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WINTER 1977

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY

MUSICAL LIFE

THEATRE AND FILM

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A BRIEF GUIDE FOR READERS

I should like to offer a brief guide for readers of this particular issue of the paper. It is of course a matter of indifference to an editor in which particular order his paper is read, as long as it is read. When one has however brougth out a paper for almost twenty years, having edited dailies, monthlies, periodicals of all sorts, for twice as long, one knows that only two people read a volume of this size from cover to cover: oneself, and the proof-reader. Others, particularly in the case of something coming from abroad, turn the pages, reading this or that, but not precisely what the editor, and his staff, and—when the paper is sent abroad—his compatriots, think the most important.

I therefore suggest a somewhat odd order. Perhaps you could start with the Review of Periodicals, the present survey, somewhat longer than usual, deals with questions of socialist democracy. Or else, if that appears to be too abstract, allow me, like Cicero, to write pro domo sua, or praise my own horse, as Gypsies do in the Hungarian saying. You might well start with "Freedom and equality around a Paris round-table." That journal of a journey deals with human rights, a subject which has been much discussed around the world lately, in the press and elsewhere. I went to Paris twice to discuss the freedom of the artist, the right to freedom, and to equality (which I consider has been shoved aside and neglected) because we discuss such things these days openly, and without showing irritation, and because I felt that it was worth arguing with French writers, journalists, philosophers, and sociologists as well.

This is essentially what the largest part of the present issue does, arguing about this major question of our time in a way that is typical of Hungary today. There is no shadow-boxing, other convictions and principles are reckoned with, and dealt with, endeavouring to put the Hungarian point of view.

Then perhaps, you will read the Review of Periodicals. As much space is devoted to it since it seemed that we have reached a stage where a thorough-

going analysis of certain basic terms is of particular importance and timeliness. Twenty years have passed since the changes of 1956, and a number of noteworthy articles try to describe the immediate past, looking at the present situation as well, and surveying future tasks. The review of periodicals essentially concentrates on the June and July 1977 issues of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical and political monthly of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). Though the titles of the articles naturally differ, they in fact all deal with socialist democracy, the most important question of the Hungarian present.

István Katona, the author of the first article discussed, is a member of the Central Committee and he now, following many years' service as editor of *Népszabadság*, the Party daily, heads the bureau of the Central Committee. His starting point is the national conference, in June 1957, of the reconstituted Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the first after the 1956 events. He describes the two-front political struggle on which the HSWP decided at the time, as well as its consequences and methods, and its characteristic working style which proved itself right to this day. What István Katona has to say about power and how it is exercised in practice, is sure to meet with considerable interest. He goes on from there to socialist democracy, more precisely to its further extension.

Sándor Lakos, who heads the Social Sciences Institute of the HSWP deals with this question in an article that shows all the characteristics of a scholarly paper. No question is left unanswered, and touchy problems are discussed by him as well, such as the multi-party system, the implementation of human rights, the birth of opposition views, and the present interpretation of the term dictatorship of the proletariat.

The third article surveyed by the Review of Periodicals is "Dictatorship of the proletariat—socialist democracy" by Bálint Szabó, a historian. The subtitle should not be neglected: "The moral to be drawn from Hungarian developments." If I were to try and describe that in a sentence or two, it would be like offering an aperitif to replace a dinner. Allow me to quote merely that: "the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually turned into that of the whole nation. The achievements of socialist democracy created favourable conditions for the fulfilment of socialist democracy."

What this means in practice, or I could say, how much this means in practice is told by a number of other articles in this issue. Imre Pozsgay's "Nation and Mankind" is the first in the paper, and should be read next. This is not really an article, but the text of an address given to an audience of several hundred. The Minister of Culture, who is himself typical of the

new Hungarian professional man, was born of peasant parents, and trained as a historian and sociologist, spoke to assembled professional people as if they had been sitting in a Budapest espresso or coffee shop, that is in a manner in which people, be they professionals or not, speak when they are in private company. It is customary in Hungary to do so critically, talking about each others business, or about politics and public life. There's more stress on the problem than on the result. That was the tone in which Imre Pozsgay spoke, opening a discussion. He did not read a text but spoke off the cuff, and what is published here is based on shorthand notes.

What he had to say met with considerable response. Some of his expressions have been oft-quoted since, both in speech and writing, such as "prudish Marxism," and "exaggerated consolidation."

I could say that the Szentendre Conference of Professional People was an example in the everyday practice of human rights.

They figured in a popular discussion programme on Hungarian television. János Hajdu is the initiator and moderator of International Studio. His contribution to this issue discusses a number of recent programmes, particularly the latest, on human rights, which was broadcast in May 1977. A part of the transcript of the latter is also published. Perhaps I ought to apologise for figuring in that as well. Not that I am some sort of half-baked specialist in human rights. Ever since I have used a pen professionally human rights have concerned me, also back in the 'thirties, as I mentioned on the air during the International Studio programme as well. As a member of the Village Research Movement, that memorable social and literary movement of the times, I was shocked not only by the misery of the field hands of large estates, but also by the humiliations they suffered, their defencelessness, and the fact that they had no rights to speak of.

The Hungarian television discussion on human rights met with a surprising response in the West. One of the participants, Jean Schwoebel, wrote an article for *Le Monde*, and they published a report by a correspondent based in Vienna as well. The French journalist watched in the company of a young man who had left Hungary early in the 'sixties. I'm quoting: "The Hungarian in Vienna cried out in astonishment: 'How did they dare to translate that sentence on television when Jean Schwoebel spoke about Eurocommunism, or when he asked why the socialist countries show irritation if one talks about human rights'." At the end of the broadcast the young man referred to as László said: "It beats me, all these things you can say in Hungary today."

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International Forum takes us to international affairs, to Hungary's international position, to that respect and prestige which, as one can tell from the world's press again and again, Hungary now enjoys. I cannot stress it too strongly that a sound international position is based on a sound position at home, on a correct policy-line, on socialist democracy, and the satisfaction of men. János Kádár's journeys to Western Europe, his visits to Vienna, Rome, the Vatican and Bonn, his negotiations with Bruno Kreisky, Giulio Andreotti, Pope Paul VI, Helmut Schmidt, and other political and economic leaders, could turn out successful because the leadership, as well as public opinion, respect not only János Kádár, but also the Hungarian socialist policies he embodies. The antecedents, difficulties and prospects of these journeys are discussed by Péter Rényi, Deputy Editor of *Népszabadság*, who accompanied Kádár to Western Germany, and who had interviewed Helmut Schmidt, his school-mate in Hamburg in the 'thirties for his paper.

János Kádár's journeys, after-dinner speeches, statements and answers at press conferences came to be at the forefront of international attention at a time when there was a great to-do in the Western press concerning the unity of working class parties and Eurocommunism. János Berecz, who heads the External Affairs Department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, discusses the dialectical interrelationship of this unity and the debate. Foreign observers have frequently referred to János Berecz's articles which appeared in Sunday issues of *Népszabadság* on June 30 and July 24. At the request of this paper the author worked the two articles into one. They both discuss that political position which has been characteristic of Hungarian foreign policy as regards Eurocommunism ever since this notion made its first appearance in the press.

The principle of peaceful coexistence is the fullest expression of this policy. Tibor Palánkai and Ferenc Szombathelyi sum up its practice, difficulties, reversals and prospects of development under the heading "Some aspects of Hungarian–British relations." Economic aspects of peaceful coexistence and détente are discussed by János Szita in his article on East–West cooperation. János Szita heads the International Economic Relations Secretariat of the Council of Ministers. He discusses in detail all the different phases in the development of trade, and displays all the factors that act as an incentive, or else put a brake on development. Economic relations are dealt with as well that are not part of commerce in the narrow sense of the term, and whose importance is growing from the aspect of cooperation in Europe. Szita's opinion the line laid down at Helsinki proved sound, but the furthering of East–West relations is so complex,

that the job can only be done at the price of great efforts. Stability is in the interest of both the socialist and the capitalist countries, and this can only be the fruit of détente. All this means the beginning of a new stage in relations between countries belonging to different socio-economic systems; This structural transformation in the world economy was discussed by József Bognár in NHQ 62.

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Having reached the back of the paper I should like to mention a film-review, "A man's calling." Our film-critic writes about the Balczó-film, much mentioned in recent months. Balczó is not the director, but the subject. Balczó is one of the most successful athletes of recent years, the greatest modern pentathlon champion of all times. Ferenc Kósa, an old friend and school-mate of Balczó's, the director of a number of successful films (Ten Thousand Suns, No Time, Heavy Snow) lets András Balczó talk for an hour and a half about his life and calling, his successes and disappointments, in fact about why and for whom he rode, shot, fenced, swam and ran. I have seen the film four times, first because I wanted to, and then three times with foreign friends. All three said at the end they would never have believed that such delicate problems and anxieties could be discussed so honestly and critically in Hungary.

Emese Nagy's article on recent excavations in Esztergom is an illustration of the way national traditions are honoured in practice. Esztergom was the seat of government in Hungary in the 10th and 11th centuries, Vajk, the son of Prince Géza, who later became Saint Stephen, King of Hungary, was born there. These are called "new" excavations at Esztergom, the chapel of the Royal Palace of the Kings of the House of Árpád, which is worthy of being mentioned in the company of French Romanesque buildings, as well as the royal chambers, having been excavated between the Wars. Present work delved deeper into the soil, and into time. The remnants of King Stephen's palace were found.

Some readers abroad might be astonished to find Sumerians in the NHQ. Géza Komoróczy's article explains its own reasons as well, telling of a comic, but far from insignificant debate. Hungarians in Western Europe and American Hungarians include scholars and pseudo-scholars who wish to trace back the origins of the Hungarian language to Sumerian. One reason for wishing to do so is an improper interpretation of national tradition. A relationship with Sumerian is meant to raise the status of the Hungarian language, and of the Hungarian nation. Komoróczy, a Sumerian

scholar with an international reputation proves decisively that the Hungarian Sumerian scholars in America are either bunglers or fakers.

A proper respect for national traditions, for folk values and international contacts, and an example of scholarship and popularizing working in tandem is given by the large, four-volume *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* (Encyclopaedia of Hungarian Ethnography) whose first volume, A—E, has just appeared. Professor Gyula Ortutay, the ethnologist, is in charge. We publish the preface of the work in this issue. The aim of Ortutay and his staff is to present Hungarian ethnographic material in an encyclopaedic way without neglecting historical or social aspects. The only entries of an international character are those with a reference to something Hungarian.

One of the most characteristically Hungarian features since time immemorial has been respect for literature, and as part of it, pride of place for poetry. Gyula Illyés, whom readers and critics alike consider a genuine living classic, celebrated his 75th birthday on November 1st this year. NHQ has often published poems as well as prose by Illyés. László Ferenczi establishes Illyés' place in the constellation of contemporary European literature. Improving English, French, Russian, German, and Italian translations ensure that Illyés, a national poet in the truest sense of that term, will occupy his proper place in the firmament of European literature still in his own lifetime.

Endre Illés, author and publisher, also turned seventy-five this year. His impact on Hungarian writing and writers is considerable. Both as a writer and publisher he stands for qualities that are important and increasingly rare: a crystal clarity of thought, meticulous judgement, and an elegance of style and formulation. Behind the carefully chiselled surface of his novels, plays, short stories, and essays, however, there is a suppressed, red-hot passion, also recognizable by all who know him in person, in his work as a publisher, who now heads the biggest publishing house in the country. For almost half a century now, Endre Illés has gone to battle every day to defend quality, to discover new talent, to refine publishing policies, and to educate the reading public in a thousand ingenious ways.

Professor László Országh, a member of our Editorial Board, who turned seventy this year, is a true bridge-builder between cultures, if there ever was one. His large English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English dictionaries, in constant daily use at this office, constitute but one, though quite certainly the most important, achievement of his scholarly life. They are literally full of subtle solutions: countless small bridges between two cul-

tures and languages that are so far apart. Anyone even faintly acquainted with Hungarian knows that even the approach to, the concept of, time and tenses differs from that of English—or any other Indo-European language, for that matter—not to mention the very different logic at work in an agglutinating and inflected language; or the translators' and lexicographers' nightmare: the vocabulary of the sea, shipping, sailing, marine life, etc., of which little exists in the language of land-locked Hungary. There is no greater praise of a dictionary than being able to say about it that it almost never happens that you turn to it without actually getting what you want, if not exactly that then at least a helpful suggestion.

Phyllis Gold Gluck, one of the two authors from abroad who appear in this number, teaches at City College in New York. She tries to establish the proper place and role of art education in big city life today. Mrs Gold Gluck, a painter herself, refers to a number of articles that have appeared in the NHQ. The other is Graham Petrie, a Canadian film-critic who argues against the position taken up by Professor O. W. Riegel in a three-part article published in NHQ 64–66.

Petrie disputes that Riegel properly recognised the reflection of Hungarian society in Hungarian films, and those features that distinguish Hungarian films from films made elsewhere. Without knowing it, or mentioning the term, the two North American authors themselves made a contribution to something that is peculiarly Hungarian.

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Tibor Déry, one of the major novelists of our time, died on August 18th 1977, in his 84th year. Readers will frequently have met his name in our almost twenty years of publication. Short stories by Déry have appeared in this journal, as have parts of his novels and chapters from his autobiography *No verdict*. His prose fiction published in the years we have been appearing, including Mr G. A. in X., The Excommunicator, Cher Beau-père, and many other volumes has always been noticed in our pages. In recent years we featured, on several occasions, short pieces Déry wrote for the literary press under the apposite title One day's flotsam.

More cannot be said for inclusion in the present issue. One of our next issues, as soon as translations can be arranged, will be largely devoted to Tibor Déry's memory. We want to print his own works in the first place, posthumous ones as well, if any are found.

THE EDITOR

NATION AND MANKIND

by

IMRE POZSGAY

Nation and mankind" is the subject of our meeting, and it would be a good thing to avoid commonplaces. We won't succeed, but we ought to try at least. Endre Ady, whose lines will deservedly be quoted by a great many more this year, said that if wisdom is delayed it's poets who are to blame. I don't think anybody here is likely to say, anything more beautiful about the artistic talent here today.

When examining the relationship between Hungary and humanity, one has to pay attention first of all to the events of the age, inquiring into their causes and antecedents.

Lost illusions or a new sense of reality?

A question might be whether we have come to an age of lost illusions or one in which we have discovered a sense of reality. Another question might be whether the greater anxiety is the danger of war or no longer finding our way in this rather chaotic world. Speaking rationally, the danger of war no doubt, but if we listen to our feelings, then we find it a cause of great anxiety that we cannot get our bearings in a world which is many respects is growing more and more chaotic. In the part of the world where we live, what causes anxiety is not the absence of a guiding idea, for we have one, tried and proven in practice, but the fact that so many in such huge territories live without purpose, or in a way that allows them to be misled easily, since they lack principles that can serve as guideposts to action. What troubles us is the confusion of others, the inability to find a way out shown by countries that are highly developed and civilized. Anxiety fed by chaotic conditions does not derive from inner uncertainties,

Introductory talk at the "Nation and Mankind" meeting held at Szentendre on May 24, 1977. For more on the meeting, see the Preface to this issue. — *The Ed.*

but follows from a knowledge that chaos screens the gathering of menacing forces which certainly have no doubts about their own aims.

The illusion of the nineteenth century that human relations are reasonable and can be kept in a well-arranged and accomplished order seems to have vanished. It is lost, but I think this loss does not matter. Although at first, and in the initial period, it was followed by pessimism and dispair, what is really important is that a world exists which can show humanity the way when it comes to action, ideas and ideals. This is a commonplace which I could not avoid.

Is the world fit for peace?

The next question might be whether the world is fit for peace, and whether we, Hungarians and Hungary, are fit to live in a peace-making world, according to our own ways. As long as in the world there was an undivided, homogeneous class system based on exploitation, wars including world wars were unavoidable. Since the two world systems came into being, with the October Revolution sixty years ago, there began the practical realization of an idea which, earlier, was only a distant promise. Since then one must reckon with the fact that wars, including world wars, can be eliminated. This has not been easy to recognize. Even twenty years ago we believed that we were living in a truce, that's all a provisional condition following the Second World War, and we thought of our fate, and our future, with fear.

Following sound analyses one can today reach the conviction that we hold the tools that will make it possible for war to be eliminated from human contacts. These tools are unfortunately the instruments of power. Peace is based on the power of weapons and only in the second place on political consideration and human wisdom. Peace depends on armaments, right now. This twins the balance of the world into something sensitive and delicate, and let me here say on this score only that differences between those in one or the other world system may exist with regard to circumstances of life, style of life and living standards. For a long time still there will be developed, civilized countries which may criticize us since we, the socialist nations, stand umpteenth on the list in respect of certain things and material goods supplied to people. But regardless of accusations we must accept that in the strength of arms we cannot be second to anyone. The socialist community must be one of the first two, and this is an enormous burden on humanity, also in that part of the world were we are

living. It is not we who have forced this state of things on anyone, and it is we who most wish of all to alter it for the good of all mankind.

As concerns the chances of peace a change of view has taken place in the past twenty years. Gyula Illyés, who is present at this conference, wrote in 1963: "Not so long ago world peace that new word characteristic of our age, . . . seemed to be a business of Europe only, or rather of the nations of the European tradition. We can see with our eyes . . . the vast extension of the notion . . . I think Easterners and Westerners alike have something to ask and answer each other . . . Restoring the proper weight of words, that is perfecting intellectual exchange, is—I am firmly convinced—the safest way of avoiding war."

It is evident therefore that one must make preparations not merely for European peace but for world peace, and in these preparations one has to use the intellectual forces beyond the guarantees based on military strength, and these intellectual forces will grow for our benefit.

The importance of Europe

If one takes such a look at the world, one might be asked: is Europe no longer important? Will Europe be a secondary scene of human conflicts and human progress? Europe continues to be very important to us, and the documents adopted at Helsinki have demonstrated that, although the world has expanded, peace is most important in Europe as well. It is good to know that there has been no war in Europe for thirty-two years.

However, Helsinki has not only served to avoid war, to maintain a Europe without war. It was a try as well at finding out how we can coexist on this highly civilized, highly developed, and not too big continent that has produced a great culture. Helsinki has been a test and trial showing whether we have it in us to live together. The trial is not easy. For a year now they have tested us to see whether we can stand our ground in keeping with the requirements of the Helsinki agreements. This struggle is painful and difficult. It is so painful for us because those who try to break our ranks and find fault with our system and political conditions are the same people who have never really understood the essence of Helsinki and its substance. It seems that our adversaries are aware that socialism is a true alternative to the capitalist system, a solution to the problems of man.

We Hungarian have a proportionately important role to play in international life. We have not claimed this role for ourselves, it has been given to us by the world, and we have to make the best of it. It follows from our

situation, from that complex world I mentioned, that the fate of nations today is no longer merely an object of great power negotiations. All nations have a voice, and a role in a growing and open world. The community of socialist countries, developing and strengthening, is an example fit to demonstrate that the possibility exists for countries of different magnitude to entertain relations in which they augment one another's opportunities and abilities without any one of them being compelled to give up their own national character. On the contrary, the national being of all of them finds fulfilment in this pooling of forces.

The role and responsibility of small countries have grown in recent years, but Hungarians do not want to use their situation to blackmail the world, as governments of some non-European small countries do, but we want to use our position and our role to influence the world in a *bona fide* way, because the world is vulnerable. Small groups can hold half a country and governments in terror, and small countries also can hold up the world if they mismanage their means, and use them for blackmail.

Hungary's role in the world

Hungary plays a positive role in the world. This role can be accepted with pride, with national consciousness, and patriotism. The world can be blackmailed, but publicity cannot be excluded. Let us just consider that barely half a century ago it was still possible to exterminate, in some jungle, as many people as live in Hungary, and the world took no notice. Today, if two hundred mercenaries debark somewhere, this becomes known to the world within a few hours. If there is something good about the way the mass media extend and open up the world, I think it is this permanent state of agitation.

Another closely related matter is the responsibility of science. If I wanted to formulate what I mean by this in a slogan, I would say: knowledge is unavoidable. There was a time when it was a matter of personal decision, depending on social standing, who it was who acquired what knowledge of the world. Today knowledge can be forced upon us, therefore one must know how to handle this knowledge in an age in which atomic bombs will soon be practically home-made devices.

We want a controlled world, not control by terror, but a sort of openness and publicity in which world affairs can be peacefully discussed by concentrating on progress. As regards knowledge this is the second problem which I should like to mention. Is progress still something of value, or has

it also become an out-of-date notion? The most diverse threatening phenomena are mentioned in this connection: ecological pessimism, the destruction of the environment, the exhaustion of raw material sources, etc. Yet I am ready to say that progress is necessary and it will be a value in the future, as well, a controlling value of our actions. It is unavoidable because humanity has certainly not solved its social problems and it is unavoidable because humanity has always solved its problems through knowledge and by being progressive.

Cultural foreign policy

The importance of intellectual weapons is growing in conditions of peaceful coexistence, knowledge is therefore absolutely necessary. This is one reason why there is so much talk of cultural exchange today, and of the free flow of ideas, a fact veiled by a variety of phraseologies. This explains why cultural foreign policy in our days has become so essential an element of policy-making in the intercourse of nations.

Cultural foreign policy, like any other foreign policy, is determined by the domestic policy of the country concerned. This is why we can profess, and undertake to pursue, an honest cultural foreign policy that does not damage the values of other peoples but is ready to integrate them, hoping that we as well will be able to show ourselves to the world, that the world recognizes the cultural, artistic and scientific values we produce and create.

Of course, owing to the divided nature of the world, our attitude must also be split on this question. Cultural foreign policy is characterized by contacts and cooperation with socialist countries. In relation to non-socialist countries, i.e. the capitalist world, and the developing nations, we support cultural interchange. What is the difference?—someone might ask. Is this not a sort of play on words? I think there is an essential difference, and this difference can be explained not only by social reasons. Our interdependence here in Eastern Europe, in the socialist world, is greater and more direct, and consequently the interest we take in one another is also greater. Not ideological and political reason prompts us, when we proclaim contacts and cooperation in cultural matters with the socialist countries, but the understanding that this is the part of the world where others can most easily and most quickly get to know us, because they are interested in knowing us, and the interest they show in our affairs is no mere window-dressing. We Hungarians as well are guided by sincere intentions when becoming acquainted with the culture of nations travelling along the same road.

Of course, cultural and artistic interchanges with the capitalist world are likewise and in the first place, profitable. They are profitable, yet they very often imply one-side relations. A ready receptivity is not reciprocated by capitalist countries. One often has to mention the lack of reciprocity or mutuality in cultural exchanges with capitalist countries. We accuse those governments which, though they signed the Helsinki peace instrument and though they showed themselves ready to cooperate even to interfere in the affairs of our countries, not always with good intentions, they are unwilling in practice, in reality, to receive our cultural goods. Those governments often refer to the limitations of their social system, arguing that cultural exchange and the communication of cultural goods are the business of private enterprise, that the government has no way of influencing this traffic.

This is naturally not quite true in that way, and is contradicted by considerable experience. But it is true that it is their wont to use this argument, or offer this explanation, when we put in a claim for the presence of our cultural values in their countries. But this has been said so often, let me not say any more, let me mention instead that our own clumsiness is also responsible for opportunities left unused. Our enterprises, institutions in charge of organizing cultural contacts, bodies set up to arrange cultural exchanges, have certainly not satisfied requirements and have not in the least familiarized themselves with our possibilities. This subject therefore has to be discussed showing self-criticism.

In speaking of our presence in the world I said that the socialist countries are very important to us also because—in view of mutual interests—it is easiest to present our cultural and artistic goods there. In the Soviet Union, for example, each Hungarian film attracts fourteen million spectators. In the Soviet Union more people go to see Hungarian films than all the world over, including Hungary. Every year 35 to 40 Hungarian literary works are published in the Soviet Union in hundreds of thousands of copies. The poems of Petőfi have passed their fortieth edition.

János Kádár said in Helsinki: "Hungarian society regards all genuine human cultural values as its own. We turn universal human culture into public property in practice when we publish, in large editions, the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Molière, Tolstoy, Goethe and other great writers and poets, or when we produce their plays. The values of Western culture are accessible to all."

I should like to quote a few figures in support of this. In Hungary, between 1945 and 1974, for example, more than 18 million copies were printed of 722 works of fiction, poetry etc. by U.S. authors. In the same

period, 946 works by English authors were published in 22.5 million copies, 1,346 by French authors in over 33.5 million copies, 238 by Italian authors in 4 million copies. At the same time the number of Hungarian literary works printed or plays produced in a capitalist country is one, two or three a year, or ten, fifteen or twenty on a five-year average; very little even bearing in mind differences in size.

Things look better in respect of Hungarian music and fine arts exhibitions. I stress music in particular. In Hungary this is the only art which is in equilibrium in interchange. This, of course, does not mean a classification of the arts or an order of values, but is meant to call attention also to the more favourable position of music as a medium of communication. There is no doubt however that the main reason is that Hungarian music is outstanding, and the road ahead was pioneered by geniuses such as Bartók and Kodály.

Reciprocity is what is true of optimal contact between two countries. I do not think, or am I at all certain that contact with the English, French or German culture or that of other nations can be maintained only on the basis of absolute reciprocity. I do not think that reciprocity should be the only guiding principle, since in that case we would deprive ourselves of magnificent works and would upgrade ourselves in fields where we have not produced anything really outstanding. But there is politics in the fact that the works of Hungarians do not reach Western readers, film fans, concert goers and art lovers in the quantity deserved. Hungarian literature, plays, films, paintings, sculpture etc. are not present in the world in proportion to their merits and value. I can say this with good reason, and a recognition, I repeat, that we also could do more about it, is part of this.

Conditio Hungariae

Can we, then, show ourselves to the world? Of course we can, but we have to take certain measures to become better known. Are we fit for this presence? A few words should be said of the social aspects. One should mention the state of Hungary. If I were speaking in the Age of Reform, I would say *Conditio Hungariae* in Latin, and we would examine where we live, whether we are clear in our own minds, whether we seek our place in possession of developed self-knowledge or whether we hesitate, not being fully aware of ourselves either.

I think that Hungary, the ten million and a half people who live in it and the Hungarian beyond the frontiers know their place, they are aware

of our social conditions, of our general situation, and consciously undertake to play their part in the world, though not always without confusion and not consciously undertake to play their part in the world, though not always without confusion and not always without trouble. Many are troubled, first of all, by exaggerated consolidation. True, the time of big campaigns and coincident tensions is over and they have been transformed into millions of minute tensions and micro-conflicts which have grown out of the tensions which must have been and indeed had been the motive forces of major undertakings such as the socialist reorganization of agriculture or the reform of economic management. Just because the time of these big undertakings, of periods producing great pressing contradictions, is over, consolidation may cause certain political confusion in human contacts, in coexistence. Social conditions have progressed, have moved forward, not backward, but saying this just like that when hundreds of thousands, possibly millions, of people feel that their position and sense of well-being have deterioriated—not because they find it more difficult to get hold of, but because they cannot find their place in society—really gives food for thought.

A five year debate

Much talk and argument has centred on this fact for five years now. What else could explain, for example, the lively debate in this country on the condition and the role of the working class, and the clarification of its leading role. It is good that such a debate took place, it is good that it was about the powerful host of direct producers, about that working class which guides society and holds political power; it is a pity that, like other debates, this also was somewhat cloudy, carrying secondary meanings as well. Among those with axes to grind were some to whom the interests of the working class were not at all important. It is a good thing that we wanted to clarify the condition, social role and function of the most important class, but it troubled us a little that incidentally we exalted a social class, passing over its internal contradictions, and other social classes and groups could interpret this as their own downgrading. This was of no use to general feeling, of no use to social consciousness, or public thinking. But the debate was useful, for we talked about a class to which reference is made in every political action, in every undertaking, and it cannot be a matter of secondary importance how the condition of this class takes shape and how the public thinks about it.

In this connection there was a debate on the generation issue, though in

a none too wide circle, and before a none too vast public. A debate in which it proved possible to clarify something, but it was not clarified sufficiently. Marxists say that the struggle between generations does not keep history on the move. This is true. Whether somebody is young or old is a biological and psychological question and concerns one's state of mind, and is not a question of the class struggle. But whether somebody belongs to the young generation or to an older generation is no longer a socially indifferent issue. This will have to be discussed so that no partition wall is erected and no ditch is dug between generations, so that a readiness for cooperation evolves. The guiding principle of every such debate must not be suspicion but a feeling of interdependence.

A debate about the condition of the economy also took place. It touched on everyday life, as it affected living conditions, and therefore every thinking Hungarian citizen, though perhaps not in this form, asked himself whether the economic organizations and instruments are efficient enough and fit to take Hungarian society to the stage of developed socialism.

There was much talk of the conditions of Hungarian economic growth—and the socialist relations concentrated in it. There was much justified praise. But I should like to add that our economic organizations are not efficient enough today, they are not yet prepared to satisfy a people making the demand of a developed socialist society. Not much was said of the man-moulding power of economic organizations, and this may affect us who produce no material goods, who try to create intellectual values. We are deeply concerned about whether or not the man-moulding power of economic organizations exists, whether it has reached a standard the people of a socialist country can expect in the second half of the twentieth century.

In these organizations social relations take shape which we have striven after and fought for, but their degree of efficiency is often insufficient. We ought to achieve at last, for humanitarian reasons, that economic organizations which enable people to earn their daily bread—and achieve more and more leisure—according to their work and ability, should become general. If an economic organization can achieve this minimum, this moral minimum, in its internal organization and efficiency, then one can say that the economic bodies are man-moulding institutions as well. Luckily there is an increasing number of those which fulfil these requirements.

What is most conspicuous, and what interests us most, are, of course, the political conditions, the general situation built upon them. Since socialism has come into being, politics fills an exceptional role in managing human relations, in establishing or cutting contacts.

Politics is always of great interest in socialism, in the whole world and,

indirectly, in everyday life. For this very reason the political leadership, which is the most direct representative of power and interests, is exposed to a great deal of temptation. It is tempted to doubt itself, to govern with a bad conscience, to feel that government is a burden when there are debates, when there is no consensus, when conflicts are raging. But politics may be tempted also to extend its authority beyond its effective range of action, because people want order, they want to find their way, they want predictable conditions, and they look to politics as if politics offered a panacea for all kinds of troubles, and for everybody's. Things are at their worst when politics believes all this to be true of itself, when it believes that it possesses this ability; and it slides into the bogs, extending its influence or presumed influence, over an area where it ultimately loses confidence, impairing its efficiency, and its own abilities.

The politician and politics sometimes have to move along a very narrow path, yet they have to move, to organize progress and human contacts, to reconcile, confront and separate interests. The essence of debates is also instructive and interesting in this respect. I already mentioned a debate when, in speaking of the working class, I said that it was a good thing to engage in an emphatic discussion about a social class in whose name the governing of the country is done, but it is no good when there are some who want to vindicate their private interests or small groups which intend to satisfy their own political ambitions and to have them acknowledged with reference to the working class, because they can jeopardize well-established social relations, and sound cooperation between classes and social groups and strata.

Socialist national unity, in which socialist and national are equally stressed, is therefore essential and important, and in the interest of the people.

There have been and could be, and there will be in the future, debates on the policy of alliances. With whom it is possible to ally oneself is the question. The alliance of different classes and strata must in the future as well be maintained and fought for every day, on the broadest human and social basis. The promoter and moving force of the alliance continues to be the Party which has organized this country for the past thirty years, and with particular efficiency and effectiveness over the past twenty years. Let us leave no doubt about this, nor about the fact that as long as this party will have an explicit, adequate ideology and political platform, it is sure of many allies. If this Party should hesitate for a moment regarding its own aims and its own political, ideological foundations, it would lose its allies. If it should be tempted for a moment to swim with every tide,

then it would lose its ability to organize anybody in this country. It is also good for the participants in alliance if they know what they have allied for; and it is good if the political party leading the country knows what it wants. The programmatic declaration of the party proves in effect that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party knows what it wants. Nor do those supporting other ideologies want a prudish kind of Marxism, a Marxism practised with pangs of conscience. This is the essence of what I wished to say on this subject. An important element of our policy is that we have to accept that there are a great number of people who support other ideologies. For this very reason persuasion and cooperation must be the only method employed in our policy of alliances and in cooperation with the masses.

The problem of publicity

Talking of our general situation, of our place in the world, let me mention the problem of socialist democracy and publicity. Publicity, which we consider to be a prerequisite of any democratic relationship is present. It has started; or I might say rather, it is beginning to get going. But can we make use of this publicity? Somebody might reply that in a democracy one must not ask such things, because publicity is a condition, publicity means freedom, and freedom must not be queried. I believe it can certainly be queried, the question may be raised, whether we make adequate use of the publicity created by political conditions. According to my experience we do on the whole, but there are those who sometimes fail to use publicity responsibly. We have something to lose, we have to show anxiety for our country's place in the world, and we have to use publicity with this responsibility in mind, we have to act remembering this responsibility.

We have something to lose, but we have nothing to fear, this is the other side of the coin. There is no need to be afraid. Democracy can be learnt only within the framework of democratic institutions; socialist democracy cannot be learnt by risking nothing, in smooth and routine institutions, but it can be learnt on the roughest road, with the most inexperienced institutions. Where there is debate, there is also a test, exchanges of views take place. Much remains to be done there.

When I say that we have nothing to fear, what I have in mind is that we are looked upon with confidence by the socialist world and by our neighbours. Our friends are curious to know of our experience, they are interested to find out about our experience as we are interested in theirs.

Quality and mass

I am going to speak only briefly of cultural conditions. We all believe in access to culture, which has by now become a comprehensive programme. I am not taking anything back when I say that access to culture is not a programme that dominates every kind of cultural action but an elevating programme of Hungarian society. Access to culture is no threat and no challenge to society but a reconciliation between the requirements of quality and the masses, experiment without precedent in Hungary and which we hope will be successful not only as an experiment but also in its results.

The reconciliation of quality and mass appeal is an enormous, pressing contradiction, I know; and it is easier to make such a statement from this platform than to organize ways and means leading to it. Yet this is what we believe in, that for which it is worth doing something in Hungary. Part of this is that we put our faith in art, in artists, and in the creative force of the community, and also that artists take part also with their creations in the communication and exchange of cultural values.

The school system and the teachers are central pivots of the Hungarian programme of access to culture. Our school system is wrestling with problems because, owing to speedy development, it cannot satisfy the society of today, it does not satisfy those who take advantage of it at present, the school children or university students. This is not due to some institutional error, but we have entered a stage of development when such things were bound to happen. Is culture possible, can culture flourish in an age of rapid technological growth? The school system as well has to reply. This is why the debates are drifting into the cultural sphere, and thus responsible politicians and responsible artists, in persuasive and fair cooperation, have to do much for a sensible conclusion of the debates.

The artist's competence

The artist in contemporary Hungarian society is capable of participating in this complex public and cultural communication both through his work and through his personal and public attitude. In recent years uncertainties have arisen just in respect of this issue, and there have been debates on the competence of artists and that of citizens. If we believe ourselves to be democrats and builders of socialist democracy, then we must declare that what matters, what is primary, is the competence of citizens. What makes the artist's responsibility and public role so extraordinary are

his powers of expression and his position. But in respect of competence there is no difference between the dairy hand of Hercegszántó and a Kossuth Prize-laureate artist. I am sure no one will dispute this. One could argue on how the artist, owing to his exceptional standing, is able to formulate his programme for public life, and how he can explain it convincingly to the dairy hand as well. We have to make sure that our institutions are working properly also in order to carry this idea into effect.

Finally is enlightened and at the same time efficient government action possible in cultural life? The answer, I think should be in the affirmative. Institutions in themselves are soulless and bureaucratic, and they become genuine institutions only when they are filled with human substance. That is how it is in cultural life, in political life, and in all of society. I think that for this very reason enlightened and institutional government is possible where there is order in institutions and order in relations.

Speaking of native country and humanity and their relationship therefore, we have to say that we must in the first place keep our country in mind, that is why I have spoken here today mainly of Hungary, but if we are truly at home with our own business, we will be at home with the business of the world as well.

JÁNOS KÁDÁR IN VIENNA, ROME AND BONN

by

PÉTER RÉNYI

One could discuss János Kádár's journeys to Austria, Italy and West Germany as aspects of his life as a statesman and politician, what I propose to do however is to place the negotiations which the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party conducted in Western Europe between the end of 1976 and the middle of 1977 within the system of coordinates of the international political situation of the time. It is this that offers the context for the biographical aspects as well.

I am writing early in August, and I do not know to what extent the position will have changed by the time these lines appear. It will surely not have passed into oblivion that, as 1976 turned into 1977, and in the first half of 1977, general conditions were not as favourable for meetings meant to further détente and cooperation in Europe than they had been even a year earlier. Newspaper readers knew as well that János Kádár's visit to West Germany had been planned to take place before the November 1976 *Bundestag* elections, but was then postponed. But why?

Certain West German media argued not only plausibly but tellingly that this was because the parliamentary opposition had made such a to-do about the reparations and credit agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, that the Schmidt government, in defence of its correct *Ostpolitik*, had to concentrate its strength on overcoming the contrived crisis. It was not, or did not see itself to be, in a position to concurrently demonstrate its readiness to cooperate with another socialist country.

This postponement was very characteristic of the way the wind blew at the time. And yet the Federal Government had not undertaken any obligation towards Poland that did not logically follow from earlier contracts and agreements. The instability felt in East–West relations was

closely connected with the West German and American elections. In the course of the election campaigns the bourgeois signatories of the Helsinki agreement found themselves in the cross-fire of their own domestic reactionary forces. A gathering of forces took place as had not been witnessed for many a year, those desiring to raise the Cold War from the dead went over into the attack over a broad front, reckoning that, should they succeed in changing the foreign policy orientation of the first and the second or third country of the capitalist system, they might reverse the whole process. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to presume that they looked on these elections as their last chance to produce this reversal by parliamentary means, before the process became legally irreversible.

The planned action did not fully succeed. Though with a reduced majority, the SPD—FDP Coalition survived in the Federal Republic of Germany. In the United States a specifically two-faced trend of the Democratic Party came to head the administration. Its paradox gestures have remained opaque to this day. But there were other reasons as well. You could not turn back the wheel of history because meanwhile the Left in Italy and France had become much stronger, which would have led to a serious growth in domestic tension in the case of an anti-détente turn of events on the international scene. A sort of doldrums nevertheless came to govern détente, produced by a slowing down of positive trends, and a strengthening of negative ones.

A brake was even put on East–West economic relations that had earlier been the most dynamic element of rapprochement. The so-called indebtedness of the socialist countries was turned into a bogeyman. Concurrently with the gradual implementation of the confidence-strengthening procedural rules of Helsinki, a campaign designed to throw doubt was started in connection with alleged efforts by the Soviet Union to establish military superiority. First the cruiser missiles and the B-1 bomber, then towards the end of the year the neutron bomb were used to start off a new and dangerous stage of the arms race. The slogans of exchange of information and of free flow of ideas were used in a noisy campaign in support of tiny groups of dissidents in the socialist countries, and the defence of human rights was employed as an excuse for attempts to intervene in the domestic affairs of socialist countries.

Let me repeat: all this was not simply directed against the socialist half of Europe or the Soviet Union, or even the Left exclusively, but against all those who honestly supported the cause of security, coexistence, and peaceful cooperation between the systems. In other words these conflicts affected the ruling circles of capitalist countries as well, eliciting confrontations

between various bourgeois trends. In the majority of cases a feeling of insecurity was produced amongst those on the side of coexistence, particularly at election time when, in West Germany the governing parties were trying to obtain the votes of those to their right, and the very word "détente" was banished from the campaign vocabulary of the U.S.

Though things differed from country to country, what has been said was more or less characteristic of Western Europe as a whole in those six months when János Kádár's journeys took place in relatively quick succession. These journeys, and their success and impact, should be judged under these conditions. I am not trying to say that there was something wrong with their timing, on the contrary, I am inclined to reverse the emphasis in this respect. Every time János Kádár was asked about travelling, bearing in mind that he did not travel much. At his Vienna press conference he said: "Men differ. I know some passionate travellers, but I am not amongst them. Whenever necessary however, and wherever it is useful politically from the point of view of improving relations between two countries, I always go." This clearly applied to the timing of all three journeys as well. He went to those places, and at such times, where and when politically useful discussions could be conducted.

These discussions had a specific temper which was connected with both the personality of the visitor and the time, the situation of the moment. In other words with the fact, that Western Europe was somewhat uncertain of the time regards East–West relations, and this intricate period was when the visits of someone like János Kádár took place.

It is not easy to define this, a historical approach might help however. János Kádár's name has become part of what was perhaps the greatest post-war failure of the most aggressive anti-communists in the West. What I have in mind is the fiasco of the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolutionary revolt. Typically, at János Kádár's Rome press conference on June 9th, the representative of an American weekly asked if those who had reported events in Hungary in 1956, could return to that country.

János Kádár, referring to the "deeply human wisdom" of the Bible said: "...whoever wants to live, and progress, should look ahead. Lot's wife looked back, and turned into a pillar of salt. Foreign journalists who had reported from Hungary in 1956, may generally and as a matter of principle, return to the country. In the dramatic days of 1956 a number of Hungarian journalists did not write things either which they would have stood by say a year later. In my view it does not make much sense to keep on asking what a journalist writing for either the Hungarian or the foreign press said ten or twenty years ago. What matters is whether what he has to say

today helps the cause of progress. We have human memories, but no black list of foreign journalists."

Not even a year has passed since certain media in the West tried to conduct a post-mortem on 1956. The twentieth anniversary of October 23rd 1956 occurred at a time that suited some for the growing anti-socialist and anti-soviet propaganda campaign. Some, e.g. a BBC documentary, tried to suggest that reconciliation with socialist Hungary was one of the most striking examples of the "treachery" of a Western policy that accepted peaceful coexistence. Such, and similar, absurd and slanderous programmes and articles as it were forced even the more sober bourgeois media to prove that this was no way to describe relations with the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and János Kádár. This was exemplified e.g. by a documentary directed by Dr Karl Neumann and broadcast by Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen in October 1976 which reflected the spirit of coexistence. Other programmes like Pál Lendvai's two-part documentary on Austrian television, or a series of articles published by the weekly *Stern*, tried to be objective, and did not repeat lies refuted a thousand times over. They even allowed to some extent that, in the past twenty years in Hungary, in the first place in harmony with the recognitions of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, major steps had been taken to develop socialist democracy, which implied as well that in Hungary the causes of those deformations which led to the tragedy were liquidated long ago, and have by now been finally laid to rest.

It is true that such expressions are not identical with, nor can they be brought into agreement with the way as we Hungarians see the country's recent history. In present day Hungary the masses, in practice the whole of society, participate in the building of a developed socialism, they understand, and support, the policy of the Party and the Government. This means rises in the standard of living, the right to work, in practice as well, social security for all, an increasingly widening range of consumer goods, an open cultural policy, frequent and open debates, the right of the people to have a say in important political decisions, not only the chance to form an independent opinion, but the demand that one should do so. One cannot expect even the most sober of supporters of bourgeois regimes to recognise the final validity of the socialist system, the historical importance of its achievements. There were some who tried to suggest that the people looked on socialism as "something one had to survive somehow", but at least they tried, and that is something, to defend the credit and prestige of a policy by the West which, first in the case of the Hungarian events and then following other international conflicts as well, sought

to normalize relations with the socialist world. More precisely those who accepted the outstretched hand of the socialist countries who are members of the Warsaw Treaty. This is a policy which, in its judgement of the political achievements at home and abroad of János Kádár as well necessarily finds itself opposed to the supporters of the Cold War and of increased tension within their own systems.

This was all the more noteworthy in 1977 since János Kádár, the Communist politician who paid his respects to a neutral and two NATO countries in Western Europe was the same man who drew the fire of the enemies of détente in 1956, and also the chief architect of a socialist Hungary whose even, and well-balanced growth over twenty years was difficult to neglect even by those who would have loved best to deny any kind of achievement to the socialist system.

What happened then was that these visits were being made by the Communist most fiercely attacked in a Cold War fashion in the course of the past decades, who at the same time, as Helmut Schmidt, the Federal Chancellor said to a *Népszabadság* representative, "has obtained the respect and recognition of people outside his country as well", who was meant by the Pope when he said that the Hungarian government was associated with "one of the chief, and most highly-respected promoters of rapprochement." In other words the host countries had to make up their minds how they would receive the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. There could be no doubt that the governments who had invited him would be courteous, and ready to grant the respect due to him. But would there be some sort of offensive on the part of the right wing opposition whose pressure might affect negotiations? You could also put it another way: would those with whom János Kádár was about to negotiate accept responsibility for inviting their guest, and for the demonstrative reinforcement of the policy of normalization with socialist Hungary and the Hungarian Socialist Workers's Party. Would they be ready to proclaim in a loud voice that this practice would continue?

The answer was unambiguously in the affirmative in all three countries. It can be stated that even the opposition to détente felt the moment to be inopportune for trouble-making. The only way they expressed their lack of love was a reduction to the minimum of the space papers close to them gave to the visits. But even so, as János Kádár himself put on the record, the tone of the press was basically unexceptionable everywhere. The Springer posh-paper *Die Welt* tried to raise some steam, but all they could think of was the nonsense of claiming that, in 1956, the Soviet Union had helped the Hungarian socialist system *against* János Kádár.

Nothing similar could be found in any publication that can be taken seriously.

It thus proved possible to negotiate in a free and easy atmosphere, without being subjected to any considerable outside pressure. I should rather put it this way: one could continue negotiations started long ago, this time in personal, direct conversation. Those who faced each other across the table had been engaged in a dialogue for a long time already, though it may have been an indirect one only. The relationship may not have been altogether conflict-free, and there is friction here and there even today, but as regards decisive questions, there is nevertheless some sort of community even characterized by certain solidarity when faced with opposing forces.

This was particularly noticeable at the Vatican. The Pope, in a speech, said: "In the course of the past fourteen years the Holy See and the Hungarian People's Republic have come closer to each other step by step, leaving behind that age of tension and separation, whose echo has not died down altogether even now... Such efforts and their results are followed by many with sober, and frequently critical, eyes, and there is doubt in the reception offered. In the judgement of our conscience history will pronounce the final judgement on these achievements," the Pope added, but as regards the present he stated unequivocally: "The Catholic Church, and the Holy See, having had to adjust to the vicissitudes of two thousand years, does not shrink back from decisions that may appear to be bold. The Church is not informed by the search for momentary advantage or popularity." The address as a whole, and the few sentences quoted as well, make it unambiguously clear that the head of the Catholic Church looks to János Kádár as a partner in efforts he called "duties deriving from common interests" that are guided by the desire for peace, and improved coexistence in Europe and the whole world.

There are flashes of long initiated and long lasting changes lighting up this address. This was not the only time when what was said pointed from the past to the future.

Naturally the processes differ, as do the persons, and the states and parties with whose representatives these talks were held. Whoever is familiar with recent European history knows that what was said about the relationship between the Austrian and West German Social Democratic Party respectively, and the Hungarian Communist Party had a background in the past. János Kádár, at his Vienna press conference, referred to "auld acquaintance" as well as to the past. "Chancellor Kreisky, I make bold to say, is a 'coeval' whom I know as a man of decided opinions," he said. "Every one knows him to be a Social Democrat. I am a Communist. We

met, we spoke with good cheer but it was not in the mind of either of us to 'swap' ideologies or philosophies. That is not our job. What we dealt with were questions connected with sound relations and cooperation between the two countries, and with the promotion of peace and security in Europe." He also implied that fortunately times were long past when Social Democrats and Communists were not able to rise above a party point of view in the narrow sense though faced with elemental dangers like war and fascism which threatened their peoples. A long and tragic chapter in the history of the European working class movement is at the back of such talk. Politicians were there engaged in conversation who are well aware that, whatever chasm may divide their positions on the nature of society, and related policies, they have to stick together when it comes to peace and security.

These duties deriving from common interests arose in a different context, but with like stress, during János Kádár's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany. Helmut Schmidt said already in an interview that preceded the visit: "The present generation of political leaders, and this goes for Brezhnev as well as Kádár, Callaghan or Giscard, or, for that matter, for our Federal Government, all lived through the Second World War. All of us would very likely do all we could, to the point of exhaustion, to avoid serious trouble." Though one must remember that not everybody who belongs to the war-generation reacts in that way, one thing is certain, Schmidt's thesis fits those politicians in the West as well who lived through the Second World War, and then the Cold War, and who, in three decades, discovered that the way of increased international tension must be abandoned and the détente is that only alternative that can be considered. This is the firmest basis for cooperation between East and West, and that is the source of that deeper understanding as well on which János Kádár must surely have counted during his exchanges with the politicians of coexistence, that sort of closeness where a word is often enough to produce understanding, and the terminology used is identical and reliable.

Let there be no mistake, this mutual understanding is never total, and really only applies to a severely defined territory, primarily to the fact that countries with differing and fundamentally opposed social institutions must prove in peaceful competition which system is better and juster in practice, and that, even until then, one must find those ways of economic and cultural cooperation which are mutually advantageous, and which serve the good of the nations. Those who met in these discussions represented points of view that excluded each other in all other respects.

All the same, though the area may be limited, though everything essential

that can be said in this connection fits into a statement the size of the Helsinki Final Act, it includes the most elementary existential interests of the nations of Europe and of the world.

It goes without saying that bilateral relations between the countries concerned and Hungary were at the focus of attention of these negotiations, and the exchange of ideas on general international questions also only flowed along a channel determined by bilateral relations. Neither János Kádár, nor those he held discussions with, spoke for others, they all represented their own countries, they were not commissioned by groups of countries to speak on their behalf, nor were they self-appointed brokers of the sort one sometimes comes across in international diplomacy. The starting position of every head of government, and of the First Secretary of the Hungarian Party, was that an improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the United States was a basic condition of international détente, which could not be replaced by, or substituted for, by the agreements of middling and small countries.

It was part of the realism of the positions taken up that the West did without that "courting", addressed sometimes to Hungary, sometimes to other countries, whose obvious objective was, at all times, to play off against each other specific features of particular socialist countries which they owed to their respective histories. Statesmen took part this time who recognised that such tactics are doomed to failure, coming up, as they do, against the tight solidarity, and unshakeable internationalism of the Parties and governments of the socialist countries. They recognised that a coming closer together of various systems of alliances and economic communities on the basis of peaceful coexistence must be given priority over the disruption of the unity of groups of states. Members committed to their own camp, the representatives of countries deeply rooted in them, discussed things with each other, seeking a general rapprochement.

Their starting point was that the frontier between progressive and regressive tactics at negotiations of that sort did not run between social systems, but between the supporters of peaceful competition and hostile confrontation. The final confrontation between the socialist and the capitalist systems cannot be avoided, but it is in the elemental interest of both that this should be decided in economic and ideological competition, in conditions of peaceful rivalry. And that can best be promoted in open and honest negotiations, without reservations or disruptive intentions, where parties who are irreconcilable on matters of principle, but who wish to be victorious without the use of arms, come to an agreement with each other.

La Repubblica, an Italian newspaper, reported the impression which János Kádár made on all those present at his Roman press conference: "He astounded newspapermen by the determination and directness with which he answered even the most touchy questions. He presented an image of a leader who is full of selfconfidence, and who is well aware that the international respect in which he is held is the fruit of years of peace-making at home." You can tell, reading between the lines, that the writer honestly believes in his own words. There is no reason then to argue with him, since what he has to say is right. Something should be added, however Kádár's manner, that calm and self-confidence with which he argued his case on every one of his journeys, is based not only on his successful domestic policy, but also on that complete understanding, and mutual confidence which links the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to the Soviet Union, the other fraternal socialist countries, and their Communist Parties, and also on solidarity with every revolutionary and progressive force in the world. This is the background of the international activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and of Hungarian Government, and it is only in that context that the attitude which those who saw János Kádár in Western Europe could observe makes sense.

He referred to this himself at his Bonn press conference. "The people of the Hungarian People's Republic are working on the construction of socialism in concord. The principal aim of its foreign policy—in agreement and alliance with the Soviet Union, the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, the member countries of the CMEA—is the consolidation of peace, the extension of détente, and the service of peaceful coexistance between countries belonging to differing social systems."

We are convinced, and our friends share this view, that János Kádár's journeys to Western Europe have served such objectives.

DEBATES AND COMMON GOALS

by

JÁNOS BERECZ

The struggle between socialism and capitalism has assigned two main questions to mankind in our days: what will be the outcome of the struggle, and whether it will be carried out by peaceful means, or in war; in other words, whether the last word will be spelled out by economic competition, political and ideological arguments, the attitude of the masses or, on the contrary, by nuclear weapons? Thus the struggle is not only between the two systems, but also about decisions regarding the means of struggle. In this process two forces confront one another, one of which feels responsibility for peace, for the future of mankind, and the other is interested in the arms race, and therefore is even willing to jeopardize the peace of the world.

The European continent sensitively reflects the contradictory world situation. The peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems is a timely question primarily on this continent. The situation of Europe is noteworthy from yet another point of view. It is on this continent that one finds those capitalist countries in which there is the greatest demand for radical social transformation, and in which the conditions for this transformation are the ripest.

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These were the topics dealt with by the Berlin conference of the European Communist and Workers' parties in June of 1976; these were the questions to which the Communists of the continent gave their reply. During this conference the representatives of twenty-nine parties worked out a common stand requiring concerted measures by Communists, and making possible collaboration with every other progressive force, yet not limiting the freedom of action of any one of the parties.

At the Berlin conference the delegates of the European Communists have focussed on the furthering of military détente, and have ranked the braking

of the arms race among the most important tasks. The Communist carry on this struggle concurrently with their fight for social progress. Success in this struggle has repercussions on international relations, ands strengthens the stand of those who believe in peaceful coexistence.

In our days the international political situation continues to be characterized by the relaxation of tension; but this process has undoubtedly slowed down, and new dangers threaten world peace. Extremist circles in the United States hope that with the help of new types of weaponry they will succeed in achieving strategical superiority over the Soviet Union, and over the socialist community. In Europe NATO circles are pushing first of all the development of traditional armament, and reject the initiatives taken by the socialist countries. They have rejected without substantial debate the proposal of the political consultative council of the Warsaw Treaty members, to the effect that the signers of the Helsinki Final Act assume a responsibility not to resort to nuclear weapons first against one another.

The imperialist forces will not be able to obtain strategic advantages with the increase of the arms race, but they do endanger world peace. The enormous sums wasted on armament directly affect the standard of living of the working masses. This aspect of the problem is not indifferent to the peoples of the socialist countries either, but its effect in capitalist countries is very considerable, because the situation of the workers there is made precarious in any case by the new and complex development of a crisis which prevails on the terrain of the general crisis of capitalism: unemployment, inflation, insecurity of existence are part of this situation. The resolution adopted at the Berlin conference, therefore, according to which "the European Communist and workers' parties will take a decided stand against very action which tends to increase the arms race, and military confrontation," remains just as important today. The task of the Communist parties, therefore, is to support military détente by a united stand, and to mobilize the masses to support proposals serving effective disarmament. They have appealed to various democratic movements to collaborate in the interest of this cause.

In September of last year, during the Helsinki world conference on disarmament, and this year, during the Moscow conference of Peace-Loving Forces in January, and in Warsaw during the World Conference of Builders of Peace in May, action programmes have been elaborated and prove that not only the progressive public opinion of Europe, but the peace-loving social forces of the entire world agree with the need to take a united stand. Such is also the expectation of the European youth and students organizations

as reflected in their annual consultation held in Hungary. And from this point of view we have also hailed the stand taken in favor of disarmament by the European Social Democratic leaders in Amsterdam.

In our days it is precisely this increasing unity, this collaboration of peace-loving forces that have become the targets of bourgeois propaganda. Its principal weapon is anti-communism, and its most dangerous form, is the stirring of anti-Soviet sentiment. This propaganda attacks the socialist countries particularly sharply. Attacks against the existing socialism are at the same time attacks against socialism as the objective formulated in the programmes of the Communist parties within capitalist countries. The goal of this propaganda is to discredit the practice of existing socialism and to elicit distrust with regard to every Communist programme. It is the common interest and the historical responsibility of progressive forces, first of all of the parties and organizations of the working class, of the Communist and workers' parties, of Socialist and Social-Democratic forces, of trade unions of various political hues, to rebut the attacks from the advocates of cold war, and to mobilize the workers for the solution of the most burning problems of our time.

The parties of the European Communist and working class movement operate under differing conditions. It is their right, as noted by the Berlin conference, and also their duty to select autonomously the road of the country's democratic transformation, of the construction of a socialist society, and to apply the general principles of Marxism–Leninism in a creative way. They must select the forms of political struggle, they must devise the forms of the policy of alliances which best correspond to the specific political, economic, and social conditions of their country, and to its historical traditions. But it also follows that it would be senseless to question the victorious road already covered by the socialist countries in accordance with their own historical experience, with their national conditions. The class struggle and the international balance of power of given periods had placed them under different circumstances, and they have stood their ground in times of trial.

The victory or defeat of individual Communist and workers' parties is not merely the affair of those parties. Their struggle necessarily flows into the current of world-wide revolutionary progress from capitalism to socialism, which was opened up sixty years ago, for the benefit of all mankind, by the October Socialist Revolution. Particular victories or eventual defeats affect the whole of the Communist movement. The selection of an autonomous road is therefore not merely a right, but also a great responsibility. The connection between the struggle for the various parties is right also

in the sense that they can create conditions favourable for a successful fight against the class enemy, against imperialism, only by a common stand. This was the starting point for the European Communist parties when they emphasized, in the Berlin document, that concerted action is needed to deepen the process of détente, to realize effective disarmament measures, and to consolidate European security.

The realization of the great historical goals of mankind, the creation of a world without war, and the liberation of every worker cannot be imagined without cooperation between Communist and workers parties. Autonomy and independence are recognized and respected principles in contacts between fraternal parties. They must strengthen their voluntary cooperation in consonance with this principle, and with comprehension and mutual support for each other's position. The development of the movement, and the class struggle saddles each and every party with ever increasing responsibilities. Coordination between national interests and the mission of the international Communist movement is indispensable, as is a common stand on great international issues. Bourgeois propaganda attempts nowadays to stir up trouble in the international Communist movement by new methods and slogans, by making advances and through pressure, and by describing certain parties in special way. As a matter of common interest, and for the sake of conducting discussions in an atmosphere of comradeship, they should expose and reject the divisive attempts of the bourgeoisie, and of imperialism, in spite of possible arguments.

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The Eleventh Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has taken a stand in favour of comradely and creative exchange of views between the parties of the international Communist movement. The varying conditions of the struggle may require particular solutions. Even the parties operating in the socialist countries work and apply the general laws of socialist revolution and construction under differing conditions. The circumstances of struggle for the parties within the capitalist countries also vary from country to country. As a result, the practical experiences differ in certain matters, the specific tasks to be solved differ also, and even the views regarding the methods to be used to reach a given end are not always identical. It helps to take account of all these in order to work out strategies and tactics independently, and to determine the national tasks and their effective solution.

Dealing with the relationship between theory and practice, and between

discussion and the evidence obtained through experience, Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made the following statement at the Berlin conference of the Communist and workers parties: "When we pay much attention to the creative work of our comrades within the Communist family, we base ourselves on the notion that the proof of the correctness or deficiency of a thesis can only reside in practical experience. Until the time practice gives its final judgment, it is possible, and even necessary to examine these theses in comradely debates, through the wide-ranging comparison of the attitudes and experiences of the various parties."

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The proven weapon of the international Communist movement is co-operation, a united stand, based on a common ideology, the common interests of the international working class, and the common principles and objectives of the parties. In addition to their specific and particular activities, the individual parties have tasks in common, and they can guarantee the proper international conditions for an effective struggle only through concerted action. Debate in a creative spirit is indispensable for an accurate determination of these. In the interest of an effective stand it is necessary to analyse jointly the evolution of international power relations and of political relations, and the factors which affect these. It is necessary to examine jointly the content of détente and its relation to social progress, as well as the possibility for cooperation between progressive forces. We must formulate in common the means for solving the basic problems of our time, for the sake of the consolidation and further development of the process of détente, for the promotion of military détente, for disarmament, for the definitive exclusion of the danger of a nuclear world war, for the expansion of the peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems, and for the intensification of mutually advantageous contacts between them.

Since these are fundamental issues for the Communist movement, it is necessary to reach a common understanding through the joint debate of what is to be done. The debates and the comradely exchanges of views cannot mean, however, in our opinion, questioning the past struggles of revolutionary forces and the results obtained so far, much less denying them. The values and epoch-making victories of the international workers movement are beyond debate. Those who underestimate the historical road covered by the socialist countries, and disparage their achievements—whether they wish or not—act against the interests of the revolutionary forces in

the capitalist and the underdeveloped countries, because they may shake the faith the people living there have placed in socialism, and make more difficult the struggle of the fraternal parties active in those countries.

Comradely debate can only take place under conditions of equality. It is hardly acceptable that the representative of any fraternal party should unwarrantedly criticize the socialist countries, questioning their historical achievements in the pages of the bourgeois press, and yet describe as interference the replies to this criticism. The great willingness with which the bourgeois papers and the radio stations of the capitalist countries publish statements along these lines by Santiago Carrillo, the general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, makes Communists wonder. We think of debate, the necessary exchange of views, as a mutual or many-sided process. We accept the views of Enrico Berlinguer, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party when, at the Berlin Conference, referring to the occasional criticism directed at the his party's political line, he declared: "Even if we do not agree with such critical remarks, we nevertheless feel it is just that they should be expressed. What is more, it is our desire that the debate about these important topics should become freer and more open, in the spirit of friendship and understanding of course."

We recognize that there are differences in the situation of the parties of the international Communist movement, but we deny that these differences must necessarily divide them. Division is precisely what the imperialists hope to achieve. It is natural that the parties existing under differing conditions, and determining their strategy and tactics independently, should reach the selfsame goals by differing roads; but we reject the views and practices according to which this can only be done by direct confrontation, by disparaging the road covered by others, and by questioning their correctness. We feel solidarity with the parties within the capitalist countries struggling under difficult circumstances against the rule of monopolies, against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for social changes that are in the interest of all the people. At the same time we argue that solidarity must not be abused.

The life-giving force of the international Communist movement is comradely debate based on mutual respect. But the bourgeoisie is active and calculating. It attempts to turn our debates against our unity. It promotes anti-Soviet sentiment with all its might. It would be a serious political mistake to believe that anti-Soviet statements can in the long run increase the influence of any Communist Party among the workers. On the contrary, the memory of the workers of the world will always recall the tremendous

sacrifices brought by the Soviet people for the sake of the progress of mankind. Precisely for this reason, anti-Soviet sentiment is the most dangerous weapon of the bourgeoisie for the division of the Communists.

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There is much ado about what is called Euro-Communism as well. Instead of evaluating the attributes we place the emphasis on content. The fact remains that this doctrine is the invention of bourgeois propaganda which exaggerates variations between the parties in order to promote discord. This manoeuvre must be rejected as well. We recognize the existing differences in the policies of the parties as necessary and natural; but this is precisely what gives support to the demand to consolidate solidarity between the parties.

The situation of the international Communist movement is characterized in our day primarily by development, upswing, and the intensification of concerted efforts. This is proven by the continuous increase in bilateral meetings and a whole series of successful multilateral meetings; for instance, in the last two years, conferences of the Communist parties of the Arab countries, of Latin-America, of the Caribbean area, of Western Europe, in which the Communists have analyzed in common the most important traits of the economic and social situation of the countries in the given area, and decided in common about the goals for which they must struggle in concert.

Bilateral and multilateral meetings, regional and continental conferences have demonstrated that the representatives of the Communist parties can reach an understanding on every significant issue within the framework of comradely debate, of creative talks and of democratic discussions. And debates between fraternal parties, even if dissonant sounds be heard from time to time, do not contradict this process. Even in our days the ideological struggle is between views that correspond to the interests of the working class on one hand, and those that accord with the interests of the bourgeoisie on the other.

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In this connection it is worth quoting the words of János Kádár at the press conference he held in June of this year during his Italian visit: "It is my conviction that mutual and complete solidarity must exist among all Communist and workers' parties in Europe, whether they operate in

Socialist states, or in Western European capitalist states; this solidarity will prevail, and nobody will be able to undo it."

According to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Berlin conference carried out lasting work. The principles contained in the document are correct, and the tasks formulated therein become ever more timely. Their content is in consonance with the endeavours of each and every fraternal party, and conforms to the interests of the progressive and democratic forces of Europe and of all peace-loving people. The Party continues to regard highly the document of the Berlin conference, accepts the pertinent responsibilities together with the other parties, and is prepared to accomplish even more for the strengthening of internationalist solidarity, for the realization of the goals specified in the joint document.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION AFTER HELSINKI

by
JÁNOS SZITA

Part I—Situation analysis

In the summer of 1975 the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe adopted a Final Act which marked in many respects—I have in mind first of all the inviolability of the frontiers of European states—the end of a period and, in other respects, the beginning of a new period. I would include among the latter the provisions concerning economic cooperation between the signatory states.

I wish to underline two of the most important related features. One is that it was the first time that matters of economic cooperation were discussed in close connection with security problems. The other is that it was equally the first time that a high-level conference drew up perspectives of cooperation which encompass many spheres of economic relations beyond foreign trade, and which points at the prospects of a Europe-wide cooperation from the widest angle yet.

In my book published in the spring of 1975,* I tried to sum up the problems and concepts related to this topic up to and including the period preceding the Helsinki Conference. The two years that have elapsed since the Helsinki Conference are not sufficient for an overall evaluation of the development of Europe-wide economic cooperation and still less for an appraisal of the impact of the Conference on this development; nevertheless, it does not seem unwarranted to investigate how cooperation among the signatory states is shaping up since the adoption of the Final Act, and what new factors should be taken into account with regard to the future.

This investigation is made even timelier by the Belgrade meeting which has sized up the road covered since the Conference and has defined the tasks that remain for the sake of a better implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act.

This article is composed of two parts. Part I intends to establish what processes took place in the past two years, from June 1975 to the middle of 1977. The purpose of Part II is to reveal a few interconnections derived from the analysis of the facts summed up in Part I and from other factors influencing the development of economic relations.

* *Az összeurópai gazdasági együttműködés távlatai* (Prospects of All-European Economic Cooperation). Kossuth Publishers, 1975. For a review by Eta Hardi see NHQ No. 65

I

1 *The shaping of East-West trade*

The economic relations between European socialist and developed capitalist countries can be best assessed by the development of trade.

International trade in the 1970s has not

developed evenly. The value of international trade in the past ten years has grown at a rate faster than 10 per cent on a yearly average. Owing to the capitalist monetary crisis, the rising price of raw materials, and the acceleration of inflation from 1972 onward, furthermore because of the capitalist economic crisis of 1974–1975, development has been far from even. The value of international trade rose by 18 per cent in 1972, by 38 per cent in 1973, by as much as 46 per cent the following year, by only 5 per cent in 1975, and by barely over 10 per cent in 1976. The expansion rate of the volume of trade was different: it exceeded 10 per cent only in 1973 within the above period, and at the lowest point of the crisis, in 1975, the volume of trade decreased by nearly 6 per cent. I register these changes in the tendency only because it is easier to evaluate the shaping of East-West trade in their light.

(a) The development of East-West trade in the past few years was stimulated by several factors, but it was also hampered by political and economic endeavours working in the opposite direction, and was not left unaffected by fluctuations in general international trade either. The shaping of East-West trade in the current decade must be split up into a number of phases in order to correctly evaluate the prevailing trends.

From 1960 to 1970 East-West trade was characterized by more or less steady and rapid development. It increased in value by more than 10 per cent annually, and its growth in volume also reached 8–9 per cent a year. From 1960 to 1965 it developed faster than international trade in general, and from 1966 to 1970 it increased roughly at the same rate.

East-West trade developed at a remarkably fast rate from 1972 to 1974: its value grew by 25 per cent in 1972, by 54 per cent in 1973, by 46 per cent in 1974. No doubt these figures include a considerable price rise, but the volume of the turnover also went up by 18 per cent in 1972, by 24 per cent in 1973, then by 16 per cent in 1974.

The trend of development in the past two years changed in an interesting manner. For instance, it would be pretty misleading if we started from the total value of East-West trade during these two years (pertinent volume data are not yet available). Expressed in value, this trade grew by 16 per cent in 1975 and by about 10 per cent in 1976; that is, though not at the earlier most rapid rate, at a rate that was far from slow. While we would be justified in examining separately exports and imports in the earlier years as well, the characteristics of development in the past two years can be realistically evaluated by taking the two ways of the turnover of trade one by one. Thus, while the aggregate foreign trade turnover of the socialist countries in relation to developed capitalist countries increased by 16.4 per cent, their exports grew by only 5 per cent and their imports by 27 per cent. According to preliminary calculations the volume of their imports also grew by more than 13 per cent. The exports from European socialist countries to capitalist countries even declined during 1975, except for Poland. The growth of the exports of socialist countries thus suffered a sharp break, primarily as a result of the crisis in the capitalist countries; yet their imports rose at an invariably fast rate.

This trend altered during 1976. Preliminary data allow the conclusion that as a result of the slow upswing in Western Europe the exports from the socialist countries to capitalist markets rose again, this time by about 12 per cent, but the growth of their imports slowed down, the rate of this growth being 5–6 per cent; moreover, there was a certain decline in the imports of Rumania and Bulgaria. The slowdown of the increase in imports does not show such a sharp break in real value, since as a consequence of a certain fall-off in prices the volume of imports increased by about 10 per cent. So, if we observe that in general

the growth of East-West trade in the past two years was slower than before but still sufficient, this can be explained by the fact that in 1975 the imports of the socialist countries showed a dynamic increase with a simultaneous drop in their exports, while in 1976 the tendency reversed so that a more vigorous increase was registered in their exports. By the way, this reversal considerably reduced the imbalance in trade with capitalist countries.

Behind the aggregate numbers there was a slight difference by countries, and this became more obvious in the course of the past two years. For example, the Soviet Union, which transacts about half of the CMEA countries' trade with the capitalist world, expanded faster in 1976 than other member countries both its exports and its imports; at the same time, its imports did not develop evenly, especially because of the considerable grain imports necessitated by the bad harvest of 1975. Another characteristic is that in 1975 the exports from socialist countries to capitalist countries fell, while in 1976 the imports from capitalist countries decreased in the case of two countries—Bulgaria and Romania.

Considerable dispersal can be observed in the trade of some capitalist countries with CMEA members. By 1976 the United States, ahead of Italy and Japan among the capitalist partners of CMEA countries, came in third, after the Federal Republic of Germany and France; true, this was made possible by a sudden increase in the exports of agricultural products, which made up about 70 per cent of the total U.S. exports, that is, by a periodic factor and not by any lasting improvement in external trade. Last year the trade turnover of the majority of the Common Market countries remained below the East-West average. France alone has continually increased her trade with CMEA countries for some years, and is thus a rising competitor of Federal Germany which has for a long time kept first place in this respect.

(b) In evaluating the role of East-West trade, it is worth making some comparisons which, pointing beyond the simple dynamics of development, render it easier to judge the role of trade in the whole system of international economic relations.

The growth of East-West trade in the past few years far exceeded the rate of development of international trade. This goes also for the period from 1960 to 1965; in the next five years it was practically on a par with that of international trade as a whole, but after 1972 this development was faster.

We obtain an especially interesting picture if we compare the shaping of East-West trade with intra-regional trade between socialist and between developed capitalist countries, respectively.

	1972	1973	1974	1975	First half of 1976
Annual growth in value of East-West trade in percentages	24.5	53.6	45.5	16.4	9.9
Annual growth in value of intra-regional trade of socialist countries in percentages	19.7	23.9	12.2	39.1	5.4
Annual growth in value of intra-regional trade of developed capitalist countries in percentages	19.5	35.3	27.7	1.1	8.5

It can be seen that the growth of East-West trade since 1972 each year exceeded (except for the year 1975, of which we have stated that the aggregate numbers are not characteristic owing to the great difference between the two ways of turnover) the expansion of intra-regional trade.

Figures concerning the volume of trade indicate a similar trend. Data for the years after 1974 are not available, but the trend has prevailed since 1971.

	1971	1972	1973	1974
Annual growth in volume of East-West trade in percentages	10.1	17.9	24.2	16.0
Annual growth in volume in intra-regional trade of socialist countries in percentages	7.9	16.3	22.2	10.9
Annual growth in volume of intra-regional trade of developed capitalist countries in percentages	6.6	10.0	11.8	2.5

An inquiry into the volume figures also verifies that in the early years of the current decade the rate of growth of East-West trade exceeded the rate of growth in the different intra-regional trade turnovers.

The evaluation of this phenomenon calls for a few comments. The circumstance that the development of East-West trade was faster than the growth of intra-regional trade should not lead one to underestimate the importance of intra-regional trade. External trade relations of the socialist countries are invariably built on cooperation among them. The progress of socialist integration is realized first of all through the growth of trade among the members. But it would be a mistaken interpretation of the developmental direction of socialist integration if we were to believe that this integration must be realized by means of a steady increase in the ratio of this reciprocal trade. In the final analysis, this would lead to autarchy at community level, resulting in a fall in efficiency and coming into conflict with the general policy of the socialist countries aimed at the consolidation of peaceful coexistence. So, if the ratio of the socialist countries' reciprocal trade remained constant, or even if it decreased by a few percentage points, this could not be considered a downright negative phenomenon; moreover, it can be taken for granted that not even at CMEA level are the CMEA countries striving for autarchy.

All this should be stressed so much the more because the advancement of socialist integration is in no way characterized by changes in the ratio of the reciprocal trade of socialist countries, but first of all by how the manifold process of integration contributes to the development of the various national economies of the CMEA countries, to the improvement of their economic efficiency.

In respect to the capitalist countries, too, attention should be called to the fact that the tendency to transact more of their external trade among themselves is changing. Thus, for example, at the time of the formation of the Common Market the member countries turned over about 35 per cent of their trade between themselves. This percentage has grown year by year from the 1960s on, and is now approaching 50 per cent. This tendency, however, cannot continue infinitely; while trade between Com-

mon Market countries has been growing dynamically, their trade with outsider countries has developed by fits and starts, thus entailing serious conflicts. It is understandable therefore that beyond a certain point the increase in the percentage of intra-regional trade will stop, and the turnover of trade with other countries of the world, socialist countries among them, will grow more and more.

All things considered, one important conclusion we can arrive at is that in the first half of the current decade the significance of East-West trade grew from the point of view of both regions, and its share in international trade also increased somewhat, from 4.4 per cent in 1960 to 6.5 per cent in 1975.

East-West trade shows a gross asymmetry, as its part in the turnover of socialist countries is more important than in that of developed capitalist countries. The share of developed capitalist countries in the aggregate exports of the CMEA countries between 1970 and 1976 rose from 21.6 to 26.3 per cent (in the meantime it had reached 29.4 per cent in 1974), while their share in CMEA imports rose from 25.7 to 35.6 per cent during the same period; this means that turnover in both directions rose from about 23 to 32 per cent. The differences between individual countries are not insignificant in this respect either; the ratio is highest in the case of Poland and Rumania, more modest in the case of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, while it is about average in the case of the Soviet Union, Hungary, and the German Democratic Republic. The share of the developed capitalist countries in the foreign trade of the Soviet Union has especially grown since 1973. Development was not steady in respect of every country; thus, e.g. in the case of Rumania it reached the highest rate in 1974, and has declined somewhat since then. Minor fluctuations must not be exaggerated, because they are affected by elements in the economic situation. These do not alter the main tendency, which is that the ratio of trade with developed capitalist countries in the total trade of socialist countries had increased vigorously until 1974 and has remained roughly at the same level since.

The percentage of trade with socialist countries within the trade of developed capitalist countries has also grown, but here the figures are of a different order of magnitude. The share of socialist countries in the exports of developed capitalist countries between 1960 and 1976 rose from nearly 4 per cent to over 6 per cent. The growth in imports was slighter, from 3.2 to barely 4 per cent. The ratio of exports to socialist countries thus rose from 3.5 to about 5 per cent.

The shares of socialist countries in the external trade of the various developed capitalist countries differ widely. The socialist countries in general have a greater share in the exports than in the imports of capitalist countries, the difference being rather considerable in the case of some countries (e.g. Austria). In the past six years exports to socialist countries grew far more dynamically than the imports from there.

The share of the socialist countries is relatively highest (about 13 per cent) among European developed capitalist states in the foreign trade of Austria, owing to the favourable geographical location, to the similarity in size between the respective economies, and other factors. At the same time the share of socialist countries in the exports of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Italy is practically identical (about 6 per cent), but the rate of growth varies.

During the past decade and a half the share of socialist countries in French exports grew more than one and a half times, while it increased by only 1 to 1.5 per cent in the cases of Italy and Federal Germany. On the import side the picture is not as uniform, the socialist share being 3 to 3.5 per cent for France, 4–5 per cent for the Federal Republic of Germany, and about 6 per cent for Italy. During the same period the so-

cialist ratio was merely 1 per cent in the imports of the United States, while it rose from 2 per cent to nearly 4 per cent in its exports. Socialist countries thus had different shares in the foreign trade of developed capitalist countries. But the general tendency was that their shares expanded more rapidly in the exports than in the imports of capitalist countries; the percentage of such imports was essentially stagnating in the case of most countries.

(c) In the past few years East-West trade was not balanced. From the middle of the 1960s the CMEA countries' balance of trade with developed capitalist countries showed a deficit. Until the early 1970s this was not significant and grew only slowly. Until 1972 it ranged from 200 to 600 million a year, but after 1972 it rose at a faster rate.

An explanation of why the imports of CMEA countries exceed their exports is to be found in the fact that in the early 1970s a phase of intensive economic development began to unfold in the socialist countries. The concurrent change of structure and the overall modernization of production called for the use of considerable resources and, through the building of up-to-date capacities, created the prerequisites of continued economic expansion and of the repayment of credits. All this made it necessary to purchase large complete installations and production systems—purchases which, in accordance with the usage established in world economy, were accompanied by significant credit operations. I include here the credit operations on the capitalist market in order to launch joint projects in CMEA countries. The most important among these is the construction of the Orenburg pipeline; the necessary purchases from capitalist countries are as a rule procured jointly by the CMEA countries, and the related credit operations are carried out by the CMEA Investment Bank.

The deterioration of the terms of trade contributed to the imbalance of foreign trade with capitalist countries in the past few years. The price changes in the world economy had an extremely adverse effect on the majority of the socialist countries, especially those poor in raw materials. For example, Hungary today has to export 20 per cent more than in 1972 to cover an identical volume of imports.

By virtue of a special arrangement of the CMEA countries the changes in price become effective only gradually in their reciprocal trade, but they took place with extreme rapidity in capitalist relations. Even after the price explosion at the end of 1973 every one of the socialist countries endeavoured to secure stability in economic development and to make possible a gradual adjustment to the changed conditions of the world economy. The majority of the countries in the world, including a good number of socialist countries, came to a crossroads: either to introduce drastic measures to hold down economic development, or to resign themselves to a temporary increase in their debts. The socialist countries relying on centrally planned economies chose, of course, the latter alternative in order to avoid the shock effect of the tremendous shift of prices in the world economy and to reckon gradually, in the development of their own economies, with the requirements of the new conditions of the world economy. This makes it possible to solve the balance problem on a higher level, by carrying out structural changes which create favourable conditions for restoring the balance by modernizing the economy. Consequently, there has been an increase in asymmetry in the case of the socialist countries.

Last but not least, the imbalance of trade with the capitalist countries in the years under review was made worse by the difficulties which showed up in the exports from socialist countries to the capitalist markets: to wit, while the value of imports, owing to the aforesaid factors, grew faster than before, the growth of exports could not keep pace.

One cause of this was the economic crisis in the capitalist countries from 1973 onward; this crisis seriously hampered exports to capitalist countries, and sharpened the competition. In other words, it was interrelated with elements in the economic situation which coincided in time with the factors contributing to the increase in the imports of socialist countries. Besides, an equally important role—but one which, as a function of the export pattern of the various socialist countries, is restrictive to different degrees—is played by the discriminatory measures, first of all quantitative restrictions, which certain Western European, chiefly Common Market, countries apply against the exports of socialist countries.

The 1975 slowdown of the increase in exports can be attributed in the first place to the deepening of the capitalist crisis. International trade suffered its biggest recession of the postwar period. The volume of international trade in 1975 decreased by 6 per cent as opposed to an increase of the same magnitude in the preceding year, and the value of turnover, after an increase of 46 per cent in the preceding year, went up by only 5 per cent in 1975. This helps explain the fact that, while the exports of socialist countries in 1975 grew by only 5 per cent as against an increase of 47 per cent a year earlier, exports from capitalist countries to socialist countries increased by 27 per cent.

(d) Structural factors play an important role in the asymmetry of East-West trade. The proportion of processed manufactured products in the whole of international trade shows a rising tendency. From 1960 to 1975 the share of these goods in the export of developed capitalist countries rose from 68 to 75 per cent. This ratio is even higher in their exports to socialist countries, rising from 72 to 82 per cent during the aforesaid period. The rise of the percentage of manufactured products in their exports to socialist countries was more important than in the whole of their foreign trade turnover.

The same tendency appears in the aggregate exports of socialist countries, but it does not appear in their exports to developed capitalist countries. From 1960 to 1974 the ratio of processed manufactured products in the aggregate exports of socialist countries rose more slowly, by only 1 per cent, from 56 to 57 per cent. The increase is especially significant in exports to other socialist countries, where this ratio rose from 62 to 71 per cent. The share of the said commodity group in their exports to developed capitalist countries rose from 33 to 39 per cent between 1960 and 1974, but it is well to note that this ratio already reached 40 per cent in 1965, so in the past ten years it remained practically at a level or rather went down a little. Although we do not have complete data available, we can conclude from partial figures that the tendency has not changed in the past two years either.

All this means on the one hand that the exports from socialist countries to capitalist countries do not at all come up to their level of economic development nor to the pattern of their total exports, and this contradiction increases from year to year with the progress of their economic development. This contradiction becomes more and more serious because the most dynamically expanding sector of international trade is trade in processed manufactured products, yet it plays but a secondary role in the exports of socialist countries. This must be emphasized because further dynamic development of East-West trade and the maintenance of the balance of trade depend more and more upon the extent to which the socialist countries can increase their exports of manufactured products.

Undoubtedly individual socialist countries differ in this regard as well. The biggest exporter of raw materials is the Soviet Union, followed closely by Poland and, if agricultural raw materials are included, by Rumania and Bulgaria. The ratio in the exports to capitalist countries of machinery and equipment is highest in the

cases of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia though, in the last analysis, it is not very important there either. So socialist exports to capitalist markets do not properly reflect in the economic and technical development they have attained during the past few decades. Preponderant in their exports are those products whose sale on the world market is particularly uncertain owing to the stiffness of competition, and in part also those against which discrimination has been applied effectively. (E.g. textiles, articles of clothing, processed food, various other products of light industry.) Consequently the modernization of the export pattern of East-West trade, more precisely of the pattern of the exports of socialist countries, is a *sine qua non* of the further development of East-West trade.

2 *Hindering factors*

It is laid down in the Helsinki Final Act that the participating states "will endeavour to reduce or progressively eliminate all kinds of obstacles to the development of trade." It is proper to ask in this connection whether there has been any progress in this direction since the adoption of the Final Act. If the question is to be answered in a single sentence, the answer can only be that no considerable progress has been made; what is more, tendencies contrary to the purpose have prevailed.

The economic crisis in the capitalist world has bolstered protectionist tendencies, and this has led to serious troubles in international trade. Capitalist countries resort to various measures to protect their respective industry and agriculture. The steps taken to this end are effective, though not uniformly so, against capitalist, developing, and socialist countries alike.

In relation to capitalis countries this protection in first of all applied against countries which carry on especially aggressive export policies, such as Japan, or which engage in restrictive practices, such as the United States.

Within the limited scope of this article I can deal only with the problems of the socialist countries, and even this but very sketchily. Protectionist tendencies have increasingly prevailed against the socialist countries. Depending on the size of the country concerned, political motives, in addition to economic considerations, have also played a part, for the exports of socialist countries are not a decisive factor in the trend on capitalist markets. While the share of socialist countries in the imports of developed capitalist countries is about 4 per cent, in the case of processed products—where protectionism has particularly increased—it has barely reached 2 per cent. Developed capitalist countries apply restrictive measures on a more permanent and manifold basis against socialist countries than against other trading partners.

Trade policies discriminating against socialist countries are not of recent origin, as indicated also in the quoted passage of the Helsinki Final Act. Yet in spite of the Final Act no considerable improvement can be felt. This must be examined from the Hungarian angle in view of the fact that Hungary, by joining GATT, concluded agreements with all capitalist partners, except the United States, for the elimination of discriminatory trade practices. The protocol of accession to GATT applies first of all to the lifting of quantitative restrictions. In spite of their obligation under GATT, and in disregard of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, the Common Market countries continue to maintain the quantitative restrictions hindering trade and discriminating against the socialist countries. Only two countries have lifted those restrictions since 1973 in pursuance of the protocol on Hungary's accession to GATT: Austria and Finland. The United States invariably pursues its trade practices discriminating against the socialist countries.

In this connection, part of the developed

capitalist countries claim that socialist economic planning and foreign trade monopoly are also to be regarded as obstacles to trade, and that the Helsinki Final Act provides for the elimination of all obstacles to the development of trade. This view is evidently baseless, for the Final Act has been signed in the interest of cooperation between the two different socio-economic systems, and not for the purpose of suppressing or even questioning the achievements of socialism. According to the views prevailing in some of the capitalist countries the practice of denying the socialist countries the right to equal treatment on the pretext of their economic planning and foreign trade monopoly continues. They stress the difference in the systems instead of looking for ways of tackling the problems arising from the actual differences. On the above grounds they question whether the most-favoured-nation principle is appropriate under the circumstances of economic planning, and they discriminate against the socialist countries in this regard. But equal treatment, enforcement of the most-favoured-nation principle, can be the only basis fo economic relations built on equality, the only basis on which the factors hindering economic relations can be eliminated in the spirit of the Helsinki agreement.

It can thus be stated that, although a few countries have taken steps to eliminate progressively the obstacles to trade, the prevailing tendency has been different—maintenance of discrimination against socialist countries and strengthening protectionism. Undoubtedly the reason for this is to be found in the crisis in the capitalist economies, but this does not alter the facts. To carry out the spirit of Helsinki for the gradual elimination of the factors hindering trade remains therefore a task of the future.

3 *Financial relations*

(a) Financial relations have played a growing role in economic cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries in recent years. The upward trend of East-West trade early in the 1970s naturally brought with it an expansion of debtor-creditor relationships. The granting of credit stimulated trade much more widely. Within the general increase in business turnover a special role was played by the fact that CMEA countries markedly boosted their imports of machinery and equipment from capitalist countries, and these purchases involved credit operations in the entire world economy. Western banks also intensified their activity on the socialist markets. Hungary follows a practice according to which trade is transacted through payments in cash, and financial support for trade operations is specially supplied by the banks. This has made it possible to obtain favourable terms and to secure stable finances which, in addition to developing the country's own resources, also served to expand exports. Methods customary in world economy, but previously less employed in the practice of socialist countries, such as the issue of bonds by banking syndicates in the case of Hungary, have been introduced.

In the past socialist countries expanded financial relations with the rest of the world by granting credit. The role of credit grew in the mutual relations between CMEA countries. The International Investment Bank of CMEA founded in 1970 has since then developed its credit operations for the financing of projects promoting socialist integration. Considerable credits have been flowing from European socialist countries into Cuba, Mongolia, Vietnam, and North Korea.

The increasingly manifold economic contacts with developing countries also entailed an expansion of debtor-creditor relationships. During 1975 alone 240 new intergovernmental agreements were concluded with 48 developing countries for the construction of various projects. CMEA countries in general promote the establishment of such projects and the provision of tech-

nical assistance by granting government loans and credits for the purpose. Financial relations have thus played an active part in intensifying economic relationships between socialist and developing countries.

(b) Up to 1972 trade between socialist and developed capitalist countries had been more or less balanced. From 1972 onward the imports of socialist countries from capitalist countries increased faster than before, while the increase in exports did not keep pace. However, the imbalance became considerable only in the recent years and was most conspicuous in 1975.

In 1976 this tendency changed again. The imbalance of their trade on capitalist markets compelled the socialist countries to take more energetic steps towards the restoration of the balance of their trade with capitalist countries. As a result, according to available data, in 1976 their exports increased by 12 per cent, but their imports grew by only 5 per cent, and the growth of credits owed to capitalist countries slowed down considerably.

(c) The aggregate debts owed by socialist countries to capitalist countries has grown, though not uniformly, as a consequence of the imbalance of their trade with capitalist countries. The manner in which we evaluate this phenomenon is extremely important, considering that the evaluations published in the Western press handle the issue tendentiously.

The assessment of the size of debts is influenced by many political and economic factors. Whether we take as a basis the absolute sum of credits, or their ratio to the exports or to national income, the matter can be realistically appraised only as a function of the economic situation of the countries concerned, as a function of the developmental perspective of their economic policies. These qualitative factors are really difficult to quantify, but they play a decisive role in the assessment. I wish to underline only two factors. One of them is the purpose served by the credits. Larger credits are warranted primarily in the case of investments which at the same time promote the consolidation of the foreign trade balance, either by considerably enlarging the country's export capacities or by carrying out important import-reducing investments. It is a primary aim of the economic policy of the socialist countries to give priority to the finance of such solutions by making use of their own means and external resources alike.

The second criterion which is considered most important all over the world in appraising the size of credits, is the economic situation of the given country and the prospects for its development. It is generally felt that the socialist countries have steadily developing economies and their mutual economic relations are an important guarantee of their entire economic development. In the light of all this the credits owed by CMEA countries can be regarded as of normal size and in accordance with their economic development, and the furtherance of East-West economic relations will probably be connected with a continued proportionate expansion of the debtor-creditor relationships, too. To this it should be added that in the past few years there has been a world-wide shift in the balance of payments and credits. The only permanent tendency was the increase in the debts due from developing countries, which in 1976 ranged from $170 to $180 000 million. In consequence of the abrupt rise in the price of fuels and raw materials considerable deficits appeared in the balance of payment of many Western European countries, these deficits having increased by more than $60 000 million in the past three years. It should be noted that these figures are concealing an active balance of about $46 000 million for a few capitalist countries, such as the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Compared to all this, the size of the debts due from socialist to capitalist countries, no matter which of the recently published

estimates we take as a basis, can by no means be regarded as a phenomenon creating special problems.

The crux of the matter does not simply lie in the examination of an absolute sum or of various ratios. Financial relations do not exist for themselves but are concomitants—or stimulants in certain cases—of real economic processes, and can be appraised correctly only in the context of the real processes, in connection with an appraisal of the prospects of the economic development of socialist countries and the shaping of their international economic relationships. In the light of this the most important fact is that the economic development of the socialist countries has not been shaken either by the crisis of the world's capitalist economy or by the structural changes taking place in the world economy, and therefore the region of the socialist countries can invariably be regarded as the most steadily developing part of the world economy.

To sum up the financial relationships, it can be stated that in the past half decade they played a greater role in East-West relations than before. It cannot be expected that this role will diminish, but it will be centred more definitely to serve purposes which, directly or indirectly, promote the continued expansion of East-West economic relations.

4 *Other fields of economic cooperation*

The Helsinki Final Act clearly shows that the system of international economic relationships includes areas of economic life which earlier did not play, or played only in exceptional cases, a role in international cooperation.

(a) The Helsinki Final Act laid great stress on cooperation in production as one of the most dynamically developing new forms of economic relations. In the past few years the role of such cooperation has increased vigorously, more dynamically than traditional trade, although the available statistics are not sufficiently elaborate to allow a precise appraisal of development. According to data from the UN Economic Commission for Europe, there are about 1,200 agreements of this kind in force today, and although the turnover realized within the framework of production cooperation makes up only 3–4 per cent of the whole of East-West trade, its importance is much greater, primarily from the point of view of modern technology. As production cooperation has uncovered new reserves of cooperation it can still be regarded as a fast expanding sphere of economic relations. Its further development largely depends, besides the interest of enterprises, on how active is the help provided for its expansion by the Western European governments, most of which are parties to these long-term intergovernmental agreements.

(b) New phenomena appear in the field of energy. Their main characteristic is that they are increasingly built upon permanent contacts, thus mirroring the relevant mutual interest of consumers and suppliers of energy. As a result of growing deliveries of energy, the coordination of the construction of fuel transport systems, first of all pipelines for the transport of gas and transmission lines for electric energy, has acquired great international importance.

(c) The development of cooperation between European countries in the field of transport has continued since the Helsinki Conference. An elaborate presentation of cooperation along different lines would go beyond the scope of this paper, and therefore a few examples concerning Hungary should suffice to characterize the entire process. Thus, since the Helsinki Conference, Hungary—

—has acceeded to the revised TIR agreement for the simplification of the crossing of frontiers in transport by land;

—has implemented the provisions of the agreement concerning the approval of the quality of spare parts and accessories;

—has intensified her participation in containerization, which plays an extremely great role in speeding up international traffic;

—has concluded road transport agreements with Norway and Portugal, has signed another with Greece, and has prepared the conclusion of such an agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany;

—has developed her bilateral contacts with Austria by opening a new border station and by accelerating rail transport between Vienna and Budapest;

—takes an active part in the preparation of the construction of a proposed Trans-european north-south motor highway which will connect the Baltic with the Adriatic, the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and thus with the Middle East.

(d) There is also some progress in co-operation in the protection of the environment. To abide by the Hungarian examples, the Parliament in 1976 enacted a law on the protection of the human environment, ncluding implications concerning international cooperation; and the fiveyear plan for 1976–1980 also meets extensively the requirements of environmental protection. Besides, several bilateral agreements have been concluded with a number of countries, and socialist countries take an active part in the solution of related tasks propoesed by multilateral international forums.

(e) Some progress has also been made in scientific and technical cooperation. In the area of basic research, cooperation is realized mostly with universities and state-sponsored research institutes, as well as with enterprises in the sphere of applied research and development. The latter activity is in part coupled with economic cooperation and licence purchases.

(f) With a view to the implementation of the Final Act definite steps have been taken in the field of international tourism, although, owing to a world-wide decline in this sphere, tourism in Hungary has practically stagnated during the past few years. In 1976, for example, the number of Western tourists visiting Hungary decreased somewhat, while the number of Hungarian tourists going abroad grew more slowly than in preceding years. Hungary has introduced a number of measures to promote international tourism, for example, by increasing the supply of foreign exchange for tourists, by raising the limit of value for goods to be imported duty-free, by simplifying the frontier formalities, and by building several new hotels.

I wish to underline that the above enumeration is just for the sake of presenting examples and is only intended to hint at the extremely vast and consequently difficult to survey activities which in the past few years have aimed at the expansion, in several new areas, of the relationships between socialist and capitalist countries and whose development has been given a considerable impulse by the Helsinki Conference.

5 *Development of economic relations*

The economic provisions of the Helsinki Final Act are implemented through a complex system of relations. The implementation of these provisions in Hungary has not come up against any particular difficulties; previous Hungarian practice being in harmony with these provisions, there has been no need to take new domestic measures. But this does not mean passivity. The atmosphere created by the Helsinki Conference has made it possible to display much more intense activity in carrying on a policy of détente, as well as in developing economic relationships. The socialist countries, Hungary among them, have availed themselves of the opportunities, have taken many initiatives, and will continue to do so in the future. This must be emphasized because the capitalist countries have hardly taken any initiative concerning the economic provisions of the Final Act; moreover, as we

have seen, they apply many measures contrary to the spirit of the Final Act and, in their negotiations with the socialist countries, from time to time. They prefer to comment upon the provisions concerning the dissemination of information, the establishment of business representations, and upon a few other provisions picked at random.

(a) One of the positive phenomena observed since the signing of the Final Act is that high-level talks between socialist and capitalist countries have become more frequent and deal more and more extensively with problems of economic cooperation. Since August 1975 developed capitalist countries have been visited by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on three occasions and by the Chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers on five occasions. Deputy Prime Ministers and other cabinet members have discussions more and more often with their counterparts in the capitalist world. These discussions, even though they do not always result in concrete arrangements, have greatly furthered economic cooperation with capitalist countries in the spirit of Helsinki.

Hungarian diplomacy has achieved considerable activity. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recommended to 18 capitalist states the adoption of bilaterally applicable regulations, and the establishment of joint committees which might give attention to the implementation of the Final Act provisions.

(b) Further development has been attained during the past few years in the promotion of direct contacts; related questions, highlighted in the Final Act on the insistence of Western negotiating partners, have been followed with close attention.

Ten years ago the number of international fairs was 420 a year, today it is more than 1,000. The number of agencies of Western firms in socialist countries has risen to 400, of which 130 are functioning in the Soviet Union. In the past two years Italian, Swedish, and Japanese firms as well as three Western banks have been allowed to establish agencies in Hungary. Hungarian regulations make joint undertakings of Hungarian and Wester firms possible. Hungary has initiated negotiations with several capitalist countries for the conclusion of agreements on the avoidance of double taxation, and such agreements have been signed or initiated with Federal Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and are in preparation with the U.S.A., Japan, and Finland.

(c) Appropriate measures have been taken on the part of Hungary to continue improving the provisions regarding economic information. The Fifth Five Year Plan of the Hungarian national economy has been published in a number of foreign languages, the yearly economic plans are also published regularly, and the publications of the Central Statistical Office are accessible to anyone who takes an interest in them. The Ministry of Foreign Trade has published statistics for 1974–1975 based on internationally comparable classification relating to customs tariffs by product and by country of origin and destination, and it will continue to publish them regularly year by year. The Hungarian Chamber of Commerce publishes and distributes booklets in several languages on the major legislative acts, decrees, and decisions adopted by the National Assembly and the government.

(d) The commercial contacts, except those with Common Market countries and the United States, are regulated by bilateral intergovernmental agreements. The provisions contained in them are in harmony with the Final Act. The secretariat of the UN Economic Commission for Europe has by now registered 94 such agreements between European socialist and capitalist countries as against 23 until 1960. The Common Market countries were unwilling to prolong the agreements upon termination, and demanded that the particular socialist countries should sign separate agreements with the Brussels Committee of the

Common Market. Since the socialist countries refused to do so, the agreements concluded earlier with the Common Market countries were terminated, but even in default of them there was no special difficulty in their commercial contacts. Hungary's only legal instrument in force to regulate trade with the Common Market countries is the protocol of Hungary's accession to GATT, which provides a legal basis for the demand that the Common Market countries should stop all kinds of discrimination.

In relation to the Common Market the most important event of the past two years has been the proposal made by CMEA to the Common Market for the opening of negotiations between the two organizations, or between the two groups of states, and for the conclusion of an agreement promoting cooperation. The CMEA proposal is aimed at the establishment of permanent and regular contacts between CMEA and the Common Market, so that these contacts might focus on the elimination of the obstacles to trade and open up new possibilities for the mutually advantageous expansion of commercial, production, and other relationships.

The answer of the Common Market to the CMEA proposal thus far cannot be regarded as positive. True, the European Economic Community declares itself ready to establish regular contacts with regard to questions of secondary importance, e.g. the standardization of statistics, but refuses to discuss questions of commercial policy. The only result so far is that a dialogue has begun between CMEA and the Common Market. But the implementation of the decisions of the Helsinki Conference would require that this dialogue lead to an agreement and to regular cooperation promoting the economic relations. Whether these aims can be realized depends on the attitude of the Common Market countries.

(e) Efforts are made, within the framework of many- sided cooperation, to realize the economic objectives of the Helsinki Conference. An outstanding role in this is played by the proposals made by the Soviet Union for the convening of all-European conferences to deal with topics such as energy sources, environmental protection, and transport technology. These conferences would not simply be expert discussions but would aim at the concrete coordination of the economic policies of European countries in the three fields in question.

Their appropriate preparation, the participation of high-ranking government delegates, and the implementation of their resolutions might give a new impulse to the realization of the objectives set by the Helsinki Conference in the field of economic cooperation, especially with regard to the concerted development, on a Europe-wide scale, of the infrastructure which constitutes practically the nervous system of the economy beyond the scope of trade proper. In respect of the holding of the first such conference, on the subject of environmental protection, an agreement was reached last April during the session of the Economic Commission for Europe, and the preparatory work has already begun.

(To be concluded)

GYULA ILLYÉS, POET OF A NATION

by

LÁSZLÓ FERENCZI

There are some magic titles, or metaphors, which give a true description of the attitudes or philosophy of a poet. How revealing Paul Éluard's *L'amour de la poésie!* How much we know about Robert Goffin from *A bout portant*, or about W. H. Auden when he says *Another Time*, or about Stephen Spender when he writes *The Still Centre*, or about André Frénaud when he argues *Il n'y a pas de paradis*. Gyula Illyés, poet, writer of prose, dramatist, essayist, translator, announces to the world *Nyitott ajtó* ("Open door"), *Ingyen lakoma* ("Free feast"), and *Kézfogások* ("Handshakes").

Illyés published a selection of his verse translations of "Open door" in 1963. Almost every European literature is present in this volume, and Chinese and Japanese poems to boot. Medieval French poetry and modern European poetry are especially well represented; among the contemporaries we find his personal friends, Tristan Tzara, Jean Follain, André Frénaud, as well as Boris Pasternak and Nezval. This son of the Hungarian *puszta* became acquainted with the medieval French, the dadaists, and the surrealists, all at the same time, in the early twenties in Paris; and that was when he undertook to translate them.

"Free feast" is a selective anthology of essays published in 1964; it includes the work of several decades. The subjects are Hungarians and foreigners; Racine, Éluard, the Soviet G. Martinov, or Eastern poetry. The expanded edition of 1975, *Iránytűvel* ("With a compass") includes, in addition, an essay on Tzara, a record of the poet's creed regarding loyalty to friends and responsibility. In the course of half a century Illyés has returned again and again to Tzara in translations, in essays, or in quotations throughout his autobiography. Even now, looking back from the seventies, Illyés considers dadaism a serious and noble movement, whereas Tzara is regarded not as a curio of literary history, but as a poet whose qualities will be discovered by future generations.

What Illyés himself had accomplished, however, is radically different from Tzara's work. Illyés is the poet of the landless peasant; he is the classicist poet of Hungarian national consciousness. Yet he feels we can better grasp, and become more aware of, folk poetry under the effect of surrealism.

"Handshakes" (1956) is one of Illyés's twenty volumes of poetry. Perhaps no more important than the others, it is nevertheless my favourite; it was in some of these poems, published in reviews (and eventually included in this volume) that I discovered the poet for myself during my high school days, and began to suspect something that Jean Follain had formulated so perfectly:

"Faced with (this) mystery of Time and that of death, Illyés wants to preserve—in spite of all the evil deeds of history and its troublesome ambiguities a certain innocent view of the world. He knows how to keep alive all the great frontiers of the unknown." (From *A Tribute to Gyula Illyés*, eds. Thomas Kabdebo and Paul Tabori, preface by Jean Follain, Washington: Occidental Press, 1968, p. 8).

One of these poems that had appeared in a periodical first was titled "Bartók." Not quite a quarter of a century after its appearance it became a classic, nowadays it is taught at school. The poem is passionate, meaningful, thought-provoking, and has a quieting effect—like all good poetry. But what passions it provoked at the time of its appearance! I had not read such liberating verse by a living poet during my schooldays. The dogmatic cultural policy of the first half of the fifties held that Bartók was alien to socialism and humanism, as were so many other great artists of the past and present. This was also the poem which mentioned the name of Pablo Picasso, likewise rejected until then; in other words, the poem rehabilitated the Hungarian composer and the Spanish artist, rehabilitated true universality.

It was an occasional poem in the true sense of the word, an artistic programme of liberation and of enthusiasm and, of course, a political poem as well; and from the distance of almost a quarter of a century it is obviously a masterpiece. Of course we, enthusiastic students (and I believe others as well) already suspected it, but at 17 and 18 we could not have known Illyés's secret, that potential immortality lies concealed even in his most occasional work, because of the extremely demanding form, his incredible respect for artistic principles, and his honesty as a thinker. To put it differently, he prepares the most topical texts from durable matter. He is master of lasting political verse.

After his "Bartók" poem, after the volume "Handshakes" neither

"Open door" nor "Free feast" were surprising titles. How pertinent the preface to the latter:

"It is good to eat, but people have to be taught and encouraged to do even that. They must be educated constantly in order to eat what is tasty, what is good, what is healthy; they must overcome their prejudices in this domain as well. There is so much great food—varying from country to country—that people will not take a bite of, or sip, out of superstition. The same goes for intellectual food. This is where appetite has to be fostered, tastes analysed, vitamins and calories recommended: to beg that at least a spoonful of the unfamiliar dish be introduced into the guzzle."

"Open door" is the opportunity to defeat superstition and prejudice. It is only through the open door that the offering of the free feast and the act of shaking hands become possible.

In his volume of translations he does not print the poets according to nationality: "I thought it would be more instructive if I arranged them in the order of their birth. Since their development is along different lines, this mingling—though the oriental poets remain separate—may lead to the clarification of that which is essential. How much more significant it is within a given civilization, when he lived, than where! How similar the language of poets in a given era is; they transcend the hedges of their mother tongue, the ramparts of their fatherland! How well they understand one another even in their debates, even in their misunderstandings!"

The poet who wrote this is the same who in the 1930s, in his brief and grotesque epic *Hősökről beszélek* ("I speak of heroes") revealed to us the world of the large estates, and of the field-hands living under conditions of semi-serfdom servitude on those estates. I mean, in particular, *The People of the Puszta* (English version, Budapest, Corvina Press, 1967), this sociological description permeated with autobiographical elements, by now a classic. The poet became the spokesman of landless peasants and also in the early thirties of national consciousness, tortured as he was by the nightmare of the death of the nation. (Visions of the death of the nation Illyés reminds us, has been a theme of Hungarian poetry ever since the 17th century.)

It is about this national poet, sometimes accused of being overly national, that his younger contemporary Alain Bosquet said: "Only three or four living poets have been able to identify themselves with the soul of the century, in the widest sense of the term... Their genius burns in the Hungarian poet Gyula Illyés..." (Quoted in *A Tribute to Gyula Illyés*, inside jacket).

I believe so myself, but I was happy to quote Alain Bosquet. I think it would be the worst kind of hypocrisy if, while addressing a foreign public,

I would not admit that we in Hungary believe Illyés to be one of the greatest, most universal poets and educators of our century.

I don't know Illyés personally. Two or three superficial meetings cannot be considered a personal acquaintance. But I owe him friendship, important conversations, significant reading experiences. If I managed to exchange meaningful words with ten or fifteen European, Asian, or African poets, if I have an inkling of what my interlocutors said about the land problem, the way of life of the peasant, the significance of national being and tradition, the function of literature in their respective countries, if they felt they were not talking to the walls or to the tape-recorder, then I owe it, at least in part, to the fact that I am a reader of Gyula Illyés.

I speak about myself shamelessly: but I received authorization for it from Illyés himself. He was once asked, during an interview: "What is poetry good for, all things considered?" And Illyés answered:

"I can give you an answer only by telling you what it is that the poems and literature as such gave me. Poems have taught me how to speak. It is through poetry that unconscious feelings, intuitions, concepts have touched me first. I would be unable to formulate exactly the plus-value I may have received from a specific poem, but I know that poetry taught me a whole scale of inexpressible, and perhaps as yet unexpressed feelings, just as my mother had taught me what is a cup, a table, a pair of plyers, a knife. People who have been raised in the same literary environment can understand one another practically at a glance; they approach each other with ease. Hence poetry has a practical effect, that is what I would tell a social scientist. As for subconscious, transcendent experiences, these should be discussed in a psychological essay."

And in the preface to his volume of poetry *Fekete fehér* ("Black white"), in 1967, he wrote: "It is not his own business the writer has to investigate but that of his readers."

Illyés, this lonely man, often prone to despair, who neither offers nor accepts easy solutions, is a true citizen of the *république des lettres*. He respects the work of art, the artist, the real or potential reader, in sacred earnest. In this century didactic poetry is not what it used to be in the 17th or 18th centuries. The best didactic poetry of the 20th century, to mention but a few examples, was written by poets like Pessoa, Auden, Léopold Sanghor, or Éluard. And Gyula Illyés. True enough, the others wrote theirs mostly in the first half of the century.

Illyés is the poet of the creation of values, the preservation of values, the making aware of values. And not only the values of poetry; rather the values of the individual, of particular classes, of particular nations. No one

appreciates poetry more highly than he does. But there is no one who knows better to appreciate products other than poetic, whether it be that of the peasant, of the artisan, or of the industrial worker. More accurately, perhaps, he includes all true creativity within the category of poetry.

II

He was born in 1902 at Rácegres, on a large estate in Western Hungary, on a *puszta* (this is nothing like the stepps called *puszta* and found by the tourist seeking exotic sites—the pseudoromantic *puszta* promoted in such a theatrical, hence false way, in the Great Plains, by the Hungarian tourist organizations). His father was an engineer on the estate. Gyula was not the first in the family to receive an education. He became an avid reader early in life. In one of his reminiscences he describes the frenetic, formative influence exerted on him as a schoolboy by one of the great classics of 19th-century Hungarian literature, the epic poem *Toldi* by János Arany. Thanks to a teacher uncle he became acquainted, at the time of the First World War, with the best series of publications of the times; thus he reads Guglielmo Ferrero, Kropotkin, and Darwin. He read Marx for the first time, and studied French enthusiastically:

"I learnt to speak my mother tongue in a heavy dialect. The way I said 'yes' betrayed not only my provincial origin but also that I grew up on a *puszta*: that my world was the lowest stratum even among the peasantry. It was some kind of negro skin I was wearing, a yellow star. I started to learn French in order to be able to speak. For my dialect bore this stamp, which gradually deprived me of speech altogether. So it occurred to me that when I speak French nobody would notice I came from a *puszta*. At most, they might notice that I am Hungarian. And as such I would blend into equality with the millions who speak French with a foreign accent. Hence, unlike others, it is not national but class isolation that I wanted to break away from," he wrote in 1963 in his essay *Hála a második anyanyelvért* ("Thanks to the second mother-tongue") dealing with French language and literature.

He was sixteen when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed at the end of October 1918; in the next three-quarters of a year he witnessed the failure of the bourgeois revolution, and the fall of the Republic of Councils. He was there, arms in hand, when the eastern front of the Republic collapsed, and he participated in the support action on behalf of the relatives of the political prisoners. He had to emigrate.

He lived in Paris for five years, until 1926.

"Paris was freely and refreshingly infinite, like the puszta itself. It was not merely a matter of French civilization. There was even a Parisian civilization. Its main accomplishment is that even in crowd one has the right to be alone. My self-confidence was enhanced by my belief that one could step into the apartment of a writer as one would into a museum, into an old church, into other public places... And they received me at all hours with exemplary self-control... In his flat in Montmartre... (Paul) Reverdy lit a slice of paper from a small oil lamp at a picture of the Virgin between two Picasso masterpieces, and then lit the wick under the samovar to make tea. He talked to me, and made me talk." ("Thanks to the second mother-tongue.")

In his autobiographical narrative *Hunok Párizsban* ("Huns in Paris," 1946) Illyés describes Tristan Tzara's moving kindness and attentiveness. He was also witness to the production of the pamphlet "The Carrion" by young surrealists at the time of the death of Anatole France.

"It was Paris that made me Hungarian," he wrote elsewhere.

In 1934, in *The People of the Puszta*, he wrote: "Those who set out from the farm servants' dwellings to become human beings regularly cast aside and forget their origins at first, like tadpoles becoming frogs. This is the road of progress and there is no other. Those who desert the air of the pusztas must acquire new hearts and lungs, otherwise they die in their new environment. And if they ever want to get back there, they must compass the world to do so.

I myself went through the stages of this agonizing metamorphosis and only after the sixth or seventh stage did I become enough of a man to tackle the puszta."

The work of his life since his return home or, if we need pinpoint a date, since the publication of his first volume of poems, *Nehéz föld* ("A hard land") in 1928, is a record of this undertaking.

The metamorphosis described by Illyés, the leaving and returning, and later the process of undertaking, are all well known psychological phenomena; the confessions of a number of artists, scientists, and politicians bear it out. Illyés was not the only one who did not slam the door behind himself after the metamorphosis. But every kind of fidelity is unique and indivisible, and even in the most difficult times Illyés remained faithful to his French experience, to the spirit of the *république des lettres* which he seems to have acquired in the company of dadaists and surrealists.

In 1942, when Hungary was an ally of Fascist Germany, it was he who edited (and translated in part) the anthology *A francia irodalom kincsesháza* ("The treasure-house of French literature.") He wrote in the preface:

"How can one express gratitude to an entire nation? Since Bessenyei and Petőfi how many Hungarians have become richer from the wealth of the French spirit? Translation work is a mark of homage. I would like to present this collection of homages as the expression of our gratitude at this difficult moment of the French nation."

The anthology introduced French literature from the first text in verse in the vernacular, the Cantilène of Sainte Eulalie (881) to Péguy and Apollinaire, including the works of poets, prosewriters, and moralists. Although part of a series, it was an ocassional collection: a political and artistic programme, the praise of the French spirit, the defence of the "open door", in the third year of the Second World War. And, like the Bartók poem, it stood the test of time, and remains to this day among the best, the most stimulating introduction to French thought in the Hungarian language.

Between 1942 and March 1944 Illyés was a literary power, the editor, of the periodical *Magyar Csillag*. This was the most prestigeous literary periodical of the time in Hungary. Illyés believed, quite consciously, the periodical to be an arm of resistance, a "corrall" into which all values could be collected and preserved. When, as a result of the Race Law (à la Nürnberg) the Hungarian writers of Jewish descent found themselves excluded from literature, Illyés opened up the periodical to them in spite of attacks from the extreme right. Not Illyés, but the interested parties testify that he saved lives in this manner. Incidentally, his youthful experiences with the workers' movement and the reminiscences about his contacts with French writers recorded in *Huns in Paris* began to appear in *Magyar Csillag*. This too required some courage. The German occupation of the country on March 19, 1944, forced him into hiding.

The leading periodical of the great literary renaissance at the beginning of the century was *Nyugat* (1908–1941), often referred to as a Hungarian version of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*. One of the respected collaborators of *Nyugat* from the very start, and its editor during the last decade was Mihály Babits (1883–1941), the liberal Catholic poet, novelist, essayist, and translator. One of his most significant works was the *Európai irodalom története* ("The history of European literature"); and it was precisely Illyés who wrote the preface to its German edition. In the introduction to the "Open door" Illyés proved again a disciple of Babits: "Supra-national literature, read everywhere alike, preceded national literatures", he argued.

Among those who began writing between the two world wars there were barely any who did not learn one thing or another from Babits; likewise there were but few who did not turn on Babits passionately for a

longer or shorter period of time. Perhaps there never has been a writer so fiercely berated by friends and opponents of merit.

Soon after his return from Paris Illyés became a close and faithful friend to Babits, by fifteen years his senior; he also became one of the main contributors of *Nyugat*. After the death of Babits, when the officials of the Horthy regime made the continuation of the "liberal-destructive" periodical impossible, Illyés received permission to launch *Magyar Csillag*. This review became a rallying point for the most diverse views; it became the mouthpiece of progressive creative artists and writers, including the "populists."

It is possible to date the beginnings of the "populist" movement with fair accuracy by the publication of a certain article. In 1933, Illyés published in *Nyugat* a warning about the destruction threatening the peasantry of Western Hungary. The article elicited a considerable response, and soon led to the formation of a group of writers who were wont to identify the peasantry with the nation (or, to be more exact, the nation with the peasants). The members of the populist movement, however, were not exclusively of peasant origin, as Illyés reminds us. For instance, their periodical was edited by György Sárközi, who started under the influence of Neo-Catholicism somewhere close to Babits and who, because of his Jewish descent, fell victim to the National Socialist terror.

It is not my task to write about the populists here, although I feel justified in regarding them as the most significant Hungarian intellectual movement between the two world wars. I need only mention that we are not dealing with a unified movement at all; that its own semi-official historian excluded precisely Illyés and László Németh, preferring to describe Illyés as a disciple of Babits, and Németh as a "loner." This ostracism, however, did not prevent Illyés either then or now, from identifying himself with the attitudes of the populists. And something else. Those conversations I owe to Illyés, to which I had referred above, have convinced me that the "populist" movement was not as peculiarly Hungarian as its opponents, or its biased supporters, would often have it. The social and national problems of the peasantry, the problem of national identification, the relationship of rural and urban, from the turn of the century to our days, in Europe and beyond Europe, in this century or that, at this time or that, have become topical issues. Illyés himself had always said so himself.

It is characteristic of Illyés after his metamorphosis, after he found his calling, that he stood up for his views on the "open door" not only in the sixties and seventies, but also during the decade and a half before 1945,

when it was most dangerous. He has always remained faithful to Babits, although several of his companions among the populists had attacked the great poet, considering him as just about the enemy number one; and Illyés has always remained faithful to the populists as well, even during the most diverse attacks against them, before 1945 and after, from the right and from the left; and he has remained always faithful to the dadaists and surrealists, although this faith was likewise not without peril either before 1945, during the Fascist period, or after, in the years of dogmatism. Almost alone among the thinkers of our century Illyés deems that we can only be faithful to the principles of social progress and to universal culture, by leaning on national culture and traditions.

This triple faith, in the populists, in Babits, and in the surrealists, is embodied in masterpieces such as *The People of the Puszta* (1936), his biography of *Petőfi* (1936), or *Magyarok* ("Hungarians"), a collection of essays and diary notes published in 1939, and in hundreds of poems as well (but I would also refer to his plays). *The People of the Puszta* is actually an overture to the sociological and literary movement by means of which the populists sought to uncover, document, and change the life of the peasantry. His Petőfi biography of 1936 asserts in a straightforward and provocative way, in contrast to the conservative, official interpretation of the time, that Petőfi was a poet of the revolution, and that this revolution had become, if possible, more timely than ever. This piece of writing was also incidental, just like his *People of the Puszta*, and it too became a classic; both dealth with the most burning daily problems. And their increasing effect at home and abroad proves, after more than forty years, that Illyés had been using lasting materials and created lasting works. Incidentally, this also applies to the far less familiar "Hungarians" in which we find by side side essays dealing with the misery of the peasant, the threat to the nation, and Tzara.

Furthermore, all this is particularly characteristic of his poetry. One of his poems of more than forty years ago, one of the most important pertaining to the populist movement, was described as follows by the English poet Eric Mottram in *The New Hungarian Quarterly:* "Illyés' *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." (NHQ 66.)

This lengthy lyrical work is practically a summing-up of everything that has preoccupied Illyés in *The People of the Puszta, Petőfi*, and "Hungarians". I will quote two excerpts. An invitation to a dinner in a swanky residential area of Budapest gives the poet the occasion to talk about contrasts and

confrontations. Thus, he meditates while the cog-wheel railway climbs the hill:

> . . .I felt I was climbing
> up the Hill straight from the puszta's
> evening fields, where many times
> I'd written out day-labourer's schedules.
>
> I'll tell you why I thought that way,
> looking at the ticket in my hand
> in my seat on the Cog-Wheel Railway:
> for should a peasant have a mind
> to take the self-same ride,
> he'd dig for his ticket an entire working day.
> At home seventy fillérs is a whole day's pay.
>
> (1936) *(Translated by Kenneth McRobbie, NHQ 37)*

And this was how he saw the upper-class neighbourhood:

> . . .With the old look-out tower
> it was like a magic castle,
> the terrifying or happy
> seat of some Asiatic deity
> found only in Hungarian or Vogul folk-tale,
> called Castle Spinning on a Duck's Leg: Wonder
> Castle.
>
> *(ibid.)*

III

In 1934 he met Malraux in Moscow, at the first congress of Soviet writers. (By the way, Illyés had written an excellent account of his trip, acceptable even now, in fact, reissued under the title *Oroszország* [Russia].) During the sixties, Malraux, as a member of the Government, received a delegation of Hungarian writers, of which Illyés was a member; the meeting was recorded by Illyés in one of his most memorable essays.

On the day of the burial I was reading Malraux's *Lazare* which had just

seen print; and I also happened to pick up the book Illyés had written seven years earlier, and which exists in French and a number of other languages. *Kháron ladikján* ("Charon's ferry").* Was it the time and the place? The two books frightfully resembled each other. Not because of the style, and not because of their topic taken in the narrow sense. Rather because of the passion with which both authors interrogate death; because of the ruthless objectivity with which they look at themselves; because of their rejection of every form of cheap consolation. And because both appeal to human solidarity. For decades, both had been preoccupied with the problems of death and of creation. Illyés writes in "Charon's ferry": "Actually old age is the only worthwhile question any imaginable philosophy may ask."

In 1926, as he returned from Paris, Illyés met the problem of death. He was concerned with the nightmare of national death, as were many Hungarian writers before him, and the problem of human death, the death of the individual without the shelter of religious faith—actually for the first time in Hungarian literature. During four decades, varying according to place, time, occasion, age, Illyés had written about death unflinchingly. To resort once again to the metaphor I have used many times already, here too Illyés opened doors: he joined, without appeal, the individual being to the social being. When he pays attention to a class, to a nation, and to nations in general (since even geographically speaking his interests become ever more catholic, the years having only enhanced his curiosity and his worries), he never forgets about the individual human being, and vice-versa. And he formulates this unity, in the spirit of the "Open door" of the "Free feast," and of the "Handshakes" in the epilogue to his poem "The Maker" *(Teremteni)*:

With these mortal eyes
to learn what I am here to do,
the job that waits for me to do it,
for which, somewhere,
a peasant, hoeing, sends me this
glass of wine,
a worker touching down his soldering-iron
sent light
into my room,

* See an excerpt, a conversation with György Lukács, in NHQ 47. *The Editor.*

to find with mortal eyes
the eternal task:
Make the future speak!
—already it is quarreling with death,

skillfully, intelligent,
bustling, with
authority.

To do the job
well, to our liking
—yes, like good
love-making.

Almost stroking its face
in gratitude.

To leave it there,
to look back a few times
on the one who lies there satisfied;
she keeps my riches,
conceiving my future,
the meaning, maybe forever, of all
I was here for,

Mortal, imperishable.

(Translated by Daniel Hoffman, NHQ 33)

Thus wrote Illyés in 1968, almost a decade ago, when he was 66.

Teremteni—(literally: "to create,") the title of the poem and of the volume, the title of the second volume of his collected verse, covering the period 1946 to 1968. It is a key word, sibling to "Open door," "Free feast," and "Handshakes." At 75 Illyés continues to work, to create, faithful to himself, and without repeating himself. The work shapes him and he shapes with his work. To despair, illness, old age, nightmares he replies with work that has become a ceremonial act. Jean Follain knew about him that "he offers us communion without reservations or literary artifices with the joys and sorrows of the present; but he is always caught again by amazements that bear witness to hope."

THE BODY SEARCHER

Short story

by

LAJOS MARÓTI

At the factory where I work we have a custom or rather standing instructions ordering us to do spot-checks on people upon leaving the premises lest they take things out in their bags or under their clothing. So a search bureau, a sub-unit of general surveillance, operates at all the porters' cubicles (of which there are 32). The bureau consists of control corridors, the selecting mechanism, a room for doing the search, and the (male and female) searchers themselves. I am a male searcher, working a 24-hour shift three times a week at cubicle No. 17.

The spot-check is carried out as follows. At the end of the shifts (at 2 p.m., 10 p.m. and 6 a.m.) the emerging crowd passes through ten corridors separated by barriers; people pass through the corridors one at a time. The corridor is equipped with a built-in electric eye at the entrance. When the person crosses the line, he steps in the way of the light beam, and a relay signals to the selecting unit which, from time to time, at random, switches on a light, either green or red. The light indicates that the unit has picked that particular person for a check. When the green light turns on, we searchers only look through the person's bag, and feel his clothes; but if the red light is on, a thorough search has to be carried out. That means, the person involved is asked to go into a special room with dressing booths (naturally separate cubicles are provided for men and for women). That is the custom, or rather those are the instructions at our factory.

*

Today I am the male searcher on duty at the gate No. 17. I am to watch for the red light. It's really hot today, about 40 degrees in the shade. The air seems to have stuck squarely in the dressing booths. The smell of bodies and sweat fills the air, and I feel nauseated when I have to go in.

Thank God, the selecting mechanism has mercy on me, flashing green most of the time.

Now and then of course it turns on red... So I check his identification card against his factory pass: his name is János Kovács, 53 years old, tool mechanic in unit No. 2 of the engine plant. As the sweat is running down his body in streams, he grumbles that he may miss the 2.20 express train, then the connection at the terminal, and will have to wait another hour for the next bus that takes him to his village.

Let's go on. Hurry up. Undress, while I have a look at your bag. We'll do it in no time.

I find nothing particular in the bag except some magazine, greasy papers (in which he must have wrapped his sandwiches), and some bags of high-quality seed—he must have a garden of his own where he grows things. He passes out his clothes, there is nothing in them. But I still have to check him too, that is the custom, or rather instruction, here. The man is standing stark naked in the booth, looking in a hostile way, about to bitch, but I disarm him: That's all right, there's no need for you to remove more clothes... Well, well. What about your hernia truss? Why didn't you take it off? I take a thorough look at it, nothing. But, of course, I still have to check. It has happened before that some fellow smuggled out circular loom needles, fifty at a time, in his truss for weeks (yes, one of our unit produces circular loom needles—among other things).

János Kovács starts to dress and grumbles. He sure missed his 2.20 train. And what do you know, the bloody eye picked him out for the second time this week...

*

I should emphasize that the electronic selecting mechanism excludes any possibility of abuse, whether conniving leniency, arbitrary harassment stemming from personal dislike, or simply a desire for power. The selection process controlled by the electric eye is completely at random. Sometimes it looks as if it regularly picks out every fourth, fifth, or eighth passer-by; but if you should count on such a sequence, you may find yourself in trouble, because the machine will soon change its mind, and all of a sudden it picks out three people successively, two with the green light, one with the red; and then perhaps will stay silent for the next few minutes... If there is some kind of system in its operation, you cannot figure it out—at least I can't, though I have been watching it for years.

As for the workers, the technical staff, and the white-collar people, I would not say that they love being picked out by the machine, or that we

rummage through their belongings, and search through their clothes; and they really hate to undress naked under the watchful eyes of a stranger—though of their sex. But the majority by far understands the importance of such a measure: it is a question of protecting common property, something that is in the interest of all honest workers. Every item stolen reduces the profits of the factory, even if it be only a handful of nails, and eventually each one of us will feel it when profit shares are paid out. The method itself, with its randomly predetermined perfection, serves as a kind of deterrent to criminal types who can fall into the snare of chance just as anyone else, and indeed they do at times. So everyone accepts that this is the custom, or rather instruction here; and we, the searchers, try to do our job as tactfully as possible. And the head of the local supervision squad never fails to remind us of how important that is. Professional training, vigilance, a knack for observation, as well as consideration and tact are the characteristics of a good searcher. Another red light, damn that machine, it is forty degrees in the shade, the hot air and smell of feet are piled up within the dressing booths...

Your pass please!

He presents it, and I check his identity. He is a young man, wearing long hair, but spectacles too, he has a nondescript physique, wears a T-shirt and denim pants with sandals, and no socks. He is Péter Zoltán, a construction engineer, at the planning office of factory unit No. 5.

Why didn't you get yourself the green light? Now I have to go in there with you...

That's all right—he says soothingly—it is just as embarrasing for me, you can believe it...

Will you take any of the booths, sir, I'll check your bag. The bag has many compartments, and it's a nice brown genuine leather bag—I take a thorough look at it, the bags of the technical staff are really worth looking at (there is no need to search them as they most rarely smuggle a file or a saw-blade, preferably in their socks); but their bags are usually full of books, papers or designs; it is a complicated matter as to what they may take out of the factory and what they may not, which books belong to the company and which are a person's own property; if they bring in designs of machines with them, and they want to take them home, they must ask for written permission at the gate on entry, but they usually forget even that (which means trouble); if they try to take out inside designs or papers officially, they need to have papers officially stamped by the proper department, but they forget about them just as well... But today the bag of Péter Zoltán is empty, except for a towel and swimming-trunks.

Will you hand out the clothes, please.

He opens the door as wide as he can, and there he stands in underwear. And a straw hat on his head. Funny... With little enthusiasm I feel my way over the pants and the T-shirt.

Your hat, too.

Oh, sorry.

He whips off his hat, and I check if there's anything under the lining, but nothing. For security's sake I reach over to his head, and touch his long tufts of hair (it is all routine: women tend to smuggle out things in their bun, like the girls in the chemistry labs come out with platinum jars and platinum electrodes). His hair sticks to my palm.

Excuse me. I am wearing a wig.

Old people seldom have such billiard-ball heads as his. I must look bewildered because he starts explaining:

When I was a child, I lost all my hair as a result of some children's complaint. That's why I am wearing a wig. So.

Now I begin to dislike the fellow. Though I find nothing in the wig, I have become suspicious. I refuse to return his pants, his shirt.

Take off everything, please.

He removes his underwear (what do you know, it has holes in it), then slowly, cautiously he takes off his skin. He is about to unbutton his muscles from his skeleton, when I nod to stop it: I don't want to see his stomach, people like him don't swallow gold discs just to release them at home, and have rings or artificial teeth made from them (this has happened at one of the electronic factory units, where gold inlays and the like are made, and the raw materials are handed out in tiny discs).

Your head, please.

He blushes. Then he turns red. Yes, I knew that something was wrong here... He messes about with his skull, but it won't snap open. Hurry up, please.

Snap. At last, it has opened. Resigned, he presents it to me, and I start thumbing through his cerebral convolutions. Right. A set of formulas.

What is that?

Please sir, these are ordinary relations for the calculation of gear trains, you can find them in any manual or university textbook.

Anybody can say that. Damn it, that is when trouble starts. How do I know that he brought along the formulas from home (in that case he could take them back, but why has he no permission); he may have come upon them during work-hours, in which case they are factory property, most probably, and he has no right to take them out, unless he produces a permit

from his boss, with the official stamp of the pertinent department... I go on with the search and find a set of sketches again.

These must surely belong to the factory? I ask contentedly, for catching him red-handed. He does not protest. I mess about for a while with the stuff I found.

How can you do a thing like that, sir?

I just can't leave them here—he pushes the words out in agony. I simply can't.

He is a cleptomaniac, in other words.

They stick to me, whether I want it or not. I think about them all the time, even when I am at home.

He is worse than a cleptomaniac.

Why don't you get a permit at least? It's quite simple: all you need is a small slip of paper from the management...

It's not that important, believe me.

You want me to believe it... what if it's top secret? How do you expect me to believe that you are not smuggling out some secret military invention in your head?

Come on... these are the sketches of a compressed-air tool.

Sorry, we'll have to draw up minutes.

If you insist—he says listlessly.

Aha! His indifference embarrasses me: if the whole thing leaves him cold, the matter cannot really be that important; it is not worth to initiate proceedings for a trifle and, what's more, to write heaps of paper, and all the trouble that goes with them... and you'll come a cropper in the end. And anyway, it is so hot, the heat and the smell of feet are stacked up between the dressing booth.

Will you dress, please.

With his fingers he rakes his cerebral convolutions together, snaps his skull shut, climbs into his skin, puts on his wig, then the straw hat; and finally the tattered underwear, the denim pants and the T-shirt.

Can I go now?

Of course. Next time...

By all means. And thank you... for your kindness.

I am looking at the way he plods out. I am mad at the man for keeping me busy in the heat and stench. In another way I feel sorry for him, a poor little man. Why can't he act like everyone else, play with his kid at home, hug his wife, weed the kitchen garden, and watch TV. This man keeps taking his work home. Even to the beach and everywhere. Is he sane?

And he can bring himself into an awkward situation like what happened

now, and me along with him. The machine can pick him out, and in that case I have to check, and most thoroughly at that. That's my job. Many years of experience have shown that criminal elements make up about 0.726 per cent of the total number of factory workers. I have no idea whether this is a worse or better ratio than the national or the world average. But I do know that the 0.726 per cent adds up to 290.4 people out of the 40,000 employed, at the factory, and that's two hundred and ninety point four-tenths persons. Even if every one of them smuggles out only 100 forints worth of common property a day, that would make ten millions forints worth of less a year—and that makes some difference, even at a factory like ours that produces goods in the 100 million bracket. That is why—if we cannot solve the checking of all the 40,000 persons, which would undeniably be the perfect solution—we must do spot-checks among the workers leaving the factory premises—that is the custom or rather the instructions here.

WITH MY FATHER AT THE GAME

Short story

by

GYÖRGY SPIRÓ

June 13th.

Today is the last time I am going to see a game with my father.

We are on Dózsa György út, with me driving and glancing sideways at times. He looks weary, there's no colour in his face. The jacket of his grey suit is on the back seat. A handkerchief hangs in the pocket of his short-sleeve shirt, over his heart. It makes me edgy that he keeps it there. From time to time he wipes his forehead.

"What's on today?" I ask.

"I had a radiation session."

"And?"

"I am going for the last time tomorrow. The doctor said it's getting better."

We are close to the Szabolcs utca hospital now, that's where he is going to die, it's all fixed.

"I brought the set," I tell him, "Szepesi will do the commentary."

I'm hot, and the bunch of keys in my pocket presses against my thigh. The keys to the upper and lower lock, that of the lift, the front door, and the mailbox. The ignition key dangles right in front of me, with the car-door keys and that of the safety lock.

We pass through the demonstration square, there are the stands. The pedestal is empty. This is where the Stalin statue used to stand. My grandmother, who committed suicide, got a piece of the earlobe in '56, I looked after it for a while, then it got lost somewhere.

A bunch of cops at the end of Dózsa György út. They are diverting us to Ajtósi Dürer sor.

Népstadion út is also sealed off. We have to go to Hungária körút. Traffic has slowed down to walking space. All three lanes are crowded, in front

of us a bus is edging by, filled with fans with boards, behind us lorries, and cars on both sides.

"We should not have come this way," Father says.

"Makes no difference", I answer, "cars must be diverted in other streets as well."

I light up. The air is awfully sultry. He never drunk, or smoked, he kept fit. If there's justice, he should have got cancer of the throat in the Csepel air, spending twenty-five years in the smoke and soot there.

We are still struck. He keeps wiping his forehead. I gaze in each direction but his, and yet I watch him all the time. I want to note his features. He is practically grey but at least he hasn't grown bald. His face is so familiar. I know every little wrinkle on it. Yet nights I wake up to realize that I have forgotten him. There is a tiny swelling on the left side of his nose, a reminder of childhood chicken-pox that he scratched. His ears stand apart. I wonder if his ears will also turn thinner.

His fingers are thick and pudgy, and I know, they feel warm. These days their mere touch makes my flesh creep. In the morning when I do touch them, I wash it off, and shudder thinking that the touch is contagious. I feel that worms of cancer are swarming all over my body which, I feel is logical, can do more harm in hot water. I also abhor Father's blue shirt, which could be full of cancer spores. Mother is not likely to throw out his socks and handkerchiefs, I shall have to use them, and fear possible infection for many years. Someone we know died fifteen years ago, and I inherited some of his socks. I wear those most often just to prove to myself I am not scared.

His watch will come down to me.

It makes me shudder. I shall throw away the band, it has touched Father's skin. Of his clothes I shall get his fine suede jacket, he never wears it, he takes too much care of it. Since I know it's going to be mine, I wear mine more often, I used to try and save it. I must admit: it gives me a good feeling to know I will own new objects. I inherited an old, worthless Sanyo set from my grandmother, his mother. I knew it years before that I would inherit it, and though I owned transistors, two of them, I was still glad of it.

The line of cars starts to move, we roll about five metres, then stop again. The two outside lanes are moving, but we are still stuck in a bottle-neck.

"We'll miss the prelim", I say.

It's like in a coffin. He is sweating, and he keeps wiping his face. That handkerchief will also be mine. I need some consolation. How good he won't have to die old and helpless, no longer himself, bedridden for years, blind, paralysed, after a stroke, senile, etc...

We start to move, and get to Thököly út, where the lights are against us. The air is sooty, the decaying tenements are shabby. The sky is grey even when the sun is shining like now, the cars around look miserable, with the indifference of middle age showing on those driving them. Father had to live his life in such surroundings. A shocking revelation. I look back on my father's age in astonishment.

I can fully inhale my next cigarette. The lights turn green, and we cross Thököly út. Hungária körút there narrows and I just manage to get ahead of the bus and return to the line. In front of us a string of unending red brakelights. We're in second, but have to change back to first. I slip the clutch, it won't do any good to the car, but Father is not paying any attention, he is just sitting in a completely resigned way. The heat has been eating at us for 45 minutes now. Walking we would have got there long ago.

We have to stop again. Not a word. I have no idea what's going on in his mind. I should question him closely on what is keeping him busy these days. Everything is important. Yet I cannot question him, that would be too obvious. I don't even remember when we last had a good talk. Now it is too late to make up for what we missed.

Sleepiness gets the better of me, and night images overwhelm me. I dreamt that he has shrunk. My mother and I visited him in a strange polygonal ward. There must have been at least twenty there, and Father was walking with a stick and lying with a stick—why precisely a stick? And he was getting smaller all the time. My mother pretended she did not notice Father was as small as a garden gnome. Father was grinning, then vanished, only the stick survived. Why precisely the stick? He never used a stick. I cannot recall his roommates, but vaguely remember that they were observing with interest how a man vanished into nothing.

"Let's get going", he says.

I wake with a start, and we're off.

I make an effort to relive my Sunday happiness.

I always used to wake up hearing him clear his throat, sharpening his razor blades, in the bathroom. I felt an unexpected joy and decided to remember him that way, scratching around—that's what my mother called it—on Sundays in the bathroom. Come what may I will remember him as a lively man, who could make the time to scratch around. Three days ago, that's all.

At last we can turn right. The side-street is dug up, with pipes ready to be laid.

"Move a bit forward," he says, "a truck might hit it, there's so little room."

He lumbered out. I passed him his jacket, it could turn cooler in the evening. What would happen anyway if he caught cold? He slams the door shut, and I lock the handle. Below the left backseat I switch on the electronic anti-theft device and lock the doors. He tries the lot to make sure. He checks if I stopped close enough to the kerb, but not too close, that's no good for the tyres. He doesn't say a thing.

Half past five. A large crowd in Népstadion út. People are waving the national tricolour, but green-white Ferencváros colours as well. He walks more slowly than usual. I notice now, he is wearing those rotten yellow perforated shoes. They're at least eight years old. The colour always gets my goat, but I can't talk him out of wearing them.

I stop and jot down József Lengyel in a notebook that I always carry. I have looked over our bookshelves time and again but I thought the short stories in *Forfeited Obligation* are the only ones I want him to read. The rest is literary. I don't really know if it makes sense for him to enrich his mind. That adventure story set in Hungary by Jules Verne occurred to me. In 1956 in Saint Roch's Hospital a boy with an abdominal wound asked Mother, who went in to see Father, to get the book for him. I owned it, my mother took it in. I was afraid it might get lost; the boy read it; liked it, and died. We're inside the fence, groups of people clatter by and we draw aside.

I thought again that I'd buy a black T-shirt, a black watch-strap and black jeans. If white were the colour of mourning as in ancient times, I'd be longing for white jeans. I will have to hide the black things for a while yet. But I want to mourn in advance. Maybe to get it over with as soon as possible. Or maybe because it's exciting. I should like to know how I will look in black. And I want to mourn just like other people. The way it's done. Feeling I was one of them might give me strength. Perhaps I just want them to know.

We are behind the players' entrance, right next to the stadium. On the training pitch some of the players are kicking a ball about, cerise guernseys, white shorts, green stockings, and white numbers on their backs. A young player is looking around lost, with a ball in front of him. He looks like a cub.

"That's András Tóth," I say, "I wonder how he'll perform."

He looks at him absent-mindedly, and steps across a stone.

Father, pale, stepped across the line four years ago, just four years ago, when we buried his mother. A line was drawn on the ground right in front of him, and he had to step across it ceremoniously for some reason. That was the only terrible moment during the whole funeral, the rest was plain boring. Perhaps it started that moment.

We are going up to the level of the elevated passage, he's a bit short of breath, but I see, he takes no notice.

"Maybe I can play a little tennis in the autumn all the same," he says. "Before that," I say, then start to laugh. "You're a real boy. You're upset just because you can't play for a few weeks. You are spoilt because you have never been ill. And you are a little impatient, don't you think?"

He seems to cheer up.

"Does it show?" he asks.

"Why do you think your blood pressure goes up?"

"Don't tell your mother, but the registrar took it and said 250 and not 220."

"Why do you upset yourself? The wonder is you never had any trouble so far."

"None now either. My weight is right too, I am not as overweight."

He is losing weight. Funny, but I had not noticed it.

His photo should be taken now when he still looks like himself. But taking photos can also be suspicious. This morning I looked at a picture-post-card of Elizabeth Bridge at a tobacconist's and I kept looking for our car among the others, and for him among the pedestrians, could be he was there when the picture was taken.

We are under the stands already, you could cut the crowd with a knife, a lot of filth, rushing hordes, lots of drunks. I keep turning my head, I'd like to guess from the fleeting faces if their fathers are still alive. Whoever told me that story? There were two octogenarians, and they were writing their wills, they were twins, and when the notary public asked them if they had any relatives, they had a good cry and said: we are orphans.

I wonder why he steps on the scales? I secretly glance at him.

For a few seconds my gaze followed him until he disappeared at the turning of the steps. More than a month ago he put on his black gaberdine and black beret, he carried an overnight bag. He went for an in-patient check-up and I saw him to the door. He was walking heavily and unsure of himself, and I felt in my insides that he knew. I looked at his beret, it will come down to me, and I shall wear it at the funeral. Since then a few weeks have passed, and as I see it, he knows less and less. Yes, he has become senile, I calm myself, he has demobilized those brain cells that apperceive death. I look sideways again, but I can't penetrate his mind. What could be going on in his head? Who knows perhaps a man becomes more clever before death, and finds out the essential things.

"My mouth is dry," he says, "I want to drink something." He has a good-looking mouth. In the terminal ward his mother's mouth stuck

to her dentures, and it was so dry that she lacked the strength to move it. Will his lips shrink to his teeth as well? Perhaps, about to die, he will be like his mother, and lack the strength to talk, or even to lie down. Even lying down was an effort for my grandmother.

There are long queues at the bar, a lot of jostling and shoving.

"Half an hour at least," I say.

"I'll have some kind of juice all the same. Give me one of the tickets, I'll follow you."

I shouldn't leave him on his own, what will happen if he faints in this crowd? He looks pale, and breathes heavily. Still I fumble in my pocket and produce one of the tickets. I want to run away from him, even now.

"We'll meet up top," I say.

I start up the stairs to sector 25.

I'd love to change places with him. I'd try what it's like inside when you're dying. A change of roles would not even be too great a sacrifice on my part. I want to escape from the natural mourning that lies ahead of me. Let him do the mourning. People are shoving me. The whole thing is a fraud. By wishing to be in his shoes, I can only imagine his death and not mine. I'd die in his place, then get back inside my own skin, enriched by the experience.

At the turn I go into the gents, half a centimetre of liquid on the paved floor. I stand on my toes waiting my turn. This gents is a historic place, I say to myself, my father's son is pissing in it. When I first went to the stadium, I also went to the gents. My father took me, those were still the Golden Boys, we beat the Rumanians 5 : 0. Time and again Puskás stopped with the ball, body swerved to the left, then to the right, and the Rumanians rushed around, not knowing which way to go. That was at least 18 years ago. What would my father have said then if somebody had told him he still had 18 years to go? Would he have settled for that much?

No ticket collectors at the central grandstand entrance. Two policemen prop up the wall. A crowd, jostling, and I pop up at the top of the sector, it is full, people are standing and sitting on the stairs, and the pitch is empty. Some in front of me are trying to move down, and I bore into the crowd with them. People are uselessly waving their tickets right around me. A new lot gets in above me, pushing us downwards, a lot near me lose their balance. I turn back and see the policemen loafing around. Young louts are screaming and waving flags. Father cannot come here. We not only cannot reach our seats, but won't have a place to stand. I turn back, the pressure is great from the top, the young louts twin up in packs, and the

loners packed tight dare not kick back. Head down, like a battering ram, I fight my way back to the policemen who cheerfully prop up the wall.

"Where are the ticket collectors?" I ask.

"Gone."

"Why don't you watch it on the box?" the fatter of them suggests.

There are still some empty seats in the upper grandstand. Perhaps I can manage two. I rush up, no ticket collectors there either. Then I hurry back to the rails to see if Father has got there. The two policemen are standing around below me, another lot arrive, screaming rhythmically. I am waiting for Father to appear in the grinder, keeping an eye on the empty seats.

The two line-ups are beginning to appear on the scoreboards. Another seven minutes before kick-off. At last I see Father, who starts to fight his way downward among the people crowding the stairs. I jump on the rails, shout but he does not hear. I don't even know how to call him, I wouldn't like to deliver up his name to the crowd. I whistle the family signal, but I cannot even hear myself.

The crowd closes around him, I only see the crown of his head, it is as easy to break as an egg. He does not look up. He'll never see me. He thinks I have got down to my seat. I am breathing fast as if I had run a lot. Finally he turns back, and struggles backward. I have taken away days from his life. It takes one or two minutes before he reaches the policemen, I whistle to him, and try to touch his head with my feet, but no go. He is about two metres from me. He says something to the policemen, who only shrug their shoulders. I have nothing to throw at him. Funny I can see him move. He turns back and looks downward. I lay my hopes in mere chance, people are shouting at me to sit down, but the pitch is still empty, there is a slight movement in the players' entrance.

At last he looks up. I beckon to him to come up. He beckons back that he understands and disappears.

Sighing with relief, I run upwards. In the middle of the sector I find one and half seats at the end of a row, I sprawl on them to stop someone sitting down next to me. In front of me a group of ten or twelve people take their places, unfolding their flags blocking the view to the pitch. I am really sorry I talked him into the game. I had hoped he would enjoy himself.

Finally he reaches me, he is gasping for air, his shirt is wet through and his face is grey. He could die. We squeeze against each other. I lean back on my right elbow to stop him being kicked that much from the top.

"This is a scandal," he says. "It's this you should write about in the paper."

"What did you have?"

"Raspberry syrup. It tasted bad."

Perhaps there's a bad taste in his stomach.

People in front stand waving their flags, turning their rattles, and hoot away on an old car-horn. "We won't see much," he says.

Six o'clock. The line-ups are still there on the scoreboards. The sun shines on the Népstadion út board, so it is hard to recognize the names.

Bicskei—Török, Kovács, Vidáts, Szűcs—Juhász, Bálint—Kozma, Bene, Tóth, Zámbó.

Larsson—Olsson I, Olsson II, Nordquist, Grip—Grahn, Tapper—Magnusson, Kindwall, Edström, Sandberg.

They are jumping about in front of us again which suggests the teams have come out. We are sitting somewhat more comfortably, then we, too, stand up. Busying people in the middle of the pitch. The two teams stand next to each other. I say a prayer for victory, maybe Father will like it.

The Swedish anthem. We stand. *Huj-huj-hajrá!** The Hungarian anthem. Singing on the other side, slow and drawn out, our side joins in. I am gaping, in case anyone objects. The Hungarian anthem falls apart, as if the stadium were singing a canon. It ends in bits, undisciplined. Screams, rattles, bells, pipes. Petards go off, and a line of smoke. They are tossing up at the centre. From the back: sit down, sit down.

I switch on the radio, Szepesi's away telling his story, but the noise drowns his voice. I switch it off. I'll turn it on when they score. I feel a pressure in my throat like years ago when, though I mocked at myself, I still rooted for the national eleven. Then the pressure eased. At the Munich Olympics when the Arab–Jewish–German bloodbath was on, I nodded with approval, at last it was clear the Olympics was all lies as well. Yet I sit here with my fists clamped tight and look steady at the players to inspire them to victory. This is Father's last game.

The Swedes' goal is closer to us, we see it diagonally from the back. I glance sideways at him. He seems less grey, his face shows he's interested. If I could only tie down his attention for 90 minutes, it would be worth the trouble. If I could get him to the car quickly after the game.

The storm of sound barely outlasts the ball being passed a couple of times, then it stops. Dull mindfield play.

"The Ajax–Juventus game was better," people behind us say.

I watched it with him on the box, and he enjoyed it. Five minutes have passed. It turns out that Bene, No. 9, is out on the right-wing, and Kozma,

* The Hungarian battlecry. *The Ed.*

No. 7, is the centre-forward. That's a smart move. We easily lose the ball, and so do the Swedes. In attack we are slow and clumsy. Only the extra-tall Edström is in the Hungarian half, with Kovács treading on his shadow.

"Maybe we'll see some action now," my father is confident. Our first sound attack: Juhász nods the ball to Bene, who's off and centres. Vidáts moves in, draws the whole defence, and Kozma, left unmarked, scores. Goal!

We jump up too, and scream as well. We are ahead, after eight minutes of play already.

Father smiles, then grimaces.

"It's now we'll stop playing," he says.

It is obvious this is happening after the game is restarted. We are attacking in a manner, but without punch.

"Pretend football," he says.

Perhaps we'll manage to hang on to the lead, I think anxiously. Half an hour has already gone. Not a real chance in front of goal. Next to us Szepesi says his stuff in a large portable, as if something were happening.

"We'll get a hiding," they say behind us.

Slow push-ball, with the ball out in touch more often than not. Tóth has a few good moves, but it's eff you Jack as far as the others are concerned.

Ten minutes left of the first half. The ball is kicked forward by the Swedes, Edström heads it down, there is a great mix-up near the edge of the box, we can't really see, it's so far. It seems Bicskei got a hand to the ball and one of the Swedes, with all the time in the world, puts it in the net.

Silence. Kindwall's name appears on the scoreboard. A draw is good enough for the Swedes, we have to win.

We manage to keep going to half time without another goal.

We stand up, moving restlessly.

"This lad, Tóth, distributes the ball cleverly," he says, "he could be educated to become a second Bozsik. He can see on the pitch and knows how to take a kick."

"They'll manage to destroy him."

"They will all right. Kozma is pretty good. Too bad, he doesn't use his head."

We sit down again. Half time is not over yet. There is a faint murmur all around the stadium. I glance at him, he is turning his head without suspecting a thing. All of a sudden I almost cry out. I want to tell him straight: you've got cancer, and you are going to die. I bite my lips, and my hands squeeze my jaw and cheekbone, just to keep silent. Three words mockingly and with sadistic relish would put an end to the whole comedy. I jump. He stays in his seat. I grate my teeth. I want to cause him pain.

What does it matter? He'll die anyway. Why have I been lying to him for weeks now? He is lying too. Let him do the asking, if he cares.

Let it be all finished, I can't stand at his side, I ought to run away before I do something mad. What would happen if I just grinned in his face? Why can't he die of a heart attack?

Breathing deeply, I sit down and take out that morning's Party paper. Chess. Even geniuses can be beaten. Spassky said that about his chances playing Fischer. I open my mouth, and move it a little. I almost got lockjaw.

Sports briefs. Washington. Avery Brundage, the former president of the International Olympic Committee, has announced he will soon marry. The 85-year-old ex-president has chosen for his bride the 37-year-old Princess Marianne de Reuss whom he met during the Olympic Games in Munich. After the wedding Brundage will move to West Germany.

I'd like to tell Father: go and get married fast, take a 17-year-old tight bike before you kick the bucket. He should be grateful for that advice. In America they tell you are going to die. This is just a European imbecility.

Rudolf Illovszky the Team Manager has taken a bold decision... Basing oneself on past performance changes had to be made in the Hungarian Eleven. Should these new faces fail to win, nobody can blame Illovszky. He did everything he could...

The players have not come out yet.

How would he take it? Would his face fall apart? Would he suffer a heart attack?

I turn the pages, it helps me pass the time, then I slowly fold the paper. Death notices. I look at the names. I feel only a moderate elation, on better days more people peg out before Father. How much does such an ad cost? I shall have to draft it. I don't want a funeral in winter, the snow is too white then.

A murmur, they've appeared. People in front sit down. The ball is placed at the centre.

I put down the paper. I won't tell him now. I feel a shudder. As long as it doesn't get me again.

I am watching the world. Tóth and Kozma have not come out, and yet they were the best. Szőke and Kocsis are the substitutes.

The storm of voices soon subsided. Nothing much happens out there. Szőke takes a free kick, the crowd holds its breath, the ball rubs the crossbar. The Swedes attack, just below me, one of them passes the ball, another puts it into goal, neither is interfered with. Our defence is nowhere. Silence. Sandberg's name goes up.

"Bunglers," Father says, "the Swedes are no good either, they could have been beaten."

Now we are starting to play. The idea could have occurred to us sooner. We put the pressure on, the Swedes defend. Suddenly the whole stadium explodes in a shout, have we equalized? It seems we have. The other goal is a long way off. Vidáts. A tempest of shouting.

"Now we'll have to keep up the pressure," he says, "we can win by goals."

The Swedes cross the half-way line. The fools. Too many free kicks. Some say Lo Bello is whistling the game apart. Fifteen minutes to go. We ought to leave now before the crowd. Bene passes the ball to Zámbó, who puts a boot in, a shout of joy: it beat the Swedish goalie. We are leading. We've only got fifteen minutes to play out.

Father is warming up.

"We've got to go on attacking," he says, "we mustn't fall back into defence."

We defend.

Grahn lobs the ball. Right in the middle of the penalty area Edström rises to head, lots of ours around him stand and watch. The ball leaving from the tall Swede's head takes its time towards the near post. Bicskei stands rooted to the ground and watches. As if we were watching it all in slow motion. When the ball reaches the goal-line, Bicskei dives but how slowly.

"It is all over," Father says.

The public are silent, no whistling. Father looks around in a bad mood. Szepesi is moaning.

That's it.

We didn't reach the World Cup finals. Not beaten once, but we didn't win even once either.

The public scatters without demonstrating. We move 3 or 4 steps a minute towards the exit. The flag-waving mob continues to scream and ring bells, it's all the same to them. A few working men look grim as they leave.

It was eight by the time we reach the bottom of the stadium. Half of the crowd hurries toward Verseny utca, the other half toward Népstadion út, and we find ourselves in a crossfire position. We are edging our way around black government limousines which were allowed to enter the stadium area. The crowd presses us against the line of policemen. Outside the line there are mounted police, steel-helmeted riot police in a truck some yards away. A few ambulances. We are pushing our way out among the survivors.

On Népstadion út groups of drunks are bawling. Some of the mounted

policemen head their horses for the crowd. Cars are moving more slowly than people, hooting as they go. Dust everywhere. No relief to the sultriness, yet it is getting dark. The lights in the stadium are still on. Father is moving along next to me weary and dejected. He won't be able to see the World Cup on television. We should have won all the same. Funny how a draw can make you feel empty.

We cannot turn into Kerepesi út, the police edge us off. We reach the underpass on Hungária körút where we come to a halt once again. It takes fifteen minutes before we can turn right into Kőbányai út. My left foot is numb from working the clutch so much. It is turning dark fast, I switch on the lights, put my foot on the accelerator, over 80, but he doesn't notice. I desperately hold the steering wheel to have time to hit a bus or lorry head on. Let us die together. Father does not sense the danger. I have no right, I keep telling myself, and pray lest I swing the wheel left.

We get home by half past eight. We get out. I look back on the red Skoda, S 100, licence number IG 20–27, I don't know why, but it is important now. It's parked in front of the house. That's what tells me Father is alive. It will be a strange feeling not to see it there one day. That must have been a more human age when a man left a horse behind. I can well imagine: a horse would mourn his master, perhaps die. I look down from the third-floor passage and stand against the wall. My father messes with the key, his neck looks thin to me. I don't bite it.

The heat settled in the room and yet the window is wide open. I start to count my sins. I feel remorse because of the draw. That's all I could give him. Maybe he will die because I wished him to be dead as an adolescent, just to mourn him properly. That is what I am doing right now. Speaking nonsense, I search the faces of my friends to watch them change when I let them know after Father's death in a few modest, simple words what I have gone through. Then they will love me and respect me for my human nobility, because I concealed my sorrow so beautifully. I will be a hero. A month ago I almost told the lot to a tart in the Olympia bar. I just wanted to boast, I kept provoking her to ask me why I was looking so low. That evening I wasn't really upset, quite the contrary.

It was a rotten day. Still it would be fine to start it again. His life would last that much longer. We would not go to the game, we'd play chess. Perhaps.

The stick he left behind, appears. Dreams attract one another. There is a damp mattress in a dark room, on which he was dying, with a bloated face, I remember, but it is gone. People say I killed him with a poisoned pin, I shall have to go after him. I go out into the street, I stand on the

Danube embankment by Parliament, but this is not the real Budapest, only a counterfeit. It has been set up in America, and I was asked as an expert to check if everything was in the right place. I laugh at them, I see Elizabeth Bridge in the place of the old Kossuth Bridge, they are incompetent. I took a tram No. 2 toward Váci utca, that is where I have to meet him, I will find the damp mattress there, but I know he will wear a suit. I am looking for him. They pretend not to understand. They have conspired against me, he is no longer alive, but they act as if he had never lived. I am running among coloured shop windows, the cobblestones are of marble, and my steps have a glassy sound.

I stand paralysed: I hear steps. The kitchen door opens, Father is pottering about. I must go out to him. I must not hide. I have to go out.

He is in pyjamas, his hair is disheveled, his face wrinkled, he blinks into the light.

"What's up," I say jovially, "can't you sleep?"

"Not really."

He sits down on the kitchen stool, leaning against the tiles, crossing his legs with the right on top. His hands are folded. I drink some water.

"It is still sultry in here," I say.

"My blood pressure is playing up."

His face displays a strange, bewildered look. He pulls up his eyebrows a little.

"We didn't have a good game," he says, "we could have won."

He smiles funnily, awkwardly, sadly. His neck is wrinkled. His ears too will get thinner for sure.

"We did not get into the finals," he says.

He stands up, nods to me, half-smiling, then turns away, slowly shuffling out of the kitchen, closing the door behind him.

ÁGNES NEMES NAGY

POEMS

Translated by Bruce Berlind

NIGHT OAKTREE

Night, and it happened that the walker
heard something and spun round:
an oaktree walked behind him.

He stopped, waited. It came, this oak,
its roots freshly wrenched, still
earth-covered, on long snake-legs
billowing onto the asphalt road
like a shapeless naiad, straining,
its outsize head brushing
the silent shutters of the stores,
when it reached the walker
it leaned at once against a lamppost,
then flung aside its hair.
From behind the hair peered the face of an oaktree.

A massive mossy face. Perhaps. Or some other kind.
It was then that the walker sensed
that his own contours were slackening,
fog lapped his liquid shores,
like someone suddenly darkening
to a forest-pond,
since a face like that was given him to mirror.

And they both continued to breathe.

A few birdsnests in the oak's hair,
sleeping bird in them, seemingly unheeded,
forgotten.
Because it was urging.

So, very urgingly, unmoving, it stood there,
like a message, like an oak-shaped message
growing tired, undecoded.

It let its curtain of hair fall back.
Turned around. Began to walk. Strange legs.
It carried its nests, its birds,
and before the walker's congealing eyes
was sprayed with sparkles from the neon light-rows.
It is being awaited by the abandoned pit,
heals back into it.

THE PROPORTIONS OF THE STREET

But the particulars, the cats. Because it is obvious that the streetcar banks into the turn like a seasoned runner or like the earth at the curve of its elliptical orbit, where the simile is not simile, merely the other face of the same law. Consequently, the relationship of mass and motion is ratios, reciprocals, and coefficients. This is perceptible in the street.

This is perceptible; if I smash through the fortuitous, the plane of the ecliptic is perceptible—in the morning or at six in the evening, in cloudy weather, in sunshine. If I strip the house naked, if I strip the bone naked, if I strip naked the processes (vegetation, the climate), then lines are left, curvatures, a network. But the network is just an outline, the curvature is figurative language. The law is imperceptible. This is perceptible.

And the points of intersection. I mean, for example, the intersections of the animate and the inanimate. Two laws. Three laws. Sixteen. Their points of intersection. Consequently, if I gently peel off the fortuitous, the stars of the intersections shine from beneath, and the orbits projecting from them—vapour trails in a sky-blue imagination.

But the particulars, I was saying, the cats. Though compared with the law they are undoubtedly only frilly bubbles. Tufts of hair to be blown away, pitching wigs floating in the flood. Beneath and behind them, the great river-bed, the valleys and rises, the rolled-up mountain ranges of watersheds, the geology of known planets. Beneath the comparisons and measurements, the cubic kilometer, the ounce, the great conical cloak of the earth's shadow in space, the centimeters, the years, the celestial calibrations; foot, dyne, decibel, Monday, Tuesday; consequences, abstractions. This is obvious. The universe is so translucent. The house, the asphalt, behind

them the metal skeletons of measurements, are so translucent. Another face, another sky, are sharpening by a film-like dissolve.

If I peel off the fortuitous, beyond are the blackness of star-charts, the silver inductions of a northern sky.

Compared to these, what is the foreground here? Surely it is the bible of the poor, picture, picture, again picture, forms and tendrils. Painted one after the other, displayed on the wall of the cathedral. First the two little naked ones and the apple; next the sweet wings of the angel, his brooding sword in his tiny hand; then the Flood, ark, peacock; then the bunch of grapes; then the lamb; then, then, Nehemiah. (And behind them, of course, the stone wall—which we shall not forget—the above-mentioned skeleton, the measuring post, now and then unexpectedly jutting out, elbowing into the design of our stories.)

However... But I. Just one. Once. Still,to tell a story about a single cat, a practically inconsequential cat, as it cuts across the street, across, through, diagonally slices the rims of measurement-systems, as it marches on its four ragged Indiarubber pads, as it marches to the cadence of protruding little shoulder-blades, and vanishes (silent declaration of independence) between the side of a car and the trunk of a lime tree.

It is no longer there. It is nothing. It touches me only remotely—ultimate motion—with the lilac-green leaves of its two eyes.

THE COURAGE OF CATS

If creatures ten stories high pointed at me—just look, look at that tiny little paw, is it male or female, after all they're all alike

And we would sit around them there on the summer grass, as if sunbathing, Platon, a thin carpenter, and I, their images forming in our eyes, walking buildings—but slowly, gently, so as not to trample us down with their authoritative feet

If they pointed at me, called me, sent me away, kept pelting me with stones, and cured me, patting my side with hands two meters long, then...

but they, they would even envy me—look, what independent, precise movements, what a proud, Lilliputian mane

look, how it comes and goes

THE GHOST

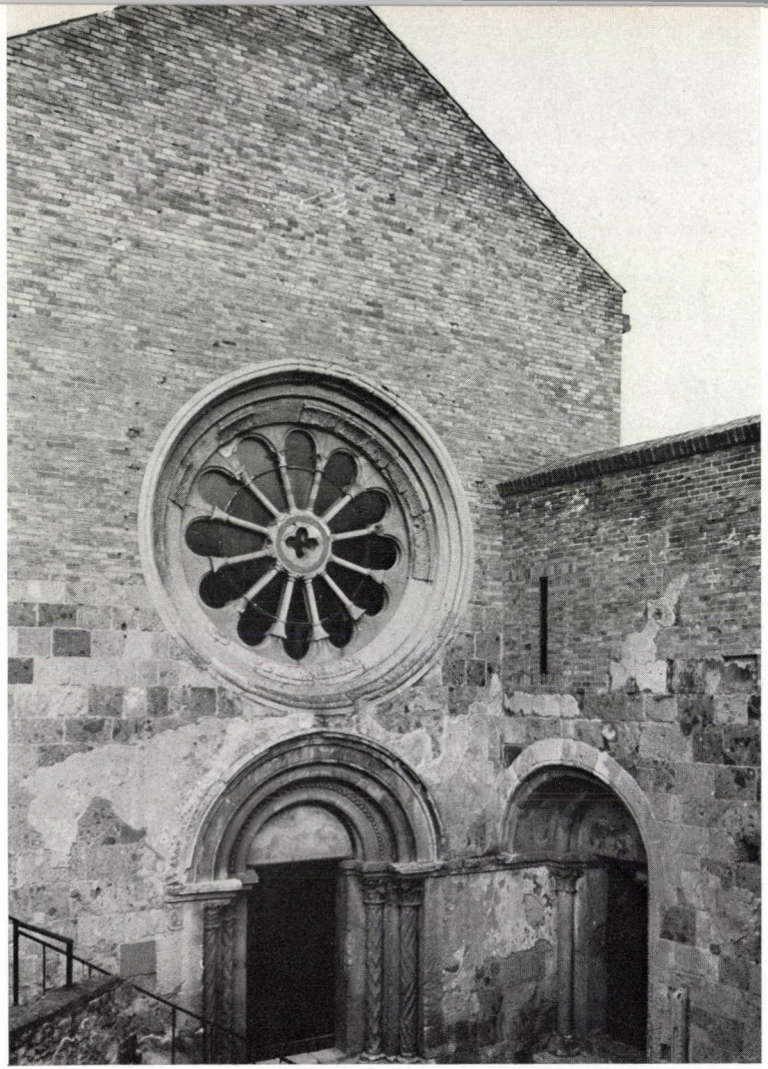
This was the table. Its surface, its legs.
This was the cord. This was the lamp.
And a tumbler was beside it. Here it is.
This was the water. And I drank from this.

And I looked out the window.
And I saw: the mist falling slantwise,
a large heavenly willow trailing its boughs
in the dark lake of the evening meadow,
and I looked out the window,
and I had eyes. And I had arms.

I live among chair-legs now.
I'm knee-high to everything.
Back then I shouldered into the place.
And how many birds there were. How much space.
As the petals of a wind-blown wreath
of flame, shredded and streaming,
were soaring, sputtering in swarms,
and with one boom burst asunder,
as a heart would crack asunder
into bird-fragments, would fly apart—
this was the fire. This was the sky.

I'm leaving. I would touch the tiles of the floor
over and over with my fingers, if I could.
I'm a low draft on the road,
drifting. I don't exist any more.

1 The castle of Esztergom, from the Southeast



2/a Esztergom: Romanesque chapel (end of the 12th century), and the palace entrance.

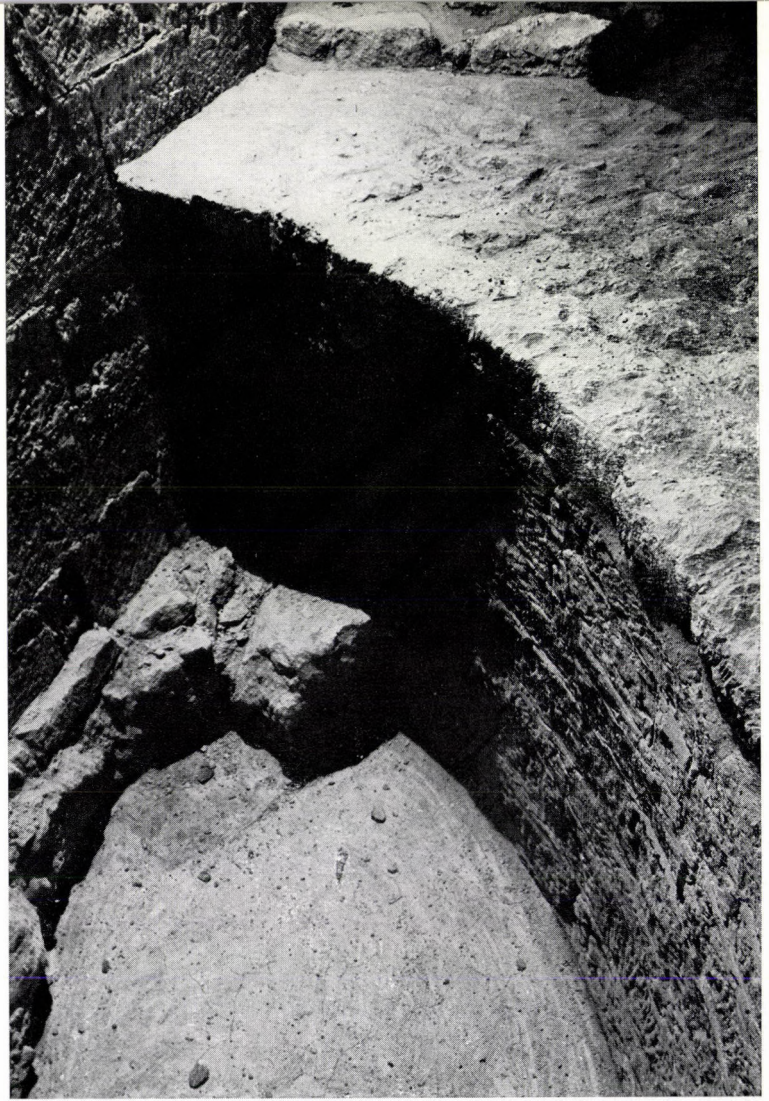
2/b Double gate of the Romanesque palace at Esztergom

3/a Detail of the chapel from the late 12th century

3/b Capital of a column from the Esztergom chapel

(2 to 3/b illustrate earlier excavations. Photos Tamás Mihalik)

41a Interior of round chapel from the St. Stephen period (beginning



41b Detail of the interior of the round chapel from the St. Stephen period

EMESE NAGY

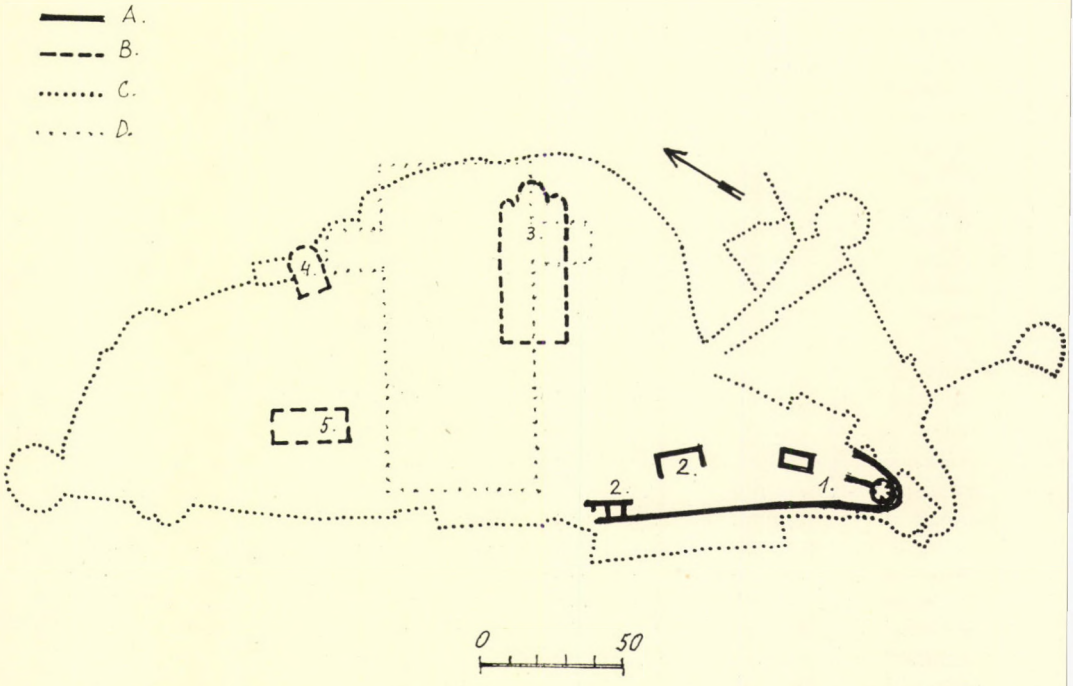
THE NEW EXCAVATIONS IN ESZTERGOM

The 10th–11th Century Royal Seat

The foundation of the Hungarian State can be linked to the name of King (Saint) Stephen I (997–1038), but recent historical research has increasingly stressed the significance of the role played by the king's father, Prince Géza (972–997). Soon after his accession Géza sent twelve envoys to the Imperial Diet of Emperor Otto the Great in Quedlinburg (973). This important step was motivated by his recognition that as a consequence of the alliance of the Holy Roman and Byzantine emperors Hungary found itself caught between the pincers of these two neighbouring great powers, and in this new political predicament there was no alternative but to conform to the surrounding states by the adoption of Christianity. In all probability the task of the envoys was to ask for assistance in converting Géza's people. This expectation of a closer relationship with the West might have been the reason for Géza's choice of Esztergom in the western part of the country, on the banks of the Danube linking East and West, as his seat. The choice of the site might also have been warranted by the presence of a small trading settlement at the foot of the hill on the bank of the Danube, along the trade route connecting Kiev and Vienna.

An easy to defend princely seat was established on the Esztergom castle hill, ideally situated from a strategical point of view. According to the evidence of archeological excavations carried out in the sixties, the strategical significance of the site was recognized already in prehistory; and the site was occupied over a long period, including settlements dating from the Copper and Bronze Ages. The excavations also revealed the presence of large Celtic settlements and remnants of Roman buildings dating from various periods, presumably those of a camp. Some researchers are of the opinion that Prince Géza used the remnants of a Slav fortification in building his seat at Esztergom, but so far the findings do not support this view.

In Géza's time the whole of the castle hill of Esztergom was in the prince's possession. It was during his time that the first church was built on the castle hill, a chapel named after the protomartyr St. Stephen, the designation of which indicates that the chapel dates from the time of the activity of the missionaries from Passau sent by Otto I. Since the Passau conversion was only ephemeral in Hungary (comprehensive conversion and the foundation of the Hungarian Church are the results of the activities of St. Adalbert and his disciples in a later period), the chapel must have been built in the first years of Géza's rule. The last remnants of the St. Stephen Chapel—which, of course, had been completely rebuilt since—were demolished in the nineteenth century when the ground level was lowered



A Excavated or exactly reconstructed walls of the 10–11th century palace; B buildings of known location but unknown early ground-plan; C Later medieval palace and fortification; D The 19th-century cathedral
1. Royal Palace from the age of King Stephen I. 2. Living quarters from Prince Géza's age. 3. The Cathedral. 4. Chapel of St. Stephen Protomartyr, 5. The earliest archiepiscopal palace.

and a major levelling work was carried out prior to the construction of today's cathedral. Several other buildings on the castle hill also fell victim to these operations.

*

Excavation work on the site of the royal palace and the adjacent royal chapel was first undertaken around 1934–1938, under the leadership of Tibor Gerevich and Kálmán Lux. The illustrations partly depict the results of these excavations, and partly those of later digs.

The following excavations between 1964–1969* took place on the southern slope of the castle hill; and the available topographical and historical data make it possible to visualize the aspect of the entire castle hill at its medieval beginnings. The location of the St. Stephen Protomartyr Chapel and the buildings which came to light in the course of the excavations lead us to the conclusion that the first buildings of the princely court were stiuated dispersed on the castle hill. Traces of two buildings which can be dated to the earliest period were found within the site of the excavation. One of them consisted of three or four adjoining rooms; we know even less about the other square building. The walls were of a poor quality built of friable stone, and they were found in a rather poor state of preservation; nevertheless it has been proved beyond a doubt that the wall cast of broken stone was

* For references and bibliography see: *Nagy*, E.: "Rapport préliminaire des fouilles d'Esztergom 1964–1969". *Acta Archaeologica Hung.*, Budapest, 23–1971, pp. 181–198.

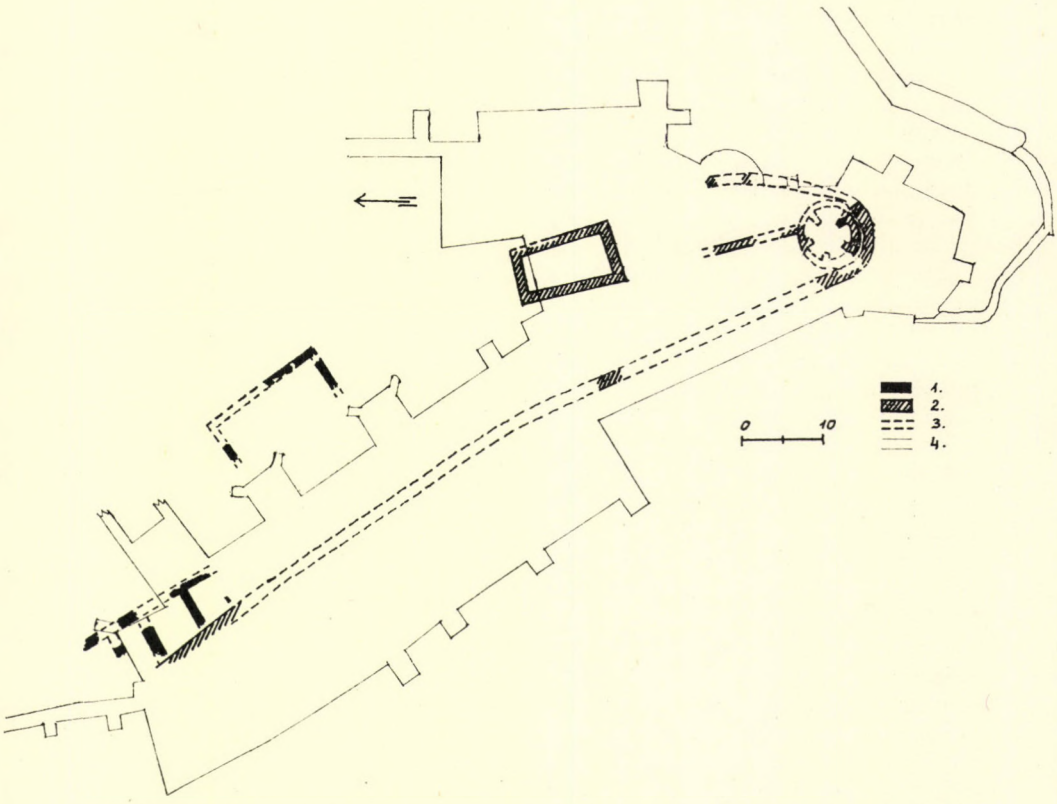
once covered with beautifully carved broad-stones.

Large-scale building activity continued on the castle hill during the rule of Stephen I. By then the castle hill was already divided between two owners: the king had transferred the northern half of the hill to the head of the newly established Hungarian Church, the archbishop of Esztergom, and retained only the southern half. This territorial division continued until the middle of the thirteenth century when, after the Mongol invasion, King Béla IV finally abandoned Esztergom and founded his new capital at Buda. Around 1010 the most prominent point in the centre of the Esztergom castle hill was already crowned by the archiepiscopal cathedral raised in honour St. Adalbert (the remnants of which were destroyed at the same time as those of the St. Stephen Chapel). The residence of the archbishop was erected on the grounds north of the cathedral, while on the other, southern side the king had his new palace built. For lack of excavations on this site the former remains unknown to us. The remnants of the latter have come to light under the royal palace and other buildings of a later period which subsequently passed into the possession of the archbishop. These remnants make it possible to provide an approximate sketch of the ground-plan of the first royal palace in Hungary.

The royal precincts were surrounded by a thick stone wall of an irregular curve. The circular chapel of the palace and the living quarters were built into the southern bend of this wall, and part of the living quarters were directly connected to the façade of the circular chapel and the encircling wall. Farther away, to the north of the new palace, we found the remnants of the two buildings dating back to the rule of Prince Géza mentioned above.

Of the southern palace a section of the circular chapel has remained in a good state. During the construction of the twelfth-century dungeon the chapel was cut into two parts; at the foot of the tower, and protected by its ground-wall as well as by the relevant section of the encircling wall dating from St. Stephen's age, the walls still reach a height of nearly two metres. A lower section of the façade facing the courtyard, at the bottom of the room next to the dungeon, also came to light in the midst of later ground-walls. These two remnants enable us to reconstruct the ground-plan of the circular chapel with an inside diameter of 5.50 metres. Its walls were built with a technique similar to that of the earlier remnants, but of better quality, harder stone, and covered with oblong, horizontally placed broad-stones.

The eastern part of the chapel was destroyed during the construction of the dungeon, and thus we do not know exactly the architecture of its chancel. The fact that the circular chapel was built into the convex part of the encircling wall justifies the supposition that it could not have had a strongly projecting apse; at most we may presume a small-size apse sunk into the wall. In the excavated interior of the chapel the remnants of two inner dividing pillars were found, both resting against the wall surface. One of them, the larger, might have served to accentuate the apse, and the other, together with several similar ones which had been destroyed, played a role in the division and more ornate execution of the nave of the chapel. The reconstruction of the apse of the circular chapel was helped by the chancel execution of the rotunda in nearby Kisbény. In our assumption this circular chapel which, according to A. Habovstiak's recent research, dates back to the tenth–eleventh centuries, was built on the Esztergom model, at a time when there were verifiably close links between Esztergom and Kisbény. The shape of the two chancels is identical, and the execution of the two naves shows no pronounced difference in its general effect. In Esztergom, as I have mentioned, the inner space was divided by small square pillars resting against the wall of the circular nave. It was



1 Walls from the last third of the 10th century; 2 Walls from the beginning of the 11th century; 3 Connecting walls; 4 Outlines of the later medieval palace

perhaps this inner division with a niche-like effect that the architects of Kisbény had in mind when building niches along the inner wall surface of the nave.

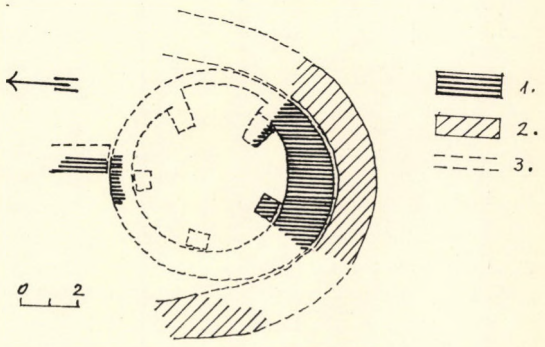
Of the palace dating from the time of King Stephen I only one large square building is known in its entirety but, in addition, larger and smaller segments of walls found in the course of the excavation also bear out the direct connection between the palace buildings and the chapel. The total length of the chapel and the adjoining palace is 42 metres, but the royal territory protected by the stone wall, which also includes the above-mentioned remnants of the buildings dating from Prince Géza's age, is much larger than that. Its full size is 100 to 120 metres.

If we compare the tenth and eleventh-century buildings of Esztergom with similar contemporaneous buildings in neighbouring countries, we must conclude that the Esztergom complex is in no way inferior to other princely or royal seats in Central Europe. Prince Géza's buildings are typical of those of neighbouring areas in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries, where the living quarters and the chapel were situated scattered about on heights protected by ramparts. Although we were not able to uncover traces of ramparts in Esztergom, the area was in all probability fortified in this manner along

sections less protected by nature. The traces of this early rampart must have been destroyed in the course of the later fortification works. The closest relatives of St. Stephen's palace can be found in Poland (Ostrów Ledniczki, Przemyśl, Płock, Giecz): the ground-plans are not identical, but the group of buildings is of the same extension, showing a common basic principle of construction, with the palace building directly joining the central chapel.

In Poland the above-mentioned palaces were protected by ramparts, this being the most general solution of the age. Stone defensive walls were used in the tenth and eleventh centuries only in places of most prominent significance, for example, on German territory in the Palatinate, in the fortified constructions of the age of the Ottos (Quedlinburg, Querfurt, Tilleda, Werla), at the Prague castle in Bohemia, and in a few other places in Central and Eastern Europe. Thus St. Stephen's royal centre protected by a stone wall holds an eminent place among contemporary constructions.

The architecturally outstanding solution at Esztergom can be justified by the significant role the castle and the settlement played in the life of the newly developing state. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the castle was the seat of the two biggest powers in the country: the king and the Church. It was the site of major political events: it was here that the king received foreign monarchs or their emissaries. It was the residence of the royal family, and its castle offered shelter to them while he was at war. It was the centre of collecting the country's taxation in kind, and it was here that the king had the first coins minted. Some historical sources indicate Esztergom as the country's capital. True, it



1 Circular chapel; 2 Encircling wall
3 Connecting walls

shared this role with Székesfehérvár, the coronation and burial place of the kings, and the site of royal juridiction, still, Esztergom undoubtedly was one of the most important centres of the age of the Árpáds. The remnants brought to light in the course of the excavations have confirmed the evidence contained in the written documents, and proved that the first Hungarian princely-royal centre met all the requirements and objectives of the age.

JÁNOS HAJDÚ

HUMAN RIGHTS ON HUNGARIAN TELEVISION —INTERNATIONAL FORUM

For about a year and a half Hungarian Television has been featuring—one can safely say, regularly—a debating session, called "International Studio," in prime time on the evening schedule. The characteristic signal of the programme has so far rung out five times, and already by the time of its second telecast it was one of the highest-rated and most popular among all political shows. Since I happen to be moderator of the programme, I ask the reader to accept my remark on popularity as a piece of statistical information.

Since there is a research institute for the purpose of monitoring mass communication in Hungary and to analyse it with the help of a vast professional apparatus, let me refer to it: The best way for Americans to appraise the rating of the feature in question is to start from the fact that a commercial —of course, allowing for the proportions— would not cost less in our International Studio than in their "Face the Nation" or "Meet the Press" back at home. True, Hungarian Television is state sponsored, so the commercials are not inserted in the midst of shows but are televised as special items on the programme.

Since Hungarian Television is state sponsored, the political shows on its programme, such as International Studio, express the intentions not only of the programmers but also of those who regard television as an important element of national politics.

The European countries as well as the United States and Canada agreed in Helsinki, among other things, to promote the wider dissemination of information and ideas in the interest of the development of mutual understanding. In Hungary the press and mass information media in general have for years been seeking to supply information about the world on a broader scale, with a wider horizon and with more thorough analyses than before and in 1976 the idea was broached in the National Peace Council: why not have a public debate regarding the implementation of the Helsinki principles? From the very first the idea was that Eastern and Western Europe should each take seat at the round table of the public debate. But only in the course of preparation did it occur to us, precisely in order to provide more complete information to invite someone who would voice reservations rather than speak of results.

When in May 1976 we sat down, with our conference interpreters, in the Budapest studio of Hungarian Televison, we knew only that guests from the Soviet Union, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Poland would each discuss Helsinki with the Hungarian host. Only after the programme was over did we realize that maybe a permanent international forum was born.

True, those present debated in the spirit of Helsinki: they did not explore what in any case separates the two halves of Europe from each other. Just the same, Dettmar

Cramer, editor of the *Kölner Stadtanzeiger*, clashed sharply with Alexander Bovin, a commentator of the *Izvestia* of Moscow, over who was to blame for the slower than expected progress. The Hungarian viewer could obtain first-hand evidence that even men whose basic stand cannot be qualified as anti-socialist have reservations about one or another aspect of the policy of the socialist countries.

It was an interesting experience to see the guest from Federal Germany debating with Professor Dobrosielski of Poland—who later, with the rank of Ambassador, became head of his country's delegation to the preparatory consultations at Belgrade. It was interesting to see and hear the reciprocal tactfulness dictated, in the historically loaded relation between the two countries, by the treaty-making policy linked in the Federal Republic of Germany to the name of Willy Brandt.

Népszabadság wrote of the first International Studio that "every counterargument worth being listened to further polishes the truth."

I was glad of the successful attempt, for I had committed myself to this experiment. But I was eager to know what is considered by our public opinion as a counterargument worth listening to, and where is the point beyond which all talk becomes like a dialogue of the deaf, or beyond which the debate becomes not a duel of arguments but mere mudslinging, or accusations levelled at persons who are not even present.

*

In August of 1976 we again sat around the table, this time inquiring into the progress of the disarmament negotiations, and assessing their chances, with special regard to the issue of SALT and the Vienna talks on reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe. Our guests from the West on this occasion were Anthony Collings, then head of the Bonn office of *Newsweek*, and Dr. Theo Sommer, editor-in-chief of *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, a member of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. Spokesmen for the interests and views of the socialist countries were Alexander Druzhinin, a commentator of Moscow Radio and Television, and Albrecht Molle, foreign policy editor of the Radio of the German Democratic Republic.

Among the participants at every debating session there are outstanding personalities and others who, for some reason, make a feebler impression on the viewer. The great personality of this discussion was Dr. Theo Sommer. He displayed vast professional knowledge and brought up, especially regarding the number of troops and the strength of armed forces in Europe, details so minute that he directed the attention of many viewers entirely to this subject. His was a legitimate method: his debating partners did not find it easy to lead the discussion back into the political sphere, into the inquiry about whether the world wishes to progress towards disarmament or towards armament.

The debate between Collings and Druzhinin helped the Hungarian viewers understand very clearly many things concerning SALT. The American guest gave vent to the opinion that Carter would win the presidential elections and this might entail fundamental changes. (He proved to be a good oracle.) It was brought home to the Hungarian public how European politics were influenced by things so remote from Europe as the civil war in Angola and by the behaviour of various powers in connection with this crisis. Our Western guests contended that Soviet and Cuban aid to the Neto government was incompatible with the spirit of Helsinki and had an adverse influence on the disarmament negotiations. Thus, in spite of our original intentions, we had a thorough discussion about the compatibility of peaceful coexistence with aid to national liberation movements. It became evident that not even the terminology

we used was identical, not to speak of the possibility of a compromise in this matter.

And when the clash between Albrecht Molle and Theo Sommer occasionally produced sparks, the Hungarian viewer could see quite closely the many controversial political issues which still clutter the way of the development of relations between the two German states.

This was the moment when International Studio became institutionalized. The Hungarian public at large reacts the most positively possible if the mass media place trust in people's power of political judgement. The many-sided work of information aiming at meticulous completeness prompts an experienced and politically educated public to give *a priori* credence to the commentaries that go with the news.

With my editor colleagues of the foreign policy department of Hungarian Television we thought that the new programme was suitable for reviewing extensively complex problems of the world economy which, if discussed in lecture form, would never catch up with the viewer who takes a general interest in these affairs. For this very reason we devoted our next session to East-West economic relations, including the position of the socialist countries in the world's economy. Our invitation was accepted by François Giscard d'Estaing, managing director of the Foreign Trade Bank of France; Dr. Rudolf Schneider, a member on the board of directors of the Austrian Creditanstalt-Bankverein, and János Fekete, vice-president of the National Bank of Hungary. In this programme the Hungarian public thus received first-hand information about such complex relations as the acceptance of rejection of economic interdependence between countries with differing social systems. Or about how far certain regulations of the Common Market hinder the development of East-West trade, and how much of an impediment is constituted by one or another bureaucratic aspect of the socialist foreign trade structure.

The three financiers of international reputation analyzed extensively a world economic problem about which a lot of contradictory information and opinion had been published, namely the indebtedness of socialist countries to developed capitalist countries. It should be noted that France is an important creditor, and transactions are in part made through M. Giscard's banking institution. The Vienna Creditanstalt is one of the most experienced banking houses on the Eastern European market, and János Fekete is known in international financial circles as a very daring innovator who is one of the initiators in contracting credit in the socialist half of Europe.

When these bankers came to the conclusion that the fuss was artificial, this was more than interesting. So much the more because the two Western guests did not refrain from serious criticism of the parsimony of our supply of economic information, pointing out that it would be up to us to insure that our reputation is further improved.

*

Early in 1977 we could not but begin the debates of International Studio by trying to find out what would come off in the United States as a result of President Carter's inauguration. Our guest who came from Washington to Budapest is an old and highly esteemed colleague of this writer, a correspondent of *The New York Times*, David Binder. The guest from Moscow was the most popular television commentator there, who is fairly familiar with the United States, Valentin Zorin. But we thought we might take this occasion to get to know the views held by the leading journalist of an important country like Japan regarding the basic problems of world politics. We invited the head of the Bonn bureau of the Kyodo News Agency, Ago Keichi.

Quite naturally the viewers were excited by the big Soviet–U.S. dialogue, or clash, at several points in the discussion. Since

certain conclusions could be drawn already from the first steps of the Carter administration, Zorin did not hesitate to declare that in view of the recent American efforts he is very pessimistic about SALT, while Binder expounded—courteously but categorically—that the so-called human rights campaign is not in every respect unfounded, and this must be admitted by all.

The Japanese guest commented rather upon the foreseeable tendencies of the world economy, speaking with much competence and very concretely, letting the Hungarian viewer realize that the advocates of the capitalist system, those who would most gladly expurgate "crisis" from the vocabulary of the world, are also pessimistic in many respects.

Subsequent to this telecast session, world politics took a turn, and we also decided to meet the interest of the Hungarian public and hold a discussion about human rights.

All the spirit of inquiry and self-examination... as I said on an evening in July, when Hungarian Television scrapped the film version of a Shakespeare drama from its schedule to transmit instead a discussion to which five—very competent—participants arrived from three continents. A Harvard professor of political science, the black Ewart Guinier; Gart Strachan, one of the few white South African militants of the African National Congress, who opposes to racial persecution not chauvinism but the alternative of an integrated socialist society; then Jean Schwoebel, an eminent columnist on international politics, from *Le Monde* of Paris; Piero Pieralli, Communist senator for Florence, Italy; and, as Hungarian debater, the writer Iván Boldizsár, president of the Hungarian Pen Club, editor of this journal.

I should like to give not merely an account of this evening but rather a sort of on-the-spot report. At least about its most exciting moments. Before recalling a typical episode of the discussion, I naturally deem it my duty to tell that most of what our American and South African guests had to say was criticism of the societies in which they live. Guinier began and concluded his contribution by stating that he does not believe his country in its present condition is competent to arbitrate in the matter of human rights.

But let us see the excerpts from the discussion.

SCHWOEBEL: ...What surprises me in the current campaign related to human rights is how much the Eastern countries are shocked at it, how much it irritates you. Why is this surprising to me? Because in reality your situation is not worse than that of others. You represent very fine countries and, even in contrast with other states, your hinterland is just as firm as ours.

So I cannot understand why you are so restless and irritated. I am afraid you forget that the campaign has a very positive aspect, indeed. For do not forget that the Western countries have taken no interest in Helsinki. At the same time Helsinki makes up an integral whole which includes not only human rights but also economic cooperation, the principle of non-intervention, the political principles of security, more resolute efforts towards disarmament. In connection with human rights you suddenly become interesting to Westerners. And this is very good, because you may say, and this will be so in Belgrade: All right, gentlemen, let's debate about this—by the way, you must have the courage to debate about it!—but let's debate about the other things, too, for all this is interesting if taken together, it is all interdependent. Thus I can see a good opportunity for us to strengthen détente. The Eastern countries may also play a role in broadening our liberal conception of human rights. I think therefore that we should deal with the human rights problem; moreover, I tell you, my dear colleague Hajdu, that we would be deeply grieved, both as men and as world citizens, if Eastern and

Western governments were to put aside the question of human rights.

No, these questions must be talked about, in this connection we all have something to blame each other for, but never mind... Governments have some control over their mass information media, so these do not tell the whole story. Every government believes itself to be the best of all, and this applies to socialists and capitalists alike, it follows from human nature. So you need outsiders to tell you: Beware, gentlemen, we think you go a little too far. And you also may oblige us in the same way, and I really ask you to do so. Our consciences are too light, although we could well blame ourselves for thousands of occurrences, for instance, in America or South Africa. I for one think this debate ought to be conducted boldly and democratically in all countries.

Excuse me, but I should like to add something, because to me it is very interesting to be able to carry on a dialogue with the Hungarian television viewers. They have to understand why we are anxious. We don't want, the majority of the French don't want, to use this issue for political purposes. We know it would be hypocrisy to exchange accusations on account of human rights, whilst we also defend and support systems where human rights are violated, disgracefully and wickedly at that, where massacres and tortures also occur.

We know this is a hypocritical attitude, we do not agree with it. Nevertheless, there are things that are true, authentic, and there are others that we do not accept and do not understand. I am an honest man, I am not a foe of the socialist countries; what is more, I advocate such vast extension of human rights as has been carried out in the socialist countries.

At the same time I cannot accept that a man should be stripped of the right to freedom of movement; I as a liberal cannot tolerate a man having no right to speak up, to criticize his government, and I cannot tolerate, as Mr. Guinier has said, people being debarred from participation in decisions. For this is all part of democracy.

HAJDU: You have asked why the Eastern or—as I prefer to call them—the socialist countries are irritated by the raising of the issue of human rights. I will tell you why it is that I am irritated by the way the problem is raised, by what I have seen, what I have experienced in recent times.

It is because I am afraid that it restricts and hampers, among other things, the opportunities for that tolerance, for that democratic development we need everywhere in the socialist countries. In Hungary I am a member of the Communist party, and the programme of this party includes that we should like to create here more and better democracy. But if we are continually attacked from outside, if we are continually compelled to defend ourselves, then we are back in the years of the Cold War when it was always much easier to say that discipline comes first and tolerance only next.

PIERALLI: I also think there has ensued a certain degree of irritability. I feel that, basically, comparison must be admitted in this respect, in a positive spirit, without mutual accusations. Including all three so-called baskets of the Helsinki agreement, thus also the provisions concerning human rights and the free flow of ideas. We are also concerned with the socialist countries' way of settling the case of certain persons who disagree, of certain intellectuals who sign statements of protest. This question must be settled independently of everything. I think therefore that we have to accept these challanges when they are of a positive nature, while rejecting the so-called "tribunals," the accusations, and without irritation at that. I want to say one more thing: I do not agree with one of the pronouncements

of our South African friend, Mr. Strachan. He clearly separates the rights of an economic nature from the basic freedoms, giving priority to economic issues. To this I can only reply with our own Italian experiences.

When in 1922 the Fascists subdued the Italian working class, we lost at the same time our freedom, and the economic and social rights which our working class had achieved by struggle. We had to wage a bloody fight, a war of liberation, under the direction of the working class. For this very reason the working class is the depository and defender of the further development of democracy. For this reason we do not speak of democratic civil or formal rights.

HAJDU: But it may be possible and necessary to examine these issues exactly in the context of their historical evolution and to express our opinion on what the different socialist countries did, and how they did it, in the different stages of their different histories. I am sure that we could also cite examples here, in our own country, in Hungary, about what we ought to do better, more democratically. But I compare the current conditions with what I experienced in Hungary twenty or twenty-five years ago, when this system started, when it set out on its way. And if I look at it in this manner, and limit it now to the basic freedoms, to the formal rights, as you have put it, then I think the way we have covered is long, while in many places under bourgeois democracy they cannot even preserve the already achieved attainments.

The reason why I have expounded this at some length, and why in the meantime I have always been looking at you, Comrade Pieralli, is that many times, or frequently, one has the impression that it is difficult to separate in the criticism addressed to us the voice of the solicitous friend from the voice of imperialism bent on intervention.

PIERALLI: As to the analysis of historical experiences and starting-points, I accept it on my part, I accept it... Also, I agree—and this is a point which ought to be especially taken into account—that the basic freedoms offered by the bourgeois societies are trampled under foot by bourgeois society itself when the frame proves too tight for the exercise of economic power.

As regards the criticisms addressed to the socialist countries, I have to say that we clearly see what was the historical turning point, to what we owe the possibilities of our progress: it is the Great October Socialist Revolution which triumphed sixty years ago. We think the Soviet Union and the socialist countries play a fundamental role in the world arena, and they create more favourable conditions for the achievement of power in capitalist countries, too. This we have to state unequivocally. We say we want to build a different kind of socialism, because our historical conditions are different. Of course, we speak on the basis of our brotherhood and solidarity established with the socialist countries even when we feel there is something that is not convincing enough to us. Permit me to cite an example. We hold the view that in future Italian society several parties will have to exist, but it would be absurd to expect the same from the Soviet Union. We think, however, that anybody who wishes to criticize—even by asserting erroneous facts—should have the right to do so. I mean to say that the type of political system is one issue, and another is that all opportunities for the expression of views must be further developed amidst the diversity of political systems. When sometimes we criticize the socialist countries, we are seized with a certain bitterness because we feel that the socialist system must be in every respect, not only in certain respects, superior to other systems.

HAJDU: Iván Boldizsár, two more things, historically it was the case with us, wasn't it, that...

BOLDIZSÁR: Let me first say what was in my mind. I should like to answer the question of my friend Jean Schwoebel, as to why we are irritated.

In the first place because the Western press in general does not talk of us the way he has just done. If Western journalism as a whole were full of Jean Schwoebels, we would be much less irritated by articles in the Western press.

Second, because in recent years, or decades, I have deduced a singular thesis from my experience with regard to how the Western press deals with the socialist countries. Let me add that in this I have been the least worried about *Le Monde*. And what it amounts to is that if the news agencies provide the world press with something negative about a socialist country, the news is brought by every single paper and applied generally to all socialist countries. If, on the other hand, any good news comes from a socialist country, it very seldom gets published and is never applied generally to all socialist countries.

PIERALLI: Here we have to make important distinctions. In Italy, for example, part of the press is hostile also to us, Italian communists. But now they are so differently than in the past, they are more clever...

Facts are stubborn things and would triumph in the last analysis, whether their burden is positive or negative. In my opinion Hungary has nothing to complain about if we take into consideration how the Italian press as a whole received Comrade Kádár's visit to Rome. If I only think of what the big bourgeois dailies would have written about it ten years ago, if I think of the great sympathy that accompanied the visit, then I can only repeat that positive facts would always triumph. Comrade Kádár spoke quite sincerely and openly. In connection with human rights, for example, he said that a long list could be drawn up of effectively accorded human rights in Hungary. Other countries also could draw up a similarly long list. "We would be mistaken," he said, "if we asserted that we in Hungary have already settled everything, and that in this field we have nothing more to do." When questions put by the press are answered like this, the Western press cannot embark on a political campaign.

First among the First Secretaries of socialist countries, János Kádár called on the Pope, too. Pope Paul VI had to recognize Kádár's personal merit in the shaping of good relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican. If all this had not been backed up by positive experience, namely by respect for the rights of Catholics on the part of the Hungarian state, then this event could not have taken place.

BOLDIZSÁR: To understand each other better, it must be said what I have been saying here in Hungary lately, namely that the most important word is a small word, a postposition or—as is said in western languages—a preposition: "*képest*" in Hungarian, "in comparison to something." Thus we cannot judge our own situation, and this is what I am now primarily talking about, nor the situation of others, if we fail to compare it first to ourselves and then to our environment. And this is the standpoint that leads to the equilibrium, to the marriage, to the synthesis which has been mentioned here so frequently. Well now, what I should like to say is this: we in Hungary do not regard what we do here as a kind of a model. But sometimes we are surprised to see that our progressive, socialist, Communist friends in the West would already like to apply to us the model which they imagine for their own future. So I think a temporal comparison must be taken as a basis here as well, and

if they follow our development with care, then they can see that, not only in respect of freedom—as János Hajdu has just said—but also in the matter of equality, we have taken very important steps forward, especially since in the meanwhile we had taken a few steps backward, too.

What I have in mind are the years of the personality cult, one of the seldom mentioned phenomena of which was excessive egalitarianism, where everybody was equal downwards. Except those who benefited from the personality cult. So, Hungary is already past this egalitarianism and now we think that, in the relationship of freedom and equality, we are tending towards a harmony which eases the conscience of many Hungarian citizens and satisfies their needs.

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Many of my readers who have only a rudimentary knowledge of conditions in Hungary may now ask why, indeed, do we have this International Studio in this country. Others may raise the question whether all this is not merely an exception that proves the rule about the parsimony of information, or proves even more that the Communists strive after a monopoly of information, so they obviously permit only manipulated debates.

When we discuss, when I accept the not always thankful task of the moderator in debates, of course it is not our aim that my comrades and I should go under in the clash of conflicting views. In other countries they also do not debate in public with the intention of undermining the fundamental institutions of the nation.

Here in Hungary it is not only the moderator of the programme who assumes the political risk that, let us say, while a good-looking man, using clever arguments, tries to sell the NATO armaments programme as exertions of a defensive character, his opposite number has to take up the duel, albeit arguing well, with less personal charm. It is my concern to do my best professionally, for this programme will last only as long as everybody in it recognizes what he has actually said.

The credit for the possibility of accepting the basic situation goes to those who have worked for the creation of today's general conditions here, those to whom we owe the fact that we can take risks without risking anything.

A single television programme can of course only add to the success or the failure of a cause. No sort of programme can be decisive if the political programme is wrong. But my colleagues and I have the avowed ambition to contribute to the strengthening of the institutional system of socialist democracy. Because we are of the opinion that this is a key element in the further progress of our system.

FROM THE PRESS

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN HUNGARY

Hungarian political developments have reached a point where a thoroughgoing analysis of certain basic notions appears to be particularly important and timely. The current social and economic equilibrium, an absence of major tensions, completing a long and important stage in socialist construction, and tasks and problems arising at a higher level, found expression in a number of noteworthy articles in recent months. What I propose to do below is to survey some published in the May and June, 1977 issues of *Társadalmi Szemle*, the theoretical and political monthly of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Fighting on two fronts

István Katona, a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and a Section Head in the Central Committee's apparatus examines the sociopolitical developments of twenty years in the light of the resolutions passed by the national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the summer of 1957, giving close attention to their implementation. "The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party," István Katona argues "had to fight in two directions right from the start. On the one hand against revisionist treason that had taken the Party and the country to the brink of disaster which tried its best to regroup its forces, and on the other against a 'left-wing,' that wished to justify itself because of the Counter Revolution, that laid charges and made excuses for mistakes. Initiating the two-front struggle was a deed of historic importance giving a new and correct direction to the fight led by the Party." As István Katona points out this two-front struggle has not, in the meanwhile lost any of its timeliness. Not that there are significant leftish or rightish viewes within the Party, but because the two-front struggle is the only correct and well-balanced basic position in the fight for the proper interpretation of the timely tasks of socialist construction. "It is part of the nature of life and politics" he writes, "that there are differences of opinion in the way one judges every new question, particularly if they are far-reaching. Views are sharpened, and interpretations take on a leftish or rightish appearance. What matters is that the correct position should win. That, however, in the future as well, can only take shape in a systematic struggle facing all directions, and based on firm principles."

István Katona in a most interesting way discusses the *modus operandi* of the Party which took shape twenty years ago and has been systematically applied to this day; he refers to the fact that, practice based on collective leadership having taken root, and the strengthening of the spirit of criticism and selfcriticism, largely warded off sub-

jectivism which previously had caused a great deal of trouble. Inner party discipline and the prevailing democratic spirit soundly influenced changes taking place in the country's political institutions, public life and the growth of socialist democracy. Twenty years ago it was declared that: "...if for no other reason then in order to ensure that no-one should consider joining the Party as obligatory, though contrary to his convictions, every public office except Party positions, state as well as honorary can be filled by non-party people. The standard by which the cadres are to be judged are those of concrete work done in the implementation of the correct Party line. Making this principle explicit which, to all appearances only touched Party work, in fact meant the laying down of a principle that declared the basic rights of citizens, and it does so today as well."

One of the basic factors of Hungarian political life is the worker-peasant alliance which rests on firm principles. The Party directs and organizes socialist construction relying on this alliance. Following the errors of the age of the personality cult, which loosened this alliance, what was most important was the recognition that the Party must obtain the confidence of the masses by applying the instruments of political persuasion, and the genuine results of its work and struggle. In the course of the past twenty years, István Katona points out, "the leading role of the Party was given a new meaning; service became the guiding principle of its activity, that is service of the people and of the country. New norms became valid as regards the Party and the voluntary and mass movements." The essence of the new *modus operandi* is that the Party no longer passes resolutions that are obligatory for the social and economic organizations. Resolutions only apply to Communist Party members working in these organizations, and the work of these Communists then acts as the transmission system which makes the Party's influence effective. "This is Lenin's style of leadership, which guides the Party now, and must do so in future as well unless it wants to fall into error."

The Nature of Power

When discussing the nature of power István Katona quotes the Party's programmatic statement which declares that the Hungarian People's Republic is a socialist state which, in essence, is a dictatorship of the proletariat. "In Hungary a proletarian dictatorship took shape for sound and necessary reasons, but the state of the working class can vary formally, and there are differences amongst them now" he goes on. "Nations on the road to socialism will find the state organization that best suits their aims; the essence is that power obtained should serve the interests of the working class and of the working people. Our dictatorship of the proletariat is not considered eternal either; it professedly changes and develops; the programmatic statement expresses it too that, as developed socialism comes true it gradually will be transformed into a socialist state of the people as a whole. There is no doubt however that the working class remains the leading force of such a state, too."

The exercise of power is naturally part of its essence. The formulation of the basic principles implies their implementation. István Katona points out that the stress on socialist legality found formulation as much more than a mere opposite of the abuses of the law that were part and parcel of what is called the age of the personality cult. Socialist legality is a basic rule of the working of the socialist state. One of the cornerstones of the Hungarian People's Republic is that those who offend against the law will be punished by the law, and those who respect the law will be protected by the law.

Katona's argument logically leads from the principles and practice of power to socialist democracy. "The construction of a developed socialist society demands that

Hungarian public life as such be better suffused by the practice and atmosphere of socialist democracy. The present tasks of working-class power can no longer focus on the instruments of the dictatorship. Carrying out organizational and economic, or cultural and educational functions requires active and conscious action on the part of the masses, a say for them in the business at hand and the extension of socialist democracy. The Hungarian Party therefore does all in its power to develop democracy in the work of local government councils, in public life, on the job, and in the cooperatives.

The extension of socialist democracy

The above quotations make it abundantly clear as well that the forceful growth of socialist democracy is one of the crucial postulates of further progress at the present stage of socio-economic development. This highly important question is discussed by Sándor Lakos who heads the Social Sciences Research Institute of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. He firmly places the present state and future prospects of socialist democracy in the context of the political system of the Hungarian People's Republic, presenting and discussing vital, and vitally important factors.

Sándor Lakos examines each of the major creative elements of the political system in turns, beginning with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in view of the leading role of the latter in every area of social life. After pointing out that the Party is the vanguard of the working class which expresses and implements the basic interests of the people as a whole he asks whether this leading role is to the advantage or disadvantage of the democratic operation of the system as such. "The answer," he declares, "is unambiguous. The Party's leading role serves the strengthening of democracy, and this is a qualitatively new, significant surplus which the system offers." Lakos backs this with facts. He points out that the Party "can be considered a special representative organ which disposes over elected bodies, an organization, and a professional decision-preparing apparatus. Party members elect their representatives and bodies at various levels, those direct work which, in turn, is controlled by the membership. Party activities reflect state and social processes, and the making explicit and coordination of diverse interests... This allows Party activities to, as it were, control state and social processes." Lakos argues that the discussion of social and political questions within the Party must bring to the surface otherwise hidden opinions and counter-opinions. Inner-Party democracy which makes it possible for opinions to be freely expressed in discussion "necessarily results in the Party acting out the role of its own opposition as well."

Discussing the state Lakos demonstrates the central and directing role of the socialist state. If power is exercised as it should be this guarantees the possibility of democracy for the masses. But the socialist state can only be said to be doing its job properly if ongoing social control of its activities is ensured. "In Hungary an extended mechanism of social control has taken shape," he writes, "but improvement in operation is an ongoing task. Responsible, and increasingly substantial duties devolve on Parliament for instance, in this respect, and on representative bodies in general. Parliamentary work has grown in efficiency in recent years, and this is especially true of the committees. Expert, and to-the-point exchanges of opinion that take place there deserve special mention."

The Party and the State

Lakos's "analysis of the relationship between the Party and the state is worthy of particular attention. "At an earlier stage of development, which we have not outgrown," he writes, "we settled things by declaring the Party and the state to be identical. The

fact that, to use the language of the time, 'the summits of Party and state leadership meet', led to the conslusion that there is no need for discrimination between Party and state activities, or for a clear definition of their functions. We moved beyond this position in recent years."

It is characteristic of the present position that the State and its organs (parliament, the council of ministers, ministries, and local government councils) work independently, and carry out duties that are precisely defined by the law. They are resposible for their own activities and are not merely executive organs. While putting the elaborated line into practice, they exercise control, correct details, amend things, or suggest amendments. The government has a central role, and not only in administration, its duties in directing social life are highly important as well. It exercises ownership functions in relation to all state owned enterprises, institutions etc. It is therefore more than the governments of bourgeois countries, as well as being unlike them.

After discussing the sound aspects of progress, Lakos deals with defficiencies which no one wishes to turn a blind eye towards. "Party and state activities," he writes, "are intertwined more than necessary, and not always in a desirable way. There is too much overlapping still, the Party cannot undertake the functions of administrative and economic instrumentalities, this would obscure responsibilities, and the Party would lose the chance to express an independent opinion about processes and institutions... The Party defines the main line of an activity, but it is right and desirable that the independence of state organs should be potentiated."

Considering future developments Lakos reaches the conclusion that while on the one hand state responsibilities will very likely increase in the direction of economic and cultural life, education, the social services, and even of social processes in the wider sense of the term, on the other there are numerous projections of social life where there will be much greater scope for independence and initiative. A great many functions which are now carried out by the state will devolve on associations, and the need to make use of state instruments will come to an end. Various types of collectives will themselves look after an increasing number of things.

In what direction should socialist democracy move? In what areas are there gaps, and what trends can be described as sound? Lakos asks whether, in Hungary, the masses have enough say when decisions are taken? Quantitatively things are right, but it is not quantity that counts. "We know perhaps better than those who criticise us," he writes, "that the weak points must be looked for not in the quantity of observations made—or the chance to make them at all—but in their reception, and their forwarding, in the distorting effects of subjectivism which is unfortunately pretty strong. Those questions in the decision or which smaller or larger collectives can participate substantially must be better selected. This is particularly true of democracy on the job. Its development is considered a central duty.

The question of political pluralism

"This is the place to discuss the multi-party issue, that is political pluralism," Sándor Lakos continued his train of thought. "On principle, and our position is quite unambiguous in that respect, socialism can be constructed both by a one-party, and a multi-party system, what matters is the leading role of the working class, that power should be in the hands of the working class. If one tries to think through what they mean by political pluralism in the West, one can establish that this is not simply the existence of a variety of parties, but actually the recognition of different social interests, allowing them to be expressed, and note being taken of them. It is clear that those who demand a multi-party system have the repre-

sentation of a variety of interests in mind. Looking at this essential meaning, the experience of the past twenty years shows that we by and large made it possible that various interests should manifest themselves. When it comes to concrete questions agreement cannot be universal or complete as a rule, for that reason making the interests of the great majority effective is the most democratic solution. The multiplicity of interests, their plurality if you like, in their coordination, strengthened that basic identity of interest which is embodied in national unity."

In this connection in a great many capitalist countries the multi-party system does not serve the expression of objective power-relations, and the more effective manifestation of differing interests and views, but on the contrary helps to play them down. In a number of capitalist powers differences between parties are minimal, when it comes to essential questions they do not offer alternatives.

"When discussing pluralism and different interests one must refer to the operation of the political system as a whole, that provides the real answer. The coordination of interests is part of everyday work in Hungary." Lakos goes on to discuss the representative and interest-coordinating functions of various elective bodies, mass organizations etc. and then continues: "Those who recommend political pluralism . . . oversimplify the structure of interests in a socialist society. Under socialism every aspect of political life is called on to further the social interest, at the same time, however, every institution represents special interests as well . . . One is therefore justified in saying that the clash and coordination of interests is manifest in the relationship between the various organs of the system of political institutions. But the interests represented by particular institutions are not a *priori* given, or integrated. It is therefore essential that various interests be taken note of, confronted, coordinated, and from time to time allowed to clash, within institutions as well, say the trades unions, to give an example."

The realisation of human rights

In the concluding section of his article Sándor Lakos examines socialist democracy as the medium in which citizen and human rights achieve realization. "Bourgeois law", he writes, "defines the rights of citizens as those which the state neither limits, nor influences. It remains unmentioned whether these rights have any real chance of becoming effective. As against this the working class right from the start looked on the material guarantees of these rights as crucial, and did not maintain the above, obviously formal, position."

What Lakos has in mind there is that, for instance, socialist society ensures education and access to higher education to the masses by offering financial support etc. It can be said about the right to social services (health, child care etc.) that there are much wealthier capitalist countries which do not provide them at the standard reached by socialist Hungary.

Opposition views

"The heading political human rights these days is generally taken to cover the possibilities of putting forward oppositional opinions.—What is our position in this respect? The presence of differing opinions, including counter-opinions, is an objective necessity under socialism as well, because of the present differences in interests. The chances of their being represented . . . are far from small. The manifestation of varying opinions and counter-opinions, their coordination and clash, is therefore a self-repeating process which is always present in every area of social life. This is publicity reflected and manifest in the press and in the great variety of positions expressed by writers, in the mass media, and, in the first place, in the workaday world." All this does not, perhaps stick in the eye, it is not surrounded by the publicity customary in capitalist countries. Differences of opinion

do not manifest themselves in as spectacular a way as in western countries. This may well be the reason why looking at things superficially, and from the outside, some people reached the conclusion that only one kind of opinion described as monolithic can become effective in socialist countries. Actually, the very opposite is true. "It is in our soundly interpreted interest," Lakos argues, "that use be made of every opinion and counter-opinion which, even to the tiniest degree, is of importance. For that very reason it is considered an important task of the further development of the decision taking mechanism that the objective conditions for the passing on of minority opinions expressed on various platforms be further improved. Related organizational instructions are being prepared. Socialism has no reason to fear truth, on the contrary, getting to know it as well as possible is in its interest. The great majority of minority views is not opposed to socialism but, on the contrary, serves to support it. Care must be taken that proper attention be given to such opinions by every link in the chain of our political system, and in the life of every organization, in everyday work, in keeping with our present practice, but even more systematically."

The dictatorship of the proletariat—socialist democracy

In a most interesting polemical article the historian Bálint Szabó, answers those capitalist critics of the socialist political system who endeavour to present the state of the working class as a non-democratic system, desiring to identify the dictatorship of the proletariat with autocratic methods and forms of the exercise of power. He discusses what the classics of Marxism have had to say on the subject, and draws the conclusion that neither Marx, nor Engels, nor Lenin absolutized any given form, committing themselves or others to given a rate, or mode, of revolutionary change. In mid-nineteenth century, and after, Marx thought it possible that, in certain countries, power should be peacefully transferred to the working class without a prior smashing of the state apparatus. Lenin thought it possible, and desirable, that the working class should take over peacefully. He as well showed no inclination to engage in prophesies concerning the future forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The working class obtained power, and defended it, in Russia in the teeth of military intervention, in civil war conditions, that is why Lenin thought a dictatorship without pardon to be unavoidable, and necessary, in the defence of the revolution. Even then he stressed that violence was not of the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "What I have in mind when stressing such statements by the Marxist classics," Bálint Szabó writes, "is a wish to demonstrate how undefensible the view is that the dictatorship of the proletariat is based on violence in the first place, some going as far as to identify the two, arguing that violence logically follows from the ideology of communism, and is in fact its essence. As the classics also pointed out, not even the seizing of power by the working class presupposed violence, more precisely the use of open and armed force."

Hungarian history

Szabó then goes on to refer to modern Hungarian history which demonstrates the truth of the propositions argued above. When, in the spring of 1919 the working class first came to power in Hungary with the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, the overwhelming majority of the population was in support, and the dictatorship of the proletariat was peacefully established. Revolutionary armed force was only used against imperialist intervention designed to overthrow the Republic of Councils, giving an impetus to the reactionaries at home as well. The Hungarian

Republic of Councils survived for only 133 days, suffering defeat following the concentrated attack of the domestic and foreign enemy. After twenty-five years Hungary was liberated as part of the defeat of the forces of fascism in the Second World War. A new and democratic state replaced the smashed fascist state apparatus. This new state was essentially a species of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry. The road to the dictatorship of the proletariat did not lead via the overthrow of this new state power. It was precisely the consolidation of the new state power, the extension of its positions, and the gradual elimination of the bourgeoisie from positions, of power which, in peaceful conditions, led to a new form of the dictatorship of the proletariat "People's democracy," Szabó writes, "which at first after the Liberation, was the form of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship, turned into the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the victory of the socialist revolution. In such a context people's democracy, that is the socialist revolution, is relatively peaceful. Progress is democratic and gradual, as they said at the time. A new form of mass organization and the practice of revolutionary power took shape, the people's front, which, in most countries, was the alliance of parties that had, during the Second World War, associated in the fight against fascism. The people's front survived at the time of the fight for socialism as well, and parliament was reconstituted, and functioned, playing a role in the revolutionary transformation in most of the countries.

Hungarian socio-political developments after the Second World War proved that neither a limitation of the suffrage of the exploiting classes, nor a one-party system were a necessary part of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat could come out on top without the prior pulling apart of the bourgeois state apparatus. Certain parliamentary forms could be maintained. It necessarily followed on developments that democracy which had outgrown the formal framework defined by the bourgeois democratic system should grow into socialist democracy.

Why then didn't a new mode of application of the dictatorship of the proletariat develop in Hungary, though the start had been so successful? "What was involved," Szabó states "was the fact that it did not prove possible to overcome in time a biased and dogmatic interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat which was tied to conditions that had prevailed earlier." The dogmatic interpretation of the dictatorship of the proletariat identified the idea of working class power with one of its functions, oppression, that is the primacy of police measures. "It followed from the dogmatic attitudes of the Party leadership of the time", Szabó writes, "that, starting with 1949 they increasingly tended to reject the people's democracy model, among to introduce a 'genuine' and 'pure' dictatorship of the proletariat. Putting an end to the allied parties, and restricting the scope of the people's front was part of this. The sectarian leadership underestimated the importance for the building of socialism of the policy of alliances and that of organizational models that had taken shape during the people's democratic revolution.

Even the people's front was regarded as a factor that could be neglected, that was of use of the most at election time. This, in the company of other errors, shook the class alliance that had taken shape earlier, and this though there were real achievements in socialist construction. The confidence which its allies had felt in the Party was undermined, and the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and other working people, was weakened. The errors made fed the partially concealed but also open stand revisionists and other rightist elements took against the working class and socialism."

Twenty years' progress

Szabó goes on to discuss those principles which have governed socialist construction in Hungary for twenty years now. "The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has been aware right from the start that every achievement is wobbly which is not achieved by the persuasion of the people and with their approving participation, as part of the policy of alliances and the steady growth of socialist democracy. That is why the Party made efforts to further the work of organizations whose membership covers the working classes and sections of society. It also did its best to revive the operation of the Patriotic Peoples Front. It considered it important that the people's front movement should be a permanent by effective factor within political life. There the representatives of various classes and sections of society, Party members and those who are not, Marxists and religious people, are jointly active in the construction of socialism and the defence of peace. In Hungary the People's Front, as well as the trades unions and other mass organizations, most comprehensively embody the militant unity and political solidarity of the progressive forces committed to the building of socialism."

Szabó refers to what Hungary has achieved in the course of these twenty years past in the way of reducing the gap between town and country, and in bringing various classes and sections of society closer to each other. The combined effects of all this show in the firming of socialist national unity.

"These processes", he writes, "have an effect on the shaping of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the functions of the socialist state as well. The scope of the activities of the class enemy became very confined as the exploiting classes ceased to exist and the positions of socialism were further consolidated, and the enforcing functions of the state lose in importance, or rather they are increasingly directed against foreign threats. At the same time more emphasis is given to organization and guidance, to economic and cultural education and organizing work. The socialist state changes itself as the construction of developed socialism progresses. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat gradually turns into the state of the entire nation, and working class power becomes that of the people as a whole, within which the working class continues as the leading force."

Real rights for the great majority

The conclusion of Bálint Szabó's argument is that socialist democracy ensures real rights to the great majority, and that not only in the sense that, thanks to social property workers are given the material basis allowing them to exercise those democratic rights which capitalist society proclaims as well, but especially because it assures rights that capitalist societies do not even proclaim, let alone guarantee. These include the right to work and access to recreational facilities and culture. Insecurity ceases, the social position of the masses is radically improved, real equality based on work and a chance to develop one's personality becomes a reality. "In other words socialist democracy," Szabó argues, "differs from bourgeois democracy in the first place in as much as it eliminates every type of exploitation. The working people become the owners of the material and intellectual resources of the country, and are able to participate substantially and in fact in directing the affairs of state."

What is the framework of socialist democracy? Whether or not working class power has become a reality is not decided by formal criteria, nor are they used when passing judgement on socialist democracy. "Socialist democracy" Szabó writes, "is a changing and developing system of domination, where the degree of democracy can be tight, or loose, depending on the historical conditions. It is obvious that, during the first period of socialist construction, when

the forces of production were still relatively underdeveloped, when socialist relations of production had not yet fully come to power, and bourgeois ideology was still widely effective, socialist democracy could not develop to the same degree... The magnificent achievements of socialist construction... created better conditions for the fulfillment of socialist democracy... In the course of building a classless society, and the further growth of the socialist world-revolutionary process, socialist democracy will become enriched both in substance and forms of realization."

The New Forms of Democracy on the Job

One of the principal scenes for the development and expansion of socialist democracy is the workplace, the place of employment. Sándor Jakab, a section head of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, deals with this issue on the pages of the *Népszabadság* (July 20, 1977), referring to the fact that in the past few years there has been considerable activity throughout the country on behalf of the development of the substance of industrial democracy and its institutionalization. As a result, the traditional forms of industrial democracy have become effective to the point that the collectives at industrial plants can now take an active part in the elaboration of the medium-range (five years) and shortrange (one year) economic and social plans. Furthermore, the workers are to be included in the elaboration and evaluation of collective contracts, rules of work competition, and the main targets of innovation.

It is an interesting and important development that, in addition to the forms of industrial democracy already in existence and working successfully, fifty Hungarian enterprises are experimenting with the elaboration and realization of new forms. Two new alternatives are being tried out: at some plants topics affecting the enterprise are to be discussed by workers' councils elected by the workers for this specific purpose; whereas in others, previously elected trade union shop floor representatives and trade union officials form a permanent body to deal with these matters. Between the two experimental forms the latter has proved more successful, probably because the Hungarian trade union movement, rich with a century-long experience during which delegates and officials have often filled an important function constitutes an adequate foundation and guarantee for the healthy functioning of industrial democracy.

In his article Sándor Jakab points out those specific areas in which the bodies of industrial democracy may take a stand, or have jurisdiction. Thus they have jurisdiction with regard to the main guidelines and ratios pertaining to wage policy and the division of profits, with regard to collective contracts, or with regard to the basic questions of social, welfare, and cultural matters; they may, as already mentioned, discuss the short-range and medium-range plans of the enterprise. "In the spirit of the decision of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party," he writes, "the activities of the economic management are evaluated annually, at general workers' assemblies at smaller plants, or at the joint meetings of shop floor representatives and trade union officials at the large plants. And this is an entirely new development. The purpose of the decision was to make possible the collective control of economic management. It gave the collective of the enterprise an opportunity to express its opinion about the work of the managers.

Sándor Jakab points out, however, that the expansion of industrial democracy does not curtail the principle of one-man responsibility, the responsibility of the director. The development of industrial democracy and one-man responsibility are two different, interdependent aspects of the same process.

ISSUES OF CULTURAL POLICY

The theoretical and political journal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the monthly *Társadalmi Szemle*, published in its 1977/7–8 issue an article on the subject of Hungarian cultural policy by Miklós Óvári, a member of the Political Committee and a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. The article, a somewhat abbreviate version of his lecture and of his concluding speech at the June 28, 1977, meeting of the Central Committee, examines first of all the realization of those guiding principles which the party had adopted two decades ago, and which marked the road of the construction of socialism in every important domain, including the domain of culture. "Our Party has regarded, and still regards, as its fundamental tasks, the consistent realization of the Leninist cultural revolution which is an organic part of the construction of a socialist society, as well as the constant improvement of our people's cultural standards and the guarantee of conditions necessary for such improvement. With regard to the latter, Óvári specifies, "even today our primary goal—and if anything the emphasis has become even more pronounced—is the development of science, the increase of its role in social construction. Just as twenty years ago, one of our fundamental endeavours is still to make room for every true artistic value, but support first of all committed art which truly expresses the construction of socialism, and strengthens social consciousness."

Miklós Óvári analyzes the methods for the guidance of cultural activity: the Party cannot remain indifferent to matters of taste and style, but it knows well that these issues cannot be decided by directives, by the use of power. It is not by petty interference or by tutoring artistic and scientific work that the party attempts to have its policies prevail, but through theoretical debates, through the guiding force of Marxism-Leninism, taking largely into account the particularities of specific cultural areas, and fighting against the manifestations of bureaucracy. The party's cultural policy has withstood the test of two decades well; it owes its success, its continuity, primarily to the fact that it is an organic part of the party's general policy. Here, too, the basic principle of alliances prevails: nobody can be compelled to surrender his ideology against his convictions, and the possibility for creative activity is guaranteed also to those who, although not on a Marxist basis, nevertheless work and create under the aegis of humanism, of peace, and in the service of the happiness of mankind and of the Hungarian people. Yet the cooperation with non-Marxist intellectuals does not preclude, but rather presupposes, constructive criticism, the Marxist criticism of works and views permeated by non-Marxist ideas.

The study goes on to deal with the particular areas of Hungarian cultural life. Analyzing the present situation of scientific activity, it points out that significant development has taken place since the adoption of the principles of scientific policy eight years ago. In 1975 eighty thousand persons worked in the area of scientific researrh and development; among these there were 35 thousand researchers, whereas the sum sallocated for research and development amounted to 15 thousand million forints or 3.5 percent of the national budget. Generally speaking, scientific research and the practical application of its results contribute increasingly to the solution of the tasks of the people's economy and of the construction of society. Undoubtedly, however, it will be necessary to improve coordination between scientific policy and economic policy. To begin with, a more effective concentration of the country's scientific capacity, and the selective development of the research base in which the criteria of selection would be primarily the trends and objectives of eco-

nomic development, would be required. Óvári points out: there are still too many research topics, and as yet it has not been possible to achieve significant progress in their limitation. In 1969 one hundred researchers tackled 152 topics, and in 1975 they tackled 137 topics, which means that in 1975 Hungarian researchers dealt with 30 thousand topics. The intimates that the research capacity of the country has not been sufficiently concentrated.

In relation to the problems of public education Óvári observes that considerable development has taken place in consequence of the 1972 decision of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party which designated the tasks of public education. The course materials have been reduced, new school instructions have been issued, the high school graduation examination jibes more closely with the examinations for entrance to universities and colleges. Education has come into the focus of attention, and teacher training has improved. Comprehensive plans have been elaborated for the development and modernization of ideological education in the Marxist-Leninist spirit.

Presently the most important task is the elaboration of new schedules and the conclusion of the elaboration of educational plans; then, from 1978 on, the gradual implementation of these plans, which will be concluded some time in the mid 1980's.

The development of instruction at the general school level remains in the focus of attention. One endeavour is to eliminate differences in standards, between urban and rural schools. Teaching is specialized in 98 percent of the upper forms of the general schools. Much has been done to improve educational opportunities for the children of manual workers. Unfortunately there has been little progress recently, about 10 percent of Hungarian youth does not complete the eighth grade of general school, and this proportion has not changed since 1972; something must be done about this. Óvári also discusses the situation of teachers. The raise granted them for the fall of 1977 will improve their conditions materially.

"In Hungarian cultural life" continues Óvári, "favourable developments have taken place mainly in two directions. On one hand adult education must be singled out: the schooling of workers, especially young workers who had not completed general school, has become better organized, and the number of workers registered in such courses has more than doubled in the past few years. The cultural activities of art workshops and of cooperatives have improved encouragingly, too. Nevertheless, the development in access to culture is uneven: gaps, delays have been registered in several areas. The production interests of enterprises are at times in conflict with the cultural demands of the workers, and there is a lot of formality in the cultural undertakings of the socialist brigades.

Speaking of the situation of the arts Óvári refers to the fact that human culture and socialism are natural allies. "It is our conviction," he writes, "that conscious and responsible dedication to socialism and progress provides favourable conditions for the development of the freedom to create." Hungarian cultural policy serves social ends, which means that it does not interfere in the creative process, but assists in the creation of works through the formulation of the true needs of the people. The independence and responsibility guaranteed to artistic workshops have to facilitate the production of more and more socialist cultural values. "We will continue to make room for valuable bourgeois humanist endeavours, but we will consistently exclude from our spiritual life antihumanist and taste spoiling products," declares Miklós Óvári. In the concluding section he stresses the significance of Marxist art criticism, and argues for the extension of critical activity to areas that have so far been neglected.

Z. H.

SURVEYS

TIBOR PALÁNKAI — FERENC SZOMBATHELYI

SOME ASPECTS OF HUNGARIAN–BRITISH RELATIONS

I

Helsinki was an important landmark from the point of view of Hungarian–British relations as well. Of course, we do not mean merely the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Rather we have in mind the period beginning with the second half of the 1960s when the process of détente was unfolding—a period that resulted in the achievements obtained at Helsinki. We will examine the relations between Great Britain and Hungary with reference to this period first of all. We look back only in order to help understand the present and foresee possibilities for the future. These possibilities are relatively far-reaching, for what characterizes the past as well as the current state of relations between the two countries in almost all areas is that they are not exploited commensurately with the potentials.

Of primary significance from the point of view of the development of relations between Great Britain and Hungary are those overall changes in international politics and in the world economic situation which brought about the process of détente and which, in spite of standstills and detours, are nevertheless expected to continue to promote détente. As regards Hungarian–British relations, however, there are a number of other specific factors which deserve attention.

After the Second World War, Great Britain's policy towards the socialist countries, despite its contradictory nature, was characterized by many specific positive features, even when the policy of other developed capitalist countries was still dominated by the Cold War spirit. British policy mostly followed the ups and downs of the international situation, but it always included a realistic and pragmatic line. Occasionally this line wound its way underground or came to the surface, as reflected in the practice of foreign policy. Pragmatically, Great Britain was the first among the developed capitalist countries to recognize the People's Republic of China, as early as 1950. Under pressure from the United States, she supported the Korean war but tried to reduce her part in it as far as possible. She took certain steps to bring closer the end of the war in Vietnam, and not in order to meet the wishes of the United States. This realism was also characteristic of her policy in relation to Cuba. In compliance with her own interests in any case, Great Britain never applied strictly the embargo in her trade with the socialist countries, and she made efforts to promote East–West cooperation.

The consolidation of Hungary's international position and the growth of her reputation by the 1960s were of great importance in the development of British–Hungarian relations. Instrumental in this development were the results of economic and social progress, world-wide interest in the

reform of economic management in Hungary, and an appreciation of her consistent foreign policy. On the other hand, accommodation to the world economic conditions is of vital importance to Hungary—a small country whose economy is open in every respect. A paramount role is played in this, of course, by Hungary's participation in socialist economic integration. However, the dynamic development of cooperation with capitalist countries cannot be dismissed either, and in this connection the socialist community itself has proved to be a background which is of immense service to the development of international political and economic contacts in other directions, too. It should be emphasized that in Hungarian–British relations there are no unsettled questions which might hinder their further development.

From the first half of the 1960s onward Great Britain has substantially reappraised her international policies, and this reappraisal involved a fundamental change of orientation in traditional British policy. From both the political and the economic point of view, the British Empire was gradually replaced by Western Europe, and as of January 1, 1973 Great Britain became a full member of the European Economic Community. From the 1970s the progress of the policy of détente also had an effect on British foreign policy, but accession to the Common Market hindered the development of relationships with the socialist countries. In that period British policy, while speaking of "Europe," hardly looked beyond Brussels and, in a way, the development of relations with Easter Europe came to a standstill. Especially in the period from 1971 to 1973 British diplomacy basically concentrated on entry into the Common Market, in connection with which it had to overcome opposition abroad and at home alike. The entry divided British society, and the issue came to a relative rest only after the referendum in June 1975. Both sides saw clearly that British accession to the Common Market, over and above its political implications, not only did not help expand economic relations with the socialist countries but might even jeopardize existing contacts in certain areas. In Hungarian–British relations it is necessary to point especially to the effects of the Common Market's agrarian policy, in respect of which it has been proved in recent years that Hungary's worries had not been groundless, for the exports of Hungarian agricultural products to Great Britain have inordinately and unreasonably declined.

After 1974 the British Labour government has perceptibly changed its policy towards the socialist countries, although concentration on the EEC remained symptomatic both in the positive and in the negative sense. The sharpening of domestic disputes about EEC membership, the reconsideration of the conditions of membership, the referendum and, last but not least, the internal economic and political crisis of the EEC have all acted in this direction. Some steps have been taken since 1972 to settle the relations between the EEC and the CMEA, but no actual progress has been achieved until 1977. In several respects this has had a negative influence on the development of bilateral contacts. In this connection it will suffice to refer to the EEC demands for coordinated foreign trade policies of member countries. Especially in the sphere of economic relations, the 1973–1975 economic crisis of the capitalist world also had a negative effect. Under such circumstances Hungarian–British relations in most fields could in the past few years develop only to a moderate extent, and there has been no breakthrough towards a fuller exploitation of actual possibilities.

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In the political sphere Hungarian–British relations are relatively modest, although they have undergone some development in recent years. In the past few years

Hungary has cloncluded a great number of international agreements in conformity with the spirit of Helsinki, including several arrangements with Great Britain. These refer mostly to specialized domains, but provide a more or less practicable framework for the broadening of connections far beyond their present scope.

The long-term economic and trade agreement concluded in 1972 is of importance from the point of view of economic cooperation. The EEC demand for common policies on external trade hinders the development of economic relations based on bilateral agreements, but the long-term arrangement has proved to be satisfactory. Every two years since 1961 Hungary and Great Britain signed a programme of cultural, educational, and scientific exchange, prolonged for the period of 1976 to 1978 in London in November 1975. Personal political contacts have also been expanded in recent years. Outstanding among these were the visits by Foreign Trade Minister József Biró to London in November 1974, then by Foreign Secretary James Callaghan to Budapest in July 1975, and the visits to London by Deputy Prime Minister Gyula Szekér in July 1976, and by Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja in February 1977. The high-level and manifold contacts between trade unions of the two countries are also worth mentioning: the visit of TUC General Secretary Len Murray to Hungary in November 1974 was reciprocated by Sándor Gáspár, General Secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, in May 1977. Of especially great importance was the visit to London by Frigyes Puja, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary, in early 1977. On this occasion the British Foreign Secretary and the Hungarian Foreign Minister surveyed all aspects of bilateral relations, proposing to develop them further. A good basis for this is furnished by the fact that both countries agree in emphasizing the importance of the implementation of the decisions of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the continued development of the process of détente.

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In the most recent period a certain progress has been achieved in many areas beyond official political contacts. Holiday travel between Great Britain and Hungary, though on a small scale, is shaping up well in general. In 1976 about 9,000 Hungarians visited Great Britain, and the number of British visitors to Hungary was about 26,000. The flow of information and cultural exchanges have also developed, although—even taking into account the obstacles—cooperation in this area cannot be regarded as satisfactory. British works are well represented in Hungarian book publishing and amongst foreign films shown by Hungarian cinemas and television, and the Hungarian state grants considerable subsidies to make British cultural achievements accessible to a wide public in Hungary. On the other hand, apart from visits to England by a number of prominent Hungarian artists, the propagation of Hungarian culture in Great Britain is very modest even bearing in mind the size of the country, and is one-sided as well. The disproportion is remarkable even if we consider the different structure of cultural life in Britain and the modest interest shown by the British public.

The situation is similar in respect of mutual knowledge of life in the two countries. The mass media and other cultural channels provide the average Hungarian citizen with extensive and objective knowledge and information about cultural, social, economic, and political life in Great Britain. Those who read English have access, besides Hungarian-language sources, to English political, cultural, and scientific literature, to magazines and newspapers in Hungarian libraries. At the same time the British press scarcely mentions Hungary. Of course, one has to reckon realistically

with the actual interest of the public, something the capitalist press cannot fail to take into account. However, the fact remains that "negative sensations" related to Hungary always find their way into the British press. Under such circumstances it is, of course, no accident that the British public has a relatively poor and biased notion of Hungary; its knowledge and information in this respect lag far behind the standard of the Hungarian public. The consistent implementation of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act can contribute to the elimination of disproportions of this kind.

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Unexploited possibilities characterize Hungarian–British economic relations as well; but one must not forget the relative sparseness of traditions in this area. Commerce between Hungary and Great Britain was not significant between the two world wars either, and it was characterized by the usual inequalities between developed and comparatively undeveloped regions. From the second half of the 1930s on even these contacts were disrupted by the economic and political predominance of Germany.

Owing to the changes in the world political situation following the Second World War the development of relations between Great Britain and the socialist countries, Hungary among them, was very uneven. After a favourable resumption, trade between the two countries because of the Cold War and particularly the policy of embargo between 1950 and 1954, was again reduced to a minimum. Following the lowest point in 1954, the tendency changed, but the development of economic cooperation up to the mid-1960s was moderate and slow indeed. Exchange of goods really began to broaden and accelerate only after 1954 and grew dynamically for a few years. At the time Great Britain, first among the developed capitalist countries, took major steps towards the liberalization of trade with the socialist countries, and this economic cooperation was regulated by five-year, so-called long-term, foreign trade agreements. Between 1965 and 1967, as a result of the world boom of the mid 'sixties Hungarian exports increased by 41 per cent and imports by 61 per cent. The few years of acceleration in economic cooperation, however, were again followed by a standstill, and the dynamism of foreign trade turnover remained unsatisfactory until 1972. Then came another upward turn in British–Hungarian foreign trade which lasted a couple of years, but which was negatively affected by the universal slump of 1974–75. The changes in international politics and the cyclical crises of the world economy thus brought with them rather considerable flucations in British–Hungarian economic relations.

By the middle of the 1960s the structural characteristics and the major problems of Hungarian–British relations had already become evident. A significant part of Hungarian exports (about 40 per cent) consisted of agricultural products, and the share of the products of light industry was also fairly high (30–40 per cent). About half of Hungarian imports from Britain was made up of machines and precision engineering products, but the ratio of material products was also important (about 40 per cent). A problem which added to the structural "asymmetries" of Hungarian–British economic cooperation was the considerably high Hungarian deficit in foreign trade between the two countries, although in the 1960s the Hungarian exports still covered nearly 80 per cent of the imports. Economic relations were limited almost exclusively to foreign trade, and the modern forms of cooperation, especially as regards industrial cooperation projects, were practically non-existent.

II

Let us take a closer look at the development of Hungarian–British economic re-

lations over the 1970s. These relations reflect, subject to certain modifications, the problems of preceding periods, but above all they provide the basis upon which future development can be built.

As compared to the other developed capitalist countries, the socialist countries occupy a rather modest place in the foreign trade of Great Britain. Figures for 1975 show that Great Britain transacted not more than 3 per cent of her entire foreign trade with European CMEA countries. Hungary was in fourth place in British exports to this region (with 5.6 per cent of the British goods delivered to CMEA countries) and took up all in 0.22 per cent of the total British exports. In the British imports from the European CMEA region the Hungarian People's Republic occupies sixth place with only 0.11 per cent of the total British imports. Trade with the CMEA countries is of relatively little importance to Great Britain, and Hungary occupies a marginal place in it. At the same time Great Britain is a relatively more important partner of Hungary, and in this connection it is worth speaking of a certain "asymmetry of interests." According to Hungarian statistics, in the imports from developed capitalist countries the United Kingdom follows Federal Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and the United States, and her share in Hungarian imports in 1975 was 1.74 per cent. At the same time 1.02 per cent of Hungarian exports in 1975 went to Great Britain, and this share was smaller than the export deliveries to Federal Germany, Italy, Austria, Iraq, France, and Switzerland. With regard to the total volume of foreign trade turnover Great Britain was in fifth place in Hungarian goods exchange with developed capitalist countries.

In the past ten odd years the continued unevenness of the development of Hungarian–British foreign trade was coupled with a growing imbalance. This can be seen clearly from the figures below.

After the stagnation from 1968 to 1972 there was a considerable increase in turnover during 1972–1974. The value of Hungarian exports to Great Britain in 1973 was 43 per cent higher than a year before, and there was another increase of nearly 50 per cent in 1974. Hungarian exports doubled in two years, and the value of imports from Great Britain also grew nearly twofold, it is to be pointed out, however, that the growth in the volume of trade turnover was far more modest, for in 1973 about two-thirds of the increase in turnover and in 1974 about 20–25 per cent resulted from the price explosion on the world market.

As a consequence of the capitalist economic crisis the growth in the volume of British–Hungarian trade in 1975–1976 slowed down, so in two years the value of Hungarian exports went up by only 23 per cent, that of Hungarian imports by only 13 per cent. The immediate cause was the slowing down at the British economy as the total foreign trade of Great Britain showed a similar trend; on the other hand, under the impact of the crisis, Hungary was also compelled to reduce the rate of increase in her exports.

A striking characteristic of the period from 1968 to 1976 was the relatively considerable deficit accumulating on the Hungarian side. In the past five years, on the average only about 60 per cent of imports from Great Britain was covered by Hungarian exports, as against the previously mentioned 80 per cent in the preceding period, and this ratio was decreasing to an intolerable degree. Although the expansion of turnover does not require a steady balance, yet the imbalance, if permanently excessive, may become an obstacle to the proper and even development of trade. The considerable imbalance can be explained only in part by the insuffiency of suitable Hungarian commodity stocks, the exaggerated, often exclusive, export orientation of British partners is at least as important a factor. A problem with the chronic deficits in the trade of other socialist countries as

Trend of the direct turnover of Hungarian–British trade from 1968 to 1976
(in million pounds sterling)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Hungarian exports	10.0	9.9	10.6	9.4	11.8	16.8	25.0	26.1	30.8
Hungarian imports	12.7	13.3	19.0	20.8	22.9	26.4	44.0	44.5	49.5
Hungarian deficits	2.7	3.4	8.4	11.4	11.1	9.8	19.0	18.4	18.7
Exports/Imports (%)	79	74	56	45	52	64	57	59	62

The commodity composition of Hungarian imports from Great Britain from 1970 to 1976
(in percentage, according to the SITC nomenclature)

Year	Foodstuffs	Raw materials	Chemicals	Machinery, transport equipment	Other manufactures
1970	6.8	6.3	27.5	22.9	35.1
1971	2.5	5.7	24.3	28.6	37.8
1972	2.7	5.8	25.2	30.9	34.2
1973	2.4	9.7	27.1	23.8	35.9
1974	10.1	6.2	29.5	17.5	36.1
1975	8.4	4.2	29.2	25.5	31.9
1976	1.3	7.7	30.6	26.6	33.0

The commodity composition of Hungarian exports to Great Britain from 1970 to 1976
(in percentage, according to the SITC nomenclature)

Year	Foodstuffs	Raw materials	Chemicals	Machinery, transport equipment	Other manufactures
1970	50.5	4.1	2.5	6.5	35.8
1971	35.1	3.1	5.4	8.2	47.7
1972	38.9	1.7	3.4	10.5	44.9
1973	27.4	3.3	4.5	10.1	54.2
1974	27.6	5.1	9.0	12.2	45.8
1975	28.6	3.7	5.8	14.6	46.8
1976	14.4	5.6	4.7	16.6	58.2

well is that the British firms, when they desire to spend the amounts due to them, are inclined to purchase from special sources.

In recent years considerable changes have occurred in the commodity composition of the turnover of British–Hungarian trade. The composition of foreign trade is not only indicative of an important problem of goods exchange between the two countries but points to the impediments to trade expansion in the past and the future.

Apart from annual fluctuations, the major characteristics and tendencies of the long-term changes in the pattern of Hungarian exports to Great Britain can be summed up as follows.

1 The earlier export items, products of the agricultural and food industries, have lost much of their importance. True, this change in composition is in accordance with the modernization tendency of world trade, but considering the relatively limited possibilities for expanding exports in other fields, the process cannot be regarded, especially on such a large scale, as positive. This shift was promoted in part by the Hungarian exporters' better sales potential on other markets, but much more by the increasing assertion of an agrarian policy in consequence of Britain's entry into the Common Market, a policy which exerts a negative influence upon commercial contacts in this regard. After 1973 Great Britain has markedly increased her food imports from EEC partners and, incidentally, this was a major factor in the tremendous deficit in the British–Common Market relation. Accordingly, British agricultural imports from the earlier, traditional suppliers have seriously diminished, and obviously the Common Market agricultural policy is responsible for the halving in two years, of Hungarian agricultural exports to Great Britain. On the other hand, the greater part of Hungarian agricultural exports to Great Britain is composed of vegetables and a future expansion of the Hungarian supplies can in the first place be reckoned with in the exports of vegetables and fruit.

2 Hungarian exports of manufactured goods have grown vigorously in recent years. In the early 1970s they already represented the larger part of the total exports. The rapid growth can be attributed first of all to the good utilization of the favourable trade situation, but also to the improvement of the quality of Hungarian commodities. There was a higher than average increase in the exports of textiles, furniture, camping articles, and glassware. Unfortunately the demand for these goods diminished lately with the deepening of the British recession.

3 The great fluctuation in the Hungarian exports of raw materials and chemical products reflects first of all the changes in the economic situation. In accordance with the requirements of economy in raw materials, Hungary in 1974 reduced her exports of rolled articles which had been rather considerable earlier. In 1974–1976, on the other hand, she exported large amounts of the Gramoxone weed-killer produced in cooperation.

4 The ratio of Hungarian exports of machinery shows a modest increase, but it does not yet come close to the nearly 35 per cent share of the machinery in the overall volume of Hungarian exports. In the early 1970s Hungary began to sell refrigerators and compressors on the British market. Though with great fluctuations, she also succeeded in increasing her exports of machine-tools, agricultural machinery, and electrical appliances.

The pattern of Hungarian exports to Great Britain in the 1970s has thus been modernized on the whole, but it still differs considerably from the general structure of Hungarian exports, and the problems concerning some commodity groups have even multiplied.

The changes in the pattern of Hungarian imports from Great Britain have been relatively less significant.

The changes in the pattern of Hungarian

imports from Great Britain admit of the following conclusions.

1 One of the main problems of Hungarian imports from Britain in recent years was the downward tendency in the ratio of machinery and equipment that would serve technical progress. In the 1960s the Hungarian imports of machinery from Great Britain constituted about half of all imports from Britain, but in the first half of the 1970s this ratio dropped to 25–30 per cent, and there was a year in which it barely reached 17 per cent. The decrease or stagnation of the ratio have been due to the fact that in the 1970s Hungary has hardly imported from Britain factory equipment of any considerable size. The tendency is doubtlessly unfavourable because, in spite of the structural and technological setback observable in some branches of British industry, in other branches production remained up to world standard and in the interest of modernizing the structure of Hungarian industrial production it is advisable to seek out these products, especially where British products and prices are competitive. This course of action is also recommended by the fact that among the major capitalist countries it is Great Britain who stipulates the generally most favourable terms of payment and credit for the purchase of investment goods. Under the so-called shopping-list agreements, for example, machines of lesser value can also be purchased on favourable terms. At the same time one cannot disregard the problem which is caused, in respect of price calculation, by the fast depreciation of the pound sterling and by the extermely high rate of inflation in Great Britain.

2 Hungary's imports of raw materials and semi-finished goods are characterized by the high ratio of chemical products. But the world market price explosion has made its effect felt especially in respect of these products (chemical agents, non-ferrous meals, and textile materials). Hungary's imports of raw materials and chemical products have especially increased in value, and this has worsened the Hungarian terms of trade.

3 In recent years there has been a small decrease in the ratio of imports of manufactured goods, due first of all to a decrease in Hungarian imports of textiles. The principal articles of this commodity group include cosmetics and household appliances.

4 Foodstuffs and agricultural products in the Hungarian imports from Great Britain represent an insignificant ratio, on an average of several years (2–3 per cent). The very high ratio registered in 1974 was boosted, in addition to purchases made to widen the assortment of goods, by the purchase of sugar worth £300 million through the United Kingdom. After sugar imports were stopped in 1976, the ratio of this commodity group dropped considerably.

The British–Hungarian economic relations cannot be examined without taking into consideration some facts of British trade policy which hinder growth in the volume of goods exchanged. In connection with Hungary's membership in GATT, trade between the two countries, according to GATT provisions, ought to have been liberalized until the end of 1974. In spite of this, the quota system is still in force for three commodity groups (textile goods, chinaware, TV sets and other electronic equipment). The quantitative restrictions affect 20 per cent of all Hungarian exports. With reference to her economic difficulties Great Britain did not increase the quotas in 1975 and 1976 either, although otherwise under inflationary circumstances the value quotas would result in a decrease of trade turnover. Leaving the quantitative quotas unchanged, Great Britain assured a value quota increase of 3–5 per cent, but because of the inflationary rate of over 15 per cent and a similar degree of depreciation of the pound sterling, the "devaluation" of the quotas continued.

In recent years in Great Britain the purchase of products from the socialist

countries was attacked in parliament. There were charges of dumping and disturbing the markets. This outcry proved to be groundless but had an unfavourable effect upon the development of British–Hungarian trade. With EEC membership Great Britain not only has taken over the common agrarian policy but applies other limitations of trade policy, too, and her gradual integration into the EEC customs union causes relative drawbacks to Hungarian commodities as compared to the Common Market partners.

In the 1970s there has been a certain improvement in Hungarian–British industrial cooperation. East–West industrial cooperation, an important new form of contacts between countries having different social systems, started to develop as late as the end of 1960s. The expansion of cooperation projects represents a qualitatively new phase of external economic relations, since they are characterized by permanence and greater interdependence, and are closely connected to efforts to enhance political security and mutual confidence. The importance of production cooperation in East–West relations is heightened by the better opportunities for passing on and taking over modern technologies.

Industrial cooperation between Great Britain and Hungary, apart from a few exceptions, began to develop after 1973. Under such circumstances it is natural that it should lag far behind the existing possibilities, its development being hindered by a number of factors. First among these one might mention the conduct and the outlook of British business circles which prefer the traditional capitalist relations or opt for the sale of licences instead of permanent production cooperation. Some British firms show an inclination only towards barter transactions, while others can conceive of effective cooperation only in the framework of joint undertakings. They are less disposed to accept cooperation in product standardization with Hungarian enterprises. Another problem is that developed capitalist countries, Great Britain among them, are generally interested in cooperation contacts depending on the state of the trade cycle. The development of Hungarian-British cooperation projects is also made difficult by the differences in technological traditions and standards. The expansion of production cooperation is further hindered by the fact that the needs of Hungarian enterprises for cooperation have not been properly sized up. Production cooperation and trade are also closely interrelated to the extent that acquaintance and confidence based upon previous trade contacts may serve to promote the establishment of further cooperation projects.

About fifty production cooperation agreements are in force between Great Britain and Hungary, and the value of Hungarian exports produced in cooperation under those agreements in 1976 was nearly £2 million, about 6 per cent of the total Hungarian exports to England. The production cooperation contacts, with few exceptions, are on a small scale, and cooperation on third markets is in an embryonic state. Recently an objective obstacle to cooperation contacts has been the unfavourable British economic climate, and the not very flexible business policy of some British firms continues to act as a brake, too. It would be desirable to conclude a few large-scale cooperation agreements, which might possibly awaken the interest of enterprises in both countries. A few British–Hungarian industrial cooperation projects already point to the example to be followed, among them Imperial Chemical's contract for the production of plant-protecting agents in cooperation with a number of Hungarian chemical factories. The Shell-Interag cooperation is a well functioning venture, and good results have been attained by cooperation projects in the garment trade and in the production of mine props, as well as by the Vauxhall-Rába contract under which the Hungarian side exports rear axles for motor vehicles and buys

General Motors products. The further development of production cooperation may be profitable not only from the point of view of technological standards and structural modernization, but may also give a stimulus to the more dynamic expansion of foreign trade between Hungary and Great Britain.

Besides production cooperation further significant opportunities are provided by scientific and technological cooperation, special exhibitions and shows, scientific conferences, and the exchange of specialists. Scientific cooperation has been established to fight air pollution and corrosion. Other fields for growing British–Hungarian cooperation are: pharmacological research, plant protection and genetics, forage crops and paper industry research. The degree of development of these contacts is still below the level of potentialities.

So, despite the "asymmetry," British–Hungarian economic contacts occupy no key position in either side's system of external economic relations. Moreover, considering the existing economic and political conditions, it cannot be expected in perspective that any substantial changes will occur in the extent and relative importance of cooperation. This, however, does not mean that cooperation between the two countries, in respect of goods exchange and cooperation contacts, lacks such considerable unexploited possibilities as might be obviously advantageous to both sides. This, however, calls for mutual and thorough consideration and estimation of the possibilities, and the goodwill and efforts to remove the obstacles will be of decisive importance. Great Britain can do much to improve the international preconditions of a further development of the relations between the two countries. Even prior to her entry into the Common Market Great Britain argued in favour of a smooth and fast development of relations between the EEC and countries which do not belong to the Common Market. As a member of the EEC, she can now make an effective contribution to an EEC policy that would be really "open" in economic and political respects. The development of British–Hungarian relations in all fields may become even though to a modest degree, a factor of the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe.

MÁRIA JAKAB — FERENC STARK

EDUCATION FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES

Relatively small communities of ethnic minorities live in Hungary. At the present time we may reckon, from the point of view of cultural involvement and educational organisation, with an ethnic minority population of 400,000 or approximately 4 per cent of the country's overall population.

The ethnic minorities live scattered over a large area in 18 of the country's 19 counties. The picture is varied: Croats, Germans, Rumanians, Serbs, Slovaks, and Slovenes live in communities whose numbers range from 4,000 to 36,000.

It is a general characteristic of all ethnic minorities that they voluntarily settled down at their present place of abode several hundred years ago, and in the course of history became integrated into Hungarian

society. Another general feature is their bilingualism. The majority of the ethnic groups speak an archaic dialect, and persistently hold on to their traditions and their folklore.

These historical circumstances determine the specific needs and requirements of each of the ethnic groups. The Hungarian state —in accordance with the principles of the Leninist policy toward ethnic minorities— ensures the needs of ethnic groups by guaranteeing all minority rights in harmony with the universal declaration of human rights and by measures aimed at the practical implementation of those rights. The particular needs and endeavours of the minority population are aimed at preserving, promoting, and nurturing their mother tongue and cultural traditions, and maintaining cultural links with their mother countries.

In Hungary the policy regarding ethnic minorities is not dependent upon the number of inhabitants, but is based on the principles of the country's social system and on its internationalist policy.

Hungarian laws guarantee all the rights embodied in the declaration of the United Nations on Human Rights, and those rights which derive from the internationalist character and humanism of the socialist system. The Hungarian constitution makes possible the assertion of equal rights for all ethnic minorities in all respects. The 61st paragraph of the Constitution asserts that all Hungarian citizens are equal before the law, and enjoy the same rights; the law strictly punishes any discrimination on the basis of sex, religion, or nationality, explicitly stressing that the Hungarian People's Republic ensures for all ethnic minorities equal rights, the use of the mother-tongue, education in their respective mother tongues, and the preservation of their cultural heritage. Thus the law deals with those particular rights that are a basic precondition for the maintenance and fulfilment of existence for the ethnic minority.

The above-cited paragraph of the Constitution defines in the most general terms Hungary's policy toward the ethnic minorities. It not only declares rights, but extends safeguards for the practice of equal rights and the special rights of the minorities. The implementation of equal rights, and the practice of Hungary's policies with regard to the ethnic minorities are aimed at surmounting the objective difficulties which may stand in the way of the development of the minorities. This is not a one-time legislation, but calls for the continuous control of the general and specific features of development, and for the coordination of requirements and of their satisfaction from time to time, and the continuous renewal of intellectual and material investments.

Ethnic minorities living in Hungary enjoy full citizens' rights, can freely use their mother-tongue in state administration and the forums of public life, can pursue studies in their mother-tongue, and contribute to their national culture. As citizens possessing equal rights, they can participate in the work of elected state and local bodies and social organisations. Their cultural links with the mother countries are guaranteed by bilateral inter-state agreements.

The purpose of our endeavours is to help enrich the existence of ethnic minorities so that we can promote in a natural way the durable interaction of cultures and their reciprocal and organic enrichment. By exerting an influence on their environment in the broad sense, ethnic minorities living within the spheres of attraction of two languages and two cultures can fulfill the mission of strengthening cultural relations between nations, thereby contributing to closer relations between peoples and nations.

This activity has been conceived in the same spirit as the joint declaration released after the talks between János Kádár and Nicolae Ceaușescu, in June 1977, which asserted: the nationalities of neighbouring countries are, to an ever increasing extent,

destined to play the role of a bridge in the rapprochement of peoples. These principles can be clearly felt in the areas of education and teaching of ethnic minorities in Hungary.

II

The role played by the issue of ethnic minorities in Hungary's educational policies is determined by the task of the socialist and internationalist education of the whole society. A touchstone of this task is care for the minorities: the common goals and friendly relations between Hungary and the mother nations are geared towards this objective. Our endeavours find support in the contents of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference for security and cooperation.

a) Hungarian educational policy makes the mastering of the mother-tongue at a literary level a prime task for nationality schools. This has to be so since the majority of the ethnic minorities in Hungary do not speak a literary language, but rather the dialectal variants brought along at the time of their settlement in this country. There are various reasons for this. In certain communities there had been no teaching in the mother-tongue in the past; dialects were often cultivated in schools under church supervision (for instance, at Slovenian village schools the regional Wendish was taught). The mastering of the mother-tongue at a literary level is considered a basic accomplishment that plays a decisive role in the development of ethnic awareness.

Since Hungary's liberation in 1945 a network of public schools has cared for the requirements of ethnic minority education. This network consists of pre-school training (kindergartens), general school (from 6 years to 14), and high schools and vocational schools (14 to 18 years), as well as college and university training. In accordance with Law III of 1961 on the system of Hungarian public education, kindergartens, general schools, and study groups where minority languages are taught are to be set up in every community if required by the parents of 15 children. In many cases study courses are set up or maintained even for 4 or 5 pupils.

Two types of minority kindergartens and grammar schools have been developed. One type is the subject language or bilingual nationality kindergartens and schools. Here the classes or teaching are conducted in the mother-tongue in half of the cases, and in Hungarian in the other half. The proportion of the original mother-tongue to the Hungarian subjects is similar in the minority high schools. But the systems of concepts and technical terms pertaining to the subjects taught in Hungarian are also taught in the respective mother-tongues both in grammar school and in high school. The other type is the language-teaching school where basic instruction is in Hungarian, with three minority language classes a week in the first two grades, and four classes a week in grades 3 to 8.

The training of nationality teachers takes place at the school for kindergarten teachers, as well as at teachers' training colleges and universities. The Hungarian state has adopted effective measures to promote ethnic minority education: the number of students admitted to teachers' training colleges has been increased, training itself has been streamlined, a wage bonus of 5 or 10 per cent has been introduced for teachers of ethnic minority languages, and a class has been set up for minority students at the Institute of National Education. An educational commission for ethnic minorities was set up in 1975 as a department of the Ministry of Education to help coordinate ethnic minority teaching at basic, medium, and high levels. All those who work in ethnic minority mother-tongue teaching are members of the commission. The commission is in direct contact with the national federations representing the collective rights and interests of the minorities, asks for and reckons with their observations or proposals,

and defines their tasks in close collaboration with them.

The number of pupils in the kindergartens, grammar schools, and high schools where nationality mother-tongues are taught is on the rise, following a temporary fall in the late fifties. The number of pupils at kindergarten and grammar school language teaching courses increased by 48 per cent in the past decade. The number of ethnic minority education institutions has gone up by 45 per cent, that of study groups by 63 per cent, and the number of teachers at ethnic minority institutions by 46 per cent.

b) The Hungarian educational administration has determined the objectives and tasks of ethnic minority education in the spirit of the universal Declaration of Human Rights. The administration has declared that ethnic minority education in Hungary be implemented as an organic part of the educational system of the Hungarian People's Republic. Its basic principles, general objective, and tasks are specified in law III of 1961.

The particular objective of ethnic minority education within this bracket is

—to ensure the education of the southern Slavs—Croats, Serbs, Slovens—as well as German, Rumanian, and Slovak nationality pupils in their mother-tongues;

—to lay a firm foundation and help develop in a versatile way the schoolchildren's awareness that they are full fledged citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic with Croat, Serbian, Slovene, German, Rumanian, and Slovak nationalities;

—to awaken and keep awake a need and aptitude among schoolchildren to use their mother-tongue and the Hungarian language at the highest level;

—to ensure up-to-date language and literary knowledge in the mother-tongue, and enable children to develop their general knowledge of their mother-tongue through selfeducation;

—to teach children the love of and respect of their cultural heritage, ensure sufficient material of knowledge, and thereby promote the preservation of progressive traditions, (and deepen their devotion to their cultural heritage and mother-tongue)

—to develop and strengthen in children the yearning to serve the cause of friendship among peoples, and the unity of internationalist forces.

Implementation of the above objectives is considerably affected by the circumstances of the ethnic minorities in Hungary as outlined earlier, and the state of the language spoken by the minorities, as well as the linguistic knowledge of children upon entering school.

The Hungarian educational administration is making efforts to develop the training of ethnic minority teachers. Considerable help is provided in this area by bilateral agreements—that promote cultural and educational facilities for Hungarian minorities in other countries at the same time—which enable Hungarian teachers to attend regularly summer language courses arranged in the appropriate countries. The participation of outstanding foreign language teachers in Hungarian refresher courses is also an important factor. Similarly, bilateral interstate agreements make it possible for ethnic youths—mainly would-be teachers—to receive full or partial higher education in the countries whose language they major in. These agreements can result in an increase in the number of ethnic intellectuals—and teachers within that category—who have a good command of the literary language. Past experience has confirmed our conviction that the training of ethnic teachers on the right level cannot be carried out without the help extended by the mother countries.

Thus close cooperation with specific socialist countries contributes to a large extent to the full functioning and development of the education of the ethnic minorities. This applies to the training and extension training of teachers, as well as to the publication and exchange of textbooks, and to practically every area of teaching and education.

This cooperation has considerable effect on our educational work as well as on the development of ethnic minority consciousness, and the formation of internationalist attitudes. The cultural needs of ethnic minorities both in Hungary and abroad can only be met through an increasingly intensive exchange of cultural goods among nations.

c) The content, forms, and frames of teaching are undergoing a rapid change worldwide. The change is necessary. But our objectives have certain constant features throughout our socialist school system. These are: to form a human being whose versatility renders him creative, enabling him to consciously create favourable natural and social conditions as a member of society in harmony with the whole.

Thus our educational objective within schools and outside of schools is to form a human being possessing up-to-date erudition, actively building his world outlook, and with an urge to change reality. The mission of the schools, including that of ethnic minority schools, is to provide basic support for the process of self-realisation with facts and, with a knowledge of reality, beginning with knowledge of the self and of our environment. From this derives the task of the minority schools to educate men who will be proudly conscious of their nationality, know their cultural heritage, know the past and present of their own nation of their nationality, and that of other nationalities in the country, and everything that binds two neighbouring nations to each other. We aim to fulfil this task through the content of the syllabus, and the selection of topics.

d) Let us cite some examples. In general schools and secondary schools in Hungary where the respective ethnic minority language predominates, they also teach "supplementary" history and geography apart from the history and geography contained in current textbooks. The supplementary textbooks in the appropriate minority languages provide a more detailed and systematised knowledge of the geography and history of the neighbouring country and that of the given ethnic minority in Hungary. This fact also contributes to the deepening of national and nationality self-knowledge and consciousness. Children get acquainted with the historical background of endeavours to promote mutual knowledge and respect among nations and to unite the peoples living in the Danube basin. The principle is not be keep silent about past differences, but reveal them, and interpret them in the interest of deeper and lasting relations. From the point of view of the social integration of ethnic minorities, as well as from point of view of the bridge building role of nations, Hungarian educational policy attaches great significance to the fact that during their studies the upcoming generations get to know the historical and cultural relations of the Hungarian and neighbouring nations in the past centuries to an appropriate depth.

The language, literary, reading, and environmental studies offered to the age group 6 to 10 fo the ethnic minorities e.g. include folkpoetry and every work of art pertaining to the nation which, by evoking the Turkish Occupation, and the Rákóczi War of Independence, indicate joint effort on the part of different nationalities and serve the deepening of friendship among nations by emotion through indirect aesthetic experience.

In the Serbo-Croat textbook the syllabus of the age group 10 to 14 includes "similarities in content and form in the tales of neighbouring peoples; the folk poetry of the ethnic southern Slavs, Rumanians, Germans, Slovaks living in Hungary." The syllabus of the Slovak language and literature courses provides for the presentation of the characteristic surroundings, the common activities of Hungary's multilingual population, the ethnography of Slovak customs in Hungary. In addition the syllabus draws a parallel between the yearn-

ing for freedom of the Slovak poet Janko Král and the Hungarian poet Sándor Petőfi, between the epic poetry of Andrei Sládkovic and János Arany, and emphasizes the significance of similarity in the ideologies of Endre Ady and of P. O. Hviezdoslav.

The Rumanian language syllabi refer to the traits in common between the poetry of Georghe Coşbuc and János Arany; and call attention to the comparison of folk poetry (e.g., Mănăstirea Argeşului—Kőmíves Kelemenné; Inelul şi năframa—Kádár Kata) as evidence of the common fate and ways of thinking of the two peoples. For the sake of a more complex aesthetic education the syllabi deal with the analysis of the colinda (Rumanian Christmas carol) "Szarvasokká vált fiúk" (Boys turned into stags), of Béla Bartók's "Cantata Profana", or of the work of the same name by the Hungarian sculptor from Rumania, Jenő Szervátius. German syllabi contain the Hungarian references found in the works of Goethe and Schiller, expound on the Hungarian connections of Lenau, and also describe the characteristics of the poetry of the German minority in Hungary.

The question of teaching relations between nations is dealt with in a more complex manner in the syllabi, curricular tasks, and expectations of the high schools of the minorities. The Serbo-Croat high school syllabus e.g. points out that cultural links between the nations have been maintained from the Middle Ages down to our days; in the Renaissance extremely strong ties bound the Croat and Hungarian cultures together. A large number of humanists from Croatia and Dalmatia lived and worked in the court of King Matthias. When analysing the literature and folk literature dealing with the heroes of the struggle against Turkish rule, the syllabus points to the historical identity of interests of Hungarians and South Slavs. The activities evaluated, including the Hungarian interest in southern Slav folk poetry, its influence on the work of classical Hungarian poets, and the Serbian interest in the Hungarian relations of Jovan Jovanović Zmajnak, the first significant translator of Hungarian literary works.

Among the 19th century writers Jakov Ignjatović plays a special role in the syllabus; in the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–49 Ignjatović, although a Serb, fought as a hussar in the Hungarian army. He wrote his reminiscences of several outstanding figures in Hungarian literature, including Petőfi, in his memoirs. Among 20th century writers, the Hungarian references in the work of Miroslav Krleža are emphasized in the syllabus.

The syllabus for the Slovak language and literature also draws a continuous parallel between the development of the two cultures and two literatures. Just a few examples taken out of the syllabus instructions: "Students shall note that the struggle waged between the Hungarian middle classes and the Slovak bourgeois intelligentsia reached a peak in 1848, and the creators of the Slovak folk-national trend and of modern Slovak literature fought with arms in hand against the Hungarian War of Independence. Despite this fact several interconnections are to be found in contemporary literature; personal contacts, the common past of the two peoples, and hereoes who have fought for a common cause in the past." Dwelling on the literature of the years following the collapse of the War of Independence the syllabus points out that "when dealing with the writers of the age, we should pay attention to the manifestations of Slovak–Hungarian Collaboration" (Nová skola).

Regarding the goals of education, every brief, apparently insignificant remark may be of importance. For instance, "The teacher should compare Krasko's symbolism with that of Ady", or "the students should be made aware of the similar characteristics in the poetry of Wolker and Attila József," "let us point to a discrepancy in time in the literary development of the two nations—e.g. socialist realism appears in Slovak literature

as early as the period between the two world wars—and the underlying reasons . . ." Even in this period "students should note relations between the Hungarian and the Slovak literatures: for instance, Stlp hanby by E. B. Lukač—The Book of Jonas by Mihály Babits; the activities of the translators J. Smrek and E. B. Lukáč; Essays on Ady by S. Krcméry," etc. . . .

The syllabus of Rumanian language and literature also provides innumerable possibilities for a deeper understanding of the bridge-building between the two nations in the past, and for making that past come alive. The students become acquainted with the scientific contacts between the Şcoala Ardeleană and the parallel Hungarian literary trends, with the similar peculiarities of Romanticism in Rumania and in Hungary. The syllabus emphasizes the contacts between Bălçescu and Kossuth, the friendship of Endre Ady and Octavian Goga, the fictions of Liviu Rebreanu, a critic of the nationality policies of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It deems important an acquaintance with the following thought of Gyula Illyés: "My greatest experience in Rumanian literature has been *Miorița*, because it is consonant with the tone of Hungarian folk ballads, as if it described the life of my shepherd ancestors. So I was pleased to undertake its translation."

From the point of view of methodology it is extremely important that attention be paid to the principles of comparative study and its inherent possibilities. The effect of positive transfer should be exploited in teaching language, grammar, stylistics, concepts of the theory of literature, trends of style, and literary periods.

Naturally not only the students in ethnic minority schools should be taught in this spirit; the contents of the current syllabi and the additional curricula to be introduced at the end of this decade all prove that the conscience of human equality, and teaching mutual respect and the groundwork of humanist ideas both in thought and sentiment form the objectives of every subject taught at Hungarian language schools.

III

This is a particularly delicate area of Hungary's educational system. This delicacy proves that in ethnic minority relations there are no "small" problems. One little bit of carelessness, for instance the omission of a bit of information about schooling opportunities, is enough to curb particular rights, enough to awaken unfounded suspicions regarding our objectives and endeavours. Every moment of work carried out on behalf of the minorities requires circumspect, careful attention.

LOOK IT UP IN ORSZÁGH

László Országh at Seventy

All Hungarians who learn or teach English, translate from or into the language, read, whether for pleasure or in a professional capacity, works written in it, must be familiar with one or more of Professor László Országh's English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English dictionaries, ranging from the "desk standard" type to the "pocket" variety. This is true also the other way round, of English-speaking people concerned in any way with Hungarian. Indeed, for most of those who have "to look it up in

Országh" the name has been identified with the dictionaries, and he has become something of an institution ever since his first English–Hungarian dictionary came out in 1948.

What the new printings and editions, some of them revised, and the total number of copies sold, can prove is primarily the success of these publications on the book market, a success due, at least in part, to a constant and ever-increasing demand, and to the fact that when they first appeared, the earlier English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English dictionaries had been out of print, and, being obsolete, would not have been worth reprinting, even if they had been of the highest quality in their own time. However, chronological novelty is only one, and certainly not the most, significant merit of Professor Országh's dictionaries, or, to put it more precisely, what makes them strikingly superior to their predecessors is not only the inevitable novelty of part of their lexical material, but that of the presentation of the whole material.

To call Professor Országh's lexicographical achievement a feat of scholarship, which it unquestionably is, would be perfectly correct, yet inadequate. Indispensable as it is, scholarship alone cannot produce a good dictionary which should be, in the first place, a handy tool devised for daily use. If it fails to stand the test of practice, who cares for the amount and quality of scholarship that has been put into it? The compiler of a dictionary must observe the utilitarian principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number which, lexicographically speaking, means that the more people can find the more data, the more easily and quickly, the better.

A dictionary is meant to cater for its users, consequently their demands have to be considered in the first place, unless these demands are absurd. The silly question whether *all* words can be found in a dictionary, is, alas, frequently asked. Fortunately, this can be dismissed in Professor Országh's case as easily as in anyone else's. It is a commonplace that wherever human effort is involved, allowance should be made for human error. So is the fact that there can be no such thing as a complete, all-inclusive dictionary of a living, ever-growing, ever-changing language. Although the idea of absolute completeness must be abandoned, what we still can insist on is that we should be able to get the maximum of information that can be *reasonably* expected from a dictionary: that is to say, we can demand relative completeness within the limits set both by the aim of the dictionary and the space allotted to it. It is then not the greatest possible number of lexical data that makes a dictionary really serviceable, but the greatest possible number of useful lexical data, chosen in their order of priority, arranged and presented with a view both to the user's convenience, and to economy.

Professor Országh's dictionaries fall into the "general" or "universal" category of bilingual dictionaries, consequently even the biggest of them cannot be expected to be more than a safe and reliable guide to standard English and Hungarian respectively. But the "standard" field of both languages has expanded conspicuously in more than one direction, particularly since the Second World War, and what used to be the relatively clear-cut and firmly established borderlines of this field, have been so much blurred that now there is a very wide margin of overlapping standard and non-standard lexical material. The impact of science and technology, e.g., on our daily life has made us familiar with a great number of words and phrases, originally technical terms, and even though we may perhaps have no more than a hazy notion of what they actually and precisely mean, we hear and read and use them as common verbal property, so frequently, that we expect to find them in bilingual dictionaries, even those compiled for general use. The meticulous care with which Professor Országh supplies such material, and which may well appear to be

simply thrown away on most of us whose demand is non-professional and, accordingly, superficial, should be duly appreciated by quite a number of experts in a great variety of special fields who can benefit from the technical reliability of these general dictionaries.

The registration of the influx of lexical data from professional idioms makes László Országh's dictionaries up-to-date both from the practical and the theoretical point of view, and this is only one example quoted to illustrate what has been said about the expansion of vocabulary. Other aspects of the same phenomenon, such as the social, or the stylistic, have been equally observed, with the result that the not strictly standard layers of English and Hungarian have been systematically exploited. Colloquial and slang phrases abound, solecisms, vulgarisms, even four-letter words are included both in the entry-words and the wide range of synonymous equivalents given, and if they are duly labelled, it is only for the convenience and information of the user. László Országh is not a purist, or a prohibitionist, or a perfectionist; nor does he pose as a judge of good and evil. Also, he is free from any antiquarian nostalgia or the curio hunter's maniacal enthusiasm. Old, obsolescent, or rare words, and Shakespearean lexical data appeal to him not as time-hallowed, or, perhaps, unique and, for that matter, particularly valuable specimens, but because they, too, are in a way marginal, complementary material.

It logically follows that his dictionaries are not *pre*scriptive but *de*scriptive, and also that the only authority he has honoured in compiling them is that of usage. This is true not only of the choice of the lexical material included, but of its presentation. One instance has already been mentioned, i.e. the careful labelling of data according to the specific linguistic strata they belong to. Usage, in a more specific sense of the word, is frequently demonstrated when words are shown in context, in the most characteristic and most frequent connections with other words, such as idiomatic set phrases, proverbs, or the generous supply from that inexhaustible source of trouble and unhappiness for the foreigner, the combinations of English verbs and prepositions. While all these phrasal illustrations contribute to a more subtle discrimination of meanings and shades of meaning, they give us more than lexical information by presenting words functioning in their syntactical medium, restored, as it were, to their organic, natural environment. Strictly speaking, this might be called trespassing on territories lying beyond the borderline of lexicography; in reality, this is a legitimate and salutary, moreover, inevitable extension of the narrow field originally allotted to dictionaries. The tendency to overstep established but antiquated borderlines (already mentioned and appreciated à propos the "standard" field of languages) is, indeed, a cardinal virtue in Professor Országh, one that has fundamentally determined his whole lexicographical outlook, and has encouraged and enabled him to adopt the most up-to-date ideas and methods, and to produce the elaborate yet handy multi-purpose reference-books, masterpieces of scholarship and utility, that his dictionaries are.

Another virtue of his should be noted, a virtue made of necessity which can be illustrated by an example of what might appear to be methodological inconsistency. In well-known cases of emergency, such as the names of institutions, offices, ranks, dignities, titles, the technical terms of government, administration, jurisdiction, or the names of rituals, games, popular customs, pieces of clothing, dishes, etc., which are specific to one country and nation, and which are, most often, untranslatable, the compiler of a bilingual dictionary is faced with a dilemma. Should he give the user of his dictionary what he expects and what, formally and methodologically at least, appears to be correct, i.e. word for word, and phrase for phrase, even if this may be, at

the very best, a semi-equivalent, but, more probably, a pseudo-equivalent of little or no informative value? Or should he let down the user by giving him, in the fashion of unilingual, explanatory dictionaries, a definition, an elucidating periphrase and not the word he so eagerly looks for? Which of these two compromises is the lesser evil? The first which fraudulently camouflages the fact that in the given case there is no verbal equivalence in the two languages, or the latter which openly admits it? Professor Országh chooses the latter. Not that he is given to lexicographical scepticism in general as regards the possibility of bilingual correspondence; nor does he flirt with the idea (actually advertised and theoretically vindicated in the professional literature on lexicography) that, but for its bilinguality, a bilingual dictionary should be an explanatory one. He is simply honest and realistic, and while he deprives the user of an illusion, and a very dangerous one, let it be added, the information he offers by way of ample compensation is not only correct, but has the additional value of showing the cultural aura of the untranslatable word or phrase. This is, of course, not to say that, having consulted his dictionaries, we could foot a morris-dance with choreographical perfection, or that an English cook would run no risks if she were to prepare *túróscsusza*, taking the respective entry for a recipe.

What is evident is that, to his mind, meaning is more than a semantic question, and that while he clearly sees the practical, technical aspects of his task, his interest in the possibility or impossibility of bilingual verbal correspondence is not purely lexicographical, as indeed his interest in language and languages is not purely linguistic. In registering the similarities and differences in communication that can be found between two languages, English and Hungarian in this case, he is always aware of the two cultures that assert themselves in the medium of language. Or, rather, it is three cultures, since American data are so numerous (more numerous, perhaps, than in any other standard English dictionary) that it would be wrong not to notice them specially.

All this is connected, in fact, with the personal history of Professor Országh. Long before he produced his first dictionary, he had distinguished himself as a scholar, devoting his energies to the study of literature, not linguistics. As a tutor at Eötvös College, Budapest, and later as professor and head of the English Department in the University of Debrecen, he could cover practically the whole of his special subject, thanks to his catholic tastes and his many-sided, most thorough training, and the books and articles he has published show almost the same variety. A specific feature of his scholarly career is that from the very beginning his studies have had a double focus: English and American.

The personal need he felt for good dictionaries as a student and teacher gave rise to his first jottings; in fact, he had been a lexicographer in a private way, before he actually compiled his first dictionary. But he never "turned" lexicographer, even though his activity as a compiler of dictionaries may have changed his public image considerably and, perhaps, more than necessary. Lexicography has been merely added to his earlier scholarly pursuits, and the compilation of dictionaries, together with the linguistic studies accompanying it, has never become exclusive. At the age of seventy the field of his interests and activities appear to be wider than ever, and the amount and quality of work he is producing shows that, although he insisted on retiring as soon as he reached the age, he did so not to rest but to work. Looking back on the most recent phase of his career with admiration, we feel entitled to look forward, with hopes and expectations, to the future.

KÁLMÁN RUTTKAY

GÉZA KOMORÓCZY

FLAT-EARTH SUMEROLOGY

1

Scientific discoveries do not, as a rule, burst forth in a finished state as Athena did from Zeus head; their way is prepared by trial and experimentation. Sometimes, however, bunglers appear with allegedly scientific enterprises and initiatives in the wake of discoveries; in some cases they are mere self-deception, in others, intentional fraud or falsification. Alchemy can be cited as an example of the former: the primitive exploratory activity of man trying to feel his way through the secrets of nature, and although the theory on which it was based proved utterly wrong, the experiments conducted undoubtedly prepared the ground for the science of chemistry. We have seen spectacular examples of outright falsifications and pseudo-scientific theories; let us mention the Piltdown find or Dr. Abrams' dynamizer, or—to speak of theories—Hans Hörbiger's notorious "world ice" theory of cosmogony or Erich Däniken's spacemen.[1]

The comparison of the Sumerian language with the Hungarian should be viewed in this context.

The Sumerian tongue was discovered in the middle of the nineteenth century. The decipherers of Babylonian cuneiform scripts succeeded, as early as the 1850s, in discovering, from the symbols and signs, words and texts on Mesopotamian clay tablets, the traces of a non-Semitic language, differing from the Semitic language of the overwhelming majority of the tablets. Hints to this effect can be found in Henry C. Rawlinson's, Edward Hincks's, and Jules Oppert's studies. Some had called the new language Scythian; it was only later that the new language acquired the name used today: the term Sumerian was first employed by Oppert, in 1869. The first Sumerian monolingual inscription was published in 1871 by Archibald H. Sayce. Such tablets were first excavated in significant quantities by Ernest de Sarzec, in the Girsu (or Telloh) area in Iraq, between 1877 and 1900; they were followed by the finds of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur, between 1889 and 1900. There were heated debates till the turn of the century as to whether this formerly unknown language was a real one or merely an allography of the Semitic texts.[2]

That was the classical age of the theory of language families, and the first scholars naturally tried to establish a connection between this "new" language and other Eurasian languages. So that right in these first decades—*inter alia*—the Indo-European languages, other languages of the Ancient Near East (such as Median, Elamite, Scythian) and more distant language families (such as Uralic, Finno-Ugrian) came up for discussion.

The progress achieved in deciphering the linguistic relics of Sumerian and in getting acquainted with its vocabulary and grammatical structure gradually revealed that the first language in cuneiform script belongs

[1] See on this problem J. Sladek: *The New Apocrypha*. London, 1973. A treatise of the same purpose, dealing with pseudo-scientific theories in the natural sciences only, and on a very high level: Mihály Beck: *Tudomány — áltudomány*. ("Science—pseudo-science." In Hungarian.) Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1977.

[2] An adequate description of these debates in: Franz H. Weissbach: *Die sumerische Frage*. Leipzig 1898. Excerpts from this material in: Thomas B. Jones: *The Sumerian Problem*. New York—London, etc. 1969. Also informing about the literature of the last century, but from the point of view of the attempts to establish Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity: Miklós Érdy: *The Sumerian, Ural-Altaic, Magyar Relationships: A History of Research*. Part I: The 19th Century. New York 1974.

neither to the Semitic nor to the Indo-European languages. The hypothesis of a Turanian language family was offered as a solution.

According to historic sources in Iran, Turan refers to the area north-east of the Caspian Sea and is also the ancient name of the nomadic peoples living there and hostile to the Persians. The term Turanian was applied to the Turks in the Middle Ages. The hypothesis of the Turanian language family was given definite formulation in 1854 by Max Müller. He supposed that the numerous languages of the area just mentioned and of the neighbouring territories (thus, among others, the Uralic languages including the Finno-Ugrian ones, furthermore the Altaic languages including Turkish, Mongolian, etc.) were directly related to one another in the same way as there is an affinity between the members of the Indo-European or of the Finno-Ugrian language family. He grouped the languages in question under the collective term "Turanian."

The hypothesis of the Turanian language family supplied the theoretical basis for a comparison of the Sumerian with Hungarian. In explaining the meaning of Sumerian words, Jules Oppert, A. H. Sayce, François Lenormant, and many others who followed suit, referred to Hungarian words. Of course, in addition to Hungarian, other Turanian languages were also discussed—and legitimately so—in this connection: for instance, Cheremiss, Mordvinian, Estonian, Finnish from among the Finno-Ugrian languages; other Uralic languages, such as Samoyed; Turkic languages, such as Yakut; and even Chinese, Japanese, and Basque.

This era, which lasted by and large until the end of the 1870s, may be considered the age of "alchemy" in Sumerian linguistics.

2

Hungarian philology took early notice of the discovery of the Sumerian language. Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891), one of the great personalities in Finno-Ugrian linguistics in the last century, while informed about the etymological research and endeavours of Oppert and others, and even adding new data of his own, dealt several times with the analogies and parallelisms in the vocabulary of the Sumerian language and the Turanian languages (mainly Hungarian), and advocated further research. The first works in Assyriology by Hungarian authors discuss the problem of the Sumerian language in the same spirit.

The Turanian language family was short-lived in scholarship. It was impossible to demonstrate the affinity of the languages and groups of languages under this heading. The idea was eventually dropped by Max Müller himself. Thus, the so-called Turanian language family fell apart. Today, the theories of the Turanian conception no longer require a denial; they pertain to the domain of the history of science.

Efforts to confirm other suppositions concerning the affiliation of the Sumerian language have also proved unsuccessful. Henry C. Rawlinson himself, who was the first to come forward with relevant ideas, saw clearly that the attempts to establish any relationship are hopeless. In 1855, he wrote: "... it is... doubtful if any close linguistic affinities are to be traced between the primitive tongue (i.e. the Sumerian—G. K.) and any available dialect of modern times."[3] In the course of time, attempts were made to establish affinity between Sumerian and the following languages, groups of languages, or language families: Semitic, Egyptian, Hyksos, Elamite, Kassite, Dravidian, Proto-Indo-European, Hittite, Armenian, Sanskrit, Etruscan, Caucasian, Georgian, Finno-Ugrian, Finnish, Hungarian, Turanian, Uralo-Altaic, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Japanese, Polynesian, Easter Islandic, Turkish, Basque, African, Sudanian, Bantu, etc. All these attempts proved fruitless.

After the first few decades, Sumerian

3 Henry C. Rawlinson: *The Athenaeum*, No. 1467, Dec. 1, 1855, p. 1438.

linguistics turned to other paths without ever having solved the problem of affinity in the traditional sense, that is in terms of the theory of the language families. These days, Sumerology professes the view that Sumerian is not related to any known Eurasian language. What is more, we may add that there are certain indications according to which the solution of "the Sumerian mystery" cannot be found by tracing linguistic affinities.4

Hungarian linguistics also got beyond the Turanian outlook. In the 1880s, the so-called "Ugrian-Turkish War" broke out: the people professing the Finno-Ugrian origins of Hungarian clashed with those insisting on the direct Turkish affiliations of Hungarian tongue. Scholars of note fought on both sides, such as Pál Hunfalvy and Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913). Hungarian linguistics definitively turned towards research in the Finno-Ugrian direction—and Hunfalvy had no small share in this development.

Thus, the scholarly linguistics, and Sumerian linguistics in particular (and Hungarian comparative linguistics with it) discarded the Turanian outlook. On the other hand, the notion of the relationship between Sumerian and Hungarian has remained up to this day; it is explicitly (or even proudly stressed), or implicitly one of the aspects of the Turanism.

The idea of Turanism, i.e. that Hungarian—being the closest relative of Sumerian among the Turanian languages—has to play a special part not only in deciphering Sumerian but also in sharing the glorious "heritage" of the Sumerians, developed gradually. It is instructive to note the difference in tone of two studies of the Turanian interpretation. Gyula Ferenczy wrote in 1897: "The honour of having invented writing belongs to the Sumerians and—in their wake—to us." Ede Somogyi, however, wrote in 1908: "...What is the greater honour to us: having the Finns, the oldest inhabitants of Europe, the most ancient cultured people of the Earth as our ancestors, or descending from the Turks who—thousands and thousands of years ago, as Sumerians in Mesopotamia, as Cumanians and Commagenians north of Mesopotamia, as Hunns further to the north—and later in China—exercised so substantial an influence upon the development of mankind and on the enhancement of civilization?...."

The words quoted reveal unmistakably that, in the question of the affinities of the Hungarian language and of Hungarian prehistory, the Turanists active around the turn of the century did not take stand on the basis of unbiased scientific research. No; their yardstick was: "What is the greater honour to us?"

Gyula Ferenczy (1861–1931), Hungarian legal historian, was the first spokesman of the Turanian-angled comparison of Sumerian and Hungarian. His conception was not founded on the study of sources in cuneiform writing: his data were secondhand; and in his books (1897 and 1900) he did not search for historic truth, but was out to enhance the glory of the Hungarian nation. The real standard-bearer of the idea of Sumerian-Hungarian linguistic affinity was the journalist Ede Somogyi (1852–1921). His two books (published in 1903 and 1908) tried to prove the identity of the Hungarians of Turan and the Sumerians on the basis of equations in Sumerian and Hungarian words. Contemporary reviewers of his first book showed that the basis of his work was, for the most part, an entirely superficial extract of some non-Hungarian studies, and comes close to plagiarism in some places. One of the reviewers wrote in defence (!) of Somogyi: "...he was inspired by out-and-out fervent Hungarian chauvinism." Beside Ferenczy and Somogyi, a retired in-

4 Regarding my views on Sumerian prehistory, cf. Géza Komoróczy: "A sumer nyelv rejtélye mint őstörténeti probléma" ("The mystery of the Sumerian language as a problem of prehistory." In Hungarian.) *Valóság*, 19, No. 10, Oct. 1976, pp. 102–107; a German translation in the press, in: Festschrift Lubor Matouš. Budapest 1978.

surance man, János Galgóczy (1838–1916) —François Lenormant's one-time adherent— played a rather important role in the "Sumerian" movement; he published studies mainly on the equation of words, eliciting sharp controversies. The professional linguists of the era, such as the orientalist Eduard Mahler (1857–1945), the Finno-Ugrian linguist Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937), as well as Zoltán Gombocz (1877–1935) and Gyula Zolnai (1862–1949), both historians of the Hungarian language and linguists of high repute, stood in opposition to Ferenczy, Somogyi, and Galgóczy.

From the decade of the First World War on the question of Sumerian–Hungarian affiliation was relegated to the background, and somehow dissolved in the other currents of Turanism. In 1910 the Turanian Society was founded which continued its work even in the decades following the revolutions in Hungary (1918–1919), although it broke up into varying organizations. The Society's programme formulated the Turanian ideology with uncanny clarity: "To search for and make thrive, both in scholarship and in practice, in Europe and in Asia, from Dévény to Tokio, in the past, in the present, and in the future, Turan, our original home, which represents our grandiose past and even more grandiose future." Between the two world wars, hardly any students of Hungarian prehistory proclaimed the idea of Sumerian–Hungarian affinity without the intermediacy of other Oriental peoples. The Turanian origin of an ever increasing number of Oriental languages was discovered, and an ever increasing number of Eurasian people were linked to the prehistory of the Hungarian people. Sumerian could only be one of the many in those days! Part of Gyula Mészáros's (1883–1957) work originates in this intellectual and spiritual environment.[5] The Turanian ideology of these persons, their ideas about linguistic affiliations and prehistory, as well as their political aspirations were all rejected by the Orientalists, linguists, and historians of the era. Suffice it to refer to the position of Gyula Németh (1890–1976), Miklós Zsirai (1892–1955), and Gyula Szekfű (1883–1955).

It was a writer who shed some light on the psychological background of the attempts to trace the relationship between Sumerian and Hungarian. László Németh (1901–1975), both in his studies and his belletristic works, pointed out that some Hungarian intellectuals, even if cultured, gifted, and erudite, returned from the prisoner-of-war camps in the Far East, from the region of the Gobi Desert, thoroughly contaminated with the idea of the close relationship of Hungarian, Ural-Altaic, Sumerian, Indo-European, and Chinese—in short with the idea of Turanism. Perhaps the seeds had been planted at home, in Hungary, but it was abroad that the inflammation took hold of the victim. László Németh was able to depict the evolution of Turanian ideas so as to make their absurdity perfectly clear. The historical illusions he spoke about were, unequivocally, the products of war-camp psychosis, of "plennytis". (Németh coined this term from the word *plenny*, the Russian for "prisoner of war.")

The activity of Zsigmond Varga (1886–1956) must be considered under a separate heading. While the tracing of the relationship between Sumerian and Hungarian lapsed into a sort of diluted Turanism on the one hand, or advanced towards the complete identification of Sumerian and Hungarian on the other, Varga undauntedly upheld the long-standing view that had proclaimed the Ural-Altaic character of Sumerian. His linguistic methods were severely

[5] A treatise by Gyula Mészáros in which he tried to prove that the languages of ancient Asia Minor have survived up to our days was severely criticized on this account by Johannes Friedrich: "Angebliche moderne Reste altkleinasiatischer Sprachen." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 88, 1934, pp. 289–301.

criticized from the beginning of his career. But even such criticism could not shake Varga's obstinate determination. He stood so much aloof from methodical linguistics that linguistic objections carried no weight with him. It must be said in his defence that his endeavours were by no means directed towards the "Sumerian" solution of the problems of Hungarian prehistory; as a matter of fact, he only wanted to reconstruct Sumerian grammar, and in his own particular way as well as in his intentions and efforts, he remained all along a loyal servant of scholarship in the best sense of the term. The concepts he had formulated in the decade of the First World War were given final shape in his recapitulatory work entitled *Ötezer év távolából* (From a Distance of Five Thousand Years, Debrecen, 1942, in Hungarian) published during the Second World War. Meanwhile, he did not alter the basic idea and, as a consequence, the contents of his book lagged far behind the international achievements in Sumerology. The work, which very thoroughly draws from the secondary literature of Sumerology but hardly penetrates to the primary sources, is stale and outdated. Its interpretation of Sumerian grammar can be characterized by the principle of straightforward addition: everything was scraped together here that others had written on his subject, and Varga—neglecting debates, contradictions, and errors—seemed to suppose that the purely mechanical piling up of previously professed opinions will conform to reality.

So, the tracing of the relationship between Sumerian and Hungarian was based on these foundations and ideological preliminaries.

3

A new wave began with the publication, in 1951, of Ida Bobula's first English-language book on the subject.[6] Miss Bobula, who had, in Hungary published poetry and papers on modern Hungarian history, became, as an emigrant, an adherent and propagandist for the notion of Sumerian–Hungarian linguistic affiliations. Her first book went unnoticed at home, but certain indications point to the fact that Hungarians living in the West did not offer it an enthusiastic welcome either. Several experts criticized both her methods and her allegations, doubting even—and rightly so—her familiarity with linguistics. The consensus of professional linguists was formulated by John Lotz (1913–1973), the greatest authority on Hungarian linguistics in the United States. Sentences like these characterize his criticism: "...the author is unfamiliar with even elementary techniques of comparative linguistics"; "the author shows a sovereign disregard for historical and comparative facts of Hungarian," etc. Lotz warns every non-Hungarian—hence unsuspecting—linguist against taking Miss Bobula's book seriously.[7]

Miss Bobula continued her activity by publishing a series of minor articles, mostly in short-lived émigré newspapers or periodicals, sometimes, however, also in more serious journals, in English.[8] Her papers were finally collected by Ferenc Badiny Jós into a volume that appeared in Buenos Aires in Hungarian. It was this book[9] that came to be known in Hungarian emigrant circles in the West, and also in Hungary. Miss Bobula's later writings produced little new.[10]

6 Ida Bobula: *Sumerian Affiliations. A Plea for Reconsideration.* Washington, D.C. 1951.

7 John Lotz: *Word*, 8, 1952, pp. 286 ff.

8 Ida Bobula: "The Great Stag. A Sumerian Divinity and Its Affiliations." *Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, Buenos Aires 1953, pp. 119–126; eadem: "Sumerian Technology. A Survey of Early Material Achievements in Mesopotamia." *Smithsonian Report for 1959*, Washington, D.C. 1960, pp. 637–675.

9 Ida Bobula: *A sumér-magyar rokonság kérdése.* ("The problem of Sumero-Hungarian affinity." In Hungarian.) Buenos Aires 1961.

10 Ida Bobula: *Origin of the Hungarian Nation.* Gainesville, Florida 1966. (Problems behind the Iron Curtain Series, 3.); eadem: *Herencia de Sumeria.* Mexico 1967. (Museo de las Culturas, Sec. Cientifica, 2.)

Literature dealing with the presumed Sumerian–Hungarian relationship began to abound in the second half of the 1950s. These works reached Hungary in many copies, and evoked lively reactions in a comparatively short time.

These days, the most active groups that try to trace Sumerian–Hungarian relationship work on the American continent; some, however, work in Western Europe, and the movement has found support in Australia, too.

I must emphasize that allegations of such a relationship in no way represent the uniform opinion of Hungarians living abroad. The very essence of the nature of the phenomenon discussed would remain concealed if we left this consideration out of account. In the essays of the "Sumerian–Hungarian" papers and in the forewords of such books complaints, reproaches, and mutual accusations abound, blaming fellow emigrants for their indifference or hostility. Obviously this means that the partisans of the relationship theory represent but a minority among Hungarian emigrants. There are numerous indications pointing to the fact that the most important creative personalities of Hungarian emigration in the West, who serve the cause of universal culture also in their new homeland, keep aloof from "Sumero–Hungarian" absurdities. As far as I know, the periodical *Magyar Műhely* of Paris has never published articles of this kind. Many Hungarian periodicals in the West, regardless of their political stand, reject the "affinity theory." Not only outstanding professional linguists refuse to have anything to do with it—and the experts on cuneiform writing who also know Hungarian are among them—but so do other personalities of progressive Hungarian intellectual life abroad, poets, historians, and philosophers. The theory of Sumerian–Hungarian affinity is the affair of a strictly limited group of Hungarian emigrants to the West.

In Hungary, the ideas propagating such an affinity began their assault in the mid-sixties. Hungary "came late"—in Western emigrant quarters the movement unfolded more than half a decade earlier. It is not difficult to point to the reason for this lag. Most of the leading personalities of the "affinity theory"—and the majority of the relevant publications are closely bound up with their names to this day—went abroad in the years around and after the Second World War. In the first ten to fifteen years, their ideas elicited hardly any echo. The stratum that finally acceded to the "affinity theory," propagated it aloud, and somehow managed to carry it home, to Hungary—this stratum consisted of persons who left Hungary as late as 1956–1957.

The basis of the movement in Hungary was organized on two levels. One consisted of—to use my self-coined terminology—the study-writers, the other of letter-writers. There is no organization proper, of course; it is rather a matter of personal contacts; and this cohesion becomes apparent in quoting from one another's unpublished manuscripts.

The study-writers at first tried to place their manuscripts with the State publishing houses. The publishers and the editorial offices of the periodicals, however, withstood the assault. The authors then turned to the great scientific libraries. The unpublished manuscripts were handed as deposits to the ms. archives of these libraries. In the catalogues, the number of such studies runs into dozens. In the course of time, the strange habit spread among the study-writers to quote from one another's manuscripts indicating the library deposit number, as if wanting to imply that the work cited was not a manuscript in the strict sense of the word but an *opus* put at the disposal of the public. (The manuscripts are circulated, by the way, in several copies.) And when, finally, the libraries decided to reject manuscripts of this sort, a series of weird "Sumerological" publications began in Hungary, viz. the distribution of

typescripts—mimeographed on stencil, rotaprint, or xerox—with the title-page giving the impression of a book.

A new phenomenon could be observed at the end of the 1960s. Some Hungarian study-writers, obviously dissatisfied with the above-mentioned method of publication, had their papers published by Hungarian emigrants in the West. E.g. András Zakar's papers[11] appeared in this way.

On the other level, there are among the enthusiasts, sympathizers, and believers some who have enough spare time, and are sufficiently active, but not experienced and well-versed enough to produce a paper. These people bombarded with their letters the institutions and authorities of Hungarian scholarship, in some cases even foreign scholars—mainly those who through their popular works had attained some fame in Hungary—or directly the British Museum. The lengthy and cumbersome letters, crammed with references, never asserted anything, they just "asked questions," pretending unbiased curiosity or even naïveté; their questions, however, tried to charm the addressees—and to elicit some positive response from them—by invoking the ideas of Sumero-Hungarian linguistic affinity "which is already given full recognition abroad." This letter-literature—the better pieces of which were circulated in typewritten copies—became, in the long run, a peculiar means of publication.

In the past decade, the influence of the ideas of the alleged Sumero-Hungarian linguistic affinity has made itself felt even in those spheres of intellectual life in Hungary that otherwide are completely independent of this movement. Let me mention a single example. The poet Gyula Illyés, when rewriting his classical Petőfi biography (1936) for the French public (1962)*, enlarged the first chapter, depicting the period, among other passages, with the following words: "...In that year... the origins of the Hungarian people were shrouded in complete obscurity. Scholars either regarded us as descending from the Sumerians—true enough, a large percentage of the few extant Sumerian words sound remarkably familiar to Hungarian ears—or related us to the Basques or Japanese..."[12] Illyés, when justly pointing to the wrong tracks in the research into linguistic family history, is obviously wrong when talking about Sumerian. When Petőfi was born (1823), the Sumerian language was completely unknown, and the "Scythian" relationship of the Hungarians was much talked about. And only the adherents of Sumero-Hungarian linguistic affiliation mix up the Scythians with the Sumerians. The strange anachronism of this passage in Illyés's book can certainly be ascribed to the cacophony around the alleged Sumero-Hungarian linguistic affinity.

4

Criticism of this Sumero-Hungarian theory was slow to start, but it was fairly strong already by the early 1970s, both in Hungary and abroad. A single example will suffice. In his great work of cultural history dealing with the Mesopotamia of antiquity, Henry W. F. Saggs settled the question in some pithy words: "There are persistent attempts to find Sumerian words in unlikely places, particularly at the present time in Hungarian, but these may be ignored as always resting on an inadequate knowledge of Sumerian and generally on a faulty understanding of the historical development of the language compared with it."[13]

The American periodical *Current An-*

[11] András Zakar: *On the Sumerian Language. Magyar Múlt (Hungarian Past)*, 1, Nos. 2–3, Sydney 1972, pp. 1–45.

* This new edition was published in Hungarian in 1963, and in several translations later on.

[12] Gyula Illyés: *Petőfi*. (Translated by G. F. Cushing.) Budapest 1973, p. 12. English edition.

[13] H. W. F. Saggs: *The Greatness that was Babylon. A Sketch of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley*. New York 1962, p. 494.

thropology pursued a debate from 1969 to 1971 on the theories of András Zakar about the Sumerian–Hungarian linguistic affinity.[14] From among the professional linguists dealing with the languages of Ancient Mesopotamia, A. Leo Oppenheim (1904–1974), Editor-in-Charge of the Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and Miguel Civil, one of the outstanding experts on Sumerian records, both completely rejected Zakar's theses. What more, Oppenheim unequivocally pointed out that neither Zakar nor his sources who proclaim the idea of Sumerian–Hungarian linguistic affinity, dispose of even the most elementary knowledge of the Sumerian language; so their interest displayed in Sumerian can only be explained by their "ethnic pride and assertiveness released for political motives."[15] Not much later, one of the greatest authorities in Turkology, Sir Gerhard Clauson, also published his views, not conceding even the slightest chance to the theory of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity. From the point of view of Hungarian and Uralic linguistics, István Fodor (University of Cologne) refuted Zakar's theses.[16]

The theory of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity is being propagated with increasing aggressivity in our days. In 1973, at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris, Ferenc Badiny Jós and some of his supporters expounded, in a number of lectures, the thesis of the complete identity of Sumerian and Hungarian. Nowadays large-scale scientific congresses are by no means appropriate for a thorough-going discussion of the lectures; and there was no such possibility in Paris either. The Sumerologists present unanimously qualified the theses put forward by Badiny Jós and Company as unscientific and grotesque.

In the autumn of 1973, a pamphlet was circulated in Hungary, Badiny Jós's work—and shortly afterwards it was propagated also on an international scale, in German translation.[17] In it, the author exultantly claims: "We have triumphed!... We have won through!... And the justice, the truth about the origin of the Hungarians shines in all its glory. There's no argument against it... there's no scientific refutation... there's no counterproof."

In the pamphlet the author says that René Labat, president of the Congress, congratulated him approvingly and warmly on his lecture. This allegation prompted an investigation regarding the assertions contained in the pamphlet and regarding the reality of Badiny Jós's evaluation of the situation. The main evidence came from René Labat (1904–1974) himself. Answering some questions concerning Badiny Jós's pamphlet, he wrote in a letter sent to Australia, and dated February 11, 1974: "...As president of the Congress, it was not within my competence to select the lectures. I did not attend the Congress with the purpose of listening to M. Badany's (sic!) exposé. My presence at the section was, on that day and that particular moment, purely incidental. The general silence that

[14] Cf. András Zakar: "On the Sumerian Language." *Current Anthropology*, 10, 1969, p. 432 E; idem: "Sumerian–Ural-Altaic Affinities." *Ibid.*, 12, 1971, pp. 215, 222–224; idem: *ibid.*, 14, 1973, p. 495.

[15] A. Leo Oppenheim: *Current Anthropology*, 12, 1971, p. 219 f.; cf. Miguel Civil: *ibid.*, p. 215 f.

[16] Gerhard Clauson: "On the Idea of Sumerian–Ural–Altaic Affinities." *Current Anthropology*, 14, 1973, pp. 493–495; István Fodor: "Are the Sumerians and the Hungarians or the Uralic Peoples Related?" *Ibid.*, 17, 1976, pp. 115–118.—Cf. furthermore G. Doerfer: *Lautgesetz und Zufall. Betrachtungen zum Omnicomparatismus*. Innsbruck 1973; J. Tischler: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 125, 1975, pp. 362 f., note 2, with a special reference to András Zakar.

[17] Anonymous (distributed by Margit Hegyi): *Die Identität der sumerischen Rasse und Sprache mit dem Ungarischen ist bewiesen*. N. p. n. d. (1975). (Mimeographed.)

followed this lecture by no means implied the approval of the author's conclusions by the public. I did not congratulate or express my thanks to M. Badany, I only greeted him at the end of the session, out of courtesy. I have no knowledge of any council of the Congress or even a group of the scientists concerned officially conceding the so-called "proofs" submitted by M. Badany of Sumerian–Hungarian racial identity or linguistic affinity. As for me, although I do not consider myself a specialist in Sumerian, I do not believe in the well-foundedness of the theses put forward by M. Badany." *

So much will perhaps suffice about the pamphlet alleging nothing less than that "the wall of the denial of Sumerian–Hungarian identity crumbled in Paris, at the 29th International Congress of Orientalists."

The militant adherents of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity do not refrain from putting forward arguments or proofs that, without any reservation whatever, can be qualified intentional deceit and falsification. Their "Piltdown find" is a cuneiform inscription. Rumours about it were launched in the mid-1960s, within a limited circle at first; later, however, it was widely made known by a book Badiny Jós published in Hungarian, in 1971. Two years later, Badiny Jós's work appeared in English.[18]

The adherents of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity, in this case most probably Hungarian emigrant dog-breeders living in the United States, would have liked to prove the Mesopotamian origins of the Hungarian *puli*, and through this, of course, principally the Sumerian descent of a people that keeps *puli* dogs.

The book mentioning the inscription states that the original tablet was found by a British archaeologist in the course of excavations commissioned by the British Royal Academy(!) at the town of Jarmo, between 1906 and 1909, in an area where the Rockefeller Oil Syndicate(!) had undertaken oil drilling tests. The archaeologist in question hurried to the spot from the excavations of the nearby "town Tepe." Oil drilling was stopped immediately, and the city of ruins was placed under special protection in an area 3 kilometres wide.

On the tablet, the photograph of which has been mimeographed and printed by Badiny Jós** several times, the drawing of a dog can be seen in the top, with a cuneiform inscription of nine lines below. The signs of the inscription, if read continuously, give the following Hungarian text: "Jarmo város tábor réti kis kunyhó. Látom szemmel jószágaimat, támogat engem mindig puli vak-

* The French original reads: "...En tant que Président du Congrès, je n'ai pas eu à m'occuper personnellement du choix des communications. Je ne suis pas venu spécialement écouter l'exposé de M. Badany [sic!]. Ma présence à la Section, ce jour-là, à ce seul moment, a été purement fortuite. Le silence général qui a suivi cet exposé ne signifiait nullement que l'auditoire approuvait les conclusions de l'orateur. Je n'ai ni félicité, ni remercié, mais seulement salué, M. Badany à la fin de la séance. C'était par simple courtoisie. Je n'ai pas eu connaissance qu'un conseil du congrès, ou même un groupe de savants compétents, ait officiellement admis les prétendues 'preuves' alléguées par M. Badany en faveur d'une identité raciale ou d'une parenté linguistique suméro-hongroise. Pour ma part, et bien que je ne me considère pas comme un spécialiste du sumérien, je ne crois pas au bien-fondé des thèses soutenues par M. Badany."

[18] Ferenc Badiny Jós: *The Sumerian Wonder*. With the collaboration of M. Brady, M. von Haynal, G. Enderlin and Dr. E. Novotny. Introduced by Dr. I. Quiles, S. J. Buenos Aires 1974. (Universidad del Salvador, Escuela de Estudios Orientales, Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones Comparadas sobre Oriente y Occidente. Serie de Investigación, 1).—From other works by Badiny Jós, see: *Nuevas orientaciones en la investigación de las languas uralo-altáicas. El pueblo de Nimrud*. Dos conferencias. Valparaiso 1966; idem: *Altaic Peoples' Theocracy*. Buenos Aires 1967; idem: *Sumerian Syntax and Agglutination in Asian Languages*. Canberra 1971; idem: *New Lines for a Correct Sumerian Phonetics to conform with the Cuneiform Scripts*. Buenos Aires 1973.

** On the basis of the original in the Iraq Museum of Baghdad, Badiny Jós says.

kantva." (The camp town of Jarmo a small hut in the meadow, I see my cattle with my own eyes, always supported by a *puli* yelping.)

One need not be particularly well versed in the literature of epigraphy to come to the conclusion that the last word of this "Sumero–Hungarian" inscription was inspired by the terms *vacat**, the Latin word for indicating the missing parts when fragmentary texts are published in scientific literature. *Tepe* in itself is not a place-name, but the Turkish word for "hill," and a frequent element in the popular appellation of certain parts of ground, so that it often occurs in communications dealing with excavations. There is no oil-well anywhere near Jarmo in Northern Iraq; the place of the find, one of the most famous settlements of the Near Eastern Neolithic Age, can be found solely in school maps in the vicinity of the oil fields near Kerkuk. The agreement on oil drilling for the Kerkuk area was concluded in 1914 only. Jarmo was discovered not by British archaeologists but by American ones (by Robert J. Braidwood and his team), and not before the First World War but after the Second. Not a single inscription was found in the course of the excavations and, as a matter of fact, not a single one *could* be found, for even the earliest relics of Mesopotamian writing had come into existence a few thousand years after the settlement of Jarmo was abandoned.

The cuneiform signs to be seen on the photograph remind one somewhat of the Ugaritic (!) cuneiform writing reproduced in the illustrations of popular works on the history of writing, but in no way of Mesopotamian cuneiform writing. They were obviously designed in our days, and by people who cannot imagine any system of writing outside the alphabetical one. The signs mark sounds, and also consonants—an absolute absurdity in Mesopotamian cuneiform writing. Accordingly, the graphic form of the syllabic signs is arranged symmetrically. E.g. the sign of a syllable AB corresponds symmetrically to that of BA. "The cuneiform signs are not filled in; only the signs are lined by a frame," the publisher of the inscription writes. What he says can refer only to modern copies usually appearing in the publications containing cuneiform tablets; the three-dimensional signs can only be circumscribed on the copies, and "lined" signs cannot be found on clay tablets or stones, i.e. in the original inscriptions.

Thus it is clear that the inscription in question is an outright fake. And so are the data contained in the communications —jubilating communications of the staunch believers—that deal with it. And—I mention this only as the point of the joke—according to the title of the original article, the puli inscription dates from the era "when mankind still did not know writing."

The publisher of the inscription wanted to prove the *puli*'s Sumerian origins and through it, of course, Sumer–Hungarian affinity with similar puli finds discovered in the course of Mesopotamian excavations. Speaking of the finds, he referred to the literature from which he claimed to have taken his data: the Assur excavations as described in Sir H. J. Mc.Donald's *Ruin City of Assur*, London 1895; the Lagash excavations as discussed in Dr. Mc.Kenzie's *Lagash Cuneiform*, London 1912; the Eridu excavations as described in M. Tellmann's *Archaische Texte aus Eridu*, Dresden 1894; and the Boghazköy excavations on the grounds of M. Expreaux's *Le peuple des Sumirienne* [sic!], Paris 1906. The authors —all archaeologists—had, of course, found the traces of the puli dog everywhere, in texts and pictures alike. Actually, however, there never were archaeologists dealing with Mesopotamia or students of cuneiform writing bearing the names in question, and the titles enumerated do not exist. All these data have sprung from the brain of that fanatic adherent of Sumero–Hungarian

* vacat > vakkant ("to yelp").

linguistic affinity. It is not worth while to delve into the elementary grammatical mistakes of the book titles mentioned.

Now, this was exactly what I wrote in 1976—in Hungarian—about the titles quoted. Not much later, in the autumn of 1976, Hungary was inundated by xerox copies showing the title-pages of three of the books I had asserted did not exist. And a short footnote pointed out that, lo! despite Komoróczy's allegation, these books do exist after all.

However, differences between the bibliographic data given earlier and the title-pages reproduced in the autumn of 1976 were noticeable at the first glance. One of the title-pages carried the name of one "Harold J. Mc. Donald, Professor of Assirology" instead of "Sir H. J. Mc. Donald"; on another title-page, the former "Dr. Mc. Kenzie" had been replaced by "John L. McKenzie, Ph.D."; the title of M. Tellmann's book had changed into "Archaische Texte Eridu," and the publishing firms were indicated on all the title-pages. The book entitled *Lagash Cuneiform* had become a "Second edition" in the meantime, and a primitive kind of seal could be seen on one of the title-pages, with the inscription "Bibliotheca 20–C–21". In another pamphlet, Badiny Jós alleges to have got hold of the title-pages with the help of the Library of Congress.

It is not too difficult to unmask this all too evident falsification. The mistake of spelling the word "Assyriology" as "Assirology" points to a Hungarian author; the German title-page—faulty from the grammatical as well as from the orthographical point of view—to an English-speaking environment; and the whole of the fabrication to people completely ignorant of the literature on cuneiform tablets. To stress this ignorance suffice it to say in connection with M. Tellmann's Eridu book (1894) that the identity of Eridu on the one hand and Abu Shahrein, known as such from 1855, on the other, had been proved in 1909 only; that excavations on the spot took place in 1918–1919 and, later, in 1946–1949; and that texts in cuneiform writing originating from there were only published after the first excavations. And on perusing the annual reports of the German booksellers' association, one can state with certainty that a publishing or book-selling firm of the name of "Schmied (und) Sohn"—figuring on the title-page as publisher of the book—did not exist in Dresden in the decades around the date indicated.

So that the title-pages in this pamphlet were obviously produced in our days, in one of the workshops of Sumero–Hungarian affinity tracing.

A Sumerian etymological dictionary and comparative grammar was published in 1975, in Paris, by Colman-Gabriel Gostony. It contains about a thousand Sumero–Hungarian and Sumero–Finno–Ugrian, and even Turanian etymologies.[19] Instead of giving a detailed criticism of its material, let us quote from the review of Dietz O. Edzard, Professor of Sumerology at the University of Munich.[20]

"The author's method, by which he tries to establish a linguistic continuity from Sumerian via the 'scytho-khazar' branch of the Uralic languages down to present-day Hungarian, consists of a—sometimes rather generous—observation of consonantal and vocalic assonances and a still more generous comparison of meaning, quite apart from many misunderstandings in matters of Sumerian grammar and vocabulary. It is perhaps unfair to reduce such a method *ad absurdum* by showing some Anglo-Sumerian lexical equations made up on the basis of Gostony's method of working.

19 Colman–Gabriel Gostony: *Dictionnaire d'étymologie sumérienne et grammaire comparée*. Paris 1975.

20 Dietz O. Edzard: *Bulletin of the Schools of Oriental and African Studies*, 39, 1976, pp. 637 *ff*. Cf. in additions the reviews of Gostony's book by Blahoslav Hruška in *Archiv Orientální*, and by István Fodor in *Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen*, both in the press.

1 Verbs	
dù 'to build'	*do*
ku$_5$*-d* 'to cut off'	*cut*
tar 'to cut'	cf. *tear*
dab$_5$ 'to seize, take'	*tap* = take (beer from a vat)
2 Pronouns	
a-ne 'he'	*any*
mà-e 'I'	cf. *my* (pidgin *my* = I!)
3 Adjectives	
mah 'exceeding, greatest'	*much*
dùg 'good'	*good* (metathesis of consonants!)
4 Substantives	
munus 'woman'	**min (i)s* > *miss*
geštú 'ear, mind'	*gusto*
**girgir* > *gigir* 'chariot'	*carcar* > *car*."[20]

It was not Gosztonyi's (or Gostony's) purpose, in this particular instance, at least not apparently and explicitly, to prove Sumerian–Hungarian affinity, but to explain the meaning of "unknown" Sumerian words. His objectivity, however, is pure formality, his impartiality a mask. To him the real solution of Sumerian words is supplied by the Hungarian tongue or the Finno–Ugrian languages. So we have again reached the very spot to which the research on the early history of the Hungarian language bid farewell at the beginning of the last century, and so Hungarian has again become the original language of mankind. Only the paraphernalia have become more elegant, and the argumentation more up-to-date.

5

We need not describe in detail the conceptions of the propagators of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity, whether these conceptions relate to history or linguistic history; it will suffice to present them in passing.

There still are a few hyper-conservatives who imagine Sumero–Hungarian affinity within the framework of the Turanian or the Uralo-Altaic language family. However, the conception according to which Sumero–Hungarian linguistic and historic relations are a matter of direct descent, is rapidly gaining ground, and can almost be termed a general one. Accordingly, the Hungarian language is none other than the present-day form of the Sumerian one, Modern Sumerian. Some even profess that all Eurasian languages of some importance are related to one another, Sumerian and Hungarian being closer relatives than the others.

The historic foundations of the conclusions in the sphere of linguistic history are of a similar nature. According to Viktor Padányi (1963), the Sumerians had migrated from Mesopotamia to Southern Russia, and became the constituent part of the Hungarian people. The historical theories of Badiny Jós and others are based on the same idea. Badiny Jós presumes five waves of migration, and populates almost the whole of Eurasia with peoples originating from Mesopotamia—and with Sumerians of course—choosing the names of these peoples purely on the basis of euphony and not caring at all whether the populations thus lumped together have anything in common; the important thing for him is that their designation—in Hungarian!—should sound more or less the same. Juan Móricz—who claims to have discovered place-names of Hungarian origin in South America!—goes even further; according to his theory, ancient Hungarians, starting out from their original home in South America, sailed across the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean —just like Thor Heyerdahl's Phoenician seamen, only the other way round—then dropped anchor on the coast of the Persian Gulf, quickly laid the foundations of Sumerian civilization, then migrated on to the regions of the Caspian Sea and further, to the Danube Basin.[21]

[21] Juan Móricz's work on The American Origin of European Peoples, published by Talleres gráficos de la Editorial offset Juan Montalvo. Guayaquil, Ecuador, 1968.

The idea of the Sumerians having migrated from Mesopotamia was first formulated by Ida Bobula (1961). This conception turned the historic theory of the Turanian idea of the 1900s into its very opposite. At that time, the opinion prevailed that the Sumerians had migrated from Turania into Southern Mesopotamia, and had been in touch with the Hungarians in their original home only. The Turanists of today, however, base their theory of Sumerian–Hungarian identity on the migrations from Mesopotamia.

A book published in Australia two years ago outlines conceptions differing somewhat from those set forth so far. Anthony Endrey's[22] work is based on the same foundation of principle as the theories of the other supporters of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity. According to him, however, the Hungarians lived in Northern Mesopotamia between the fifth and the second millennium B.C. Not only were they subjected to Sumerian influences there, but even mingled with the Sumerians, and their statehood was affected by the Hurrians. Finally, under Hurrian pressure, they migrated towards the Caucasus and beyond. In Endrey's book, Nimrod is the hero of the Hurrian peoples, and becomes, just like with many other supporters of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity since the beginning of the century and with Badiny Jós more recently, the symbol of the Hungarians. Endrey forgets that the Nimrod of the Old Testament *(Genesis* 10:8 ff. is bound to Assyria by each one of his feats; actually, the figure of "the great hunter" is a condensation, as it were, of the legends about an Assyrian king.

We may rest assured, I think, that the historical foundations of the notions just presented in passing vie in reliability with the alleged Sumero–Hungarian word correspondences. The essence of the view of history underlying the notion of Sumero–Hungarian affinity is the projection of national history and, of course, of illusions about it back into prehistory or, formulated otherwise, the forcing of prehistory into the mould of national structures that have evolved in recent times. Whatever the past of the peoples in question, such a view is false.

To wind up, let me quote from a recent article by Tibor Cseres, a Hungarian novelist of renown. The article acquaints readers with a letter written by an (unnamed) Hungarian authority on jurisprudence, living abroad. The programme outlined in the letter describes the plans of the partisans of Sumero–Hungarian affinity with an outspokenness unknown (or, at least, not made public) so far. Let us quote:[23] "... For the time being, Sumero–Hungarian affinity and continuity can be considered as proved to the extent of fifty (or thirty?) per cent only; however, the data collected so far should be regarded and qualified as hundred-per-cent proofs. For this reason: 1. Opposing and resisting historians—anti-Sumerologists, that is—have to be silenced, if possible with clever persuasion and kind words or, should this bear no results must be peremptorily warned to keep quiet. 2. The Administration must adopt the cause with conviction, with heart and soul, and after intelligent consideration; that it profess that Hungarian continuity has Sumerian roots from all aspects

22 Anthony Endrey: *Sons of Nimrod. The Origin of Hungarians.* Melbourne 1975.

23 Tibor Cseres: "Őstörténeti vita — levél — forráskiadvány." ("Debate on prehistory—a letter—source edition." In Hungarian.) *Élet és Irodalom*, No. 49, Dec. 4, 1976, p. 7.

The problems treated here are dealt with in detail in my following works: Géza Komoróczy: "A sumer–magyar nyelvrokonítás. (Adalékok egy jelenség természetrajzához.)" *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, 78, 1976, pp. 3–38 = "On the Idea of Sumero–Hungarian Linguistic Affiliation." (Critical Notes on a Pseudo-Scholarly Phenomenon.) *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestiensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae, Sectio Historica*, 17, 1976, pp. 259–303; and idem: *Sumer és magyar?* ("Sumerian and Hungarian?" In Hungarian.) Magvető Kiadó, Budapest 1976. 169 pp. (its French translation in preparation in: *Études Finno–Ougriennes*, Budapest–Paris).

and is undestructibly so; and that it proclaim this in the country, teach it and have it taught in every educational institution, propagate it undauntedly in the world, on every possible occasion and on every possible platform. Not only would this considerably enhance the historical consciousness of the Hungarian people, but would enhance also the country's authority in foreign policy."

Without overestimating the role of quixotic, rainbow-chasing ideas on prehistory in present-day Hungarian public opinion, I think that the popularity of Sumero–Hungarian linguistic affinity theories does indicate a certain confusion in the historical consciousness of Hungarian society. True, the revival of similar ideas, or their artificial resuscitation, is a world-wide phenomenon; but we should not let ourselves be carried away by this turbid current. The view of the past shaped by national romanticism is still alive; we must overcome it.

ISTVÁN FODOR

RESEARCH ON THE PROTO-HUNGARIANS

A number of written records allude to the proto-Hungarians. Some of the oldest are Arabic and Byzantine sources, which mention the period of time directly preceding the 895 move to what later became Hungary, when the Hungarians lived north of the Black Sea on a grassy steppe between the Don and the Carpathians. This area was the next to last stop the proto-Hungarians made during their long migration period. These sources, however, contain no information about any earlier areas they may have spent some time in.

There is only one account going back to an even earlier date, although it is true that it was recorded much later. It tells of a journey by Julianus, the Hungarian Dominican friar, who in 1236 found Hungarians living somewhere in the area of the Volga Bend, the land of the Volga Bulgars. They were Hungarians who had remained in their old homes; and Julianus claimed to have spoken to them in Hungarian. (The Hungarians had lived there before moving to the Don area; the group that remained behind must have therefore become isolated many centuries earlier.) However, it cannot be ascertained from the friar's account—recorded by Riccardus, a fellow member of the order and superior of Friar Julianus—exactly where these Eastern Hungarians lived, and where Magna Hungaria, mentioned in the account, actually was. Most historians placed it in the area lying east of the Volga, in Bashkiria; but there were also some who claimed this early homeland of the Hungarians to have been west of the river. What made orientation especially difficult for so long was that there was hardly any other guide in determining geographical location than the spare account of the friar, which mainly dealt with the chances of missionary work amongst the people he found there, and was not originally written as a travel account. Recent research only has somewhat amended the hypothesis. Particularly valuable data in Russian chronicles suggest an interpretation that might be especially important, since these thirteenth-century sources frequently deal with the particular area we are interested in, as well as with the inhabitants, the Volga Bulgars. In addition to written records, archaeological information is particularly important. During the

last twenty to thirty years, archaeologists working in the Volga and Urals areas have taken great strides forward. These discoveries have brought forward important finds connected with the distant ancestors of the Hungarians.

Before examining the information provided by the Russian chronicles, as well as the evidence brought forward by the archaeological finds made in the Soviet Union, let us first recall some of the more important features of Julianus's journey.

The earliest known Hungarian chronicles have preserved a memory of an obscure ancient homeland, and that part of the Hungarians remained there and did not move into the Danube Basin. Later, Volga Bulgar merchants visiting Hungary added newer information. The chronicle had at first been written on the basis fo the oral tradition that preserved the age-old recollection of the proto-homeland. (The land inhabited by the Volga Bulgars, who were speakers of a Turkic language, was probably in the area now occupied by the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The merchants were able to relate that Hungarians lived over there, people who still spoke the language of their own ancestors. The account they gave probably caused Anonymus, in the chronicle he wrote around 1200, to trace the Hungarians back to Dentümogyer, which was situated in the area of the Volga Bend. (Most of the Hungarian chronicles, however, chose the Scythian location found in contemporary western chronicles, which claimed the Hungarians were Scythians; this consequently placed their homeland in the swampy area of the Meotis.)

The leaders of the country, however, only later, early in the twelfth century, directed their attention to the Hungarians who had remained in the eastern homeland. A new danger emanating from the steppes of Eurasia threatened Europe at that time, a danger in the form of the nomadic Mongols, who, with their frightening military strength, were able to conquer the Huns and go on, in 1223, to destroy the army of the Russian princes at the Kalka River. There was no other military power to any size that could have held them back before they reached the eastern borders of Hungary. Prince Béla of the House of Árpád—later Béla IV—conceived of a plan, whereby they would look for the Hungarians living in the eastern homeland and bring them to Hungary after they had first been converted to Christianity; because, with them added, the strength of the country could be increased considerably.

The Dominican Friar Otto was the first to travel east. He did so in the company of three others around 1232. He got back in three years, but without his companions; and he only lived a week following his return. Before his death, he related that he had met several Hungarians in the area of the Caucasus. Julianus and his three companions set out on their journey in the autumn of 1235—after having thoroughly examined reports connected with the ancient dwelling places of the Hungarians mentioned by the chronicles. Following Otto's travel instructions, they first went to Alania, which was north of the Caucasus; but two and a half years of searching the area didn't turn up any Hungarians. Then two of the friars returned to Hungary, leaving Julianus and one companion, Gerhardus. The two of them joined a group of travellers and contined their trip north. After a tiring thirty-seven-day trip full of hardships, they at last arrived in the town of Bundaz, where Gerhardus succumbed to a disease he had caught on the trip. What happened to Julianus later is here described in the words of the Riccardus account:

"Then Brother Julianus, being left alone and not knowing how he would be able to continue, became a servant to a Mohammedan imam and his wife who were preparing to travel to Great Bulgaria (that is, Volga Bulgaria), and they arrived there. Great Bulgaria is a large and powerful country with rich cities; but the people there are all pagans." . . .

"In one of the large cities of this country,

a city supposedly able to muster five thousand soldiers, the friar found a Hungarian woman who had left the land they were looking for and had come to this area to marry. She described her journey to the friar and told him how he must travel to get there; that after a journey of two days, they would surely be able to find the Hungarians they were looking for. And it happened thus.

"He found them beside the great river Etil. Upon seeing him and understanding that he was a Christian Hungarian, they rejoiced greatly over his arrival. They led him through their homes and villages, and they inquired in detail after the king of their Christian Hungarian brethren and the country where they lived. No matter what he told them about the faith or other things, they listened to him with the greatest of interest, because their language was pure Hungarian; they understood him, and he understood them. They are pagans who have no knowledge of God, but they do not worship idols either, but live like the animals do. They do not cultivate the land; they eat the flesh of horses, wolves and the sort, and drink mare's milk and blood. They have an abundance of horses and weapons, and are truly brave in battle. They are familiar with the traditions of their ancestors and that these Hungarians are their descendants; but they had no knowledge of where they lived."[1]

This is the most important part of the account so far, and it is a section that has given rise to most of the controversies. The consensus of scholars has it that the Etil River is actually the Volga, but there is no such unanimity of opinion regarding the large city the friar visited before setting out on his two-day journey, which resulted in his meeting with the Hungarians. The city could have been almost any one of the towns of the Volga Bulgars, for example, Bulgar (or Bolgari) lying on the left bank of the Volga, Biljar and Suvar, as well as Osel on the right bank. The account actually gives us no real basis for assuming that the Eastern Hungarians lived on one of the banks of the Volga. The information provided by the Russian chronicles, as well as the archaeological finds, however, enable us to come closer to a solution to this obscurely remote puzzle.

The name of the Volga Bulgars occurs quite frequently in the Russian chronicles, for they were prominent merchants, who had strong ties with the Russians as early as the tenth century. The large cities they built along the Volga were at the crossroads of the east-west and north-south trade routes. Their merchants penetrated as far as the cities of Central Asia, the Byzantine Empire and Persia, Kiev, Hungary, and the inhospitable regions of the Far East as well. As might be expected, the Bulgars jealously guarded their trade. We learn from the writings of Arab travellers, for example, that merchants of other nationalities travelling to the northern regions were under constant fear that the savages living there would kill any foreigner entering their territory. These false rumours were spread by the Bulgar fur-traders, but they didn't always succeed in frightening their rivals with these blood-curdling tales. The sources of the continually worsening Russian–Bulgar hostilities undoubtedly arose from trade rivalry. The Vladimir-Susdal Principality, which was growing stronger during the twelfth century, likewise presented a serious threat to Bulgar trade with the West. The other reason for the armed confrontation was un-

[1] A total of seven medieval manuscripts have survived from the Riccardus account; they are in the Vatican archives, in the manuscript archives of the Vatican Library, and in the Paris National Library. The most important recent editions are the following: J. Deér: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Ed. E. Szentpétery. Vol. I. (Budapest, 1938), pp. 535–542.; L. Bendefy: *Fontes authentici Fr. Juliani illustrantes*. (Budapest, 1937), pp. 21–34. Pl. I–XIV.; H. Dörrie: "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen." *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. (Göttingen, 1956), pp. 151–161.

doubtedly the expansion westwards of the Russian principality. The Volga Bulgars presented an obstacle to them. They had gained such a tremendous influence over a considerable portion of the Volga region west of present-day Kazan that they were able to levy taxes on the Mordvins and Meshchers who spoke Finno-Ugric languages.[2]

At first the Bulgars, in command of a larger military force, were able to safeguard their supremacy. In 1088 they captured and plundered the town of Murom on the River Ok, and burned the surrounding villages, as a reprisal after the Russians had robbed Bulgar merchants.[3] In 1107 the Bulgars led a punitive expedition, for similar reasons, against Suzdal, but they were unable to take possession of the city.[4] However, the Russians united under the Vladimir-Suzdal princes later assumed the initiative. They organized large military campaigns against the Bulgars, burning and plundering their villages and cities, first in 1120, then in 1164 and finally in the winter of 1171–72.[5] The Bulgars gradually lost their western territories, and they fell under the influence of the Russians. The Russians led their greatest assault in 1183, when they ravaged a large part of the country belonging to the Bulgars, and then went on to besiege, without success, the Bulgar capital Biljar.[6] In 1219, however, the Bulgars occupied the city of Ustyug in the north and went on to lay siege to Unza.[7] The Russians, who were much stronger, however, destroyed the Bulgar towns west of the Volga—which had already suffered much in earlier campaigns—the following year, in 1120. Included among them was Osel, the largest Bulgar town west of the Volga.[8] The aim of the Vladimir-Suzdal prince was evidently to drive the Bulgars from the western (right) bank of the Volga once and for all. The Russians not only burned an plundered the Bulgar towns; they also razed their fortifications, so that the Bulgars could not quickly recover their military strength. This has also been substantiated by archaeological finds. Archaeologists recently uncovered a small city called Hulas, not far from Osel; and they noticed that sections of the earth-works surrounding the city had been dumped into the moat.

The military expedition of 1220 finally crushed the Bulgars. The text of the terms of surrender has been lost, but it is evident that the Bulgars had no other choice than to give up most of their possessions west of the Volga, as well as the control of trade with the West. The latter seems to be borne out by the fact that in 1221 Prince Yuri Vsevolodovich founded the city of Nizhni Novgorod[9] where the Oka joins the Volga, a city that later became a famous Russian trading centre, which obviously mainly served as a military stronghold then. It is certain that this city was the point of origin for the westward campaigns, whose purpose it was to subjugate the neighbouring Mordvin tribes (1226, 1228, 1229, 1232–33).[10] In 1229 the Russians again concluded a treaty with the Volga Bulgars in the interest of joining forces against their common enemy, the Mongols or Tartars; and they also exchanged prisoners. This coalition, however, proved to be too late, for it

[2] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Volga Bulgars and the Russians, see: A. P. Smirnov: Volzhkie bulgary. (Moscow, 1951), pp. 40–52.; V. A. Kuckin: "O marsrutah pohodov drevnerusskih knyazey na gosudarstvo volzhkih bulgar v XII–pervoy treti XIII v." In: *Istoricєskaya geografiya Rossii (XII—nacalo XX v.)*. (Moscow, 1975), pp. 31–45.

[3] Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisey (PSRL). Vol. II. (Sankt Petersburg, 1908), p. 199.

[4] PSRL. Vol. XXIV. (Petrograd, 1921), p. 73.

[5] *1120:* PSRL. Vol. I. (Leningrad, 1926), stolb 292.; Vol. II. stolb 286.; *1164:* PSRL. Vol. I. stolb 352–353.; *1171–72:* PSRL. Vol. I. stolb 364.; Vol. II. stolb 564–566.

[6] PSRL. Vol. I. stolb 389–390.; Vol. II. stolb 625–628.

[7] PSRL. Vol. XXV. (Moscow–Leningrad, 1949), p. 116.

[8] PSRL. Vol. XXV. p. 117.

[9] PSRL. Vol. I. stolb 445.

[10] PSRL. Vol. I. stolb 448–451, 459–460.

was only a few years before both countries fell victim to the eastern aggressors.

The most important consequence of Russian–Bulgar relations, from a Hungarian angle, was that the areas of Volga Bulgaria, lying west of the Volga, still bore traces of the Russian devastation that took place in 1220, when Julianus visited there in 1236. The burned cities were not rebuilt; only a few enterprising men had found shelter among the ruins. There is no way the friar could have visited a large city while he was there, since the only large city in the area was Osel, and that was now lying in ruins. The Hungarian woman he met, whose ancestors were the same as his, could therefore have only given him travel directions in one of the eastern cities lying on the left bank. But we are hardly able to say today which city that might have been. The two largest cities belonging to the Volga Bulgars at that time were Bulgar and Biljar. (Archaeological finds have shown that both extended over vast areas, with large buildings, mosques, and special quarters for craftsmen and merchants.)[11] Even if we knew exactly in which city Julianus met the Hungarian woman, it still wouldn't essentially change the fact that the Eastern Hungarians, who had been separated from their ancestors, lived east of the large Volga Bend, and that it was there that the Magna Hungaria mentioned by the friar was located.

In addition to the evidence provided by written records, archaeological sources give us good reason to conclude that Julianus's Hungarians actually lived in the area mentioned. Ancient burial grounds are often found which undoubtedly served Eastern Hungarians (or Julianus's Hungarians). One of these was excavated in 1949–51 on the outskirts of the Bashkir town of Sterlitamak; and another quite recently in the territory of former Volga Bulgaria beside the present-day village of Tankeyevka. (The latter burial ground was jointly used by the Volga Bulgars and the Hungarians, thus attesting to a federation between some of their tribes. This is also strengthened by Julianus's account. He tells of a Hungarian who went to a Bulgar city to be married.) The most recent burial ground digs were not far from where the Kama joins the Volga, on the outskirts of the village of Bolshiye Tigani; this also served members of both communities. The funeral customs, ornaments and useful articles of those buried there can be compared to the Hungarian finds dating back to the period of the Conquest and discovered in the Danube Basin. This burial ground was opened roughly at the beginning of the eight century, when the greater part of the Hungarians migrated to the Don region. It served one of the Hungarian communities that remained there, and it was used for almost a hundred years. Up to that time, these Hungarians had in part preserved ancient Hungarian features in their religion, customs, and dress.[12]

The names *Gyarmat* and *Jenő*, two of the conquering Hungarian tribes, have correspondences in Bashkir, where they occur as Bashkir tribal names in the form of *Yurmati* and *Yeney* respectively. We also find words of Hungarian origin among Bashkir geographical names, as Professor László Rásonyi has pointed out (i.e. *Békás*, and *Ides*, Bashkir river names, and *Magas*, the name of a mountain).

The majority of Mohammedan sources call the Hungarians then living in the Volga area, as well as those living in Hungary, Bashkirs; and regardthem both as descendants of the same people.

This was also climed by Balkhi, who lived at the beginning of the tenth century. His

[11] A. P. Smirnov: o.p. pp. 168–229.; Povolz'e v srednie veka. Ed. A. P. Smirnov. (Moscow, 1970), pp. 5–67.; Goroda Povolz'ya v srednie veka. Ed. A. P. Smirnov and G. A. Fedorov–Davydov. (Moscow, 1974), pp. 4–38.; Issledovaniya Velkiogo Goroda. Ed. V. V. Sedov. (Moscow, 1976.)

[12] E. A. Halikova: "Ősmagyar temető a Káma mentén." (An Ancient Hungarian Cemetery along the River Kama.) *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, Vol. 103. (1976), pp. 53–78.

work has since perished, but the words of the text were preserved by two tenth-century Arab geographers, Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. "The following concerns the Basdžirts. There are two kinds of people among them. One lives next to the Guzz nation behind the (Volga) Bulgars. It has been said there are 2,000 of them. They live under the protection of their forests, thus they cannot be easily attacked. They are the subjects of the Bulgars. The other Basdžirts (according to Ibn Haukal: the largest number of Basdžirts) live next to the Beshenyöks. Both they and the Beshenyöks are Turkic peoples, and they live next to the Byzantines."[13] The Arab travellers and geographers accordingly kept track of both groups of Hungarians, and they were also in possession of information concerning their exact dwelling places. (They evidently applied the ethnic name "bashkir" to the Hungarians, because the group remaining beside the Volga lived next to the Turkic-speaking Bashkirs, who had settled about that time between the Volga and the Urals. This type of naming was frequent at that time; this is how the Hungarians, for example, acquired the name of the neighbouring Onogur–Bulgars, from which Latin "Hungarus" and English "Hungarian" e.g. are derived; although the ethnic name used by the Hungarians themselves for at least two and a half thousand years has been "magyar".)

On the basis of written records and the corresponding evidence provided by archaeological finds and place-names, it can be confirmed that the proto-Hungarians lived roughly in the area between the Middle Volga and the Urals before moving to the Don region known as Levedia. Archaeological finds lead to the conclusion that this migration could have taken place during the opening decades of the eighth century. This, of course, doesn't mean that this territory was their proto-homeland. Recently scholars are being more and more inclined to believe that the cradle of the proto-Hungarians was in Western Siberia, in the grassy and wooded plains of the Urals, in the area of the Ob, Irtis and Tobol rivers. The nomadic proto-Hungarians probably left this area during the first few centuries A. D. and travelled west of the Urals to Bashkiria.

Today we still have few facts at our disposal regarding the later fate of the Hungarians who remained in Magna Hungaria, those whom Julianus had met. In 1236, the Mongols or Tartars occupied and ruthlessly destroyed Volga Bulgaria and the neighbouring land of the Bashkirs. This sealed the fate of the Hungarians living there as well. Julianus met scattered groups fleeing from the enemy some distance west of the Volga, when he set out on his second trip to look for the Eastern Hungarians; and they told the friar of the Tartar danger. The scattered groups of Hungarians were in all probability later assimilated into the neighbouring eastern European peoples. Medieval Russian sources record the appearance of various ethnic groups with names like *mozsar*, *miser* and other similar appelations in the neighbourhood of the Mordvins, west of the Volga. Some of these groups could have been descendants of the Eastern Hungarians, who were driven from their homes by the Tartars.[14] Some scholars believe that the *misar-tatars* near the Volga are descendants of the Eastern Hungarians. They long ago forgot the language but preserved a recollection of the Eastern Hungarians in their ethnic name.

13 I am quoting the text of the Arabic source on the basis of Károly Czeglédy's Hungarian translation in: *A magyarok elődeiről és a honfoglalásról.* (On the Predecessors of the Hungarians and the Conquest). Ed. Gy. Györffy. Second edition. (Budapest, 1975), p. 95.

14 For the most recent discussion of this question, see: I. Vásáry: "The Hungarians or Možars and the Meščers" (Misers of the Middle Volga Region.) PdR Press Publications in Early Hungarian History, 3. Lisse, 1976. (Or: Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi, 1 [1975], pp. 237–275.)

PHYLLIS GOLD GLUCK

ARTS AND ART EDUCATION IN URBAN-INDUSTRIAL LIFE

It is estimated that three generations from now, the urban population will have increased tenfold. Already today, many people in the United States and other industrially developed countries feel the pressures of urban life and some seek creativity by "returning" to the production of handicrafts, while literally tending their own gardens, like Candide. The same happens also in Hungary where, however the problems of urbanization are different. Far more numerous are the suburbanites in America who never venture into the metropolis, comforted by a more stable and homogeneous set of values. Others have moved to small towns to escape, at least for a few years, the noise, the dirt, the crowding, the traffic, violence, and crime; though many of them miss the city as a repository of ideas, inquiry, and innovation. They often become active in bringing to their towns those valued attributes of the city which they had left behind: innovative teachers for the schools, funds for programmes in the arts, or a modern medical facility that will attract superior personnel. Even the artists' "colony," however pastoral its setting, is urban in its own special way. Artists do seek the critical and creative stimulation of their fellows, and in that sense their minds remain urbanized.

While artists resist the urban-industrial assault upon artistic values, they should also seize and develop the opportunities that are presented to them in, and by, the city. When artists also become educators they must draw upon the other human disciplines: sociology, psychology (especially social psychology), and the insights afforded by history and philosophy. Art education responds to urban life, influences urban life, only by understanding its forces and pressures. This understanding begins with the humanistic education of artists and art educators themselves.

Mass production bears upon the arts, not only directly but through the quality of life as a whole. This is especially the case with city life. In principle, technology is supposed to make it possible to produce low-cost objects for everyday use that are aesthetically superior as well as practical. In 1831 in England, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge published a tract entitled *The Results of Machinery*. In it was a joyful proclamation that "Two centuries ago not one person in a thousand wore stockings; one century ago not one person in five hundred wore them; now not one person in a thousand is without them."[1] Less than a century later, Henry Ford was mass-producing automobiles and offering the unheard-of wage of five dollars a day; and Lenin was exhorting his followers to take from capitalism that which was valuable, specifically mass-production technology and "much that is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system."[2] We know from long experience that designs are aesthetically compromised in small but destructive ways by the demands for easier manufacturing; or the desire to substitute a cheaper material for a more expensive one. In the developing countries, the urgency to improve the material level of living understandably fosters the attitude that it is better to have lower quality material goods than to have none at all. In highly industrialized economies, in the Western world, the momentum of mass production must be maintained by mass consumption and planned obsolescence.

[1] *The Results of Machinery*, p. 161.

[2] Lenin, *Selected Works* in three volumes. Vol. 2., p. 680. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970.

Such a society becomes attuned to the disposable; but what is more telling, it ceases to regard that which endures as having any value. Certain types of Pop Art are examples of what these values produce. They glorify not only the banal products of mass production, but the values of the society they illustrate. The rationalizations of these values have been praised even by museum directors. For example: "Pop art's imagery is unashamedly inspired by the joys of the assembly line, and its evocation of commerical advertising reflects the mirth and joy of today's scene... Satisfaction comes from the acceptance of oneself and of our mechanized and impersonal world... The pop artist reveals in the beauty of American assembly-line techniques in which the speed of acceptance of this year's model is also the omen of quick obsolescence."[3] How acceptance of *self* is compatible with the joyful acceptance of a mechanized and impersonal world is not explained. The point at issue is not the ephemeral radical-chic of an art movement, but the denial of the intellectual—and if you will—spiritual need for points of reference.

Alienation: Complexities and Contradictions

Every calling in life has its unique points of contact with society, and also its special areas of often mutual rejection. The life of the artist is particularly sensitive to these ambivalences, so much so that both the artist and the 'world' have come to accept the alienation-and-anomie syndrome as a condition endemic to the arts. Artists whose works criticize their social order are indeed alienated from its values, though more often in anguish than in bitterness. Goya, Daumier, Grosz, Dix, and Posada come to mind, as well as entire art movements such as Dada and German Expressionism.[4] However, it is a mistake to characterize all differences as marks of alienation or hostility. Such an attitude on the part of either the artist or society establishes an unfounded antagonism toward creative process. The artist's gift of creativity does indeed set him apart. His abstractions, distillations, and synoptic visions are not shared by everyone. Indeed, they cannot be. But creativity can be respected and appreciated, and art education must play a major role in fostering this attitude, so that neither the artist nor his society will turn his valued autonomy into antagonism.

There are at least two broad senses in which the idea of alienation is employed. First, an actual situation of estrangement, when individuals or groups are shunted aside; e.g. through poverty or discrimination, lack of education, old age, chronic illness, physical or mental handicaps; or previous behaviour that bars the gate to future opportunities, as with the juvenile offendes. Great advances in educational level from one generation to the next may generate a far more serious 'generation gap' than differences in dress or manners or leisure time usage.

Once-removed from the objective state of alienation is that of the person's *subjective feeling* of being alienated. Whether or not he is actually isolated, his belief that he is often precipitates a self-fulfilling prophecy. Most students of alienation view this phenomenon, whether real or imagined, either as a cleavage

3 Samuel Adams Green, Director of the Philadelphia Institute for Contemporary Art; in the Introduction to John Rublowsky, *Pop Art* (New York, Basic Books, 1965).

4 The standard work on the arts in society is Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art;* trans. by Stanley Godman (4 vols.; Vintage Books, New York, 1951).
For an exceptionally thorough treatment of Western Europe from the French Revolution to 1968, see Donald Drew Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1970). See also Roy McMullen, *Art, Affluence, and Alienation* (Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1968).

between the individual and society; or a disjunction between various aspects of the Self; as for example, Marx's idea of the disjunction between the whole man and that aspect of the Self which is self-as-alienated-labour.

The modern concept of alienation may be said to have two sources, Freud and Marx. In Freudian theory, a double alienation is brought about by the demands of civilization. Man is in the first instance alienated from the demands that civilization imposes upon his natural instincts; and secondly, to the extent that civilization triumphs over the unconscious and primordial, it proceeds to alienate man from part of his own basic nature. The idea of alienation as "self-alienated from Self" is not 'existential' but psychological. It is characterized by an emotional disengagement from the world of objective experience, a 'going through the motions' while devoid of feeling, or even of self-awareness that feelings have been excised. This is the inevitable by-product, as it were, of genuine factual alienation; the psychological state to which the term *malaise* is so frequently applied. It is interesting to note that Freud's original title for *Civilization and Its Discontents* is *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*. The ideological founders of the "human relations" school of industrial relations, especially Elton Mayo and his disciples, made much of the psychological state of feeling alienated. They perceived the worker as having unhealthy attitudes to be corrected, rather than acknowledging the existence of objective factors in the workplace or the nature of the job, that would bring about true alienation.

The Marxian theory of alienation is insightfully summarized by Ollman:

> Man is spoken of as being separated from his work (he plays no part in deciding what to do or how to do it)—a break between the individual and his life activity. Man is said to be separated from his own products (he has no control over what he makes or what becomes of it afterwards)—a break between the individual and the material world. He is also said to be separated from his fellow men (competition and class hostility have rendered most forms of cooperation impossible)—a break between man and man. In each instance, a relation that distinguishes the human species has disappeared and its constituent elements have been reorganized to appear as something else.[5]

And furthermore:

> What occurs in the real world is reflected in people's minds: essential elements of what it is to be a man are grasped as independent and, in some cases, all powerful entities, whose links with him appear other than what they really are... The whole has broken up into numerous parts whose interrelations in the whole can no longer be ascertained. This is the essence of alienation, whether the part under examination is man, his activity, his product or his ideas.[6]

Although these theories of alienation are ideal-type constructs, many of their claims are confirmed by urban-industrial life. From ancient times, cities came into being under a variety of circumstances: as court cities or as religious centres; as trading or financial centres, or as the loci of learning; and of course, as military bastions. Some cities are consumption-oriented while others are production-oriented. Most contemporary cities, except perhaps those few that are primarily religious shrines, have all of these characteristics to some degree. The life of the city is shaped by a combination of the technologies of production, distribution, transportation, and multiple-dwelling architecture; and by a daily routine of dependence upon interlocking institutions and their functions; all of which make continuing and repetitive demands, limit our choices, and

5 Bertell Ollman, *Alienation* (Cambridge University Press, 1971).

6 Ibid., p. 135.

yet are the very things that make the city itself possible.7

Urban life has changed *qualitatively* with the quantitative changes in population and with the inexorable growth of technology. Cities were always noisy, dirty, and crowded but never so large, so numerous, and so heterogeneous in their make-up. When the steam engine freed industry from its dependence on water power and the limitations imposed by small local work-forces, the cities swelled with people who made possible the very factories that employed them. What resulted was an entirely new economy of scale, and both city life and factory life acquired the characteristics that still dominate them today.

Early nineteenth-century visitors to America took note of these accelerating changes. The most familiar is perhaps de Tocqueville, who, coming from rapidly industrializing France, was attuned to the changes. A Hungarian traveller of the same era, though much less critical of the United States than was de Tocqueville, also saw clearly what the future promised on the new continent. Sándor Bölöni Farkas, though a Transylvanian nobleman, was a radical democrat. His book, *Journey in North America*, was published in 1834; and the second edition in 1835 was banned by Metternich's censors. It was "a political clarion call cleverly disguised as a travelogue in high literary style... Bölöni Farkas was not only the first but the only Hungarian reformer to visit the United States who also wrote his book with the deliberate design to introduce the American model into (Hungary) ...by focusing ...on the practical and beneficial working of the American political system and institutions..."8 His book, which had great influence on the Hungarian Reform movement during the revolutions of 1848, discusses everything from the American public schools to Harvard; from the role of the police in fostering public safety to American religious freedom; and from the blight of slavery to the promises and problems of urban-industrial life, even in factory cities such as Pittsburgh.

There has also been a steady growth of the institutionalized managerial structure of society, and the levels and types of alienation have proliferated as new occupational classes emerged. What Marx recognized as the human problems created by capitalist industry we now see as the human problems of urban-industrialism.9 There were no *socialist* industrialized societies for Marx to observe, while today concerned people in both socialist and capitalist countries are seeking solutions to common problems. If a man stands apart from himself as "alienated labour," he does so not only as manual worker or machine operator, but as technician, service industry employee, and as 'professional' manager; and even in the role of the small, independent entrepreneur, trying to produce justly priced goods or services in a world dominated by giants. Finally, the same old moral evaluation is imposed upon economic performance. In capitalist and socialist countries alike, there is a concern with the decline of a "work ethic," which operates at cross-

7 See especially John W. Dyckamn, "Some Conditions of Civic Order in an Urbanized World," *Daedalus*, issue entitled *Tradition and Change* (Summer 1966), pp. 797–812. Also, an excellent brief historical survey is Jean Comhaire and Werner J. Cahnman, *How Cities Grew: The Historical Sociology of Cities* (The Florham Park Press, Madison, New Jersey, 1959). See also: Morton and Lucia White, *The Intellectual Versus the City*. (Mentor Books, New York, 1962). (Originally Harvard University Press.)

8 Theodore Schoenman and Helen Benedek Schoenman, "Sándor Bölöni Farkas, An Early Hungarian Traveller in America." NHQ 63, Autumn, 1976, pp. 97–106.

9 For a well-balanced, judicious analysis of the problems in both the Soviet Union and the West, see Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization* (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1956). In addition to Bendix, cited above, see Daniel Bell, "Work and Its Discontents" in *The End of Ideology* (The Free Press, New York, 1962).

purposes with the demand for improvement in the non-material qualities of life.

Urban living does not always reinforce alienation, but when it does, the effects are compounded.[10] Today, most poeple in industrial societies are born and raised in cities, although much of the European literature still discusses the alienated urbanite as if he were a new arrival to the city, or a peasant caught up in the transformation which is often the case in Hungary or in Poland. To enter the urban labour force is usually to enter the vacuum of anonymity, and to be classified socially by one's job. Family life and even sexual intimacy are governed by the demands of work. The journey to work becomes a major time factor in adult life, as is the child's journey to school. The urban child can often be one of several thousand in the school building, one of several hundred in his grade level, even one of several dozen in the classroom.

Yet, there are re-integrating changes under way in industrial life. One of the most familiar is the systems of worker self-management in some socialist countries, another is "co-determination" in Western Europe. Neither are new ideas, and the goals of both are essentially the same: to increase economic productivity and a sense of community by restoring the worker's satisfaction in his job. Worker's councils in Yugoslavia, workshop committees in Hungary and Poland have moved in this direction. In the United States, the attempt to reduce dissatisfaction by participation is still largely confined to middle management and some supervisors, though in Britain, unions have recently demanded board-room representation. The success of these systems, both economically and psychologically, depends greatly on the level of intelligence and competence of the participants—an objective fact in society and not the ideological issue which both capitalism and socialism once made it out to be.

Middle-class workers in West Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Grears Bitain, and the United States are substantially more satisfied with their jobs than workers in previous decades.[11] In addition to increased wages, job rotation and enlargement, and the trend toward staggered work hours (in some factories and offices, variation on an individual basis) help to provide a flexible accommodation between work and private life. All this has stimulated the demand for cultural activities. The opportunities this present to the arts, and to art educators, are coupled with the responsibility to prevent the arts from becoming reductionist and simplistically presented.

As Augustin Girard has pointed ous in his Unesco study, opportunities for daily leisure must be restored. According to Girard, when leisure is confined only to set-apart periods of time, it becomes a "new form of alienation." The long holiday is a consumption symbol that "becomes the occasion for further alienation and helps to aggravate social inequalities, since it is precisely the less-favoured who lack the resources underpinning such a form of leisure." By contrast, daily leisure "costs less and offers a particularly favourable occasion for sociability and personal enrichment..."[12] However, there are many who would dispute this generalization. Certainly the absence of daily respite is corrosive, but there seems to be little evidence that extended holidays abrade the fabric of society. Trade unions continue to negotiate for both longer holidays and shorter daily hours, and the extended holiday continues to grow in both scope and variety, in all countries.

[10] For forty-five wide-ranging, internationally diversified essays, see G. Bell and J. Tyrwhitt (eds.), *Human Identity in the Urban Environment* (Penguin Books, 1972):

[11] See George Katona, Burkhard Strumpel, and Ernest Zahn, *Aspirations and Affluence: Comparative Studies in the United States and Western Europe* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1971).

[12] Augustin Girard, *Cultural Development: Experience and Policies* (Unesco, Paris, 1972), pp. 15–16.

That the arts may help to ameliorate alienation was known by critics of industrial society more than a century ago. As one example, what came to be known in America as the settlement house movement began in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century. The philosopher T. H. Greene, the artist and social critic John Ruskin, and the philosopher-economist Arnold Toynbee (the uncle of the late historian) urged university scholars to live in poor neighborhoods so that they could learn firsthand how to solve social problems. In 1884, Toynbee Hall was founded in London; and soon others were established in Britain, on the Continent, and the United States. Hull House in Chicago, Boston's South End House; and in New York, the Henry Street Settlement, and the Educational Alliance established by the Jewish community, still exist today with flourishing programmes in the arts.

Art education must often repulse direct attacks upon the arts themselves. For example, we have witnessed, personally and first-hand, heated complaints in both East and West that the art curriculum (especially art history) and the theoretical parts of engineering education (what American schools call engineering science) are elitist, hermetic and irrelevent to social concerns. The ultimate threat of this viewpoint is that it shuns creative expression, discourages the free play of the imagination, and lacks patience with the methodology of inquiry. It stunts the ability to apprehend generic traits, to develop criteria of relevance, and to be aware of the realm of values; and it substitutes mere training for genuine education. It is, albeit unwittingly, a rejection of long-range creativity. Especially when directed against the arts, it has throughout history been a tool of conservatism and not an instrument of cultural democracy.

Education counters alienation first and foremost by developing better teachers. Teacher education in the arts should develop the three functions of *knowing*, *doing*, and *influencing*. The first aspect of knowing is pure aesthetic appreciation—a major part of art's relevance to the Self. Another aspect of knowing is knowledge of the distinctiveness of the arts, of the humanistic foundations which they share, and of the relations of the arts to other ideational domains. These last include, for example, philosophy and the history of ideas; and the development, transformation, and intercultural migration of symbols which is a part of art history in the broadest sense; i.e., the socio-historical continuum through which the arts are carried. Finally, there is the understanding of the many social messages which artists transmit, as well as the social values they may unconsciously reflect.

The artist develops within himself, and as educator should learn to transmit the active expression of selfhood. This is his *individuality*, which is not at all the same thing as "individualism." Individuality does not reject others, but rather respects individuality in other persons, and that reciprocal respect is part of what Kant called the "fabric of felicity" in society. When a student paints, sculpts, plays a musical instrument, or acts in a play, the artist's job as teacher includes imparting a self-confidence in the mastery of the ideas and principles that underlie these activities. We must understand, for example, why an adult student whose life is circumscribed by the petty exactitudes of his job may find it difficult to draw or paint, or even question freely. An experienced art teacher may sense that the student's tightness of expression may also reflect a limited self-image. Insight is often gained by both teacher and student, in a classroom discussion of how a subject of concern has been treated by different artists. Whether child or adult, the student responds to art, but he also reacts, *through* the art, to the agencies of his alienation; to poverty or war, to sexuality or family relationships, specifically engendered by his own life.

Let us offer just one example. Tooker's painting, *Government Bureau*, is a chilling

distillation of the citizen's victimization by bureaucracy, from ancient Egypt down to modern times. Students commonly discuss Tooker's vision of the citizen in an endless maze of corridors and frosted glass cubicles, speaking through tiny openings to faceless eyes that see all, record all, and answer nothing. However, one adult student asked us to consider the feelings of the person who spends *his* life on the *other* side of that frosted glass, also in enforced facelessness. The student who raised this question was, herself, a bureaucratic employee.

Those of us who have taught in non-compulsory after-school programmes know how many students come because their parents realize that they are not being taught competently and creatively within the school programme. They do not want their children to be some particular kind of artist; they do want them to be a certain kind of *person*, and better art education is one of the avenues toward that goal.

This kind of art education will affect the citizen's own influence upon the life of the city; its programmes and institutions, and its values. It raises the level of his critical acumen, and reinforces his belief in the right of every individual to think critically even about such 'esoteric' and 'elusive' things as art. Its success will be reflected in the visual and auditory environment, in the *quality* of the popular culture, and in those other aspects of life—though far removed from the arts—into which this temper of mind and spirit overflows.

The Mass Media

The mass media, especially television, cinema, and radio, are acknowledged to be not only instruments for transmitting the culture, but cultural forces themselves. Yet, while we seek to enculturate the masses, we are critical of the media and condemn mass culture. What we frequently decry about the mass media is that they reinforce the mass culture by disseminating it ever more widely; and that what is successful (i.e., profitable) is invariably the lowest common denominator. Whether the media are privately owned or government instrumentalities, the criterion for success is "maximum utilization of resources." Cost-effectiveness is a quantitative concept, and so we are subservient to a technological aesthetic to match the technological ethic.

Yet, notwithstanding these faults, we should cease our misplaced criticism of the motives of those who provide the resources for higher cultural activities and programme. It is not uncommon to hear that governments sponsor "high" culture chiefly to avoid unrest among the intellectuals, and that corporations underwrite exhibitions, television presentations, and educational projects only for their public image. Moreover, the media and their sponsors always dilute and reduce the arts for public satisfaction. The pattern for this criticism is long established. Thirty years ago, Adorno offered a shallow and destructive account of "radio music," both popular and classical, not only as a "commodity" but for being an ideological weapon. To quote: "The ruined farmer is consoled by the radio-instilled belief that Toscanini is playing for him and for him alone, and that an order of things that allows him to hear Toscanini compensates for low market prices for farm products..." What is worse, according to Adorno, is that a Beethoven symphony is so complex an intellectual experience that anyone who is ideologically duped into "merely" *listening* to it, on *radio*, cannot be doing anything serious. He is only listening for enjoyment![13] In sum, Adorno's archaic ideology reminds one of the story of the newly-wed aristocrats, who having dis-

[13] T. W. Adorno, "A Social Critique of Radio Music" in *Reader in Public Opinion and Communications*, ed. by B. Berelson and M. Janowitz (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1950), pp. 308–316; reprinted from *The Kenyon Review*, Vol. VII (1945), pp. 208–217.

covered the joys of sex, wish to keep it for themselves because it is much too good for the lower classes.

In reality, private sponsors and even governments *choose* the ways in which they resolve their 'conflicts' with the public. A sponsor knows that it will sell fewer of its products to viewers of an art telecast than to viewers of sports events. Art itself, not just art-appreciation television, has always been a 'commodity.' The blunt fact is that there is an art-appreciative 'market' to be captured, not ignored; but that market is captured *for art* as well. It has potential for growth; again, not simply for the sale of the sponsor's products but for art as well. The challenge offered to art education by the technology of the media is to help this 'market' grow; not only by improving the content of what the media disseminate, but by raising the level of the media themselves as art forms.

There is often a broad information gap, in many societies, between the world of art and the world of its sponsors. This gap often results from vastly different presuppositions about man's evaluative nature; about the basis for prizing experiences. The art world is as anxious for data about itself as is any other domain of human activity. Unfortunately, those who market via the mass media and especially those who sell the time and space of the media themselves, usually wish only to know what people like or dislike, *within the existing range of their experience*. Few of them take the risk that all devoted educators must take—the risk of encountering initial resistance to new experiences and new values. This viewpoint is not confined to private enterprise; the public sector is not immune. If 'progress' is measured only in quantitative terms, then the economic or physical size of the programme will determine the judgements as to its success; and likewise the careers of its administrators. By contrast, artists start with the assumption that the arts are of fundamental value in human life, and also with the belief that one component of man's humanity is that he is an inquiring and curious creature. This curiosity, of course, is a generic trait of being human, and there are as many levels on which to nurture it as there are stages in its development. It is not that the marketing mind operates 'against' the arts with malice aforethought, but that it operates with neither malice nor forethought.

"Educational" film-making and television in the United States, like long-established educational radio, are increasingly located in universities *outside* large metropolitan areas. Yet, the mass media remain, for the most part, located valuationally as well as geograhically in the largest cities of the world. The decision as to their format and content reflect the tensions, the educational problems, and the economic pressures, but also the sophisticated variety of the metropolis. This gives rise to another kind of alienation, as recently was made obvious in the United States. It has a direct effect upon the arts and art education. In the United States, the metropolis-based television networks have both owned and "affiliated" stations, and renewal of station licences is based, in part, on devoting a certain amount of time to matters of local and regional concern. "Concern," in many instances, becomes synonymous with "interest", and the presentation of programmes to stimulate new interests has been interpreted as usurping time from subjects in which interest already exists. The programmes under criticism range from social-inquiry documentaries to drama, and to a wide range of cultural subjects, including the arts. It is not only that programmes *about* the arts are often rejected, but that television as an art medium is itself compromised. Another consequence is the further alienation of segments of the metropolitan intelligentsia from life outside the larger cities, and also to further isolate smaller towns from the metropolis. The obvious contest between progressive and conservative forces

embraces not only contemporary political antagonisms, but the much more basic political issue of favouring the maintenance of comfortable tradition rather than the perpetuation of a multi-faceted cultural heritage. The positive forces of city life are innovative against the former and are at the same time supportive of the latter.

In this connection we should mention a few of the ideological cross-currents that can cloud our perceptions of the basic problems. For example, in current studies of cultural policy, the policy-makers are warned of "the danger of conformity... lest the controversial element in art be neutralized."[14] Yet, it is also argued that cinema and television should be regulated in developing countries, "to prevent the intake of... (other cultures') having a harmful effect on national cultures."[15] So-called 'high' culture is repeatedly accused of being socially divisive, and this is coupled with an attack on those insitutions which only the city's concentrated intellectual resources and diverse population make possible. Urban life is a unique mixture of both potentially alienative anonymity and the privacy that permits contemplation and creation, and this blend must be protected even while we strive to reduce the dehumanizing effects of urban pressures. Indeed, the social base upon which the arts and art education are built must be broader than in past generations. Fortunately, so much that is innovative has already been set in motion that the old hostilities are disappearing, except where supported by *a priori* ideological commitments or simply lack of information as to what artists and art educators, chiefly in cities, are doing; simply because urban life makes it possible to explore many alternatives. One would not go so far as to call it a 'trend,' but more people in the United States today are returning to the cities after their children are grown. They moved away "for the children's sake", hunting for green grass and fresh air, and often wish that they had remained in the city—for the children as well as for themselves.

A just-released study by Dr. Leo Srole, a psychiatric sociologist at Columbia University, indicates that while the city has its pressures, its citizens are on the whole mentally healthier than those of smaller towns (less than 50,000 inhabitants) and rural areas. The study is a complex twenty-year, continuous follow-up of one published earlier. Many contributing factors are cited, but as Dr. Srole states: "We've got to realize that urban life does an awful lot of good through the cultural and other resources it provides and that many people thrive on."[16]

In a recent issue of *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, sociologist Miklós Szántó makes much the same point about similar trends in Hungary. "Urban life requires the acquisition of new knowledge necessary for a new way of life and the adoption of relevant norms and customs..."[17] He notes that many of the people who commute to urban jobs have little time or energy left for enjoying the arts. This is also true in America, where people who leave the metropolis for the suburbs are so often heard to say "I've not been in the city since the first year we moved out here," and that their children "have everything they need right here." Yet, Szántó also points to certain phenomena which seem to differ markedly from those in the United States. He notes that in urban life "there are more impersonal relationships than elsewhere, that opportunities for new acquaintances are fewer and the circle of acquaintances smaller. There are indications also in this country that families become introverted... There are more lonely people."[18]

In the United States, the expression

[14] Unesco, *Cultural Policy: A Preliminary Study* (Unesco, Paris, 1969), p. 11.

[15] Ibid., p. 29.

[16] *The New York Times*, May 4, 1977, p. 1.

[17] Miklós Szántó, "Levelling and Inequalities in Cultural Development." NHQ 61, Spring, 1976, p. 148.

[18] Ibid.

"bedroom community" refers to suburbs to which commuters return at the end of the day, *away from* the cultural activities that have the potential to draw city-dwellers together. Mere physical proximity is not the same as community, neither in the city, its suburbs, nor smaller towns. There *is* loneliness in the city, but it is also present in the American suburbs, where restaurant dining and the drive-in cinema take the place of the museum, concert hall, theatre; and especially the sharing of ethnicities which is so essential to easing intergroup tensions. In the city, strangers may meet at cultural activities and institutions; in the suburbs, without the easy access provided by the city's mass transit system, people tend to limit their excursions to activities that they find comforting and familiar, and with people they already know well. Yet, we venture to suggest that Szántó does feel that though the proposed *solution* may differ from one society to another, the problems of alienation and the challenge of overcoming it (through, among other channels, the arts) are *human* problems and *human* challenges for both socialist and capitalist countries alike.

The concern in the United States and elsewhere for revitalizing the older cities is not solely an economic issue. When the working day is done, the city must have other resources to hold its citizens and to make their material sacrifices worthwhile. The media do increase the reciprocity of understanding between city, town, and country; and it is this reciprocity, this mutuality, which each humane discipline must address itself to in its own way.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A NEW ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ETHNOGRAPHY

This impressive joint endeavour of Hungarian ethnographers—directed and organized by the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—is now complete, after several years of hard work. Some general remarks must precede this first Hungarian enterprise: What are our tasks, what is our objective? First, however, I must at least mention earlier encyclopedias of ethnology and folklore. I do not intend to be inclusive, nor would such an attempt be reasonable; still, this short summary proposes to give a picture of the results achieved so far, of joint international efforts, and show, by a few examples, that Hungarian participation and familiarity with Hungarian materials have been missing from these works. True, recent works tend to bridge this gap because Hungarian experts do participate in modern ethnological efforts, they attend conferences and congresses and, what is more important, the publications of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in foreign languages include works on ethnography and folklore; in particular the *Acta Ethnographica* has played an outstanding role these twenty years in providing information.

Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon (Encyclopedia of Hungarian Ethnography,) Volume I. A–E, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1977, 752 pp. The author of this essay is the editor-in-chief of the four-volume encyclopedia and this text—except for minor changes—constitutes the foreword of that work.

Ethnography is at the same time national and international: for example, Hungarian researchers are to be found among the authors of the international encyclopedia of folk-tales which has been in progress for many years now, and it is up to them to what extent they wish to avail themselves of the invitation of Professor Kurt Ranke of Göttingen.

Maybe I am biased, being myself a researcher in folk-tales; thus I began my list with an encyclopedia of folk-tales which is unfinished as yet and, indeed, my first example from the past will also be a work discussion the "tale" in the broadest sense of the term. The work I have in mind was one of the last achievements of the French encyclopedists edited in the memorable year of 1789, the first year of the Revolution, on 21st of Brumaire, in Lyons. This work was the *Dictionnaire de la Fable*, in two volumes. Fr. Noel, its author, needed five lines to enumerate all his titles on the cover page, and we note on the same cover page that in the first place he dealt with Greek, Latin, Egyptian, Celtic, Persian, Syrian, Hindu, Chinese, Turco-Arab, Slav, Scandinavian, African, and American mythologemata, as well as the relevant concepts and expressions from Rabbinic literature and from iconography. It is clear from this that there is no mention of Hungarian tales or mythology. The book is an indication of the period's

interest in the history of religion and mythology. This popular work had several editions. In the history of scholarship it acquired a considerable merit by putting forward an important theory, that of Th. Benfey about the origin of the folk-tale. In his preface Noel emphasized that this important genre of prose epic had its cradle in India (*. . .qui se détachent de l'obscurité des livres sacrés de l'Inde, la forte présomption que ce pays est le berceau de toutes les fables qui ont voyagé sur la terre habitable. . .*" id. XXIV. p.) This first big "dictionary" and encyclopedic synthesis, brought about probably under the impact of Fontenelle, already advanced the epoch-making theory attributed to Benfey regarding the universality and monogenetic origin of the folk-tale: India was the beginning, the birth-place. Th. Benfey had expounded this impressive but, as revealed later, one-sided theory as a young man, in a two-volume work published in 1859: the basis being an analysis of the tales in the *Panchatantra* and the three routes along which these Indian tales travelled. True, L. Deslongschamp, in his long-forgotten *Essai sur les fables indiennes* (Paris, 1838), had advanced the same theory before Benfey—but the first unequivocal statement appeared in this popular encyclopedic work printed in the last moments of the great vogue of fairy-tales in France.

With these remarks I only meant to indicate that an influential theory may have its first formulation in an encyclopedia. And this "genre" may also provide a scientifically useful synthesis of the results and problems of a branch of science, and suggest new openings. Different approaches are possible: a dictionary-like survey with short definitions, or the eclectic encyclopedia containing shorter or longer articles, and the encyclopedic handling of subjects requiring a more extensive treatment. I only wish to give some examples from our own field, ethnography and folklore, and at the same time describe the objectives and possibilities of our encyclopedia; even mere enumeration and short characterizations will reveal the generosity and understanding with which the Publishing House of the Academy supported our work.

In modern times the first—and most insignificant—small ethnographic dictionary was that of I. Manninen, *Ethnografiline sonastik* (Tartu, 1925). With its approximately 80 pages it is merely a small explanatory dictionary. E. Guérard's *Dictionnaire encyclopédique d'anecdotes modernes et anciennes, françaises et étrangeres* (vols. I–II. Paris, 1926) meant to establish a dictionary of the typology and contents of anecdotes around the world. This was obviously an exaggerated ambition because it included not only popular, but also written and literary anecdotes. On the other hand, the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (vols. 1–10., Berlin–Leipzig, 1927–1942) by Hoffman-Krayer and H. Bächtold Stäubli satisfied the requirements of international scientific research by its gigantic apparatus of technical literature. This big "dictionary" treated its subject as widely and lengthily as an encyclopedia and, considered itself only a part of the complete synthesis of German ethnography, also a "Handwörterbuch." This great work was prepared with the thorough knowledge of international comparative material, and a detailed bibliography accompanies each dictionary article. It is a useful work even today.

The volumes from J. Bolte–L. Mackensen's *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* (Berlin–Leipzig, 1930–1940) which were published, as well as O. A. Erich—R. Beitl's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Volkskunde* (Leipzig, 1936. Second edition, Stuttgart, 1955) were also intended as ambitious preparatory works to the complete German ethnography. The latter book is, of course, not the planned synthesis, only a modest work written with much careful criticism. The second edition was prepared by R. Beitl alone—and provides an excellent introduction. On the contrary, the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York,

1949–50), published in two impressive and beautifully presented thick volumes by M. Leach, is the most superficial and eclectic work in our genre. Its principles and methods of division were arbitrarily determined by the authors, its articles are inaccurate, many geographic regions, whole ethnic groups, peoples, and nations are omitted. The Hungarian material consists of a mention of the magic steed, a few lines about the bride's dance, and brief articles about Béla Bartók and János Erdélyi. One of the articles mentions our King Matthias: according to this work the king was not a historical personage but a mythic hero, people's liberator in the Slovenian epics material. (May I quote in brackets a sentence under the heading of Kral Matjaz which characterizes the authors' complete ignorance: "Matjaz is a king in the mountain, sleeping till the day of Slovenia's utter need, when he will emerge and save everything" II. 589.) And yet, a disciple of Kodály figures also among the authors of the book. The work of A. Haberlandt: *Taschenwörterbuch der Volkskunde Österreichs* (vols. I–II. Wien, 1953) is also disappointing—it is really nothing more than a small pocket dictionary. We do not reproach the absence of Hungarian references—they exist, more or less—but both the international and Austrian ethnographic material is unbalanced and incomplete. I could go on and list many more publications, national syntheses, big and small, or the ethnographic parts of big series (this could also include the *Encyclopedia Britannica*!) but I do not see the need for further enumeration. I mention only two works from an ambitious new series, the International Dictionary of Regional European Ethnology and Folklore. The first is A. Hultkranz's excellent work, *General Ethnological Concepts* (Copenhagen, 1960), the other is a little bit scamped: *Folk Literature* by L. Bødker. (Copenhagen, 1965). The plans of the original dictionary had been accepted at the Stockholm conference in 1951 and I mention these 9 and 14 years delays only because the editing of a dictionary or encyclopedia requires time regardless of the number of collaborators. Hultkranz's work has a high theoretical standard, and its composition is excellent—although we could reproach him one or two things with regard to his use or neglect of sources. One thing, however, is certain: he has performed his difficult theoretical task excellently. Bødker limited himself to a much narrower field, he worked on the German material, and his book needs corrections on several points. Among Hungarian antecedents I mention Zsigmond Bátky's *Guide for Organizing Ethnographic Museums* (Budapest, 1906), which has a useful and encyclopedic approach. Zsigmond Szendrey and Ákos Szendrey collected a dictionary of superstitions: the industrious work of father and son is still a manuscript on cards without any arrangement. After protracted discussions going on for years still nobody undertook the task of arranging this material from the viewpoints of history, geography, etc. It lies unpublished in the Ethnographic Museum.

I could give the titles of many more English, Danish, Finnish, German, etc. encyclopedias, and dictionaries. I wanted to limit myself, however, to the most important works and to collective enterprises and some others which interest us because of their shortcomings. Had I been aiming at completeness, I should have listed also the indexes and catalogues of folklore material, and especially research into folk-tales because such projects perform the valuable classification task of dictionaries. Along the same vein I refrained from discussing some unrealized Hungarian projects. I have no reason to analyse or criticize unrealized projects.

Finally I would like to tell what had prompted us to make our encyclopedia, and what were our aims and ambitions. When the Ethnographic Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences was founded it considered that its main task was to edit a new and inclusive Hungarian ethnography.

The first big synthesis (*Hungarian Ethnography*, Budapest, 1933–1937) was awaited with great expectations all the more as the list of collaborators included such outstanding scholars as Zoltán Kodály, István Györffy, Zsigmond Bátky, Károly Viski, Sándor Solymossy, László Lajtha, and others.

Undeniably individual chapters showed some unbalance and even contradictions and their quality varied. The work was truly experimentative and perhaps the many organizational and other difficulties explain why another synthesis could come only many decades later. Soon after founding the Research Group we thought that before summing up we should make up for some missing preliminary studies, fill in the "blank spots," and sum up the recent results in domestic and international research both with regard to facts and to method. In the middle of 1967 it occurred to us that an ethnographical encyclopedia would be a good preliminary study.

At first we intended to publish a modest two-volume work; but when the entries were compiled we saw that the several thousand proposed articles—definitions, description of facts, historical, social, and cultural processes—would burst this framework. Later, our main concern was not so much the size of the work but to realize an encyclopedia of Hungarian ethnography and folklore which would present a truly encyclopedic picture of Hungarian ethnography. We decided to present Hungarian ethnographic material (and what we consider inseparable: folklore, social ethnology, etc.) and never lose sight of the historical and social context. We included only articles which had something to do with the Hungarian people. So we included definitions of taboo and of totem but the heading "couvade"—meaning the custom of the husband of a woman about to give birth simulating the pains of partition—has not been included because it wa sunknown in the customs and superstitions of early Hungarians. This was the only limitation; apart from this consideration we wanted to cover all Hungarian ethnographic material with the help of the concept-system of ethnology. We are convinced that the results of the most recent research can be made known most quickly by building them into an encyclopedia. The drafting of dictionary articles is a good preliminary study because they oblige our scholars to define concepts, processes, and objects in question accurately, give a concise and precise description of the historical, social, and cultural connections, and provide the necessary references in technical literature. We coupled these with the most important data from the history of our science. Preliminary discussions, negotiations, the compilation and selection of the lists of articles took almost three years; another difficult four years passed with their drafting, and one year was necessary for the coordination, review, and editing of the volume. Preparations for sending the next volumes to print are in progress—but the encyclopedia is already complete.

It became clear that our Research Group alone was unable to edit even a two or three-volume encyclopedia: even this preliminary work required the joint effort of all Hungarian ethnographers. I do not claim that this pooling of forces was easily achieved: we had had our critical moments, but it would be pointless to mention them now. Instead we should express our thanks to the 96 researchers and editors who participated along with the members of the Research Group in the drafting and editing work. They included the members of the ethnographic faculties of all Hungarian universities, as well as researchers on the staff of museums of Budapest and the provinces. It is also their merit that this synthetizing and at the same time analytical work could come off. With the illustrations the manuscript amounts to about 400 printer's sheets, and we think it will be possible to print it in four large volumes. This means that our encyclopedia will

be double as large as the old *Hungarian Ethnography*, and I can state without self-conceit that this collective work will prove to be an outstanding example of ethnographic encyclopedias and dictionaries. As far as possible we tried to keep a balance in the length of the different articles—and we gave ample space to references in order to facilitate the location of articles; we included also local names and other dialect variations.

So we have 9,000 articles of varying length. Some cover large units such as animal breeding, farming, folk poetry, folktale, etc. etc. These definitions are of encyclopedic size and type.

This is all I can say now about the completed manuscript and about the first volume. I trust that it will also serve international ethnology and folklore research and promote research in Hungary. As I have said before, this branch of science is by its nature both national and international: it differentiates and integrates.

GYULA ORTUTAY

STORY WRITERS AND A POET AS NOVELIST

Tamás Bárány: *Vendégjáték.* ("Guest Performance.") Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1977, 593 pp. István Császár: *Én voltam.* ("It was Me.") Szépirodalmi, Budapest, 1977, 485 pp. György Somlyó: *Árnyjáték.* ("Shadowplay." Magvető, Budapest, 1977, 305 pp.

Tamás Bárány is now fifty-five; he started to publish before the Liberation. First he wrote poetry and published a novel, *Period of Quiet*, in 1943. In the last three decades he wrote twenty novels: the two most outstanding ones being *Town in Evening Lighting* (1968) and *Witness of Great Times* (1974), the latter a witty adventure story with a perspective on almost the entire history of Hungary in the twentieth century.

His new volume of selected short stories, *Guest Performance*, represents half of the harvest of thirty years. The first six stories deal with the world prior to 1945, and they are written in the traditional realistic style of the thirties.

The first piece of writing with typical Bárány humour is *The Folk Educator*, a wry story of the early fifties. In those years the agitators occasionally had to convince the cautious lower middle class of the correctness of a policy that was sure to bring economic problems; especially since the victims were probably better satisfied than the agitators themselves, because they had an easier life. Another mildly satirical story of the same period is about miners. The highly esteemed chief pitman must appeal to top officials to bore a well in order to supply a haphazardly built but luxurious workers' hostel with water.

Tamás Bárány started to write his longer short stories after 1956: a turning-point in the hero's life usually provides the opportunity for narrating the important phases up to that point. For instance *Clarisse* is the bittersweet biography of the son of a middle class family. After 1949 he had to quit his white collar job, and went to work in the catering industry where he soon found a genuine

aristocrat girl whom he married. They left the country during the 1956 counter-revolution. The Austrian baroness-wife got her family estate back in Austria, and from then on the husband who had led a harmonious life in the people's democracy has not a moment's rest: he works himself to death for the estate although heartily sick of being willy-nilly a landowner.

For a Lifetime offers an ingenious *à propos* for two parallel biographies. One of the heroes, a famous professor of medicine, lies unconscious during most of the narrative: his former classmate, the head physician at the hospital, tries to establish the diagnosis and, sitting at the patient's bedside, wonders about the secret of the professor's sensational career which had certainly not been justified by his aptitudes.

However brisk these biographical cross-sections, it becomes increasingly clear while reading them that originally they must have been the nuclei of projected novels. The author did not elaborate them perhaps because he could not find enough motives apart from the basic idea or, even more likely, the characters did not seem to merit thorough analysis.

Bárány's shorter stories are highly effective with their striking endings, and make for pleasant reading; they are also more balanced: these writings are seldom sad or tragic. Their main theme is the relationship of men and women, from longing to marry to adultery. He treats this inexhaustible theme with half-smiling irony. He almost never takes his characters seriously, but by skilfully and sympathetically changing his angle of vision he can make the ambitions of both parties acceptable. In most cases neither partner can blame the other, neither is better than he or she ought to be.

In *Twelve Amateur Photos* the photographer's wife slips family pictures into the same envelope where the husband's sweetheart has placed shots to be developed about the blissful moments with the adulterous husband.

The description of the humorous ambivalence of man-woman relationships comes off best in the monologue series *Women Tell*, also shown on television. Here Bárány successfully combined his two main talents as a writer: his ingenuity in inventing and unravelling plots, and his ability to characterize people by what they say.

His personages: the divorced teacher forced to leave the small town because all men are after her, the innocently fast young woman unable to remain faithful to her aged husband despite all her love for him, the immature twenty-one year old girl all out for amusement and incapable of any deeper feeling. All the characters are real, without being thoroughly characterized. Bárány manages to awaken the reader's interest in their fate, and even elicit criticism of their way of life. They are well-known contemporary figures.

His more dramatic stories are good when they deal with important conflicts. *Atmosphere* is on the surface a merry story in which film people looking for a good location are suddenly confronted with dilemmas of real life which, in all their pettiness, are painful for those who live them. In *Legendary Friendship* the sophisticated twist of the interior monologue raises the story above the level of the weaker writings: a man who considers himself a true friend wonders which of the many unfair actions committed during their long friendship has been brought to the attention of his friends.

In *Human Voice* the voice of a suicide prospect emerges from the night's telephone conversations and disappears again into soundless anonymity without having offered anyone a chance to help him. In *Rotten Weather* a father drives in his car and leaves his son run over and lying in the fog because the day's failures in his work have made him so nervous that he feels himself unable to meet the inconveniences which go with such accidents.

István Császár is in his mid-thirties; he started to write in 1967. His facility and

wit compete with those of Bárány. The scripts of feature films and TV-plays have contributed to his popularity. He has written no novels.

His collected short stories appeared under the title *It Was Me*. They show the gradual maturing and development of his abilities. His main theme is the more and more complex representation of drifters seeking a way out of their hopeless situations.

His heroes search for a purpose in life and preserve their interior dignity fastidiously but unostentatiously: in most cases they go to the dogs, arrive at a dead end, or return to their original starting-point, because they cling to their ideal honesty. However, they are hindered in the realization of this honesty by conditions created by themselves, and although they condemn these conditions at a distance, they are unable to free themselves from these.

Their mode of life does not include the usual compromises. Average conventions curb their personal integrity only minimally. Their contacts with society consist of peripheral events and banal everyday happenings. They are not in opposition, but preserve their independent position as observers of society. Although they arrive at value judgments about the causes of their personal conflicts, they never go so far as to pronounce accusations. On the contrary, with the help of several transpositions, they arrive at self-criticism. The refined taste and value consciousness of the heroes go parallel with their awareness of deviance: they exaggerate their own worthlessness. This aloof self-criticism resembles a diagnosis. They observe their own aimless drifting, the compulsion to ruin themselves with active resignation.

István Császár's suggestively characterized heroes are marked character analyses. With them a new hero has appeared in Hungarian literature: the young man unable to assert himself in direct action, but refusing the comfort of third-rate phony outbreaks. Spectacular alcoholism is an important feature of these figures: it influences their decisions and is a logical corollary of their persistent inability to achieve.

In their reactions, reflections, and mode of approach they preserve humane relations incomprehensible to the everyday mind with the sensitivity of a wax impression. They deeply understand those who worry for them and wish to help, but at the same time they know their inability to satisfy these wishes or demands. With their consciously naive attitude and world outlook they do not acknowledge hostile forces or ill-willed people. They gently avoid meeting them when they appear. They stoically resign themselves to the fact that the outside world has its own laws; they would gladly take part in the shaping of that world, but they are joiners, not initiators.

In this world of amiable and unchangeable people there are many recurrent figures. Such is Jacob, in charge of repair of the fire fighting equipment, the landscape painter who wanders in and out of neurological institutes, the legendary classmate who disappeared into the unknown depth of the fifth continent, the incorrigibly stingy Gézuka, or Gránát, the highly gifted violonist who keeps returning to the detoxication institute in his underwear—these characters and others recur under different names. The main heroes are accompanied by the observant narrator who follows them as their shadow. The characters of minor importance are grouped around these drifting escapades and disappearances into the depth of human existence.

There is not much action in these stories. Some give the effect of a suddenly interrupted novel. Talk is an important substitute for action. The individualized loose-knit monologues and the banal dialogues à la Hemingway are characteristic features of Császár's style.

An outstanding piece of the collection is *Homework* (How I Spent My Saturday?), the narration of a long stroll taken after having donated blood. *Circus Dederum* is a frighten-

ing portrait of an alcoholic old teacher begging for beer money.

In *It Was Me*, the title story, the author warns the reader: "I only want to entertain and I kindly request the reader not to draw any lesson from my life, because for that purpose he has his own." Later he discloses: "The beautiful stories are written by the worst rogues . . . Life is bearable because you can write another instead." Finally, after having narrated the pleasantly confused life of a good-willed young sucker he bids farewell to his reader: "Don't bother about anything, just multiply, I am here and will always invent somebody who is better than you are."

You Won't Reach Your Death is the large-scale synthesis of the book's themes. Violinist Tibor Gránát's desperate attempt at breaking out ends in definite failure. The life of Gránát who "drinks for everybody" becomes an inescapable fatality.

The busy plot is composed as a film, and it ends where it started—as a symbol of the heroic resignation of Császár's heroes to the inevitable, their acceptance of there being no way out.

The hero of György Somlyó's first novel, the dying friend of the narrator and himself a poet, does not recognize the compulsive power of fate over his humanity glorified in its very frailty. The last year of the poet's life is the triumph of the spirit surviving over the perishing body. The story of his agony is the justification and synthesis of his fully and intensely lived life. It is also the apotheosis of the hopefulness of life, even though it brings death to the individual; a victorious affirmation of the inexhaustible possibilities offered by love—Eros, and by the arts, by aesthetics.

The now 57 years old Somlyó looks back on a rich poetic production in addition to being a literary translator and an essayist. His *roman à clef* was received with interest in Hungary, Somlyó has been his friend's witness and companion throughout his life, he had probably been his first listener and reader. At the grave he bid him farewell in the name of all their friends and colleagues.

Somlyó's work is exemplary in craftsmanship: in one of its finest parts he projects his elementary awe at the sight of this optimistic agony onto the plane of the psychology of creation: "I don't yet know what and how—I only know that all my being is pervaded by the poison that jerks me into the spasm of writing. But what? As they put it in interviews: 'A novel about my dying friend.' Nonsense." Later he explains his doubts with an analogy taken from chemistry: "How, with what centrifugal force should I precipitate from this boiling mass that which it must contain?"

In his descriptions he did not shy back from the horrible details of rotting alive, but his unerring taste made him avoid the trap of exaggerating the biological aspect: this stunt could be performed only in the finely wrought poetic language of Somlyó. A special device is the play of shadows to which the book's title refers: the movements of the dying friend's fingers are cut into the scenes as in a film.

The meagre plot of the novel, rich in interior happenings, is composed of some unforgettable scenes: the friend's anxious peeping through the small window in the hospital room's door before entering, the gruesomely precise and tender description of the patient's last dressing, listening to fragments of his last work, the evocation of the shuddering moments of his last ride in a car, the representation of the paralysing failure of the last friendly meeting, the perfect artistic rendering of the last sexual acts of that living corpse with his disfigured body and his not unrequited love for a young woman doctor in the hospital and, finally, the agonizing torments of the friend who drafts notes for the funeral speech—all these are memorable parts of the novel. György Somlyó's hero is an artist and craftsman who challenged mortality in his unique way.

Somlyó could perform this bravura only by transcending his own nature given to

brooding and doubt, and understanding the secret of those who live a free and ruthless life. He found the source of their passion for life, and put the explanation into the mouth of the narrator of *Shadowplay:* "Sometime in the depth of times you had decided that life was good, and the more you realized (or should have realized) in its cruel institutions of high and higher learning that it was not always that good, the more you forced it to be good within and around yourself, at least in words."

ZOLTÁN ISZLAI

THREE BOOKS ON ART AND ARTISTS

Krisztina Passuth: *Dezső Orbán*, Corvina, 1977, Budapest, 24 pp., 25 tables; Hans Hess: *Pictures as Arguments*, Sussex University Press 1975; *Bauhaus*, a Selection of Documents, Gondolat, Budapest 1975, 393 pp., Selection and Preface by Ottó Mezei

Dezső Orbán, Desiderius Orbán* to Australians among whom he has now lived for almost forty years, is an important painter and teacher whom the Hungarian public ought to know, and not merely because he is of Hungarian origin.

I hasten to add, however, that his background is important: as a member of the "Eight" and founder and leader of the Atelier School Orbán's activities cannot be ignored in the history of twentieth-century Hungarian art. Under the influence of Cézanne Orbán painted still-lifes and nudes with the severity and formal logic of the fellow Hungarian Tihanyi, and tried to establish formal discipline and stereoscopic vision in Hungarian painting, qualities almost forgotten after the period of the Eight (and after Tihanyi and Nemes-Lampérth). His *White Still-life* was painted in 1915; its sure tracing, virtuoso form building, the playful motion of its closed, heavy masses make it on a par with the best of Picasso—without exaggeration. Orbán is a versatile painter: he appreciates the values of decorativity and, as stated in Krisztina Passuth's short monograph, the influence of Matisse can also be felt in his art. His most important work, however, was the organization and preservation of the Atelier School. Krisztina Passuth should be given credit for reminding us of this establishment of high standard that functioned for seven years, and the objectives and methods of which were similar to those of the Bauhaus and the Vhutemas (although Orbán had no thorough acquaintance with the Bauhaus and had no idea of the existence of Vhutemas). "Founding a school is permissible only if it trains students for practical life. Under the present economic conditions the training of artists is a highly responsible venture, but it would be a crime to repress artistic aptitude," wrote Orbán in his Programme of 1931, as quoted by Krisztina Passuth. Atelier graduates were equally good in industrial design and handicrafts, and among the masters were Farkas Molnár, Lajos Kozma, and Anna Lesznai. This school was at the centre of Orbán's activity: in those years his still-lifes and townscapes were shown only at a few larger exhibitions together with those of others; he had no one-man show.

* See Iván Dévényi's article in NHQ 63

In Australia he found his vocation very soon both as painter and as teacher. Since his first exhibition in Sydney in 1943 he has been painting and teaching to this day. He was awarded the Blake Prize (a second time) for his picture *Hosannah* at the age of 85, and he is also a recipient of the Wollongong Prize. His life-work was shown in 1969 in the Newcastle City Gallery.

Krisztina Passuth's essay gives a clear idea of "Orbán's own personal artistic renaissance, his mature interior harmony, and that inexhaustible creative force which is the central idea of his books* and his teaching method and, beyond this, the main characteristic of his own artistic work to this day."

*

There is perhaps no harder task for an art critic than to write an essay on modern art and treat the subject from an original or supposedly original viewpoint. The critic who strives to be unprejudiced has nothing to hold onto in this morass: the words "modern" or "art" are certainly no fix points since their associations are entirely amorphous.

Hans Hess does not strive for aesthetic synthesis, his essay is not guided by an ideology structured as a philosophical system. Yet he starts with the philosophical question: "What is art?"—and quotes Paul Frankl's answer: "Art is the particular interrelationship of form and meaning, in which form becomes the symbol of meaning." He completes this definition by saying: "Pictorial art is a language of signs in which ideas are expressed." (p. 9.) This is not followed by a semiological treatise: the individual trends and particular artists of the last hundred years are discussed in the light of a special blend of the sociological, ideologico-critical, and psychological approach. The chapter on "Space and Time" deals with the formal and technical aspects of Cubism, "The Artist as Conjurer" is a motif-centred exposé from a sociological perspective, in "Emotion and Expression" Expressionism is approached from the historical-sociological angle.

The most exciting and convincing chapter is "The Naïve Vision" in which the author administers justice with sympathy. "They were taken seriously for the—to them—wrong reasons," wrote Hess about the "naïve" painters (p. 92) since "They painted the way they did because they knew no better and it was their betters who decided that they were on to something, on to which the painters themselves were not. The whole thing was a cruel joke perpetrated by the upper class of artists and critics on the unsuspecting naïve and honest working man and woman." (p. 93.) Hess does not gush over the wonderful accomplishments of the "naïve" painters, he only rejects the attitude which, by its oversubtle and oversophisticated conditioning, sees in the works of Rousseau, Csontváry, Séraphine, and others exotism, fancy articles, or revelations. Hess observes quite correctly that these painters offered the best they could as seriously as the educated, not self-taught masters who did not shut themselves out from the world; hence all praise that finds the special value of the "naïves" in their "naïvité" is false and deeply humiliating for these painters. We are happy to note that in this chapter Csontváry is discussed in the proper context and appreciated according to his merit; two worthy reproductions accompany the text.

The chapter "Abstract and Concrete" is much more problematic: as if here the author had lost his fine sensitivity, he writes about abstract art almost exclusively on the basis of "content" criteria, in passionate terms and with very little sympathy. In the ultimate analysis he blames not Mondrian or Malevich but the world in which there was nothing left for an artist than do what they did: like the unnecessary poets, wrest

* Desiderius Orbán: *A Layman's Guide to Creative Art*. Sydney, 1957.—Desiderius Orbán: *Understanding Art*. Sydney, 1968.

from themselves aesthetic qualities that interest nobody but themselves, and do not even pretend they bore any relationship to the "large majority." "We shall find that in the most orderly, clinically clean pictures by Mondrian and Malevich a truly messianic madness lies hidden, a form of monomania..." (p. 134.) Almost every statement in this chapter is similarly superficial and unjust: abstract art, begun in the late 1920s, had been much more extensive both in space and in time, and even its implications are a phenomenon much weightier than can be settled by such summary judgements. The not too appropriate term "monomaniac" can be applied not only to Mondrian and Malevich: the same could be said of Rembrandt, Vermeer, or Raphael. Monomania is not a clinical expression, i.e. it should not be one, because the obstinate persistance in one or another theme is in fact a guarantee of the painter's perseverance in his work towards full expression, towards precise and perfect performance.

Hans Hess did not follow up on contemporary art: the chapter "Contemporary Conclusions" is an attempt at summary. Just as each chapter merely flashed an idea, his concluding statement is stronger than a momentary electric shock: "To deprive the bourgeoisie, not necessarily of its art but of its concept of art, is the precondition of a revolutionary argument." (p. 151.) For a brief moment we may glimpse the truth of this manifesto sentence but there is nothing to perceive *behind it:* we must decide whether it is possible to deprive the bourgeoisie of either of them (and if yes, how?), and whether this really is a precondition of revolutionary argument (and what kind of revolutionary argument?), or maybe it could be its consequence...? Hans Hess lets the reader fend for himself in seeking the answers.

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Although the Bauhaus opened in 1919 up to now no Hungarian book or monograph has discussed it as a school, experiment, or venture. We are still lacking a Hungarian analysis of the Bauhaus but the reason for this omission was not lack of interest in the subject, or as if the Bauhaus had nothing to do with Hungary. On the contrary: since the questions raised in the Bauhaus have gone far beyond "art" and specifically beyond the problems of architecture and industrial design they cannot be approached solely from the professional angle. The Bauhaus had been a practical workshop where designers and technicians tried to solve philosophical and historical questions in the sphere of everyday life. Posterity errs if it hopes to understand and appraise the whole Bauhaus or some of its masters and students only through their documents or specific works, and avoid the problems inherited from them. The formulation of the questions matters above all else: at the time the impetus of the age, the urgent need for action, did not allow the completion of this work—so it must be achieved now. Behind the violently debated contradictory ideas, contrasting goals, and forms of realization, and behind the concepts trying to assert themselves as exclusively valid we must arrive at the nucleus of fundamental questions, because this is the only possible way of approach to the written, painted, carved, woven, or constructed works.

Our starting-point should be the notion that the Bauhaus experimented with the theoretical and practical realization of the *ideal way of human existence,* and that the problems of style and form were of secondary importance; the Bauhaus believed that the first task was to construct the *model of the ideal structure of society,* and this model will shape the human environment according to its own laws. If this notion is not our guideline, we can record and appraise the monuments of the Bauhaus only as the products of "modern art." This may also lead to many true and important statements, but the essence would remain hidden.

Gondolat Publishing House subtitled

the volume: "Selection from the documents of the movement." Although the term "movement" does not seem adequate and the introduction does stress the school-character of the institution (p. 41)—"it did not represent a grouping of artists, neither did it create a style" (p. 5)—the selection of the documents deserves but praise. Many viewpoints were taken into account: the book illustrates the significance of the preliminary courses, of the individual workshops, and it does justice to the theoretical and didactic works of artists such as Klee and Kandinsky who, while working in the Bauhaus, preserved their artistic independence; there is also a follow-up on the Bauhaus, and documents pertaining to the participation of Hungarian artists. It is much more difficult to publish a selection of documents than a complete collection (if such thing were at all possible, after all, Hans M. Wigler's voluminous book is also only a selection); for it is difficult to distribute emphasis and this collection is especially sensitive to this difficulty. The book managed to convey a good picture of the diversity of experimentation in the Bauhaus from building material to tipography, from trying out a procedure called photo-plastic to the new, complex light, sound, and spatial effect that can be expressed in scenic dance. There are some problems though in the chapter "The New Architecture" because the texts are more ideological than architectural. Hannes Meyer's free verse "Bauhaus and Society" is much more a proclamation of his own Bauhaus concept than a discussion of architectural problems. Ernő Kállai's* article "Ten Years of Bauhaus" is also ideological in character: it judges the ten years from the point of view of the Hannes Meyer era and is very critical of the Gropius period. It is incomprehensible why Ottó Mezei shortened this article by about one half and thus definitely changed the meaning of the original in his translation. He played down Kállai's opposition to Gropius, so that it is not at all clear from this version that Kállai criticized the heritage of Gropius in the Bauhaus and accepted Hannes Meyer's corrections. And would it have been sacrilegious to leave Kállai's ironical criticism of Kandinsky in the text?

I feel that my quarrel with the introductory article is connected with the aforementioned problem. No doubt, after a silence of 56 years the first Hungarian book about the Bauhaus should begin with an explanation of the protracted disregard of the theme. Yet, on such occasions we cannot content ourselves with statements such as "the Bauhaus... no doubt, was of epoch-making significance." Declarations of this type cannot replace analysis. Since the author gave an interesting and as far as possible detailed account of the work of the preliminary courses and workshops, and wrote about the different stages in the history of the Bauhaus, it is difficult to understand why he did not deem it worthwhile to refer to the events that altered the course of the institution, that were the consequences of the clash of contradictory opinions. More light should have been thrown on events such as the withdrawal of Johannes Itten, the exhibition of 1923 and its repercussions, and particularly on the withdrawal of Gropius and on the fact that Gropius himself appointed Hannes Meyer as his successor.

The fate of Gropius's concept would alone have required a more careful analysis; the famous slogan "Art and technology: new unity" also needs ample interpretation and an analysis of the given historical conditions. In this case perhaps the comment on the withdrawal of Gropius and the take-over by Hannes Meyer would not be so surprisingly laconic: "The withdrawal of Gropius from the leadership of the school did not mean the giving up of its guideline and methods..." But we know that this was just what happened: Hannes Meyer emphasized that his views clashed with

* See the authors's article on Kállai in NHQ 64.

those of Gropius in several cardinal points and things went so far that various leading artists—including Moholy-Nagy and Herbert Bayer—preferred to discontinue their work in the Bauhaus under the direction of Hannes Meyer. This change was the result of a lengthy theoretical struggle fought not so much between the two, as by Gropius alone, for the integrity and application of his own concepts.

A theoretical problem remains to be mentioned. As I have said, the majority of the artists working in the Bauhaus were neither aesthetes with a theoretical education, nor social scientists. This is one, and not the least important reason for the value of their writings as sources; they expressed in them ideas dictated by creative spontaneity. Consequently they often thought in very abstract categories; they operated with concepts like "cosmos," "saturation," "motion," "contrary-motion," "formal motion," "finite and infinite," etc. In our opinion such works should be analysed as other works of art; i.e. give a sensitive description with other means than those used by the work in question—in this case a written text—i.e. describe them using aesthetic or philosophical categories. Otherwise all we obtain is a different grouping of words and no interpretation, and we only arrive at generalizations and statements of the type that Itten's students "searched the interrelationship of the finite and the infinite" (p. 8), or that Moholy-Nagy's fundamental problem was "the balance of reason and emotion" (p. 22), and Gropius's basic principle was "the free unfolding of personality" (p. 23), etc. On the inside cover there is a quotation from Hannes Meyer. These few lines apply to the Bauhaus only in a determined period when consensus among those who worked there was at its lowest level. Taking any fragment of any text from any period as a motto is a risk because—we insist once more—the chief characteristic of the Bauhaus had been the diversity of ideas and concepts therein and their permanent struggle. It would be a mistake to conceal this plurality, and it would also be impossible: we must realize that the large-scale programme of social planning, the true programme of the Bauhaus, can be understood and appraised properly only if we understand and carefully examine the fate of these contradictory trends of thought over the entire period.

ÉVA FORGÁCS

FRENCH LITERATURE IN HUNGARY—IN FIGURES

I live in Budapest just off Victor Hugo Street which is near Balzac Street. These two streets were only named after the French writers after the Liberation but this does not mean that French literature was unknown or neglected here before the Second World War. During the course of Hungarian history, which has been a continuous succession of wars, revolts and defeats for the last thousand years, King Géza II of Hungary signed a treaty with the French King Louis VII to counteract the German influence. King Louis X married Clémence de Hongrie, the sister of Caroberto, the Anjou King of Hungary and the Hungarian kingdom maintained a close relationship

with the Anjous in the years to come as well. Many Hungarians took their cue from France in the past, but this inclination did not always assume political reality. It was however compensated for to a certain extent by the intellectual presence of France, especially in the field of literature; the enlightenment of the French provide a rich fountain-head for Hungarian development and the encyclopedists received a great response throughout Hungary. The Hungarian literary revival was therefore inspired by French authors thanks to the officers of the Hungarian Guard serving Maria Theresa at the Viennese court; they idolized everything French, worshipped Voltaire, imitated Boileau and translated Marmontel. Later this wave of enthusiasm led their radical followers straight into the Hungarian Bastille: the poets who hailed the changes in France and translated the Marseillaise were imprisoned in the dungeons of Kufstein castle and the Hungarian Jacobins led by Abbot Martinovics were beheaded in Buda.

Despite their failure, the seed which they had planted began to flower by the middle of the nineteenth century and in 1848 when, following the February of Paris, Petőfi and his companions also sparked off a revolution in Hungary the leaders of this revolt in March were Francophils to a man. Petőfi was a devoted admirer of Saint-Just and regarded Desmoulins as being an ideal journalist. When the Hungarian dream of freedom once again resulted in defeat the emigrants sought refuge with Hugo on Jersey. Hugo, incidentally, was the idol of the Hungarian novelist Mór Jókai and his work was often published almost simultaneously in Paris and Hungary.

The followers of the other significant literary reform movement, whose "voice" was the periodical bearing the symbolic title of *Nyugat* (West), were also admirers of the French tradition, especially their leader, the poet Ady who had lived in Paris for a number of years at the beginning of the century. Later on the bleak years of the nazi occupation in France deeply affected the best Hungarian writers and it was characteristic of the Hungarian intelligentsia's sympathy that Gyula Illyés, one of the most important poets of the age, and deeply imbued with French culture, paid his tribute to the oppressed French genius with the publication of a voluminous anthology of French poems in 1942.

After the Liberation, French literature came to play a more important role than at any other time in the history of Hungarian culture, although there was a difficult period around 1950 when dogmatism wished to prevent the penetration of Western literature altogether, including French. Still, if we consider the past thirty years in their entirety we can state that the period after 1945 has brought about a structural change. We can easily check up on this by referring to the 50-page brochure recently published by the Hungarian Union of Book Publishers and Booksellers entitled: *Ouvrages français en Hongrie (1945–1975)*.

The booklet makes interesting reading and it probably contains a number of surprises for the Western observer. 1391 French literary works were translated in the past thirty years (including books for the young), totalling about 35,410,900 copies. Chrestomathies have a tremendous importance in public education. Since the Liberation we have published 14 anthologies of poetry in 103,000 copies. They include a wide selection of classics in two editions which present French poetry from the troubadors to the surrealists in remarkable abundance. There has also appeared a collection of folk poems and a selection of contemporary poetry edited by György Somlyó in the Modern Library series, which contains the short biography and verses of 36 poets (Bosquet, Bonnefoy, Deguy, Noel, Bens, Alyn, Mansour, D. Roche et al.). This small volume was printed in 14,200 copies. Among the other anthologies it is worth mentioning a collection of theatre classics (1964, 6,100 copies), a selection of

modern plays (1965, 18,000 copies), a collection of farces (1957, 6,150 copies), several anthologies of twentieth-century novellettes and short stories (five volumes, totalling 179,500 copies) and two volumes in the Modern Library series with texts presenting the "nouveau roman" (1967, 11,400 copies).

The same liberality characterizes the publishing of fiction. In Hungary, the same as everywhere else, the novel is the most effective literary medium. There are the books of the popular writers of the past such as Verne who leads statistics all along the way (83 works, 3,724,000 copies), Balzac (the complete *Comédie Humaine* with some of its novels, e.g. the *Illusions perdues*, printed in eight editions, in 193,550 copies), or Dumas père (40 novels in 2,191,750 copies) or Zola (*L'Assomoir* alone ran to 269,550 copies in five editions). The books of Victor Hugo, Flaubert, Maupassant, Mérimée, Stendhal and Georges Sand were printed in similar numbers. Among the more modern writers Camus (4 volumes, 134,000 copies) M. Druon (*Les Rois maudits* two editions, 308,400 copies), Mauriac, Maurois, Proust, Romain Rolland, Martin du Gard, Lanoux, Merle, Sartre, Vercors, Romain Gary, Semprun are widely known; their books were all printed in more than 100,000 copies each. Saint-Exupéry is no less popular in Hungary than in his native country because if we multiply the number of copies printed by five (to make them correspond to the French population), we find that he is just as widely read in Hungary as in France: his *Petit Prince* has so far appeared in four editions totalling 216,200 copies. (But of course Simenon leads the list of contemporary authors with 1,078,930 copies). As far as the modern or avant-garde writers are concerned (and whose presence in Hungary is mostly unknown to Western observers) let us say that if the Hungarian reader wishes to get acquainted with Raymond Queneau, Boris Vian, Alain Robbe-Grillet, Marguerite Duras, Georges Perec, Pascal Lainé, Le Clézio or Michel Butor, he can do so easily as several works have been published by each of them. In the selection of surrealist writing edited by myself (1968, 14,500 copies) they can read the work of André Breton, Paul Éluard, Tristan Tzara and Péret.

As regards poetry I am going to begin with the surprising statement that the most popular poet in Hungary must be Villon because his works were printed in 300,000 copies; this figure surpasses any edition of the poetry of any living Hungarian poet. The other classics are also popular: Baudelaire (5 editions, 60,450 copies), Rimbaud (3 editions, 43,500 copies), Verlaine (3 editions, 39,150 copies) and Hugo (4 editions, 38,600 copies). Among the moderns we printed a volume of Aragon's poems in 19,000 copies and another of Éluard's in 10,000. Apart from this we published one volume containing the poetry of each of the following poets: Follain, Guillevic, Jouve, Michaux, Milos, Jacques Prévert and Saint-John Perse.

Apart from prose and poetry, drama is also an important branch of the French literary penetration. Naturally the Hungarian theatres constantly present old and contemporary French plays (and here I will mention only those playwrights whose works were also edited in books). The most popular is Molière who is preceded only by Shakespeare on the list of foreign authors in Hungary. Between 1945 and 1975 his comedies appeared in 559,800 copies and in 38 editions. The other two classics of the same century play a somewhat lesser role: Racine had 7 editions in 29,700 copies, and Corneille 3 editions in 17,200 copies. On the other hand, Rostand is extremely popular, especially *Cyrano* and *L'Aiglon:* 6 editions in 81,100 copies. Among contemporary authors Sartre heads the list (4 editions, 33,250 copies). Plays by Beaumarchais, Hugo, Labiche, Courteline and Jarry were published in a separate volume; among the more modern authors we pub-

lished plays by Romain Rolland, Adamov, Audiberti, G. Michel, Anouilh and Foissy but I must mention an outstanding figure here: Cocteau's drama *Les enfants terribles* was printed in three editions in 76,150 copies altogether. (These statistical data refer only to separate books but I must add that the works of many more authors appeared in various anthologies and periodicals, e.g. Le Sage, Mirbeau, Maurice Maeterlinck, Tristan Bernard, Georges Feydeau, Jean Giraudoux, Armand Salacrou, Eugene Ionesco, Samuel Beckett, José Arrabal, Druon, Jean Genêt, Haim, etc.)

Ouvrages français en Hongrie lists only the translations but if we wanted to weigh the full impact of the influence of French literature we would have to discuss the many critical works, reviews and literary treatises written about French works by Hungarian experts. Here I will only mention that in the past few years alone several Hungarian monographies on Romain Rolland, Roger Martin du Gard, Anatole France, Marcel Proust, Guilleaume Apollinaire, Paul Éluard and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry have appeared, as well as a very good selection of essays in two volumes on 34 French writers such as Paul Claudel, Paul Valéry, Jean Giraudoux, André Gide, André Malraux, Francois Mauriac, André Breton, Char, Jean Cocteau, Boris Vian.

I have not included scientific, educational, political and technical works, but to give an idea of these I will mention that 1,226 books belonging to this category have been published between 1960 and 1975—numbering 30,624,300 copies altogether.

ENDRE BAJOMI LÁZÁR

THE ECONOMIC REFORM — EIGHT YEARS AFTER

The economic mechanism in Hungary. How it Works in 1976. by Ottó Gadó A. W. Sijthoff, Leyden — Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1976, 202 pp. In English

The new system of economic control and management which was launched, after thorough preliminary studies, in 1968, has contributed considerably to the improvement of the Hungarian economy. Combining the requirements of a planned economy with what is called market economy, the new system has given the green light to individual initiative, ensured independence to enterprises and replaced former administrative measures by what are known as economic levers.

In addition to all this the success of the new system was, of course, enhanced, by the fact that the date of its introduction coincided with the economic boom in Europe and throughout the world. The market became a seller's market, demand was growing everywhere, all aspects of economic life were characterized by a boom.

By the early 'seventies, however, the world economy, simultaneously with the increase in oil prices (even if not solely because of that), reached a state of recession. The inflation brought about by the boom did not stop. Hungary, too, had to adapt itself to the new conditions. Thus, states the author, the terms of trade changed both with regard to capitalist and with regard to socialist relations. The price of capitalist

import articles increased by 70 per cent, while that of the export goods by only 40 per cent. There was a similar tendency in the trade with socialist countries. The price of socialist import materials increased by some 22 to 23 per cent as compared to 1972, and that of the export goods by only 14 to 15 per cent. As a consequence of the less favourable terms of trade, part of the national income had to serve to cover losses. If we add to this that the rise of inventories also surpassed the rate envisaged in the plan, and this increase in inventories took place at the new, higher prices, it is understandable that all this strongly affected the preparation of the new five-year plan.

The deterioration in the terms of trade had other effects as well. Owing to Hungary's living standard policy, the burden of ever more expensive imports could not be shifted on to the customers, and as a consequence there was a great increase in the amount of state subsidies for import articles. Since the other goals of the plan had to be realized, there was no choice other than to contract considerable loans from abroad.

The current, fifth 5 year plan (1976–1980) has to cope with this situation. The author who, until his retirement at the beginning of 1976, was the deputy chairman of the Central Planning Bureau, points out that the problem can be solved only by raising the efficiency of the economy, because this would result in growing exports.

In accordance with the principles of the new system of economic management the variations on the external market must be made allowed to show on the domestic market because this would bring about a rise in efficiency and lead to the development of a proper economic balance. And, as outlined by the author, the way to achieve this lies not so much in repression, since this would lead not to a dynamic balance but to a superfluous internal tension and unsolved balance problems which would merely hinder the development at which we aim. At the same time it is clear that the greater national income achieved as a result of increasing efficiency must become manifest in the form of growing exports; and domestic consumption and accumulation cannot grow as fast as the national income itself. The most important task, therefore, is not to increase the production of various articles in general, but to direct this increase in such a manner that it should serve as the source of greater exports. This means that the economic balance, including the increase of domestic consumption, depends to a great extent on the increase of production of goods which are equally sought after in domestic and foreign markets and on how far the products for which there is no demand or whose production is not competetive can be eliminated from production, or how far the production of these latter items can be made competitive, by the use of new machinery and technological development.

These tasks can be solved by the introduction of new regulators. Ottó Gadó's book illustrates how these regulators can transform the profitability of enterprises. As I have already mentioned the subsidy of import articles at the expense of the state budget could not be maintained. New resources were needed. On the one hand producers' prices had to be allowed to fluctuate so that they would better reflect the price ratio on the world market and, on the other, the profitability of the enterprises had to be decreased in favour of the budget.

The author also calls attention to the fact that the adjustment of producers' prices was needed not only because of the new situation, but also in order to liquidate the disproportion that had come about over the last 20 to 25 years. Although the adjustment of producers' prices was carried out basically by resorting to taxation, enterprise profit, and other means, it was inevitable that it should also affect consumer prices. It is, however, a rigid basic principle that price increases should not bring about tension and each

change in consumer prices has to be in harmony with the decisions influencing living standard policies. The increase of national income has two sources. On the one hand, a tax is imposed on the assets of the enterprises and wages and, on the other hand, the liabilities of the budget are decreased by cutting down state subsidies for promoting imports. All in all, as a result of the implementation of the new regulators, the income of the enterprises would have decreased by 30 to 35 per cent in 1975; however, as indicated by the data processed so far this decrease was less, owing to the increase in production and greater efficiency.

In his analysis Gadó points out that despite the introduction of stricter rules, the Hungarian economy has continued to function under the aegis of the concepts of the new system of economic control and management. Let me give two examples. One concerns the field of investments. As of 1975, the paying of what were called "investment contributions" was terminated. (This was a sum due to the state on productive investments for the time these were being implemented. The rate was 5 per cent.) In addition, a decision was passed to decrease to a minimum the volume of investments to be financed from the budget without an obligation for repayment. Earlier it was customary for the enterprises to receive what was known as "free money" for their major investments without any obligation to refund the sum. This, in the author's opinion, amounted to some 30 per cent of the funds used for financing investments. This practice will be terminated and the enterprises will be obliged to pay back the loans, generally in ten years' time. Another basic principle is the that enterprises should finance their investments more and more from their own resources, without resorting to credits. Since the credit resources are limited, the Hungarian National Bank gives preference to requests for credit for projects which are in close connection with the plan targets.

The other example concerns the new system of quoting foreign currencies. Until the end of 1975, the Hungarian National Bank used the so-called exchange-rate forint for statistical, planning, and financing purposes; this was a theoretical exchange rate, and in actual transactions various charges and supplementary exchange rates had to be added. As of January 1 1976, the Hungarian National Bank terminated this theoretical quotation and decided to use two exchange rates: trade and non-trade (tourist, and pertaining property rights) exchange rates, the latter being the lower. The ratio is 1 : 2, expressing the real ratio of consumer to producers' prices.

In Hungary the consumer price level is relatively lower than the producers' price level, and this is especially typical of foodstuffs and servicing prices, areas which are the main components of tourist consumption. Furthermore, this ratio also expresses those special market relations on the basis of which export is being executed. In the long run, as the author points out, it will be possible to unify the exchange rates, and this is actually what we aim for. In case of capitalist currencies the trade exchange rate is based on the dollar exchange rate and its relation to the various currencies; and in the socialist area it corresponds to the exchange rate of what is called the transferable rouble. The Soviet rouble has only a non-trade exchange rate.

This change has clarified the situation considerably. It brings foreign and domestic prices closer together, and allows for a much better orientation for the enterprises. The old system was based on the relatively fixed exchange rate of the capitalist currencies in the 'sixties. The present system already takes into account the changes in their exchange rate with regard to each other, owing to inflation, the passive character of their budget, and speculation, and this is a fact which the Hungarian economy not only has to take notice of, but also must reckon with in order not to suffer major losses. As regards the rouble, it is worth noting the CMEA

decision according to which the so-called contract prices featured in the turnover among the CMEA countries must be revised every year, and corrected according to the average of the world market prices of the previous three years.

The new exchange rate quotation is also of a very great significance in principle, because it indicates the stability of the forint; it counts as one of the most important economic measures passed since the introduction of the new system of economic management.

The book deals in detail with the new regulators with regard to wages, management, and other areas of economic life. It points out that the ensemble of these regulators will have to lead to a situation where the purchasing power issued and the commodity stocks are in balance. This can naturally be achieved by austerity, but proper care should be taken that the limits of this thrift be governed by rational concepts both at the macro- and the micro-economic levels. In the 5-year-plan covering the years 1976–1980, there is a closer, two-sided relationship between the plan and the regulating system. In elaborating the plans the effect of the system of regulators on the implementation of the economic policy has always been taken into account; at the same time, in working out the regulators, the plan targets have been kept in mind.

In conclusion a special word must be said about the appendix to the volume, which is a "little encyclopedia" in alphabetic order of the terminology used in Hungarian economic planning and the new regulating system, and which may provide a most useful aid to readers abroad interested in the subject. With its help they can understand not only formally but in essence the terms used in Hungarian professional literature, and thus can find their bearings among the new concepts of a socialist economy.

ETEL KISS

ART AND ARCHEOLOGY

TWO ACTIVISTS IN THE HUNGARIAN NATIONAL GALLERY

Exhibitions of Sándor Bortnyik and Béla Uitz

The two activists whose works are shown in the Hungarian National Gallery came under public notice together as members of Kassák's movement during the Great War. Although their work is now shown in the same building the two exhibitions are not of identical nature. Bortnyik's (1893–1977) is a posthumous retrospective following his recent death; Uitz's (1887–1972) is a brief conspectus on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of his birth. And yet, both convey the same, uplifting and overwhelming, impression. They are both cautionary tales of high early worth, and stagnation without prospects late in life. Although both preserved their early convictions relating to both art and life, the background and props were changed by history to such a degree that their later periods more closely link them to each other than to their own antecedents.

The setting of their common start was the Hungarian half of Austria-Hungary, one of the Central Powers at war. The two young men were both luckily exempt from war service, they did not experience the great drama directly but sensed it with the receptivity of the intellectual in revolt against the inhumanity of the bloodbath. Bortnyik's lino-cut illustrations to a short story of Erzsi Újvári, one of the contributors to *MA*, conveyed his apocalyptic mood. There is a series of Uitz drawings of a similar character, with the difference that they were originally about miners, with stretcher-bearing mourners; a new version set the points on to the tracks of war and he completed these scenes with drawings of atrocities against peaceful people. Their attitudes being identical both artists emphasized the motif of murder for vile reasons without the disguise of patriotic sentiment: they presented this motif as a revelatory logical parallel to mass slaughter by bayonet charges and aerial bombardments.

Whereas Bortnyik's expressive, simultaneously structured picture mosaic was in its proper place in the small contrast surface of the lino-cut, Uitz's figures in similar scenes did not express man's grotesque frailty but the heroic and fighting aspect of these subjects and thus they transcend their nature as drawings. In a general way one could say that Bortnyik's was a characteristically applied graphic art. His work was ideal for leaflets and illustrations while the energies hidden in Uitz's drawings and graphic work burst the limits of canvases and demanded even more than the poster, the allegedly typical genre of the age. Since they did not fit into the shrill monumentality of the street their ideal setting would have been the sublime silence of a building representing the community.

These two different artistic tempera-

ments found their place and momentum in those revolutionary times. Bortnyik who had started with poster design preserved his sensitivity for direct experience, and to modernity in the "finer", genres, and turned them easily into pictures and symbols free of any constraint. The result of his efforts were a series of works in a poetic revolutionary iconography which expressed their message not only by the conscious and purposeful use of colour and form but also by their expressive titles: *Red Engine, Red Factory, Red Sun.*

Uitz was not as supple and receptive as Bortnyik. The latter had absorbed and appropriated the entire stock of ideas and forms of Hungarian art in the 1910s within a short time. Although Uitz had started earlier he progressed more slowly and moved into deeper waters. His tense pen-and-wash drawings with their bottled-up energy were the fruit of protracted preparation starting with early, impressionistic charcoal sketches and reaching peaks such as the *Fishermen*, or the *Builders of Humanity*. The thematic and symbolic representation of the new man and the new world as hopefully forged by the revolution is frequent also in his works but Uitz's concept is traditionally more complex and scene-like. Bortnyik's one-part picture formula is not characteristic of Uitz.

They approached each other again in their drive toward abstraction, in that impetus toward transcending representation: they combined certain lessons of cubism with the presentiment of the historical changes in 1918. At first their subjects did not contain political allusions: the accumulated energies were carried by the stereometrically hard forms themselves. After these pioneers the ensuing development reestablished the dominance of figurative art according to the historical situation and the artists' assumed social role: once more they reverted to the shrill black-white contrast of Bortnyik's propagandists and the tense rhythm of Uitz's red marching columns.

After the failure of the revolution the pattern of their everyday life remained identical for some time. There followed the years of emigration, Vienna, the revival of the *MA* with the small number of Hungarian exiles around it. They were left to fend for themselves in the world and their isolation grew to never-experienced proportions. In these conditions it was natural that the craving for international orientation became so intensive that it twined into a kind of opium replacing the lost revolutionary reality. The chief trend was the acquaintance with and transplantation of the experiences of the Russian avantgarde. Uitz spent a few months in Moscow in 1921, and attended the 3rd Congress of the Comintern but *MA* had proclaimed its position earlier when, at the end of 1920, they organized a Russian evening. The Russian example made a two-fold impact, both artistic and political. Those artists who had organizational ties with the workers' movement including Uitz and Bortnyik found themselves opposed to Kassák who wished to represent the idea of socialism only ideologically and artistically as symbolized in picture architectures. This and abstract composition appeared in the works of all these artists for a shorter or longer time with perhaps different interpretations and accompaniments.

Bortnyik created finely harmonized, carefully balanced colour and form ensembles, Uitz's constructions were rougher and more expressive and the ideological and artistic problems in them already predicted separation. Uitz regarded abstract painting workshop practice designed to help acquaint himself with elementary artistic forms. Through these geometrical shapes which he called "ideological forms" he returned to his earlier expressive-figurative style and, with a grudging attachment to his ideals, he evoked the memory of the fallen revolution in his *Luddites*.

After his *Turning Out the Light* Bortnyik took up a different approach. For some time the idea of political struggle changed into

the idea of technical redemption and he turned to Weimar, to the Bauhaus. However, the painter in him remained the same and continued to search for the place of man among the faultlessly painted patterns in a world postulated as ideal. The result was contradictory: the two spheres would not mix and if they did the effort was that of an unmasking caricature. On the one side there was a dreary and soulless environment and on the other mediocre and commonplace puppet-like figures.

In the following decades they moved in different scenes—Bortnyik lived in Budapest, Uitz in Paris and Moscow—their artistic and social problems, and the interior rhythm of their development, differed greatly. Although neither produced anything worthy of their early period one or two positive elements appeared in the œuvre of both. In the mid-twenties the theatre offered them a short intermezzo and support but then both returned to their original inclinations. Bortnyik lived out his instinct in the applied genres, in poster and book design. He introduced the modern poster and the modern teaching of the applied arts in Hungary in the twenties and thirties. Uitz tried to realize his monumentalistic concepts in the Soviet Union and left heaps of shop work but a very limited number were completed and even fewer preserved.

The final conclusion of their art was realistic representation. Bortnyik developed his style along the lines of Hungarian post-impressionistic patch painting between the two World Wars and parody, Uitz evolved under the aegis of socialist realism and heroic renaissance traditions.

ZOLTÁN NAGY

THE POST-IMPRESSIONISTS OF THE "GRESHAM CAFÉ"

A few years ago the evaluation of the "Gresham" group's work was still one of the most exciting issues in Hungarian art criticism. Today, however, it is a living issue only in so far as any question in the history of art can be. There is nothing unusual in this; what is strange is the fact that it was still relevant ten years ago, for the Gresham's "golden age" was between 1930 and 1940. During those years it was to evolve from a group of friends and attain a leading role, whilst acknowledging its debts to the Nagybánya School's impressionist-realist viewpoint. It takes a very powerful movement to maintain a vigorous supremacy through two generations and the Gresham could not boast of a strong second generation. It had numerous imitators and followers because its leading artists, Aurél Bernáth, Róbert Berény, István Szőnyi, and Pál Pátzay, became influential teachers at the reorganized Academy of Fine Arts after the Liberation. For a time, Aurél Bernáth's influence seemed strong enough to initiate a new style but if we are dealing strictly with the Gresham then only the work produced by the "first generation" is of interest to us.

The Gresham originally consisted of a group of friends who used to meet in the coffee-house of the Art Nouveau "Gresham Palace" in Budapest. Various types of artist joined or became involved with the group. As usual with "professional" friends, a powerful nucleus developed and the painters of which it was composed held comparatively similar views. This nucleus gathered round itself artists who were in either total agreement with its ideas or, more usually, were attracted

by feelings of personal sympathy towards the group. The Gresham, in contrast to numerous twenthieth-century groups, did not come into being as a manifesto-prone, militant movement; instead, its members were drawn to each other by intellectual links. They did not organize either a joint programme or joint exhibitions. Some of the members were concerned with theory, which they put down in writing, but nothing much was written about the movement or its programme until the late forties, when Aurél Bernáth, in every respect the intellectual leader, put pen to paper (by that time the Gresham had essentially split up). The style of the artists connected with the nucleus did not display much unity. They did have some tacitly agreed basic principles, which were turned into a rigid *ars poetica* in the afore-mentioned writings. The most important of these basic principles was probably what Bernáth later called "nature-principled" art. The other common factor was the homage they paid to traditional Hungarian painting; to create the "art of the motherland" (Pál Pátzay) was their ambition, the basis of which they found in the Nagybánya School* as far as aesthetic ideals, the mechanics of creating a work of art, realistic representation, and style were concerned. On the whole, they dissociated themselves from the modern aspirations and "isms" of the twentieth century. At the beginning they were affected by some of these, but from the close of the forties they took an emphatic stand against every avant-garde movement. They likewise dissociated themselves from the official art of the Horthy regime, particularly the academic-nationalist and the nationalist-romantic trends. Finally, they aspired to be respected for the standard of the visual values they created: the tradition of *l'art pour l'art*, whose predecessors were the Impressionists, Manet, Cézanne, and to a certain extent the post-Impressionists, especially the nabis, and the Hungarian Károly Ferenczy who stood close to the Nagybánya School. In consequence of the personality differences and differences with regard to their ideas about style, the members of the Gresham did not all represent these principles with the same degree of consistency. For instance, Aurél Bernáth only committed himself to painting lyrical pictures after having gone through a virulent non-figurative, expressive period. István Szőnyi only came into a superficial contact with the avant-garde, for his choice lay between neo-classicism and free painting, i.e. not belonging to any school. József Egry, who projected his subjective visions into the atmospheric phenomena of Lake Balaton, and Jenő Barcsay, who was always drawn towards constructive reorganization, were only connected to the Gresham by their respect for the group, and also by the fact that they both sought their own individual styles within the Hungarian sphere. In spite of this differentiation in the forties, when the Gresham became an artistic-political factor, the collective basic principles ensured a relative homogeneity.

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The Gresham problem began to unfold at the end of the forties, for after the Liberation various alternatives were open to Hungarian art. Both neo-classicism and the servile academic painting which had served the Horthy regime lost their rights to exist, while the avant-garde came into its own once again. Moreover, the avant-garde was organized into a movement which called itself the European School. Non-figurative painting began to make an appearance. At the same time a social need for a new form of monumental and communal art made itself felt. The situation was complicated by the fact that the awaited developments, which even during the confusion promised greatness to come, were channelled into a distorted direction by the aesthetic dogmatism of the early fifties which, owing to a misunderstanding of socialist realism, encouraged

* A post-impressionist school at the end of the nineteenth century led by Simon Hollósy.

a tendancy towards academic realism/naturalism, granting it quasi monarchical powers.

After nearly three decades the views held by the Gresham during the troubled period become clear. The artists adhering to Gresham principles were involved in a dual battle; they rejected the non-figurative, along with practically everything which deviated from realism and which Aurél Bernáth described as "art deriving from the mind or the consciousness." It would be possible to quote a number of statements which essentially come to the conclusion that certain modern painters, including some Hungarians, "renounce visual reality," at the same time divorcing themselves from nature and the tradition of painting in order to embark on a perilous adventure which carries art towards subjective capriciousness or mere commercial decorativeness. Bernáth considered this to be dangerous not just because these trends rejected "traditional creative methods," but because art which is concerned with the splitting up of form, having once reached the end of every possibility "can only take the road back towards the building up of form, for there is no other which it can take, having exhausted itself yonder." He was to see the realization of this danger a few years later (and to which he drew attention in 1947). At the same time, being opposed to the vulgarized forms of socialist realism, he emphasized that the only path open to Hungarian art lay in the continuation of the Nagybánya tradition. Thus we see the other side of the Gresham's opposition.

Properly speaking, the Gresham's later period began after Szőnyi, Bernáth, Pátzay, and Berény (until his death) became highly influential masters at the art school where their principles were established within a system of instruction. Since they continued to adhere to the principle which Aurél Bernáth had explained thus: "There is still nothing else to look for other than quality, only quality," they had an effect on the young and were accepted as judges of qualitative standard. This qualitative standard still rested on the same principles which developed in the thirties, namely the development of naturalism with the aid of artistic sensitivity; the attaining of an individual style within the strict boundaries of realism; the avoidance of extremism; respect for temperance; the preservation of unity of style; in sculpture these were extended to the search for plastic refinement and a respect for classical forms and principles. At the beginning of the fifties, when personality cult abounded and the avant-garde's situation was made impossible due to external pressure, the dual battle joined into a united front against vulgarization, for non-realistic art was ousted from the artistic world for a number of years. The artists representing Gresham ideals had to come to terms with the powerful post-1945 monumental and expressive aspirations. They stayed within the boundary of naturalism, but in a looser context and veered towards expressionism.

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By the end of the fifties and the beginning of the sixties the situation changed and the front-lines began to rearrange themselves. The vulgarizing element lost its political basis and was forced into the background. "Conscious art" again came to the fore because, in spite of various hindrances and obstructive elements, the artists of the European School were rehabilitated and there were some among this new generation who deviated from the Nagybánya tradition and from realism in the Gresham sense of the word. Foremost among these young artists was Béla Kondor who, although remaining within the sphere of representational art, did not concern himself with scenic analysis but with transposition, with associative meaning; he thoroughly reworked the qualitative standard of the Gresham. After Kondor a lot of graphic artists decided to go in the same direction. The line of development based on the Nagybánya tradition in Hungarian painting,

SÁNDOR BORTNYIK: LAMPLIGHTER (OIL ON CANVAS, 80 × 60 CM, 1921)

Károly Szelényi, Corvina Photo Archives

Sándor Bortnyik: Selfportrait (linocut, 24 × 15 cm, 1918)

Béla Uitz: Selfportrait (etching, 29,5 × 21,5 cm, 1920)

István Petrás

Béla Uitz: Washerwoman (charcoal on paper, 86,5 × 56,4 cm, 1915)

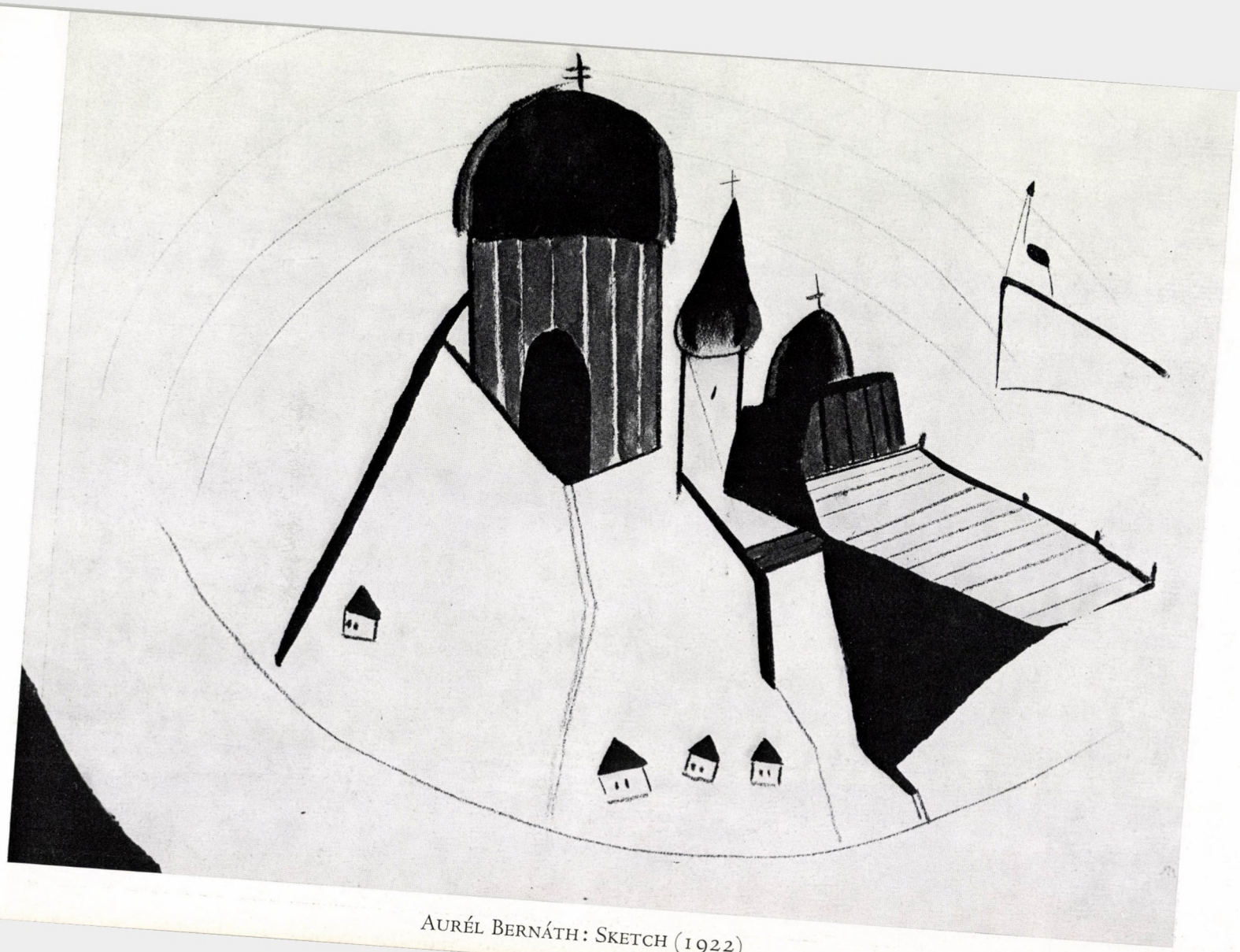
István Petrás

József Egry: The Clouds are Clearing (oil on paper, 70 × 87 cm, 1931)

Szelényi–Károlyi, Corvina Photo Archives

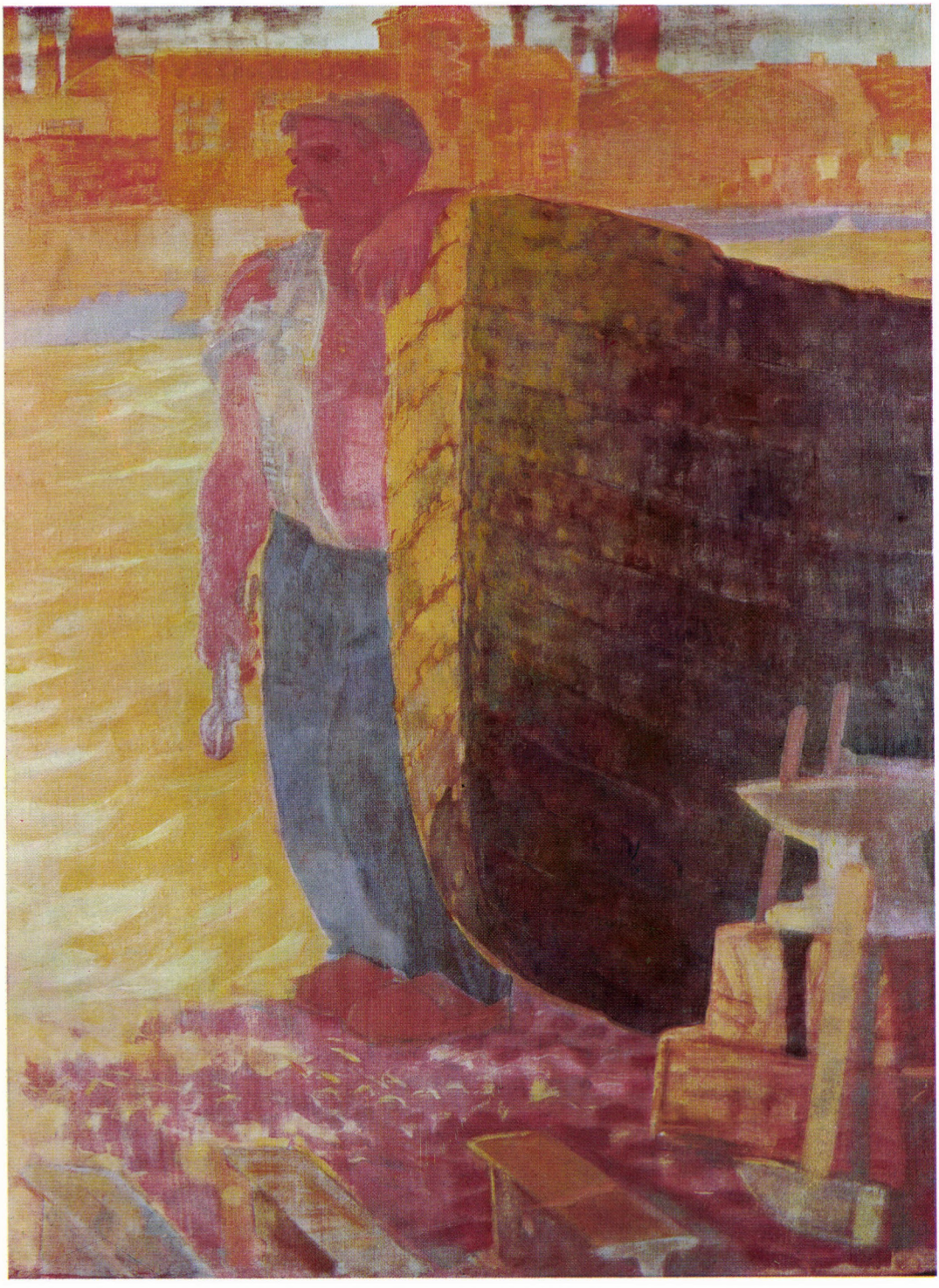
István Szőnyi: Burial at Zebegény (oil on canvas, 100 × 126 cm, 1928) ▶

István Petrás



Aurél Bernáth: Sketch (1922)

István Petrás



GYULA DERKOVITS: SHIPWRIGHT (OIL ON CANVAS, SILVER POWDER
101 × 83 CM, 1934)

Corvina Photo Archives

LAJOS SVÁBY: MEETING ON THE HILL (OIL ON CANVAS, 120 × 160 CM, 1976)

Ferenc Kovács

LAJOS SVÁBY: TAKING A DEEP BREATH (OIL ON CANVAS, ▶ 120 × 100 CM, 1976)

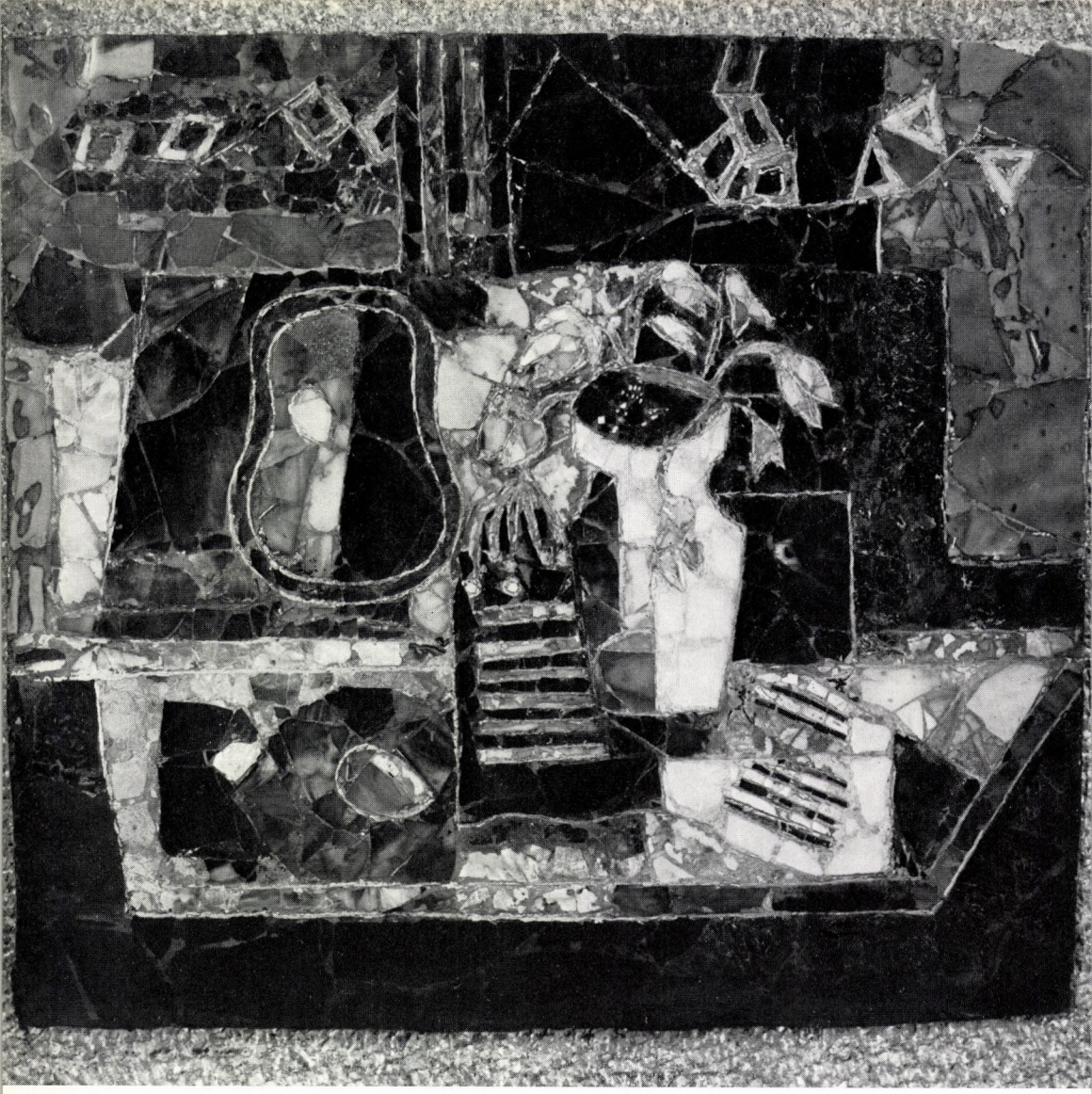
Ferenc Kovács

LAJOS SVÁBY: ANIMAL STORY (OIL ON CANVAS, 90 × 110 CM. 1976)

István Petrás

LAJOS SVÁBY: THE WRITER ISTVÁN ÖRKÉNY (OIL ON CANVAS, 100 × 120 CM, 1975)

JENŐ MEDVECZKY: RAILROAD TRACKS (INK AND PEN, 13 × 15 CM, 1933)



Eszter Mattioni: Still-life with black stones (stone, collage, 70 × 77 cm, 1968)

Judit Magyar

◀ János Miklós Kádár: Flood area (oil on canvas, 90 × 130 cm, 1976)

Ferenc Kovács

therefore, found itself in a rather doubtful situation, together with the Gresham's interpretation of realism which it had chosen as its fundamental aesthetic principle. It was not the first time that this had occurred in the development of Hungarian painting, but this time it seemed final. The artists attempting to preserve the spirit of the Gresham were caught unawares by this attack and, not having a ready answer, could only defend from the rear. The only possibility open to them would have been the transcendence, drawing on their own inner strength, of scenic painting. This, however, could only have been brought about by a strong school (such as that of Cézanne with the Impressionists, and the divisionist incident), and if the Gresham would have been able to produce a strong second, or even third, generation. The possibility was certainly there, and for a time it looked as if it would come to fruition. Indeed, it already slumbered in the earlier work of Aurél Bernáth: the visual value of a scene, independent of any reference to informative phenomena, was subject to its own plausibility.

At the beginning of the sixties it seemed as if Aurél Bernáth's pupils would gravitate towards Surrealism and take advantage of the possibility created by him, but before this came about most of them went abroad or else moved on to develop in a different direction. Tibor Csernus, at present living in Paris, was to achieve the most results, but in a different circle altogether, for he became connected with hyper-realism.

Apparently there would have been another possibility which László Bartha realized. He painted scenic pictures and in his youth occasionally frequented the Gresham circle, but he was more concerned with French painting. This tendency would have taken him towards the non-figurative abstract coloration of visual objects; however, in consequence of the conditions of principle undertaken and due to the ideals of realism this proved impossible. Thus, by the mid-sixties the aesthetic views which were laid down by the Nagybánya School and developed in the thirties by the Gresham, were not allowed to continue though, of course, such works continued to be created, just as a lot of Impressionist pictures were painted after Impressionism had fulfilled its mission. Numerous elements of form and aesthetic views, accepted by the Gresham artists, became a part of other trends as well. The Gresham problem, then, left the realm of art criticism and entered that of art history.

LAJOS NÉMETH

PAINTINGS, FRESCOES, TERRAZZOS

Exhibitions of Lajos Sváby–Eszter Mattioni–Jenő Medveczky–János Miklós Kádár

The works of Lajos Sváby are presented in the Műcsarnok for the third time, after exhibitions in 1967 and 1972. This exhibition shows the work of the last ten years. Out of the almost 90 items shown 70 are in state, private, or museum ownership. It seems that Sváby, besides being popular among lovers of art, fulfils also the requirements of official cultural policy, and he even statisfies the art historians and their historical considerations. In fact, however, art critics passed almost all his exhibitions in silence or noticed them with reluctance. What is the reason for the silence of art

journals and what is the secret of Sváby's success? Many young contemporaries imitate his way of painting and, without being in the know, we can guess that his enthusiastic fans belong to the intelligentsia.

The exhibition also showed some of his earlier works. The *Self-Portrait in Painter's Outfit* demonstrates Francis Bacon's influence on Sváby. The indistinct figure emerges from the smooth and closed background as a frightening apparition: his expression shows pain or ecstasy. In that period Sváby was fascinated by change and he deliberately avoided precise outlines suggesting calmness in the same way as Bacon's imagination was haunted by transformation in the fraction of a moment (as on the picture where Pope Innocent's figure petrified in its dignity raises from the throne with his face distorted into a terrible scream). Sváby's monochrome paintings recall the blur of crabbed photos and demonstrate the fact that he knew why and how Bacon had given his figures such strong contrasts of colours and light. Besides following Bacon's style Sváby interested himself in the same thing: photography. The exaggerations of traditional perspectives are like pictures taken with a telephoto lens, and the segments and division of his canvasses and the figures themselves often evoke the world of film. The Dracula-like figure, the forward-leaping (self?)-portrait in *Big Breath* is also a figure that recurs in nightmare. At that time Sváby painted phantom monsters like Bacon: the frightening roughness of these figures could be imagined only by a badly neurotic personality. The approach of still latent but threatening danger *(Possibilities Broken Loose)* or the either ambiguous or unequivocal sexual pathological situations have not the same breath-taking force on Sváby's pictures as in the art of Bacon. Although some of his early works are masterful, they do not startle the spectator: this absence of effect is *not* due to Sváby's lack of originality or his tendency to quickly put his ideas on canvas even if unripe and sketchy. It is obvious that Bacon's figure studies for the *Crucifixion* (1944) in the tense magic circle of attraction and repulsion, or his *Two Men on the Bed* which show his way of seeing the world cannot be compared to Sváby's frame of mind when he paints the portraits of István Örkény or György G. Kardos, two writers who are also his respected friends. This, of course, does not mean that Sváby should have become a psychopathological case in order to paint sincere pictures. There is no doubt, however, that in his paintings horror has been tamed and hopelessness has become a sort of drawing-room despair.

In the late sixties his works reflected intellectual games barren of any violent emotion. Bacon's style became a mannerism in Sváby's case and so he was able to shake it off. He painted less and less monochrome paintings with blurred figures and more and more pictures in which the painter was present and absent at the same time by means of artistic representation. In *Conversation, Hand on the Heart, Sunset, Run, On the Hill*, Sváby's almost unrecognizable self-portraits appear before the wildly colourful landscape background: they are his worse self, his alterego seen from the outside. The undistinguishable tangle of heads, hands, arms, and bodies suggest players in mysterious scenes. The colours prove that the artist is capable of acknowledging the world's sources of joy in the beauty of brilliant cadmium-reds and cool cobalt-blues, while the entangled forms reveal that distortion in Sváby's art stands for aloofness *(Meeting on the Hill-top)*. The commonplace events of everyday life are seen from such a distance that they seem to contain incomprehensible and meaningless profoundities *(Good Day)*. We witness stories full of incomprehensible mysteries *(Twelve, On the Green Meadow)*. Yet in all mythological allusions and biblical themes the world remains a grotesque farce and arouses only the painter's sarcasm, but not his fear or pity.

True, his works have the piquant taste of

the sour-sweet: his pictures are open to two "interpretations." *Silence* is a high-handed criticism of the theme of Susanna and the Elders, and at the same time a fantasy of rape and murder. The *Animal Fable* is an idyll of nature in the depth of which lurks the cruel lesson of a La Fontaine fable. Embarrassing pictures, fascinating fancies—but they are only the plays of fantasy. The poignant force of real experience is absent from these horrors and cruelties.

The thickly laid on trickling colours at times evoke Ensor *(A Family)* and at times Kokoschka *(Three Merry Women, On the Hill-top)*. But Sváby is not an expressionist who "paints with his blood." The wayward brush held by a quick hand but directed by a cold heart inclines to the stereotype.

But his irony and wry disillusionment found an echo in his generation. Sváby's intellectual relatives are the artists whose sarcasm has been bred by disillusionment, and their aloofness by disappointment. People who have seen much and lived through many things have a similar experience of life; but this explains the painter's success only in part. Sváby came just at the right moment. The revival of Expressionism was hailed in Hungary after the too one-sided interpretation of Realism in the fifties: here this style meant the return to the traditions of Western painting as well, but this revival led Sváby's contemporaries onto a slippery road. His generation had to cope with the difficulty of having had no personal experiences of the sources in their most important formative years, the early fifties.

Sváby himself knew the classic expressionists and their modern followers (Appel, Corneille, etc.) only from books and reproductions. The museums where an artist can learn and the environment from where he can draw inspiration were limited to his own country. So when he was 25–30 years old expressionism was only an artificial trend. Now, at 42, Sváby is a respected teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts: will he, in the upward course of his career, assess his artistic past for the sake of finding the possibility for further progress?

The mosaics of Eszter Mattioni

Other ways to success are easily traceable. Eszter Mattioni's popularity has no particular secret either. She had broken the monotony of art with a new discovery: she worked out a new, or relatively new, technique. She tried to couple the virtues of mosaic and stone marquetry with those of the *terrazzo* in the old sense, so that the beauty of the inlaid stone and glass and the low price of chiselled and coloured cast stone and cement, and the facility of treatment made them correspond to the requirements of contemporary architectonic decoration. It is, however, not difficult to find the contradictions in this technical innovation which wants to satisfy the demands of both the public and the customer. These contradictions are of an aesthetic order.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century traditional art was characterized by homogeneity of handling. Under this rule the material, the technique, and the brushwork had to offer a certain harmony true to the thesis that a picture was a homogeneous world in itself. In mosaic work this outward unity was obtained by the use of strictly uniform glass cubes laid with care in a certain direction in imitation of the plastic froms in real life.

In modern painting cubism broke with the tradition of this homogeneity of handling: in the *collage* "non-painterly" materials were glued onto the painted surface, and a few years later the Dadaists made their varied *assemblages*. Eszter Mattioni transplanted this eclecticism into the sphere of the decorative art, into a "more lasting" material.

The contradiction in her work stems from the circumstance that she herself does not feel at home in the form-world of

modern painting. She is not an heir of the century's early trends which deliberately broke up these traditions. When she graduated in 1931 from the Academy as a talented beginner she became influenced by much more original artists: Aba-Novák, Szőnyi, and later Bernáth, the advocates of painting after nature. They painted light and air masterfully but they preserved traditional perspectives and unresolved forms. Solidity and gravitation are absent from their pictures because a kind of ethereal light absorbs everything: the contours, the light-shadow effects, the local colours. Eszter Mattioni found herself in a much more difficult situation because the mood of radiant summer days, or dusk reflected in the water and vibrating in the air above the lake cannot be rendered in cement.

"Being a woman she may have felt that as a painter she could not compete with the great male painter geniuses on canvas, paper and panel," wrote a reviewer of her art. In fact, the opposite is true: she could have coped much more easily with the traditional media. She set out to master a much more difficult task without even knowing what she was up to.

The special mosaic technique obliged her in the first place to change her themes. Instead of *plein-air* compositions and landscapes she designed still-lifes and figures for her stone-pictures as early as in 1938–39. From that time onward her works diverged: on the one hand she continued to paint the airy, almost theatrically unreal world which had been pure radiance when painted by her masters, and on the other hand she tried to illustrate subjects which would justify placing unexpectedly pearl shells or marble pieces in the cement surface or glass.

The smaller and larger tiles of her mosaic flags and the semi-precious stones set in the greyish-red grainy cement do not follow plastic forms but the one-tone and one-valeur colour surfaces. But the system of blurred forms which was comprehensible in painting creates confusion in mosaic. Mattioni can eliminate this mistake, i.e. "explain" her shapes, only with the help of thick contours. But in her case these contours have neither an aesthetic nor a symbolic meaning as in the case of Gauguin's *cloisonnisme*, they only create a two-dimensional effect. This rigidity is counterbalanced by the beauty of the glittering semi-precious stones. However, this coupling of noble and ordinary material is senseless and meaningless in a traditional composition: it is acceptable only in the works where the artist wants to accentuate the beauty of the stones *(Still-life with Black Stones,* 1968). If, in her less pretentious works, she manages to find the balance between the theme and the material her works recall the harmony of old Christian mosaic floors and the Florentine stone intarsias of the eighteenth century. An example of this is the *brick pavement of the crypt of the St. Roche Chapel* in Budapest.

The superficial decorativity of her mosaics also influenced her paintings. Her themes: rural life, the village, where the tragic clash of the old and the new would have opened infinite possibilities to a more authentic painter, inspired her only with their spectacular folk costumes and their somehow too beautiful feasts. Yet she has the aptitude to sense the more authentic moments of simplicity and distress (*Little Girl on the Porch,* 1934, *Suburb of Szolnok with Fishing Nets,* 1934, *Old Boats on the Tisza,* 1934).

The exhibition in the National Gallery showed the 77-year-old artist's life work and in doing so did justice to Mattioni's popularity in and outside Hungary. At the same time, it remained faithful to its consistent policy of popularizing art.

The art of Jenő Medveczky

There are different ways to popularize art. When the National Gallery opened a few years ago at its new location large crowds flocked to the splendidly rebuilt former

Royal Palace on Saturdays and Sundays. Almost all the experts, however, were critical of the museum's system of exhibitions. True, the building is unfit as a museum, and it is too small for its own collection. In addition, art reviewers and art historians rightly felt that they could have made better use even of these unfavourable conditions. They said that the museum should change its present policy and refrain from stressing as a pole of attraction the splendid panorama from the red marble-panelled building, and especially refrain from organizing spectacular but not carefully planned exhibitions. The polemics have ebbed by now, but still the biggest hits in the building are not the highest artistic values. These values hide modestly on the Gallery's 4th-floor corridor. Here is where the drawings of recently deceased Hungarian painters are exhibited, in what seems to constitute a series of exhibitions. This really fills a gap because the "big generation" of the thirties with its many talents is known only by its most famous works. Thus in November we could see János Vaszary's drawings, and in the spring there was an exhibition of Medveczky's graphic works (Medveczky was a younger contemporary of Vaszary).

Jenő Medveczky died in seclusion: his fate made him withdraw from the world. His œuvre includes frescoes and other monumental compositions, but his small-sized finely worked temperas and quiet still-lifes will survive as the masterpieces of modesty. And yet as a young man Medveczky had embarked on a spectacular and successful career. At the Academy he had been the pupil of Vaszary and this meant that he followed in the footsteps of the Parisian painters. He was 25 when the Szinyei Prize and a travel grant enabled him to go to Paris, then to Rome. By 1930 he was back already trying to make good use of what he had seen.

He claimed that his ideal was Matisse, but his pictures do not show much of his influence. Medveczky took interest in the spatiality of objects, precise drawing, and clear, cold colours. He painted space and the objects in space. His special views of perspective and his structured compositions rather remind one of André Lhote, a French contemporary.

His mastery of drawing as realized in clearly outlined forms and his admiration for early Renaissance art encouraged him to join those who, in the mid-twenties, after the avant-garde, sought a kind of reassurance in tradition. The new classic style which emerged everywhere—in France, Germany, and Italy, and the art of Kolbe, Picasso, or Casorati—fascinated Medveczky as well. This proved to be the misfortune of his life. After the war all artists who had satisfied the requirements of official taste in Hungary in the thirties were discarded. In the thirties Medveczky worked on large panel paintings and awards and rewards had been heaped on him; his works were also sent to the Paris World Exhibition in 1936. And although this figurative painting with its pleasing colour effect could have very well been transformed into the realistic style honoured in the fifties, the label "novecentist" remained stuck to Medveczky. Although the *Concert* painted in 1945 showed that with his means of expression he would have been able to serve the new optimistic ideal as other neo-classicists did—Medveczky was stigmatized. This was the period when, in the shadow of his past successes, he created the most valuable works of his œuvre of which the exhibition gives an inkling.

His still-lifes painted with tempera or water-colours on miniature-sized paper did not bring formal innovations. And yet, the colour compositions and collages designed unpretentiously with fine sensitivity convey the idea of tenderness and intimacy, and reveal the artist's care and love for his craft. On a small scale in a miniature they remind one of the Mediterranean eternity of Braque's still-lifes and Medveczky, much

like Braque, draws no false line and is never insincere. These tiny masterpieces of balance and moderation radiate the personality of the artist who narrowed down his own scope of activity.

A late expressionist: János Miklós Kádár

It seems that this restraint is by now a thing of the past. It is in the nature of contemporary art to include propaganda and success among the inevitably necessary paraphernalia of the profession. Possibly absorption in one's work has become obsolete, along with traditional professional craftsmanship. How is it possible to create works in the absence of these two qualities which still stir the public? János Miklós Kádár's works provide the answer. The now 38-year-old painter has been much around, although this is only his second one-man show in the capital. The Csók Gallery exhibited 30 of his canvases in May, the result of one and a half years of work: Kádár is a prolific artist. His pictures show the influence of Lajos Sváby and Ignác Kokas.

János Miklós Kádár probably knows that he cannot compete with his masters. With broad and impetuous brushwork he paints forms fading into each other, seeking to express the feeling of homelessness and insecurity at the same time.

This impression, however, would be much stronger if the obliquely sliding trees and roughly sketched figures would not seem so accidental but would show a more determined compositional trend. When he uses more modest means *(Tide Lands, Midday Heat)* he successfully avoids all stumbling blocks and the sincere simplicity of his pictures make them more likeable and more convincing.

MÁRIA ILLYÉS

FROM IRIS PRINT TO IDOLS

Exhibitions of Tamás Hencze—Imre Bak—Pál Veress

"I think," claims Tamás Hencze, "that today the whole art of painting is traditional, including the avantgarde." If this be true, he himself is a traditional artist since he paints with oil on stretched canvas. In one respect he does not conform to tradition: instead of the brush or the spatula Hencze paints with a rubber roller. The effect thus obtained is something like the so-called iris print, only his pictures are not rainbow-coloured: they range from deep grey to an almost white light grey—these *sfumato* transitions are also traditional, they can already be found in Leonardo. And that is all. The colours, forms, and contents of his paintings are reduced to such an extent as to make him the representative of a specifically Hungarian "minimal art" which, at the same time, is specifically the style of Tamás Hencze.

Although he paints panel pictures the individual paintings are not independent but form parts of cycles, as indicated by the title of his exhibition in the Józsefváros Gallery of Budapest: *Visual Stories*. Although abstract, these stories are easy to understand. The first picture could be the signboard of the painter's craft: the three-phase line narrates the stretching of the snow-white, grounded canvas (stretched canvas). The others are oil paintings.

The first panel of the ten-piece series *Visual Story* is empty, the following ones become darker and darker with only a broad horizontal white stripe crossing the surface with iridescent blurred edges—much like the beam of a sharp reflector penetrating pitch-dark obscurity. After the blackest, most dramatic picture tension relaxes and, as a sudden climax, jumps from the lower third of the painting to its upper third. The first picture of the series *Vertical Division* is also empty, on the second appears a vertical band, on the third there are two, and so on, through six chapters. In this series no attempt is made to conceal the pictures' kinetic content: if somebody filmed it frame by frame it could probably be projected as a motion picture.

The cycle *A—2A—4A—8A* fascinates with its proportions. The size of the four pictures grows according to the law of mathematical progression: 50×50, 100×50 100×100 and 100×200 centimetres. Their choreography and message spring not only from this increase in size; dark turns into light, black into white, a certain mobile tendency.

Somuch about the "traditional" paintings. Hencze completed his exhibition with graphic and plastic, or better said, pseudo-graphic and pseudo-plastic works. Even this definition is not accurate enough: a somewhat elaborate description of the works is necessary. The artist paints 5 centimetres broad stripes with his roller: this iridescent Hencze-spectrum is black-yellow-grey-white. From the long stripe he cuts two metres or one and a half metres long segments according to his fancy. Nailed onto a folding-screen they become graphic works; if placed in the corner of a postament close to the edge of the prism or in the zigzag of the parquet the yellow stripe becomes a statue. (It is always just one stripe because that is minimal art.)

It may seem in the above analyses that I praised the ingenuity of the idea; but I find artistic realization much more important. Hencze's works are pure yet their result is not tin-hard geometry; the transitions of his tints reflect his ability to put on paint—to use the slang of artists. At the same time he is free from all lyricism. He has a sure sense of rhythm, and movement, although veiled, is present even in his static expressions. Looking at the medium-sized works of this exhibition we perceive a rare quality in the artist—a talent for monumentality. I would even say that the monumental panel, however difficult its realization, is most congenial to him. My colleague László Beke wrote in the preface to Hencze's catalogue: "Exact description cannot render one feature of these works: their elementary force." Art critics rarely use such big words of praise and even rarer are the occasions when such epithets are well-founded—as in this case.

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Imre Bak's older works were characterized by scrupulously meticulous and strictly geometrical compositions; his pictures consisted only of straight lines and semicircular arches, with sharp borderlines between their harmonizing or clashing colour patches, and individual fields of colour surrounded by thick black contours. These pictures had a soothing and abating effect, everything in them was calculated with the precision of an engineer, they were almost dry.

This exhibition at the Budapest Art Gallery shows that geometry is still present in Bak's art, the constituent elements of his pictures are still the straight line, the circle, and the semicircular arch, the distribution of the acrilic colour patches is as even as it was in the past, and his contours remain sharp. But his motifs have become richer, whereas the black dividing line has disappeared. "The black contour was destined to link the contrasting colours," said Imre Bak. "However, the centre is in fact invisible and so black is not the real solution." Now the colour fields meet nakedly. There is also something new in these pictures: they

are almost painfully symmetrical—one side is the reflection of the other. These big constructions—large size is another characteristic of these works—can be folded in two on a hinge. This is not intended as an artistic effect, although ti is in consonance with Bak's efforts towards symmetry—he mounted them like this for practical reasons, i.e. to pass these giants of 220 × 300 centimetres at least through the window of his studio.

There is another novelty: dryness, one of Bak's former characteristics, has disappeared from these pictures and, as far as possible in this style, there are even some traces of lyricism. Neither are associative elements absent from these pictures: the artist titled them accordingly *Sun-man-face*, *Sun-bull-face*, *Moon-bird-face*, etc. True, you can read into these figures the signs of the sun-disc, the full moon, the human eye, the nose, the pizzle but I still feel that these associations—although they make good picture titles—are alien from these paintings and do not fit into Bak's world. I think that the artist himself has discovered these image-evoking signs only after his works were completed. Even if he sought these are independent and complete in themselves without any ulterior motives. What does Imre Bak say? "The synthetic sign contains the concrete not by recalling it but by being analogous with it."

The compositions in this collection are simple in spite of their many-sidedness and the wealth of their symbols; their meaning is unambiguous even in black-and-white reproduction. Nevertheless the real interest of these pictures lies in their colours and colour combinations. "Nowadays," said Bak, "I try to create a sort of colour vibration. I put warm and cold reds of identical value beside each other and the result is a barely visible vibration..."

The *Sun-ball-face* represents the harmonies and disharmonies of lilac, green, blue, and flaming vermilion. On *Sun-man-face I* fiery orange and cold chrome yellow is completed with green, the colours of *Moon-man-face* are black, greenish-grey, and bluish-grey, thus the whole picture is built on variations of greys. *Sun-man-face I* has almost no colours, i.e. a dim bluish-grey and a diluted yellow reign over the picture.

Besides his paintings the artist exhibited a number of serigraphies on which he could gratify his desire for variation and mutation. He exhibited also experimental panels under the collective name of *Basic Visual Research*. The artist's photos, Conceptual Art series, and applied graphics (posters, jacket designs) make the exhibition complete. In the latter he could live out his inclination for almost pedantically pure composition.

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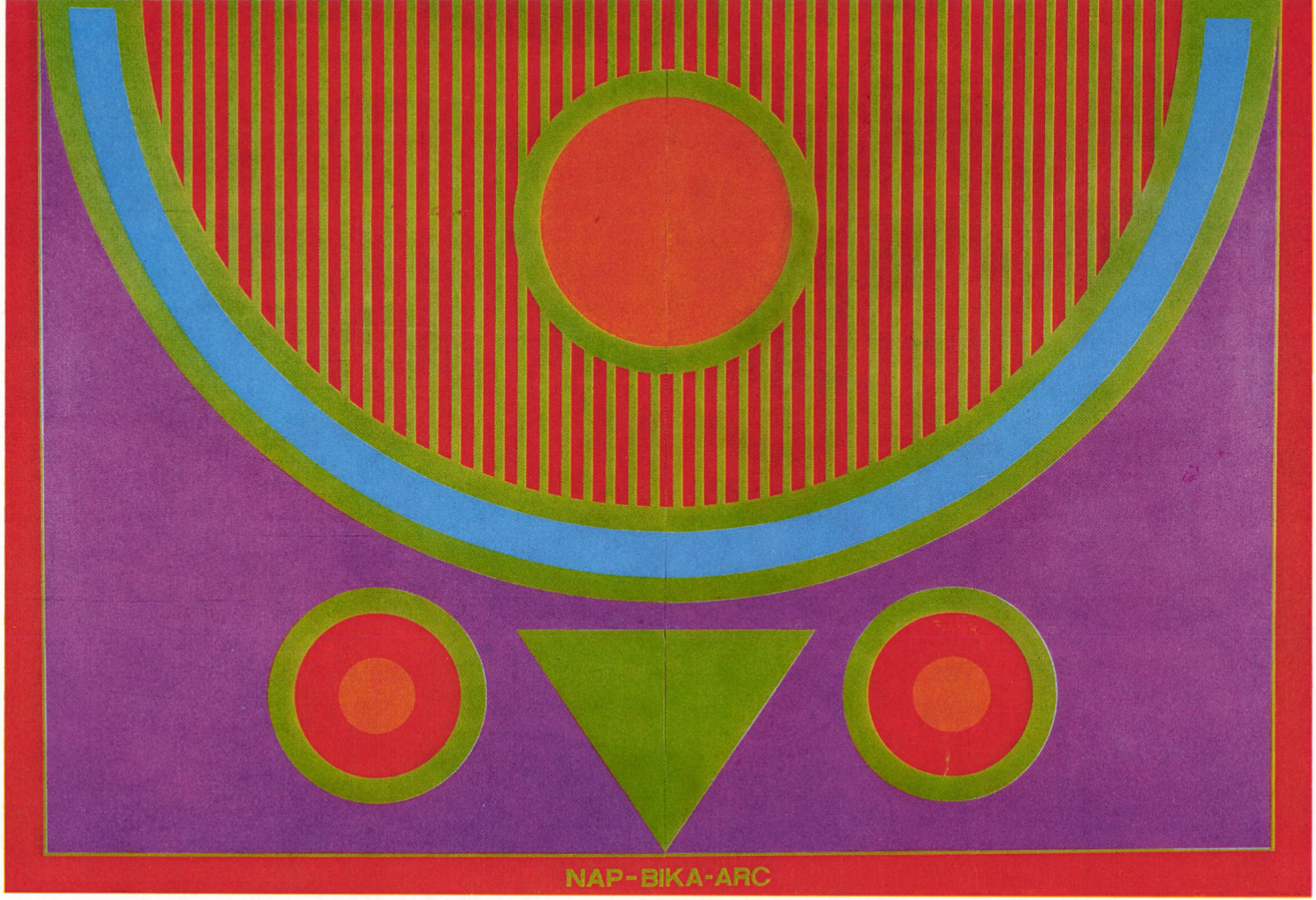
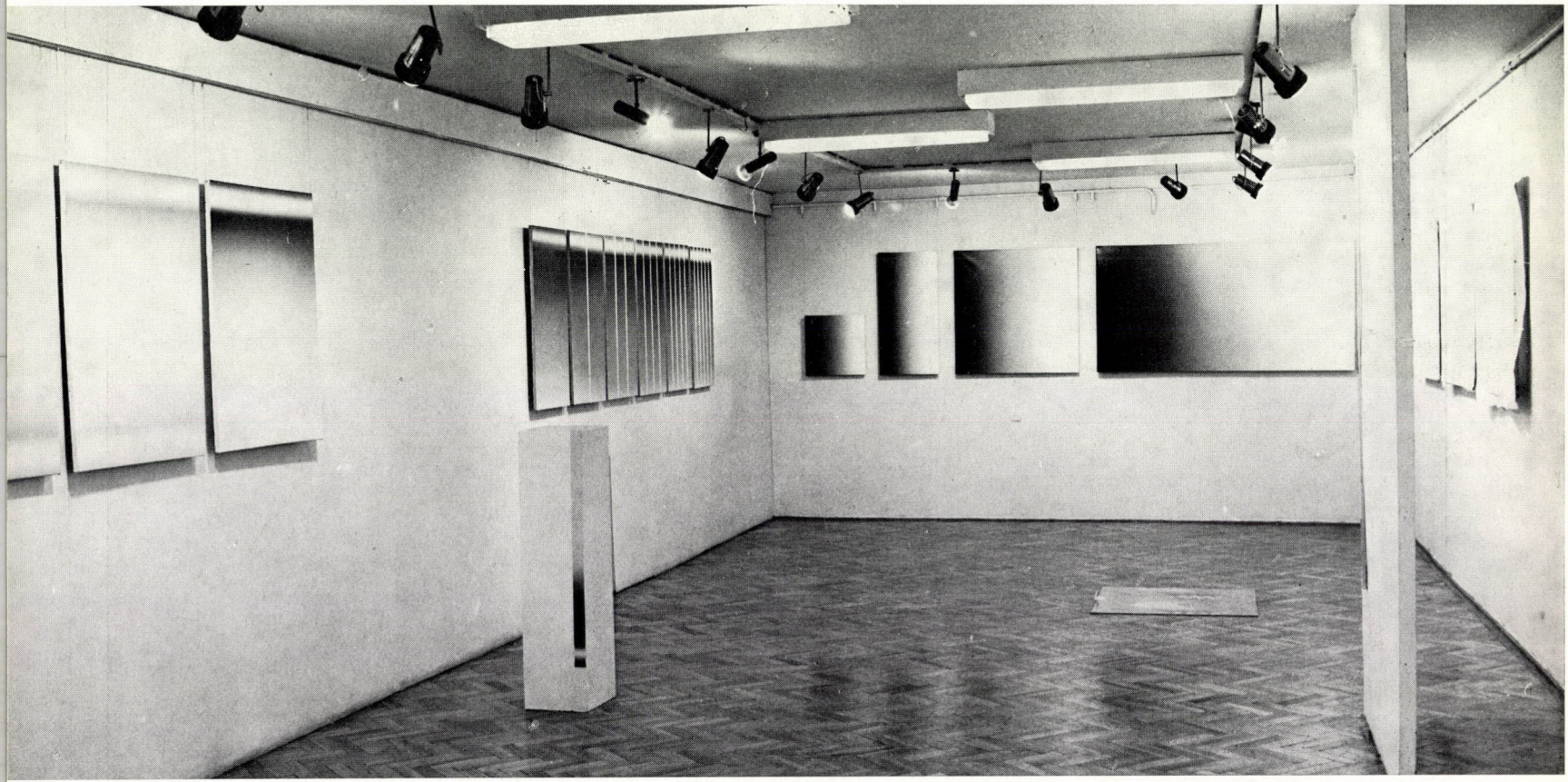
The old idols of Pál Veress had been shown approximately ten years ago in the Adolf Fényes Hall in Budapest: the present exhibition, entitled *The New Idols of Pál Veress*, gives a clear indication of its themes. This painter does not consider himself the successor of Greek art—his world consists of the giant stone columns of the late Stone Age, the menhirs, of pre-Columbian totem-poles, idols, maybe icons, of the Trecento saints, folk-art carvings, even scarecrows—the world of idols, as the artist describes them precisely or imprecisely. "This painter is humanist in the extreme," wrote the poet Sándor Weöres about Veress, "the source from which he draws is never nature but always a monument of culture."

His pictures, however abstract, are almost exclusively figures. His compositions are emphatically vertical, sometimes they remind one of geometrical figures, but their main characteristic is irregularity and sketchiness. His clinker reliefs are very interesting. Their peculiar technique is painting that goes beyond the borders of plastic art. Their effect reminds one of the rustic surface of rocks or rather of *sgraffito* technique chiselled out of the coloured mortar layers on buildings. Much in his paintings Veress has bridged the gap between the geometric



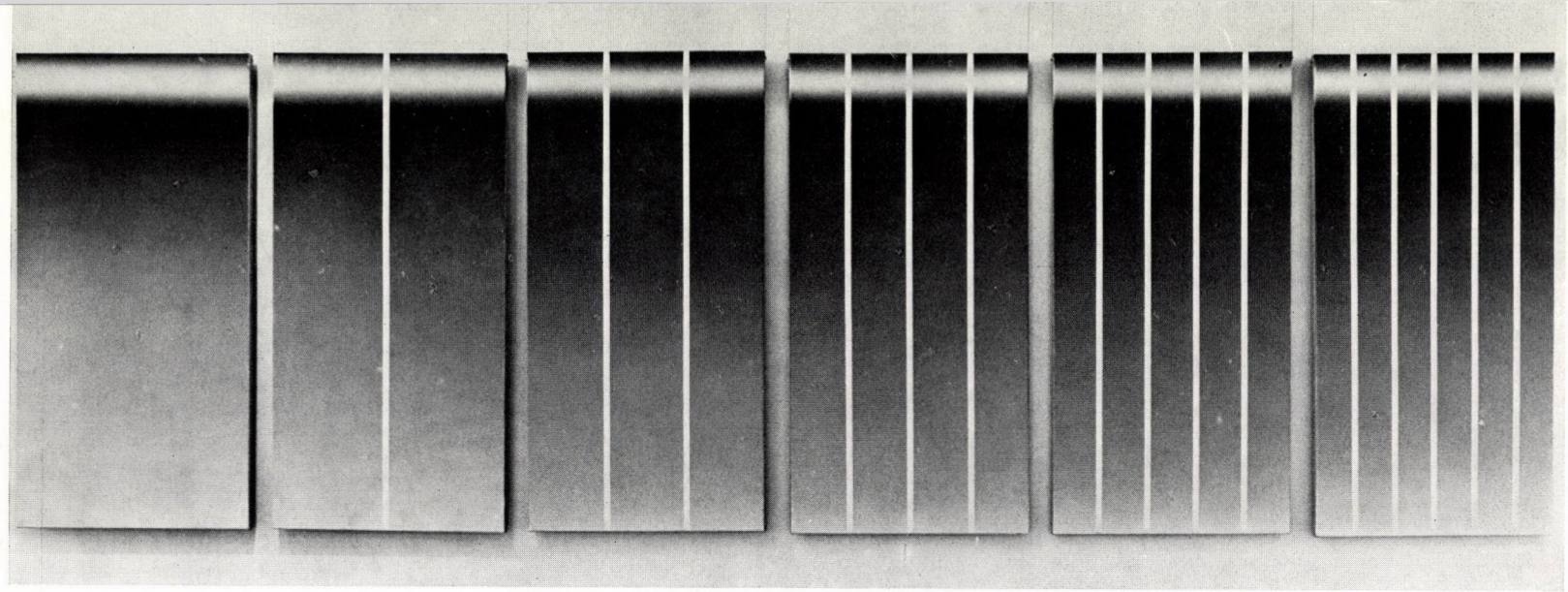
IMRE BAK: SUN-BULL-FACE (ACRILIC, 220×300 CM, 1977)

Károly Szelényi



TAMÁS HENCZE: INTERIOR FROM HIS EXHIBITION AT THE MŰCSARNOK 1977, A–, 2A–4A–8A

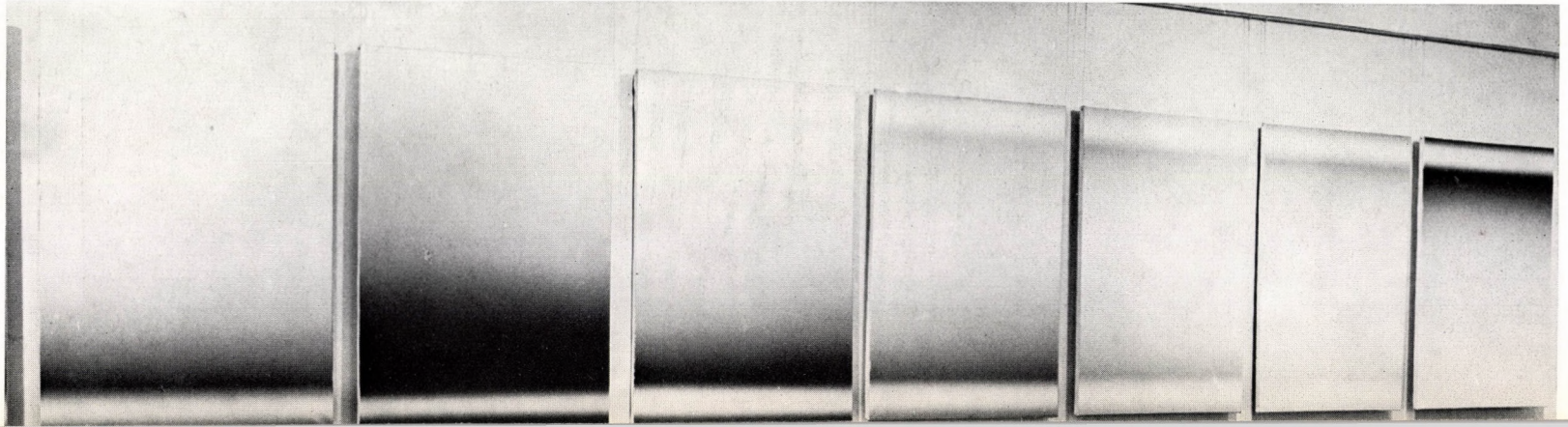
János Wahr



TAMÁS HENCZE: VERTICAL DIVISION (OIL, 1977)

TAMÁS HENCZE: VISUAL STORY (OIL, 1977)

János Wahr



PÁL VERESS: THREE FIGURES IN A LANDSCAPE (TEMPERA, 94.5 × 113.5 CM, 1974) *Károly Szelényi*

and the sensory line, on these clinker reliefs he reconciled the contrast of intensive colour and colour-reduction. The colours of the reliefs would be lively, but the light-absorbing optical effect of the rough surface dims them.

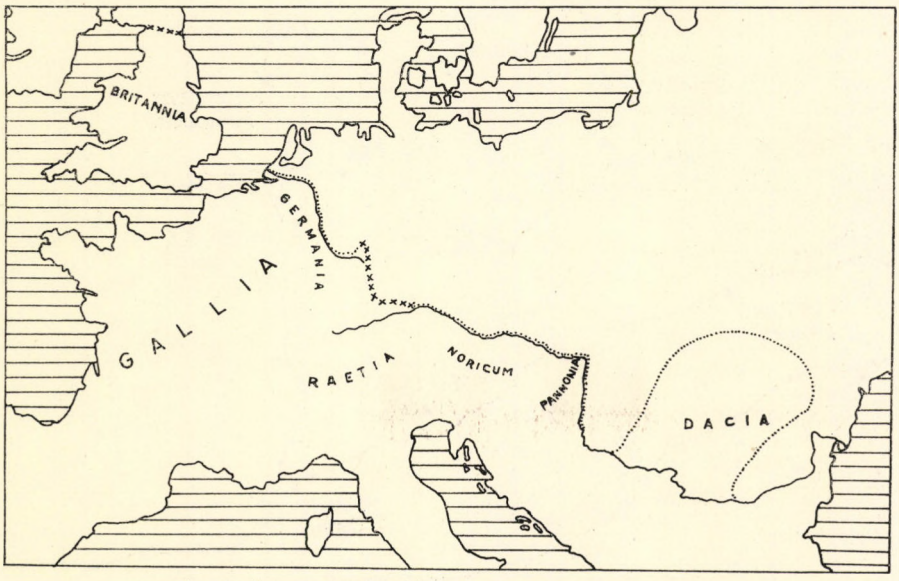
The newest works show that the artist has returned to oil and tempera: he lays colours thinly on hard wood-fibre sheets. His most interesting new work is the monumental *Three Figures in the Landscape*. Three characteristically Veress fetishes are in front of a background consisting of a system of horizontal stripes with a colour scheme of lilac, brown, ochre, and paprika red. This ensemble is much more like a homespun rug than a work of the "grand art."

Veress, however, does not seek rarity and sensation with his fetishes and signs. They are only the media to express his message sincerely and fascinatingly.

JÁNOS FRANK

LIMES CONGRESS IN SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR

At the height of its power the frontiers of the Roman Empire extended from Scotland to the Tigris, from there to Mauretania, covering in length a distance of over 10,000 kilometres. This extremely long frontier, whose extension vies with the borders of the Soviet Union, was in itself an important factor in the life of the Empire around the Mediterranean. For the inhabitants of the flourishing ancient cities of Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Africa the army assured lasting internal peace, or, on the other hand, the turmoil of temporary civil wars. To the people of the frontier provinces the presence of soldiers and fortifications, consisting of stockades or stone constructions, did not only mean day-to-day protec-



The Northern frontier of the Roman Empire at its greatest extent

tion from the ever-recurring raids and pillaging of the Barbarians, but at the same time they furthered the economic growth of the cities and landed estates, and also the livelihood and social advancement of the sons of the destitute peasantry. This is why archaeological investigation of the ancient world, aside from unearthing classical remains, has laid special emphasis on the *limes*, and all that belongs to the frontier defences adapted to the geographical conditions, to strength, nature, and the tactics of the enemy; not to mention the military posts, watch-towers, palisades and strategic routes; the troops there garrisoned and their history and relics; the organization, constitution, and armament of the military as well as its personnel; wars, campaigns, the troops, and their soldiers; the career, parentage, social background, economic position, and religious practices of the officers and men.

The individual *limes* sections were essentially unlike not only in their system, but also in the number of their establishments and their equipment. Their destinies also differed in view of the destructive wars and the efforts at reconstruction. Later on a different fate was in store for their relics, once excavation work was on the way. The earliest organized digs were on the Britannic, Germanic, and Raetian *limes*, and even today these are the most advanced. Things worked out differently in the provinces of the Danubian regions, in the East, and in Africa. The gradual evening-up of the standards of excavation did not begin until

The Roman *limes* from Vienna to Belgrade ● = the main towns in Pannonia; ■ = Towns with military camps; • = Small settlements along the *limes*, with camps for auxiliary troops.

the last twenty-five years, and this process has been significantly aided by *limes* congresses organized every two or three years since 1949. These *limes* congresses have become the most important international forums of excavation work carried out on the *limes* and in Roman provincial archeology generally.

In the years between 1949 and 1974 Great Britain has three times been the venue for the congress; it was held twice in the Federal Republic of Germany (on one occasion jointly with the Netherlands), and once in Switzerland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Israel. Aside from a survey of the latest results, no less emphasis has been assigned to visiting the local fortifications, posts, and watch-towers of the *limes*, and inspecting new excavations. The ten congresses organized until 1974 afforded an opportunity for getting acquainted with the most intensively investigated borders—with the exception of the Hungarian and the Bulgarian *limes* sections—from Britain to the Danube delta and, moreover, for traversing the Israeli stretch which has also thoroughly been explored.

After these antecedents Hungarian *limes* research somewhat belatedly undertook to organize the eleventh congress. This delay, however, is not, by any means, due to lack of research or insignificance of results. No doubt Hungarian research could not, regardless of the initiative taken, organize the sort of systematic excavations which proved to be so effective in Germany and Austria in the form of the Limes-Kommission. The earliest sporadic excavations, generally due to the enthusiasm of one particular scholar, commenced in Leányvár and Pilismarót before the First World War, but because of the hardships of the war period, they were subsequently discontinued. Excavations did not begin afresh until the '30s when the Hungarian National Museum, under the leadership of István Paulovics, did noteworthy things in the legionary camp of Brigetio, in the *castellums* of Intercisa and Campona, and at Nógrádverőce, while the Historical Museum of Budapest, under the guidance of Lajos Nagy, and subsequently of Tibor Nagy, carried out excavations in Aquincum and its environs, in the camp of Ulcisia Castra.

After the Liberation discoveries were made with increasing vigour, especially in the '50s, when the excavation of the late-Roman fortification at Visegrád was begun (1951–52), while from 1970 onward the extension, walls, portals, inner buildings, and military stations of the encampments of Albertfalva, Campona, Matrica, Vetus Salina, and Intercisa, together with the periods of the building operations were studied. Later research also included the northern reach of the Danube: Quadrata and Ad Statuas, Azaum, and the late-Roman encampment of Tokod. The architectural reconstruction of Óbuda since 1969 made the location of the portals, walls, and several interior buildings of the legionary camp possible. Of no less singnificance was the detailed exploration of the fourth-century defence system of the Danube Bend between Esztergom and Aquincum, and the excavation and interpretation of the fourth-century *limes Sarmaticus*, which is identical with what is known today as Csörszárok, or Devil's Ditch. Parallel with the study of the *limes*, the examinations of the fortifications inside Roman territory have also made headway. Of the much-debated late-Roman fortified settlements, a minor dig has been carried out in Ságvár, while in Keszthely and Alsóhetény-puszta excavations lasting several years and still incomplete were in progress. Of the early camps the two *castrums* of Gorsium deserve a mention. Even this brief and incomplete survey of the research done makes it evident that, in spite of the numerous undiscovered places (between Intercisa and the southern frontier of the country the results are as yet minimal). Hungarian research of the past three decades can refer to results which are outstanding, even on an international scale.

At the invitation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences the 11th International Limes Congress was held in Székesfehérvár, between August 30 and September 6, 1976. A hundred and twenty-seven scholars from 19 countries took part and 62 reports were delivered, some at plenary sessions, and most of them in two parts. The 1st section dealt with frontier defence, the history of units, weaponry, and various economic and civilian subjects. The reports read in the 2nd section dealt with the individual *limes* sections and the excavation of legionary and auxiliary camps. Seven lectures covered work done in Britain. Apart from the new excavations amongst which an account by E. Birley of work done at Vindolanda in particular deserves to be mentioned, Agricola's third and fourth military expeditions (W. S. Hanson), the fortifications of the age of Hadrian (G. Simpson) and those of the age of Anthony (D. J. Breeze), as well as the British campaign of Septimius Severus (J. Wilkes), have been put in a new light. D. Moore compared the Roman frontier policy in Wales with that of the Normans.

Eight papers were given on the excavations under way in the territories of Germania Inferior, Germania Superior, and of Raetia, the late-Roman fortification of Furtooz (R. Brulet), the opening-up of the camp of Miltenberg-Altstadt (B. Beckmann), the water system of the camp of Oberstimm (H. Schönberger), the fourth-century buildings of Jechtingen (R. M. Swoboda), and the new excavations carried out on the Southern Raetian *limes* (S. Rieckhoff). Among the summaries the one by J. Mertens on the organizations of the *limes Belgicus* attracted attention, together with H. J. Kellner's account of a new Bavarian treasure-trove.

Of the nine papers on Noricum and Pannonia two dealt with the Roman articles found in those parts of the Barbaricum which are now in Czechoslovakia, and the late-Roman bulwark of Cifer-Pác, which lies in front of the *limes*. Of the papers relating to Pannonia that of W. Jobst was particularly interesting. He gave an account of the shrines of Pfaffenberg, above Carnuntum, and raised the possibility of the Capitol of Carnuntum having been situated there. M. Speidel discussed the Pannonian units which took part in the Mauretanian war of Antonius Pius, while J. W. Eadie summed up all the available data concerning the corps stationed in the environs of Sirmium and the Syrmian *limes* section. A Hungarian find, an ornamental shield-boss from Brigetio, provided the subject of a paper by H. Klumbach.

The southern *limes* was covered by six reports. B. H. Isaac discussed, in connection with the Iudaean milestones, the problem of the *territorium*, while B. H. Warmington went into the details of the Persian war of Constantius II. P. E. Beskow spoke about the spread of Mithraism, and J. Liebeschuetz traced the growth of Syrian Christianity.

Another eight papers illuminated, military aspects of Macedonia and Sardinia, or covered the question of several provinces and auxiliary units. R. Reece looked into the question of money circulated on the *limes*, while E. Weber reported on a new facsimile edition of the Tabula Peutingeriana. The most significant report in this line was the one by H. V. Petrovich, who dealth with the structures connected with the victualling of the legions.

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Following a decision by the organizing committee of the congress no Hungarian scholar held a lecture. However, on the eve of the all-day excursions, which interrupted the reports, summarizing surveys were read on the *limes* section between Brigetio and Esztergom, on Tokod, the Danube Bend, and Aquincum.

The eight-day congress devoted three full and three half days to excursions. Added to this were a four-day ante- and a three-day post-outing. It was primarily through these

tours that the Hungarian *limes* research contributed to the work of the congress.

The first excursion started from the erstwhile major town of Pannonia Superior, Carnuntum, where apart from the Museum Carnuntinum, the new excavations were inspected including the newly uncovered part of the Palace Ruins, a Jupiter shrine on Pfaffenberg, the assumed Capitol of Carnuntum, identified by the numerous sculpture fragments and inscriptions found there, as well as the restarted excavation of the camp.

Sopron was the first Hungarian stop of the tour. After looking at the monumental statues of the Trias of the Capitol in the Fabriczius House, the colossal town-gate of Scarbantia, dug up and treated in recent years and the Roman city-wall discovered under the medieval walls were presented.

In Szombathely the party looked at the ruins, the local section of the Amber Road, the Imperial Palace that had been wrongly interpreted for some time, the third-century Iseum and the *lapidarium* of the Savaria Museum.

In the fourth-century reinforced settlements of Fenékpuszta the wall and portal, fortified with round turrets, that were reconstructed a few years ago, were inspected. The programme included the museums of Keszthely and Tihany, and the frescoes and mosaics in the Bakony Museum of Veszprém, which came from Baláca.

The excursions during the congress enabled the participants to view the entire *limes* section from Brigetio to Annamatia (Baracs). During the course of the first excursion the site of the fourth-century reinforced settlement of Környe and its vicinity were presented by Dénes Gabler, who also discussed the camp at Solva, supposed to be under the Royal Castle of Esztergom. The most important sight of the programme was the late-Roman camp of Tokod, whose walls and *horreum* have been preserved in their entirety. After that the camp site at Nyergesújfalu and the Roman stonework remains section and the Domokos Kuny Museum's exhibition in the castle of Tata were shown to visitors. The second excursion encompassed the Roman defence of the Danube Bend: the camp-site of Ulcisia Castra (Szentendre) and the stonework museum finds located there, then the fourth-century watch-tower of Leányfalu, the new excavation of the late-Roman camp on Sibrik Hill in Visegrád and the *limes* exhibition on the occasion of the congress in the Solomon Tower, the visible ruins of Castra ad Herculem (Pilismarót) and its surroundings, and finally the fourth-century camp-site of Hideglelőskereszt. The excavations, the remains, and the *lapidarium* finds at Szentendre were introduced by Sándor Soproni. The ongoing excavations of the legionary camp of Aquincum and its grounds containing ancient remains converted to museum use, the remains of the civic town, the Museum of Aquincum and its *lapidarium* and the Roman exhibition of the Historical Museum of Budapest were the stopping points of a third excursion. The *limes* portion south of Aquincum was the destination of two shorter excursions. On one occasion the camp-site of Adony (Vetus Salina) and the excavations of Nagytétény (Campona) were inspected, followed by a look at the archaeological exhibition being prepared by the National Museum, and its large Roman *lapidarium*. On another occasion the programme included the camp of Intercisa and its Roman *lapidarium* museum, and an exhibition of aerial photographs taken of the fortifications of the Lower Pannonian *limes*, followed by a visit to the camp-site of Baracs (Annamatia). A half-day excursion was devoted to presenting Gorsium. The excavation of the northern *fossa* and portal of the 2nd military post was completed for the occasion.

The excursion organized after the congress led to the southern *limes* section, from Annamatia to the country's frontier. The low water-level of the Danube enabled the participants to examine the walls of Contra

Florentiam on the left bank. Those present were guided around the site of Kömled (Altinum) by Ferenc Fülep.

In Pécs amongst the excavated fourth-century tombs and sepulchral structures participants had the opportunity to inspect the ancient Christian sepulchral chapel. Here too the scrutiny of ancient monuments was rendered complete by a visit to the archaeological exhibition and *lapidarium* of the Janus Pannonius Museum. In Ságvár, the last stop, the site of a fourth-century reinforced settlement and the remains of its walls were viewed.

To mark the occasion of the congress several exhibitions were arranged: in Székesfehérvár (Roman statuary in Pannonia), in Dunaújváros (aerial photographs of the *limes* portion of Pannonia Inferior), in Aquincum (a new permanent exhibition), in Visegrád (a Roman system of fortification in the Danube Bend), and in the Historical Museum of Budapest (the newest results of the excavation of the legionary camp of Aquincum, 1973–76). The organizing body, the King Stephen Museum—with the assistance of László Barkóczi, Endre Biró, Jenő Fitz, Dénes Gabler, András Mócsy, Tibor Nagy, Klára Póczy, Rezső Pusztai, Sándor Soproni, and Zsolt Visy—published a detailed guide of the Hungarian *limes* section, under the title "Der römische Limes in Ungarn."

At a final session held in the Castle of Buda the plenary meeting of the congress accepted an invitation to Scotland for 1979.

JENŐ FITZ

MUSICAL LIFE

ZSOLT DURKÓ'S MOSES OPERA

The Bible has given subjects to Michelangelo, Madách, Mann, Schoenberg. It is a source of symbols that are always those of the day and can be interpreted in the manner of the day. Whoever delves into it wants to say something essential about the world, something different or in a way different to the others. Zsolt Durkó has undertaken this in his first opera. "The composer of an opera only has the right to experiment in interest of his piece," he pointed out in an interview. The word "experiment" does not refer to the idiom ("I think that one cannot learn a new musical idiom while writing an opera...") but it is necessary in connection with the artistic form; the genre willy-nilly refers to tradition in this respect, it determines the character of the work at the very beginning, as it were invisibly.

What lies behind Durkó's *Moses*, is not Italian (Monteverdi, Verdi), German (Wagner), Russian (Moussorgsky) opera (all three dealt with the problem of leader and people in their own way) but Bartók's unique and exceptional example. It does not develop as a constellation of set pieces, it is not a drama placed in the flow of orchestral sound or depicted as monumental combination of sight and sound on stage. This is a succession of *tableaux vivants*, epic rhythm, ballad-like discontinuity, and lyric emotions: in the words of the composer: "Opera is music for me in the first place; while working on it, I tried to make sure that the source of stage action should be musical action; the nature, shape, and life of the characters should derive from the nature of the musical stuff." That is why Durkó himself wrote the libretto, inspired by the Bible and Madách. The libretto does not get the work off the ground either by dramatic rhythm or verbal strength. It is rather a starting-point, an occasion for music, setting the musical imagination to work. The libretto which takes its cue from the turning-points of the biblical story is discontinuous, largely offering signals only and often obscure. It leaves the reader-listener to the logic of an otherwise known story, its interpretation only becomes clear in its context. What is the essence of this interpretation, what does the text of *Moses* tell us?

The libretto

In a gifted man, who was brought up in a strange country as a stranger and whom the historical situation made a slave-holder of his own people, his mother arouses the call of the blood and makes him understand his mission. This mission is a double one; it means liberation of the people, later guiding them to the Promised Land but it also means an agreement concluded with God, the creation and guarding of the law. The Moses of the libretto is the man of the law.

He holds the whip, and punishes his people who lose their faith in the desert, and though he is not a person obsessed with the idea of Madách's Moses ("People are the means, I am the Executor"), he kills and sends thousands into exile. He is not obsessed only with the idea but also with power; a leader who strikes down those who stone him with the thunderbolt of his celestial ally. There is no amazement around him which is due to the wonder-worker—and there is none in the opera—and his way is not lit up by the light of the idea—and the libretto seems to refrain from such ideologies—we are nevertheless not able to respond to the charge of his opponents; has he the right to write his own dreams with the blood of others? Should we then take the other side? Should we join the wavering crowd whose maturing as a nation is not expressed in the libretto and thus, in the last scene the survivors can continue on their way to Canaan only by right of the sufferings of their fathers. The new leader Joshua cannot absolve Moses even through the "grace" of the recognized historical necessity. He remains alone in the desert as sole "owner" of the truth. (Madách's Joshua closes the play as follows: "...do not believe that this age of mourning was barren.—No, no, the new will be born of that whose torment was only its own—its flower will be ours..." Durkó's Joshua concludes: "...we, young ones, have survived but a whole generation died... a useless death.") Luckily, music interprets some too uncertain possibilities of the libretto in a much more definite way: in the fate of the people it underlines the afflictions of life and the pain of suffering. It makes a man of Moses using motives like, despair, hope, and loneliness.—The figure of the mother moves between these two leading characters (Sylvia Sass, Ilona Tokody—the opera is performed with alternate casts) who is the most successful character of the opera. She is more than Moses' conscience and mouthpiece of the better self of the people; it is unfortunate that she disappears by the third act. Abiram is also clearly outlined (Csaba Ötvös, Gábor Németh), he is not an intriguer but an opponent who lacks an ally. Music also turns the dramatic role of Joshua (Sándor Palcsó, Győző Leblanc) into something unambiguous, showing the affection and compassion of the disciple. A bull's eye of the music drama—that is how Durkó describes his work—is the identification of voice of the Lord with that of Moses. This preserves the work from pseudo-pathos and bombast and lends depth to the character of the leader. The figure of Aaron has not really intrigued the Hungarian composer; the problem which concerned Arnold Schoenberg in his own *Moses and Aaron* was not raised by Durkó. (The inconceivable idea and its demonstration sensible to everyone—its illustration, the dilemma of stammering truth and rhetorical speech making miracles visible.)

The musical material

The musical structure of the opera is built on an unbroken system of motive intonations.

The musical score is blended with returning motifs connected with persons, situations, and moods. There is music of the stars, the desert, and there is music of fire, the carving of the table of the law, of power, and of the orgy; we recognize the personal and human theme of Moses, the sound-picture of crying and yammering is as unambiguous as the sharp, pricking motif of the soldiers. These phrases are different also within the mature, homogeneous idiom and style of Durkó. They make exact which must be made exact, they refer to themselves, to their variations, to each other. But they do not adjust themselves to the dimensions of the stage. Construction on a small scale, musical stuff which lives and develops in micro-organisms does not seem to work well in the world of opera. Are the current thematical contrasts as well

as minimal differences in tempo and nuances of intonations sufficient to lend individual features to everyone? Is it not the composer who speaks with everyone's lips? While we can watch the development of the musical bud in an organismo or psychogram (these are typical form-cells of Durkó's instrumental works) practically under the microscope, the stage requires an unambiguous, intensive effect lasting for several minutes, a texture and technique of development which fills these large, impressive areas. The relation of the singers' and instrumental parts reinforces this. Durkó who has only recently reached the human voice offers magnificent melodies to the singers at decisive places, in the place of the old arias. This is the virtue of his work. To emphasize the vocal parts, he provides only thin instrumental support. The score makes great demands on musicians. It is not really polyphonous, it does not roll symphonically, and lacks its own formal life. This gives us a feeling that the music is fragile in places, the many small stitches make the music rough and laboured. This makes the director's work difficult. What is a singer to do, waiting for his cue in the middle of his own "aria"?

This is not only a question of technique but rather of temperament. Lyricism dominates *Moses*. There are possibilities of sharp dramatic conflicts and simultaneous contrasts as well in the score and there is a promising stuff before the end of the golden calf scene, with muttering rhythm of characters beating the ground; but owing to the small scale, because of a signal system which lacks a stage rhythm it cannot grow properly.

The performance

The experience is too fresh for me to form an opinion regarding the connection between work and performance. I do not know how much the musical coaching which is very careful helped to underline the differences of rhythm. Tamás Koncz sticks to the score, András Kórodi's interpretation is more lively and expressive. I do not know how the big crowd-scene of the second act would impress in the hands of another director, stage-designer, and choreographer. (These are the results of work which lasted nearly four years. The work by a composer writing his first opera, without stage experience, was directed by András Mikó with all his faith and experience together with Gábor Forray, Nelly Vágó, and László Seregi.)

I do know that the music of Durkó's *Moses* deeply moves in a few decisive moments by its moral gravity, strength of mood, and polish. Let me refer to the most essential moments. The music of the mother is alive, dramatic, especially in the splendid rendition of Sylvia Sass. Instrumental interludes have dramatic functions especially those in which the crescendi expand as between the opening and thorn bush scene of the first act. The end of the first act is very pleasant: the vision of the people who start moving in the direction of hopes, the parting waters, calmly and nearly with resignation, replacing Handel's thundering miracle. In my opinion, the organ-voice of the law is appropriate, the dialogue is significant between the singer in the title-role in tenor and his own baritone-electrolized voice, as if it were the voice of the Lord. I like the chorus themes, parts of them referring to the Hungarian chorus traditions as well as the fresh effects which were taught by Ferenc Nagy in more than 150 rehearsals. And apart of its textual interpretation, nearly the whole third act was very impressive together with the moment of the thunderbolt which worked unambiguously. Furthermore, the aspects of Moses growing old trying to reach the hand of Joshua were moving as well as the music of the twilight farewell which lights up the whole work. Things like that are not question of style, or dramatic skill but of poetic gift and talent.

GYÖRGY KROÓ

NEW RECORDS FROM RENAISSANCE MUSIC TO BRAHMS

A few years ago I took the liberty of telling readers why I only praise Hungarian records in this periodical—yet I feel that I must add some fresh remarks.

The point is that the Hungarian Recording Company (Hungaroton) issues a rather large number of recordings. At best perhaps only a fifth or a tenth of them can be discussed here. Quite naturally I do not select those that are inferior either for reasons of sound technique, or musically. Why should I draw the attention of readers to records which are not worth hearing? If I might be permitted a moment in a less serious vein, I should like to tell an old story:

Béla Salamon—a popular Hungarian prewar comedian was once asked to dine. Like most Hungarians he was fond of his food. Suddenly Salamon exclaimed with tremendous enthusiasm: "My dear Madame, I have never before eaten a cutlet so delicious"! The hostess blushing as red as a beet root replied: "Oh come, now Béla, you're just giving me some blarney!" Béla Salamon again: "But Madame! Did I say as much as a word about the soup?"

Well, that's my way!

GEMS OF RENAISSANCE MUSIC. Camerata Hungarica, leader: László Czidra Hungaroton (Stereo-Mono) SLPX 11720

Twenty-seven performers joined forces to present twenty-five works: the ensemble named Camerata Hungarica is a most flexible ensemble, its composition varies according to the occasion. László Czidra, who is in charge is a versatile musician. Earlier he was the principal oboist of a major Hungarian symphony orchestra. On this record we hear him first as a recorder player, but he also performs on the baroque oboe. His splendid improvising ability, as well as his familiarity with 16th century instrumental music determines not only his own playing, but also the crystal clear and lively sound image of the whole ensemble.

I must confess: one element gives me qualms to some extent. The programme notes on the record sleeve were written by me, thus I too had a hand, although a remote one, in the present form of the record. However, it is to be hoped that all this does not make it improper for me to write about this beautiful record.

No doubt those who are familiar with Renaissance music generally know that several kinds of forms of a given piece of music existed in the 16th moreover, in the first half of the 17th century. One can hardly speak about a given "piece". The self-same choral work appeared perhaps, in a (part book) form for an instrumental ensemble, lute, or for that matter, in a keyboard instrument version.

Around 1500 a few "favoured" melodies made their appearance. In the course of the years they underwent legions of elaborations. Moreover—and it was this very feature which thrilled us when compiling the material of the record—a good number of melodies made their appearance which followed the melodic line of the widely popular earlier song. Whether the later "plagializer" composer, to use a contemporary expression, made use of this older song deliberately or unconsciously to construct his own melody, cannot be unequivocally said.

The musical material of the record focuses on three types of melody in its "sounding investigations": 1. Heinrich Isaac's *Innsbruck ich muss dich lassen*, for chorus, 2. a chanson *Susanne un jour d'amour solicitée*, and 3. the psalm *In te Domine speravi* by Josquin Desprez. The melody starting with the words marked 2. was arranged by many, among them Orlando di Lasso; his five-voice setting became the most popular.

The most varied career was undoubtedly that of the melody marked 1.: it appeared in J. S. Bach's St. Matthewo and St. John's Passions (*Wer hat dich so geschlagen*, and *Ich bin's ich sollte büssen* respectively, and in numerous other places usually beginning *O Welt ich muss dich lassen*). Isaac's melody belongs to the realm of basic Lutheran choralo. There are indications that it was found suitable for a dance tune also at that time—this is shown by piece of Dutch origin from 1551 which begins this record. The melody above marked 2. inspired John Dowland to write his *Mr. Buckton's Galiard*—or did he just hit upon it by chance?

The most obvious and perhaps must surprising identity for the listener of our times, however, refers to the melody marked 3. which becomes transformed from a psalm, without any changes whatever (or at least hardly altered at all) into a dance piece. The second side of the disc begins with this.

It would take me pages to describe the performance by Camerata Hungarica. To be brief one can say: László Czidra successfully avoids the two greatest pitfalls in the performance of Renaissance music: an archaizing-museal, and a modernizing performance which seeks to reinterpret the material radically. In his use of instruments he is never orthodox. Beside the family of recorders we also find the "cromorne" family, as well as modern strings. László Czidra is aware that the ancient types of the modern violin—which to the ear hardly differ from the master violins produced in the second half of the 17th century—came into existence already at the end of the 16th century, therefore there is no reason to banish them from the music of the late Renaissance. The most captivating feature of this record is improvision, and the practice of improvised ornamentation, of which, besides Czidra, Zsuzsa Pertis (harpsichord) is the finest master. At most the countertenor will evoke a bit of criticism—in Hungary this vocal technique is not as highly developed as in England.

Despite the virtual mass production of recordings containing Renaissance music today I still make bold to recommend this new one.

BÁLINT (VALENTINE) BAKFARK, The Complete Lute Music (2) Dániel Benkő (lute) Hungaroton (Stereo-Mono) SLPX 11817

In the last NHQ I reported that a complete edition of lute works by Valentine Bakfark (1507–1576) is being published by Editio Musica in Budapest. I mentioned that the complete material of the first, the Lyon Lute Book (1553) appeared as edited by István Homolya and Dániel Benkő. This record features one of the editors as performer. I reported years ago on his first Bakfark record, which won the record critics' prize in England in 1976. This provided the incentive for Hungaroton to issue a complete Bakfark with Benkő at the lute.

The first disc bore in mind, to a certain extend, the requirements of popularity and unambiguousness. In the case of the second, however, this position could no longer be maintained. Among the numerous lute masters of the 16th century Bakfark was one of the few who did not care for popularity. It remains a mystery to this day how in spite of this he became the most noted lute master of the age.

The material of this second disc gives the performer an enormous task—but it is no more sparing of the listener, either. The intavolatura of Nicolas Gombert's four-voice motet, but particularly the five-voice motet *Hierusalem luge* by Jean Richafort, as well as the six-voice motet *Benedicta es* by Loyset Pieton, even in their original, vocal form were among the most difficult pieces of the first half of the 16th century; but just consider all this adapted for the lute, virtually without any alterations! The voices in these works move independently, each presents an individual melodic configuration, which then finally resound together in a varied, but always pure chord. The performer has to accomplish a consonance,

and the road which leads to the chord as well.

Dániel Benkő undertook and fulfilled this exceptional task both in respect to music history, and as an instrumental performer. His playing is characterized by a free style, profound musicianship and virtuosity. He is far from every kind of asceticism besides the place of ascetics is the desert, and not the recording studios, or on a concert hall, and he splendidly accomplishes the motets —as well as all the madrigal of the Verdelot— and the Janequin works featured on the record. He phrases and interprets daringly, but without thereby disrupting the forms of the works. Nevertheless, for a complete understanding and grasp there is no harm in having at hand the Valentini Bakfark Opera omnia I (Editio Musica, Budapest) in which the entire material of the disc may be found.

Besides the above mentioned intavolaturas the Lute Fantasias No. 3, and 4—according to Ottó Gombosi's classification—lend Benkő's record exceptional value. These works are Bakfark's own, yet their technique of composition differs not a bit from that of the motets: they are four-voice compositions formulated according to the rules of strict counterpoint. I consider the Lute Fantasia No. 4 outstanding even with respect to the whole disc.

Lovers of Renaissance music might welcome Dániel Benkő's series of recordings even for the fact that the artistry of Bakfark's work features only occasionally in the repertoire of even the most outstanding lutenists. To use a contemporaneous expression there is something of the *Musica reservata* in this art, that is the art for the élite, the chosen few. I recommend this record first of all to them.

JOHANNES BRAHMS Chamber Music (2) 1) Quartet for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello in G minor, Op. 25. 2) Quartet for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello in A major, Op. 26. 3) Quintet for Piano, Two Violins, Viola and Cello in F minor, Op. 34. 4) Quartet for Piano, Violin, Viola and Cello in C minor, Op. 60. 5) Quintet for Clarinet, Two violins, Viola and Cello in B minor, Op. 115.

Csilla Szabó (1) István Lantos (2) Dezső Ránki (3) Sándor Falvai (4) (piano) Béla Kovács (5) (clarinet), with the Bartók Quartet, (Péter Komlós, violin; Sándor Devich, violin; Géza Németh, viola; Sándor Botvay, cello) Hungaroton (Stereo-Mono) SLPX 11596–7–8–9–600

In the last quarter of the 20th century we listen to the music of Brahms with unceasing, in fact, with steadily increasing delight. It is most interesting that we generally accept this without even endeavouring to seek an answer to how it could have happened that Brahms is now so "in".

There is something in the attitude of this great master of the old, great North German masters' (Buxtehude, Reincken, etc.) dark grandeur—and all this appears with a sort of wonderful longing in him. Particularly from the time that he went to live in Vienna (a North German Protestant in Catholic Vienna!), thus from the beginning of the 'eighties his tone became quite unique: a sort of passionate search for a lost, and now never-to-be found affinity. This lends the Brahmsian subjectivity a kind of special flavour, atmosphere and significance. It is the mirror in which we can understand the affinity of his first Symphony with Beethoven's Ninth. Yet the difference is essential: for Brahms this affinity no longer materializes.

Brahms's chamber music throws light on a good many things. We can clearly learn from it that owing to his make-up Brahms was incapable of being the "official composer" of Bismarck's Germany. Perhaps that was the reason he went to Vienna? But this was how his conflict with Wagner arose from the given political situation.

However this may be, one thing is certain: the actual key to Brahms's personality, his attitude is provided by his piano- and chamber works.

In the NHQ No 65 I told that Hungaroton were issuing the complete chamber works of Brahms as played by the Bartók Quartet. In the first album containing five records we find the quartets, quintets and sextets composed exclusively for strings—the new record album contains the three piano quartets, the piano quintet and the clarinet quintet.

Brahms himself was a wonderful pianist—although he described himself as a "mock concert pianist". In reality he himself was compelled to introduce his incredibly difficult piano works for the most part; this however did not alter the fact that he expressed himself most sensitively on the piano. Here he was the most extreme, the most sovereign, the most surprising—and perhaps the most captivating. There is a kind of readiness to leap in these works. At every—even though serene—moment he is ready to cast himself in a diametrically opposite extreme, questioning everything, so to speak that had occured until then. Despite the fact that the basic note of his poetry is nostalgia, and the desire to escape from some kind of captivity of unknown and nature—mysteriously this never turns into effusion or mawkishness. This is prevented by the previously mentioned Northern German modesty, which at the same time receives every shading of the human realm of emotion and transmits it.

The reader who follows the new crop of records with care, obviously must have noticed that nowadays the practice of reviewing complete editions is becoming prevalent that is the "Complete string quartets", the "Complete sonatas" etc. of either X or Y. This is a sound and worthy effort—it makes it possible for the listener to select his favourite piece by himself. At the same time there is a kind of danger in this, too. Inasmuch as a single performer or performing apparatus plays that certain "Complete..." for a record, there is often the danger of a certain uniform interpretation. In other words the fact that, as in the case of Brahms, the "Complete chamber works" should consist of a series of really individual "artistic personalities", becomes effaced. It is almost impossible to expect a performer to become spiritually transformed, rejuvenated at each individual piece and to undergo the same feeling of revelation in an artistic sense, as though he had played masterpieces by other composers before and after it.

I do not wish to say, of course, that the practice of "Complete editions..." with a single performer or ensemble is unjustified. But I am fully convinced that this can be realized successfully only with really great artists.

Quite likely Hungaroton was led by this idea when it entrusted the performance of the Brahms piano chamber works to four different pianists, while keeping the same strings.

Among the four recordings using the piano—to my personal taste—István Lantos best of all approached the dark blaze, the deeply toilsome and dramatically seething world of the A major Quartet with his feverish, passionate, yet never exaggerated performance. This perfomance is gripping, Lantos hurls himself into the sweep of the fast movements without any reservations whatever. In places Brahms's music acquires a demoniac tinge in his hands—but one wonders whether one should not describe this as one of the most characteristic features of the Schumann pupil Brahms? And truly, here and there the tormented mentality of Schumann echoes in these masterpieces—but without Schumann's typical irrationalism. For the sake of simplicity let us add that the Brahmsian music retains its continuity and emotional logic all the way—this is what one might describe as rational in his art.

The piano playing of Dezső Ránki in the —relatively well-known—F minor Quintet is somewhat more reserved. His merit lies in the realization of a lovely serenity, a quiet nostalgia. Ránki, like Sándor Falvai—the pianist in the C minor Quartet—plays

chamber music in the more classic sense. Lantos gives his instrument a dominant role, as though he were the conductor of himself and of the three string players working with him. But both this, and the previous are justified and acceptable as attitudes. It is impossible to decide unequivocally and objectively between them. It remains to be decided also whether the works with piano do not appear to tend to approach the concerto works. At any rate some other kind of impact and quality enters chamber music in the place of intimacy.

Last, but not least, a word about Csilla Szabó's G minor Quartet recording: I feel the last movement of the work, with its "Rondo alla Zingarese" in the Hungarian style, the most convincing.

As regards the Bartók Quartet which plays throughout: their performance is most thorougly and most carefully worked out. Only one objection might be raised, here and there they do not play with enough simplicity. By this I mean, above all, a few unjustified espressivos, which here and there halt the natural continuity-interconnection of the melody. This deserves to be mentioned with emphasis primarily in the last recording, the beautiful Clarinet Quintet.

This is without a doubt chamber music in the true sense. Béla Kovács's clarinet playing assumes a quite unique place in modern performances. His playing is simplicity and pureness itself. Nowhere is his virtuosity self-assertive, it is completely natural and self-evident. This is the reason it is not at all striking. Whoever hears him is convinced that playing the clarinet is the easiest possible thing in the world. Perhaps this is the source of the feeling that when the Bartók Quartet plays with him, particularly where it plays a melody or theme fragment identical with his—the simplicity of Béla Kovács and the tendency of the members of the quartet to play in an undulating manner becomes striking. Just one other minute objection: the clarinet appears to be slightly in the background in the recording. It is true that Brahms often couples the clarinet, or for that manner makes it play in unison, with one of the string instrument. At such a time, by the very nature of things, it does not come out well. And at other times he assigns it a subordinate role, while the strings bear the significant part of the content. In such cases there would have been no harm in adding a bit more microphone to the clarinet.

Despite the quite insignificant reservations mentioned above this second album of the chamber music of Brahms is an outstanding event of Hungarian record making.

ANDRÁS PERNYE

THEATRE AND FILM

ROUTINE FARE

Gyula Csák: Together Alone; László Gyurkó: The Whole Life; András Berkesi: Calvary; Gyula Hernádi: Bajcsy-Zsilinszky

Our traditional feeling of lack seems to have decreased during the past season: Hungarian theatre critics (who incidentally have become more critical of late) have registered a breakthrough in contemporary Hungarian drama. The development is partly a quantitative one: there has been an increase in the proportion of contemporary Hungarian plays within the repertoire. A whole range of good writers have turned to the stage. During the spring season Budapest audiences could chose among plays by Tibor Déry, László Németh, András Sütő, Endre Illés, and István Örkény. Gyula Hernádi and István Csurka had more than one première during the season. Several plays which for years have been available only in book form also reached the stage, the most significant of them being *Hide-Out* by Géza Páskándi. And there have been plays brought back to the stage which have been undeservedly forgotten since their first performance, as, for example, Imre Sarkadi's *Simeon on the Pillar* and *Ignác Vonó* by Endre Fejes. There has also been a flow of adaptations of novels; in addition to the classics and contemporary best sellers, some fiction from the recent past has also been pumped up to the stage.

Therefore, if we were to measure results at the end of the season by the number of Hungarian premières, we could even feel satisfied. If, however, we want to draw an account of the works—our satisfaction must certainly decrease. It seems as if the conscientious play-readers employed by the theatres made a spring-cleaning of their desks. The manuscripts they rummaged up from old folders inspired neither the critics nor the audience. It needs no special power of prognostication to foretell that these plays seen at the end-of-the-season premières will hardly be revived within the next five to ten years.

The shadow of the present—on three stages

Those familiar with Hungarian theatre life, and theatre-goers in general, could note that the renaissance and upsurge of Hungarian stage literature started years ago with historical plays and parables. Noted authors and poets had their heroes clad into pelisse and robe, while at the same time scanned burningly topical issues and problems. The audience received the reflections gratefully, and also took delight in the costumes. With the passing of years, however, it seems to have become somewhat sated with this mental nourishment, redolent of age, and —as everywhere in the world—here, too, has come to prefer the staging of social realities which can be directly perceived without any metatheses, accepting even the risks of contemporary works on contemporary subjects written without perspective, and the pos-

sible mistakes arising from lack of maturity. From this angle (but only from this angle) I have felt the series of premières with contemporary subjects in the last quarter of the season to be a definite achievement.

Gyula Csák: *Together Alone.* The title on the playbill of the National Theatre, promising a sob-story film success, actually offers a play à la mode: a melodrama of feminine fates and feminine solitude, surrounded with environmental elements. (In London I saw in two weeks' time two ventures similar in their theme and contents: with Pam Gem at the Mayfair Theatre and Michelene Wandor in the Soho Poly.)

The play by Gyula Csák takes place in a girls' hostel, and is about four young woman workers, offering five excellent female roles. It is about fates which have failed, about frustrated hopes, and the burden of unsubstantial lives, and above all about how far removed living together by compulsion is from what may be called a community life. But people—whether men or women—have an absolute need for one another. The chance community of the girls' hostel is unable to offer precisely this human rapport and affinity. Those whom life has thrown here live "together alone." Bori, who fled to the hostel from a depraved father gambling away his wages, wraps herself into rosy dreams and illusions. Ildikó, who left a bad marriage and a child behind her, would like to set up a home through a new relationship that promises stability. The senior of the room, bitter, cold Mari, who is preparing for her high school diploma, is the only one who places her confidence not into others but into herself—she, however, places it only into herself. Zsuzsa Csupor, the 17-year-old peasant girl who happens to come among them full of naive hopes, becomes acquainted already at the beginning of her road with the dangers threatening all of them: the alternatives of solitude or moral deprivation. She gets to know the detours which lead to the fulfilment of unattainable illusions, to a family, security, and happiness.

The inhabitants of the Budapest girls' hostels, should they see Gyula Csák's play, would probably partly bear out its justice, but on the other hand, they would bring counter-examples by the dozen even from their own narrow circle: women, who after the transitional years of reaching adulthood and learning a trade, have found their calling. But Gyula Csák's play is about unsolved fates, potential tragedies, and the pressing worries of characters—and this is not a mistake but a merit of the play. The only problem being that the author does not know what to do with these much too familiar protagonists, with their extreme fates, depicted in a journalistic style. He has them recite their fate over almost two acts, placing the more or less appropriate character-photos side by side; still, this group-loneliness placed on stage, this critically presented lack of rapport does not make for true theatre. It seems the author himself is aware of this inadequacy. This is why he has turned to incidents ready-made in the department store of female subjects. Thus the "unknown person" outside the dramatic structure makes the senior of the room pregnant (whose positive character is further enhanced by the fact that would her weak constitution allow it, she would retain the child), and this is how Ildikó, the beauty with fickle morals, kills her dearly beloved child by means of the tearful chronicle of a tragic accident. Again according to well-proved literary clichés, two things remain open for her after the tragedy: she can either commit suicide or get herself drunk. The play flirts with the first possibility, but finally settles for the second one.

The inhabitants of the girls' hostel, the girls and women, incapable of self-attainment and a conscious life, all expect (in their twenties) the happy ending to their lives from a well chosen mate and an enviable marriage. This is about the limit of Gyula Csák's realism. But then he stretches out this journalistic truth with theorems analyzing the failure in creating a com-

munity. Thus the ending of the play suggests—not too convincingly—the illusion that the human relationships within the community of the hostel could have redeemed, or actually can still redeem those living together in the future.

László Gyurkó started his career as an essayist, but he also wrote novels and sociological surveys, and has been writing for the stage for nearly ten years. His play, *Electra, My Love* was a significant theatrical work of the consolidation period of the 1960's. His later works have also been for the most part of literary inspiration. For Gyurkó both *Don Quijote* and the Hungarian folk ballad of "Kőműves Kelemenné" served as a pretext and opportunity to join the topical socio-political debates. At the same time László Gyurkó has taken an active part in the battles of the Hungarian theatrical scene as a theatre manager as well. In his studies and statements he professes to be an enthusiastic and deliberate follower of the popular theatre. On the other hand his theatre, the Twenty-Fifth Theatre in Budapest, builds primarily on contemporary expectations of the young professionals.

When a good many years ago I first came across *The Whole Life* in a periodical, I felt certain that this lyrical work would not stand up to stage presentation; but should someone undertake its production, this person should be looked for around the Twenty-Fifth Theatre or the Literary Stage. It happened, however, that the play was first performed on television, and then at the Petőfi Theatre in Veszprém.

It is the second time that Gyurkó has chosen the form of an oratorio for his stage work. First he used this technique to tie together an array of historical documents, entitled *Chapters on Lenin*. And now he expands—with the help of a two-member chorus—the debate of two lovers, emotionally belonging unseparably together, but legally hamstringed by different bounds, into an oratorio. The Man and the Woman, as indicated on the playbill, struggle with each other and themselves, with their obligation and emotions. The author dissects the self-consuming love of grown-up people: what would have happened if Romeo married Rosaline before meeting Juliet... and Juliet is struggling because the new, real love she gets to know as a woman does not turn her against the man for whom she bore a child earlier. The basic situation is doubtless familiar. You can encounter it by the dozen in the files of divorce lawyers. When selecting this conflict, Gyurkó revolted against the emotional compromises which characterize our age. Bur revolt and emotional fervour do not yet make drama. And unfortunately a play written about it does not necessarily become drama either.

The stage foursome—two men and two women—presents the situation at a high emotional fever, yet in abstract, stage diction. The confession of the real lovers in first person singular, and the commentary by the chorus figures providing perspective to the fate of the lovers do not result in a real clash. Private emotions, abstracted into a moral thesis, cool off, as if the author, while aiming for generalization, only managed generalities.

I myself saw Gyurkó's play in the Veszprém Petőfi Theatre's studio, The Stage, with an audience consisting mainly of young people, who followed this private affair of the preceding generation with a bashful passion, with keen attention, but without any special commotion. I presume that older audiences—middle aged or approaching that age, well past their weddings—include more people who may identify themselves and their dilemma of today or yesterday with this basic situation. If they be really sincere with themselves, however, they would know more about the sexual and practical aspects of the problems than what is heard on stage. Their experience would be that of recognition. This, even if far removed from the purifying catharsis compelling man to face up to himself, suffices for walking out of the theatre with stirring thoughtse and motions.

Actually it is a pity that Gyurkó did not succeed in overcoming the danger of mediocrity inherent in the subject. What I miss are not great—even greater!—words, but a real dramatic clash, the real social background of the love and marriage conflict, and the dramatic presence and effect of this background. Because without this, in the fourth quarter of the twentieth century, even the most genuine love square will remain but the private affair of gushy heroes.

True, the heated passions more than once create a hot atmosphere on the stage, and Gyurkó's diction, especially in the self-analyzing confessions of the Woman span into poetic heights. An intellectual approach to emotional life on the stage is such a rare performance that it is well worth listening to it. But unfortunately such passages are followed very soon by extinguished glow.

One of the merits of the performance is that it did not try to over-dramatize the oratorio. István Pétervári's moderate direction complied with the play and the scene the size of a room. With his skillfully arranged stage and his choreography he not only utilized, but expanded the walls of The Stage.

I would be inclined to call *Calvary*, the play by the most popular Hungarian crime-writer, András Berkesi, a "Socialist Mousetrap," but I am afraid that this would suggest at the same time too little and too much about the recent première at the József Attila Theatre in Budapest. Too little, because even those who superciliously reject the writings of András Berkesi, do not dipute that this time he has touched on a veritable hornet's nest of Hungarian public life, and the subject and the story he tackles are so topically exciting that they make you nearly forget the superficiality of the treatment. And this already indicates why I feel this alleged relationship with Agatha Christie to be much too flattering. Because even the most successful products coming from András Berkesi's story workshop do not come up to the guaranteed trade quality of the plays bearing the hallmark of the queen of crime.

If I were to start out from the literary level of Berkesi's *Calvary*, it certainly would not be included among the Hungarian plays reviewed in *The New Hungarian Quarterly*. Its plot is much too simplified, the characters are wax figures for the most part, while its dramatic diction simply does not exist. And yet I feel a report on the Budapest season would not be complete without this commercial work which promises to be a success.

And not only because, similarly to other Berkesi plays, *Calvary* will draw large audiences to the József Attila Theatre. Also because the play, with its social problems, treated in a journalistic manner but nevertheless public interest, with essentially genuine informational content, and topical gags arousing applause, forms part of that political shaping of consciousness which is one of the tasks of the theatre. This kind of reproduction—authentic and topical in its main lines—of a case which actually did take place in real life, by all means represents a step forward in the career of Berkesi.

What happens when an excellent young Hungarian engineer, who graduated from Moscow, finds out that there are serious abuses and frauds at his company which is soon to be awarded the title of "outstanding enterprise?" He discovers that for years there has been no basis behind the spectacular fulfilment of the plans, and that the moving spirit of the wage-defrauding collective is a weaver who has been decorated on several occasions and who, incidentally, also happens to be the wife of a member of the district party committee. So the exposure of the conditions in the factory would involve the clipping of the prestige of the collective and the management, and instead of an award would entail the freezing of the considerable financial bonuses which have already been projected.

The situation leaves several roads open

to the protagonist. The most obvious ones would be to remain silent or to negotiate. The most spectacular and also the most unrewarding one is to enter into battle by putting his cards on the table. Thus the engineer has to confront not only the members of the factory mafia, but also the director who has always been close to him from their very youth, and the local leaders who abhor every complication and scandal. The road he choses is, as indicated in the title, the Calvary.

In solving the conflict Berkesi resorts to a large number of stereotypes. We see a representative of the onetime ruling class, the landowner turned into a stoker, portrayed in a stereotyped manner, who "naturally" plays into the hands of the wage-defrauders; and of course there appears a lovely and abandoned young girl, degraded into a tool of blackmail and deceived by the bad people, who keeps repeating the trumped-up charges against the engineer until she becomes convinced of the fact that her place is on the side of justice (that is of the engineer). Berkesi has an instinctive horror of happy endings rounding off the symmetry of the story, but he does not undertake to resolve the Calvary, the threatening tragedy either. So he gives his play an open, optimistic ending—suggesting continued struggle and the reassuring alliance of the forces of justice.

Historical stereotypes

I felt a real pleasure about the prolific Gyula Hernádi—novelist, short-story writer, and the scenarist of most of Miklós Jancsó's films—only until I could feel in his works the passionate compulsion for expression and communication. More recently it seems as if he were attracted not by the goal but the opportunity: theatres (primarily the Pécs National Theatre) are waiting for him with open arms and stages, and Hernádi's unlimited imagination, his scintillating abundance of ideas is always ready to produce a new play in notime at all. The historical model situations he has tried out so many times already can really be varied *ad infinitum*. And if the hero happens not to fit within the model shaped by Hernádi, he has only himself to blame if his fate and character become distorted in the course of the historical experiments devised and executed in the laboratory of the stage.

This is what happened to Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky—a leader of the Hungarian anti-German, antifascist resistance, executed in 1944—in the production of the Hernádi play bearing his name.

Hernádi's play has four different Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszkys as its protagonist. The differentiation which in the text is indicated by numbers becomes obvious in the course of the performance: the hero is played by four different actors. This spectacular stunt is seemingly justified by his biography. The young Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, murderer of András Áchim, a peasant politician and revolutionary, a show-off member of the gentry, and later incidentally a supporter of Horthy—is seemingly really different; a different man from the resolute antifascist who at the end of the war fought alongside the popular forces and the Communists. His execution, also depicted by Hernádi was, to use the words of the poet Gyula Illyés, a "chosen death."

These two poles of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's political career offer the possibility of a well-nigh improbable story of development. This road, if one were to follow it on the stage in a linear, chronological sequence, would probably burst the frames of a play. But Hernádi was not compelled to reflect the totality of the hero's life. Historical drama offers countless examples, known only too well by Hernádi, of the contrary. This character study broken up into scenes, and the stage arrangement, termed by one of his critics a "station drama," carries in it the gravest danger of stage portrayal: namely that the viewer will be more

interested in the development and transformation that take place between the various scenes—the actual drama that is—than in the plot before his eyes.

But even if we tried to disregard this problem of the very essence of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky drama, and submitted to Hernádi's strange experiment of a "historical vision" accepting his own laws, and believed that he wanted to write not about the "historical" but the "real" Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky—even then the result would not really satisfy us.

The critics have thoroughly analyzed where and to what extent Hernádi deviates, for the sake of an extreme characterization and a spectacular development, from the biography of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky as revealed in the actual historical documents (the most striking example being the protagonist's imaginary meeting with Hitler). Anyway, in his earlier plays Hernádi relied on his own imagination and logic to an even greater extent. But a model or parable built necessarily on abstractions for the purpose of anthropological experiments should be measured by standards other than a lifeless, Madame Tussaud-like series of tableaux of specific Hungarian historical situations. What I take exception to is not the grotesque way of looking at historical events—although here at least he could have been consistent—not even to the display of historical figures schematized to the point of symbols, but to the class struggle which is reduced here into a display of costumes, whose recurring emotional motivation lies in the confrontation of the hero with innocent, defenceless lasses (peasant beauties, persecuted ladies).

The series of biographical scenes—the gradual revelation of Bajcsy-Zsilinszky's unfaithfulness to himself and faithfulness to the people—culminates in the last scene. Hernádi's didactic lesson also reaches its peak here, as he helps the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky already eulogized into his own statue, onto the pedestal. Unfortunately, however, this does not turn the hero's justice into dramatic justice: the stage is haunted by vulgarizations reminiscent of the early 'fifties, blurring the validity even of the most unequivocal truths.

In spite of all the above the performance was not ineffective. Under the stage-direction of Róbert Nógrádi the historical vision which proved a fiasco in the text, came to life. He did not attempt to smuggle in a realism alien to the text, instead built the play on the acoustic and visual elements first introduced by the theatre of the absurd and by Brecht. Even if we have questioned the Hitler scene from the point of view of authenticity, it is obvious that the appearance on stage of a rag-Hitler magnified into huge proportions, the frightening gesticulation of the white gloves looming towards us from mysterious loop-holes, the crude terror of the Fascist historical circus keep us spellbound. A pity that the suggestivity of the pictures slips up from time to time, stumbling on some banalities. To illustrate the revelry of the gentry by a spectacle of boisterous officers drinking champagne from a lady's slipper, for example, is an unimaginative, shallow solution. The failure of Hernádi's play actually leads me to the conclusion that the character of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky has all the potentials of a great historical tragedy.

ANNA FÖLDES

A MAN'S CALLING

Ferenc Kósa: Mission

I thought of *Küldetés*, the Hungarian title translated as *Mission*, to be a bit too much of a good thing of a title for a long documentary on a sport and András Balczó, a great champion. The Hungarian has sacral overtones that make one think of vocation or calling, and lacks the prosaic penumbra of the English word. What could be the calling of an athlete, I grumbled to myself, even a four times world champion and Olympic gold medallist? They will carve Messiahs out of sportsmen single-mindedly pursuing a given objective. To top it all, I was also afraid of this new type undertaking by Ferenc Kósa. What will a director with his almost poetic approach *(Ten Thousand Suns; No Time; Heavy Snowfall)* do with documentary material? Will it perhaps prompt him to excesses which contradict not only his artistic approach but his whole way of thinking as well?

Mission, however, is a film that silences all such doubts. It is poetic, being a confession, the telling of a man's life, and his springs of action, without showing any trace of excess. It is poetic because it relies on the uniqueness of András Balczó, that is its material, its *point d'appui*, its purpose. Kósa chose the simplest way to make this man speak up, a man who was left on his own and who even in his isolation maintained his firmness. They talk for ninety minutes, like the old friends they are. Mostly he just asks questions, stimulating thoughts and memories. He only argues rarely. This film is the joint idea of two men, the work of two men created with common care. During the course of this long conversation—the kind all of us long for some time or other in our life—pictures, places and scenes keep emerging. Not many. A reedgrown shore in the Nyírség in north-eastern Hungary, where the champion and the film director were both born; the concrete terrace of his summer home; the flight of steps where he sits midst the buzz of midges; a few scenes showing him swimming, running, riding. The jubilation of the public after his victory in Budapest, when they ran with him to the finish line of the cross country run, the final pentathlon item. The hospital lobby where he waits for the birth of his child. The small peasant house in the hills where he has thought refuge, which has been whitewashed and furnished by himself and his wife. The riding of lesser successors with the champ replacing the bars clumsily knocked off by others. Sequences like these, but as I say, not many of them. There could be more, but it does not matter that we are shown only that much.

All these are blotted out by a single picture: the face of Balczó, in close-up and at some distance, full face and in the middle distance, a strong male face, every feature with a magic of its own. The mouth forms as important a part of this face as the high brow, and the shining, intimate, unblinking eyes. The dark complexion, and the somewhat Asiatic high cheekbones. A handsome, hard, male face, radiating from within. What is said by those lips brooks no doubt. There is something about the man's look, the gentle self-assurance of the way he carries his head, that youthful and not in the least ancient wisdom which seems to be his most typical quality which puts all ambiguity out of the question. The champ as prophet. I cannot put it any more clearly than that. It was not sport that counted for him, it was the possibility of setting an example; finding one place, one area in the country where achievement is measurable —in sport it usually is—to prove that recognition in accordance with measurable achievement should be the natural rule of a community. Those who achieve good re-

sults should be honoured and not ignored.

This is the first point made by this poetic drama.

Then come the victories, the championships won by asceticism and severe training. Success. That which is called success in every language spoken by man. But Balczó does not say the word. He feels the expression to be deceptive and thus avoids it. He sees success as an individual result and an individual goal. It was only for the community that he did what he did. He tells his director friend that such victories, achieved for the community, and with the community, can reverse the failures of a nation. "We have always been the losers" Balczó says, "and I wanted to show that if we win in games, we can regain our faith in ourselves, in our purposes, in our abilities, and even in our larger options." It sounded good when he said that man by himself, without the community, is an absurdity, a patent absurdity. I am as sure of that as he is. And Balczó, with his five great championships, which he seemingly owes only to his own efforts, his concentration and sober self-mastery, also calls man living and grubbing only for himself a phantasm.

When his son is born, tears roll down his cheek. After the press showing I shook hands with him and told him I envied him for having been able to cry in such a natural way. It is a dreadful civilization where man is not allowed to weep, and express his emotions.

It must not be forgotten for any moment that the Balczó the public sees on the screen does not compete any more. He is past the great moments of his life. His own case proved his argument. He was not given a farewell and golden handshake by his club or federation, something customary in Hungary even with much less successful sportsmen. When, after his five championships, he withdrew from the world for weeks, taking Christ or Buddha as an example (Balczó is a deeply religious man, right down to his bones and not only in the commonplace sense of the term), he finally reached the cision not to compete any more, because he could no longer maintain his own standards, he reached the shadows of his life, turning into darkness. But this did not break Balczó. I am convinced that he is precisely the type whom nothing can break because it has been his inability to make cheap compromises which cast him out of the life of the sports club and stopped him becoming the non-playing captain of Hungary's Modern Pentathlon team. What happened was what he himself, seeing things as they were, knew would happen. He was unwilling, indeed, unable to cooperate with officials who in his view, were morally tainted, and consequently unable to create the right moral atmosphere needed for the young, new athletes, for real achievement. "Do you know what the high principle is on which cooperation here is based?" he asks Kósa, the director. "I'll believe the lies you tell, and you will believe the lies I tell."

I started with my doubts about using the word "calling" in connection with the life of a competitive athlete. But it turns out that this athlete is unwilling to behave and speak now as full time athletes or indeed, world champions customarily do. What he says, and the way he says it, are the words of someone who can think, who is aware of his responsibilities to the community. A poet or a prophet. Balczó's is truly a calling obeyed by his body, soul and mind. He is a happy, child-like twenthieth century saint, perhaps the last of his kind. This will certaintly enrage the so-called realists. When he told one of top sports officials what the moral principles were which should guide the transformation of the Modern Pentathlon, that man indignantly protested: "Have you gone out of your mind? Do you want to introduce a restricted drive-left rule in a country where one drives on the right?"

The circle has closed: Balczó excluded himself and has been left outside. For some time he acted as a subaltern coach, he re-

placed the bars the horses had not cleared, then this job, too, came to an end. He now lives in a small house with his family. He would like to buy a horse of his own someday and trek home to his native Nyírség. He puts his trust in the Lord. God will look after him. His friend, the director violently disagrees: "You of all people say this, who have always been a stubborn man of action, who have never resigned yourself to the existing wrong?" Balczó, however, stands there and cannot do otherwise. It is up to the country to do something, up to us, who have abandoned him in his uprightness. True, there is something unbearable about moral perfection, but there is also an inexhaustible force in it.

Here then is this film which is not art, it offers no thrills, no brilliant action sequences. Just an ordinary full-length black-and-white film at a time when it has become virtually an obligation to film in technicolour only. Two men talking, an athlete and a film director. Sometimes the director's voice is too high-pitched, obviously due to the excitement of finding himself in the novel role of interviewer. It is easy to forget even that, for every ten minutes there is thunderous applause whenever they hear clear speech coming from the lips of Balczó, the champion and prophet. It seems they soon chew up these words and thoughts, and soon recognize how to interpret and apply them in their own place and in their own situation, for the applasue keeps returning again and again. And this during the showing of a documentary which is not about games or athletic pursuits. Ferenc Kósa certaintly chose an appropriate title for his film when he named it *Küldetés*. Unfortunately, as so often, those responsible for distribution abroad missed the real point. The obvious English title should have been *A man's calling*.

JÓZSEF TORNAI

WHY THE HUNGARIAN CINEMA MATTERS

Professor O. W. Riegel's articles on the Hungarian cinema, published in three recent issues of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* (Nos. 63, 64, 65), present an interesting, but to my mind sometimes misleading, picture of its leading themes and characteristics. The articles, though they express what I am sure is a genuine love of Hungarian films, rarely display this, and the net effect of Professor Riegel's account of them may well be to deter people from seeing them, rather than encouraging them to do so.

Hungarian films, we are told in the first article, are full of gloom and defeatism; they are passive, fatalistic and pessimistic:

> The gloom of the modern films... is based upon a similar raw emotion. That emotion is almost (but not quite) total defeatism. The mood is darkly pessimistic and sometimes despairing in its passive, fatalistic acceptance of the bludgeonings of irresistible forces. The corollary of this is an absence of affirmation, defiance, joy, exuberance, and hope. The films brood introspectively on the tragedies, injustices, frustrations, degradations and humiliations of the national experience and personal experience... (NHQ 63, p. 189.)

The attempts at qualifying this sweeping condemnation—"almost (but not quite)," "sometimes," and a later reference to the "compassion" with which the film-maker may treat his material—are feeble in comparison with the overall impression that this statement produces, and similar remarks can be found throughout this and the subsequent articles.

The characters in Hungarian films are all

victims, good, innocent people ground down by forces for which they are not responsible. "Glum defeatism, paralysis of the will and inability to cope" are to be found in András Kovács's *Blindfold* (NHQ 63, p. 191), but are features by no means confined to that particular work. In the second part, these elements are specifically related to the Hungarian national character, which displays defeatism and resignation, and is notable for its high proportion of suicides—suicides generally motivated by nothing more than morbid self-pity. Films like István Szabó's *25 Firemen's Street* consist of a "wail of impotent suffering" (NHQ 64, p. 213), and the majority of films are concerned only to absolve their characters of any guilt or responsibility for the horrors and atrocities of twentieth-century history (NHQ 64, p. 215). The final article repeats most of these charges, adds some comments on the passivity and futility of the male characters in the films, by comparison with the women, and remarks on the absence and/or failure of a tradition of comedy in the Hungarian cinema. It comes as something of a surprise, then, when Riegel ends his essay with a "loving salute to the films of Hungary," for he has given us little indeed that is lovable in the features he has outlined.

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Many of Riegel's observations are, of course, quite accurate and it is certainly true that Hungarian cinema is rarely totally light-hearted and that the themes of the best films are those of guilt, power, responsibility, cruelty, and suffering. He seems, however, to see only one aspect of this and his articles are, in their own way, just as selective in their presentation of evidence as he alleges the films themselves are. There are a few factual errors—*Stag Boys* and *Sons of Fire* (referred to on p. 190 of No. 63) are alternative titles for the same Gyöngyössy film, not two different works; it is *The 400 Blows* and not *Jules and Jim* (NHQ 65, p. 206) that ends with a freeze frame—but more significant are Riegel's distortions of the content and structure of some of the films that he describes.

Riegel, like many other critics, does not like the recent work of "the great Jancsó," and he comments on *Red Psalm* and *Elektreia* with particular distaste. His account of the former film implies that it ends with the massacre of the peasants by the soldiers and he then quotes with some scorn Jancsó's own opinion that he sees the film as being "optimistic." In fact, the film ends with the symbolic figure of a young woman shooting down the oppressors—soldiers, priests, and landowners—and holding aloft a pistol wrapped in a red ribbon. And, if any of Jancsó's films can be called joyful, exhilarating, or exuberant, it is surely this one, with its songs, its dances, its breath-takingly balletic movements of the camera. For *Elektreia*, Riegel perpetuates the common and mistaken belief that the film has only eight shots (it has twelve, three of them very short transition scenes) and presents it as something out of the Marquis de Sade: "nude girls," "marching phalanxes of nude men," "Whips of Winners crack across the tender flesh of Losers," "murders," and so on. One would never guess from this that the film is a subtle meditation on the relationship between tyrant, subjects, and would-be liberators, and that not a single whip makes contact with a single body in the whole eighty minutes.

Other directors receive similar treatment. Gaál and Szabó—after Jancsó the Hungarian directors best known abroad—are castigated for the endings of two of their finest films, *The Falcons* and *Love Film* respectively. Of *The Falcons*, we are told: "...at the end the hero finds freedom not in death but in walking out. This isn't defiance, but evasion..." (NHQ 63, p. 192). This comment is a good deal truer of the original story by Miklós Mészöly (translated in NHQ 40) than it is of Gaál's film, where the hero's physical and moral revulsion at the actions

in which he is asked to participate are made far more clear and much less ambiguous. Despite the first-person narration, Mészöly's character never comments on his own actions and the motives for his departure are never more than hinted at; the "real" meaning of the story, therefore, has to be revealed in the concluding section, with the appearance of the train and its "locked, sealed cattle-trucks with small barred windows." Gaál avoids the obviousness of this ending by building the moral conflicts into the interaction between his characters and, in particular, elaborating the role of Teréz, the person who refuses to choose, to take sides, who thinks that she can remain uninvolved simply by closing her eyes to what is going on around her. Gaál is not concerned with futile acts of "defiance" but, as in all his other films, with the problem of responsibility, forcing his characters to become aware of their complicity with injustice, brutality, and tyranny, to acknowledge guilt and thus prepare themselves to atone for it. He is doing, in short, exactly what Riegel can elsewhere be found insisting that film-makers should do, while claiming that Hungarian directors fail in their duty in this respect: "...problems (of power and the abuse of power) ...can never be coped with until everyone realizes his responsibility for collective action, no matter how powerless the individual may be at any particular time to control events. ...I know that there can be no curbing of the abuse of power until the truth about national crimes is brought home to every man, and until every man acknowledges, as I do, his responsibility." (NHQ 64, p. 212). As this is just what Gaál too is urging through the medium of his films, it is strange indeed that Riegel should calmly accuse him of "evasion."

"The hero of Szabó's *Love Film*, compelled by the power of obligations and habit to forsake his love in France and return to the homeland, is typical of the protagonists who are helpless against the forces that drive them and passive in defeat." (NHQ 63, p. 191). Once again, Riegel's summary significantly distorts the whole meaning of the film. The boy's action is neither passive nor helpless, nor is it motivated solely by obligations or habit. Certainly he is bound by many links and ties to his homeland, but so is the girl, Kata, and she has chosen to break with them and Jancsi, the boy is equally free to do so. His decision to return is part of the typical experience of the Szabó protagonist, the coming to terms with illusions, with false and comforting memories: Jancsi and Kata part because they have both changed in the intervening years; they had assumed that they would be the same people as before and could pick up where they left off, and they find that this is not the case. They come to their decision freely, after days of debate, anguish and (yes!) joy together, but, however influenced, as all such decisions must be, by outside factors, it remains a choice and not simply the glum acceptance of overwhelming fate.

*

One could continue in this manner, going through almost all the films mentioned by O. W. Riegel, and pointing out how his far-reaching overall judgements are based on half-truths and selective interpretations of this kind; the films and directors I have discussed so far are all well-enough known, however, and I leave it to the readers to decide which viewpoint—Professor Riegel's or my own—they prefer. This is not to say, though, that everything in Riegel's articles is misleading; it is rather that he and I are looking at the same evidence and drawing radically different conclusions. Where he sees little but gloom and defeatism, I see a quiet and modest courage, a refusal to accept barbarity, inequality, and injustice as inevitable and unavoidable aspects of the human condition. Where he sees weak and passive characters, willing or helpless victims, I see men and women who attempt

to come to terms with their experience, to understand it and thus to master it (Sándor Sára's *The Upthrown Stone*, which Riegel nowhere mentions, is particularly significant in this respect).

Most of all, however, I cannot accept Riegel's accusation that Hungarian filmmakers shy away from acceptance of national or individual responsibility for such things as wartime atrocities or political tyranny. He mentions the French *The Sorrow and the Pity* and the American *Hearts and Minds* as examples of a national self-examination and self-accusation that he finds lacking in Hungarian cinema. Apart from the fact that both these are virtually unique in their respective film traditions, it must be pointed out that they are both documentaries and thus severely restricted in the amount of exposure they receive to a mass public. I can think of virtually no French, American, German (East or West), Soviet, or Italian film that, within the context of a fictional story, and thus in a form acceptable to a mass audience, makes a serious attempt to reveal and analyse a particularly shameful or evil episode in its country's recent past. *Hiroshima Mon Amour* perhaps comes closest, but there the emphasis is less on collective guilt than on collective suffering and the attempts of the characters to understand this. *Cold Days* and *Spring Comes to Budapest*, whatever flaws one may find in them, thus represent an honourable—and, I would claim, a particularly Hungarian—exception to this rule.

*

What, then, *is* Hungarian about the Hungarian cinema? The elements outlined above, I would suggest, together with an immediately recognizable landscape and physiognomy. It tends to reflect a world where ordinary people struggle, as Riegel observes, against the overwhelming, mysterious, and arbitrary manifestations of power and authority—manifestations that are sometimes petty (as in the recent *The Sword*) and sometimes murderous (as in any film by Jancsó). But for me, the importance of Hungarian films lies in the fact that a struggle *does* take place and that, in the words of a British critic, Suzanne Budgen, there is "a sense of the heights to which ordinary men and women can rise in response to demanding circumstances." This, and not Riegel's defeatism, surely explains why such a cinema matters.

GRAHAM PETRIE

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

I just read a note by Zoltán Halász, "The Legacy of Frigyes Antal," (*NHQ* 62.) in which it is stated (page 162) that Mrs. Evelyn Antal has among her late husband's papers an essay on "The Role of Museums in our Age."

Needless to say that Antal's work is of paramount importance to the history of art and his reflexions on the role of the museum in contemporary society seems to me apposite to the interests of our periodical, CULTURES. Do you think we could prevail on Mrs. Antal to authorize the publication of this text in the three editions of CULTURES (English, French, Spanish)? It would be a contribution to modern thinking about museums, it would evoke the memory of a great authority in art history, and it would serve the interests of Hungarian scholarship. Could I ask you to contact Mrs. Evelyn Antal about this? It would be an honour for us to issue this text.

G. S. Métraux
Editor,
CULTURES
Paris

Sir,

I look over issues of *The New Hungarian Quarterly* with interest and especially have enjoyed the short story, "Conditioned Reflex" *(by Emil Kolozsvári Grandpierre, NHQ 64).*

Gerald Kamber
Chairman, Department of Modern Languages
Trinity College,
Hartford, Connecticut
U.S.A.

Sir,

I am writing to inform you that the magazine is being shared here among several people. As soon as we finish looking at it at home, I bring it to work to share it with my colleagues at Truman College, all of whom have commented favorably on its literary merit. While it may no longer be read at Waller High School, the Truman College faculty put it to excellent use.

Loren A. Shapiro
Associate Professor of Communications,
Truman College,
Chicago, Ill.
U.S.A.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

BAJOMI LÁZÁR, Endre (b. 1914.) Author, journalist, translator. Published numerous books on France and French writers, edited anthologies, published translations from the French besides his own historical novels for the young.

BERECZ, János (b. 1930). Head of the Department of Foreign Relations at the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a historian by training. See "European Security and the Role of Public Opinion," NHQ 53, "World Peace Congress in Moscow," 54, "The Class Content of Peaceful Coexistence", 48, and "European Social Democracy" 63.

FERENCZI, László (b. 1937). Regularly reviews poetry for this journal. See his "The Timeliness of Ady," NHQ 66.

FITZ, Jenő (b. 1921). Archeologist. Director of the King Stephen Museum in Székesfehérvár. His research concentrates on Roman relics in the province of Pannonia, which included today's Transdanubia. Conducted excavations at Gorsium, a Roman town near Székesfehérvár. Has published numerous papers on his finds.

FODOR, István (b. 1943). Historian, a graduate of Lomonosov University in Moscow. Since 1967 scientific secretary of the Hungarian National Museum. His main field of research is Finno-Ugrian history and medieval Hungarian archeology. Has published two books on these subjects.

FORGÁCS, Éva (b. 1947). Art historian, on the staff of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts. Specializes in the avant-garde of the 1920s, including the Bauhaus. Has published *Kollázs és montázs* ("Collage and Montage"), Corvina, Budapest, 1976, and studies on the Bauhaus and Ernő Kállai. See "Ernő Kállai: Art Critic of a Changing Age," NHQ 64, and "Lajos Kassák Memorial Museum in Old Buda," 67.

FÖLDES, Anna (b. 1931). Our regular theatre critic. See also "The Survivors of the Holocaust," NHQ 64.

FRANK, János (b. 1925). One of our regular art critics.

GLUCK, Phyllis Gold. Educator, painter, film maker. Assistant Professor of Education, Brooklyn College, City University of New York. M.A., Ph.D., Columbia University. Fulbright Scholar, Italy. Member World Council, INSEA-UNESCO. Lectures and publishes internationally on art, humanities, education; has visited Hungary twice. Currently teaching art education. A Polish–American married to a Transylvanian–American, she lives in New York City.

HAJDU, János (b. 1934). Journalist on the staff of *Népszabadság*, the central daily of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Commentator on international affairs on Hungarian Television as well. In 1968–69 correspondent in Indochina, 1970 to 1974 in Bonn. He spent three months in 1975 on a study tour of the United States as the recepient of a scholarship granted by the Department of State.

HAJNAL, László Gábor (b. 1948). Journalist, author. Studied philosophy and history at the University of Budapest. Interrupting his studies several times to work as driver, ambulanceman, and a film director's assistant. Free lancing since 1975. A volume of his short stories and another of his journalistic writings is under preparation.

ILLYÉS, Mária (b. 1942). Art historian and critic, on the staff of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. Her main field is

contemporary painting. See her art review in NHQ 67.

ISZLAI, Zoltán (b. 1933). Author and critic, on the staff of *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary weekly. Has published two volumes of poetry, and two volumes of short stories. See his book reviews in NHQ 63, 67.

JAKAB, Mária (b. 1936). Educationalist. Deputy head of the Department for National Minorities at the National Institute of Education since 1976. Graduated from Budapest University in Hungarian and Slovak. Secondary shool teacher and headmaster before going to work at the National Institute. Her field is the methodology of teaching language and literature to national minorities, with a special interest in Slovak. Author of school textbooks and editor of a volume of studies in her special field.

KISS, Etel (b. 1925). Economist, formerly on the staff of the Hungarian Research Institute for Economics, later on that of the Central Bureau of Statistics and the Institute for Market Research. See her review of a book by János Szita in NHQ 65, signed as Eta Hardi.

KOMORÓCZY, Géza (b. 1937). Student of the Ancient Middle East, teaches Cuneiform Studies at the University of Budapest. Studied in Budapest and Prague and travelled extensively in Iraq, Iran, the Lebanon, and Soviet Armenia to further his studies. Has lectured abroad as well, and published numerous works. The most recent include "Akkadian Epic Poetry and its Sumerian Sources" (1975) and "Work and Strike of Gods," "New Light on the Divine Society in Sumero-Akkadian Mythology" (1976) as well as editing, jointly with János Harmatta: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien* (1976).

KROÓ, György (b. 1928). Musicologist, critic, Professor of Music History at the Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music in Budapest. Has published books on Mozart, Schumann, Berlioz, Bartók, et al. See his review of Sándor Balassa's "Requiem for Kassák," NHQ 50, "The Hungarian Cimbalom," 59, and "One Hundred Minutes of Kurtág," 62.

MARÓTI, Lajos (b. 1930). Poet, novelist essayist, playwright. A physicist by training, at present editorial director of *Gondolat* Publishing House in Budapest. His recent play on the life of Giordano Bruno has had productions in Hungary and abroad. See "The Building of Socialism on a Higher Level" in NHQ 44.

NAGY, Emese (b. 1930). Archeologist, head of the Medieval Department at the Hungarian National Museum. Conducted excavations in the ancient Hungarian city of Esztergom, 1964–69. Has published on medieval Hungarian building and stone-engraving techniques and her finds in Esztergom.

NAGY, Zoltán (b. 1944). One of the regular art critics of this review.

NEMES NAGY, Ágnes (b. 1922). Poet, translator. Studied Hungarian, Latin and History at the University of Budapest. Worked for a while on the staff of an educational magazine and taught secondary school before devoting herself entirely to writing. Her selected poems appeared in 1969, a volume of essays on poetry in 1975. Translations include plays by Corneille, Racine, Molière, and Brecht, and poems by Rilke, St. John Perse and many other English, French and German poets.

NÉMETH, Lajos (b. 1929). Art historian, critic. Published books on 19th and 20th century Hungarian painting and on the painter Csontváry. See "Paintings, Mosaics, Textiles," NHQ 51, and a review of Anna Zádor's "The Age of Classicism and Romanticism," 67.

ORTUTAY, Gyula (b. 1910). Ethnographer, Director of the Ethnographic Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. M. P. Was Minister of Education 1947–1950. Main works: *Parasztságunk élete* ("Life of Our Peasantry," also in English, 1947); *Magyar népmesék* ("Hungarian Folk Tales," also in German and English, 1957). See "Hungarian and Rumanian Ballads," NHQ 48, "Nel mezzo del cammin," NHQ 56, and "A Standing Parliamentary Committee," NHQ, 59.

PALÁNKAI, Tibor (b. 1938). Teaches at the Karl Marx University for Economics, of which he is a Vice-Rector. Works include: *Nagybritannia és a nemzetközösség;* 1971 ("Great Britain and the Commonwealth"), *Nyugat-Európai integráció;* 1977 ("Western European Integration") as well as numerous articles and scholarly papers on similar subjects.

PERNYE, András (b. 1928). Professor of musicology, our regular music reviewer.

PETRIE, Graham (b. 1939). British film critic and literary historian living in Canada; teaches English and film at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. Published *The Cinema of François Truffaut* (1970), and numerous articles in *Film Comment, Film Quarterly,* as well as stories in *Encounter, Partisan Review.* His book on the Hungarian film is under preparation. See "History Must Answer to Man (The Contemporary Hungarian Cinema)" NHQ 53, "The History of Hungarian Cinema," 61, and "Recent Hungarian Cinema," 62.

POZSGAY, Imre (b. 1933). Minister of Culture. Graduated in History and Philosophy from the University of Szeged and the Budapest Lenin Institute. Worked at the Bács County Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and was later Deputy Editor of *Társadalmi Szemle,* the Party's theoretical monthly. Does research in sociology, philosophy and aesthetics. See "Philosophy and Social Development," NHQ 62; "The Scope and Limits of Legislating on Culture," 66.

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," NHQ 52; "Thirty Years to Change a Society," 58; "The Art of Politics," (on a book by János Kádár) 62; "Let's Make it Together," 66.

RUTTKAY, Kálmán G. (b. 1922). Studied at the English language grammar school of Sárospatak and at Budapest University where he obtained his degree in English and Hungarian. After a period of language teaching and doing odd jobs for publishing houses, reviewing books for magazines, he contributed to Professor Országh's English–Hungarian and Hungarian–English dictionaries. Later he worked as a librarian, and since 1963 he has been on the staff of the English Department of Budapest University. Has done research and has published articles on early eighteenth-century English criticism.

SPIRÓ, György (b. 1946). Novelist, poet, playwright. Studied Hungarian, Russian and Serbo-Croat at the University of Budapest, worked in radio journalism and publishing before devoting himself to his writing. Has published a novel (*Kerengő,* "Cloister Courtyard," reviewed in NHQ 59), and *História,* 1977, a volume containing poems and a historical play in verse. At present working on a novel and on an academic thesis on East European history.

STARK, Ferenc (b. 1942). Secretary of the Committee for Education of National Minorities in the Hungarian Ministry of Education. Graduated from Debrecen University in Hungarian and German. Taught

school for ten years before going to work for the Ministry in 1974.

SZITA, János (b. 1922). Economist. Deputy Minister, heads the Secretariat for International Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers. Graduated from Karl Marx University of Economics in Budapest. Was Deputy President of the National Planning Office, and Deputy Minister of Finance. 1957–61 permanent Hungarian delegate to various international organisations in Geneva, also member of the Hungarian delegation to the UN. His main field of interest is international economic co-operation. His *Az összeurópai gazdasági együttműködés távlatai* ("Perspectives of All-European Economic Cooperation," 1975) was reviewed in NHQ 65.

SZOMBATHELYI, Ferenc (b. 1952). Economist, a graduate and now a staff member of the Karl Marx University for Economics.

TORNAI, József (b. 1927). Poet, translator, our regular film reviewer.

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