therefore they are cooperating with the economies of the imperialist rather than of the socialist countries. Equally dangerous is the revival of the theory of "permanent revolution" in a new form, since it leads to a serious disorganization of the economic, administrative and political apparatuses.

Progressive movements in today's highly sensitive world need not only courage, but a considerable amount of discipline as well, or else they will find themselves enmeshed in troubles and emergency situations which would greatly aggravate their joint progress.

Development makes introspection in economic matters imperative in the closing quarter of the century. All available knowledge, technology and capacities must be exploited, otherwise the gap will grow.

The socialist countries have supported and continue to support the struggle to peoples for national and economic independence. The history of the hfirty years after the Second World War provide lots of examples to

illustrate this fact. It is also clear that economic progress, as has been pointed out in the introduction, primarily depends on the efforts and organizational standards of particular economies. The socio-economic system may be regarded as a framework for such efforts and organization. Choosing the road to progress is the business of each country, provided that its government is responsible to the people for everything it does, or fails to do, in this respect.

In the world today every nation's efforts are closely connected with the actions and opinions of other nations and economies. Therefore, in the democratic order of the world economy deriving from relations based on equality and mutual advantage, interdependence, the system of mutual dependences, will powerfully come to the fore; this interdependence lends a global character to the new world economic order: it is designed to establish relations based on equality and free of discrimination between developing and developed capitalist countries (within the latter countries with different development levels) on the one hand, and between socialist and developed capitalist countries, on the other.

Independence and interdependence are concepts mutually presupposing and complementing each other within the new international economic order. As long as the capitalist system survives, the principle of mutual assistance cannot be expected to prevail in the world economy as a whole, a principle which has already come true in economic relations amongst the socialist countries, and will some time become the basis of a world economy to be realized in the spirit of socialism. The principle, however, that the freedom of economic action has limitations inherent in the interests of other states should also be made effective in the new economic order.

9

In the quarter century ahead of us, humanity, and within it the developing world too, will have to answer questions of immense importance. These answers will shape the history of the next century.

In providing these answers—which will be embodied in the coherent political and economic actions of the forces of peace—a dynamic structure of peace will have to be constructed, equally capable of being used as a means of defence, construction, recognition and change. Peace is not merely the absence of war, nor just an actually existing state, but also the organized co-operation of such political, economic and scientific power factors that are able to overcome the structure of war.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

by

FERENC DONÁTH

Part II

WORK AND OWNERSHIP IN MODERN AGRICULTURE

What is the effect of the industrialization of collectivized agriculture on work and on the production relationship of the workers of the large-scale agricultural enterprises? What social trends are involved in the transformation of the material and technical basis of socialist agriculture? Does it throw any light on the path which leads to the termination of labour as a constraint and towards self-fulfilment of the individual in his work?

The establishment of the large farms has not in itself brought any unequivocally favourable changes from the aspect of the nature of work.

Differentiating between manual and clerical work

The division of labour on large farms has inevitably led to the separation of manual and clerical-technical work. For the overwhelming majority of the cooperative members, through the fusion of the small farms, the intellectual functions attending farming have also come to an end. The management of the small cooperatives established in the first years of collectivization was often democratic, for some time through the participation of a considerable number of members. However, in rapidly growing farms—in accordance with the requirements of production—expert managers soon appeared and made a considerable proportion of the decisions. In the early fifties, at the time of the first, not very successful, collectivization the absence of tangible incentives also made members turn away from the management of the common farm.

The division of labour on large farms inevitably strengthened the one-

sided nature of manual work. True, in the first years only animal husbandry and crop growing became clearly separated activities. In most cooperatives separate animal-husbandry and crop-growing gangs or teams were formed. As the farms grew in size and the range of activity was expanded, specialization occurred also within the two main types according to the kind of animal involved, or the crop grown, and also outside the basic activity. The number of those grew who did only one given type of work throughout the year.

Due to the concentration of the farms and the division of labour on the large ones, the one-sided, specialized activities continued to gain ground.

The division of labour on large farms divorces management from execution. The producer doing manual work loses his autonomy, the existentially important range of activity, which was not very extensive, but in which he could assert his personality as an initiator and a decision-maker.

The household plots* had great importance also from the aspect that they eased, for the mass of independently farming peasants, the psychical burden caused by the changing nature of their work.** The household plot has offered opportunities—even if within narrower limits—to activities to which they were accustomed on the old small farms and missed on the large ones.

The sound features of large-scale production and of the division of labour did not appear immediately.

Heavy manual work disappeared only gradually from agriculture, even on the large farms. At the stage of collectivization techniques and technologies changed slowly. Even where progress was fastest, in the harvesting of grain, only two-thirds of the work was done mechanically in the year of the conclusion of collectivization (1961); the degree of mechanization in the harvesting of maize, potatoes and sugar-beet was—with the exception of the state farms—minimal. In spite of progress, up to the mid-sixties the mechanization of the bulk of heavy manual work remained unsolved.

Working hours

In the early years working hours were reduced only little, although the productivity of labour increased considerably. True, on large farms the working day was shorter from the very beginning than on small ones. Even at peak periods sweating "from dawn to dusk" was no longer known.

* On household plots see NHQ 63.

** The survey of "cooperative neurosis" produced by changes in ways of living was conducted only sporadically, in a few villages. Consequently, the results of this examination cannot be generalized beyond establishing the existence of the phenomenon itself.

Neither the duration nor the intensity of work can be compared with earlier practice. In the beginning it was not equipment that allowed for a reduction in working hours in the producers' cooperatives, as it did on the state farms. Starting with the mid-sixties the situation also changed in the cooperatives, and as will be seen later, incentives provided have the effect of lengthening working hours. The working hours in producers' cooperatives are not universally regulated, except for employees. Those of the regularly employed members of working age are much longer than in other branches of the national economy. The number of working hours has so far been adjusted to a very small extent only to the growth of the productivity of labour.

This is the crux of the question. The reduction of the time spent in work should be able to counterbalance the drawbacks attending the division of labour in large-scale farming. It should even be possible to create much more favourable conditions for the development of the personality of workers. On large-scale farms as well, it is only a reduction in working hours that can moderate the damage caused by one-sided, monotonous work. The relationship between working time and leisure (assuming the socially useful and cultured spending of the latter) is fundamental both for the individual and for society.

As soon as social production surpasses the condition when wealth is based on the theft of alien working time and "*The surplus labour of the mass* has ceased to be the condition for the development of general wealth, just as the *non-labour of the few*, for the development of the general powers of the human head,"* the contradiction between working hours and leisure comes to an end. "The saving of labour time (is) equal to an increase of free time, i.e. time for the full development of the individual, which in turn reacts back upon the productive power of labour as itself the greatest productive power. (. . .) it can be regarded as the production of *fixed capital*, this fixed capital being man himself."**

Not only has a framework for modern large-scale production been created, but the new material-technical basis offers an opportunity for the unexampled increase in the productivity of labour, for agricultural workers as well social progress must continue through the reduction of the working hours and the substantial raising of the time available for rest, relaxation and for self-improvement.

Since 1968 the 48-hour working week has gradually been shortened in

* Karl Marx: *Grundrisse*. Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy. Translated by Martin Nicolaus. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973. p. 705.

** Op. cit. pp. 711–712

Hungary. In industry and building the weekly 44 and annual 2,300 working hours have gradually been introduced. The working hours were correspondingly reduced in 1972 in the research institutes, in 1973 for civil servants and then for those employed in trade and commerce, etc.

These measures did not cover those working in agriculture, even if they did work of an industrial nature on the farm. Only the working hours of the state agricultural and forestry enterprises were regulated: these were reduced to 48 hours weekly in 1974 and it is planned to reduce them to 44 hours by the end of the decade. In 1974 working hours exceeding weekly 44 hours were common only in agriculture, transportation, the retail trade and certain specialized areas.

The regulation of working hours differs in the agricultural producers' cooperatives; the length of the working hours is determined by the management of the cooperative in accordance with the season, the nature of work and the amount of work to be done. This regulation affects not only the members but employed staff and regularly working family members as well. As may be seen, the working day and weekly or monthly working hours are not restricted by any statute, but the autonomous organs of cooperatives make provisions taking local conditions into consideration.

The recommendations made by the National Council of Producers' Cooperatives in May 1974 provide the following comprehensive picture concerning the regulation of working hours:

The labour codes of the producers' cooperatives generally prescribe the fulfilment of 200–250 working days of ten hours each, annually, for members.

For those working in crop growing, obligatory hours change from season to season. The length of the working day prescribed for the various periods can vary between 8 and 12 hours.

In animal husbandry usually ten hours daily are prescribed—even on farms with modern equipment.

The working day of those working in the auxiliary services (tractors and farm machinery, transport) consists of 10–12 hours.

Working 8–10 hours is usual in the industrial, servicing and repair workshops.

The managers and executives have not set working hours, the hours worked by clerks vary between 8 and 10.

The report shows that there are considerable differences as far as working hours are concerned both within particular and between producers' cooperatives according to the category, type of work and production; regionally there is differentiation also according to the degree of industrialization

of the region (competition from industry), which enforces a certain regulation of the working hours (five-day working week, etc.), but the largest difference exists in the employment of the co-operative members in respect of the average annual working time.

Some, as has already been mentioned, are employed only part-time, while a considerable section work many more than 250 ten-hour working days annually. Taking also a certain inaccuracy in the registration of the time spent at work into consideration, approximately one half of cooperative members of working age (under 60 years) work very much. They spend more and longer working days at work annually than the rest of the country's working population. Computing, for the sake of comparison, their working time in eight-hour working days, 53 per cent of the cooperative members of working age spent in 1973 a time corresponding to 350 eight-hour working days at work on common tasks. The national average in the state sector (trade, industry and agriculture) is 280 eight-hour working days annually. In the past five-year plan period (1971–75) this average working time was reduced from 2,500 to 2,300 hours annually, while in the producers' cooperatives it rose from 2,300 hours to 2,400 hours. To this has to be added the time spent on the household plot, which for the majority of members (true some of them are pensioners) amounts to 2.6 hours daily on the average—according to a report based on Central Statistical Office figures.

Why do they work this much?

In principle, work exceeding 250 eight-hour working days qualifies as overtime, but the producers' cooperatives generally pay no higher rate. It would be already possible to work in shifts in many jobs and the necessary work force is available in the majority of producers' cooperatives.

But it is partly the workers themselves who lay claim to ten working hours daily, in order to get hold of the higher income proportionate to extra work. The length of the working day (monthly or annual work) is closely linked in the producers' cooperatives to income size.

As a consequence, the number of cooperatives where it has been decided to reduce working hours for certain categories is for the time being low. Whether work is done at time or piece rates, wages would have to be increased in proportion to the reduction of the working hours. This has to be covered by an increase in the gross income of the producers' cooperatives. In addition to the hard work of members, state (economic policy) decisions are needed which make it possible that the income of the producers' cooperative

and of the workers should increase parallel to results. Consequently, the independence of the cooperative and the autonomy of decisions by members can be asserted to a limited extent in the regulation of working hours.

In the last resort the quantity of working hours or leisure depends on the rise in the productivity of agricultural labour, and consequently on how accumulated wealth and saved working time is spent.

This used to be expanded on substitution for labour lost to agriculture in favour of other sections of the economy. This is what happened in essence in Hungary during the period of extensive industrialization (1948–53). Due to mechanization the productivity of labour rose on the large farms without any noticeable reduction of working hours. For a considerable time machinery and equipment allocated to agriculture only substituted for the labour that had left agriculture.

The computations of the Central Statistical Office for the years 1952–1964* confirm this: the number of workers substituted by machines roughly agrees with the number of workers who left farming. While the annual average number of active agricultural earners was reduced by approximately one quarter between 1952 and 1964, projected on an area unit the combined number of active earners and those substituted by machines did not change.

	1952	1956	1958	1961	1964
Number of active earners and workers substituted by machines per 57 hectare (100 yokes) agricultural area	16.1	17.1	17.1	17.2	17.3

After large-scale production had become consolidated, the flow of labour out of farming was slowed down, relatively less was spent on the substitution for labour out of the time set free through the now rapid growth of the productivity of labour. Yet the daily working hours in agriculture were not reduced, the annual working time even increased somewhat at the beginning of the seventies due to higher employment. The assets of the cooperative and the income of cooperative members first of all increased at the expense of accumulating wealth. But money spent on cultural centres, libraries, hobby clubs, amateur drama groups and choirs increased as well, expenditure which will really prove fruitful as leisure increases.

What can be expected in the years to come? Will further radical reduction in the necessary working time lead to a noticeable increase in leisure?

* Collection of Agricultural Figures, II. p. 103.

Change in the nature of working hours

The scientific and technical revolution has opened up a new age in farming. It changed not only the nature of agricultural work but also the importance of the time spent working. In this context, Marx's findings about the effect of science on production have today become topical in respect of Hungarian agriculture as well. The essence of change is that it is no longer the quantity of direct working time or the quantity of the applied labour that is the decisive factor of the production of wealth.

And work? In its nature it is no longer what it had been for thousands of years "But to the degree that large industry develops, the creation of real wealth comes to depend less on labour time, the amount of labour employed than on the power of the agencies set in motion during labour time (. . .) on the general state of science and on the progress of technology, or the application of this science to production." "Real wealth manifests itself, rather —and large industry reveals this—in the monstrous disproportion between the labour time applied, and its product (. . .) labour, (. . .) and the power of the production process it superintends."

"Labour no longer appears so much to be included within the production process; rather, the human being comes to relate more as watchman and regulator to the production process itself (. . .) rather, he inserts the process of nature, transformed into an industrial process, as a means between himself and inorganic nature, mastering it."*

The introduction of the industrialized production systems turns the worker into the watchman and regulator of the production process in agriculture too. Modern production no longer demands prolonged physical exertion as it did in the past when it was based on manual labour. Indeed the work is no longer locked into the process of production, it no longer consists of a direct influence exercised on the organic and the inorganic nature. Man inserts the production process, which he has industrialized, between himself and nature; he places himself at the side of the process of production as a watchman and regulator.

"If someone—let us say at sowing time—looks around a farm linked to some maize production system, he may see the following: a modern high-capacity tractor is on the border of some maize field of several hundred hectares. Behind it there is a pneumatic 12-row corn-sowing machine. The operator of the tractor enters the air-conditioned cabin, sets the tractor in motion, starts work. He switches on the monitor and the electronic eyes

* Karl Marx: op. cit. p. 704–705.

of the individual control elements indicate the number of corn seeds sown —this is how he can control the sowing. If he meets with a problem in respect of the supply of fuel or seed, he calls the service centre by radio and asks for help... he sows an area of 70–80 hectares daily, and spreads chemicals and fertilizers in the same work-process as a one-men team.

"The tractor driver is apparently alone in the huge field, but the observant viewer will be aware that he is a member of a well-organized complex team which carries out a number of important work operations. The other members of the team look after the servicing of the high-capacity machinery line; they supply it with fuel, seeds, chemicals, etc....

"On a modern, specialized farm almost all aspects of traditional animal husbandry will soon be absent. There are no dogs, there is no mud, and the pigsty is not surrounded by polluted water. Several hundred electric motors, various types of mechanical equipment and programming switchboards operate in modern, metal-frame buildings. The supply of food and water are automated, manure is removed in a way not unlike urban sewerage. The process of production can be compared to a well-organized factory rather than a farm in the traditional sense," writes a real expert.*

It is self-evident that such a change in the nature of the work demands a different kind of ability and training. What is required is a general and specialized education, primarily work discipline and sustained concentration and not strength and staying power. The time and quantity of work applied directly are reduced, but the responsibility and importance of the work increases considerably.

Hungarian agriculture has reached the threshold of this huge transformation. The application of the latest achievements in production has proved —despite the difficulties of the start—on hundreds of large farms that through a fraction of direct labour, of the earlier applied quantity of work such huge effective forces may be set into motion the specific output of which far exceeds any earlier results. It may also be considered as proven that the huge and qualitative disproportion between the applied work and its product may be achieved not only in one or two types of production but in all the important ones, not only on a few hundred farms, but in the Hungarian agriculture as a whole.

Will Hungarian agriculture cross the threshold? Does it surpass in the next decade that stage of development where the rapid growth in productivity is not yet accompanied by a considerable increase in leisure? Does it arrive at the stage of social evolution when the saving of working time

* Jenő Váncsa: "Industrialized production systems in agriculture." *Társadalmi Szemle*, 1974, No. 5. (In Hungarian)

equals leisure, that is the increase of time serving the full development of the individual?

The change in farming techniques and technology itself makes this possible. By increasing leisure and the time serving the full development of the individual, it may make it possible for a more fully developed man to re-enter production and in this way genuinely socialist relations of production will set into motion the new factor of economic growth which is unknown in the capitalist mode of production. This will be a qualitative change in the history of the countries building socialism and in social progress altogether, if it is not realized merely by one or the other enterprise but on a society-wide scale.

The framework of large farms suitable for rational exploitation of the most modern techniques is available in Hungarian agriculture. A group of expert managers has been trained which is able to apply the new technology profitably. Skilled workers can be developed to the stage where they are able to control the process of production into which agricultural work is gradually being transformed.

What is it then that delays transformation? In essence it is the same reason as in industry, where large-scale industry uncovered long ago that the creation of real wealth was less dependent on working hours than on the power of those effective forces which they set into motion, in the last resort on the application of science in production. The reasons delaying the transformation are economic and extra-economic, they are determined by domestic and the international conditions. The country's shortage of capital and the low efficiency of capital, an insufficiently developed industrial background play an especially important role.

Let us assume that in spite of difficulties, in the next few years—at least in the most important branches of agriculture—a change to industrialized production systems will occur. The productivity of labour will continue to increase considerably, but this will not lead to the reduction of working hours in agriculture if it is not accompanied by a rapid development of the whole economy, especially industry. In addition, the distribution of total working time differing from the distribution existing today is an important social condition of the increase of leisure. In spite of the rapid growth in the productivity of labour, there is a constant shortage of labour in important sections of production, and the number of those doing clerical work is increasing. The saving in working hours cannot lead to a noticeable increase of leisure if the time of social labour saved through the growth in labour productivity is not changed into leisure for those doing the work. In this an important role is played by the obsolete view which continues to attribute a decisive role to the length of working hours in social productivity,

which—as is well known—does not coincide in Hungarian conditions with the length of time spent working.

It is consequently not only an economic question in the strict sense but also a question of social change: Who disposes over the working time of society and how? What autonomy does the staff of the economic unit, and within it the individual, enjoy within the framework of the general central regulation, to make use of saved working time?

The evolution of cooperative ownership

What is the effect of the industrialization of agriculture on cooperative ownership? What does a rational application of modern technology require of property relations? Do these objective circumstances strengthen or weaken the cooperative nature of ownership, do they prompt the extension or narrowing down of the ownership rights of the members?

At the present stage of development it is not yet possible to give a clear answer to this question. One can only speak of phenomena and trends. It is often difficult even to determine the fundamental characteristics of these trends, since the evolution of the production and property relations is not only influenced by the demands of economic growth but also, to a large extent, by considerations of social policy and ideology.

Before considering the new phenomena in the evolution of cooperative ownership, let us briefly describe the evolution of cooperative ownership and the principal turning-points of this evolution.

1. In Hungary producers' cooperatives were not established on the nationalized large estates but by pooling the small-holdings of peasants. Cooperative ownership is the result of the change-over from small peasant farming to large-scale production; its evolution was financially assisted by the state. However, cooperative ownership is not the exclusive form in respect of the means of production used in the cooperative. In producers' cooperatives the individual, cooperative and state ownership of the means of production coexist in a lasting and peculiar relationship. The changing content and sphere of cooperative ownership are determined especially by the existence of state ownership and the hegemony of the latter in the economy and the relationship between the two forms of ownership.

In cooperative production there is a peculiar and changing relationship between cooperative common and individual ownership. In the perspective of a quarter century the evolution of this relationship showed by the gradual growth of the range, function and capacity of the means of production

owned in common, while the importance of the individually owned means of production has been diminishing.

2. In the beginning the source of cooperative property was the limitation of individual ownership, the income of the activity carried out in common with the means of production temporarily transferred for common use. In simple production cooperatives, which were very widespread in the early years (in cooperative groups I and II), common property was of an accessory nature, based on the limitation of private ownership.

3. But the main form of the emergence of cooperative property was in Hungary (and in other East European countries as well) that the peasants transferred their principal means of production to joint ownership. Co-operative ownership, an autonomous form of ownership, was brought about the existence of which was the precondition for the individual use of the smaller means of production left in private ownership, that is the farming of members' plots. Members and non-members alike may today farm small plots. In the agricultural producers' cooperatives themselves the fundamental form of ownership is the cooperative common property, and the form of individual property is of an accessory nature.

4. Cooperative property has been indivisible common property since the first moment of its birth. The members cannot divide up among each other the assets of the cooperative if the cooperative should cease to exist, but they continue to serve the purpose of cooperative farming in the future as well. Consequently, cooperative property represents ownership of a social nature, of which the cooperative members cannot dispose in an unrestricted way. It is limited group property and this finds expression also in the obligation to utilize the land and the means of production in an efficient way. Parallel to the increase in cooperative assets, the social nature of cooperative ownership has been strengthened.

5. In the course of the transformation towards large-scale farming, the content and range of the cooperative ownership have been changing and will continue to change.

In the first half of the fifties, in the period of forced-rate industrialization under the system of the bureaucratically centralized guidance of the economy, the state organs decided on the more important questions of production and management, and disposed over the important conditions of production and the bulk of the output. On the whole, the cooperative ownership was of a formal nature only.

The range of the ownership was powerfully limited. It covered neither land nor the large machines, nor plants processing the produce. The activity of the producers' cooperative was also very limited.

6. The contradiction caused by the fact that the state organs decided, by exercising rights of ownership, but the cooperative members carried the risk of production and management, was later gradually resolved.

After 1956 the content and range of cooperative ownership were expanded. The most important stages of this process were: the abolition of the obligatory supply quotas of agricultural produce in 1956, the permitting of the cooperative ownership of the large machines at the end of the fifties, the abolition of compulsory plan targets determining the process of cooperative production and management in 1965, the establishment of cooperative ownership of land in 1967, economic and legal measures ensuring the autonomy of the producers' cooperatives in the second half of the sixties.

7. An important stage in the evolution of cooperative ownership was the emphatic adoption and codification of the principle that the cooperative ownership was of the same status as state ownership, having an identical socio-economic nature.* The equal standing of the other cooperatives and state enterprises is also evidenced by the fact that the economic organizations of the state (enterprises, banks) have stopped exercising functions of control over the cooperatives. True, the ideological debate may not yet be finally settled as against the earlier principle which recognized state ownership as a consistently socialist form of ownership, as against cooperative ownership which was not considered by this view as a consistent form of socialist ownership. More important than theoretical argument is however the fact that state-owned enterprises are in a monopolistic position in relation to the relatively large number of producers' cooperatives.

The real or assumed social interest represented by the state restricts the cooperative group ownership both in principle and in practice.

8. In the sixties formal cooperative ownership developed towards genuine cooperative ownership. This was not only due to the producers' cooperatives having received greater autonomy but also to cooperative self-government, cooperative democracy gaining ground in the management of the cooperatives.

The competence of the organs of management, guidance and control was regulated by law. Tens of thousands of members were drawn into membership of such bodies, and decisions on the most important questions were reserved for the general meeting of the members. It was enacted that the leaders of cooperative management was to be elected by secret ballot, which

* The resolution of the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (1971) declared: "... Our Party recognizes cooperative ownership as socialist ownership of the same character as state ownership...", and the resolution of the 11th Congress (1975) emphasized that in spite of the differences: "state and cooperative ownership are socialist ownership of the same type". And Section 34 of Act III of 1971 on the Cooperatives declares: "Cooperative ownership is of the same standing as the other forms of social ownership and enjoys the same protection."

had not been the practice. It is evident that by themselves neither legislation nor party resolutions encouraging cooperative democracy could entirely put an end to outside intervention or the manipulation of members.

The period of formal cooperative ownership was so enduring and in certain places oppressive that the membership took notice only slowly and gradually that the situation had changed. However, the real position often differs from legal regulation even where the rules are known. In these producers' cooperatives the earlier power structure has survived because one or the other organ of public administration exercises old rights in spite of a changed outward appearance. Consequently, even if members know their rights, they do not consider them realistic. In one or the other cooperative, the management may be able to manipulate the membership, because the latter do not sufficiently know their rights, or are not informed about important affairs of the cooperative, or they are unable to see through the complex economic affairs on the basis of the information received.

9. By creating cooperative ownership, collectivization has equalized to a large extent the relationship of work to its own objective conditions. (a) Without regard to his earlier class situation (viz, his relationship to the means of production) a person can be a cooperative owner only if he or she does or did work in the cooperative (this includes the cooperative pensioners); (b) Every cooperative member is entitled to the identical right of ownership irrespective of whether he has taken means of production into the cooperative or has only made his labour available to common farming; (c) It has abolished private property as an independent source of income; it pays rent only to the cooperative members and provides a members' plot and fodder to those as well who had no land before joining the cooperative.

Collectivization has brought about the identical relationship of producers to the means of production (to the cooperative property) and made them equal in the obligation to work. From a historic view, collectivization was the first step in the countryside towards the creation of a society in which class differences cease to exist.

Industrialization and cooperative ownership

What then is the effect of industrialization on cooperative ownership? The more important facts may be summed up as follows:

(a) The process of concentration rapidly increases the scale of farming, i.e. the quantity and range of the property (assets) of the cooperatives. The increase of the size itself makes management more involved and more

difficult. In the course of concentration, frequently the cooperatives of three or four villages merge; the formula "one village = one cooperative" is replaced by the formula "several villages = one cooperative". This circumstance make the normal functioning of the leading organ of cooperative democracy, the general meeting of the members, very difficult or even impossible. Due to the increase in membership, the general meeting is often unable to discuss matters or to obtain a quorum. It is not possible everywhere to provide a sufficiently large hall. Consequently, direct democracy is diminished and is replaced—in the most favourable case—by the organs of representative democracy. In an increasing number of cooperatives the general meeting is replaced by the meeting of a smaller number of delegates, or sectional general meetings are held.

Due to concentration the farm and the organization of production become more articulated; the distance grows between executives and workers, and it is becoming more and more difficult for the latter to survey cooperative production and management.

(b) The industrialization and the change-over to large-scale production have put an end to subsistence farming. Production, commercial and credit relations of farms have increased in importance, and these are with monopolistic organizations owned by the state. Means of production of an industrial origin have an increasing weight in agricultural production: machinery, materials, services; an increasing share of the agricultural output becomes a commodity. The multiplication of production and commercial relations make the management of the large cooperative farm more involved and more difficult to survey. At the same time such relations increase the dependence of cooperatively owned farms on state-owned production and distribution enterprises. This dependence inevitably has an effect on the cooperative ownership.

(c) Industrialization strengthens the enterpreneurial character of the producers' cooperatives. It leads to giving priority to the principle that in production the largest possible output should be achieved at the lowest possible cost. This principle asserted itself earlier as well, but not unconditionally. The obligation to provide employment for members, which is stipulated by law in respect of the producers' cooperatives, often hindered in practice the unconditional dominance of enterpreneurial principles and attitudes. This was restricted by the more humane cooperative principle and attitude which placed the welfare of the members before profit, and provided work and income for cooperative members whose employment may—due to their age or lack of skill—not be profitable to the cooperative.

Producers' cooperatives differed from state farms in that they gave pre-

ference to the employment of labour in choosing the production pattern. For this reason, they considered gross income (including also the income of members) per area unit or per member the yardstick by which to decide what to produce and to what extent. But due to industrialization the capital and material intensity of production increases rapidly, and consequently also the need for more rapid accumulation (larger own resources). This necessarily leads to the unconditional assertion of rational management, to the rational utilization of not only material resources but also of labour.

This trend carries in itself a change in the content of cooperative ownership.

(d) The increasing capital requirement of agricultural production as well as the necessity to coordinate the more complex production and distribution relations bring about a new form of commerce, enterprise and ownership! Today we are still at the beginning of this process, the form of ownership has not yet been crystallized which will be adopted by the new production relations. It can however already be established that the content of co-operative ownership changes whether cooperatives bring about a new economic organization among each other, or together with state enterprises, whether these new organizations cover only individual types of production or single activities, the whole of production, or a decisive part of it.

The industrialization of agriculture has changed the relationship of economic units to each other. It carries in itself the trend that in these relations the power position of those economic units becomes stronger which are well provided with capital, just as industrialization carries in itself changes in the power structure also within the producers' co-operative. It strengthens the position and endeavours at independence of management against cooperative owners.

(e) A generally better educated worker, who is more highly trained in agriculture as well, is both a precondition and a consequence of industrialization. Due to industrialization traditional peasant work is replaced by collective work done with expensive high-capacity machinery, demanding great responsibility, technological discipline and attention. Per capita production value has been multiplied. The appearance of the technically and agriculturally educated producer, who is suitable for the control of production, is a phenomenon which inevitably accompanies the industrialization of agriculture.

However, that new type of worker will not only possess the ability to grasp the more important interconnections of production and management, but his demand will also become stronger that he should participate—in different ways—in the management of a production section or of the whole farm.

What is the direction in which cooperative property will evolve in Hungary? It is likely that it will survive for a long time, even if with changing content. The necessity for the income of cooperative members to be covered not by a central wages fund but that of the cooperative will continue, i.e., that members of cooperatives should directly bear the risk of production. The maintenance of the cooperative form of ownership is also justified by the fact that it offers greater and more direct opportunities for incentives—this is why the cooperatives are more efficient than the state farms in several areas of production—and this will for a long time remain the most important stimulant of production.

The necessity to maintain farming on the household plot acts in the same direction. The fact is that the industrialization of agriculture develops somewhat unevenly in the various types of production. Consequently, in the important areas: (a) the outstanding role of careful manual work will continue for a long time (in the production of vegetables, certain kinds of fruit and certain animal products), (b) in others the discovery of modern techniques is a thing of the past but due to capital intensity it can only be introduced gradually or application is not profitable enough, consequently it does not render small-scale production superfluous. Household-plot farming contributes considerably to absorb mainly female labour that is insufficiently employed in large-scale farming. It gives something to do and an income to older people who are more or less left out of modern production for one reason or another. Small-scale household-plot farming has lasting importance from the aspect of the utilization of land that cannot be drawn into large-scale farming. Besides other less important economic reasons humanitarian considerations also justify it. Since household-plot farming is increasingly becoming an integrated part of the cooperative large farm, its maintenance speaks also for the survival of the cooperative form.

It is consequently not out of the question that the already achieved autonomy and self-government of the producers' cooperatives will survive in spite of tendencies which have been mentioned as accompanying industrialization. Cooperative autonomy and self-government are conditions of the good functioning of cooperative ownership but not of its existence. It is hower possible that due to the industrialization of agriculture important types of production, or a decisive part, bearing value of output in mind, will step out of the peculiar cooperative arrangements becoming concentrated in new economic organizations in the ownership of which the

particular cooperative content changes even if they are jointly owned by the producers' cooperatives or by cooperatives and state enterprises. The essence of change is that the owner members of the producers' cooperatives do not take part directly in the management and control of the joint enterprise, and the joint enterprise establishes with its workers a relationship of employment which is more like that of the employment of those working in state enterprises than that of cooperative members.

The relationship between work and ownership in agriculture is not shaped only by the objective trends accompanying industrialization and not only by economic factors but also by the socio-political processes covering the economy as a whole. These processes shape the reality of the socialist countries even if they are not conspicuous or appear on public platforms in a muted way. In the mid-seventies this relationship has become a timely question in Hungary also in factories, in the form of the examination of democracy on the job. Seeking an answer to the question which has been posed one cannot leave unconsidered the extent to which the socio-economic evolution of the individual socialist countries is influenced by the political and economic realities determining the development of the East European socialist countries as a whole.

All that is certain is—as the quotation from the resolution of the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party also demonstrates—that social evolution will surpass in the future the present-day forms of ownership and will lead in every sector of the national economy to the bringing about of uniform and social ownership. In time, perhaps after long way round, both cooperative property and state property will be superseded by a type of social ownership which expresses exactly that the objective conditions of production are no longer divorced and can no longer get into opposition to man the producer, thereby putting an end to every kind of economic basis of a class society.

(Concluded)

MY NAME IS DANILÓ

(Short story)

by

TAMÁS PINTÉR

"Put the head here and be done with it."

Daniló pressed the red button. The wire guard came down with a click, then the knife slid forward like a threat and cut the thick plate in two with a screech.

"Her nack should be put there," he hissed, tossing the cut-off plate on top of the rest. He pulled at the green lever: the cutting edge lifted clear and the guard went up obligingly. He pushed the next plate as far as the mark.

"She takes me for a sap, the bloody tart."

He took a big bite out of his piece of bread and dripping and started the machine once again with his right. He munched uneasily though the dripping tasted all right. Of garlic. You could tell spicy meat had been fried in it. But he was fed up. After a few days the best bread and dripping in the world loses its magic. Always the same. Like this depressing guillotining. Red button, green lever, red button, green lever. They make me pay for opening my big mouth.

He did his job automatically, every move was studied, from time to time he bit off a mouthful. He kept a steady pace like horses used to a heavy load and long haul. The din of the workshop indifferently merged, everything flowed into a dull buzz. The thin squeaky mewing of Daniló's ancient small transistor floated on the surface. Just then a pop singer with a cracked voice was trying hard to get hold of the tune. It was pretty hopeless torment. Daniló spoke his own words to the melancholy music:

"We gonna break up, tom-pom, this can't go on, no it can't, no-oh."

That moment somebody put his hand on his shoulder.

Fahidi, the works engineer, stood behind him, his clean-shaven face shining with perspiration.

"We don't have the radio on here," he proclaimed.

He wore a brand new overall over a dark lounge-suit, a white nylon shirt with a mournful tie round his neck. He would have been inconspicuous in a funeral or wedding procession. He must have been to the barber's in the morning, his thinning flax-coloured hair lay nicely raked and stiff under the spray.

"I mentioned yesterday what to take as your guide."

"You did," Daniló nodded readily.

Fahidi looked him up and down. He shook his head sadly.

"Don't you by any chance have any dirtier and more ragged gear than this"?

The question was a typically rhetorical one. Daniló looked down himself, then switched off the radio in resignation. The music programme had ended anyway.

"Well?"

He won't leave me alone, Daniló thought.

He looked over the objectionable clothes with studied interest. To improve his appearance somewhat he tucked the far too large canvas jacket into his trousers.

"You might have changed it. I told you to get clean ones."

"You sure did," Daniló admitted. "I forgot that, you see."

The works engineer breathed in an improbable amount of air like one getting ready to do something prolonged underwater.

"It's difficult with you lot," he complained. "It's a waste of breath talking to you."

He looked hard at Daniló as if to find out if he was really wasting his breath.

"You were here when I told you about today, weren't you?"

"I admit it."

"So then?"

"Somehow it went clean out of my head."

Fahidi took out a neatly folded handkerchief and patted his forehead gingerly. He methodically went over his perspiring face touching is softly like an anxious girl in love in the battle-scenes of films.

"It went clean out of your head," he said in a tortured voice.

His was plainly a very different head. He had his head full of worries and cares but nothing ever went out of it.

He had been perspiring since the day before, it crossed Daniló's mind. You couldn't have choved Quaker oats up his bum, as the saying goes.

He remembered that Fahidi had strutted into the workshop in his usual antique blue overalls, feverishly summoning the men. "There will be a visitor tomorrow," he began. The announcement was followed by a brief

solemn pause, then modulating his tone to mysterious he added: "From a high place." He paused again to heighten the suspence. His eyes shining with anticipation ranged over the long hall. "The minister is coming!" he uttered triumphantly like a gambler playing a trump card after nerve-racking moments of deliberation. The workers waited for him to go on, in silence and not caring much. They stood around among the machines smoking, some of them clambered onto the work-benches or sat on the smooth metal plate of the marking table, others, taking advantage of the unexpected pause, started to eat. Fahidi slowly looked over his audience. We've just got the news," he said apologetically, "they phoned no more than half an hour ago." His intonation and the way he shaped his mouth showed disapproval. As if he thought this short notice an ill-considered move, an old-fashioned and childish trick on the part of the new minister, which plunged the factory management and particularly himself into an impossibly awkward situation.

"Perhaps you helped to clean up?" he asked. The question cried to the high heavens. "You didn't. You weren't prepared to stay on ten minutes after work. Talk, you can do that. You're a demagogic loud-mouth..."

Right then he seemed extremely lonely and inconsolable. Daniló decided that it was a funeral procession he belonged to, after all. He planted himself next to the guillotine like one who'd never budge. He seemed full of things to say.

"There's a right way to do everything", he declared.

An incontestable proposition: Daniló nodded to show agreement.

"When you expect visitors at home you clean up the place and put something on, don't you?"

"We haven't got room for half a visitor in our home," Daniló said.

Fahidi submerged again.

"Cynicism..." he said speaking generally.

There was long pause for effect. He added:

"That's the trouble with you Johnny Sap."

"I am terribly sorry."

"I can imagine."

He sounded vicious and hostile. Daniló took umbrage.

"My name is Daniló," he said with hurt pride. "Ede Daniló if you don't mind. I don't like to be called Johnny Sap."

The works engineer took note dryly.

"All right."

Daniló took a sliding step back and dried his hand on a rag.

Excuse me... I have to go and see the shop steward.

He had just thought of it. A good idea. You could develop it and easily put it into practice. It struck him that he could really go there. What's more he had to go there. It's absolutely necessary, he thought. Who knows perhaps he could get some money out of the union. Why not?

"Go ahead. You're entitled to do it."

He retired crestfallen and hopeless.

Daniló bolted down the remains of his bread with disgust. He made an attempt to tidy himself up, given his gear that meant hardly more than aimless tugging here and there. Then with determination he got going to wheedle some money out of the Trade Union. I am going to see the TV, he thought, me, Ede Daniló, an organized worker. There's a reason, and there's cash and that's about all that's needed for emergency aid. Urgent relief, that is. What he could not agree on with himself was the sum. One thousand? Two? Or perhaps three? "Three thousand is nothing these days if I may say so." The fact is any amount comes handy. "'Cause my wife walked out on me a week ago." That didn't sound shattering enough. Anyway it was a private affair. If anything could be called private and confidential this was it. "I was left high and dry with these four kids." That sounded more tragic." "I have to keep four minors, because my wife. . . "

He stretched up a hand as if to catch some poisonous bug diving at him.

"That stinking mean skirt", he muttured. "It's a good thing I'm here."

In his mind he rounded it off with a brief peroration.

"You can always count on your father. Remember that."

He walked down the workshop with this thought in his mind.

It must have been around nine. Some of the processing machines were idle and with their absurdly inserted material and carefully cleaned parts they looked like items on show. The men were tidying up. They distractedly swept the concrete black with oil and two boys whitewashed the route-marking stripes, the limits of the machines, the markings for the scrap boxes and the fire-buckets.

The surroundings of the workshoop had also changed. The concrete slabs left over from recent work, machine parts thrown on top of one another or sunk into the ground, and workpieces stuck between two operations, forgotten or finally discarded, had all disappeared. Gone were also all traces of the rusting junk that had been piling up along the walls for years.

Commotion met Daniló in the administrative building as well. The door of the board-room was open and he could see the tables being pushed around and a tall stack of plates and glasses right by the entrance. The men of a catering firm were climbing the stairs balancing huge trays of sandwiches over their heads.

Daniló knocked on the door of the Trade Union Committee.

No answer.

Just to be sure he knocked three times more before sidling into the office. An innocent-looking girl sat at the desk telephoning. She kept repeating "yes", "I see", and "I will".

"What can I do for you?" she said when she finished.

She wore a smart yellow raw-silk dress. Something super-smart made up of abstract-patterned pieces of wood drooped from her neck.

"Er... relief," he mumbled.

He stammered something about the financial mess he was in and the four children none of whom was of school-age yet.

"I have come about this. Who can I talk to?"

"Talk to?"

"If possible".

"Right now?" The woman in the raw-silk sheath stared at him.

Her gaze conveyed a good deal of astonishment. As if Daniló had come forward with some wildly absurd idea. She would hardly have been more amazed if Daniló had happened to ask her if she wanted to enroll in a dancing school together with him.

"Today?" the secretary (or typist?) asked incredulously in the same drawn-out rising pitch.

Then she managed to control herself.

"Everybody's terribly busy just now", she told him.

"I'm sorry."

"The minister is coming, you know..."

She must have sensed something of Daniló's limp state. She added with warmth, encouragingly:

"Tomorrow is another day".

However the leave-taking sentence sounded impersonal again:

"Anyway we can only deal with written applications for relief. That's a rule."

"I understand."

"Set down your reasons in writing."

Daniló nodded and fetched a deep sigh at the same time.

"Thank you. You're very kind."

He turned back from the door.

"It'll be just as urgent tomorrow, unfortunately."

And he went.

So an application was needed. He thought about it on the way back. He would sit down and do it in the afternoon. "I'm sorry to trouble you

but I need financial help and I wonder if you could... er... grant me emergency relief. My request is for a greater sum... etc. etc." We shall cope, kids.

He stood once again by the old, battered, overworked machine getting on with the job and trying to make the best of it. Red button, green lever, red button, green lever. The routine repeated itself like the frames on an endless film. He felt everything was drab, complicated and confused around him. But the money seemed within reach, so near you only had to reach out to grab it. He made a firm resolution never to eat bread and dripping again. Never ever in this life.

"Stay where you are. We shall get on without a tart like you."

The cut-off plates were taken away and new supplies were brought.

"The convoy's arrived," said a bespectacled factory hand.

He dumped the stuff from a metal barrow.

"What?" asked Daniló. "What's arrived?"

"The autocade. Black Mercedeses, every one of them."

"They're the good ones."

"What I don't know is why they can't be, say, red or yellow?"

"It's all the same to me. I couldn't care less."

"You know what they're talking about?" They say there's going to be a wage adjustment."

"Upwards or down?"

"How can you ask? They're raising wages."

"Don't take me for a sap, Feldicskó."

"Yes. Honest."

The labourer pursed his lips meaningfully. His myopic eyes moved wonderingly behind the thick lenses. He recited poems at celebrations. Now he got down to putting the plates in meticulous order, one exactly on top of the other.

"Just leave them," Daniló gestured. "They're not biscuits."

"They have to be flush", the labourer insisted. "They told me to make everything look spick and span."

"My sincere sympathy."

Daniló was left alone with his machine again in his corner of the workshop. While the knife went lazily up and down he hummed a sentimental blues tune from the turn of the century. On of his wife's favourites. When he realized that he shook his head angrily as if to expel the sticky slow and sad New Orleans tune. He quickly changed to a lilting and neutral hit tune.

One of the planers walked up to him.

"They're coming."

Daniló turned his head phlegmatically.

Through the swinging door of the workshop a troup of dressed-up people edged their way in; a few white overalls struck the eye amidst the dark suits. The photographers and television men inched backwards away from the visitors in a well-practised choreography. Walking in the van of the entourage, next to the servile manager, was an inconspicuous spare man of medium height at his side. Wherever he stopped the whole group halted obediently. At such times there was a quick firing of flashbulbs and the lighting men did their stuff. A stout woman held a high-performance microphone in front of the minister's mouth.

The cameramen manœuvred for the best angles for the best possible and most artistic shots and to this end they clambered on to the machines. The new minister wore a lounge-suit of the most ordinary kind and he loosened his tie. If he was interested in something he did not let himself be escorted away and he looked at whatever took his fancy.

It all happened very quickly: before Daniló could realize it the minister stood right in front of him with one foot resting on a cut-off plate thrown absent-mindedly on the floor. He wore a pair of brown perforated summer shoes, the shirt was creased at his waist and Daniló discovered a red cut on the side of his neck; the work of his safety razor or the barber's cut throat.

"A man just like a worker," the minister said jovially. "You didn't put on your dress uniform for the television cameras? You were right."

"I'm not a star."

"Not here either?"

The minister loosely gestured, the question was meant to refer to the workshop.

Daniló smiled self-consciously as he did when he was asked how many children he had.

"I shoot off my mouth once in a while," he said. "I can't keep it shut, if you see what I mean."

"For instance?"

He caught the manager's careworn eyes. The Boss looked at him full of foreboding.

"It does happen," Daniló said defensively. "There's nothing worse than being taken for a sap. Then you can't help opening your mouth."

"What's the trouble?"

The manager motioned to a bearded bloke in jeans to remove the microphone. The lights too were switched off. Meanwhile the minister's

entourage smiled amiably and inspected the machines from a safe distance. They could not hear a word of the conversation. Only the factory management, in a solid circle around the minister, were listening attentively. Among them was Fahidi bathing in sweat as if he were in a steambath.

"Trouble?" asked Daniló. "There's plenty of trouble any time."

"You don't want to talk?"

He answered with a lopsided mock-modest smile.

The minister patted him on the shoulder.

"You can speak your mind."

"I know."

That did not sound very convincing.

"Go on then..."

Daniló stood erect looking away over the minister's head.

"As far as I'm concerned I'm satisfied."

"Ahm," the minister nodded knowingly and glanced at the manager. He stood close to Daniló.

"May I ask you your name?"

"Ede Daniló."

The minister gestured.

"Don't let them take you for a sap."

The group moved on buzzing. The production engineer was last to file past Daniló.

"You always have to make trouble," he snarled. "No use bragging about your two skilled worker certificates. This job has got to be done by someone. And you, Johnny Sap, know the job very well."

"Please do not use that form of address," the other man said. "I mentioned my name. My name is Daniló."

Translated by László T. András

DOCUMENT

JÁNOS KÁDÁR'S PRESS CONFERENCE IN VIENNA

János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and a member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic who visited Vienna following an invitation by Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Federal Chancellor, held a press conference in the Hungarian Embassy on December 7, 1976, the second day of his visit.

The press conference, which attracted considerable attention, was opened by Ambassador Jenő Randé, head of the Press Section of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. János Kádár then made a brief statement.

"As you are aware, I have come on an official visit to Austria at the invitation of Dr. Bruno Kreisky, the Federal Chancellor. A good reason for my travelling here was the fact that relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Republic of Austria are developing favourably and there is every possibility of expanding these relations. I can say with satisfaction that, in talks conducted with the leaders of the Austrian state, both sides have shown themselves anxious to continue to deepen and broaden good neighbourly relations and to make still better use of the opportunities presented.

"This visit to Austria is in complete harmony with the principled socialist foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. Our aim is to promote the cause of social progress and peace, to contribute to the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and to the expansion and strengthening of détente."

János Kádár then replied to questions.

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Hungarian–Austrian relations are good

To the question put by the *Népszabadság* correspondent how he evaluated the prospects of Hungarian-Austrian relations and the effect of the talks on the putting into practice of the spirit of Helsinki, János Kádár replied:

"The two talks I had with Chancellor Kreisky and my meeting with the Federal President confirmed my conviction that the road taken is useful, it promotes the development of many-sided Austrian–Hungarian relations, and contributes to the implementation of the Helsinki recommendations.

"In the course of our talks we touched concrete questions of the continued development of our relations, and it is my impression that both sides have been striving to develop them. We, on the Hungarian side, find present relations to be good: political ones are well-ordered, economic and cultural ones are improving. They can be said to be increasingly consistent with the principle of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and with good neighbourly relations."

In reply to a question of the *Corriere della Sera* correspondent concerning the alleged anti-Soviet character of what he called Eurocommunism, János Kádár said he did not share the views implied by the formulation of the question.

Relations with Socialist Parties

The correspondent of *Le Monde* asked: "Do you think there can be observed, since the Geneva congress of the Socialist International, any improvement in relations between socialist and social-democratic parties and communist ones; or rather what is the obstacle to the further improvement of these relations?"

"The relationship between communist and socialist and social-democratic parties is no simple matter," János Kádár replied. "We are cooperative partners, as we have to be, with those European countries where socialist or social-democratic parties form the government, and this for the very reason that we represent countries, discuss national interests, questions related to the interests of peoples, and in such cases we have to rise above narrowly construed party standpoints. We necessarily have to co-operate, primarily, in the interest of promoting the cause of European security and peaceful coexistence. In this respect cooperation between communist and socialist and social-democratic parties has been shaping well.

"Perhaps you will not take me to be immodest if I say: this is well

illustrated in some respects just by yesterday, which I spent here in Vienna. Chancellor Kreisky, I think I can say this, is a contemporary whom I know to be a man of firm convictions. Everyone knows him to be a Social-Democrat. I am a Communist. And we have met, we have talked in a good spirit, but neither of us has had the intention of "swapping" ideologies or philosophies.

"Nor are we supposed to do so. We dealt with questions of good relations and cooperation between our two countries and nations, and with the promotion of the general cause of peace and security in Europe.

"The communist and socialist and social-democratic parties maintain contacts even where one or the other or both are not government parties. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, for example, has in recent years established contact with a number of socialist and social-democratic parties which are not government parties, thus the Italian Socialist Party, the Social-Democratic Party of Finland, or the Belgian and French Socialist Parties. When I left home for Vienna a delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was leaving for Denmark to reciprocate the visit to Hungary by a delegation of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark.

"What is the use of such contacts? The European communist and workers' parties have declared at their conference in Berlin that they considered it a major duty to further European peace and security as well as social progress. The afore-mentioned socialist and social-democratic parties, during the talks they had with us, declared equally that, in the interest of their nations, they wished to make a useful contribution to the cause of European peace and cooperation and of mutually advantageous relations. In my view, communist and socialist and social-democratic parties have other problems as well that are in a certain sense common. Thus, for instance, it would be expedient to develop relations and co-operation among the trade unions of Europe in order to promote peace and security, good relations among the peoples, and the cause of progress."

From Helsinki to Belgrade

The correspondent of *Frankfurter Rundschau* asked János Kádár how he judged the situation after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act; what was his opinion on relations between Hungary and the Federal Republic of Germany, did he plan to visit Bonn?

"In my judgment the situation with regard to the implementation of the Helsinki recommendations is good," János Kádár answered. "There are

many who do not share this view. What I have in mind myself, however, are the historical antecedents, the special difficulties which arose prior to the Helsinki Conference, that is the great efforts made by all participating countries to convene the Conference. We think the Helsinki Conference has been of historic importance, a success of the efforts of all participants and a victory for common sense. At the same time we regard Helsinki not as an end but as a beginning which requires further efforts on the part of all those who wish for a détente. It is well known that not everybody is in favour of détente.

"I am convinced that the Conference itself is of tremendous significance, the very fact that thirty-five participants, representing countries with different social systems, and governments which pursue different aims, met at Helsinki and could reach a common denominator on questions of fundamental importance such as the promotion of peace and security in Europe.

"Of course the carrying out of recommendations, and their practical implementation calls for time, patience and persistent effort. Some results are already visible. In the time that has elapsed since the Helsinki Conference there has been improvement in the relations between a number of European countries and the practical implementation of recommendations adopted at Helsinki has begun.

"I am convinced that the furtherance of the cause of peace and security in Europe requires of the participants of the Helsinki Conference to adopt an appropriate constructive position at the proposed Belgrade meeting as well. In connection with the conference to be held in the Yugoslav capital one can hear of all sorts of ideas, hopes and views. We are opposed to the notion of turning the Belgrade meeting into a sort of day of complaints. We think the participants of the Helsinki Conference have to prepare a positive programme for the Belgrade meeting. The fundamental position to be adopted should be to make it possible to review in Belgrade all matters concerning the further improvement of interstate relations and the development of economic relations; to consider important questions serving the interests of the nations such as the European situation regarding energy resources, the better solution of transport problems and the protection of the environment. Such and similar timely issues relating to the general rapprochement of nations and contained in the Helsinki recommendations should be properly prepared and discussed in Belgrade.

"I think a considerable number of the responsible leaders of European states will agree with such notions. I am pleased to tell you that yesterday, when Chancellor Kreisky and I discussed this issue, we expounded similar opinions.

Hungary and Federal Germany

"As regards bilateral relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, those in the economic field have been quite extensive for some time. I think at the present stage we can place our interstate relations as well on a more ordered basis. This is in harmony with the interests of the Hungarian people and those of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany, and the recommendations adopted at Helsinki. My impression is that related endeavours are mutual.

"It is naturally part of the building of relations that those in charge of affairs, the economic leaders, diplomatists and government officials should exchange visits, and arrange meetings, negotiations and talks with each other. A part of this programme—I mean the development of relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany—is also a planned visit on my part which is now in a stage of preparation.

"In connection with my present visit to Vienna the press has done me the honour of writing about my person, pointing out that I seldom travel and that yesterday was my first day in a capitalist country. As far a the official character of this visit is concerned, this is true to a certain extent. Unofficially, however, I have already been to a few capitalist countries; what is more, I lived the greater half of my life in a capitalist country. *(Laughter.)* On one occasion I found myself in New York; and, as you know, that is unfortunately not a socialist metropolis. The fact that this is my first official visit to Austria has, of course, several reasons. Men differ. I know some who have a passion for travelling. I am not one of them. *(Laughter.)* But I go wherever I have to go and whenever it is politically useful to the development of relations between the two countries concerned. This is how I happen to be in Vienna now and this is how I will also go to visit the Federal Republic of Germany."

To Progress in Fundamental Issues

A representative of *Arbeiter-Zeitung* referred to Hungary's being surrounded by friendly countries, Austria amongst them. Why then were Soviet forces stationed Hungarian territory?

"As regards our neighbours," János Kádár began his reply, "I think you have rightly described relations. Today it can already be said that all our neighbours harbour friendly intentions towards us and seek to build good relations with us.

"As far as the military aspect of the question is concerned, I ought to remark that I began my military career at the time the Second World War broke out; in Horthy-fascist Hungary I deserted from the army and went underground. In the military field," he proceeded smiling, "I have made no great progress since then, I have not grown into a great strategian.

"Of course, I have come to know and have learnt certain elementary things. For example: given the present state of military technology 'infantry' in the old sense has gone out of existence, so it is naive to think that the security of a country depends only on the intentions of its immediate neighbours. The presence of Soviet forces temporarily stationed in Hungary is not justified by any fear of an attack on the part of Austria who has voluntarily pledged neutrality. Nor has it any internal political reason. It is connected with the general world situation. Taking a different view of the question, and a change in the situation, are related with the cause of peace and security.

"It is known that the recent meeting in Bucharest of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states had a whole series of fundamental and important questions on its agenda. Thus we reiterated publicly that we are ready to disband the Warsaw Treaty Organization simultaneously with the disbandment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We have proposed that, if time is not yet ripe for such a move, we should at least not seek to expand the two military groupings. A proposal has been made also for the thirty-five states which have accepted the Helsinki recommendations to pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. We have also put forward a number of other practical proposals. We have long professed, and still profess today, that we are for the simultaneous withdrawal of all armed forces stationed abroad. If therefore we can progress on these fundamental issues and the general situation continues to improve, then there will obviously be no need to station Soviet forces in Hungary."

The Uses of Tourism

The representative of the Vienna newspaper *Die Presse* asked: You mentioned that your talks in Vienna served also the practical implementation of the Helsinki recommendations. What concrete results have been attained at these talks? Is there any chance of doing away with the obligatory visa system between Hungary and Austria?

"Many years ago," János Kádár answered, "long before the Helsinki

Conference, we conducted negotations and the results have since been put into practice. In fact this time we have touched upon a number of important questions of Hungarian–Austrian relations. The reason why I specially recall the Helsinki Conference is that the measures we had already taken and those which we intend to take in the future for the improvement of Hungarian–Austrian relations are wholly consistent with the spirit of the Helsinki recommendations.

"The visa issue directly affects the travel abroad of large numbers of citizens, including travel between Hungary and Austria. A good many years before the Helsinki Conference we already sought to facilitate the increase of tourism and mutual visits on a large scale to other countries. Let me tell you, our reasons were clearly political. Our primary purpose was to enable people to become better acquainted with neighbouring countries. When we decided to lift the earlier restrictions on passenger traffic and on travel abroad, we remembered also that in the late fifties and early sixties Hungary had been very badly treated by the press in Western Europe. Well, we altered the earlier practice, and tourism on a large scale between Hungary and countries of Western Europe began. This has been politically useful to us. Hungarian citizens who previously were not in a position to go to a West European country can do so now. The many hundreds of thousands of Hungarians who spend their vacations in West European countries every year come home with good feelings. They have discovered that not even in the developed capitalist countries of Western Europe are fences made of sausage. They can see things which they have long forgotten at home, in Hungary. They can see, for example, unemployment and the fear of it, the insecurities of existence. Then they can see all sorts of plastic goods which used to be unavailable, but now they can see that all that stuff can be bought at home, in Hungary, too, more cheaply perhaps than in the shops of Western Europe.

"Our impressions of West European tourists in Hungary are very good. I don't know exactly what dialectic interconnection there is between the press and tourism, but we have observed two things. First: tourists coming from Western Europe are in general agreeably surprised by Hungary. However critically the tourist looks at what there is in our country, in any case what he experiences is better than what he anticipated from his reading of the capitalist press of Western Europe. Second: this probably explains why since the extension of the tourist traffic the image of Hungary in the West European press has improved. What tourists from Western Europe can see with their own eyes in Hungary cannot be described as its opposite, not even with the worst of intentions.

"Tourism between Hungary and Austria is most important. Hundreds of thousands of the citizens of both countries visit one another's country and feel at home on both sides. We have exerted ourselves, among other things, to ensure that this should be so, and continue to see to it that traffic in the future will not decline but grow.

"Tourism has, in addition to its political aspects, economic implications as well. In respect of tourism we shall continue the open-door policy. We cannot yet, however, exploit tourism economically, we still have to learn this trade. If we had as much experience in foreign tourism as Austria has, and if we could get tourism to produce as great a share of the national income as Austria can, we also would transact tourist business on a much larger scale. It stands to reason that Hungary, where large-scale tourist traffic is barely a few years old, is not economically prepared. Since we should like to attain a convenient standard, we have made every effort to develop very quickly, practically at a forced pace, the network of hotels and other facilities of the tourist and catering trade.

"In principle we wish to do away with obligatory visas between Hungary and Austria. But we are still at a disadvantage with regard to certain material conditions. These conditions have to be examined in common, together with the Austrian partners. But the situation is becoming ripe, and the time is not far off, when the obligatory visa system between the two countries can be terminated."

The Prospects of Small Countries

The *Pravda* correspondent asked: What are, following the Helsinki Conference, the prospects of the small countries of Europe in the political, economic and cultural fields?

"Austria and Hungary alike were losers in the Second World War," János Kádár pointed out. "Both nations lost many lives and suffered immense economic damage, unfortunately not for a good cause. If there is a people that wants peace, the Hungarians are it. I think the same can be said of the Austrians. This finds expression also in the policy of the Austria which has proclaimed perpetual neutrality.

"The Hungarian state is more than a thousand years old. It seems that our legendary chieftain Árpád, whom we call the conqueror of the land, chose a place that is good in many respects for the Hungarian people. The climate is good, the country is beautiful, we like it best of all in the world. From one point of view, however, Árpád, I think, was not far-

sighted enough. This place has a disadvantage: it is situated at the thoroughfare or armies. Probably the Austrians think much the same about their own country: it is beautiful, they certainly like it best of all in the world, but Austria is also too 'busy' a place. I believe there is no need to affirm that the Hungarians and, I think, the Austrians, too, are desirous of peace in the first place. As far as we are concerned, another—this time a policital —reason why Hungarians wish for peace is that they have a splendid programme to carry out—the programme of building a developed socialist society. The implementation of this programme calls for peace in the first place. Hungary therefore is definitely interested in the practical implementation of the recommendations adopted at Helsinki, and so—I think—is Austria.

"Let me mention one more factor: the Hungarian People's Republic is not only a small country, it is also poor in energy resources and raw materials. It is therefore considerably interested in building international economic relations. From a certain point of view we even envy countries where only 6 per cent of the national income depends on international trade. About 45 per cent of the national income of the Hungarian People's Republic is realized by foreign trade. One of the provisions, one which is vitally important to us, in the Helsinki recommendations, enunciates the extensive development of mutually advantageous relations by taking account of mutual interests.

"This is why we attach so great importance to the recommendations of the Helsinki Conference: we are interested in their implementation, we make every effort to carry them out, as we wholeheartedly support any international endeavour which serves this purpose," said János Kádár in conclusion.

INTERVIEW

NATURE CONSERVATION IN A DENSELY POPULATED COUNTRY

Talking to Zoltán Rakonczay, President of the National Nature Protection Office

The founding of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872 is generally considered as the beginning of organized nature conservation—seven years later the first Hungarian legislation prescribing comprehensive measures for the protection of nature was part of the first Forestry Act in 1879. In spite of this progress in keeping with the importance of the subject has been fairly recent in Hungary. The size of protected areas was 5,000 hectares in 1950, 15,000 in 1970 and in the next five years increased by leaps and bounds to 116,000 hectares. This is a remarkable result but if the facts are confronted it means that there was a leeway to be made up.

Between the two world wars valuable work was done. Károly Kaán, the pioneer of nature conservation in Hungary in his books laid down the basis of the subject; certain sound legislation was passed but the economic depression of the thirties and later the Second World War prevented their realization. Nevertheless, approximaterly 2,000 hectares were registered as nature reserves before the outbreak of war. Unfortunately the largest parts of these areas were devastated in the course of hostilities. In the difficult economic conditions after the Liberation it was not possible to carry out any significant work: it could start again only in the fifties, and only within narrow limits.

Zoltán Rakonczay, president of the National Nature Protection Office, was trained as a forestry scientist. For fifteen years he was Senior Forester of the Mátra Hills in Northern Hungary. During this time he studied economics, and acquired a second degree. Later he occupied a number of senior posts in various ministries, and, partly in an official capacity, partly as a passionate amateur, he continued to work of the protection of nature. In 1972 he was appointed to lead the Office which directs nature conservation throughout the country.

The conservation of nature is, of course, only part of the protection of environment which includes protection against air and water pollution, as well as noise. The activity as a whole is governed by the National Council for the Protection of Environment headed by the Minister of Building and Town Planning.

I wish to mention—says Zoltán Rakonczay—that the possibilities and tasks of a small and densely populated country like Hungary are very different from those of big countries such as the United States, Canada or the Soviet Union, and nature conservation will be also different in African countries with their vast untouched areas. National parks, therefore must be concentrated in regions where the landscape, the flora and fauna, and ethnographical features form a unique ensemble.

Q: This was then, obviously, the reason for making the Hortobágy the first national park of Hungary?

A: Yes, and followed immediately by another special region in the Hungarian Plain protected as the National Park of Kiskunság. We created these two national parks following consultation with the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources sponsored by the UN of which Hungary is an active member. The National Park of Hortobágy extends over 52,000 hectares, and does not include only the famous Eastern Hungarian *puszta* with its Hungarian native herds of cattle, studs and the relics of ancient pastoral life, but also neighbouring forests and bird reserves and the folk-art objects used in some of the old detached farms. The National Park of Kiskunság is further west, between two rivers, the Danube and the Tisza, on 25,000 hectares: sand dunes alternate with canebrakes, brushwood and marshy pasture preserving the living world, wild and domestic, which preceded nineteenth-century drainage and water regulation. Here we have also preserved the traditions of former pastoral life: visitors can see not only the objects of by-gone life on the *puszta:* there are also studs, horned cows and native breeds of sheep, and, at the annually organized Kiskunság Days of Herdsmen and Horsemen there is an opportunity of watching the stunts of horse-herds, the skills of shepherds, and eat the traditional dishes of herdsmen: goulash cooked on an open fire and shepherds' hard noodles.

Q: This seems a fairly broad interpretation of the preservation of nature.

A: It is indeed, but I wish to mention two aspects: on the one hand we wish to make the majority of reserves accessible to the public, and on the other we believe that the landscape gets its meaning from man-made values. The thatched wayside inn in the depth of the *puszta* with its railed-off counter and carved furniture merits the same protection as the ruins of the fortress, the castle's park, old cemeteries and other components of the landscape. We protect both natural and cultural values.

Q: Doesn't this "broad" interpretation present nature conservation in Hungary with too many, almost insoluble tasks?

A: True, the scope is wide. At this moment we have three national parks in Hungary: Hortobágy, Kiskunság and the newest, the National Park in the Bükk mountains. Their size totals 200,000 hectares. We have a further 15 landscape protection districts, each extending over approximately 4,000 hectares. We have 120 reserves of national importance, each of about 400 hectares. Local councils operate over 300 reserves of different sizes.

Q: What is the difference between these categories?

A: The national park is the most complete and manysided unit which serves to preserve and present the most important territories of the country as far as possible in their natural state. Its main purpose is to inform tourists about an area's natural and cultural history. Hence we provide these parks with equipment that fits into the natural surroundings. Expert guides are available. Within the parks there are special areas under stricter protection for preserving the most important natural values. The landscape protection districts are established to preserve the most characteristic features of a protected area, maintaining a certain balance among the landscape's natural components. Hence there are restrictions regulating sub-division, building, the opening of mines, the location of industry, and in general the placing of any establishment which does not fit into the landscape. At the same time we permit economic activity which does not disturb the character of the region such as agriculture and forestry, tourism and recreation. The areas of nature conservation serve to protect natural rarities which should be preserved for scientific or educational purposes. Some of these are strictly closed, some are open to visitors under cer-

tain conditions. Some are of nationwide significance, some are operated by local councils. These latter are in very good hands: the local councils handle them conscientiously and enthusiastically, with the growing awareness of the social importance of nature conservation.

Q: I think we have come to the crux of the matter. I don't think that legislation and administrative measures are worth much without the appropriate human attitudes. If we cannot achieve improvement here...

A: But we have achieved quite a lot. The staff of this office consists of a handful of experts only; obviously we can attain results only if it is generally recognized that the protection of nature is inseparably linked with the quality of life. I don't want to seem too optimistic, we are still in the initial stage and still struggle with daily problems, but I can say without exaggeration that the protection of nature has already a mass basis in Hungary. I would call "active nature preservers" the organized hill-walkers, pot-holers and friends of nature, as well as sportsmen using a gun or rod, the many organized bird-watchers, and, indeed, the majority of the members of youth and mass organizations. Very much is being done to stimulate awareness of the importance of the protection of nature. Organized education is, of course, the most important. The protection of nature is a regular subject in the curriculum of the University of Forestry at Sopron, the University of Horticulture and Viticulture in Budapest, the Agrarian University at Gödöllő and the Technical University in Budapest. The National Educational Institute has seen to it that the textbooks of general and secondary schools contain reading matter on the protection of nature and the environment.

Q: But the picture is not so bright everywhere: there is a huge stuffed golden eagle in this study.

A: A poacher shot him around Tiszafüred. True, people who kill a rare bird under protection suffer the full rigours of the penal clauses of the law. The fine can be as high as 50,000 forints, on some cases they even go to prison. (The law lays down the value of every species, killers must pay the fixed amount.) But what good will the punishment do: the beautiful bird of which only one or two existed in Hungary is irrevocably dead.

Q: Do such things happen often?

A: No. Luckily it is an isolated case. Most birds in Hungary have survived the dangers of the past decades. 320 of the 340 bird species in Hungary are under protection, only 20 species are excepted from the general rule. I must tell also that Hungary is a thoroughfare for birds passage: the migrating water-birds follow the line of the river Tisza in their autumn migration from north to south and in their spring migration from south to north; and, directed by a mysterious instinct whose reason and action mechanism have been studied in vain for a century, they take a shorter or longer rest every year at certain places such as in the Hortobágy, at Kardoskút, near Újfehértó. We have guaranteed protection and a safe rest on these points so crucial for their survival; Hungary is one of the main participants in international action for the protection of migrating birds.

Q: As far as I know there exists also a bustard reserve somewhere?

A: Their number has greatly diminished. The recent international "bustard conference" established that there are only 6,000–6,500 bustards from Spain to the river Ussuri, and 3,500 of them live in Hungary. The ornithologists of Europe expect Hungary to save this species from extinction, and we do hope that we shall achieve this with our efforts. We have created a bustard reserve at Dévaványa. Of course, it is forbidden to shoot bustards—but the birds need also living-space. Hence we planted safflower within the area and in these fields the birds can feed and breed. We collect the abandoned hatchings and hatch them in an incubator. The first generation born in these conditions is so tame that it must be left to live in the safety of

the reserve. The second generation is turned wild again to enable them to live in the hard conditions of freedom. I wish to add that the protection of migrating birds and efforts to save the bustards are only two, albeit important, examples of Hungary's participation in the international work. Together with Austrian experts we work on the protection of the Fertő, a unique steppe-lake on the Austrian border. We are working jointly with Czechoslovakia to preserve the karst plateau at Aggtelek-Szilice, and the protection of birds in the South of Hungary is co-ordinated with nature conservation on neighbouring Yugoslav areas.

Q: How do you conceive further work in Hungary in the coming years?

A: With long and thorough work we have drafted the long-term plan for nature conservation in Hungary. Until 1990 we wish to extend protection to an area of approximately 500,000 hectares—our surveys indicate that this would be the necessary size. There are, of course, objections—and I don't wish to deny that this is a huge area, these 500,000 hectares include everything that must be protected sooner or later. We cannot dodge the question: we are confronted with processes which will become irreversible without our intervention. I go even further: the natural environment perishes so quickly and to such an extent that in many cases we cannot limit ourselves to carrying out the plan in a measured rhythm. We must extend our protection to many places at once, and so try to keep pace with or even precede "accelerating time". In general I cannot insist enough on the importance of the time factor in nature conservation. In many cases decay is dreadfully quick and the process of regeneration very slow. We have struggled for fifty years against hewing basalt from the Badacsony and thus ruining it; the rule declaring the protection of the hill is more than twenty years old now and we must wait another thirty for the recovery of the natural environment. We have created a memorial grove on the scene of the battle of Mohács.* Many people criticized it forgetting that the newly planted trees need at least twenty years to grow and thus give the grove its proper place within the landscape. Meanwhile there are thousands of jobs to be done: preserve or restore the purity of lakes and rivers, replant trees in devastated areas, repatriate their birds. This requires much work and money—and the active and understanding support of the population. This is one of the reasons why we try to make accessible to the public as many natural treasures as possible. The protection of nature is not a self-centred activity: in the last analysis everything is done for man.

ZOLTÁN HALÁSZ

* See NHQ 65.

Great White Egret (Egretta alba), *Balaton Minor and Lake Velence*

The photographs of these birds, which are extremely rare, or even no longer surviving, in Europe west of Hungary are, with two marked exceptions, by Dr Zoltán Tildy. They are all specially protected species.

White Stork (Ciconia ciconia)

Avocet (Recurvirostra avosetta) *White Lake near Szeged, Pusztaszer, National Park Kiskunság*

Spoonbill (Platalea leucorodia) *Balaton Minor, Hortobágy National Park, Lake Velence*

Squacco Heron (Ardeola ralloides) *Balaton Minor, Hortobágy, Sasér*

István Sterbetz

Great Bustard (Otis tarda) *East of the River Tisza*

Crane (Grus grus) *East of the River Tisza*

SURVEYS

ANNA ZÁDOR

WORKING IN MUSEUMS AND LIBRARIES IN AMERICA

Many people have in many ways tried to write about their study trips to the USA. It is practically impossible to give a sufficiently comprehensive picture of a country so vast and so bafflingly rich; probably the Americans themselves haven't even got any kind of homogeneous image of their land. If I try, nevertheless, to present a kind of summary after a stay of only a few months, my only justification is that, as far as I know, I am the first student of the modern history of architecture from Hungary to do research there without any obligation other than purely research: I was not burdened with anything like delivering lectures. The opportunity had been offered me by the senior fellowship of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Institute of Harvard University. Several years ago I had participated there at a conference on the history of landscape gardening: my lecture on gardens in Hungary and Eastern Europe had directed attention to me, allowing me to spend four months there. I must stress that during these four months I worked chiefly in the libraries of Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, the Harvard University at Cambridge, and New York. At the same time I studied the graphic collections there and elsewhere, especially material from the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, particulary that which offered me an opportunity to become more acquainted with the architectural trends of the age, and with the problems of changes in taste. I made a few short visits to other cities with the same purpose; this means that I did not devote much attention to modern art centres or to specific educational questions.

The few months I spent there were singularly rich in experiences. The opportunities for research in the libraries and print collections are fabulous compared to European standards and although I know the most important European institutions I have never yet come across any like the American ones. This does not refer only to the wealth of the material but primarily to the excellent organization—by no means a general phenomenon in the libraries of Europe. The swiftness and accuracy of the services are of considerable assistance to the researcher in every respect; the informal use of libraries and many more factors facilitate the basically difficult task of the scholar. All librarians, without exception, considered that their primary duty was to satisfy the researcher's demands quickly, and if I needed further information they immediately gave me the address of a relevant expert or institute. Interlibrary borrowing is fast and smooth, any book arrives within a week from practically any library in the country, except old and rare periodicals: these are not lent to anybody but they are available for reading

in situ without restriction. All this seems natural, yet it is surprising that—perhaps because of a shortage of places in the reading-rooms—the Washington Library of Congress lends books from its multi-million-stock to research institutes. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris or the British Museum in London would never willingly let a book past their doors, so work is more comfortable in America from this point of view as well. I had no opportunity to try out how the borrowing from European libraries functions, surely this is possible too but this was unnecessary during that short time.

The abundance of old and new works was fantastic: The Library of Columbia University is distinguished also thanks to its rich collection of periodicals. Understandably the bulk of the material is in English: that of European provenance is somewhat haphazard as most of the libraries have grown out of private collections. Therefore the quantity of not really outstanding German or Italian material is smaller than in similar European libraries but growth is continuous not only through the purchase of new books but also through many facsimile editions. The conditions are just as favourable in the print collections, indeed, as less researchers work in them, they are in a position to give more detailed expert advice. This many-sided reference service—in fact, the term does not do justice to their work—is provided in general by a small number of skilled staff who work full-time to satisfy the demands of scholars. The system of open shelves prevails almost everywhere—including the very rich special libraries of art history—and with the help of the accurate and handy catalogues it is easy to find the desired work; they are put back by the librarians to keep things tidy.

Another advantage of the libraries is the availability of excellent catalogues. The National Union Catalogue (NUC), compiled by a special division of the Library of Congress, is almost up to date and available in most large libraries, together with the annotated complete catalogue of individual special libraries. Apart from these, there are many other lists grouping the stocks of libraries according to periodicals, university theses, individual themes, and many other viewpoints. The original work can be found as fast as a microfilm or xerox copy, and so the scholar does not waste time looking for things. This is true also of the large European libraries but accessibility and rapidity are an additional advantage which really helps American scholars. Time is money and money is power: nobody forgets this and realizes that it is not only for his own benefit but also in the interest of those who employ him. Naturally this attitude denotes a certain lack of feeling in several spheres of life, but as a scholar I have only felt its advantages.

Quick work and readiness to help are also true of general libraries such as the Martin Luther King Library in Washington: its small branch forwarded the desired information or book borrowed from another branch within a week. On the other hand—and this refers not only to libraries—librarians are more or less ignorant of general European stuff. This dichotomy becomes especially manifest in the matter of ancient culture—except in the case of specialists. The ignorance of Latin shocks the European art student, although its importance in general culture has lessened in Europe as well; this ignorance is natural in America where Latin is not required for admission to university and not taught in secondary schools. Only specialist scholars study the ancient languages.

Whereas researchers are well provided for in every institute, I found it very strange that I did not experience that inspiring atmosphere which I found everwhere in European institutions where debates, the discussion of problems or other free forms of exchanging experiences helped to create a kind of intellectual workshop. This relationship does not exist here between junior and senior researchers nor between established scholars. Either someone's task is to direct and control the work of a junior researcher, as in postgraduate teaching, in which case he

must be at his disposal as, in Europe, a secondary-school teacher has to be at the disposal of his students; or he has nothing to do with teaching and then such behaviour would be considered an intrusion, or something equally undesirable. I found this very odd, especially at the beginning; and whereas individual attitudes may vary greatly in this field, it is quite certain that to discuss a problem *in statu nascendi* is regarded as not desirable, maybe not even advisable.

This may be one of the reasons for the bewilderment and loneliness of some young scholars. Either they waste much time because of their inexperience or—as their publications show—they brim over with gratitude and acknowledgments to those who haved helped them to work out a problem. Probably now, when it is so difficult to find jobs for young graduates with a Ph.D. and consequently the attraction of academic careers has decreased, this relationship will also change because one of the reasons for this attitude is that scholars are overworked. However, it is also true that it encourages independence and both juniors and seniors are thoroughly versed in their chosen field. Competition is keen and leads to continuing study. This is also the case in Europe as well, but the resourcefulness, self-assurance and articulateness of junior scholars surpasses by far anything experienced in Europe, not to speak of their skill in handling technical equipment, information-giving indexes and every time-saving device which helps them to accomplish their task quickly. In this they surpass most Europeans even if sometimes they cannot avoid the appearance of cocksureness and complacency. But as complaining and moaning about difficulties is not the thing in America their optimism predominates: they believe in the opportunities of their big country, and in their own individual chances much more than is usual in Europe.

Preparatory training does not only put more stress on techniques and devices of research, students are also taught to organize their material, and to become articulate. The many lectures delivered, especially by the historians of Dumbarton Oaks, are distinguished by clarity, logic and sound presentation. Articulateness is a feature of American scholarly life which we should especially imitate. I wish also to mention the discussions that follow lectures or seminars which are much sharper than in Europe and make a point of exposing deficiencies.

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The same high level of organization and multifariousness of services is true of museums. I don't want to dwell on the abundance and sometimes unrivalled quality of the material because they are the result of financial resources and of collector's luck to some extent. American museums are, however, so rich in material that almost no past or present question of the visual arts could be solved satisfactorily on the basis of European material alone. Much more important than this is the presentation of that material. By means of continuous rearrangements, the old museums comply increasingly with the requirements of today's public and their exhibitions are interesting, instructive and enjoyable. This refers both to the permanent and occasional exhibitions. In general they combine the arts and decorative art, and when they exhibit paintings they put matching sculptures of furniture (sometimes pottery) into the show-room. Exhibitions of sculpture—apart from many well-arranged, new open-air shows—are combined with items of decorative art. The colour of the wall or hangings, the material of the floor and the carpets covering it, partly or entirely, also serve the unity of the effect. The good lighting, generally independent of the weather, contributes to untroubled viewing: the use of expensive non-reflective glass is spreading, especially for the imperceptible protection of important works of art. Apart from these factors of organization, including comfortable and

restful chairs, interior courtyards and palm courts, there is much well-written information in every hall that people can take away free of charge and learn the main facts about the exhibits. (This practice is spreading to the museums of London and Paris.) Apart from planned or special lectures in art galleries there are many informal seminars for the public: a small number of listeners sit on their portable chairs in front of the work of art in question and acquire knowledge in the form of questions and answers. There are projection rooms with comfortable chairs almost everywhere: by means of colour films and accompanying text they give general or specialized information about the museum. Youth activities are organized in most museums, one of the best in this respect is the Junior Museum within the New York Metropolitan Museum, which encourages many forms of spontaneous activity. The propagation of general knowledge and especially the education of youth is a key question.

Museums with collections other than art are even more ingenious in the activization of visitors: the Bicentennial has offered many opportunities for evoking and effectively presenting the past. All museums without exception did their share. The many exhibitions—sometimes in small towns—not only enriched local history, they have also contributed valuable information to different chapters of general cultural history. Included in the exhibitions which were organized for ceremonious occasions, the show entitled "America with the Eyes of Europe" was one of the finest—after Washington it will travel to other cities. Travelling exhibitons are not limited to US material. Important European treasures are also on show such as the Spanish paintings in the Metropolitan Museum. The Whitney Museum in New York offered its entire building to the big exhibition of 200 years of American sculpture regardless of whether the quality of the material reached the usual level.

These exhibitions were particularly frequent this year—they had also been arranged on other occasions celebrating the anniversary of some political or historical event—or simply to show new acquisitions. In this respect museums are under much public pressure because the average American donator does not appreciate the enrichment of collections and their safeguarding, only special exhibitions.

All these contribute to increasing the interest in museums, and this does not appear only in the number of visitors but also in their composition. Old people and very young children sit with rapturous attention on their small portable chairs borrowed from the cloak-room and, along with the museum-going adults, they listen to the well-delivered lecture of a specialist who acquaints them with the material: all these lectures are carefully prepared. The newest museums support the presentation of history, literature or any school subject, with activity in the museum, whereby they resort to the use of the telephone and other everyday devices. In Philadelphia there is a portrait of Franklin on the wall—people can "ring up" the picture from a phone in the hall and a tape-recorder will recite the relevant text. At first it seems trashy but its impact is so fascinating that the student cannot get rid of it—and this is the ultimate purpose. Here is a young nation with comparatively small historical consciousness and tradition; the museums count with the relatively low degree of education of the masses, and this form of teaching the country's history achieves good results.

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All this shows that excellent organization and the clever utilization of possibilities can produce almost perfect results, even in the propagation of knowledge. And yet I do not believe that this is the case either in this sphere, or in scholarly research. Things have a smack of routine and the impersonal: it is rare that human beings address other human

beings but it is also true that the size of the institutions makes it difficult to develop any degree of intimacy. Over-specialization is also responsible. But these small deficiencies perceived by a very subjective European are offset by the dynamism and optimism of American life which characterizes especially the young and the backers of theoretical sciences. Nothing seems hopeless to anybody because everything is possible, and everything can change from one day to the next. This basic attitude has remarkable advantages, and their zeal and discipline in work greatly increases their confidence in the future. Much can be expected from American research in art history although naturally this field is only of secondary importance there, too.

ANNA SÁNDOR

THE DUTCH AND THE HUNGARIANS

What Hungarian Professionals Know about Holland

It was in a hotel in Moscow that I met my first Dutchman. We sat at the same dinner table, and when this new acquaintance quizzed me about his country, I gazed around the room, trying to think of more than the familiar trio of tulips, wooden shoes and windmills. He forgave my ignorance and married me. I still felt ashamed of how little I knew and decided to combine my own education with an inquiry into how much Hungarian professionals know about the Netherlands and vice versa. After all, they have different economic and political systems, but both are small European countries. Not only might the problems arising from their size be similar, but also historically Dutch-Hungarian relations were extensive, notably in the seventeenth century.

I gathered information from 100 Hungarian professionals, varying from engineers to jurists. I interviewed the subjects in person without telling them the questions in advance to assure frank and impromptu replies. One-third of the sample were women. One in five had been to the Netherlands and so had personal experiences to supplement second-hand information. More than half of them were between 25 and 30 years old, and 80 per cent were under 35.

Interestingly, the majority believe the Netherlands, which has 14 million inhabitants, to be smaller—in population—than it is; in fact, a rather high proportion (about 15 per cent) estimated the population at less than 5 million. About half thought the population was less than 10 million.

The area of Hungary is 2.7 times larger than that of the Netherlands. Nearly 80 per cent of the respondents knew which was bigger but a third thought it was half as big as Hungary, while another third were, closer, assuming it was one-third the size of Hungary. More than 10 per cent of the sample thought the two countries were approximately the same size, and 9 per cent assumed the Netherlands was larger.

A curious feature of the Netherlands is that it has two capitals. The official seat of government, The Hague, houses one royal palace, the government ministries and all diplomatic missions, while Amsterdam, with the largest population and its own royal palace, is the country's commercial and cultural capital. Another feature of the country is that none of its cities has as many as a million people.

More than one-fifth of the respondents were aware of the two capitals. A full 94

per cent of the replies gave The Hague, Amsterdam or both as the capital, and of those who gave only one capital, half chose Amsterdam, half The Hague. Two plumped for the Danish capital, Copenhagen, and two, the Belgian city of Antwerp. Both The Hague and Amsterdam, but especially the latter, were estimated by more than one-third of the respondents to have more than a million population and—in several cases—even more. The reply, "Amsterdam has 2 to 3 million inhabitants" was not unusual.

The Netherlands as a unified country is close to its quadricentennial. A considerable number of the respondents, about 30 per cent, knew that the country is a product of the second half of the sixteenth century. One-third put the birth of the country at an earlier date, a good number of them much earlier. Nearly one-quarter believed the Netherlands to be much younger than it is; some put its founding in the seventeenth, some the eighteenth and even a few the nineteenth century. Nine did not answer the question at all.

All 100 respondents knew the language of the country to be Dutch, but many called it Flemish. (The two are essentially the same.) Nearly two-thirds thought that Dutch is closest to German 5 per cent believed it closest to English and almost 30 per cent said the language is really a mixture of German and English.

That their form of government is a monarchy was known to all except two respondents, and 91 per cent also knew the name, Queen Juliana.

The respondents were far less informed about Dutch domestic politics, where there are more than a hundred political parties; fourteen of them are represented in Parliament, and five parties comprise the present Cabinet. More than 30 per cent of the respondents did not know how many parties were in the government of the day or even how many have seats in Parliament. According to 15 per cent of my interviewees, Parliament is comprised of the representatives of two parties. A little more than 10 per cent estimated the number of parliamentary parties to be between two and ten, the rest were divided among "over ten", "many" and "very many".

All knew that the Netherlands is a member of the Benelux Economic Union and the Common Market, among economic communities, and of NATO among the military blocs. I inquired in detail about foreign policy and, in particular, the countries with which the Netherlands has the closest ties. In regard to close political relations, the replies ranked Belgium (as a member of the Benelux Union) first, the Common Market countries (with West Germany at their head) second, Britain third, the U.S.A. fourth, Israel fifth and South Africa sixth. Israel was classed fifth primarily because of Dutch support for Israel during the war of October 1973, while South Africa's sixth place was justified by the history of the Boer settlers, the common language and the large numbers of Dutch settlers in South Africa.

As regards economic relations, again Belgium ranked first, the Common Market (led by West Germany) second, Britain third, the U.S.A. fourth, and the former colonies fifth, led by Indonesia.

These replies overestimated the importance of the Benelux Union, which was more meaningful 20 or 25 years ago. The Dutch economy is now dependent on the Federal Republic of Germany, so much so that West Germany takes more of the Netherlands' exports than all the other Common Market countries put together.

Britain was classed fourth because the two largest multinational companies of Europe, Shell and Unilever, are joint British-Dutch ventures. Several replies mentioned that the Netherlands has good and improving relations with Hungary, but for the time being, this can only be called wishful thinking.

Knowledge of Dutch products was naturally closely connected with the respondents'

impression of the Dutch economy as a whole. They listed altogether over 400 items so that each knew on average at least four Dutch products. Those mentioned in order of frequency were:

Philips products	55
cheese	48
tulips	46
cocoa	39
dairy products	31
wooden shoes	30
chocolate	10
detergents	8
beef	6
ships	6
tobacco	6
flower seeds	5
Shell oil	28
Unilever products	21
Sugar, spices, etc.	18
petroleum products	17
chemical products	17
natural gas	15
cigars	14
butter	11
synthetics	10
kerchiefs	5
DAF cars	5
pharmaceuticals	4
diamonds	4
pornography	2
luxaflex (building material)	1
Delft porcelain	1

One of the most interesting but at the same time most subjective questions I put was what they believe the Dutch to be like, first in appearance, then in character. More than half of the respondents admitted that they knew no Dutchmen, and so had to form an opinion of the Dutch only by hearsay and reading.

To sift out the anomalous opinions, I list only those answers given by at least three people:

Appearance

blond	59
Germanic	23
blue-eyed	19
well-built	16
tall	12
slovenly	9
Nordic	8
robust	6
self-assured	6
freckled and red-haired	5
clean	5
European	5
homogeneous	4
like the Hungarians	3
women of mixed Dutch-Indonesian blood are beautiful	3

Character

reasonable	33
calm	29
meticulous	28
hard-working	26
humane	24
determined	19
withdrawn	19
fond of the family	17
reserved	15
ready to help	15
typical businessmen	14
calculating	11
small-minded	10
tolerant of foreigners	6
tolerant of new ideas	6
lacking in national pride	5
insipid	4
boring	4
uncommunicative	3
globe-trotting	3

I was most pleased with the replies to the question of their first reactions when I mentioned the name, Holland. Thirty-two ideas came out in their replies. Although the list is still headed by the trio of "tulips, wooden shoes, windmills", the rest testify to a fairly good knowledge of the life of the Netherlands and her people. The ideas and the number of times mentioned are as follows:

windmills	45
tulips	40
wooden shoes	38
Dutch painters	33
struggle with the sea	32
polder	28
KLM	23
van Gogh	22
Philips	20
Shell	19
canals	19
dikes	18
wind	15
bicycles	15
passionate gardeners	15
colonial empire	14
hippies	13

Amsterdam as "the Venice of the North"	12
Rotterdam as "the gateway to Europe"	9
Unilever	8
lowlands	8
high population density	6
green grass	5
cows	5
shipping	4
cleanliness	4
soccer	4
oil embargo	3
high living standard	3
wealth	3
Zuider Zee	3
long-haired soldiers	1

The number of a nation's great men known in other countires is always related to the nation's contribution ot international culture. This is why I asked what famous Dutch names the respondents knew. The 100 interviewees came up with more than 30 different names, and each knew, on average, of four famous Dutchmen.

Dutch painters of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, including Rembrandt, Rubens, van Dyck, Brueghel, Vermeer, Ruysdael, de Hooch, Fabritius	91
Van Gogh	48
soccer player Cruyff	42
Spinoza	32
Erasmus	27
NATO Secretary-General Josef Luns	21
former Common Market Secretary Mansholt	17
Admiral de Ruyter (17th century)	17
Jan Tinbergen, Nobel Prize economist	14
Ziljstra, financier and ex-president of the World Bank	13
William, Prince of Orange	12
Prince Bernhard, husband of Queen Juliana	12
orchestra conductor Mengelberg (20th century)	7
den Uyl, the present Prime Minister	6
Mata Hari, the First World War spy	5
Anne Frank, the Jewish girl killed by the Nazis	5
Mondrian	5
Peter Stuyvesant, founder of New York (17th century)	4
Huygens, inventor of the pendulum clock	3
van Leeuwenhoek, inventor of the microscope (17th–18th centuries)	3
Max Euwe, world chess champion in the 1930s	3
Marika Veres, Hungarian singer in a Dutch ensemble	3
world speed-skating champion Schenk (1966–73)	2
judo expert Geesink	2
chess player Donner	2
composer Ockeghem (15th century)	1
politicians Jan and Cornelis de Wit (17th century)	1

I should point out particular circumstances which no doubt influenced the frequency with which some names were mentioned. In all probability Cruyff was so high on the list because my research was conducted shortly after the 1974 World Cup in which the Dutch team played the final. Admiral de Ruyter's popularity is due to György Moldova's recently published book *Negyven prédikátor* (Forty Preachers), in which de Ruyter manumitted the seventeenth-century Hungarian preachers who had been galley-slaves. Tinbergen, who won the first Nobel Prize in economics, was frequently mentioned—at least among the economists—because I conducted my interviews just when the Fourth World Congress of Economists was being held in Budapest, an event which made the Nobel Prize a topical subject.

Many last question was what other questions my interviewees would have asked if they had compiled a similar questionnaire.

My economic issues were raised—What accounts for the wealth of the Netherlands? How did the Dutch recuperate from loss of their colonies? Do they profit from the remaining colonies? Where is the Netherlands situated economically among the developed capitalist countries? They raised other topics: What is the situation of women there? What is private life like there? What is the Dutch currency? What is their climate like? Which is the dominant religion? What part did the country play in the Second World War? What is the role of the Communist Party there? etc. But most of the questions dealt with the history of Dutch–Hungarian relations. There was also considerable curiosity about the image of Hungary among the Dutch.

Dutch Intellectuals on Hungary

What does the Dutch intelligentsia know about Hungary? This was the subject of the second part of my inquiry, this time conducted wholly among intellectuals. Again I interviewed 100 people personally to ensure that the replies were spontaneous and unprepared. To prevent my interviewing only university graduates, I sought a variety of scientific research workers, most of them with university posts. Thus 70 per cent of the respondents were men of science. The remaining 30 per cent were university graduates and senior university students. As with the Hungarian respondents, over half were less than 30 years old and about three-quarters 35 or under.

Though I was anxious to include women in the survey, the present structure of Dutch society and economy made it difficult to find women in white-collar jobs. Accordingly, the ratio of men to women in the sample was 4 to 1, and even so, I had to compromise to the extent that half of the women had not been working for as much as a few years.

The respondents were divided about half and half between the social and natural sciences. I interviewed 46 social scientists, including at least one economist, philologist, psychologist, sociologist, historian, political scientist, art historian and librarian; and 54 natural scientists including at least one physicist, mathematician, engineer, astronomer, chemist, pharmacist, geologist and computer scientist.

Only three of the interviewees had ever been to Hungary.

I first asked what they thought was the size of Hungary's population. In a satisfying result, nearly half estimated between 8 and 12 million while the actual figure is 10 million. Nearly one-quarter greatly underestimated the figure with 5 to 6 million. Two guessed 50 million and another two 30 million.

Regarding the area of Hungary the respondents in general thought it larger than it actually is. Nearly two-third guessed that Hungary is 4 to 10 times as large as the Netherlands, and 15 per cent even thought Hungary was 10 to 20 times the size of the Netherlands; it is in fact three times the size of the Netherlands, and only a quarter of the respondents came close to that figure.

The capital city of Hungary, Budapest, was known to all, and not even confused with Bucharest, a mistake we come to expect by now. While slightly overestimating the population of Hungary and greatly overestimating its size, the respondents gave a much lower figure for the population of Budapest, most of them guessing a million, which is half the actual figure, but then no Dutch city numbers a million people.

Regarding the language of Hungary, all except one knew of Hungarian, and more than half even knew that it was among the Finno-Ugric family of languages. A fifth thought it was a Slavic language; others guessed it was related to Turkish, Rumanian, Mongolian or Romany.

Where did the Hungarians come from, and when did they settle in present-day Hungary? This is the breakdown of replies to the first part of the question:

Asia	32
the Orient	12
Russia	6
Mongolia	5
the Urals	4
the Volga	4
the steppes	3
the North	2
the Baltic	2
India	2
no answer	28
Total	100

Thus 80 per cent of the replies were close to the established fact. Those who mentioned the Baltic or the North probably had in mind the regions where kindred peoples (Finns, Lapps, Estonians) settled.

To the second part of the question, no one gave the right answer (ninth century of

the Christian era), but more than half were not far wrong. (One of the "don't knows" at least gave the flattering reply, "the Hungarians have been known from time immemorial".)

The breakdown of replies:

before the Christian era	2
0 to 4th century	5
4th to 5th century	26
5th to 8th century	27
9th century	—
after 9th century	4
"don't know"	36
Total	100

Few knew the principal source of personal and national income in Hungary.

Statistical break-down:

agriculture	39
agriculture and stock-breading	35
industry	15
industry and agriculture	3
agriculture and services	2
no answer	6
Total	100

Obviously few realized that over the past quarter century in Hungary the larger part of national income and a considerable percentage of jobs have been in industry.

Hungarian products known to the respondents were confined largely to agriculture. First came wine (and other beverages), then goulash and paprika. Among the 84 who answered the question, there were a total of 159 answers, thus averaging two Hungarian products per reply.

Statistical break-down:

wine	35
goulash	34
paprika	18
embroidery	16
"gipsy music"	11
canned goods	10
jam	9
tomato purée	8
fruits and vegetables	7
sausages	6
buses	5
others	3

To the Dutch intellectual, then, Hungary remains the country of wine, goulash, paprika and gipsy music.

Though badly informed about the Hungarian economy, the respondents knew a lot about its political life. Nearly three-quarters knew how many (and which) political parties are functioning in Hungary. Only three failed to answer the question, while several said that there are a few parties—one even thought as many as ten.

More than half knew the political leader in Hungary, but only one woman was able to name János Kádár. Three answers were wrong.

With which West Eureopean countries does Hungary have the most and best economic and political relations? In political relations, West Germany and France tied for first. France seems less surprising an answer than West Germany, and probably reflects the present-day German policy of friendship and increasing trade with the socialist countries. In third place they put their own country, the Netherlands. As I have often found in private conversation, people think that since both countries are small, they have similar problems which make for good relations. The Dutch and Hungarians seem to like and respect each other, but foreign policy is not based on such considerations. None of the interviewees mentioned Finland with which Hungary has very good relations, partly because of the kindred origin of their peoples. Austria was put only fourth, and here the good relations are an outstanding example of the compatibility of countries with different social systems. Remarkably, 10 per cent of the respondents thought Hungary had good relations with no West European country. No doubt the question we put was too general; but by the nature of our enquiry we did not want to go more deeply into the matter.

In economic relations, West Germany was far ahead: 49 out of 78 voted for it. And indeed, Hungary transacts the greatest volume of trade with West Germany, fol-

lowed by Italy and France. As is clear in the break-down, each respondent was allowed to give more than one answer:

Country	*Political relations*	*Economic relations*
West Germany	30	49
France	30	18
Netherlands	11	10
Austria	10	13
Italy	4	5
others	8	4
none	10	4
no answer	24	22

The "others" category included Switzerland, Scandinavia, England and "small countries" in general. While the Netherlands ranked fourth in economic relations, Hungary represents merely 0.3 per cent of Dutch foreign trade.

The geographical, historical, economic and political questions were followed by a personal one. I inquired what the Dutch think of Hungarians, what they find or believe us to be like by appearance and character.

My personal question elicited the reply that the Dutch think Hungarians are short, brown-eyed, wide-cheeked, but (and?) handsome. As concerns character, they think we are first of all friendly and merry.
The break-down:

Appearance

dark-haired	45
short	30
brown-eyed	13
wide-cheeked	8
handsome	8
European	8
Slavic-looking	4
stocky	4
wild	3
heterogeneous	9
no answer	17

Character

friendly	17
merry	9
sentimental	7
romantic	7
fond of music	7
temperamental	6
extrovert	6
lively	5
hospitable	5
energetic	5
fiery	4
vehement	4
cantankerous	4
efficient	3
work-loving	2
gipsyish	1
no answer	30

The last question, asking for famous Hungarian names, elicited this response:

Béla Bartók	34
Zoltán Kodály	29
József Mindszenty	28
Ferenc Liszt	18
Ferenc Puskás	12
Loránd Eötvös	9
György Lukács	7
László Szabó	6
Sándor Petőfi	6
Lajos Portisch	3
Győző Adorján	3
Flórián Albert	3
Béla Balázs	3
Ferenc Deák	2
József Bognár	2
others	7
no answer	20

The "others" category, those mentioned only once, included: Antal Doráti, Zsa Zsa Gabor, King Stephen, Béla Kun, Count Esterházy, Imre Kálmán, Zoltán Ribli.

The frequent mention of some names can be explained. Although Mindszenty was known to many, the large response was certainly due to the fact that just at the time of our inquiry Mindszenty was frequently in the news. Ferenc Deák has descendants living in the Netherlands (Groningen).

To put a complementary question, asked: "Had you compiled this questionnaire, what other questions would you have included?" Besides numerous historical, cultural, economic and political questions, there were these: What social benefits exist in Hungary? What is the tax system in Hungary? How does urban mass transport work? (It was the time of the energy crisis). And most of them asked what the Hungarians know about the Netherlands.

KATALIN CSAPLÁR

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN WORKERS' HOSTELS

In Hungary about a hundred thousand men, women and girls live in workers' hostels maintained by factories and firms. Their majority travel home weekends and holidays but some 5–10 per cent consider the hostel their permanent home. More than half are younger than 30.

Those professionally concerned with ensuring, widening and deepening access to culture look on workers' hostels as waste land, as blank areas on the country's cultural and educational map. The hostellers are neither of the city nor of the village, and the hostels themselves are untilled soil when it comes to culture and education—although in recent years facilities have improved even if somewhat unevenly.

The Secretariat of the National Council for Access to Culture has commissioned a team to inquire into present conditions and, on the basis of its findings, determine the priorities. The aim was to survey the communal and cultural facilities in workers' hostels, what provision is made for leisure and pastimes, and to find out how these potential communities have grown (or why did they not grow) into real communities.

The conclusions here summed up are based on the report of this team.

Twenty workers' hostels (eight in country towns, twelve in Budapest) were chosen at random without any intention of satisfying the criteria of a sociological survey. Those outside Budapest were scattered in three counties with large industrial centres. County trade union councils were asked to name both "good" and "bad" hostels. It is almost natural that the majority of the thus selected hostels were far above the national average. Methodologically the team relied on personal interviews. We inquired chiefly into the objective and subjective conditions for access to culture, into the family situation and educational levels of residents, the character of educational and cultural activities in the hostel, and the degree of care bestowed on the maintenance of existing facilities.

Objective conditions

Most hostels are at some distance from residential districts; they were built in fringe areas, sometimes in the same block as the factory or firm, as a part of "quarters", on the basis of a standard design. They are 10–15 years old, and their state of repair varies. Rooms reserved for individual or communal recreation of a cultural sort are rare, and such as exist are often used for other purposes. There are exceptions where the design allows for the necessary space but, as one says in Hungary, they are as rare as white crows.

"The hostel is about 9–10 years old, in healthy surroundings a long way from the job or living areas. In general three share a room, communal facilities are satisfactory. There are no premises that will take a greater number; there is a library and a youth club. The TV set is in the corridor."

"The rooms have 2 or 4 bunks, the furniture is modern. Two hot plates, one refrigerator, one shower and four washbasins are available to 16 residents on each floor. There is constant hot water, the hostel is tidy and neat. A youth club for twenty to thirty, a TV lounge and a study room are provided..."

"The hostel consists of three buildings. Recreational rooms are per building: House 1: small lounge, the factory's

technical library, classrooms, radio-amateurs' club; House 2: general library, two TV lounges, a room for table-tennis; House 3: cinema, small stage, small lounge, a room for indoor sports, another for chess.

"Rooms have 2–4–6 bunks each, they are well-furnished and adequately equipped. The entire hostel is well-kept, much above the general level; a canteen, buffet, a general store, a dressmaker's and a hairdresser's are available."

"The hostel is fairly new but the communal facilities are bad. The rooms are small, uncomfortable, with 4 bunks. There is a lounge (with a television set) on each floor; bleak, uninviting places with no furniture other than chairs."

"Originally the rooms were intended for four, now they accommodate eight on iron bunks. There are lounges on each floor but they have also been transformed into dormitories for 12. One room, the entrance lobby, serves every kind of community activity."

The factory management seems to sense some direct connection with production. The hostels maintained by the firms themselves are much better provided for in every respect than those maintained by others or by firms specially created for this purpose. In this respect hostels in country towns are certainly better off.

The "subjective" side

Few hostels employ full-time skilled personnel in adult education; yet if they do so, they overburden them with work. If there happens to be someone employed full-time on recreational work he is as a rule without professional training who left school after completing the eight classes of the general school. True, such a person probably has long years of experience but this cannot compensate for an absence of adequate training.

"Two full-time *animateurs* are employed. Their responsibilities include educational programmes in two branch hostels in neighbouring towns."

"...The cultural and educational activities of workers are organized by the firm—regardless of whether they are hostel residents or not—mass sport is also organized by the firm. Therefore no such activity exists in the hostel: the city's four culture houses and its general library are available to everybody. Every year two educational lecture series are held in the hostel itself. In theory this could be a good idea and new organizational framework for the education of workers but it can also mean that education within the hostel is neglected. We could not ascertain which was the case here but our doubts increased when we learned that in spite of this unified concept the hostel had its own facilities for table-tennis, chess and skittles, its own indoor-dimensions football and handball* pitch but no cultural activity of any kind."

"There is absolutely no educational activity in the barrack-hostel. Once upon a time there was a full-time professional in charge but the person has gone and the post itself has been abolished since then. This is all the more odd as the barrack-hostel is a relatively long way from any living area and the time-table of the bus which links it with the town or the nearby villages makes it impossible for residents to attend any functions at night (theatre, cinema, culture house) unless they are ready to hike for miles in the dark."

"...cultural recreation in the hostel is organized by the firm with the assistance of resident volunteers. Theirs is a sound special situation since the firm, the workers' hostel and the youth club are all in the same block, and the firm manages all productive, social and cultural institutions."

* Not what is known under that name in the English-speaking world but a game originally devised by German gym masters which has now become an Olympic sport for both sexes.

"...since September 1974 educational activity has been directed by a part time professional."

"Cultural recreation is handled by the caretaker and the person in charge, they have no professional training..."

"There is no cultural activity in the hostel, the culture house of the firm, built on the same site as the firm and the hostel, offers such programmes to the residents of the hostel, to the workers of the firm respective to the population of the area."

"...since 1974 there has been a full-time organizer but so far we have seen a lot more of plans, which are beautiful all right, than action..."

In about half of the hostels visited by the team a full-time or part-time paid *employé* was responsible for organizing and directing cultural recreation, in others cultural programmes were arranged within the framework of a house of culture, and we found two hostels where no attempts whatever were being made to create the opportunities and formal structure that are a precondition for meaningful leisure, entertainment or cultural improvement of the residents.

It is heartening that the need to encourage cultural activity and organize cultural programmes in workers' hostels is increasingly felt in many places. A full-time expert is often employed, the organizational, methodological and professional facilities of a nearby house of culture are made use of. On the other hand the present "hostel structure" does not yet allow one to generalize this trend everywhere, and full-time experts who cannot deal with every problem of hostels with 600–800 residents have no time to organize and introduce modern forms of community activity such as hobby groups, clubs, amateur societies, and no means to provide adequate leadership for them. And yet personal contact, that is living with the community, is the best guarantee of effective work, over and above sound professional training.

The residents

"One-third of the residents is under 30. Twenty per cent are semi-skilled workers, 50 per cent skilled workers, 30 per cent unskilled workers. There are few Gipsies. Most of the residents come from two counties: Borsod and Szabolcs. Now they've got a five-day working week they go home every week-end."

"About 60 per cent of the residents are under 30. Twenty-five to thirty per cent have completed secondary school or some from of tertiary education, two only have not completed general school but they have been enrolled now. About 80 per cent of residents are semi-skilled or skilled workers, or technicians. Both sexes are catered for, on separate floors."

"Ninety-eight per cent of residents are under 30, the majority are women or girls. The hostel is a prefabricated apartment house. Married couples live together. Twenty per cent are college graduates, almost all have completed secondary school."

"About 10 per cent of residents have no home to go to, this is true of young and old alike. The hostel is their home."

"At present we have 800 residents, 40 per cent are unskilled workers, the others are skilled and semi-skilled. The Gipsies are on the lowest educational level (40 per cent did not finish general school!). Some of the residents look on the hostel as a temporary solution, with a yearly to eighteen months turnover. One-third can be considered permanent. They do not leave the hostel even on holidays and weekends."

"The majority are skilled and semi-skilled workers. About 14 per cent did not complete general school and approximately 2 per cent have completed secondary school as well."

"Sixty-five per cent did not complete general school, 5 per cent are illiterate! Fifty per cent are Gipsies, 70 per cent are younger than 30."

"This is a women's hostel with residents under 30, some are apprentices. Their

elatively high earnings and the confined situation at home are often hotbeds of conflicts. Ten per cent of the factory workers are Gypsies, so we've got a Gypsy problem as well. Turnover is extremely high both in the factory and in the hostel. Most residents completed general school."

"We have many who did not finish general school and there are also many illiterates. Deviant behaviour is frequent in the hostel though we do not allow woman visitors, cards and drink on the premises (!)."

"Turnover is high (residents change three times within a year!) About 50 per cent are under 30. Thirty per cent are skilled, 20 per cent semi-skilled, 50 per cent unskilled workers. We have many Gypsies, their illiteracy ratio is over 40 per cent!"

In their totality the residents of workers' hostels are pretty heterogeneous. They differ according to sex, schooling, cultural level, way and style of life and age, and the nature of their behaviour in the hostel also shows many variations from coommunity-minded to passive and deviant.

The overwhelming majority have a low educational and cultural level, and—especially in the hostels of building workers—there is a substantial proportion of illiterates. This is all the sadder since they are mostly under 30; this is the "reproduction" of people without elementary education. There is some sort of explanation. Most illiterates are Gypsies and it is well-known that Hungary's Gypsy population is actually in the process of changing its way of life and trying to find its place in the social division of labour; hence their situation—at least from a cultural point of view—can be regarded as transitional.

It is obviously more difficult to work out a unified pattern of education in a hostel whose residents show a great diversity in cultural level; and the pattern must also differ according to communities with a lower or higher cultural standard. With the former the objective is to awaken the wish for culture and develop cultural habits; in case of the latter existing demand must be satisfied and further developed. The high turnover in some hostels cannot be ignored either since in these places everything must be started from scratch time and again.

The potential conflict situations in some hostels cannot be ignored whether they stem from real conflict between Gypsies and others, or the tension between confined circumstances at home and relatively high earnings in town. Nor should one neglect emotional conflicts due to the prohibition of sexual contacts on the premises. In most hostels residents cannot even cohabit with their own husbands or wives.

Access to culture

"The hostel has a well-equipped library with 650 registered readers (65 per cent of residents). The bulk of educational work is done in the library and the youth club. There are many programmes catering for different interests: educational lectures, films, programmes with amateur and professional ensembles, dancing. Twice a year the departmental methodological centre organizes a travelling exhibition in the hostel. There is a camera club with 16 members and seven take part in courses of a general school nature. Competitions, quizzes and political conferences are frequently organized. Besides professional staff the hostel's own cultural committee, consisting of young people, countributes much to organizing cultural life. They organize the "corridor theatre" which performs short sketches and literary programmes to those who happen to be in the hostel lounge at night. Planned and purpuseful work has left its mark on life in the hostel although most educational forms are still traditional..."

"The library organizes two or three author-reader meetings every year, and there are two or three educational lectures

per month. If they expect more people they organize the programme in the big hall of the house of culture where participation is not limited to hostel residents. Dancing with a programme, films and folk dancing are special favourites. Cultural life in the town and in the hostel form an organic whole. Cultural propaganda is good everywhere so the hostel inhabitants are informed of every cultural event in the town. The enterprise library operates within the hostel."

"The programmes within the hostel are intended for a small public: e.g. lectures on classical music; in our special conditions most educational programmes are intended for both townspeople and hostel residents. This complex educational work is colourful and diverse. Both townspeople and hostel residents deplore the absence of refined entertainment and dancing for young people. The hostel residents have another problem: there is no place in the town where young people can meet informally and pair off. This is a problem which particularly affects lonely women and girls."

"The hostel's educational activity is characterized by its excellent relationship with the firm; thus neither funds nor care are lacking. Firm executives pay regular visits to the hostel and the inhabitants are offered the opportunity to discuss possible problems connected with the job or accommodation. The hostel committee is an autonomous governing body with powers of decision in disciplinary and cultural matters. Apart from programmes in the house of culture the hostel offers on-the-spot programmes, such as educational lectures, political discussion programmes, health and sex education, quizzes. A film and a book club operate. They regularly organize visits to theatres, to picture galleries, trips to places, song and dance functions. The full range of the press is available, there are facilities for the reception of both television channels and also of Yugoslav programmes."

"The library has a stock of 18,000 volumes, books can be borrowed twice a week: the monthly turnover is 1,500–1,600 books. Educational activity in the hostel is complementary to the services offered by the firm (adult education, vocational training). Cultural life in the hostel is poor, there is no systematic educational or cultural work: true, such possibilities are limited but even they remain unused. The hostel residents retire early, and attendance at cultural programmes is poor. More hobby clubs related to everyday interests should be established, a psychological advisory service would be a good thing and so would some do-it-yourself facilities..."

"The hostel has no cultural life of its own, the firm annually organizes two series of educational lectures in the hostel; apart from these the inhabitants are referred to the educational and cultural institutions of the town..."

"The library has a stock, of 3,000 volumes, books can be borrowed twice a week. It shares premises with the general school for adult workers. The hostel's full-time cultural organizer 'did not think' of other real educational and cultural programmes, being satisfied with the hostel's cultural life (!), complaining only because of the turnover of residents. A shocking situation!"

"Twice a week we show films at general request. From time to time amateur theatre and pop music groups perform. The youth club has 40–50 members out of a possible 2,000!—it offers light music and the chance of tape recording. The library has 4,000 books and 700 registered readers. The hobby circles are not much in demand: the camera club has six members, five take a special interest in radios. The literature club is declining. Why?—there was no answer, no explanation."

The twenty hostels offered the following picture with respect to the forms of educational activity and their frequency:

libraries	18
classroom-type education	11
educational lectures by the Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge	14
meetings with writers and artists	5
youth club	8
films	8
quizzes	8
amateur theatre groups (including the travelling programmes of the Budapest House of Culture)	8
classical music (recorded)	5
cabaret and entertainment	13
exhibition (travelling)	2
small groups (hobby clubs, amateur groups)	6
legal advisory service	1
sporting facilities	10
no recreational activity of any sort	2

The figures present an encouraging picture insofar as eighteen hostels out of twenty have libraries. In one-third there are large independent libraries headed by a professional librarian, two-thirds have branch libraries. (The latter are mostly operated by volunteer residents.) About 10–15 per cent of residents are registered readers.

The overwhelming majority of the cultural facilities of hostels are organized within the framework of traditional educational forms. Educational lectures are fairly general, here and there they are accompanied by films. Attendance is mostly poor: in general they are not preceded by a survey into the interests of the potential public.

Entertainment programmes follow in frequency. They are highly popular and often the only opportunity for the male and female residents to mix. The number of this type of programmes is smaller than required—although such occasions could become the starting-point for other meaningful ways of filling one's leisure hour.

Classroom-type teaching within hostels is a sound practice though mostly restricted to vocational training for the time being. The number of those attending is small.

Most residents would like to see more films but they are shown regularly only in eight hostels, and only two have adequate premises, in the other six the films are shown in the canteen.

In hostels with a majority of young people youth clubs certainly make sense. These clubs vary in the nature of their activities: Some have only discothèque programmes but others tend to organize more sophisticated entertainment. (The quality of this work is determined partly by the educational level of the residents, partly by the guidance offered by the professional people which supervise it.)

Hostels in Budapest are visited by amateur and professional theatre groups, and literary programmes. These are highly popular compared to other kinds of education. Some hostels in the country try to take over these functions in co-operation with the methodological centre of the county in question. Here it must be mentioned that, although such work is sound in itself, the artistic value of the programmes "exported" to hostels is often very low.

Most educational programmes take place between September and May, and offer 2–3 communal cultural events per month. Cultural propaganda in the hostels themselves is poor. Some hostels fortunately provided study rooms for those who participate in extra-mural courses.

The main aspect of cultural activity in workers' hostels is the availability of basic educational facilities. In theory they exist in every hostel but in practice differences are substantial, including the cultural standard of the environment, this latter being implicitly included in the above conditions. Every hostel has a television set (although too few compared to the number

of possible viewers, and their location does not always guarantee untroubled viewing) but they are often out of order, repair is slow and most hostels have no spare set. Most hostels have no radios, some allow the use of the residents' transistors in their rooms, some are preparing their own broadcasting studio. In general neither record-players nor tape-recorders are available, a few hostels have slide and small-film projectors. The hostels buy dailies, weeklies and periodicals although not enough copies of those in which there is some special interest. Apart from a few exceptions premises are not really clean and the general environment lacks style and refinement.

The team's experience suggests that there are two basic obstacles to the full development of educational and cultural opportunities: a shortage of adequate and properly equipped rooms and of full-time professionally trained personnel.

The interests and requirements of residents are not enquired into and the programmes are not differentiated in keeping with the standards and interests of those for whom they are intended. Their efficacy is therefore relatively low, and only a small proportion of residents attend. In hostels where educational work is planned and directed by experts and where resident volunteers are involved and given meaningful tasks one could detect the beginnings of real community life (at the time of the survey two hostels started to organize their own amateur literary theatre group) but unfortunately this is far from being general as yet. Even in hostels where educational work is continuous no community life has developed so far (educational efforts built on the passive reception of culture can only result in passive attitudes!).

The team concluded that, to improve the facilities making for access to culture in workers' hostels one must find a double solution: primarily, to guarantee in every hostel the basic conditions of education all the way from television through newspaper-reading and libraries to club-room and surroundings of high visual standards. This must be accompanied by basic communal facilities such as hot water, the maintenance and good functioning of kitchens, lavatories, etc. Their state of maintenance has a direct impact on all activities including cultural ones.

On the other hand an increasing number of hostels should be able to go beyond these elementaries and offer intensive and active educational and cultural opportunities.

The team found that much was done in this respect in certain places, and, to give an example, literary and cinematic and radio-buff clubs are being organized.

MIHÁLY KÁROLYI'S HOMES

An exhibition at the Károlyi Palace in Budapest

A water-colour is on display, the work of Mihály Károlyi, which he painted in 1938, in exile. The purpose was probably to inform friends and persons interested or to serve as a token of remembrance, we do not really know. It is precisely to scale, and numbers tell us what the scale is, lines show the place of pieces of furniture, of pictures, even of bric-à-brac. There are trees and shrubs outside, here and there people. There is order and feeling in the draughtsmanship. The man who drew this way—he was close to sixty at the time—was an observer given to meditation. His photographs, and more than one that was hitherto unknown is on display, scarcely betray anything about his


The New York Times
Book Review
COUNT KAROLYI BEGINS HIS MEMOIRS
"Fighting the World" His Own Record of Wartime Activities

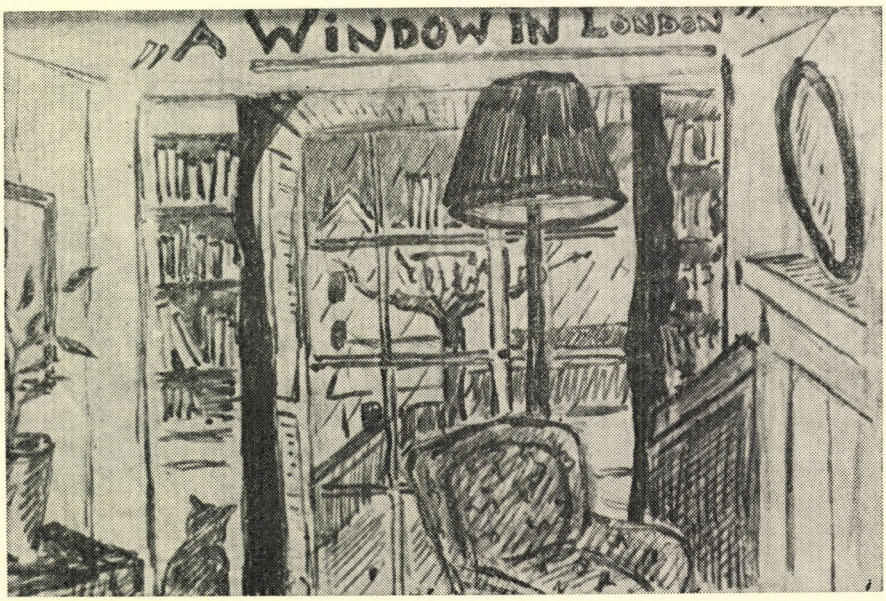
person except that he is tense, sometimes sad, but trying to hide it, for he is too reserved and polite to trouble strangers with his moods. He smiles on one, taken in 1930, probably in France, one wonders why.

The two Károlyi memorial rooms at the Károlyi Palace have an air of tightness. There are few objects. Moving from country to country, what can a refugee take with him, apart from clothes, books, and a few

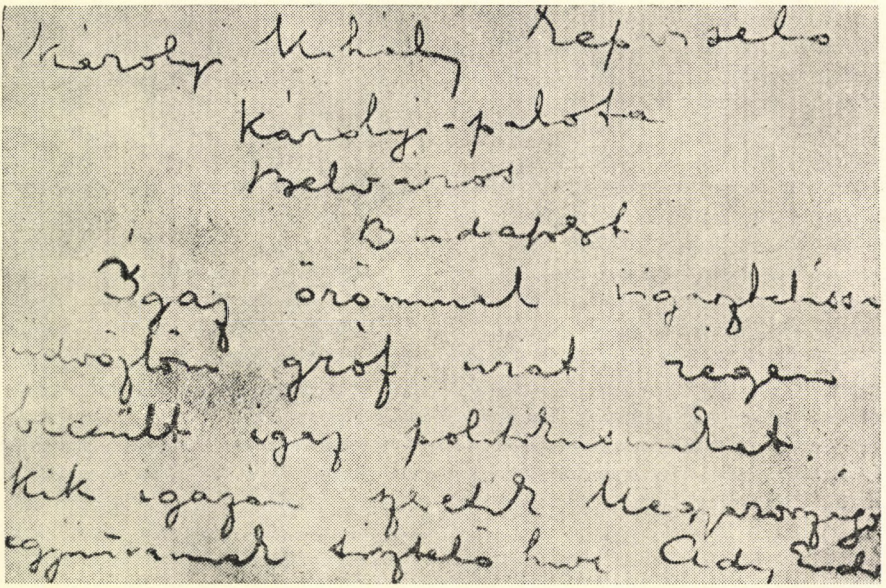
other object one has got accustomed to? Károlyi, even if he had had the means, would probably have taken little more than what was indispensable to sustain intellectual and physical existence. Thus at this exhibition, organized by the National Museum in the centenary year of his birth, there is more about him than there is of his own stuff. There is the original furniture from his living-room in Vence (Provence): a few shabby, simple arm-chairs, a settee, a small round smoking-table.

More important is the stake of land distribution—its name today is *memorial stake*—which marked the estate boundaries when he divided his land at Kápolna. The stake was preserved by the peasants of Kápolna until the liberation of Hungary. They carved upon it the words: "Made by Antal Polonyi". In 1946 they showed it to he President on his return home. It is now ne of the memorable objects of the exhibion.

Mihály Károlyi, after the Liberation, returned to his one-time home in 1946. There is a photograph showing the Minister of Justice, Dr. István Ries, handing him the keys of the Károlyi Palace—which he immediately returned, offering the building to the nation, for cultural purposes. Now the memorial exhibition has been arranged in this very palace. The objects take up only two small rooms, they, however, cover the story of Károlyi's moving and uplifting career. A succinctly worded text informs visitors: "Mihály Károlyi was a member of one of the wealthiest landowning families of Hungary. One of this ancestors, Sándor Károlyi, brought about the Peace of Szatmár in 1711, for which he was made a count. Another, István Károlyi, in the 1848 Revolution, organized a cavalry regiment and fought gallantly against Vienna. The career of Mihály Károlyi is presented in the building, converted into a museum, of the Károlyi Palace, where during the 1918 Bourgeois Democratic Revolution the National Council was organized."



Károlyi's sketch, London 1931



A letter by Endre Ady

Letters, press clippings and other documents tell of Mihály Károlyi's life in politics. Here is the owner of some of the country's largest latifundia, a magnate, turned into the advocate of proletarians and peasants. There is no document allowing one to pinpoint when he was converted. Was it perhaps in 1912, at the time of parliamentary obstruction when the then Prime Minister, Count István Tisza, used force to remove those members who protested against a defence budget that served war (Károlyi amongst them), proving, as it were, the limits of constitutionality? Or did it happen during the First World War, when he already understood the essence of the war, and had outgrown his faith in the feasibility and usefulness of Wilson's pacifism?

Had he not survived 1918–1919 he would still have been a great figure of Hungarian history. Yet his second and his third life followed, with a short break at home in between.

Chronologically the years of the first exile take precedence with quite a quantity of written and photographic material. First of all a map: the map of his wanderings—Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, France, Britain...

Gyula Illyés met Károlyi in Paris in 1938: "We were sitting in that all-mirrors, frivolous room, and the stunning thought dawned upon me that this man, whom my hands touched, was not addressing me but those thousand and five hundred kilometres from here, speaking into a dead telephone mouthpiece. How could I—how could our whole little enterprise—convey all this to the Hungarian people?" In another place: "He looked at me and said:—We should find the way to make the masters of Hungary understand that the stuff the Germans offer them is not a bridge to the future, there is no way down on the opposite shore."

Károlyi's struggle in exile is a staggering story. He could only look forward; that is perhaps the reason why today we already feel even his failures to be the victories of moral greatness.

We have here a few excerpts from his correspondence with Jenő Landler, György Lukács, Andor Gábor, György Buday, Einstein, Bertrand Russell; facsimiles on his work of Barbusse's *Le Monde;* here is the book in which he tears off the Hitler's mask and those following him. Shining through every line of his is his pure, great faith. "I have broken with my class," he wrote, "and with a mature mind, with a tried-out heart I have chosen a new community, that of the Hungarian workers."

The report to the Minister of the Interior by the Deputy Chief of Budapest Police, Sombor-Schweinitzer: "The Hungarian exiles in Paris are coming under Károlyi's influence... Amongst the members of the Hungarian colony the propaganda is carried on with a design which wants to make everybody believe that it is just a matter of days or weeks before the invasion of Hungary by the Germans." The letters of Mihály Károlyi, in which he is urging for an anti-Fascist joining of forces. The double tragedy of exile: to struggle for the country which has spurned him, and has been besmirching his name for two decades. Although Károlyi was well aware that those who, quelling the revolution of 1919 in a brutal way, had wrested it for themselves, were not the country, he was nevertheless pained by every word of animosity coming from Hungary.

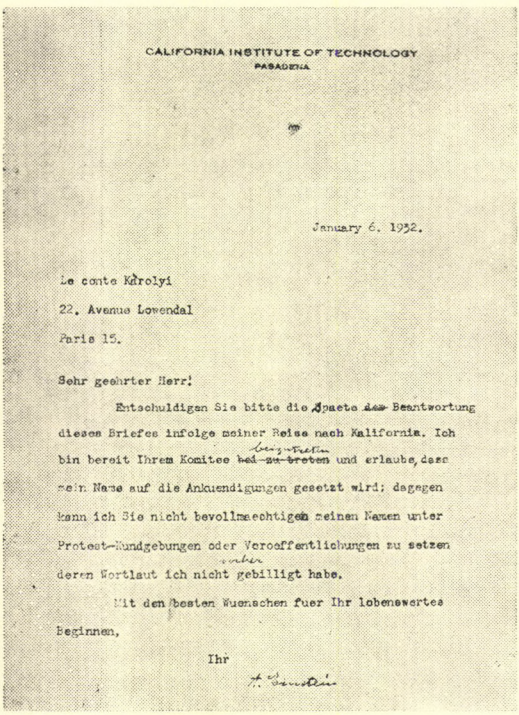
Finally, here are the documents of the last chapter of his life. His return to the liberated country, his welcome by Parliament, pictures from the time of his ambassadorship in Paris; letters, amongst them moving and respectful lines dated February 1949, addressed to the old man by the Foreign Minister László Rajk who later that year became a victim of the purge.

There are a few personal objects, documents, his ambassadorial credentials, his passport, his Parliamentary Membership card. Lines by his widow are on display on the wall. His second exile was undertaken voluntarily, because of the arbitrariness of what is called the "Personality Cult": "The second exile was more painful than the first, for he was forced into exile in the name of the very régime in which he believed, for the creation of which he had been struggling for a life-time."

Finally there is a reduced replica of the Károlyi statue unveiled on the hundredth anniversary of his birth in Budapest, a beautiful work by Imre Varga* which represents the statesman rising above himself, delicate, old, majestic in his suffering.

ISTVÁN TAMÁS

* See NHQ 59 where this work is discussed and illustrated.



CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
PASADENA

January 6, 1932.

Le conte Károlyi
22, Avenue Lowendal
Paris 15.

Sehr geehrter Herr!

Entschuldigen Sie bitte die Spaete Beantwortung dieses Briefes infolge meiner Reise nach Kalifornia. Ich bin bereit Ihrem Komitee beizutreten und erlaube, dass mein Name auf die Ankuendigungen gesetzt wird; dagegen kann ich Sie nicht bevollmaechtigen meinen Namen unter Protest-Kundgebungen oder Veroeffentlichungen zu setzen deren Wortlaut ich nicht gebilligt habe.

Mit den besten Wuenschen fuer Ihr lobenswertes Beginnen,

Ihr

A. Einstein

A letter by Einstein

JÁNOS MALINA

SOUND-GAMES

A prize-winning radio programme

Judit Dimény, the editor and anchorman of "Sound-Games", a series for 8 to 10-year-old school-children broadcast by the Hungarian Radio in the academic year of 1974–75, is a radio educationalist. This modern profession has a dozen members all told in Hungary, making the success one of them has scored at perhaps the largest radio festival of the world all the more significant. I am referring to the Prix Japon which is awarded every year, and which in 1975 went to Hungarian Radio for one of Judit Dimény's programmes.

Judit Dimény is the editor of the singing and music programmes for general-school pupils broadcast as part of the "School Radio" service of the Hungarian Radio. She obtained her diploma at the Budapest Academy of Music as a secondary-school music teacher and choir master. As long as she had the time, she conducted her own school choir. She is a recognized expert of the Kodály method of music teaching which is rapidly gaining ground throughout the world, particularly in the United States and Japan, and which—like the Orff method, but using different means—achieves its aim by making children musically active at the earliest possible age. Musically the method is based on what is called relative solfeggio. It is therefore natural that at several points the Sound-Game programmes depend upon Kodály experience, and, of course, on the knowledge the children acquire during their singing lessons at school. But if we take a random programme it will immediately become clear how far removed it is from the class-room, or even from being some sort of illustrative appendage to school work.

Part 13 of the series bore the title, "What Kind of Voice?" (I shall return later to the selection of titles.) Judit Dimény starts the ball rolling by putting the question to eight 3rd form children (8 to 9-year-olds), asking them how many of the people they know they would recognize by their voice? The number they give is fairly large. How is this possible? What are the features that determine individual timbre? Is the situation perhaps the same if one talks of a singing voice? Even pop singing out of tune in the bathroom, gets a mention. Then comes an apparently simple question: can it always be decided for certain whether we hear a male or a female voice? A snappy answer to the children's overhasty "yes" is given by the singing of a counter-tenor. Some of the children identify it as an alto voice, others as a "woman singing in a man's voice," again others as a man singing in a high voice. Finally, of course, they are told the truth.

This is followed by a game: who can recite the lines of a four-line poem in four different voices, in the funnies manner? ("Just like a four-headed dragon," Judit Dimény says.) Relieved laughter, followed by still more exciting experiment. Two folksongs are performed, the first by a young and gifted, trained folk-singer, the second sung by an old, simple peasant woman. Which one do the children like better? This question is prompted by a current problem, whether Hungarian folk music can be kept alive with the slow extinction of the traditional forms of life. The children naturally do not know what an important issue is at stake. The performance of the professional singer is undoubtedly much "more beautiful", and let me add, is really artistic. Her polished manner, however, in the final analysis, is altogether alien to what she sings. On the other hand, the oldish voice of the peasant woman, her singing technique being an ancient Asian inheritence (compressed sound-formation, the manner of em-

bellishment), although much more authentic, is still much less attractive. I hardly believe my ears when the children unanimously and enthusiastically (it can be felt that there is no question of them "being given a cue", or of a prearranged scene) decide in favour of the peasant performance. They try to put their arguments into words with a touching effort. The folk-singer has only "learnt" the folksong, they say, the old woman sung "more timidly", or in a "more ringing voice."

The argument is perhaps awkward, yet the sure choice of the more valuable production is remarkable. This episode also goes a long way to show another aspect. It raises the question whether schools do not neglect the development of a child's ability to discern problems, by teaching a much too sterile, closed curriculum, free of problems, in the belief that it is still too early for them to deal with more delicate questions. However, it seems that the children are grateful to be given the chance to form an opinion. Naturally, it is not every kind of problem which can be raised with, let us say, 8 to 10-year-old children, but—and this is exactly what the programme so well exemplifies—there are real problems on which they are to form an opinion of some weight.

As a relaxation, the programme continues with another game. Now the aim is simply for the children to speak in the most grotesque voice possible: in a tenuous voice, or while drawing in their breath, etc. This is a chance for fun and it is thought-provoking for the audience when after this "aimless, childish" game the twenty-minute programme ends with a section from a modern choral work—with exactly similar tonal effects.

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It is obvious that Judit Dimény takes the title of the series seriously. She is interested in all kinds of *sound* with which one can really play. The programme features all kinds of musical and non-musical sounds, verse and prose speech, noise, animal sounds. (Needless to say how much more natural and interesting such a free raising of subject is for the children, too, than some sort of classroom-like restriction to a given field.) Animal cries, for example, provide the leading thread for two programmes. There are also programmes which play primarily with the rhythmic formulae of speech. Since the Hungarian language offers rich possibilities, Judit Dimény often plays with letters and words, not even shrinking back from nonsense letter and word combinations. Playing with letters and words, sometimes changing over into nonsense, has a long history in Hungarian literature. Judit Dimény becomes part of it in a witty, ingenious manner, making ample use of the special possibilities inherent in play. She is aware of the fact that already in infancy purposeful movements, and later the "regular" forms of behaviour, crystallize around non-purposeful, non-regular ones, first in the course of unsystematic attempts. She knows that in this age nonsense plays an important role precisely in bringing out the limits of reality. Thus the children carry on absurd conversations, they couple animals with the sounds of other animals (quacking horse, chirping elephant), or invent rhythms for a given text that are not suitable for them.

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So far I did not mention that "Sound-Games" had an archetype which in many respects could serve as a guide for Judit Dimény. A series of programmes, also broadcast by the Hungarian School Radio, was intended for somewhat older children (10 to 14-year-olds) in the two years preceding "Sound-Games". The title of the series in itself was unusual: "Language—Music—Mathematics". The man in charge, Balázs Vargha, a critic and scholar, and a real expert of language and literary games, has been fighting for many years for a reform of general and secondary education, to resolve

the strict division of the curriculum into subjects hardly linked with each other, allowing a greater role to the students' imagination, not restricting play, after the infant's school, to physical education and possibly the singing lessons. This series undertook an unusual task: by selecting a suitable key expression for each programme, it searched for its manifestations in three different fields. Such key expressions, for example, included reflection; contrasts; ratios; structure. All three fields had different anchor-men (language belonged to Balázs Vargha himself, and music to Judit Dimény) who, sometimes joining into each other's spheres, and often improvising, successively recounted their thoughts related to the key term, demonstrating them in a playful form.

This presentation more than once threw light on surprising and distant analogies—for example, on the fact that the train of thought occurring in folk-tales may be essentially identical with a mathematical process. It could have been there that Judit Dimény learnt how to maintain interest by keeping every idea in an associative relation with another one heard earlier, so that the broadcast time flies away almost unnoticed. She also learnt how to construct a programme, the way the intensity of training is varied for runners, allowing the more relaxed minutes to rhythmically alternate with periods devoted to more profound questions, requiring a greater ability for abstraction. In this manner she slipped in, as it were, the most valuable thoughts between two games.

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Compared to "Language—Music—Mathematics", "Sound-Games" is an individual and genuine creation, if only because of the proportions of the subjects: here mathematics is allotted a much smaller role, and that of language has also been decreased. In exchange, a new and rich area was included: the realm of non-human sounds.

The titles, often coined with splendid linguistic invention, are of special value. Unfortunately the most successful cannot be rendered in translation; here are some to give at least an inkling: We Were Birds; Hair Raiser; Are You Speaking or Singing?; Jumping and Winding (this last was the prize-winning programme).

The anchorman in this programme compiled sentences consisting of monosyllables, to which the children improvised melodies, consisting first of broken, scattered ("jumping") notes, and then "winding", tendril-like melodies. In the same manner the children also invented two kinds of ("jumping") notes, and then "winding", tendril-like melodies. In the same manner the children also invented two kinds of ("jumping" and "winding") melodies consisting only of monosyllables for "Chinese Temple", a poem by Sándor Weöres. These improvisations prepared the children and made them fully receptive to the continuation of the programme: to compare (and not to contrast) some extreme musical examples of twentieth-century and earlier music styles. The examples were the following: *Mallarmé Improvisations* by Boulez and Bach's *Kreuzstab Cantata;* as well as Zòltán Jeney's *Soliloquium* (for flute) and the slow movement of Mozart's *Flute Quartet in D major*, K. 285.

If I were to sum up what I consider most important in the programme, I should say it is its scope. Judit Dimény does not need prompt results to justify her efforts. Sometimes the children "only ass about". Why not? She boldly devotes two programmes listening to animal sounds, for their own sake, because she knows that there is need for the effect of such relaxing moments.

Another important manifestation of scope is that she boldly quotes from "difficult" great works of music, the composers ranging from Perotinus, through Bach and Beethoven, to Moussorgsky and György Kurtág. By so doing, she applies one of Kodály's principles in practice: to give "great" works of art, of the right sort, even to the smallest children,

and not some kind of substitute. This, however, is an undertaking which is not free of hazards. Insisting on badly chosen classics, which will therefore bore the children, may cause irreparable damage. Mrs. Dimény, however, can always make sure that the children listen with close attention to the music illustrations in the programme—but then the melisms in the *Kreuzstab Cantata* keep winding in such an unending manner, and the maxims of Péter Bornemissza* include such strange leaps and accents! And these themes should not be underestimated, because masterpieces are luckily masterpieces, and if once they have been expectantly received, they will inevitably exert an influence in their hidden ways. There are thousand ways to arouse expectation, but perhaps the worst of them is to begin by saying what a beautiful piece they are going to hear. Judit Dimény, however, does not want to reap the laurels herself. She contents herself with familiarizing the children with real values, and thus elicits demands which stay with them in their later lives as well.

And finally, something else, too, which serves the human enrichment of the children. She tries to show them the most possible forms of unusual aspects belonging to cultures alien to them. Asian songs, avant-garde music, African drums. Just as in the case of the masterpieces, she does this, too, in a manner which renders them self-evident for the children. With this she accustoms them to receive the *otherness* not with depreciation and aversion, but with interest and an intention to understand. Today it is perhaps timilier than ever before to insist that the successful realization of this educational goal in itself already deserves recognition.

* A work by György Kurtág for piano and voice, to texts of Péter Bornemissza, a sixteenth-century Protestant preacher, poet and playwright.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A DIVERSITY OF FOLKWAYS

A MAGYARORSZÁGI NEMZETISÉGEK NÉPRAJZA. (The ethnography of national minorities in Hungary.) Published by the Hungarian Ethnographic Society, Budapest. In four volumes. Edited by Iván Balassa. 1 *Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Ungar-deutschen* (The ethnography of the Germans in Hungary). Edited by Iván Balassa, Klaus Klotz, Karl Manherz. In German, 1975, 260 pp. 2 *Etnografija Južnih Slovena u Madarskoj* (The ethnography of the Southern Slavs in Hungary). Edited by Iván Balassa, Marko Dekić. In Serbian, 1975, 157 pp. 3 *Din tradiţiile populare ale românilor din Ungaria* (The ethnography of the Rumanians in Hungary). Edited by Ágnes Kovács and Alexandru Hotopan. In Rumanian, 1975, 131 pp. 4 *Národopis slovákov v Maďarsku* (The ethnography of the Slovaks in Hungary). Edited by Anna Divicanová and András Krupa. In Slovak, 1975, 185 pp.

Interest in folklore is fashionable and serious in Hungary today. This is largely due to the traditional way of life of peasants, the preservers of popular culture, being about to end or having done so already. Industrialization, including that of agriculture itself, since the war has led to the disintegration of the peasant tradition. The number of people employed in agriculture has decreased significantly, and work now no longer has as a specifically rural structure but largely employs equipment not unlike that used in industry, building, etc. It is only natural that there should be a growing interest in and demand for the objects of a disappearing world. Fashionable people decorate their high-rise, all mod. cons. flats with articles that once served a purpose in villages, they sing folk-songs. All this activity also reflects a search for the quintessence of national identity and a desire to preserve the national cultural heritage. It is part of cultural policy to support and encourage all related efforts. Interest is not confined to Hungarians and increased attention is paid to the traditions of the national minorities. Museums, traditional buildings preserved *in situ*, competitions for singers and dancers, conferences and publications all demonstrate this interest. In 1975–76 the Hungarian Ethnographic Society published four volumes which are the subject of the present notice.

Very few Hungarian citizens declare themselves as members of national minorities. In the 1970 census 35,594 put themselves down as Germans, 21,176 as Slovaks, 13,624 as Rumanians, 34,049 as Southern Slavs (Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian), taking their native language as the criterion. (Total: 103,443, i.e. appr. 1 per cent of Hungary's 10.5 million population.) Sociologists the world over and in Hungary as well do not rely on such data. Numbers are calculated using a variety of estimates bringing them up to double or treble the census figures, i.e.

appr. 2–2.5 per cent of the country's population. This small number is dispersed over a large territory, mainly in small villages with 1,000 to 3,000 inhabitants. There is no village with purely national minority population, all minority settlements are mixed. The Rumanians only live on a relatively compact area near the Hungarian–Rumanian border, the Germans, Slovaks and Southern Slavs are dispersed and live far from each other.

History explains this dispersal. In the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries, during the wars agains the Turks, the native Hungarian population perished or fled from the central, southern and partly eastern regions of the country under Turkish occupation. After driving out the Turks the depopulated areas were repeopled in the peaceful years of the eighteenth century. The Germans were settled by the Habsburg government or by landowners, the Slovaks were also partly resettled by landowners from the overcrowded northern parts of Hungary to the depopulated fertile plains and hills in the south. Others, of the Lutheran faith, had fled from their homes because of the Counter-Reformation to areas where they found more tolerant landowners glad of the additional labour force. Rumanians descended from the hills to the depopulated plain, the Southern Slav groups fled north from the Balkan peninsula still under Turkish occupation.

The circumstances of their settling explains that, since these national minorities never lived in a bourgeois state in the modern sense of the word, their national and language consciousness was not strong. They speak many different dialects and have never developed a common language. Often people belonging to the same nationality do not really understand each other, and their dialects differ sufficiently from the standard language to create difficulties of comprehension and expression.

The latter factor has been an important component of the newly awakened ethnographic interest. These diasporas have often conserved the language of the eighteenth century or earlier, and specific developments differ from the mainstream of their nations. This also applies to folkways most of which have not survived in their country of origin. This is true especially of Germans and Slovaks. It is also true that Germans and Slovaks living in the close proximity of the Hungarians for over 200 years have taken over much that is Hungarian. This is particularly true of German peasant clothes and the popular beliefs of the Slovaks. The impact worked both ways of course. The Slovak national hero, the highwayman Janošik, is also the hero of many Hungarian stories and tales.

Certain related topics dominate each volume. As the four volumes show there are privileged domains of research in the ethnography of national minorities. Students show a preference for fields which both national minorities and Hungarians consider to be essential for preserving and expressing the national character. These are music, poetry, ornamental art, costume, respectively customs and beliefs. Only the dance is missing from this sequence probably because a two-volume collection presented the folk dances of national minorities in Hungary appeared only a year ago.

Six of the seven papers collected in the Southern Slav volume discuss popular customs. The differences in the customs of Hungarians and the various Southern Slav groups is conspicuous. The newcomers from the Balkan peninsula brought with them many customs either unknown in Hungary or practised in an entirely different form. An example of this is the celebration of St. Barbara (December 4) among the Croats as a day of weather-forecasting, marriage-forecasting and guarding against the evil eye. Among Hungarians this was unknown or quite different. Or the Whitsun customs, which, despite many similarities, differ radically from Hungarian folkways. Croats have a rich tradition of wedding customs. Amongst the Slovenes the bride, before the

wedding, accompanied by her future mother-in-law, goes from house to house and collects the wedding presents which will help the new couple to start life together.

Serbian customs are largely associated with the Eastern Orthodox Church which has few faithful amongst Hungarians. Religion thus also separated the Rumanians, who are Orthodox, from the Hungarians, determining the rites of marriage and other *rites de passage*.

Folk customs and folk poetry are not easily separable: the description of Slovak, Rumanian and Southern Slav weddings is full of versified good wishes, ritual songs, etc. A paper on the children's songs of a German village publishes only texts and their melodies, another deals with the folklore of German miners in a village in Southern Hungary (tales, sagas) and with the songs of a German miners' village in Northern Hungary. Another tells about a Rumanian story-teller and the rhymed tags and verses of the Rumanian population at village dances.

A third group of papers deals with the costumes of the Germans, Slovaks and Rumanians, and with traditional spinning, weaving, dyeing, etc. The traditional folk costumes of neighbouring national minorities often resemble each other strongly as a result of interaction. This applies also to the various parts of apparel worn by the Germans in different regions. The 80–90-year-old photos in the book showing an earlier and more complete stage of traditional gear demonstrate this as well. Though particular items were similar or even identical the manner of their combination always revealed the nationality of the wearer. This mark was especially conspicuous in the case of home-made embroidery and other ways of decoration.

Where Hungarians, Germans, Rumanians, Slovaks, or Southern Slavs shared an area of settlement their economic activity was almost identical. Still, there have been and there are special features in their mode of life which characterize primarily their affiliation to a nationality. To quote an example: the coating of crockery with wire meshing has been the job of Slovak itinerant artisans for centuries. In earlier days the brittle earthenware needed mending every day. Later the last tinkers used to repair metal pots and cans—as described in the Slovak volume.

A paper on horticulture in a Croat village by the Danube demonstrates the identity of the ways of farming showing that the Croat inhabitants have been market-gardeners for the last 150 years, taking their surplus produce to far-away towns using river transport on the Danube. Paprika is their main produce just as it is the most important item in the neighbouring Hungarian villages. There are almost no differences in traditional technologies of production. In the southern Great Plain where dispersed homesteads clustering around rural townships had long been the established mode of settlement, the Slovaks who moved in also adopted it.

The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic guarantees the full equality of national minorities, including education in their own language and the active promotion of their culture. Many concrete measures give life to these paragraphs and encourage the Germans, Slovaks, Rumanians, and Southern Slavs in Hungary to nurse their own cultural traditions. This spirit is evident in the publications under discussion. Contributors include scholars as well as educators doing part-time collecting work, both Hungarians and members of the national minorities. The political and cultural organizations of the four national minorities closely co-operated in the publication of these volumes; more are planned for the not too distant future.

LÁSZLÓ KÓSA

HUNGARIAN VERSE FROM SCOTLAND

The first thing that strikes the eye of one just returned from London looking at the *Lines Review* No. 59 (Four Hungarian Poets —Lajos Kassák, Miklós Radnóti, István Vas, János Pilinszky) is the price: 30p, the cost of a pint of Ruddles, 5p less than a tube ride from Gloucester Road to King's Cross. The four Hungarian poets to whom the four dozen-odd pages are devoted are thus accessible not only to subscribers, library users, receivers of complimentary copies and such like, but also to impulse buyers moved by the eye-catching design and a format that persuades that the contents can be read from cover to cover.

Hungarians do not have to be told that they will have got more than their money's worth. *Pace* Lukács, Kassák was a seminal influence and great in his own right, someone who is about to emerge as the equal at least of Moholy Nagy, or of Schwitters and Arp; Miklós Radnóti's status as a classic is beyond doubt; even his detractors will admit to István Vas's ability to say something interesting and important in a memorable way; and János Pilinszky is preferred by some discerning critics not only to the great names whose aged eminence is backed by early achievement, but also to members of his own generation who are better established with the literary establishment and more fashionable with the modish.

That's all very well for Hungarians, but *Lines Review* is published in English. What of the translations? Readers of this journal are familiar with Edwin Morgan's sound craftsmanship, indeed his translations of the two Vas poems first appeared in No. 38 of the *NHQ*, and Ted Hughes's versions leap from the page with the authority of Pilinszky's original. The George Gömöri/Clive Wilmer double, to my eye and ear at least, does not play in the same league. Compare

At all times I see them.
The moon brilliant. A black shaft looms up
Beneath it, harnessed men
haul an immense cart.

(János Pilinszky: *Harbach 1944*. Trans. by Ted Hughes)

with

People are murdered all the time,
Somewhere—be it in the laps
Of dozy valleys, or on watchful peaks
That peer; so what cold comfort
To say, "Ah, but it's so far off!"

(Miklós Radnóti: *Lullaby* Trans. by George Gömöri/Clive Wilmer)

The first is great poetry in any language, the second does not provide evidence that the original is by one of the great poets of the age. I must express surprise that the translators could not resist the alliterative assonance of "peaks that peer", ruled out, to my ear at least, by the meaning and associations of "peek", for a start.

Edwin Morgan's rendering of Lajos Kassák's long poem "The Horse Dies, the Birds Fly Away" *(A ló meghal, a madarak elröpülnek)* is a brave attempt, though one should hope there will be notes to help the reader when it appears as part of the heralded Penguin Kassák volume. The unexpected and startling juxtaposition of familiar elements can only be effective if these are really well known. The friends and readers for whom Kassák wrote in exile in Vienna in the early twenties knew he was born in Érsekújvár and apprenticed as a locksmith, that he had carried his swag the length and breadth of Europe, etc. etc. As his readership grew, so did knowledge of the facts of his life, not least because his autobiography reached a wider public than his verse. A great many young and intelligent English readers today need help with the objective references of poets of their own language and tradition. It is obvious that

this becomes all the more necessary when the poet concerned refers to a world totally outside their experience and education. So what? some might say, but I cannot agree. One's ears might be tuned to the music of metaphor but one still wants to know what something means. An attentive reader might gather without any editorial help that Kassák travelled a lot, but how is he to know that "tomorrow we'll be over the Hungarian border" refers to Kassák fleeing the country after 1919, and not to his being "ready to walk to Paris with the woodcarver" which, as the poem tells us, happened in 1909.

A comparison with István Vas's "Pest Elegy" *(Pesti elégia)* underlines the point. This is a paradigm, a demonstration of how one should go about such things. Everything is right. The poem lends itself to translation in the true sense. Edwin Morgan has not written his own poem to Vas's scenario, he has transposed Vas, and if anything is lost, I am unaware of it. Indeed I could not be aware of it, nor could any translator: to anyone to whom Hungarian words do not mean much more than English ones do, Edwin Morgan gives everything that is present in the original. What of the objective references then, for there are plenty of those, and no footnotes. There have been events in the life of even this small and remote nation which no more require annotation than Auden's mentioning the Hot Gates. Those who do not understand what this beautiful poem is about do not deserve to enjoy it.

Vas's "Romanus sum" should really have been printed next to his "Pest Elegy". The contrast between the mood of 1952 and that of 1957 could not have been brought ought better. "And all the past / Has spewed ferments between its malformed walls" (1952) makes way for "a hundred demolitions could not break it; / its eternity is redeemed when death would take it." (1957)

George Gömöri and Clive Wilmer really did a good job on "Romanus sum", for two stanzas. Then follows:

And the crucifix is debased to a gilded
bauble
And the flames of Pentecost lap a martyr's
stake.
It was such a waste to have burnt one's
living flesh
For a stillborn City's sake.

The first two lines are double-dutch, in English at least. "It was such a waste to have burnt one's living flesh" is good prose, but surely something more is required to turn it into good verse.

George Gömöri was presumably not given the space for an introductory essay. He should have then confined himself to hard facts, resisting the temptation to string together the sort of judgements one might abridge from a Short History of Hungarian Literature.

"Miklós Radnóti (1909–1944) was alongside József and Lőrinc Szabó the best poet of the interwar period." Unbacked by argument this is not discrimination as practised by the best Cambridge critics, but a youthful conversational ploy of the "aimez-vous Brahms?" type. Going over it with a red pencil one would ask: and Babits, Füst, Kosztolányi, Illyés?

He writes about István Vas: "Withdrawn into internal opposition during the years of Stalinism" presumably meaning *inner* and not that Vas carried on the fight on the home front, rather than from abroad, going on to: "Vas has come to terms with the social and cultural policies of present-day Hungary which in turn respects the humanistic concerns and genuine aesthetic values displayed in his poetry." What does that mean? A literal reading has clear implications which are mischievous to say the least. Merely to suggest that an uneasy truce exists between István Vas, a member of the editorial board of this journal, and the country's cultural policy, is silly. Professor Gömöri should have paid closer attention to the meaning of the words he used there.

Lines Review is published with the support of the Scottish Arts Council. Things are clearly not as bad as many people in Hungary imagine. A public body in Scotland supports the publication of poetry and not only local verse, but also translations from the Hungarian. That is great news which runs counter to received opinion in this country. It is therefore to be hoped that the fact will be properly publicized in Hungarian.

RUDOLF FISCHER

FROM THE PRESS

LET'S MAKE IT TOGETHER

Editorial note: This article, first published in *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was commented on at length in "Nuts and Bolts," the review of periodicals in No 64. It aroused considerable interest amongst readers and is therefore published in full.

Our literary people are occupied with economic and production problems, questions of work. (Not only writers, but theatre and film people as well as other creative artists.) There are some who have always been so occupied, as they always have; but now it seems as if there were more of them whose attention is turning in this direction now. And this is both good and necessary.

This is a good thing, for the solution of all other questions depends first of all on how productive work is, how effectively we manage and organize. This country and this nation has no big enough and no small enough question whose solution does not depend on this in the first place. To invent social models, to proclaim fine principles, to imagine a just and humane world integrating all values past and present—this is not always so simple; conservative ideals of the past sometimes filter into the daydreams of the future. It is especially not simple if one includes also the design of the road leading to the goal, which requires an ideology, and a theory summing up experience and scientific knowledge. The real test however lies in the execution, which in turn is conditional on material resources being available. One can only be pleased if this is widely accepted also by writers and artists. Saying high-minded things about people, country, patriotism and internationalism is not particularly difficult. But all this remains mere phrase-mongering if it is not backed by material force, which calls for production and for better work.

This must be proclaimed as well. When speaking of socialist patriotism, the Cultural Policy Team put it into words in a document two years ago: one must more clearly make people aware of the significance of economic work, in order to ensure that Hungarians can build their society in the awareness of the interrelations of socialism and nation which are timely today. One must be pleased if, in the thinking of an increasing number of creative people as well, this is placed first among "vital national problems". This will make clearer—and this is not superfluous either—the order and hierarchy of other questions.

I use the term necessary because we live at a time when, owing to objective economic conditions, requirements become a little more rigorous, when more initiative, stricter discipline, wiser, more deliberate leadership and more consistent execution are needed to attain the goals we set ourselves in respect of living standards, social policy, culture and everything else. Literature and art, identifying themselves with the people,

cannot be indifferent to this. A cultural tendency and pursuit which fail to respond to this constructively can be called neither modern, nor national, nor public-minded, nor man-related.

Even if this or that conclusion of one or another work or article is wrong or open to argument, it is a hundred times more profitable to wrestle with these problems than to chew over fatalistic visions presenting them as some sort of special Hungarian fate or to escape into other backward nostalgias.

It is perhaps not even difficult to come to an understanding over this.

The task of the writer, the poet, the artists, what they can do to help, when the economy is involved, what the "division of labour" should be today is another matter. There was a time when things were different, no doubt about it. Let me mention Gyula Illyés who more than once—in the greatest detail perhaps in his preface to the French translation of László Németh's *Revulsion*—described the "special character" of the literatures of Eastern Europe. People in this part of the world expected literature, including poetry, to serve as a guiding post in their everyday anxieties, for instance, the flooding of rivers; moreover, "critics also measure the worth of a work by the degree to which it serves to prevent floods, and all those troubles, difficulties in transport, agriculture and education that are caused by rivers out of control". In the more developed part of this continent they naturally ask: "Where then is the Water Board, where the Minister of Health, of Agriculture, of Defence? We can't see why literature bothers itself about such things." "Perhaps a reader in Western Europe finds this too much for a poet to do. Readers in the aforesaid countries find it too little, they are spoiled in this respect. They are accustomed to literary men expressing their anxieties in a suitable manner... In case of a more serious traffic jam or power breakdown, one can imagine a voice from the masses: Well, and what about the writers? Why do they always speak about something else?" Pungent as the ironic playful reasoning is, Illyés's conclusion is just as apposite. He says that this type of literature "is part of all nations that have lived through centuries with a country to live in, but without a state of their own. The life functions of nations hardly differ from those of the human body. If an organ of ours stops functioning, another will take over or respond."

The question is: What is the present position?

This much is a matter of course: We have to distinguish between what an artist who is a public figure has to say about concrete social problems which he has studied, or which he knows well through experience, from the artist fancying himself as a prophet (or his being so regarded by others), from his passing off as universal competence the legitimate authority he has attained in his capacity of artist. Obviously the former is needed; the latter is not, not even in the sense Illyés recalls from the past. Hungarians now have a state of their own, not merely a country to live in. (How did Tibor Déry put it, not so long ago, in defence of the independence of a writer who is not an apologist, nor someone always out to find something to carp at: "When I see, for example, that in my incompetent opinion a government—say, the Hungarian government—does well what it happens to be doing, why should I not indicate, without prudery my, always qualified, agreement?"

Needless to demonstrate, or to keep on demonstrating, that much has changed in Hungary in the past thirty-one years, that thanks to the working class, its Party and socialist democracy, thanks to the enlisting of creative forces, the country can already do without such organ transplantations: the business at hand in connection with floods, public health and communication is not the duty of poets, writers of fiction or playwrights. I still would not deny that, as keen-eyed observers or experienced men, they have more than once helped and con-

tinue to help us with practical advice. (At least in these past fifteen to twenty years, Marxist critics have had no conflicts with responsible public-minded people, not with anyone whom personal experience has made a realist.)

Sure enough, one might say, but is it the duty of writers and artists to compete with competent specialists, of whom there are more than enough, in analysing concrete phenomena? Shouldn't one rather measure his performance by his ability in generalizing symptoms, revealing the identical human, social attitudes, personal and communal morality, ways of thinking and outlook at the back of a wide range of problems? Of course this is also true. The artist who knows, senses and portrays the totality of human nature and the public feeling of society, is in the first place qualified to do this.

Sometimes this appears also from writings which deal only with facts that are concrete, measurable, exactly verifiable, even if not always accurately described. Those who operate with a heap of examples raked together from everywhere, at random, use this method as a means of verifying the universality of the problem. This also means that we must examine not only how true his examples are and especially if most of them are half-truths, superficial or downright false. The greatest attention must be devoted to what is the image of reality he projects, to the conclusions he suggests. If one puts the question in this way, one can come across a curious feature in the specially debated utterances relating to economic policies. Even if every one of the examples were put right, their logic and the end result would be wrong.

But what is the direction of generalization, what is the tendency running through this criticism? It is awakening conscience in general; sounding the alert, stirring up a smug society which cannot see its own problems or perceive the difficulties. "Now it is up to us, we who will tell you, and shout it into your ears..." There is no *mala fides* in this, of this I am sure. One would seek the causes, to put it mildly, in the wrong place if one were to refer to those times when at a tragic moment, prophetic consciousness, on the part of writers, endorsed a damaging, splitting policy. I find the current debate to be more grotesque than shocking and exciting.

Why? Because, even though in the form of vague, sometimes bizarre improvisations, questions are formulated which have for a good number of years occupied society, leaders and the masses alike; all of them questions which have been discussed in their most essential aspects. On a score of them the Party and the government authorities have passed resolutions and taken measures, confirming what is to be carried on, rejecting what has been wrong practice, correcting, adjusting the principles to the changing situation and improving them. My God, if we had only been in as good a position in the difficult times I just mentioned! If the authorities only had problems like this twenty years ago, being able to answer criticism with a working programme like the resolutions of the latest Party Congress and the new five-year plan! If only one could have perused the pamphlets of the time as they are now read, the authorities could have demonstrated point by point: we have seen this question and that, we have considered the possible solutions; we can already settle this matter today, that one tomorrow, the next one the day after, our possibilities are not unlimited, we taste the real world in sips, as Attila József wrote.

Let me add that I have a suspicion that our "conscience-arousers" of today themselves also know this somewhere at the bottom of their hearts. Don Quixote, the knight-errant with the sad face, who was made a hero by his failure to see the changes in the world around him, took his fancies in dead earnest, and had a narrow escape from being struck dead by a windmill he imagined to be a giant. His successors of today seem to have learnt from his fate. One cannot fail

to see that they exercise a sort of self-irony, suggesting, if perhaps that wind-mill is not a giant after all, that in a given case they are willing to laugh at themselves. The reader also must take note of this. One must not take everything literally.

I shall give an example from another country. In the West German press I often read reflections on Hungarian critical articles, even such whose air-balloons have long been burst by a single witty retort here in Hungary; out there the eager commentator, who naturally knows nothing about such developments, applies himself to every sentence until he can read in it the crisis of the system, the tottering of the government, and all sorts of ominous things.

The main problem in this type of manifestation is not the answer to the questions themselves. Experts can and do supply the answers frankly without mincing words and without shame. The real problem is why the good intentions evident in the controversy miss the mark; why they give the alarm signal where it is not necessary and why they disorient people when there are so many other things to worry about—and give the alarm about (not in the demagogic sense of the word, but to alert people).

Here I suspect a difference in timing: community-spirited artists and writers lag behind events in public life, politics and economics. This is not a good thing, even for the artists themselves. Politics and economics will not fall into confusion because of a few unfounded, arrogant remarks, but the energy critics put into helping and supporting controversy will be wasted in the treadmill of justified denials; artificial tensions and needless excitement will arise, followed by a hangover and a feeling of being down in the dumps. This is no good for society either which stands in need of the observations and concrete warnings of literary people who see the point and are responsive to problems, and which still more needs their cooperation in moulding on a society-wide scale, the way people see things and think.

This is true of journalism as well, and above all of their writings, works that mirror multidimensionally the complexities of reality. We live in an especially complex stage of an age of transition; we want to ensure, or at least to approximate, a coincidence of individual, group and social interests. In a tense situation we watch over continuity in political developments. Still there are plenty of faults, and there is plenty more to do owing to the unavoidable contradictions of progress. The subjective conditions are no less complicated than the objective ones. We should like to progress without rejecting past values, on the contrary even exploring them more thoroughly. Without knowledge of the recent and more remote past, without national progress and the experiences of the working-class movement we cannot get anywhere. But every now and then, both as individuals and as a society, we come up against situations which, so to say, have no historical analogies. Why shouldn't there be need, an absolute need, for the singular explorative and pioneering abilities of men of letters? This is what the cultural policy of the Party has always stood for, and this is what it still proclaims.

"A great task lies ahead. For a thousand years now in the history of the Hungarian people, of the true nation, of the working people, there has been no such change, no such revolution affecting the life of every man, shaking and reshaping life and ways of life, men and their character. This is what has to be described: the present as it follows on the past and passes into the future." Péter Veres wrote that a quarter century ago. Every word of his is still true; it is more valid and truly timely now.

A "division of labour" in which Party militants and all those active in society and the economy seek what is new, new ways, while critical minds register their falterings, is of course not a sound one. This is every one's business. There is a common programme, too. Let's work for it together.

PÉTER RÉNYI

ARTS

PÁL PÁTZAY'S RETROSPECTIVE

To honour the eightieth birthday of Pál Pátzay, a grand old man of Hungarian sculpture, the National Gallery put on an exhibition of his life's work.

It was a most informative exhibition, for it summed up an interesting and eventful life. Pál Pátzay's work has documented the intellectual fate of the generation born into the artistic and social turmoil at the turn of the century. In the inter-war period it withdrew, to nourish itself with its ideals, only to come to the fore again after 1945. In spite of this, however, I must add that even such a varied collection of statues cannot in itself, of course, possibly express everything, not even the life of its own creator. In 1919 Pátzay considered social action to be more important than his own artistic development and in the years that followed he was able to put forward a solution to the outward chaos, ahead of anyone else. This solution was expressed in terms of a classical aesthetic criterion, with all its severity.

Pál Pátzay was born on September 17, 1896, in Kapuvár, in Western Hungary. His early years passed without much incident. When he left school he was accepted at the Art Academy where he was in the same class as Béla Radnai.

So everything was just dandy, or so it seemed. Hardly a year had gone by when Pátzay's comfortable and uneventful life suddenly came to an end and he turned into a rebel. He left the Academy and went to Nagybánya, in the foothills of the Carpathians, to work with a young man the same age as himself and just as rebellious. This young man was the sculptor Béni Ferenczy,* who was Károly Ferenczy's son. (Károly Ferenczy was a painter and one of the foremost masters of the Nagybánya art school.) Pátzay studied nature and also the art of his contemporaries, so that he could assimilate what was of value in them, and combined these in his own work, according to his experience. If we take a good look at these works and also their immediate successors, *Youth Carrying Fruit*, *Nude Boy* and *Negress*, and then compare them with the academic sculpture of the time, then we are able to understand why Pál Pátzay really had no business to be at the Academy. Whilst still in his teens he was already a sculptor, a personality, whose best teacher was experience.

After a certain amount of debate, art historians now usually classify Pátzay's early sculpture as being expressionistic. This can hardly be disputed, though possibly it requires some elaboration, for expressionism in the Hungarian art of the first two decades of the century was not merely the borrowing of a new kind of form, such as the repetition of, say, the German style. No, it meant a great deal more and for two reasons.

* See Nos. 1, 5, 7.

The first is the difference in language: Hungarian expressionism—which according to Lajos Kassák* and his ilk, is usually termed activism—has gathered together, and adapted for its own use, several kinds of artistic directions. It derived certain of its motifs from Cubism, it has been affected by the dynamics of futurism and it has also absorbed the spirit of Fauvism; all this together was suffused by the "expressionism" which owed so much to Herwarth Walden's periodical *Sturm* (which inspired Kassák's art magazine as well). The other discrepancy is to do with content. Hungarian expressionism realized that there was work to be done to change the shape of society, it was against the war and attempted to make a stand for peace and progress.

It was in such conditions that the personality of Pál Pátzay was moulded. After 1905, as much as it was possible to do so, he joined forces with Kassák's circle. It was *Ma**—"activism's" journal—that first introduced him to the public. His joining, however, was not to be unconditional, since he too was called up in the First World War and after having spent a happy year in Nagybánya this hardly left him time for further work, the restrictions and discipline of war binding his natural rebelliousness.

Still, however frustrating these restrictions may have been, they could not altogether bind the hands of Pátzay. His will to create broke free at every opportunity he could lay his hands on and he continued to work, shaping a whole series of fine statuettes; and in 1919, during the period of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, he also took part in public life as a member of the Art Directorate (for which he was later imprisoned).

As a result of the suppression of the proletarian revolution, together with the loss of all hope, the artists who had taken part in the struggle for a new and better way of life emigrated. Those who stayed in Hungary, such as Pátzay, withdrew into an inner world to avoid the after-effects of the revolution.

The turning-point in the life and work of Pál Pátzay was a result of this withdrawal. He, as I have already mentioned, decided to choose classicism as his armour against the chaos of the world. Some distinction, however, is crucial because the classicism of Pátzay, although its source may be traced to Hildebrandian sculpture and art philosophy, is not canonical. It has a measure, and not a doctrine, which is the reason for his maintaining, even in his latest "grown-up" stage, a continuation of the *Sturm und Drang* of his youth and also his original boldness, together with the novel security he acquired through studying Cubism and Expressionism.

It was the combining of these two different qualities that enabled Pátzay to become one of the masters of Hungarian monumental sculpture, i.e. that which is intended for public squares. And right from his very first work, too! After the *Danubian Wind*, with its female figure cast in bronze, which stood on the left bank of the Danube, and a few sepulchral statues (and enough smaller works which could fill an entire workshop), his first major commission in 1937, the *Hussars*, was erected in front of the town hall in Székesfehérvár, and marked an epoch in sculpture (as well as being one of his most important and major works).

After having created a statue of such a high quality, the keeping up of such a standard is not so easy, despite appearances to the contrary. Pál Pátzay, however, was successful even in this respect; during the course of his life, around sixty monumental works have been erected in various towns of liberated Hungary, and although it couldn't be said that they are all of the same high standard as the *Hussars* in Székesfehérvár, yet they are still unquestionably the work of the same man. Most of his works—e.g. the statue of János Hunyadi in Pécs, the *Jockey* in Budapest, the *Figure Drying Its Feet*

* See Nos. 28, 54.

* See Nos. 28, 54.

in Szigliget, or the memorial sculpture of Benedek Virág erected in Budapest—bear his mark.

It is obviously no easy task to present in a museum an exhibiton of work mainly intended for public squares. There are photographs to represent his larger works, but Pátzay didn't neglect to sculpt smaller statues. He always expressed his ideas first of all in clay, working on these whilst formulating his larger works. In compiling the exhibition, the National Gallery has made a fine job, and also taken advantage of Pátzay's way of working, for the backbone of the exhibition was formed by the statuettes and drafts, to which were added the different shaped and sized versions, right up to the monumental compositions, most of which were represented by good photographs.

GYÖRGY HORVÁTH

THE MUSEUM OF NAIVE ART IN KECSKEMÉT

The question of naive art is still relevant. It commanded considerable interest during the course of the twentieth century, only to die down after a short while. It was first dealt with intensively at the turn of the century and subsequently from the late '20s to the outbreak of the war. It was the great naive art show at the 1958 Brussels World Fair that ushered in its rediscovery, which still stands today. It seems as though the more we know about it the less we are able to grasp of its essence. It becomes increasingly hard to define its concept as there are more and more moot points and conflicting judgements. Classification was simple in the past; it was easy for us to find our bearings on the basis of the scanty knowledge we possessed. It was possible to distinguish clearly between the two main trends: the western (French) line, which sprung chiefly from an urban bourgeois attitude, and the eastern (Yugoslav) line, whose life-giving soil is a rustic way of life. Following the show in Brussels, there were exhibitions in Basle, Rome, Rotterdam, Paris, Linz, Salzburg, München, Baden-Baden, Frankfort, Hannover, etc. These and later the exhibitions of the Bratislava triennales have at once made it clear that we have to waive our conveniently simplifying standpoint, that the phenomenon with which we are confronted is much more substantial, profound and extensive then was originally supposed. Grandma Moses, who lived to be 101, became well-known in America from the late '40s onward, and in Europe from the early '60s. The concept of Eastern European naive art has also been extended; a separate unit is constituted by the Slovak school, but the African countries, too, have appeared on the scene, thus widening our knowledge, or rather ignorance, to universal proportions. At the turn of the century it was easy to distinguish the pictures of a "Sunday painter" from the work of a "professional" (i.e. trained) painter. Today, however, the questions that we are up against are of an entirely different nature. Where is the borderline between naive art and popular art? Who is the naive *artist*, and who is the *dilettante* painter? Is it possible in all cases to unerringly tell the difference between the genuine naive artist and the painter posing as a naive artist and merely making the most of a fashionable trend? Besides, a certain tendency has evolved within "high art", taking its inspiration from the naives and

A new museum, devoted to naive art, opened in the town of Kecskemét in the summer of 1976.—Editor.

regarding them far too self-consciously as its example, though it is able only to evoke their world in a nostalgic fashion. While the debate over appellations and classifications continues naive art gathers more and more supporters to itself.

So what is the secret of its success, what is the reason for the recurrent upsurges of interest? This is what Ernő Kállai* wrote in 1936: "The world is now being surmounted by the typical ailments of our decaying civilization. In their wake we see . . . the worship of the primitives, the cult of meek naiveté. Where, in our own time, could we find an idyll, in which objects and people can harmonize so gently and peacefully and in such gracious friendship as in the pictures of dilettante painters?" It is the crisis of "high art" that evokes the desire for simple, primary ways of conveying an artistic message which, with their uncomplicated veracity and open unequivocality, indicate to art an escape, for a while, from the bondage of overcomplicated forms of expression.

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During the early part of the twentieth century, when the crisis of the artistic values of the past and the avant-garde were born, the discovery of the archaic, so-called primitive (African, Oceanian, etc.) art and naive art commenced simultaneously. "Here lies the root of the new total realism. In rendering the shell of an object simply and completely, one has already separated the object from its practical meaning and pealed forth its interior sounds. Henri Rousseau, who may be considered the father of this realism, has pointed the way simply and convincingly... Henri Rousseau has revealed the new possibilities of simplicity," wrote Kandinsky in 1912.

In Hungary, around that period, critics and artists perceived "the new possibilities of simplicity" in children's drawings. An art teacher from Szekszárd, Lipót Ács—a first-rate ceramist—presented, at the Applied Arts Museum's children's drawings exhibition in 1910, the drawings of peasant children from Sárköz. The exhibition attracted the attention of many people. In the poet Árpád Tóth the drawings evoked a nostalgia for the tender years, the age of unadulterated pleasures. "A profound childish delight in colours practically shouts from many of the paintings; amongst meandering contours of gaudy rooster's feathers strong yellow, blue and red hues are smeared beside one another, bearding each other stridently and gaily." The writer and critic György Bölöni, one of the chief supporters of progressive art, drew attention to the artistic values inherent in them: "The peasant girls of Sárköz, Örzsi Paprikás and her friends, have produced such an artistic sensation at the children's art-exhibition as has not been seen for a long time in the Applied Arts Museum, or any other such place. Something like this holds much more meaning for thinking people than rooms, chock-a-block with paintings, in the Art Gallery together with all that such art has to offer." So the interest in folkcraft at the turn of the century took note of the branch of naive art closest to it: the drawings of peasant children.

The second period, lasting roughly from 1923 to 1938, brought the peasant painters to the fore. These so-called "natural geniuses" such as Péter Benedek, who became the most well-known of them all, Elek Győri, János Gajdos, András Süli, György Bereczki, József Áldozó, etc. presented their works at one-man shows and group exhibitions in Budapest and abroad. A few of them enrolled at the School of Art, therefore sealing their own destiny. The "natural geniuses" scored a prodigious success, but this success, unhappily, was of an equivocal nature. They were entirely at the mercy of the art trade, which misconstrued their work, and fell victim to their own success. Without their wishing it, they became the focus of discussions, but their true value and symbolism was also perceived

* On Kállai see NHQ 64, p. 174.

István Somfai

PÁL PÁTZAY: A MEMORIAL TO THE 10TH HUSSARS (bronze, 1937 Székesfehérvár)

PÁL PÁTZAY: BOY WITH FRUIT
(bronze, 24 CM, 1915 Budapest)

István Petrás

PÁL PÁTZAY: MEMORIAL
TO THE POET BENEDEK VIRÁG
(bronze, 1965 Budapest)

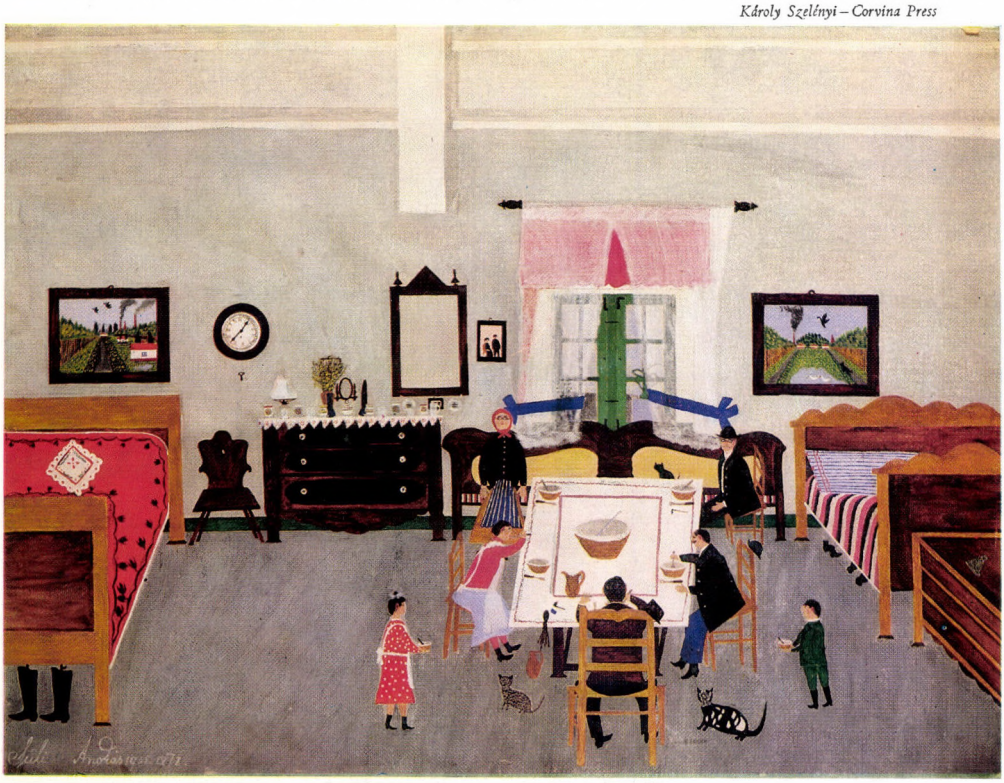
Istvan Petrás

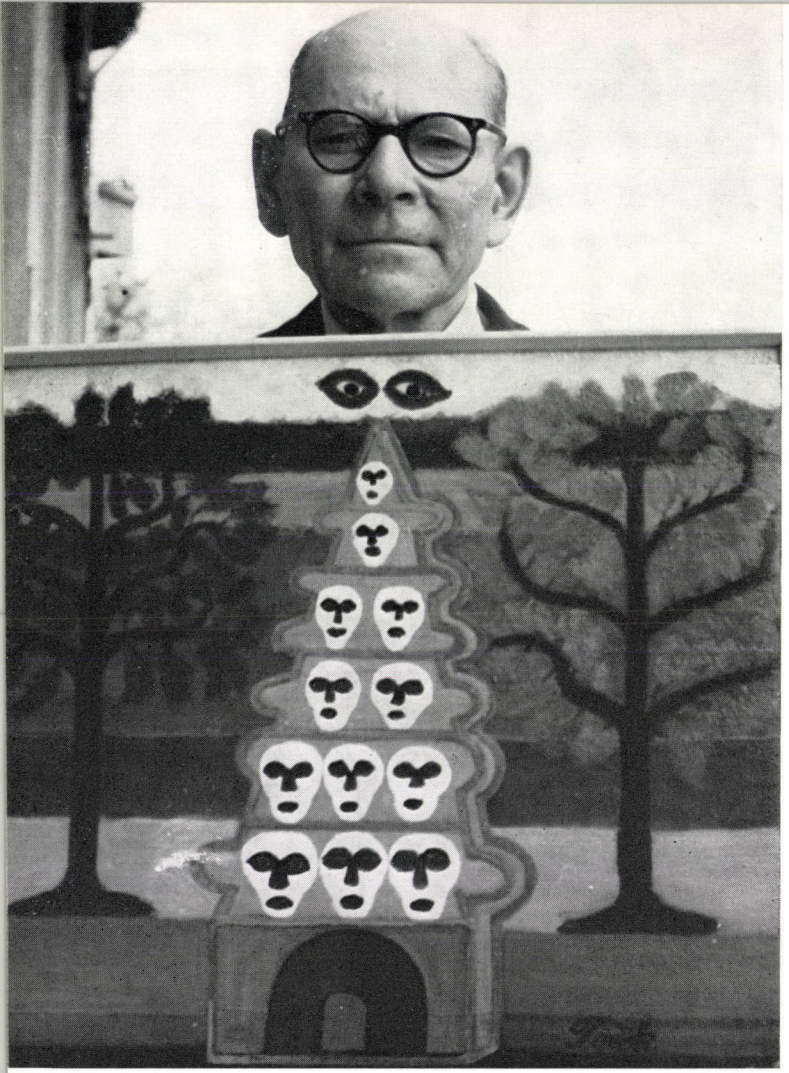
Károly Szelényi–Corvina Press

ANDRÁS SÜLI: LOGGERS (tempera, cardboard, 67 × 50.5 cm, 1935)

ANDRÁS SÜLI: FAMILY AT LUNCH (tempera, cardboard, 66 × 50 cm, 1935)

Károly Szelényi – Corvina Press



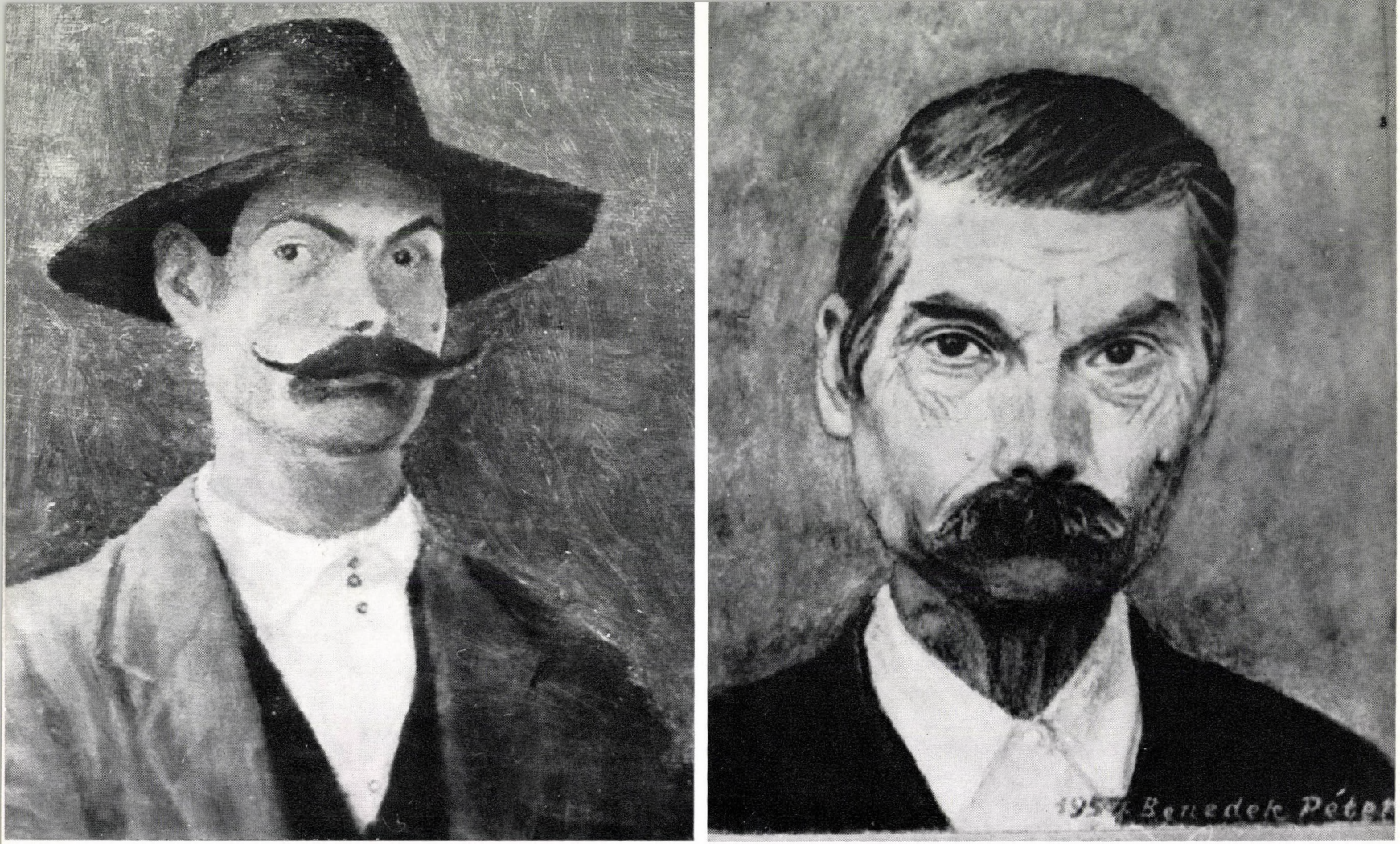


Domokos Moldován

SÁNDOR TÖRÖK WITH HIS PAINTING: The Hill of Skulls
(oil, 85×70 cm, 1970)

Domokos Moldovan

LAJOS BAKOS WITH HIS GROUP OF STATUETTES:
BARBECUING BACON (wood and wheat sheaf, 1973)

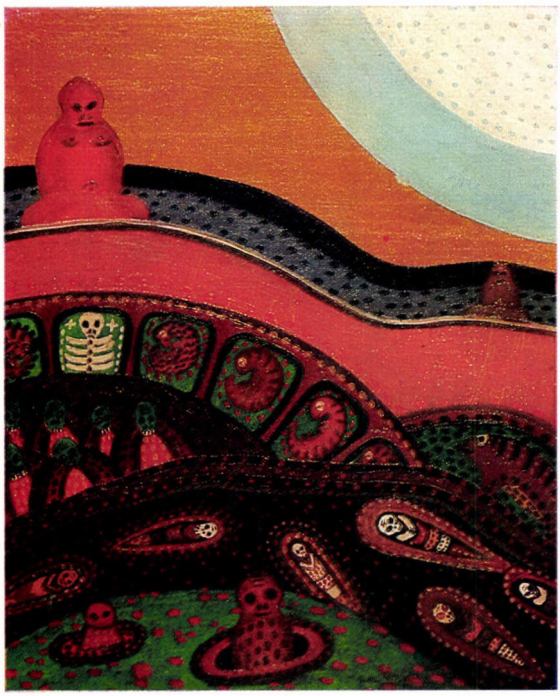


Domokos Moldován

PÉTER BENEDEK'S SELFPORTRAITS FROM 1925 and 1957 (oil, 64×50 cm)

Domokos Moldován

JÚLIA VANKÓ-DUDÁS: THE DANCE (oil, 1969, 120×100 cm)

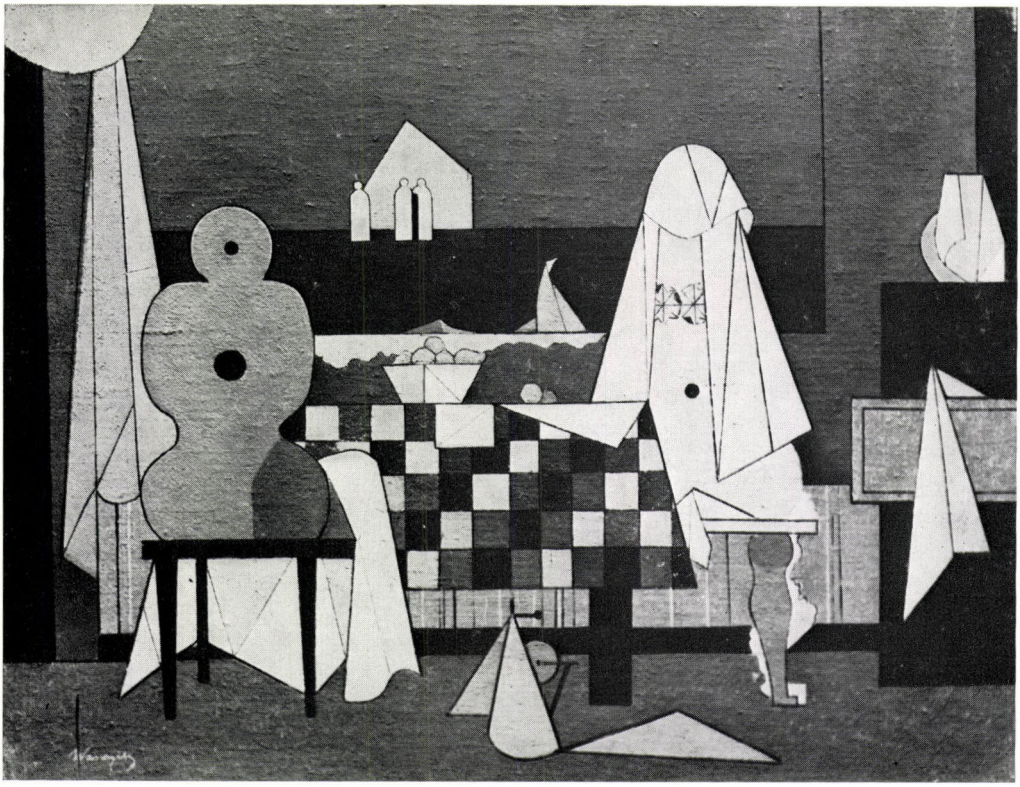


DEZSŐ MOKRY-MÉSZÁROS: THE ISLE OF THE DEAD (oil, 1912, 82×46 cm)

Domokos Moldován

Károly Szelényi

ÁRPÁD ILLÉS: COMPOSITION WITH RED
(egg tempera, 80×60 cm, 1976)



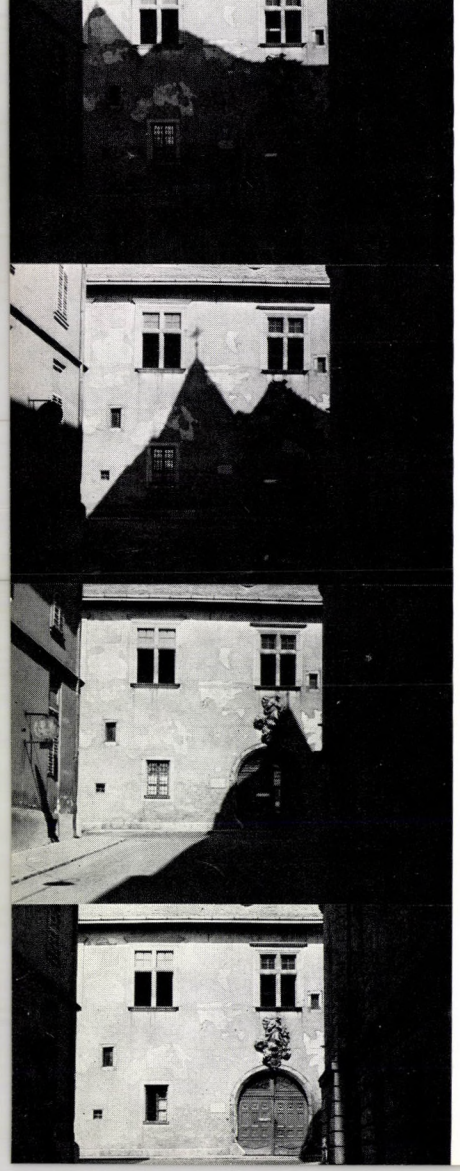
TIVADAR WANYEK: AT THE TABLE (oil, 35×45 cm, 1974)

GYULA KONTRASZTY: ADAGIO (oil, 61×75 cm, 1973)

Idnos Wahr

Károly Szelényi

KLÁRA PREISER: MAXI-CLOTH (cca 3 sq.m., 1940–1976)

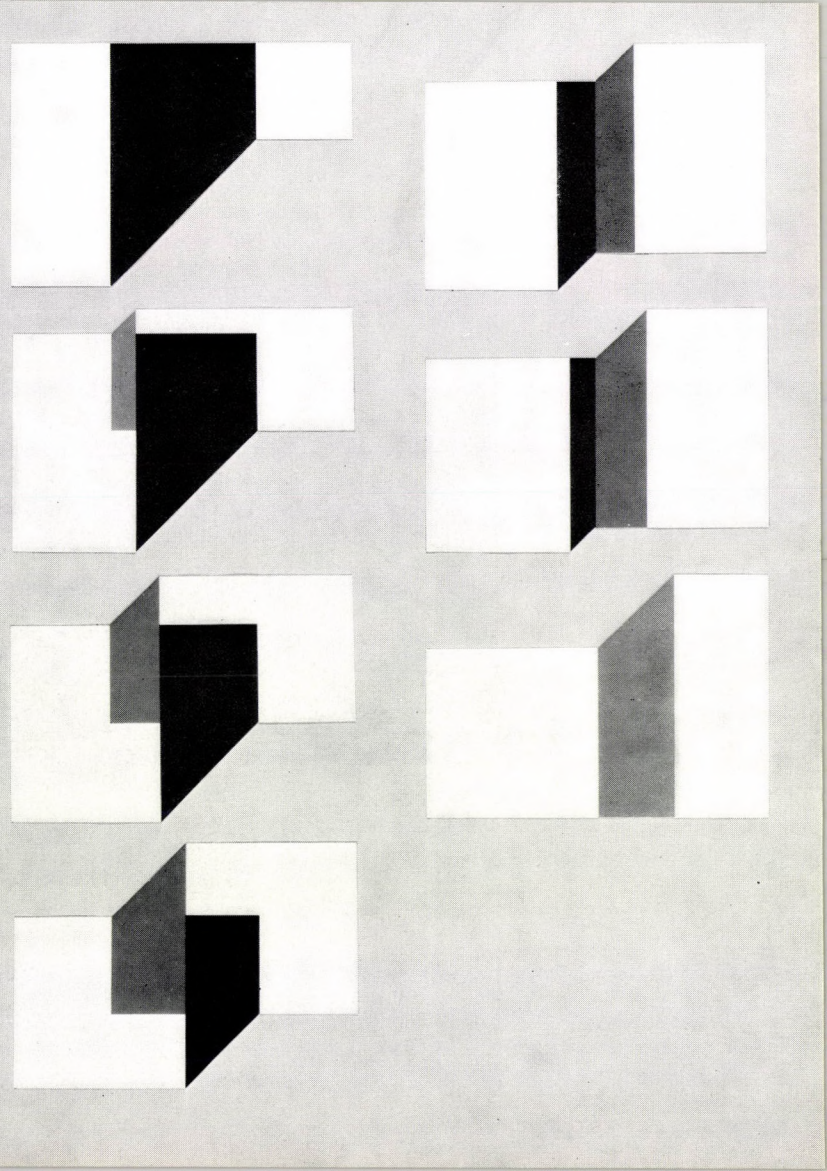


◀ Sándor Pinczehelyi: Hommage à Copernicus (1973)

Sándor Pinczehelyi

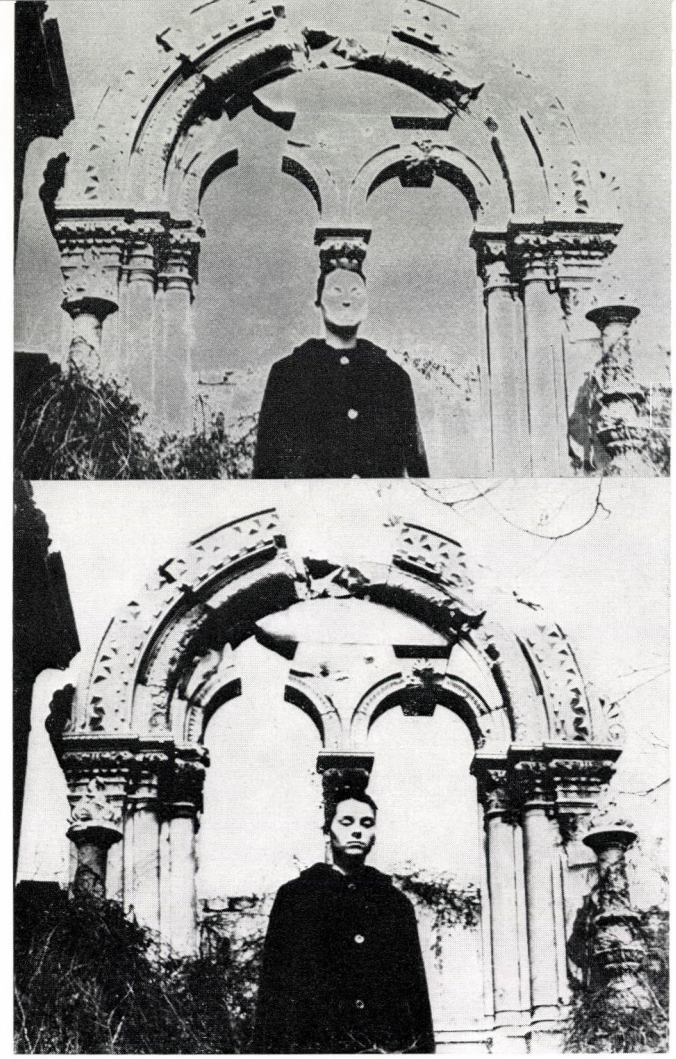
Tibor Gáyor: Bo 1–7, ▶ 1975 (folded collage, 7 pieces 50×70 cm)

Dóra Maurer



Dóra Maurer

DEZSŐ KORNISS: TARGET 1927 (photomontage)



Dóra Maurer

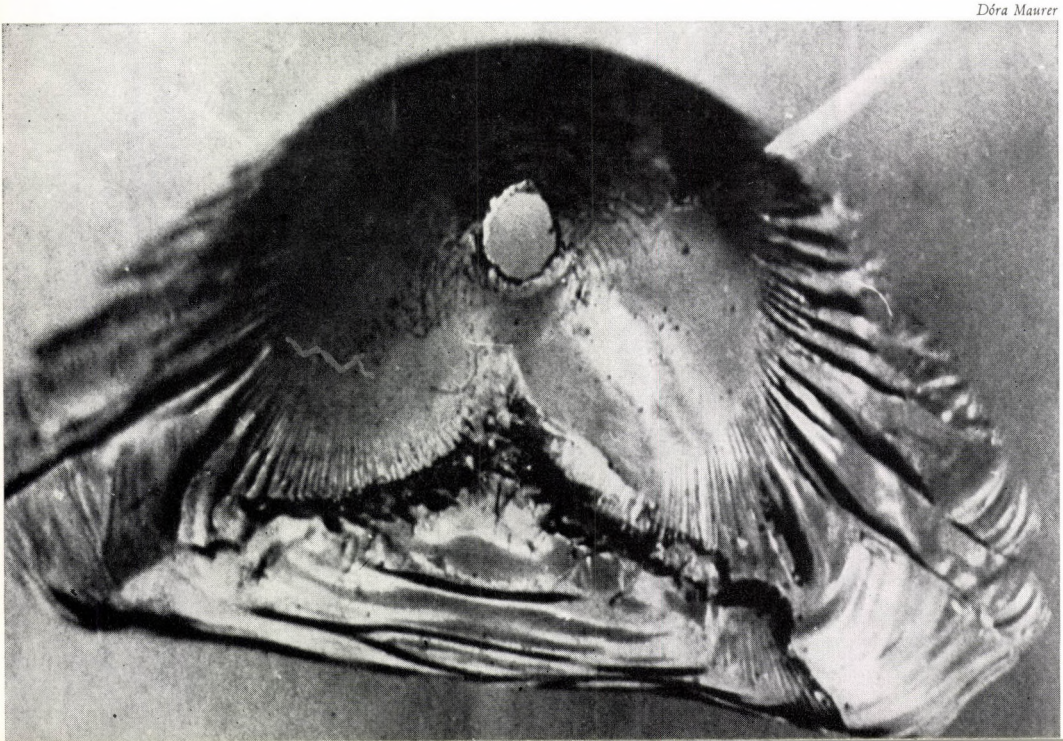
JÁNOS MAJOR: CARYATID (1974)

Dóra Maurer

LAJOS VAJDA: NO TITLE (1930–1934) (photomontage)

MIKLÓS ERDÉLY: MAN IS NOT PERFECT (series of illustrations, 1976)
(bullet marks on glass)

Dóra Maurer



by their contemporaries, including the populist writers who saw in them a justification of their own aspirations.

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The third era of naive art reached Hungary relatively late. In 1963 the exhibition of Yugoslav naive art was organized with great success, but the Hungarians were not even mentioned at that time. The first glimmer of interest came from abroad, and in its wake Hungarian researchers, Júlia Szabó, László Beke and Domokos Moldován, set about collecting material and seeking out primitive artists still alive. The first unified exhibition was organized by the King Stephen Museum of Székesfehérvár, and was followed by a whole series of art exhibitions, articles, studies and documentary films. Since 1970 the Institute of Popular Education has been dealing systematically with the exponents of naive art. In the summer of 1976, the Museum of Naive Art was opened in Kecskemét, and parallel to this, the permanent exhibition of the National Gallery also presents Hungarian naive art as a self-contained unit.

Of the old discoveries only Péter Benedek is alive; he is 87. "I am aware that I am a great artist," he said in 1964 with the self-assurance of an Henri Rousseau. Since then, a whole row of new talent has joined him. The regular exhibitions and general interest have again revived naive art, and naturally all the moot points connected with it. For when we gaze in wonder upon a vision of József Csimin, which evokes the early work of Chagall, we are already doubtful about a painting by Sándor Török, which he has entitled *In Memory of My Six Years of Naive Painting*. Naive art is not a question of education, social affiliation or "maladroitness". It is dependent upon a point of view, just the same as every other form of art. Its creator expresses something and in such a way which the "high art" of the period does not. It may include many things, but not sophisticated calculation. One cannot aspire to naiveté in art.

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The exhibitions and collections present a wide selection of material. The organizing is at certain points open to discussion, especially in the case of the contemporaries, but the great artist-personalities are unequivocal. In the basis of their work it is possible to isolate three main tendencies in Hungarian naive art: the folkloristically inspired peasant artists (recording folk customs and national costume), the peasant painters and sculptors with a more naturalistic approach (their main themes being the village landscape, anecdotal picture and the portrait), and the creative artists with a visionary view. The two most significant personalities, András Süli and Dezső Mokry-Mészáros, indicate the two opposite poles of the genre.

Mokry-Mészáros was a university educated man, and during the course of an eventful life he travelled the entire world. András Süli had completed six grades and was a peasant basket-weaver. Only compulsory national service took him away from his village. He had been painting for five years altogether (1933–38), but always strictly portrayed his own environment—that which he saw and experienced. To Mokry-Mészáros, his artistic activity was a life-long occupation. In his work his experiences appear in a fanciful paraphrase. However, he only had one truly "subjective" period, the theme of his principal works being the envisioned world of unknown planets and the prehistoric age. Thus their lives and their art were very different; they shared a common fate, however, as both of them died lonely and poor, almost simultaneously, and were discovered together. András Süli received the news that he had been awarded a gold medal at the Bratislava triennale, on his death-bed.

The world of András Süli (1896–1969) is related to children's drawings and popular

art. Thirty-three of his pictures have been unearthed. Their charm, gaiety and the story-telling mood with which they are imbued hold the spectator spell-bound. His relatively limited range of themes—railway station, room, the interior of a church, the village courtyard, the river Tisza and its environs, a few still-lives—becomes, by dint of the richness of detail, strikingly deep. In his interiors a favourite technique of his is the "picture within a picture". On the walls of rooms he paints his own landscapes—for this too pertains to his strict sense of actuality—thereby giving the impression of a never-ending continuity. The same effect is produced by his landscapes, which are parallel to the plane of the picture, the layers being superimposed on one another. All the elements of the painting highlight the horizontal direction, thus leading us beyond the boundaries which are restricted by the frame. It is as though we too were sitting in the train, gazing at the landscape, which scarcely alters: a foot-path with people and animals, a puddle, a highway with automobiles, trees, station buildings. All this among dense streaks of electric wires, leading perhaps to infinity. Yet each little segment of reality is in itself a complete whole, for within infinity everything falls into place with instinctive symmetry. If a motor-car comes from the right, then there has to be one coming from the left too, and in between the four peasant women moving in the opposite direction, two on each side, there has to be a hatted man with a pipe. Some childlike sense of justice dominates the picture as a principle of design, and this pertains with equal force to the birds winging the air, the ducks swimming in the pool and the curtains drawn aside on the windows. It is this elementary simplicity that the grand painting of the age envied, because it dared not adopt it, and it could seldom substantiate the infinite manifesting itself in the unique. It was only proper that these "horizontal" paintings reminded one of his appreciators, of the decorative motif setting of popular Hungarian needlework embroidery, wicker-baskets and pottery adorned with the peculiar streaked design. The *Hen-yard* shows another fundamental principle of András Süli's compositional arrangement. In those paintings where there is a central theme (e.g. in this case the housewife, in *The Interior of a Church* the altar, etc.), all movement is directed towards it, the scenography leading the eye to it. The ruddy-faced, cheerful landlady stands in the middle of the picture. It is to her that the geese, hens and roosters flock, the white of her apron recurring within the picture in smaller or larger patches. The limited range of colours, bound to the subject-matter, strikes one as extremely rich, due to the many fondly drawn details. The leaves, the spots of the speckled hen, the grub held in the bill of the bird—the thousand little richnesses of life are all beaming with exultant joy. This attitude towards life was foreign to the art of the '30s. The new way of looking at art objects which was beginning to emerge at that period was only aware of a grotesque representation. This bucolic world depicting the love of objects could only be created by naive art, which is why the peasant painters of the period became so popular.

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As for Péter Benedek (b. 1889), his best paintings are his portraits, and a certain portrait-like quality may be detected in his other work as well. He has combined a searching observation of detail with bold representation; in his paintings an ideal harmony is achieved between the decorative effect of patches of colour and a naturalistic representation of objects. In his portraits too he chooses the most difficult, the front view, for it is this which truly characterizes the face. In his finest work (e.g. *Portrait of Julcsa Pásztor* and *Portrait of Her Elder Sister*) the head of delicate plasticity, created by soft shadows, contrasts with the large, decoratively painted patches of the

clothes. His self-portraits constitute a separate series. The unusual asymmetry of his face, his characteristic arched eyebrows and his slightly squinted eyes bring a certain tension into these portraits. We are able to admire his direct, intelligent countenance, his unaffected candour, and the self-restraint which is expressed in his paintings by the colours. His anecdotal paintings are always accurate, representing one phase of a certain event. He knows exactly whose house the bridal procession is marching past at the moment, every human, beast, house, tree—is a portrait.

Everything is individual and it is precisely for this reason that there is no differentiation between man and object, neither is superior. Kata Térmeg is no more important than the wash-tub in which she is washing. This interdependence of animate and inanimate can only be fully substantiated by the masters of naive art, who are still able to remember the history of the objects and the names of the animals.

János Gajdos (1912–1950) and Elek Győri (1905–1958) are linked together by a number of common traits; they were on friendly terms with each other and for a while they even lived together. Their most well-known paintings are popular genre paintings with many figures and recurring themes: processions, Nativity players, weddings, burials, harvests, fairs, floods, poultry-runs, etc. In their work there is no protagonist, every detail and figure is equally important, and it is this "co-ordinative" principle of design that reminds us of the paintings of Bruegel. They knew instinctively what all great artists are aware of, which is that the tragic and comic scenes of life go together; that festive piety and poverty and suffering are one, as, for example, in a picture by Gajdos entitled *The Great Procession*. The atmosphere of their large-scale paintings of wide horizons is inimitable. The *Bridal Procession* of Elek Győri makes us feel the winter cold, the *Fair* of Gajdos the churned-up dust. The design of this picture is masterly. The foreground is leisurely; every detail, even the merchandise of the sellers, is distinctly visible. The crowd or the fair is milling in the centre of the picture. This spatial stratum is constituted by a massive wall of animals and human beings, tiny coloured patches throng in it, the forms are simple, almost to abstraction. The gaudiness of coloured garments returns from the side in the toy-balloons, but in lighter and fainter patches. The smaller areas of the canvas are filled by roofs of pavilions and booths, their large square shapes lending a soothing transitional air to the suspended merry-go-round on the hill-top. This is itself still bound to the ground, but its small swings are flying in the air up above. Beside it, a toy-balloon let loose has already fully broken away from the earth below and it soars freely upwards. From the old woman sitting in the foreground frying sausages, we get past the commotion of the fair and up to the sky.

Although Dezső Mokry-Mészáros (1881–1970) did, in a short phase of his work, share a few traits with the peasant painters, his career, lasting half a century, was in fact a unique phenomenon and quite incomparable. He had studied at the agricultural college of Mosonmagyaróvár, been an insurance inspector of damages, a globe-trotter, had been to Ceylon and Tunis, had occupied himself with prehistoric archaeology, and believed in reincarnation. He was concerned with far-distant planets and space exploration, but he abhorred automobiles. He formed his first works from the shapes he beheld during the course of microscopic investigations. It was around 1910 that he created the work of the series "Life on Unknown Planets". The surface of the mountains and the patterns on the attire of the figures are redolent of groups of cells. Living amongst stalagmite-like formations are creatures resembling various micro-organisms with human faces but hollow eyes. His horrifying visions are succeeded by the compositions of the "Primordial World", which are also visions, but are more subdued. He was inspired by the material remains of

prehistoric archaeology, and adding to them a little with his fantasy, created charmingly unsophisticated genre paintings such as *The Mammoth Sits for the Artist*, whereas at other times he outstripped even professional artists with his tense design (*Primeval Mountains, Primitive Men; Primeval Cave*, etc.). In the '30s he also painted anecdotal pictures of rustic subjects *(Ploughing)*. When, from 1948 onward, he had once and for all established himself in Miskolc, he made mural ceramics. He decorated various articles for personal use, and his surrealistic sculptures are also well-known.

Of all the Hungarian naive artists, he was perhaps the one who was most neglected. His life-work has long deserved a one-man exhibition. He himself did not recognize artistic trends or styles, although he did share certain traits with them. His early works recall the forms of Art Nouveau, and in the later ones we can often detect the elements of surrealism. By dint of his bizarreness and his imagination, unafraid of any kind of exaggeration, he managed to attain to such a sphere of artistic thought and image-creating as the far more sober movements of Hungarian painting have never had the temerity to encroach upon.

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No schools have been formed in Hungarian naive art, one group, however, the group of peasant artists at Galgamácsa, constitutes a distinctive unit. Amongst them the leading personality is Mrs. Júlia Vankó-Dudás (b. 1919); in her water-colours and tempera paintings she depicts national customs with spicy humour in picturesque compositions. Stereotype faces run through her works, yet the arranging of groups and the movements of figures are very characteristic. An important part of her work is the text—mostly snippets of sentences—which further enhances the ethnographical aspect of the drawings. The work of the women of Galgamácsa are on the border-line between art and ethnography.

I have dealt with merely a few personalities of Hungarian naive art, those whom we consider to be the most characteristic. Their circle, however, is much wider and more colourful. They include a barber (József Csimin), an erstwhile medium (Anna Marton), a peasant woman who has never been to school (Juliska Gáspár) and a village seamstress who has been writing since childhood and publishing her own anthology of verses (Mrs. Pál Pozsgai).

We should deal separately with the sculptors as well. Most of them are wood-carvers, but they also make clay and stone statues. Lajos Bakos (b. 1901) makes use of various materials such as leather, wire and ears of wheat on his wooden statuettes.

In the lime-washed rooms of an eighteenth-century mansion in Kecskemét, Hungarian naive art has been given a worthy home. A superbly beautiful unity of museum building together with a wonderful collection has been created here in the vicinity of rows of houses under construction. The soothing proportions of the house, the organic linking of its interior spaces, the kitchen left as it had been originally, all irradiate the interdependence of life and art —the vital atmosphere of naive art. There is only one thing which is missing. When will naive art emerge from the sphere of rarities, and when will it become a part of Hungarian art history? As Hungarian Art Nouveau is inconceivable without the work of Mokry-Mészáros, so likewise the cultural history of the inter-war period cannot be understood either without taking into account the peasant painters. So we look forward to an exhibition in which the naive artists will be assigned their place not in a separate museum, but amongst contemporary works of art.

ILDIKÓ NAGY

FROM PAINTINGS TO JEWELS

Tivadar Wanyek, László Kontraszty, Árpád Illés, Tibor Gáyor, Éva Barta and *Klára Preiser*

This time I have selected, as the subjects of my review, exhibiting artists who are not exponents of any particular school, but whose work is, in my opinion, original or at least aspires to be so. It is a mere coincidence that the artists included in this article—with the exception of Tibor Gáyor—belong to the older generation. It is impossible to tell their age by just looking at their work which is certainly not the kind of painting that is considered old-fashioned.

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The Budapest Műcsarnok presents the work of Tivadar Wanyek, a Hungarian painter living in Yugoslavia. The artist studied painting in Budapest in the thirties, and is well-known in this city because he already had an exhibition here some ten years ago.

He discovered his own particular style in the fifties, driving his inspiration mainly from folklore. He lives in the Voivodina, where the elements of Rumanian, Slovak, Serbian, and Hungarian folk art may be found side by side. His interest in folklore would not in itself be so unusual if it were not for the fact that his approach is totally devoid of romanticism. Tivadar Wanyek's painting is undoubtedly objective.

His themes are intentionally limited: a rustic interior, a chair, a table, a spinning-wheel, an icon, a clock, perhaps the front, the fence, and the gate of a cottage. All these appear repeatedly in the artist's work and yet one does not get bored with it, because of the rich inexhaustability of the subject-matter which is to be found in his painting. One suspects that he has explored his province thoroughly. Everything in his work is spread out flat so that linear perspective has ceased to exist and any atmosphere has been sucked dry. His patches of colour are smooth, even and contoured, the anything but orthodox composition being, to all intents and purposes, more important than the subject. He paints as if he was glazing; his colours are dark. It is because of its stillness and intensive silence that Wanyek's painting is so suggestive.

His more recent paintings show that Wanyek is developing in a new direction. The theme and design have remained the same, but the colours have become lighter and the details are even heavier than before, his attention being more and more arrested by the personification of objects (furniture, veil, household utensils). He calls his present work *pittura metafisica*, but I do not consider this to be decisive. The fact that these are Tivadar Wanyek's paintings is enough to satisfy me.

Having retired into a rustic solitude, László Kontraszty strives with tenacious consistency to bring his own phases, indeed œuvres, into synthesis. He has now for once renounced his solitude and mounted a one-man exhibition consisting of ten years' work in three large rooms of the gallery.

"The painter does not imagine," states Kontraszty in his catalogue, "but rather he envisions his picture. It is in this that he differs from the writer and it is in this also that he resembles the composer." All this would sound rather trite, had the artist not corroborated his statement with his pictures, or rather by their cycles. He starts with naturalistic landscapes, such as his memories of Scandinavian travels, the extremely compact constructions of fishing villages, and the transcription of figures or groups of people, but these sequences—by virtue of some inner logic—imperceptibly dissolve into a lyrical abstraction.

These paintings are built up in patches and colour is used sparingly, thereby creating a soothing effect. This mellowness, however, is merely illusory and any "lyricism" is superficial, a semblance: lurking underneath there is an engineer's logic. Another conspicuous feature of these paintings is their static quality. But with this too the artist has bamboozled us (which is what makes him an artist), because if one looks closely at any of his paintings one discovers that the entire picture is in motion; the fundamental quality of these pictures is that they are dynamic, statics is just a means of "wrapping up the content."

It is the resolving of these irreconcilable contradictions which makes László Kontraszty original. I ought to mention that Hungarian painting was sorely lacking a painter like Kontraszty, so his exhibition, although somewhat belated, serves to "fill in the gap" as it were.

The painting of Árpád Illés is mostly reliant on colour. This artist, however, does not use synthetic paint—or oil for that matter—but works with mixed egg-tempera, according to the recipe of Van Eyck; this medium is still highly suitable for an exposition without the filtering element of air. Illés's paintings are decorative as well as being dynamic. He applies the paint evenly and he depicts motion by means of sharply defined edges. Play is combined with logic and this is not a contradiction. The virtue of Illés's work is a certain rare pictorial limpidity. In his recent paintings his colours have become more intense, predominance has been assigned to larger areas; indeed, we can even detect optical effects.

Illés is often referred to as a lyrical surrealist—this description did not ever really fit him very well—but with the passage of years his pictures have become less subjective and he projects real or imaginary landscapes, figures, portraits, always depicting the living world, but according to his own laws. The meaning of his paintings is often veiled. At times it is clear, but often it is more difficult to unravel his message, and of course, this message is not always univocal. He himself says: "Reality can be detected, through transpositions, in every brushstroke of mine, much more so then if I were a naturalist."

The Árpád Illés exhibition was presented by the students of Bercsényi College of Engineering.

Tibor Gáyor's exhibition in the King Stephen Museum of Székesfehérvár offers nothing but straight lines—never curves—right angles, acute angles, obtuse angles; everything is geometrical.

These compositions which create a "restful" effect are simple, at least appear to be so. He uses a narrow slot-frame to border his paintings. He has set out to solve the problem of the traditional "flat" picture. He uses black emulsion as a groundwork, onto which he glues the regular prepared canvas, primed with white. Sometimes he works on the white smooth side of the canvas and sometimes the reverse side which is coarse and more textured. He does much the same thing with ordinary brown wrapping-paper. Gáyor first of all cuts out these materials—canvas, paper—into the intended shape and folds them repeatedly, to examine them in a new light and view them at a different level, as regards plane and space. He aims, moreover, to make us appreciate all this, to initiate us, as it were, into his study, which demands full participation from us. "What I am dealing with is the primary, not abstract, but everyday revelation of spatiality," he says.

In his exhibition catalogue he betrays his method of working: he first of all makes a sketch on a piece of paper divided into squares of his train of thought, and then he begins cutting out. All his work consists of series, which, metaphorically speaking, overlap one another. Placed side by side they look like the still shots of a strip made up from one movement. Any single one of them is just a stage yet even taken away from its niche in the sequence it is neverthe-

less an imposing and dramatic protagonist at the exhibition. "The flat surface expresses the stage of "nothing having happened, as yet" in an elemental fashion; and the broken-up plane that of "something has happened". According to this process the folded bits return to their original level, as we see them in the exhibition, and although we were not witness to the folding we are nevertheless able to perceive the time-factor involved. Gáyor's series are always parables, in which he seeks to prove his system of perceiving reality in a new way. He succeeds too. The onlooker only has to follow his logic with his eyes. This is easy enough to do with his simpler, elementary work; it is only later on that Gáyor strains our receptivity.

Gáyor has been dealing with such thoughts for half a decade, becoming more and more profoundly absorbed in them. It is much easier to trace his development than the œuvres of traditional painters. Furthermore, we also notice that he is continually developing. At his exhibition I found a few three-dimensional pieces, made of wood, which doubtless pave the way of his future development. It is possible that some may regard Gáyor's sequences as monotonous and rather scholastic; looking at it simply, they may be right, this collage-system is, to all intents and purposes, a way of "schooling" our way of perceiving reality.

Nevertheless, Tibor Gáyor's work is intriguing because coming through its cold formulation are his visual utterances which are corroborated by the impress and logic of his personality.

Éva Barta originally left the Academy with a diploma in painting, but, to the best of my knowledge, she has never exhibited paintings. Some time ago she did exhibit her sculpture, and also occasionally ceramics. She made her mark with ceramic jewellery. Then she grew tired of ceramics and gave it up. Her exhibition in the Műcsarnok, which is a collection of her recent jewels, is determined by grained pebbles or stones (maybe semi-precious stones) of black, grey, white, or other hues, with an amorphous and crystalline surface or else rounded off by a lithotomical process. The motive is the *object trouvé*. A white, black, copper or, on other occasions, a rough silver metal-frame lends completeness to the pebble-piece, which may seem somewhat accidental, albeit what has happened is that the pebble has in each case dictated a different compositional solution.

Another aspect of the artist's recent aspirations is the concept of the enamel-jewel: enamel lends itself well to this purpose; the basic colour and transparency work together within it. Éva Barta sometimes conveys her message very plainly and simply. She sometimes presents her work with a pseudo-archaism; at other times she is objectively cold, and occasionally she is restless in a Baroque way. The character of her enamel-jewels is never determined by *what*, but by *how*, as interpreted by Éva Barta. She does not tie herself to any particular styles: "I am the one who tries to find the technique most suitable to the form, and I always take pains to subordinate the technique to the form," she says.

Textile designer Klára Preiser exhibited her work jointly with Éva Barta in the Műcsarnok. Preiser is a weaver. She works on a primitive and simple six-treadled frame in her flat, weaving chiefly dress-material, curtains and table-cloths. Her method of working is with raised broché and at other times the traditional gobelin. Her inspiration is mainly derived from the folklore of a people that has never existed: its motifs are not Hungarian, African, Latin American, or pre-Columbian. The artist lived in Paris for several years. This city had a marked influence on her and provided her with inspiration as to the forms she uses. Klára Preiser is solemn at the same time as being frivolous, logical and wayward, constructively virile and very very feminine, ornamental and figural. Constructive and

painterly. She often works with gold thread. Her message is weighty, but her fabric is light; "the dress should not be so heavy as a dead donkey," she once said.

Because her machines enjoin strict order upon her, she enjoys a lack of discipline. Her motto is the exception that proves the rule. Her ingenuity is inexhaustible; almost every one of her pieces is different and she spares no effort in order to tackle each new piece from the very beginning.

Apart from her ornamental covers she has proved with her V-shaped shawls and her sewn dresses the functional effect of her highly competitive designs. The flora and the fauna in her mural pictures, besides her refined weaving technique, appear with unaffected naïveté. The principal work of the exhibition is—to my mind—the *Full Dress*. It would have to be a giant who would wear so large a garment, consisting of three metres square, which the artist has suspended on a gargantuan coat-hanger; this spatial material flows in ample folds. I quote the data of the catalogue: "The genre of the work: Glued and Sewn Mosaic, from Homespun Materials," thus this I can term handwoven collage, *assemblage*, although each and every one of the inserted "extraneous" strips of cloth of different styles, made with different styles, made with different methods, of contrasting or perhaps harmonizing patterns and insistent colours is the work of Klára Preiser. "The date of the work: 1940–1976." Of course, it is not this dress that the artist has spent so much time in sewing; it was these strips of cloth that took so much time piling up in her bundle of rags. That is how the *Full Dress* has become an autobiography written in her own language.

JÁNOS FRANK

PHOTO/ART

Exhibition in the Hatvan Museum

The catalogue declares the objects shown to be on the borderland of photography and art. The only clear limit, however, is detachment from "orthodox" photography; its criterion, also according to the catalogue, is a moment taken from life, an emotionally apprehended reality. Photographs taken on the basis of a definite intellectual concept or with the intention of fixing some construed sight do not belong to this category. So the frontiers remain open to the avant-garde, whether that takes its start from photography or art.

The desire is to emphasize continuity from the '20s and '30s up to the present. This quest for forebears is not unknown in histories of avant-garde: it is a natural by-product of their detachment from their immediate artistic environment and from official art, and the expression of their wish to find antecedents with postulated identical ambitions. In the process of looking for and sometimes enforcing analogies it can easily happen that the real content and historically determined character of the chosen styles and artists are thrust into the background for the sake of a fictitious or subjective parallel.

It is in this spirit that the catalogue and the exhibition present the antecedents from the '20s, from the constructivist experiments of László Moholy-Nagy* to the late surrealism of the '50s, and try to find the connection between their works and the photos of the new generation. However, the interval between several generations tends to demonstrate the difference between

* See NHQ 57 and 62

the glorious past and the present, it gives evidence of new interpretations, and a change of use of tools, as well as differences in ideology and ideas on art which determine the whole activity.

The early use of photomontage, is the best proof of the enormous differences between members of different generations and even between photographs by the same men in different periods although their range may have been identical and their techniques similar. The characteristic feature of the montages of Lajos Kassák* and his *Munka* group has been the ambition to build a new social order. Their social Utopias, however abstract, are rooted in history and the constructive framework of their compositions symbolized a guiding principle which exists in the world and culminates in socialist ideas. This basic formula has many different individual variations from Kassák to Lajos Vajda,** the composition of elements, the intensity of construction varies according to the temperament and political attitude of photographers. One thing, however, is common to all these works whether overtly propagandistic or more abstract: they regard the world as the scene of the struggle of opposing forces.

In the '40s and '50s they seemed to continue in the wake of Lajos Vajda. This assumption is based on the fact that Vajda, unlike Kassák, had found intellectual links not only with Russian constructivism but also with French surrealists. This contributed to his plastic characterization of opposed forces. His former fellows-in-arms and artistic successors, however, filled seemingly identical means and form structures with a different content. In an apparently hopelessly closed historical moment they saw the world as a pawn of absurd forces, and it seemed that in this situation the only chance for the artist was to accept absurdities and work in their spirit.

This logic was responsible for the irrational combination of the elements of reality in the works of Endre Bálint,* for the metamorphosis of human heads pared to pebbles in the pictures of Júlia Vajda**, for the sacral and profane motives mutually cancelling out each other in the works of József Lakovits. Re-interpretation is not limited to this field and to cases of immediate association, it is present in the work of other photographers such as Imre Bak,*** whose playful and geometric form structure, a combination of cut-up photo parts, is entirely different from the constructive spirit of Kassák's works.

Beyond this differentiation there is one common feature in the use of photos as practised by the old and the new generations: the trends belonging to the borderland called photo/art can be divided in two large groups. One consists of those artists who start out from the specific possibilities of photography and try to get to know and amplify them. The representatives of the other group consider photography rather as an aid for the complementary or parallel interpretation of certain general problems often treated in art.

However much Kassák may have emphasized the special significance of photography and film saying that they were able to penetrate where painting could not and should not, he himself did not devote much energy to this medium, he rather used it as an illustration of his constructivist sequence of ideas. On the other hand Moholy-Nagy experimented with the possibilities of expression of light was pregnant with, exhausting everything in this area others had made available. His starting-point was not an ideological concept but the nature of the material itself.

In the '60s and '70s these two types appear isolated again. Béla Kondor**** is a characteristic example of one of them: he

* See NHQ 28 and 54
** See NHQ 16, 23 and 33

* See NHQ 18, 38, 52 and 64
** See Nos. 33 and 57 of the NHQ.
*** See NHQ 61
**** See NHQ 17, 39 and 53

had started to take photographs towards the end of his short life. The characteristic objects in his studio were his objects, first of all that wooden construction visible also on his prints. Unlike the totalistic world concept of his moralistic painting these takes impress the spectator with their empirical concreteness, and impart the strange experience of a metamorphosis of the modest wooden structure into a giant scaffold, into a symbol of technological catastrophe. In those years Kondor may have experienced a certain feeling of saturation. He had said all he wanted to say using more conventional tools, all that was open to him was to upset the balance of his entire œuvre. In this impasse he turned to photography just as Endre Bálint turned to object constructions at the same time using a camera.

A number of other examples of this handling of the camera are on show. Ádám Kéri, who "sculpts" dilapidated décor parts, bricked-up doors, plugs inmidst crumbling plaster, photographs his motives either back in their original environment or juxtaposed to some alien milieu, and thus offers photo interpretations of his own concepts. Tibor Csiky's photos highlight elements from his environment whose structure inspires his work as a sculptor. Imre Bak, György Galántai, Tibor Gáyor, and János Major also offer the photographic documentation of ideas which are or can be elaborated also by art; each in his own individual way, in keeping with his artistic outlook, works on a wide range from ironical snapshots of tombstones to decorative geometrical structures.

Gyula Pauer, György Jovánovics, Gábor Attalai,* and others choose subjects which can be expressed only through this particular medium. Jovánovics amplifies the traditional form by mounting on the original print a reflected detail, thus transforming it into a multi-faceted picture. Pauer caricatures normal photography by a deliberate banality and hostility to motives: his photos are documentations or rather anti-documentations of an empty piece of paper, of a bad or crumpled photo, of a series represented by only one member. Not unlike Miklós Erdély whose efforts tend to put an end to familiar structures of photography, and who consistently devotes his attention to such extremes as making pictures disappear by magnifying them.

There is another, more interesting, trend which attracts attention to the limitations of photography. Gusztáv Hámos queries only one of its manifestations, the socially committed photo, by circumscribing the yard of a tenement house, once a socially significant subject, thus throwing doubt on the general documentary value of photography.

The exhibition at Hatvan, with all its contradictions, offers an interesting image of the artistic efforts of a generational group for whom the camera has become one of the tools for transcending familiar sights and forms. In itself all this would be only negative but luckily, parallel with the gesture of negation, experiments are in progress to seize hold of a reality and elements which can be made visible only by exploiting the technical opportunities provided by photography. Work outside the use of photos in the strict sense of the word, such as the mechanic transparency prints of László Méhes* and Péter Legendy's sheets exposed to heat, demonstrate the fruitful interaction of photography, art and other means.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

* See NHQ 51 and 60

* See NHQ 61

MUSICAL LIFE

FROM BAKFARK TO LISZT

Recent Editio Musica publications

VALENTINUS BAKFARK: *Opera Omnia I.* The Lyons Lute-Book (1553) Edited by István Homolya and Dániel Benkő. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976

Since Howard Mayer Brown completed his *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600—A Bibliography* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965; second printing, 1967) we have been aware that no fewer than five hundred volumes published in the sixteenth century have survived. A feeling of anguish overcomes a reader as he thumbs through Brown's bibliography. A vast quantity of material practically inaccessible in a modern edition and the still large number of blanks justifiably raises the question: what is in all these books? Though the blanks tend to diminish mainly thanks to German, English and American scholars, curiosity demanding an answer proportionally grows. In other words: the many thousand unknown pieces have become of even more interest for the specialist as well as the amateur exploring the field.

Of the sixteenth-century lutenists the "divine" Francesco da Milano and Valentin Bakfark (1507–1576) were outstanding. To quote the preface to the Hungarian edition under review: "His work is an extremely valuable treasure in the instrumental music of the period and played an important role in the early history and development of European instrumental music." This is no exaggeration, Valentin Bakfark was the first musician of international reputation to be born in Hungary and remained the only one for two and a half centuries. His works were printed several times throughout Europe, Spain and England being the only exception.

It was natural that Bakfark's art carried no national features. No one could expect those from a sixteenth-century musician, since the age was dominated by an international music style. Bakfark travelled a great deal. In Germany, France, Poland, and Italy he was idolized. Poets sung of his knowledge and talent, and many collections included his pieces.

Most of the lutenists of the time were the servants of their instrument, but Valentin Bakfark was its master. Let me remind of Brahms's piano pieces which are much more difficult than the majority of virtuoso pieces of the time—but this only becomes clear after a certain amount of intensive listening. Bakfark as well for the most part composed transcriptions of vocal works for the lute. Unlike his contemporaries, Bakfark stuck to the original four, five or even six-part motets, madrigals or chansons leaving much to performers. Let us think into the matter: a six-voice piece played on an instrument

INTABVLATVRA VALENTINI BACFARC TRANSILVANI CORONENSIS.

LIBER PRIMVS.

C

Lugduni apud Iacobum Modernum.
Cum priuilegio ad triennium.

1553. fol. 1

1553. fol. 1

TABVLA.

FINIS.

Title page of Opera Omnia by Valentinus Bakfark, 1553

with just six strings! These transcriptions can justly be regarded as the forerunners of Johann Sebastian Bach's great fugues for solo violin which demand that four parts be played on an instrument with four strings.

Bakfark's solo works—ten "Fantasia" or fugues in the renaissance sense—are four-part, strictly polyphonic, and their counterpoint shapes in terms of the practice of Palestrina and his age.

This article is largely prompted by the English record critics' award given in 1975 to Dániel Benkő, one of the editors of Valentin Bakfark's *Opera Omnia I.* Indeed Benkő was the first to record all of Bakfark's works. That this daring venture outgrew the limits of historical musicology is proven by this award. This is a living music, right down to the bone—one has to listen to it, that's all, and the English music critics did.

There is another reason why I decided to call special attention to this edition. I wish to touch on two aspects. Firstly, a guitar transcription was published simultaneously with the scholarly edition (Valentinus Bakfark: *The Lyons Lute-Book.* Guitar arrangement by Dániel Benkő. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976). This means that the number of performers of the sixteenth-century collection widens. It may sound a commonplace, yet one must stress this: guitar-playing in our age is very fashionable. Secondly, and this is just as important, Bakfark's compositions can be played on any group of instruments that are capable of producing those sounds. It goes without saying, Bakfark's works can be played on any keyboard.

As far as I can tell this edition is without fault. István Homolya and Dániel Benkő have completed the first volume of the *Opera Omnia* by studying all surviving sources and thoroughly examining the different printed versions. The publishers have promised that the second and the third—the last—volume of the all-edition is expected to come out in 1977 and 1978, respectively.

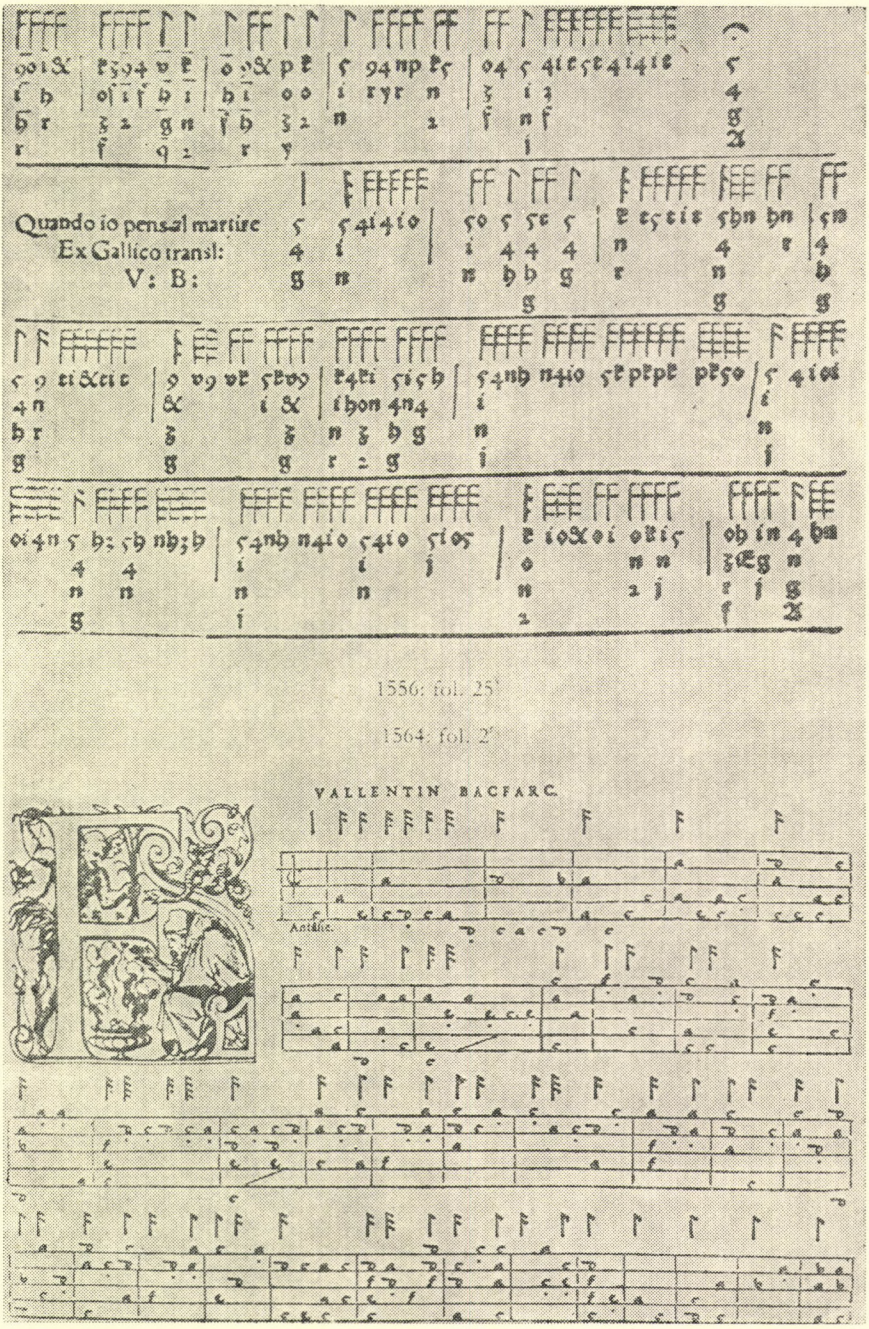
JOHANN GOTTFRIED WALTHER (1684–1748) *Concertos for Organ on the Basis of Works of Contemporary Masters* Edited by Tamás Zászkaliczky. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976

Baroque music lovers will hardly need a special introduction to one of the most outstanding, contemporaries of Johann Sebastian Bach. He earned his reputation in the history of music with his *Musikalisches Lexicon* (1732), a source of basic and indispensable reference even in our days. His music for the organ is equal in importance. In perfection Bach alone surpassed him in the musical setting of choral works and in concertos for solo organ. All 14 of these latter have recently appeared in a new edition.

One thing must be said to start with: a major part of the works can be played on keyboard instruments without pedals, perhaps with minor changes only; four of the works were composed for piano-like instruments. The edition is therefore of interest to all professional or amateur pianists.

The reader must surely have heard some of Johann Sebastian Bach's concerto-transcriptions as he enriched the not-too-wide range of this field by 22 works. One has remained intact in both an organ and a harpsichord transcription. The tendency is obvious: Bach wanted to capture the sound of concertos through these works. It goes without saying that Bach picked works by Italian masters and Germans who were working in the Italian manner. It should be noted that there was hardly any other model in the field of concerto: this genre was an Italian "invention".

Walther, Bach's friend, a distant cousin in fact, acted similarly in his 14 concertos. No lesser names than Albinoni, Corelli, Telemann, and Torelli are among the names of composers of works that served as basis for the transcriptions. (Bach liked Vivaldi above all.) The transcriptions of both



Bakfark scores, 1556 and 1564

composers stick to the original, with minor changes only. The organ gives plenty of scope allowing the difference between the orchestra and the solo instrument to be brought out and this is true for certain harpsichords as well, as it is for a modern piano. Meanwhile the happy Italian virtuoso material rolls on, making performers and listeners forget that the tune is played on a keyboard and not the instruments for which it was scored. True, there is plenty of coasting — virtuosity has never been ashamed of it. This is an important aspect of this music: music history for the first time ever produces a magnificent, magic and unsurpassable *personality:* this is circus, in the grandest and perhaps the holiest sense of the word, the way human skill is incarnated in a person. And this person is the great artist.

This moment came relatively late in German development. German Lutheran music was too reserved to accentuate the role of personality. This genre could only be popular in Italy where the solo violin just about played the part of an opera singer, stepping out of line. Perfect violins were only made in the workshops of Italians, Amati, Guarneri, Stradivari, and their contemporaries!

The main line of development in the history of keyboard instruments was held by musicians of the German language area overwhelmingly, if not exclusively. In the first three decades of the eighteenth-century this keyboard art took in all the virtuosity string and wind instruments were capable of. Those were great moments. Walther's series of concertos tells of them.

These works have previously appeared in a modern edition. Max Seiffert published them in the *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* series back in 1906. This was practically unaltered by Heinz Lohmann in his publication of *Johann Gottfried Walther, Ausgewähltes Orgelwerk,* a three-volume collection, (Breitkopf and Härtel, Wiesbaden, 1966), but both editions were in small type, making performance uncomfortable. The Hungarian editor, Tamás Zászkaliczky, has produced something really legible. It is certain that lovers of baroque music will welcome this publication.

WORKS FOR CLARINET BY THREE VIENNESE COMPOSERS 1. *Felix Anton Hoffmeister:* Sonata in F major for Clarinet and Piano. Edited by György Balassa. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976 2. *Johann Baptist Vanhal:* Trios for Clarinet, Violin, Violoncello, or Bassoon, Op. 20, No. 1–3. Edited by György Balassa and Imre Sulyok (Voices), Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976 3. *Charles Duvernoy:* Concerto No. 3 for Clarinet and Orchestra. Edited by Ákos Fodor (Musical score—Piano excerpts—Voices.) Editio Musica, Budapest, 1976

Of the three masters Charles Duvernoy (1766–1845) is actually a Frenchman, but considering he lived and worked in Strasbourg until the death of W. A. Mozart (1791) where he was powerfully influenced by Viennese—and German—music, he may be regarded as a Haydn–Mozart epigone.

The reason that I have picked the three editions out of many similar publications by Editio Musica is that it is generally believed that little has been written for the clarinet, and yet more and more people learn how to play it. Clarinet works by composers of varying importance are being excavated from the archives of the Széchényi Library. I lack the space for a detailed analysis. The music of Vanhal (1739–1813) and Hoffmeister (1754–1812) and of Duvernoy was composed in the style and spirit of the eighteenth century. Their instrumental treatment is determined by Mozart—especially the clarinet concerto by Duvernoy carries the features of a similar work by Mozart—and that is why they sound natural, and still not lacking in virtuosity. All have the advantage of being composed for a regular B flat clarinet, and

not the A type, which is usually only owned by professional musicians. The three works are part of the Eulenburg General Music Series GM.

FRANZ LISZT: *Légende No. 2. (Version facilitée par l'auteur) pour piano.* Edited by Imre Sulyok. Editio Musica, Budapest, 1975

This edition of Liszt's well-known *Legend in F major* is sure of keen public interest. The Liszt manuscript has been discovered in the Széchényi Library, with the following title: *F. Liszt (Légendes No. 2 St Francois d[e] Paule Marchant sur les flots) (Version facilitée).* Liszt himself did the abridged version of his great piece.

Although there is plenty of good reason why one guards against transcriptions of classical works, this manuscript testifies that the composer took special care for the less virtuoso pianist to play his works. Indeed he does a great job of simplifying the formidable left-hand part, without damaging the basic pattern. From the educational point of view it is of immense importance that an intermediate pianist can learn a work by Liszt, making it easier for him to learn the difficult original piece at a later stage, by recalling the easier version. This he can now do on the basis of Liszt's own work, and not on the strength of the miserable versions of the *erleichterte Ausgaben.*

ANDRÁS PERNYE

BRITTEN IN HUNGARY

"One can only marvel at the strangeness and capriciousness of life that it has bestowed Benjamin Britten, one of the great figures in musical history, upon our very own century. Because this inexhaustibly creative and marvellously versatile composer was a stray wanderer: his simplicity and naturalness made him a distinguished and lone figure in our complex age, a creator for whom composing meant joy, complete happiness and a mode of existence, judging by his works at least."

This is how Emil Petrovics (one of the most widely known Hungarian composers and the author of several successful operas) started his obituary on Britten. The way he continued is equally characteristic and Petrovics aptly put his finger on the most essential feature of Britten's music: "He was in possession of the real secrets, including the one that even the inexperienced music-lover will recognize and instinctively feel when listening to and enjoying Britten's peerlessly delicate, polished and characteristic melodic configurations, the complex harmonies disguised by simplicity and the drama put over with such lyrical verve."

What can we Hungarians offer which would possibly add anything to Britten's already well-established image? All over the world Britten is considered as being the only truly great British composer after Purcell, so the answer is obvious: it would be interesting to gauge what Britten's art signifies to us as Hungarians and what relationship exists between Britten and Hungary.

Let us start with Britten's visits to Hungary. His crowded schedule included a visit to the Budapest Opera House to see their performance of *Albert Herring,* and visits to the "Young Music Friends" get-togethers in Mátyásföld and Kispest, on the outskirts of Budapest, as well as to the Zsuzsanna Lorántffy Special School of Music. In 1964 he gave a song recital with Peter Pears, thus enabling Hungarian audiences to discover Britten the brilliant pianist

and chamber musician. In addition to Schubert's songs they performed his own *Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo*, his Hölderlin songs and also folksong arrangements. In October 1966 Britten appeared in two concerts, giving a rendition of Schubert's *Winter Journey* with Peter Pears, and at the closing concert of the Budapest Music Weeks, he conducted his *War Requiem* jointly with János Ferencsik (it is customary to have two conductors for this piece which was composed for orchestra, chamber ensemble, soloists and a children's and a mixed choir).

I could quote from the ecstatic reviews but it is perhaps more exciting and valid to recall a few sentences from Britten's statements to the Hungarian press. About the opera: "I am convinced that the opera is not a dead genre. It can still have a lot to say about man and about the great questions of life, together with the problems which occupy creative artists. Psychology occupies a dominant position in our age and is gradually permeating the arts as well. Why should the musical genre most conducive to this have lost its topicality?... It is irrelevant whether princes and princesses or grocers sing in the opera. It is what they sing about and how they sing it which are important." He has this to say about the latest musical trends and stylistic explorations: "I have given much thought to questions of style. I have my own musical idiom and manner of expression, and I have always composed with regard to the message. Several times I have asked myself: why do I still write tonal music? The answer is simply because this is how I am able to express myself. If, from the point of view of communication, it would be more pertinent to write atonally, I would certainly do so. I may change my musical idiom if necessary, but to do so only in order to compose in another style is unnecessary". About inspiration: "Inspiration, to my mind, has one decisive moment, followed by many stages. This first impulse, which may be called a divine gift or whatever we wish, is of a completely abstract and uncertain character. Its realization is possible only through hard work and the possession of a superior technique." And perhaps the most typical thought: "I am always more interested in the man who writes the music than in the form and technique he applies in his writing... Shostakovich, Bartók and Kodály are much more exciting and interesting to me than the avantgarde composers."

It was not at all by way of courtesy that Britten laid special emphasis on Bartók and Kodály. He had been familiar with and respected both of them, and in 1965 he invited Kodály to Aldeburgh. He was fascinated by being able to take a glimpse into the method of musical education which was established in Hungary, and interestingly enough, even led to a new opus enriching the Britten œuvre. Let he himself relate this: "When in Budapest in the spring of 1964 at a Music Club meeting for children, I was very taken by the musical gifts of two twelve-year-old twins. Each played the piano, one the flute and the other the violin: they sang, sight-read, and answered difficult musical questions. It turned out that they were the sons of one of Budapest's most distinguished flute players. At the end of the meeting they approached me and charmingly, if forcefully, asked me to write them a work. Though I claimed that I was too busy, my refusal was brushed aside. I insisted on one small bargaining point: I would do it only if they would write me a long letter telling me all about themselves, their work and their play—*in English*. I felt safe. After a week or two, however, the letter arrived, in vivid and idiosyncratic English, and I felt I must honour my promise. *Gemini Variations* is the result." (*Faber Music News*, Autumn 1966). This work has another Hungarian aspect, too, because Britten borrowed its basic subject from *Epigrams* (No. 4), a series by Kodály (1954).

The Britten works performed in Hungary have become absorbed into our musical consciousness even more so than the actual encounters, no matter how electrifying they were. Without aiming at completeness, it is worth recalling some of the Hungarian premières. *Peter Grimes* was performed before a Budapest audience in a brilliant performmance in 1947, a few months after its world première, to be followed ten years later by a revival which was no less successful. The next Britten opera to be performed in Hungary was *Albert Herring*, followed by *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was first presented by a provincial opera group in Debrecen, only to reach the capital years later. The last great success was scored by *The Beggar's Opera*. But we should not forget about the pantomime version of the ballet *The Prince of the Pagodas* in the Budapest Puppet Theatre, and the long series of youth performances of *Let's Make an Opera (The Little Chimney-Sweep)*, etc. We could continue the list with the popular choruses, chamber-music pieces and orchestral works, the most popular of which in Hungary, too, are the *Purcell Variations*, introducing in a striking manner the instruments of the orchestra and the orchestration, as well as the staggering *War Requiem*.

It may be stated without exaggeration that Britten's music, even though Hungarian audiences have not yet been able to familiarize themselves with his entire work, has become a part of the Hungarian music scene. It would merit a special study to examine how his music has influenced Hungarian composers, primarily operatic and choral composers, and folksong arrangers, and virtually everyone who goes through Britten's scores, which radiates a formidable professional knowledge, for ideas, inspiration or simply just to study them. It even has an effect on those who deny this and label him a conservative. These people will perhaps discover later that Britten's originality lies in the fact hat he is professedlyt and deliberately conservative. He adhered to classical ideals and it is precisely because of this that he was able to preserve the youthful animation of his music.

Britten did not only love music passionately, but he tried to share this love with others. Here I am not thinking primarily of his statements, nor even of his didactic compositions and typical themes but of the Aldeburgh Festival which had been initiated by him, and mainly of the humanity that radiated from him and everything which he did. He was always humanitarian at the highest level, when composing, playing the piano, conducting, organizing, or giving lectures and interviews. And this is exactly wath made him so popular in all parts of the world, with professionals and audiences alike.

Britten did what he was destined to do with the most self-evident spontaneity. To quote Emil Petrovics once again: "Music, music. It was such a natural, simple thing for him that this may count already as a shocking, shameless, challenging and truly disquiting provocation. How is it possible for a composer to know everything about his trade, to be unerringly himself, to stagger us, to amuse us, to arrest our attention, to cheer us up, to compel us to profound introversion, and all this without any ado, without fanatic votaries, ideologies and other manipulative means?"

In stupefaction over the news of his death, I remembered what Svyatoslav Richter wrote at the death of Prokofiev, which is just as applicable to Britten: "I thought of him and was not sad. After all, one does not feal grieved about the fact that Haydn, or Andrei Rublev died either."

ELŐD JUHÁSZ

THEATRE AND FILM

HUNGARIAN PLAYS OLD AND NEW

The first thing to be said about the 1976–77 season is that after a series of historical plays the new ones deal directly with our times.

István Nagy: Before the Deluge

István Nagy was born in Transylvania, where he lives; he is only a visitor in Budapest. In the early thirties he wrote a novel at the time he took part in the strikes and solidarity actions of workers in Transylvania, and was sent to prison. After his release he entered his first three-act play, "Before the Deluge", under a pseudonym, in a literary competition in 1936. The play won a prize and was performed in Kolozsvár; after a few performances it was withdrawn. The authorities did not like the author's extremely severe and bitter representation of the struggles of the Hungarian middle-class in Rumania with the burden of being national minority added to their other troubles. We know from the author that he derived the plot from personal experience. When in Bucharest he stayed with a Transylvanian family who had fled from their creditors. As a lodger he was an eye-witness to the mischief done by the creditor who dropped in unexpectedly and ruined their life deciding to live in their apartment till the cost of board and lodging had payed off the debt. The author described the senseless and tormented life of this half-genteel family in the grip of poverty, and behind the somewhat naively developed plot he revealed the often humiliating and debasing struggle for life: the drama of life as a minority.

In its time the social and political truth of the play and its naturalistic directness must have stirred the audience. By now the joints of the forty-year-old play are beginning to creak, and the experience of the many similar overlapping scenes in critical-realist plays has dimmed the power of the original. Nevertheless, the passion and force of István Nagy still prevail on the stage and the play offers an interesting chance to György Harag, the guest director.

Harag, an actor and drama teacher in his time, now senior director of the Hungarian Theatre of Kolozsvár, has put on this play on a number of occasions. Following the ban and a short revival in 1945 he made it a succes in Marosvásárhely in 1971. The Hungarian theatre company of the town won three prizes at the national theatre festival in Bucharest with this performance.

György Harag said that he worked with the ensemble of the Budapest National Theatre with the same excitement and enthusiasm as if it had been the première of a new Hungarian play. The result justified Harag's elevated and yet severe style. The acting was on the usual high level of the company but unfortunately the actors contented themselves with routine

methods in characterization. György Kálmán alone offered more than that in the rewarding role of the fiendish creditor.

*Tibor Déry: Cher Beau-père**

Tibor Déry has no luck with the theatre. Fifty years have passed since his first (and still the most interesting) avantgarde-expressionist play, "Giant Baby". Only two amateur ensembles have performed it in all these years. Since that first play, guided by his dramatic instinct or perhaps by the wish for the sort of public the theatre offered, Déry has tried his luck with the stage several times but his plays—if performed—were judged by critics, both rightly and wrongly, as the dimmer reflections of his prose works. Finally in the seventies one of his plays, or, rather, a play bosed on one of his prose worms, became a hit: this was the somewhat diluted and philosophically emptied verion of his novella *Imaginary Report on an American Pop-Festival* which, played as a musical, met with the approval of a wide-ranging public.

His novella *Cher Beau-père!* is the ironical and wisely supercilious document of the drama and poetry of aging. It is a confession in the first person permanently controlled and authenticated as the story develops. Déry's description and cruel frankness can have only one excuse: the first person singular sanctified by the self-mockery of a Cyrano. The adaptation for the stage of the Pesti Theatre is the work of Erika Szántó.

She has preserved Déry's sentences with engaging humility and respect for the author. This is her biggest—I almost would say—her only merit. The conflict of Déry's hero, the writer, got lost in the adaptation. In Déry's original work the hero's literary work carries much more weight, his existence and consciousness are determined by it. Déry has mocked and disparaged his hero for many reasons but he never questioned the purity of his relation with literature. The love story in the novella narrates the affection of an old man for a very young woman—almost a child—but there is no "one last thing" about it. Déry convinced me that his hero did not fall in love with the person of his 17-year-old daughter-in-law but with her presence. The natural radiance emanating from the young woman worked a miracle because it awakened in the old man the longing without desire, an emotion as delightfully painful as that old one which has left him. The relationship of the two ends paradoxically with a victory. According to Déry the old man's victory is his capitulation instead of the fulfilment of love or conquest.

On the stage all this was reduced to sexual desire once more ignifing as one last fling too late even for that kind of exercise, *a priori* doomed to failure because of the difference in age and social conventions. In fact, the little woman on the stage seems to love her father-in-law not quite so elfishly as we remember it from the book. Her tenderness bears the marks of secret love and even of bottled-up sexuality. If we accept the young woman's attitude as authentic then the action must develop towards a different conflict, and if she is only play-acting she disrupts the consistency of the heroine's character.

Erika Szántó's adaptation and the performance in the Pesti Theatre directed by Dezső Kapás have one big trump and this is Tamás Major in the main role. Major's irony, his gestures, his sometimes comic fight against aging are irresistible. He has one moment when he sweeps the crumbs off the table, then stops to consider and consciously act out this gesture which he thinks old-mannish; his behaviour persuades audiences that this gesture must be in fact the most characteristic symptom of old age. Equally expressive are Major's unfinished gestures with which he would caress his young daughter-in-law: they are never actually

* See an excerpt in NHQ 55.

carried out in space, only in the imagination of the voyeurs. The other characters—partly because of the structure of the adapted version—are only more or less successful extras on the stage.

Endre Fejes: The Marriage of Margit Cserepes

The contents can be narrated in the Love Story style. Once upon a time there was in Hungary, in the 1970s, a poor, nice working girl. By day she pressed the pedal of her machine, her heart was set on fun and games and love. She was not beautiful but she radiated *joie de vivre* and self-confidence and all the men fell for her. She missed only one thing in life: the Wonder Castle of fairy-tales, the two-room apartment. Of all the men around her Margit's husband, Pál Vitok, is the one who loved her most. The author called him the "clean-handed". Vitok, a decent, thoughtful Communist worker "who wanted light for man, a meaning for life", became a real proletarian Othello at the side of his hot-assed wife. His jealousy, supported by moral considerations, degraded this clean-handed man almost to murdering Margit Cserepes.

Endre Fejes, however, did not look for a proletarian Othello, nor did he wish to offer a thriller in a factory. Under the pretext of Margit Cserepes he wrote a play about the writer whom he had been watching in the process of creation. This writer on the stage is Endre Fejes himself, the frail and yet responsible chronicler of our age who fights also with his own heroes. These literary and dramatic characters, after having burst forth from the author's head, start to live their own real life, and you cannot dictate to reality just as you cannot dictate to Margit Cserepes.

We watch the prosaic but inspired creative work of the writer, his struggle with the material, the birth of the play, and on the same stage we witness the independent life of the characters. Margit Cserepes does not move alone in this double "theatre" world. There is her mother, worn out by life and the fag-ends of a bad marriage, her silver-haired father with an eye for the girls, her cool-headed and helpful girl-friend, a likeable and sympathetically described prostitute, and of course her husband.

The connection of the two threads of the plot is exciting but not always natural. Margit's real world is viewed from a certain distance whereas the writer's creative worries appear concretely before us. Fejes dazzles us with an abundance of observations but when they clash he takes too much care to save his heroes from injury and there is no real stake in the struggle. Sometimes the author compensates the lack of deep characterization with some virtuosity of construction.

Television preceded the stage performance and the text of the play is in the shops. It happens often that characters whom we learned to like while they existed in our imagination lose much of their magic when they materialize on stage. The performance by the 25th Theatre show the opposite, that the ideas, structure and language of a work born for the theatre can come to full flower only on the boards, with the help of flesh-and-blood actors. István Iglódi's direction lends clarity to the double structure of Fejes's play. Mari Törőcsik, a member of the National Theatre company, well known as a film actress, has a treble role: she is the mother of the writer, of Margit Cserepes, and the woman who comes and does for the writer as well. These three roles offer her the chance to act out different characters and situations: she is old and young, obstinate and resigned, she understands everything and nothing. Her incessant transformations, her wide range of emotions, her dramatic power and humour are much more than components of an outstanding performance: they are a theatrical miracle consciously built and controlled by a lucid artist.

Gyula Hernádi: The Royal Hunt

Gyula Hernádi is much better known as the author of the scripts of Miklós Jancsó's memorable films. He is at the same time a novelist with an exceptional imagination and an experienced playwright well versed in the world of ideological conflicts and political confrontations. A theatre season without a new Hernádi play is rare, one usually finds them at the National Theatre of Pécs.

This season's Hernádi is in the repertory of the Pesti Theatre. It is a historical play, or rather a costume piece since, although it evokes some well-known historical figures, its plot is mostly fictitious. The heroes are the last Habsburg Emperor, Charles I, King Charles IV of Hungary, and his wife, Zita. The time is 1921, the scene is Hungary, the estates of Count Erdődy. The august couple are expected to take part in hunting. They turn up but without luxury and pomp as befits a monarch without a throne. Erdődy's men discover the newcomers but do not recognize them; they believe them to be Horthy's spies and shoot them right then and there. With the king murdered the royalist Erdődy's plans to restore them to their position are doomed to failure, so he decides to conceal what happened and to find substitutes. He remembers János Schrei, an official, and Éva Aldobói, a dancer, who are the living image of the king and queen. They are brought to Erdődy's estate and trained for their role. The young man rumoured to be a communist is at the mercy of his captors and dares not resist. The girl can realize her dreams of becoming an actress in this big costume role. Erdődy has pondered and calculated everything from every angle, he has forgotten only one thing: that his puppets in royal disguise will for a time dance to the count's piping, and then break their chains. Charles who had tried to get his throne back in 1920 starts out again in Hernádi's play. The comeback of the royal puppets manipulated to life fails, their followers are defeated in the "battle of Budaörs", a Budapest suburb. The social and ideological message of the lively, brisk and tense play is clear: Hernádi, as in his earlier, parable-plays, analyses the mechanism of power and the methods of manipulation. But his methods have changed: the plot has become more important, it develops more quickly, and the dramatic use of clever ideas so characteristic of Hernádi has matured in a structure where now situations are more striking and the turns more surprising. The structure of "The Royal Hunt" has learned much from the dramatic practice of Ferenc Molnár but the sharp sentences and explosively tense situations make me think of Priestley. Hernádi has filled the framework of the ever-bizarre situation based on role-playing and role-changing with psychological ingenuity. Members of the public know the secret and watch the characters with excitement. The couple's adventures are thrilling and mysterious, the dialogue brilliant and the atmosphere in the theatre splendid. The public realizes only afterwards that this historical thriller intended as a criticism of manipulation has offered only well-known truths, at best in a more enjoyable form than earlier. Instead of real characters we see again socially determined figures who fulfil their function excellently. True, these figures are in their place, their dialogues are to the point, accurate and witty.

László Marton in his direction neither tried to blow up Hernádi's play into Shakespeare nor did he paint it with the colours of a historical tableau. He took the play at its face value, he understood it as well-constructed, elegant theatre, and he moved the clockwork accordingly. Theatre within the theatre, the acting of alter egos ensures success everywhere. The acerbity of Ildikó Bánsági and Géza Tordy, grown from romantic lead to maturity as a character actor, earned well-merited applause. The cast had another interesting feature, the comeback of Sándor Szabó, a fine actor, who left the county in 1956 and spent

twenty years in the US. His last role before leaving had been Cyrano; now he proved his unchanged talent as Count Erdődy, the aged royalist manipulator.

Tibor Gyurkovics: God is no Gambler

"A teacher-priest took his pupils potholing on New Year's Eve. Three 17-year-old boys died. He was brought to trial, and given a suspended sentence of three years on three counts of causing death by negligence. The following summer the teacher went rowing on Lake Balaton with a 17-year-old girl student: the girl dived into the lake and disappeared. He could not save her because of high seas; neither could he row to his starting-point, so he rowed to the opposite shore in the knowledge that the girl has drowned. The court sentenced the teacher to a total of six years hard labour..."

This is how Tibor Gyurkovics, psychologist, poet and playwright summed up actual events, not the contents and plot of his latest play but the real story still well-remembered by Hungarian newspaper readers. These events served as a basis for his novel "God is no Gambler," published in 1973 and for his play by the same title.

Gyurkovics, in fact, did not content himself with the reconstruction of events. His play is not set in the cave or the boat, it takes place much later, after the tragedies, in the hour of reckoning. The trial at which Gyurkovics allots us the role of witnesses is not in court but "on the stage of the soul." Simon Engelhardt, the respected, beloved teacher-priest worshipped by his pupils, has taught them to act, take risks and do something with their life instead of vegetating in a monotonous and inactive existence: now he fights not only with the judge but also with a different ideal of life. In the course of the interrogation on stage they go beyond events and light is thrown on the abysses and different principles of life behind them. Is a teacher guilty who, after thorough training, chose a test well within the boys' capacity? Could he be innocent when his potentiated demands made tragic accidents likely? Is he answerable because he led his pupils into irresponsible adventures or is he above reproach because against the indifference of the living dead he has opted for action?

The stake of Gyurkovics's characters is very big, its impact reaches far beyond the gates of the denominational school. They must decide about the content of life, the meaning and limits of human action, the responsibility of love. It is to the playwright's credit that he lets his characters dispute freely, he makes no comments and adopts no position. He leaves it to us to decide the extent and nature of Simon Engelhardt's legal, educational and moral responsibility and the share in his guilt of those who, unlike him, could not and would not give tasks and targets to active and dynamic young people.

The theme, the story and the situation are extremely interesting. A few years ago a similarly outspoken dispute would not have been possible on the stage. In the play's sterile and yet spectacular world, like a laboratory built on strange mirror effects, the ideas sparkle on the highest degree of heat, and yet, the play makes no impact. Audiences are mildly bored because the dispute between the priest and judge is a pseudo-dispute. The priest, an impressive figure, a teacher of imposing stature, fights against a young, honest bureaucrat, an inexperienced judge who has neither personal weight nor a consistent ideology. True, he tells us several times that he is in possession of this ideology but, as he limits himself to labels and resounding banalities, he cannot convince us of the validity of what he believes in. The author has modelled a bold priest and gave him carefully chosen arguments but the magistrate has to fence with blunt swords and incomplete arguments. Therefore we feel that there is no

real conflict. The tragedy is over and the author and director have decided the dispute *a priori* (with a cast that emphasized the hierarchy of values of the characters).

Some modern museums exhibit mirror spaces like Béla Götz's décor where the multiplied pictures of realistic elements are composed in an artistic order. Imre Kerényi, the director, saw to it that his actors make full use of the extraordinary and impressive scenery. However, the Beckettian life-true suspended in the middle of the stage outwitted even him. The cast increased the unbalance of dramatic characterization: László Mensáros made Simon Engelhardt attractive and impressive. András Bálint in the role of the pig-headed magistrate had no chance against him.

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The Budapest theatres have, of course, a much richer repertory; these five new Hungarian plays are not all. Apart from classics which have maintained their place for years some new concepts have been tried out in the staging of several plays. The season's first Shakespeare was performed by the József Attila Theatre which produces one of his comedies every season. This year it was the turn of *Twelfth Night*. Károly Kazimir directed a Hungarian classic, Katona's *Bánk bán* in the Thália Theatre. His idea was much debated by the critics. The Madách Theatre is performing a new Hungarian adaptation of Gogol's *Dead Souls*. After Bulgakov and Adamov, Károly Szakonyi, the Hungarian playwright, put a Chichikov of our times on the stage with help from György Lengyel, the director. *The House of Bernarda Alba* gives a wonderful chance to the female members of the *Vígszínház* company. Edward Bond's *Bingo* with Iván Darvas as Shakespeare is also on at the Vígszínház. Neither of these earned good notices, some critics even argued that there was no point in putting on Bond's play but it seems that the public thought otherwise.

ANNA FÖLDES

THE GREAT TRAMCAR-TALE

(István Szabó: *Budapest Tales*)

I am gradually getting my thoughts into some sort of order after having seen István Szabó's new film. (He also made *Father*, *Love Film*, and *25*, *Fireman's Street*.) The experience is still very fresh and I need time to form an opinion.

In writing this I hope to set the impression of the film clear in my own mind and also to convey to the reader what the film is all about. I feel, though, that the title *Budapest Tales* is rather misleading, unless I have misunderstood the film, of course, but what am I to do then? I can only rely on my own judgement. The tramcar, which is found overturned on an unknown riverfront near a large Hungarian town after the Second World War, to my mind symbolizes a new beginning. The men and women who, after much exertion, set the tramcar on its wheels and roll it onto the rusty rails, appear at the dawn of a new era. This large town could be Budapest, but to me (and this is what I find very appealing about the film) it could quite conceivably be any other European town, because the actual town which is the passengers' destination never actually appears in any of the shots. This is may main objection to the title: our tramcar trundles along through forests, hills and open fields towards its unknown destination, a certain fictional town. Therefore the town itself is also a symbol, which

the passengers and later residents only have a very vague idea of.

But then why was the title *Budapest Tales* chosen? And why tales, when the film only deals with one story?

Szabó's *Father* (1966) was also about an abandoned tramcar, and young people were pushing it along the trackway, decorating it with leaves and branches whilst chanting. It pleases me that here the tramcar has acquired a complete history, as opposed to its more ephemeral role in *Father* and tells the story of a new civilization. If I choose to interpret it in this way, then I can go one step further and consider the grim thought of what might happen if the cosmonauts of a far-distant planet landing on an earth which has been afflicted by a cosmic catastrophe or a war would find no other indication of earthly existence other than István Szabó's film which has been kept in an atomic proof leaden tube sheathed in cement? The alien space-visitors would doubtless eagerly watch the picture from start to finish, hoping to find out something about us, the ones who perished.

The symbols of the tramcar-tale would not be foreign to them. They would regard the tramcar as a spacecraft and the odd creatures travelling, living, breedings and warring in it as spacemen. In the course of time they would even decode the language, although this would not interest them particularly. The message that they would take pains to unravel from the relationship of the tramcar and the two-legged, two-armed creatures would be the mythological aspect which is latent in the story. They would figure out that the distance traversed in space by the tramcar and the peculiar creatures, and the time elapsed, as not being real time and space. According to our notions they would perhaps categorize these dimensions as being historical space and time.

Then they would turn their attention to the events in the tale.

They would equate the rickety tramcar as it sets off on the riverbank with their own ambitions. They would reckon that the intelligent race inhabiting this place also wanted to reach some other world, which they have strangely called "a town". But if they are intelligent creatures, why did they commence a space-trip lasting for decades in a tramcar? The scientists of the aliens would be able to find no other way to resolve this contradiction than to say that it was most likely for sheer sport that the earthlings named a shaky tramcar a spaceship, just as a child pretends that a worthless saucepan is a train or a ship. And reckoning thus they would perceive that, in point of fact, they are reading a visual poem. This would delight them (just as I was delighted too), for let us surmise that on their planet all poetry is very popular. They would think that if the tramcar is to be taken as a symbol, then anything else could too, such as an aeroplane, a train, a rocket, and its time and space aspect could be transferred from the micro-cosmic situation of the earth out into the cosmos itself. They would start to wonder what was more important, the tramcar or the creatures living and struggling in it? They would observe that sometimes the passengers are not, by any means, as important as the machine which transports then. They would also note that at times the passengers like and at other times they abhor their conveyance. Thus they would come to the conclusion that the tramcar is in fact nothing more than the self-projection of the travellers, that eventually there is nothing but the tramcar, and the passengers simply not worth dealing with. However, let us look at the situation chronologically—they would deduct that the route of the tramcar has different stages, which are always caused by changing conditions among the creatures.

In the beginning, when there are still only a few people to push and enjoy themselves on the tramcar, there is no one

to give any orders and, everyone voluntarily works towards advancing the cause, i.e. to get the tramcar moving (without electricity). However, when more of them gather together, a learned man with glasses (some sort of doctor) becomes their leader. He is a refined person but lacks the qualities that make a leader. He also admits the neighbourhoud's war casualties into the company of the tramcar, so that their number is increased to an undesirable degree resulting in scuffles. Thus the congestion breeds a veritable new war and there is much conflicting of wills. The new occupants are driven out and everything could go an as before, but the former occupants follow the leader, the guileless intellectual, and on one occasion when he goes into the forest, they beat him to death and hang him. For a while an artist is their chief, but once, when they come to a gap in the railway line, he lies down on the gap to secure a tree-trunk to enable the tramcar to proceed, but it is shunted over him and the weight squashes him. His girl-friend attempts to commit suicide because of this but she is cut down from the rope she tries to hang herself with but loses her sight due to the shock. The others do not even mention the death of the painter. They go on their way under a new leader, a furious soldier. However, the occupants of the tramcar, used to a different, more civilized way of life, will simply have none of this, and they beat up the little soldier and drive him into the forest. In the meantime it has begun to snow, and there is a terrible conflagration threatening the tramcar: the entire construction has to be re-painted. Then it seems that its route has come to an end, for when they came to another river the rails stop. They cannot go further by tram so the occupants go on their way without the tramcar, taking to a raft. But a terrible cloudburst makes then think again; a worker suggests that they had best go back to the good old tramcar, dismantle it, take it across the water piece by piece and reassemble it in the new country. This they do, and under the guidance of the wise, sedulous and skilful technician everything turns out all right. The babies of the lovers, born in the meantime, grow up and even get to the oft-mentioned *tram-depot*, but they still have to continue on their way. At length, before coming to the town, they find themselves face to face with groups of similar tramcars, all of which have been rolled there from other regions, by other earnest people such as themselves.

So this was the desired aim, the unknown cosmonauts might say to one another—not one tramcar, but many tramcars. And with this they would at once begin to understand the concept of the town: the town is the peaceful coming together of all the tramcars and their occupants.

I suspect it's possible that I, together with the cosmonauts, have misinterpreted István Szabó's message and the entire concept of his film. It may well be that the director's sole intention was to relate and interpret the events in Hungary after 1945. In this case I feel that his film contains both more and less than it ought to, for he has chosen to depict his subject-matter in an emblematic, mythical form, and this is what I particularly like. I also admired the way in which the protagonists are not endowed with names: they are not central, individual characters but a group, a part of a whole. More notable men and women are called by names which reflected their deeds. Thus István Szabó is an advocate of an active and functional way of life. For whether he intended to provide a history lesson or a philosophy concerning society at large, he ought perhaps to have included greater extremes, to have given himself more freedom in which to move.

Or could it be that my expectations differed from his intention? I expected a free, conceptual experiment from such a film and he may have wished to record visually his experience of thirty years. However the case may be, the former would

have been more satisfying to me, and to others as well. As he has restrained his "poetry" with realism, I feel that he has neglected to depict the actual conflicts of the period in question; not to mention the fact that his film—since it has successfully freed itself from the constraints of time and space—could have been, with more effort, a prophetic dream of the future—a Utopia. For this is perhaps the description that fits the film best. But then it should reach more into the future. The story, however, is a tale of the past and does not extend into the future.

This does not in any way detract from the value of Szabó's film, which tries to depict a comprehensive subject. The value of the work, however, is unquestionably diminished by his solution. This is partly because truth and reality do not harmonize with beauty, to be more precise, this film is more beautiful visually than it is thought-provoking. This I deplore, for I left the film feeling that the whole thing could have been more extensive. The cameraman Sándor Sára was on an equal footing with his director. For the tramcar that Szabó feels most attracted to is the one which Sára has in the first few frames emphasized. Imprinted on my memory is the image of this resurrected tramcar, symbol of optimism, making its way through the valley in the heavy snowfall, with the young man waving on top of it and adding to the tension, as it rolls along towards the unknown. During the course of time—days, nights, seasons, years—the tramcar is beginning to take on the aspect of a living being, like a prehistoric mammoth, which has protected man from frost, rain and attack by other creatures.

They identify themselves more and more with the tramcar to such a degree as a nomad becomes one with his horse. And when upon reaching the river I see the tramcar, ruined, deserted and unusable, I can rejoice at the sight of the restored tramcar, trundling onward, its passengers travelling in it trustingly. For there are societies that are like the tramcar which is a discarded, pokey and rust-eaten phantasm. This, however, is somehow missing from the film; István Szabó, once he had decided to give us a piece of history, ought to have considered this and brought his characters more in touch with the more morbid aspects, since our century abounds in them, as does the film industry.

On coming out of the cinema bewildered after having seen the *Lord of the Flies*, which is being shown at the Film Museum in Budapest, I heard a middle-aged woman burst out indignantly: "What a child-corrupting film! And what's more, it has no historical foundation whatsoever."

Maybe this lady belonged to the group of astronauts from the distant planet as well. Golding, or rather the director, Peter Brook, are, by all accounts, not such naive earthlings as the indignant lady. Indeed, it was on far too historical foundations that the experiment with the English boys, stranded on an island, was carried out. It was not until they were rescued that the carnage and savageness was forestalled. It is a distressing film, confronting one with an actual possibility; a film impelling one to be pertinacious, optimistic and ready to fight. For it is not where ideal conditions prevail that these qualities, rather scarcer in our century, are required, but in places like Brook's grisly island.

Brook's film, like Szabó's, is a social and philosophical formula. Both are apologues for the benefit of adults. I could not even say that I prefer one rather than the other: Brook's film is dramatic, whilst István Szabó's is poetic.

But I keep racking my brains as to what could be the reason for the staggering effect which the *Lord of the Flies* had on me, confirming my social and moral aspirations, while *Budapest Tales* awoke within me a whole range of uncertainties, a feeling of a lack in thought and a certain disappointment. It occurs to me that it was

perhaps precisely the poetic metaphor of the tramcar which was so spat on, that in the end it baffled István Szabó. It may have appeared natural and simple to him, just as it did to me, that he merely had to follow the route of the tramcar to be able to unfold all that is relevant to our society. And in the meantime he forgot about the appalling difficulties that obstruct the way of this "tramcar" society. As I see it, the real adversary: Satan, the sorceress, or the seven-headed monster is missing from the historical apologue. It is not through the battles which jeopardize and question its very existence, but through an inner development that the tramcar community finally attains to its goal. This is the reason why it is not actually itself that is transformed from time to time, only the replacement of its leaders being recreated. Not that these leaders are able to split this little community into two camps with the killing of one, the self-sacrifice of the other, the driving away of the third, and finally the fitting victory of the fourth is adequate for our group to steer its tramcar adroitly along the road of life. Thus according to István Szabó the potentiality and duty of a society is to preserve, promote and be loyal to itself and its means of attainment. The proper leaders displaying this loyalty and persistance will be found from time to time. The most essential thing is faith in the tramcar, the belief that thereby we can reach the town, working together with other societies in order to attain the goal. Thus the tramcar is the totem-pole of this small ethnic tribe, and the totem is a natural power; it is invincible, while it exists nothing can destroy the tribe.

Upon reaching this point in my reflections, I am able to understand István Szabó's teleological view of history, even if I do not agree with him. Only one question remains and that is whether the intention of the director was really the same as that which I have tried to unravel the meaning of. This very fine film speaks in its own language of visual poetic metaphors.

JÓZSEF TORNAI

ECONOMIC LIFE

KÁROLY RAVASZ

THE EAST–WEST TRADE SITUATION

It may be futile to speculate as to what constitutes the natural size or the natural pattern of trade between countries or regions. Without any desire of going into the merits or demerits of various theories of external trade, it has to be remembered that since time immemorial not only has trade been influenced by a variety of political measures, such as protection, but also comparative factors of production themselves by governmentin tervention, which either hindered or furthered production in certain areas. The distortions which were brought about in the flow of trade in Europe, mainly in the first half of the '50s, were not new in this respect. If it is not possible to speak of natural and unnatural trade patterns, two comments are nevertheless worth making:

—At the time of the Atlantic Charter, declarations were made to the effect that in the post-war period the earlier national "beggar your neighbour" policies would be abandoned. Certain steps taken after the war (e.g. the Havana Charter) raised hopes that this would not remain a pious wish, and certain progress has indeed been made in this respect.

—It is not to be assumed that with the progress that has been made in the last decade—and which will be illustrated by figures—the "beggar your neighbour" policy is necessarily something that belongs to the past. Even if there are no "natural" patterns of trade, when trade in a certain commodity between two countries, which looks back to an unbroken history of seven centuries, is suddenly stopped by decree—and this was what happened to Hungarian cattle and beef exports to Italy—one cannot help feeling that something "unnatural" is happening.

If the Common Market can sometimes take measures which appear to the outsider to be unnatural, this does not, of course, mean that economic integrations represent an unnatural development. They are natural consequences of technical progress, of the scale of economical production outstripping the absorption capacity of individual national markets, etc. The Council of Mutual Economic Assistance is an integration brought about by such phenomena.

The Complex Programme of CMEA, adopted in 1971, gave an impetus to the acceleration of technical progress, the rearrangement of the production structure, the introduction of intensive methods, the raising of economic efficiency and the emphasis on the qualitative aspects of the economy. The 30th session of the Council, held in Berlin on July 7–9, 1976,* took stock of the progress achieved since 1971 and found, among other things, that between 1971 and 1975:

Text of a paper read at the Management Center, Europe of the East–West Trade Conference in Brussels, October 27, 1976.

—the combined national income of the member countries rose by 36 per cent, corresponding to an annual average of 6.3 per cent;

—the productivity of labour increased by 30 per cent, and covered between 63–100 per cent of the growth of national income in the various member countries;

—industrial production grew by an average annual 7.7 per cent;

—in spite of the extremely unfavourable weather conditions of certain years, total agricultural production in these five years increased by 14 per cent compared to the preceding five years;

—investments increased by 46 per cent, an annual average of 7.9 per cent. The reason that investments rose faster than industrial production was the increasing emphasis laid on the development of the infrastructure. It should be noted that the annual average growth of 7.9 per cent covers large differences between member nations, Poland with 18.4 and the German Democratic Republic with 4.2 per cent being at the two extremes;

—the newly established International Investment Bank provided 2.900 million roubles for 40 large projects;

—trade among member countries was almost doubled in these five years and amounted, in 1975, to more than 70,000 million roubles, representing 60 per cent of the total trade of CMEA countries. The above figures are totals for the CMEA. It must not, however, be overlooked that the Soviet Union alone accounts for approximately 70 per cent of the total CMEA industrial and agricultural output.

CMEA economic integration is based on the reconciliation of the national economic plans. The most advanced method is the elaboration of joint projects, which raises a number of novel questions of economic science and methodology. The 30th session approved a number of 10–15-year projects in the main branches of the economy for the long-term co-ordination of economic developmental objectives, the rational concentration of resources. These projects are being elaborated by the Standing Committee on Planning in 1976–77. Out of the approved projects 30 refer to fuel and raw material production, 13 to engineering, 14 to agriculture and the food industries, and 8 to the production of consumer goods. The 1976–80 plan for multilateral scientific and technical co-operation covers 260 subjects.

The emphasis on quality means also that the quantitative growth targets for 1976–80 have somewhat been tempered, e.g. to 24–28 per cent in the Soviet Union and 27–29 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

The CMEA cannot be considered a closed economic bloc. The 30th Council session has again stressed the wish to cooperate with non-member nations and one of its resolutions set the objective of expanding economic relations with all countries of the world.

The growth of turnover

Before quoting figures for the growth and pattern of East-West trade, it is necessary to point out that these figures are not necessarily always fully consistent, due to the fact that in the various statistics "East" and "West" do not always cover exactly the same countries.

From a million dollars in 1953, East–West trade grew to 10,000 million in 1968, 17.000 million in 1971 and 50.000 million dollars in 1975. Trade between CMEA and EEC countries accounted for about half last figure. It is one of the most striking features of East-West trade that it continued growing even during the recent Western recession. While total world trade increased by but 4 per cent from 1974 to 1975, at current prices, trade between CMEA and OECD countries rose by 20 per cent, a five-fold difference. In actual volume, or at constant prices, world trade dropped

* On this subject see also Gyula Szekér's article in No. 65.

by 4 per cent and CMEA–OECD trade rose by 8–10 per cent. The Western recession was nevertheless reflected in East–West trading figures: OECD exports rose by 33 per cent, but the imports of OECD countries from CMEA countries by only 6 per cent. It is worth noting that within the growth rate of 33 per cent the EEC accounted for 23 and the USA for 95 per cent, while EEC imports from CMEA countries rose by 9 per cent and USA imports fell by 18 per cent.

In actual figures OECD exports to the CMEA countries amounted to 25.500 million dollars, and OECD imports from CMEA countries to 17.800 million. Of the Western exports of CMEA countries, the figure for the United Kingdom appears particularly low and the figures for Finland and Austria particularly high, as all three amounted to roughly 1.300 million dollars each.

Of the CMEA imports the Soviet Union accounted for 12,1, Poland for 5.4, Rumania for 2.0, Czechoslovakia for 1.9, Hungary for 1.8, the German Democratic Republic (not countring trade with the Federal Republic) 1.1 and Bulgaria 1.1 thousand million dollars. In CMEA exports to the OECD countries the Soviet Union was represented by 8.8, Poland by 3.2, Rumania 1.7, Czechoslovakia 1.6, Hungary 1.2, the German Democratic Republic 1.0 and Bulgaria by 0.4 thousand million dollars. As may be seen, all CMEA countries had a passive trading balance with the OECD, with a total negative balance of 7.5 thousand million dollars.

In 1975, in the exports of the EEC countries, the share of the socialist countries was 5.4 per cent and in OECD imports 3.8 per cent. This still appears to be a rather low figure, but some OECD countries have been doing much better. The respective percentages are: for West German exports 7.8, Japanese exports 8.4, Austrian exports 17.8, Finnish exports 24.2 per cent, for Japanese imports 5.2, Italian imports 5.4, Austrian imports 10.3, Finnish imports 20.1 per cent.

However, the growth of East–West trade from 1974 to 1975 has been very uneven. The Federal Republic of Germany, the largest Western trading partner of CMEA, increased her exports ot East European countries (not counting the GDR) by 10 per cent to DM17,000 million (while total exports declined by 4 per cent). This was three times as high as 1971 exports to Eastern Europe, increasing the East European share in West German exports from 4.3 to 7.9 per cent (10 per cent including the GDR). However, within this 10 per cent increase exports to Hungary dropped by 20 per cent, to Rumania by 12 per cent, to Poland by 11 per cent, to Czechoslovakia by 6 per cent (showing the efforts of these countries to redress their balance of trade), while West German exports to the Soviet Union continued to rise (by 45 per cent). In the first quarter of 1976 already West German imports from the Soviet Union grew faster (46 per cent) than her exports to the Soviet Union (33 per cent), total exports to the socialist countries rose by 12.2 and total imports from the socialist countries by 32.1 per cent as further proof of the efforts of the socialist countries to redress their balance of trade.

In 1975 France became the second largest Western trading partner of the CMEA, overtaking Italy and Japan, and registering a 63 per cent increase in exports to these countries. For the years 1976–80 France foresees a 2–3-fold growth in trade with the Soviet Union, a three-fold growth in trade with Poland, five-fold with Bulgaria and two-fold with Rumania. France has shown great imagination and a willingness to conclude long-term agreements, compensation deals, and accords favourable credits. A similar drive has been experienced on the part of Italy, some of the large Italian companies, like Montedison, Fiat, ENI, Finsider, Finmechanicca showing great enter prise. No doubt long-term contracts made

by these companies will be reflected in trading figures in the years to come. Incidentally, a doubling of West-German–Soviet trade is also foreseen for the 1976–80 period, with the expectation that by 1980 trade between these two largest trading partners in East and West respectively is to top DM. 20 billion.

Large projects and a long-term approach

The huge compensation, buyback and co-operation agreements will, of course, account for an increasing share of East–West trade in the future. Many large projects are known, and here in Brussels it may perhaps suffice to point out three major deals in which Belgian companies are engaged:

—purchase of one million tons of coking coal from Poland between 1977 and 1984 against metallurgical products and investment goods;

—supply of steel tubes to Poland at a value of one billion Belgian francs;

—erection of a 450,000-ton capacity fertilizer plant in Rumania, ready by 1978, to be financed by the World Bank.

By their very nature, many on the large East–West projects involve a time-lag between Western and the Eastern deliveries and must therefore, in the first years of their operation, adversely affect the balance of trade of the East European countries. However, this situation is not viewed with equanimity by the East European states and all their current five-year national economic plans refer to the aim of balancing trade and to the need to improve the quality and marketing of goods intended for Western markets. For instance, Hungary foresees a 30–32 per cent increase in national income for 1976–80 and a 60–70 per cent rise in exports to Western countries (at constant prices). The ratio of 1.8 per cent exports to one per cent GNP growth corresponds to the fifteen-year average of the EEC countries.

Just two examples of the long-term approach taken.

—The natural gas deal involving the Soviet Union, Iran, Czechoslovakia, Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany expires in 2003.

—The Secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe has prepared the first draft of the Overall Economic Perspective for Europe up to 1990.

Western restrictions

This long-term optimism must however necessarily be tinged by some trepidation if one looks at the present situation:

—The expectations that trade restrictions would be removed and provisions of GATT be generally applied to East–West trade have not been fulfilled.

—After the agreement between the EEC and EFTA, East European exporters to Western Europe must reckon with an average 7 per cent dispreference.

—A number of Western countries conduct an increasingly protectionist economic policy.

—The recession has affected East European exports to Western Europe rather heavily, due also to the existing unfavourable export structure of the East European countries, their major exports of semi-finished products and raw materials being highly sensitive to the business cycle.

—East European exporters of agricultural products are heavily affected by the EEC common agricultural policy.

—Even in the reputedly liberal Federal Republic, the import-promoting policies of which have been widely advertised, textile import quotas from the socialist countries were raised by only 6 per cent for 1976, which does not even allow for price rises (if the socialist countries do not go along with the rising prices, which they

are anyway forced to do, as they mostly process imported raw materials, they are accused of disrupting the market). One should remember that total textile import quotas from the socialist countries amount to DM 583.5 million, which is a ridiculous figure in the context of West German consumption.

—In January 1976 an obligation of preliminary consultation was introduced in the EEC for all cooperation agreements to be concluded with non-member states.

A first-class repayment record

Although the domestic political reasons for such measures are clear, they nevertheless show a certain short-sightedness, or a contradiction in purposes and intensions. How can one in the same breath complain about the growing indebtedness of Eastern Europe and restrict imports from those countries, unless one wants to deprive oneself of a market which has been a stabilizing factor?

No doubt, the recent increase of the importance of the East European export market has been due both to the rapid continuing growth of the East European economies, their demand for Western technology and consumer goods which was met by an increasing interest of Western suppliers in the East European market, due to a receding demand in their own traditional markets. The large investment projects and rising consumption in the East, the deteriorating terms of trade, recession and inflaction in the West had necessarily to lead to a growing imbalance of trade. The extent to which Eastern imports are covered by exports dropped from 87 to 70 per cent from 1974 to 1975. At the end of 1975 the Western indebtedness of the East European countries was estimated at 23–28 billion dollars, but some estimates put it as high as 32 billion dollars. Within this figure, the debt of the Soviet Union was estimated at 8–11, that of Poland at around 6, the GDR around 4, Rumania around 2 thousand million dollars, with Hungary's, Czechoslovakia's and Bulgaria's debt being under 2 billion dollars. The East European countries raised loans amounting to 2,496 million dollars on the Euro-market in 1975, including the Soviet Union (740), Poland (500) and the International Investment Bank (420 million). This represented 12 per cent of all Euro-loans, a percentage which rose in the first half year of 1976 to 14 per cent.

One quarter of the total debt of the socialist countries is to the Federal Republic of Germany, estimated at DM 22 billion in July 1976. The balance of payments surplus of the Federal Republic towards the socialist countries was DM1.9 thousand million in 1972 (not counting the GDR), 3.7 in 1972, 7.1 in 1974 and DM9.0 billion in 1975. This trend has changed in 1976, and this year will probably see a remarkable diminution in the surplus.

It is universally recognized that the socialist countries have been managing their finances responsibly, and have maintained a first-class repayment record.

The division of labour on an ongoing basis

What do the phenomena—positive and negative—which have been described, amount to? It has almost become a cliché that cooperation has replaced confrontation. But can one be sure that it has?

On June 22, 1976, at the OECD ministerial meeting in Paris, Dr. Kissinger proposed that the OECD nations adopt a work programme for developing objectives and approaches for their economic relations with the Communist countries. This was a surprise to most of the ministers present as until then the OECD had not been directly involved in any coordination of East–West trade policies. Dr. Kissinger

formulated seven questions and concluded by claiming that "pragmatic" methods applied to East–West trade would not be a detriment to trading, but an encouragement.

While any encouragement to East–West trade is to be welcomed, one wonders what "pragmatic" means in this context? Does it mean that East–West trade must not be guided by long-term, mutually agreed principles? Does it mean that the rules of the game should be changed all the time, as it suits one of the parties? Does it mean that the socialist countries should be accused of "dicrupting the market" whenever the West experienced an adverse business cycle?

This is not the CMEA view. As is well known, CMEA, at the beginning of this year, proposed to the EEC that relations between the two integrations be normalized. The proposals demonstrated great flexibility but have so far been left unanswered.

We consider that intensification of economic relations between the two parts of the world is an objective necessity. We do not hide the fact that, for the socialist countries, joining in world-wide economic relations has become an important element of their long-term programme of national development. CMEA wants improvements in commercial, economic and financial relations with the EEC, including also such subsidiary areas such as standardization, statistics and forecasts. The principle should be the division of labour on an ongoing basis. We are aware that this will lead to a certain account of mutual dependence, but I, for one, cannot understand why Western countries should be more afraid of this mutual dependence than we are, seeing that for some considerable time to come East–West trade will still necessarily represent a much lower share of their total trade than it does for East European countries. The socialist countries demonstrated in the past that they were quite capable of getting along on their own. I cannot believe that any responsible and reasonable person in the West should want such a test of strength again. But then it has to be realized and accepted that trade is a two-way street.

Cooperation

May I use the word "confrontation" in another context, and confront words with facts and figures? The future will after all be decided by what the two superpowers *do*. By 1975 trade with the developed capitalist countries has increased to 31.3 per cent of total Soviet trade. In this trade long-term cooperation has become the dominant factor, with ten-year agreements and huge compensation deals. By the end of 1975 the Soviet Union has concluded 200 co-operation agreements with Western firms. In 1976–80, 38 per cent of all Soviet-American trade will be covered by compensation deliveries. At present the Soviet Union already has more than fifty huge compensation agreements of the buyback type with Western firms. The Soviet Union has long-term trade agreements with eight West European countries, economic, industrial and technical cooperation agreements with 13 Western countries and long-term (15-year) development programme reconciled with eight Western countries.

At the beginning of this year 130 Western companies had offices in Moscow, and 70 in Warsaw.

All CMEA countries have already passed legislation permitting the establishment of offices by Western firms. Commercial centres to house them are being built in Moscow and in East Berlin. Twenty-three Western banks have offices in the Soviet Union, three in the German Democtaric Republic, two each in Hungary and Poland and one each in Bulgaria and Rumania. In the other direction, the Soviet Union operates 35 joint companies in Western Europe, and 10 per cent of all Polish exports to the West are handled by joint companies registered in Western countries.

The compensation and cooperation deals in the extractive and raw-material-producing industries are generally the domain where large corporations have an advantage. On the other hand, cooperation in finished investment and consumer goods, which also helps to balance trade, can assist the competitiveness of medium and small Western companies. According to the Economic Commission for Europe, 200–250 East–West cooperation agreements were concluded in 1975 alone, bringing their number to well above one thousand. In February 1976 the Austrian Federal Chamber of Commerce kept on record 140 co-operation agreements between Austrian and East European companies, including 78 with Hungarian, 25 with Yugoslav, 12 with Soviet, 10 with Polish, 9 with Bulgarian, 3 with Czechoslovak, 2 with Rumainan and one with G.D.R enterprises.

The facts and figures demonstrate convincingly that the future lies in economic cooperation between integrations, countries, and between individual firms and enterprises.

ERRATUM

A reference to G. I. Tunkin's "Questions of the Theory of International Law" in Peter Kulcsár's "The Helsinki Final Act and International Law" (No. 65, p. 112) has been mistranslated. The right text reads as follows: ". . . were 'newcomers' to international law and show no adequate interest in this uniform system by breaking it."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

Allow me to introduce myself to start with. I left Hungary already in 1945, in the company of my parents, since deceased. I worked in a factory in Cleveland for four years, then I served as a G.I. in the US forces and only after that was I able to continue and conclude my studies. A Fulbright scholarship took me to the University of Vienna in 1964–65, and I obtained a doctorate in Medievel European History from New York University. I have taught at this Texas university since 1967, first as instructor, appointed assistant professor and a member of the graduate faculty in 1968, then in 1972, I was appointed Associate Professor and given permanent tenure. I teach World History, Medieval English and Medieval and Renaissance-Reformation Age History. The university has an outstanding engineering, agricultural and veterinary faculty; the natural college is sound, and we are taking serious steps forward in the liberal arts. A fast growing library containing 1.1 million volumes is at the disposal of the 21,000 students.

The library subscribes to *NHQ* and I know from experience that it is read. In recent years numerous students have come to see me after lessons to discuss Eastern European cultural life: literature, painting, the theatre, etc. An article in *NHQ* frequently forms the basis of our conversation. We must pay tribute with genuine recognition to the magnificent work done by the editor and the editorial staff.

Zoltán Kosztolnyik
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas
U.S.A.

Sir,

Congratulations once again on the excellence of your Quarterly. I have, however, a special reason to write to you although I think it is likely that what I want to tell you about might not be suitable for publication.

I used to know Frederick Antal* and what is so poignant in my memory is that at the time when the Nazis took over in Berlin, i.e. early in 1933, I was doing some work in Berlin and visited Antal because of our mutual interest in Mannerism. He lived at that moment in a one-room flat in the West End, and what struck me straight away was that on the washstand there were any number of bottles and pills. He must have been a 'malade imaginaire'. But the other thing was that while I was with him the telephone rang several times, and on the other side there were friends of Antal who

* No. 62, The Legacy of Frigyes Antal, by Zoltán Halász

were inquiring whether he was still about, i.e. not yet arrested. He asked of course the same question back.

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner
Professor Emeritus
Birbeck College
University of London

Sir,

I have been regularly reading your journal for the past three years, and have preserved all issues. The material is interesting and informative. The interview with A. J. P. Taylor *(No. 61)* was very illuminatig. József Bognár in his article "Changes in the World Economy and Hungarian Economic Policy" *(No. 62)* has objectively analysed the changes in the world economy and its influence on the Hungarian economy. As an economist specialising in socialist economic affairs I would like to read more in your journal about the functioning of the Hungarian economy. We in India are familiar with the work of Dr. András Bródy and Dr. Béla Csikós-Nagy but no more. I would therefore suggest that *NHQ* publish summaries of good books (such as on the Hungarian economy, Hungarian economists' world, etc.) which are available only in Hungarian.

I understand Hungary has a well developed industry producing photographic materials and equipment. I would like to know something about the photographic industry in Hungary and the work of Hungarian photographers. Your journal has carried features on Hungarian sculpture, painting, poetry, literature, but not on photography.

Vinod K. Mehta
New Delhi
India

Sir,

I want to thank you for printing my article in *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. I appreciate so much that the article was printed as I wrote it, and not changed or abbreviated, as so often happens in our country.

I have already had a letter and a phone call about the article and hope that it will stimulate interest in Kodály's wonderful life work abroad.

Denise Bacon
Director
Kodály Musical Training Institute, Inc.
Wellesley, Massachusetts
USA

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

ACZÉL, György (b. 1917). Member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a Deputy Prime Minister. See his recent publications "Access to and Participation in Culture in a Socialist Community," No. 56, an interview with him by Jacques de Bonis, No. 60, "Reckoning with Reality," No. 62, and "Science Policy and Management," No. 64.

BOGNÁR, József (b. 1917). Economist, Member of Parliament, Heads the Research Institute on World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Editorial Board of, as well as a frequent contributor to, NHQ. See "Changes in the World Economy and Hungarian Economic Policy," No. 62, and "A New Civilization Model?" No. 63.

CSAPLÁR, Katalin. Educationalist, graduated from the University of Budapest in history and adult education. After graduation a librarian at the workers' club of the Goldberger Textile Mill and at the Budapest Municipal House of Culture, at present on the staff of the National Council to Promote Access to Culture. Contributes regularly to dailies and periodicals on various aspects of access to culture, including youth clubs, workers' clubs, etc.

DONÁTH, Ferenc (b. 1913). Agricultural economist, senior research fellow at the Economics Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Part I of his article appeared in No. 65.

FERENCZI, László (b. 1937). Literary historian, on the staff of the Institute of Literary History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Regularly reviews poetry for this journal.

FISCHER, Rudolf (b. 1923) Journalist and translator, on the staff of NHQ.

FÖLDES, Anna (b. 1931) Journalist, critic, on the staff of *Nők Lapja*, a weekly for women. Graduated in English and Hungarian from Budapest University. Has published two books on contemporary Hungarian fiction. See "The Survivors of the Holocaust," No. 64.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). Art historian, one of our regular critics.

HORVÁTH, György (b. 1941). Journalist, art critic, on the staff of *Magyar Nemzet*, a Budapest daily.

ILLYÉS, Gyula (b. 1912). Poet, playwright, essayist, Vice President of International PEN, an outstanding writer of great influence. See his poems in Nos. 33, 35, 46, 48, 56, as well as his various essays and articles in Nos. 47, 50, 63.

JUHÁSZ, Előd (b. 1938). Musicologist. Music editor at Radio Budapest, a frequent contributor to various reviews. Toured the United States as a Ford Foundation Scholar in 1966–1967. Works: "Gershwin", 1964; *Amerikai variációk* ("American Variations"), 1969. See his review of the Hungarian opera "Crime and Punishment," No. 39.

KÓSA, László (b. 1942). Ethnographer, specializing in traditional economic organizations. Graduated in Hungarian and Ethnography at the University of Budapest. On the staff of the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Main interests: regional cultures, national minorities and cultures in Eastern Europe. Has published four books on various subjects in the above fields.

MALINA, János (b. 1948). Mathematician. Graduated from the University of Budapest. At present studies musicology at the Budapest Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music.

MOTTRAM, Eric (b. 1924). Reader in American literature, King's College, University of London. Has lectured at numerous universities in North America, England and the continent of Europe, as well as the University of Malaya. Author of *The Penguin Companion to American Literature* (with Malcolm Bradbury.) A revised edition of *William Burroughs: The Algebra of Need* and *Paul Bowles: Staticity and Terror* are his most recent books of criticism. Has published a number of volumes of poems, besides editing *Poetry Review*, the journal of the National Poetry Centre, for the past five years.

NAGY, Ildikó. Art historian, graduated from the University of Budapest, on the staff of the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Her main field is 20th century sculpture. Published a book on András Kiss Nagy, 1975. See her article on the same sculptor in No. 64, as well as a book review in No. 65.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). Art historian, one of our regular art critics.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Professor of Musicology at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music; our regular music reviewer.

PINTÉR, Tamás (b. 1930). Journalist and author, on the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a Budapest literary weekly. Has published a volume of short stories and written some scripts for television.

POZSGAY, Imre (b. 1933). 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*, the Party's theoretical monthly. Does research in sociology, philosophy and aesthetics. See his "Philosophy and Social Development," No. 62.

PUJA, Frigyes (b. 1921). Minister for Foreign Affairs. Held various posts after the Second World War before becoming Minister to Sweden (1953–1955) and later to Austria (1955–1959). Between 1968 and 1973 First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs. His works include: *A békés egymás mellett élés problémái* ("The problems of peaceful coexistence,") 1967; *Szocialista külpolitika* ("Socialist foreign policies,") 1973. See in this journal: "European Security in the World Today," No. 57; "Thirty Years of Hungarian Foreign Policy," No. 59; "International Relations After Helsinki," No. 61, and "Extending Détente," No. 65.

RAVASZ, Károly (b. 1921). Economist. Manager of MAHIR, Hungarian Advertising Agency, and Marketing Manager of Intercooperation Ltd. A lawyer by training, who spent several years as a member of the Press Section of the Foreign Office and in the diplomatic service. 1962–1966 Director General of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce.

RÉNYI, Péter (b. 1920). Journalist, specializing in cultural affairs. Deputy Editor of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. See among recent contributions "Caring for Europe," No. 52, "Thirty Years to Change a Society," No. 58, and "The Art of Politics," on János Kádár's book, No. 62.

SÁNDOR, Anna. Economist, a researcher in Benelux-Eastern Europe economic relations, consultant to the Research Institute for World Economy of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Now married to a Dutch scholar, she lives in Amsterdam.

TAMÁS, István (b. 1933). Journalist, author, deputy head of the cultural section of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Grad-

uated in history from Budapest University. Published a volume of his diary sketches under the title *Tizenhárom hónap* ("Thirteen Months").

TORNAI, József (b. 1927). Poet, translator, our regular film reviewer.

ZÁDOR, Anna. Art historian, Professor (ret.) of Art History at Budapest University. Toured the US as guest lecturer at several universities in 1976. A member of the Editorial Board of this review. Among recent publications see "The English Garden in Hungary," No. 50.

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