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Contents

VISUAL CULTURE

MUSIC

CLOSE-UP

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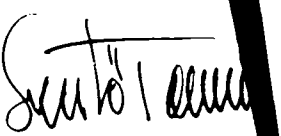
will notice the symptoms of a peculiar shortage
st by a few recent studies, which analyzed the
s. According to an EEC commission, by the end of
visions will need at least 1.5 million hours of prog-
of this will be drama and entertainment, but one
hours of negative balance in these genres. Gerhard
the brains trust of the Austrian Radio and Television,
according to which the present West European prog-
is only able to produce about 0.5 per cent of the 1990
to these data, the conclusion formulated by the EEC
tic: "Europe's television industry, which is already unable
alf of the transmitted programmes, can be simply swept
the European national cultures. As Europe already lags
United States in the technological race, it is feared that it
ay in the battle around culture and information."
ge in the last decades of the 20th century will concern tele-
. At least television programmes produced in Europe, because
television of the near future (satellites, conventional broadcasts
mpen the limitless appetite, will import overseas programmes in
sing quantity. Particularly because while one hour of the television
European studios costs 250,000 dollars, an hour of the "Dallas"
case of an appropriate sized order—can be managed for about
. This is considerably cheap, even at the present, artificially high
nge rate—and what a good business it will be when more authentic
ies will develop.

re to the concrete facts, let us see a few data from the other side, from
l of advertising. In a report from Rome on April 22, the International
Tribune said that 1984 was the first year when more money was spent on
sing in Italy than on film production . . . in the land of Fellini and Anto-
, on the soil of Cinecitta. In 1984, the GNP (at current prices) increased by
er cent, while the sum spent on advertising increased by 39 per cent. The
ic reason for this was the strengthening of the private television companies—
d networks. The prognoses also reflect the extremely dynamic development of
he international advertising industry outside the US market. While it is esti-
mated that the total expenditure of the world's advertising industry will amount
to 874 billion dollars by the year 2000 (which is 794 per cent of the 1980 level),
the non-American market's increase—including primarily Western Europe—
will reach 850 per cent of the 1980 value. The disparity could easily be explained:
while in the United States mass communication operating on commercial bases
—the number one carrier of advertising—was present from the beginning, in West-
ern Europe it only started to gain terrain in recent years—in a rather speedy
manner, as indicated by the data of the present and the future.

The formula is rather clear. There is (will be) a shortage of domestically,
European produced television programmes. The American products, at a low
price, are always available. Year after year, more and more commercial television
companies—building up their profits from advertisements—make their way onto
the market, and try to fill their programme time at a competitive cost-level.
And this can be done easiest from the American products.

How far does this concern Hungarian Television? Obvious needs for new television productions are rapidly increasing also if the local cable systems do not primarily—and perhaps, mon transmit international programmes. On the other hand, because of the satellites, one has to increasingly reckon with the spread of r olite—primarily entertainment—programmes. In addition, (and a balancing role!) the dynamics of the advertisement industry—e of a further development of the market forces—will most prob powerful in the case of a further development in the socialist eco Western Europe.

The generous development—involving new sponsors—of domest production is consequently necessary also in the future. Moreover while to discover all possibilities which can promote a stranger in commercial resources in the domestic programme production. Final has to be expressed with considerable emphasis during the weeks of th Cultural Forum!—there is an imperative to dynamically develop between the European television organizations, more than ever, whet the form of co-production, exchange of programmes or any other for global and quantitative aspects of mass communication development c be balanced with the qualitative parameters of the development of reg local communications. Namely, with programme policies which are simul national and European.



European Culture — Hungarian Culture

Béla Köpeczi interviewed by Tamás Nádor

A small country in East-Central Europe is the host for a few days of European culture. This is nonsense, which — in not so easy times — turned into reality. Representatives of a continent's culture meet in Budapest for a discussion, which in a much broader circle can prove: a dialogue is not impossible, if we wish to serve the cause of humanity, moreover, its survival, we have to reach an understanding with each other. The special status of the host provides an opportunity for pondering and reckoning. With the Minister of Culture we had a background discussion fitting the line of thinking and profile of our publication, and occasionally glancing beyond these limitations.

— *We have been living in a particular area of Europe for the past one thousand years. In your opinion, how did and how do we see Europe from this point, including the culture of our continent? What have we received and could we also give something to the culture of this continent?*

— In order to give an authentic answer, it has to be clarified what European culture meant for us. In this respect, we took a very specific place in Europe. Starting out from the ancient land, we passed through Eastern Europe before we reached the land of Pannonia. We brought the Finno-Ugric inheritance and also many elements of East European culture. For example, we knew the Eastern Christian Church, the Byzantine Christianity, too. Nevertheless, we chose the other christianity, and with it West European culture, for historically valid and valued considerations, in a conscious manner. Of course, quite a time was needed for this choice, and we were able to fully join the Western and Central European region, and its Christian culture at the expense of many external and internal struggles. In this way, Hungary — similarly to Poland — was among the last to link up with West European culture. Consequently, and mostly in the deep layers of our culture, two different cultures were amalgamated. Having accepted Western Christianity, we also played a dividing role towards the Eastern European, Byzantine culture. Transylvania has a particularly special role from this respect. In the history of this area, two different cultural traditions co-existed for centuries, if you like: East and West, Western Christianity and its innova-

tions brought by reformation, and the Byzantine Christianity, the Greek Orthodox religion, and its related culture. The co-existence resulted in interactions, primarily in the sphere of folk culture.

If — also knowing these very distant preambles — we examine the endowments of the Hungarians for the perception and understanding of various cultures, we can say: a particular perception developed in the people as a result of their history, because they were affected both by Eastern and Western influences. However, we only became aware of this in the 20th century, following the work of Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, and the movement of the folk writers. The early period of awareness also included exaggerations, distortions and mistaken proportions, nevertheless, finally — I believe — we gained an authentic image of the effect of the two cultures on the Hungarians. It can be said that we have historic reasons that Hungary should be the scene of the European Cultural Forum. Nevertheless, I do not believe that this favourable moment of the past would have been sufficient for this honourable commission, but rather the recognition that the Helsinki process today, through culture, can also play a fomenting role. Most probably France, which made the suggestion, thought that it would be useful to organize the first meeting on European culture in a socialist country. There may be many different recent reasons why this suggestion was approved by the other countries.

Namely, Hungarian socialist development and its cultural particularities may have contributed to the decision, to the choice. It is known that after 1945—not forgetting the distortions of the 1950s, and taking the one-sidedness also into consideration—we interpreted the concept of culture in a more universal manner than ever before. European culture also meant something different, something more for us. Certain intellectuals wanted to expand the sphere of this concept already before 1945, yet in the first half of our century, there were very few people in Hungary who knew East European culture. Perhaps we knew the least about our direct neighbours. We started to understand Slovak, Romanian, Croatian and other cultures—particularly literature—only after 1945. The extensive translation fever of that period enabled us to place at least the best works (unfortunately later not only these) onto our own map of education. Classic Russian literature, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky and with Sholokhov Soviet literature were not unknown among reading intellectuals. However, most of this culture did not reach us until the change of the system. Thus to meet with this culture was like a discovery for us. At the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, the intellectual gates were narrowed, but the oeuvres of the major West European cultures—primarily the classics—reached us even under those circumstances.

From the 1960s onwards, Hungarian cultural life finally opened its gates to all—Eastern or Western produced—intellectual values and genuine novelties. Today, there is hardly any significant literary, fine art, or musical, etc. phenomenon or event which could not be known in Hungary. (It is another question whether everybody wants to get to know them.) We consider the aspiration for universality and—forgive me for the somewhat worn expression—openness as a major result of Hungarian cultural life, and—presumably—all those who approve of our efforts are of the same opinion. Therefore, it is regrettable that bias can be experienced among certain strata and groups. Bias, which manifests itself in the acceptance of fashions and also in everyday culture. Many things from the East European world, which were natural parts of our everyday life, are ignored because of this. For example, folklore. But this ousting intention can also be experienced in high culture, particularly with regard to the interpretation of so-called modernity. Some

people consider everything outdated which comes from the East, if it has anything to do with traditions, and consider many things up-to-date which may only be a fleeting vogue. However, every exclusion narrows down the possibility of universal information. Naturally, everybody can choose what fits his inclination and taste. But such a tendentious "selection" which advocates that the new and modern are only born in the West is in fact falsifiying and impoverishing. It deprives us of the possibility to fit the concept of European culture into universal culture. (It is another question how much value the West European avant-garde produced at the beginning of the century and between the two world wars. Nobody can complain if we consider this parallel with other values.) Therefore, I emphasize: we have to beware of becoming one-sided, among others, for the sake of a realistic survey and evaluation of our situation. And if we do not forget this, we also accept: when we speak about culture, we also speak about orientation. Namely, that it cannot be indifferent for us in which direction our intellectuals acquire information, and what are they interested in. Because cultural interest naturally attracts ideological, political, social and other issues. We wish that Hungarian intellectuals and all our compatriots acquiring education should become acquainted with European culture in its fullest entirety, and not only with a part or segment of it.

—Europeans living in the last quarter of the 20th century—at the expense and through varied historic and everyday experiences—can hardly believe that they are living in Old Europe and that this continent, because of its traditions or power is still the centre of the world. After the emergence of several other intellectual centres, and after so much intellect and man destroying intentions, what particular role can Europe play in universal culture? Can it be believed that a sound will be struck here in Budapest and that will have an echo everywhere?

—In fact the Europe-centric outlook had to be given up. The opportunity for this was brought by the 20th century. Before the technological means which made the knowledge of other cultures possible were born, there was only a very small minority who had the appropriate information. Western Europe—because of its possibilities—discovered extra-European—the Asian or the African, etc.—cultures much sooner, than let us say: Hungary. The concept of universal culture today naturally not only includes the sphere of European education. Universality should be perceived in the Goethe sense, in the hope that the end of the 20th century is suitable for the perception of world culture. I believe that we succeeded in making a step forward in this direction. The socialist countries—for economic, political and social reasons—were almost compelled to pay attention to every point of the compass. However, unfortunately in Western Europe the interest in the East European cultures is not such as—in possession of the new technological media—it could be. These countries are characterized by a certain isolation, although all sensible and humanistic reasons speak against this. Of course, being Europe-centric is not only untenable because through the many branches of high technology and media messages one can reach any place, and the values of universal culture can also be introduced. Isolation or any type of exaggerated European consciousness is also outdated because the major events, changes and processes of the world—naturally—do not take place exclusively in Europe and are not only linked with our continent. For example, if we take the developing world, which is a major burden and a solution-urging task of humanity at the end of the 20th century, I have to say to be Europe-centric equals suicide. Suicide, because the tensions of the developing world not only endanger the concerned area. All unsolved issues threaten the human race with crisis and war. If Europe does not understand the

developing world, it will endanger itself. And naturally it will also harm its culture.

—Hungary's cultural reputation has been warmly acclaimed beyond our frontiers—both in the East and West. Interested people could follow the spread —if you like—the revolution of this culture with respect. However, it seems as if the tempo had slowed down, and people do not always feel the sense and use of education. More precisely: genuine qualitative changes are still to come. Perhaps we still do not understand that while we can exchange words in the language of culture, we do not have to fear the sound of guns . . .

—Nobody can doubt today that with the revolutionary changes, Hungarian society could gain access to culture which was unobtainable earlier. Schooling increased among the broad masses of people, requirements also increased, our everyday life became more civilized, or we could say: much more culture was "consumed". Naturally, after the radical changes, the tempo slowed down, for they were followed by the period of the qualitative perception and acceptance of culture. This is why today our culture cannot be—authentically—characterized merely with figures and statistical data. An organic part of present Hungarian reform policy is the cultural policy which urges the augmentation of general education parallel with appropriate professional training, with the implementation of scientific-technological achievements, with their utilization and further development. This process is the basic condition of democratization and in general of the practice of democracy, because in the absence of the necesarry knowledge and the ability of choice, we cannot make progress in this respect. We should not forget that all this requires a certain self-confidence. This problem is qualitatively new, since earlier the individual issue did not play such a significant role as today. Today, it is in the interest of the community, of the entire society that individual people become conscious, which is the only way for continuous renovation, and the only way to provide the best of one's abilities. Culture has an extreme responsibility and varied possibilities in this. The functions of culture took effect in a completely different substance in—let us say—1945, and can take effect in an entirely different domestic and international milieu today.

If we seem to sense a slackening in the attention towards culture, we cannot state that the interest of people became constricted, limited, or is directed onto something else. In fact everything is connected with the mobility of society and with the directions of its mobility. In plain English: if we do not strive to sense the qualitative changes of society also in culture, then naturally the prestige of culture is also weakening. In other words: if schooling, qualifications and education have no proper esteem—also expressed in cash—we should not be surprised if many are as it is said thinking in practicalities. When at that time, we spoke about the cultural revolution, education was an important precondition for people's promotion. Even from the aspect of the division of labour, because education decided what position they could take in the social hierarchy, and their income also depended on this. No wonder that their intellectual progress was closely linked with the extent of their gaining consciousness. Today, the problem is that the mentioned requirements—scientific technological progress, democratic development, the cause of self-accomplishment (naturally, one can only realize oneself in one's personal relations, as a part of the community)—do not take satisfactory force in the system of economic-social conditions. Then, the tension between the aims and possibilities causes the conflicts. However, we should not forget under what new cultural circumstances the tensions appear. In the past twenty or thirty years, many more people completed the eight grades of elementary school than earlier (96 per cent of the age groups) and a much

higher number completed the four grades of secondary school (50 per cent of the concerned age groups). Accordingly, requirements towards culture also changed basically. The spread of the mass media and particularly television, also brought about a new situation. The television carries (let us not ask what quality) culture into every house and every family. Thus, we can go on speaking about general education, even if culture does not function in such a way when quality is satisfactorily appreciated. However, primarily not the creators or disseminators of culture are responsible for this, but the present condition system.

—Every society creates a cultural model for itself, to which it would like to approach, and in this spirit creates for itself the image of the ideally educated man. It is known that on several occasions we also put into words, then—under the pressure of the era—amended this ideal. In the meantime, this or that was unworthily pushed into the background, we were afraid of the split of the two cultures, we blamed our educational system and so on. What type of cultural model do we believe in today?

—At the beginning of the 1970s, the educational committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences drew up the model of modern culture. In fact this tried to define the cultural contents of the man of the end of the century and of the beginning of the next century. This idea then served as the basis for the development programme of education. In a simplified manner, our programme is aimed at setting up higher grade general education, differentiated according to social categories and depending on the requirements. This idea confronts the currently fashionable trend which advocates too early and exaggerated specialization. In professional training, we also place the bases into the foreground and specialization is postponed, both in secondary and higher education. This concept formulates the ideal of man who can live in a really humane society and nature. In our opinion, there is no professional education without general education and the former can only be built over the latter if we do not want to train narrow-minded specialists. Of course, a system of ideals and values is expressed in the educational image. Man living at the end of the 20th century should in fact answer the question Romain Rolland presented to Lev Tolstoy: how one should live. Even Tolstoy could not very convincingly answer this when he said that one should love everything which is good and beautiful. Of course, he was perfectly correct in this and if our contemporaries were satisfied with such generalities, perhaps I would say the same. However, it is difficult to define what is good and what is beautiful for us today. When, for example, the dispute broke out around the educational law, there was a long clash whether the word "tuition" or "tuition-education" or perhaps "education-tuition" should be used as the proper term. First I believed that the two are in inseparable unity, therefore, it is satisfactory if the draft bill only uses the word "tuition". Then it was found out that the majority of the teachers demanded that the word "education" should also appear, moreover, that it should precede tuition. This requirement made me think. And even more how differently people imagine education . . .

Undoubtedly, today ethics or if you like, normative thinking determined by ethic categories is breaking into the foreground, and it is the genuine problem of culture how to conform with it. In a way that it returns to the declaration of old, classic, traditional normativity (the progress of conservative ideologies seems to indicate that this is the direction where the world proceeds) or in a way that in a renewed state it tries to preserve everything that progress brought with itself, let us say since the renaissance in ethic thinking, but it also pays attention to the major changes of the 20th century. We live in a transitory period in socialist develop-

ment as well, therefore, we are vague in the determination of our own norms. However, the debates indicate that an urgent answer has to be given. I consider this one of the major problems of our current intellectual life.

—Many generalities are heard stating that our political culture is inappropriate and that our discussion culture is underdeveloped. Despite the truth which they carry, I think we cannot make much use of such unmarked criticism. What do you think is the reason that disputes are so frequently pseudo-debates—when different views are lined up beside each other or identical views are sounded in the disguise of bold criticism—, that ideas are missing in the exchange of ideas, that the exchange of views is often replaced by personal duels and that the same thing is, without the slightest hope of progress, repeated again and again? How could we reach a political and discussion culture which could promote the shaping of our image about man and the world?

—In order that one should be able to debate, one should have a standpoint. I often experience that the exchange of views does not make progress and one cannot follow what is the subjects of the dispute, and the parties cannot convince each other, because they have no views and no well meditated standpoint. There is also a certain reserve, moreover, fear which prevents one to have political-ideological views about this or that issue. If people do not like it they may write or say that they do not like a drama, or the acting or perhaps the direction, the tone of the novel, or the brush of the painter. We criticize on merely intellectual and aesthetic planes. However, if somebody has some ideological objection, he will thoroughly think it over to publish it, if he does not want to be accused of petty-mindedness or dogmatism or conformism. Although since the beginning of the world there have always been ideological differences and they should not be hushed up for some pseudo-prudery or simply because we have no crystal clear standpoint. This is also why we feel that our intellectual life—to say the least—is rather lax . . . The other experience is perhaps even more unpleasant than the above. A debate is carried out about some concrete issue, let us say about one or the other event or personality of our history. And it is revealed that the debating parties simply do not take into consideration the latest professional literature and renew disputes which were solved 50 years ago. (For example, we recently commemorated the 250th anniversary of the death of Ferenc Rákóczi II. And today so-called "educated" people present the same questions as were discussed in 1913 in connection with "Exiled Rákóczi" by Gyula Szekfü.) Reading historic novels and dramas one can observe that the writers worked from sources from the past century or the beginning of this century and are unaware of the latest results. Regretfully the same can be experienced in education. Our teachers transmit outdated theses to their pupils. All this shows that the results of scientific research reach the public only very slowly. This is also a reason for the one-sidedness, moreover, for the outdatedness of the debates. It is a technical problem, but not negligible: if the exchange of views takes place in the printed press, the clashing publications follow each other with a considerable time gap. Thus, the reader cannot create an image in the concerned sphere of thought. Relative simultaneity is useful in a good debate. At the end of slow and extensive debates, one does not even remember what it was all about. It is not only debate culture that we have to learn—which is a natural consequence and concomitant of mature political culture—but we also have to provide the necessary conditions. And in many cases, this does not depend on the healthy public spirit or the grade of democracy, but—as it was indicated by the above mentioned example—simply on technical conditions.

—One in fact often experiences that old views are conserved in the middle and lower intellectual strata. Unfortunately, new knowledge does not reach exactly those who should or could transmit them. Among others, the press, the radio and the television are engaged in the publication of new results. What could the mass media do to accelerate the mentioned process?

—When I worked at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences I was responsible for the press. I made various attempts to forward the new results to the media in the shortest time. The main reason why my efforts could not be really successful was that we did not find a suitable transmitter. There were not enough journalists who would have devoted themselves to a branch of science in order to be able to transmit it. (It was not required that any journalist should become a specialist scholar. Only thorough information and ability of understanding should have been acquired.) We tried to ask scientists to write the articles or to publish the novelties on the audio or visual forums of mass communication. However, these attempts were rarely successful. Because the general public—understandably—can only perceive what reaches it in an experience-like manner. Boring professional reports cannot arouse interest. And strangely enough, the above bad experiences are not only valid in the sphere of natural sciences, there is no journalism for example in issues concerning social sciences either. No appropriate response accompanies scientific works, at most in the form of a review. In this way, only those issues reach the public, or some of its strata which are involved in some scandal. And the scandal or its grade is not an accurate or authentic measure, is it? Those who read major foreign papers can experience that they regulary deal—and on a high standard—with the latest research results. The media rarely employ specialists here in Hungary, although I believe allround journalists have gone out of fashion. But let me be a bit severe on this ocassion: I suggest there is more involved here. An attitude to settle affairs in an easy manner without effort is also an obstacle in the path of the dissemination of knowledge. The public opinion shaping intellectuals—because naturally I do not only mean the journalists — do not demand greater curiosity from themselves nor appropriate discipline and regularity. This is carelessness and weakness we are all suffering from. This is why I do not really like intellectual laziness.

—Returning to our starting point: can we—Hungarians—give anything to Europe through the European Cultural Forum? Do we have such a particularity or intellectual reserve which can be useful for others? I could also ask: how much is Hungarian culture worth? And finally: what can we receive, what can we hope for and what can we gain from the meeting?

—All in all, not forgetting the difficulties and problems, we can say: culture made considerable progress in the past forty years in Hungary and the cultural level of the majority was also raised. The current intellectual physiognomy of Hungary is characterized by multifariousness and the requirement of universality, both in creation and in perception. With the help of this concept, the most varied cultures can co-exist in our country. The state supports this and even if we do not always feel satisfied with the extent of the support, it provides a possibility to choose the genuine values. These achievements cannot be abolished even by the contradictions that were mentioned earlier. With regard to the appreciation of Hungarian culture, I have personal research experiences in this field. Since an early age, I was engaged in studying our fame, the image of Hungarians in the world. During the past fifty years, many things happened: certain values of our culture reached many parts of the world. Undoubtedly, Bartók and Kodály are today a part of universal culture. Some of our fine and applied artists are also

known all over the world. Lately, Hungarian films have also become known, particularly among young European intellectuals. With regard to our literature in which we consider many works to be of universal value, regrettably the situation is different. Several works were translated and published in the socialist countries, particularly in the Soviet Union, and in this way they found access to many readers. However, in the West even our best writers only have an honorary success. Only small groups read our literature; true enough with expert appreciation in these circles . . . Hopefully the Cultural Forum will provide the opportunity to bring the various zones of Europe into closer proximity, and make what is worthy known here and there. The Forum can discover the road which leads to this and the technique—or if you like— the necessary material conditions too. In this spirit I hope that this meeting will not be the scene of confrontation, but of cooperation. This is why I regard it so great an honour that Hungary can be the host of the meeting. We consider culture appropriate to make peoples and individuals acquainted with each other and get closer to each other. In this spirit I believe—even if it sounds like a slogan—culture is a means of peace. Thus, for me the European Cultural Forum is the forum of a multifarious exchange of ideas, of the exchange of intellectual values and similarly to all such encounters: a peace meeting.

György Csepeli

The Experience of Being Hungarian

Musil, although few people wrote with sharper irony about the subject, points out that nationalism certainly has not been invented by the war industrialists. Though the suppliers of weapons—or to put it in sociological terms, the ruling classes—may have vested interest to develop and spread a nation-centered ideology, this does not mean that people are not interested in defining themselves in terms of their national identities, which, according to Lenin, is not only their psychological need but at the same time their justified right. How big was the surprise of Count Leinsdorf (and that of the dogmatic Marxist thinkers of the times) when a citizen of the Austro—Hungarian Monarchy at the turn of the century defined himself saying that he is "Polish, Czech, Italian, Friulian, Ladinian, Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovakian, Ruthenian and Wallachian".[1] The example is still alive, for it is still not in the interest of any country to perish because of its inability to "utter" its identity.

The need for necessary adjectives to perform the speech-act of self-identification in terms of collective identities is not a general basic anthropological need but a demand posed by the embedment of man in everyday life. Although everyday life bears the imprint of historical and cultural variety, its structure remains unchanged. This structure requires that it be experienced—if need be with considerable force—as continuity, permanence, routine and clarity of expectations. The practice of everyday life demands the knowledgeof life.

The basis of everyday knowledge is the natural attitude which makes it possible for the individual to take for granted a set of social phenomena like the existence of others, interaction and communication of people, or the operation of legal, political, economic and cultural institutions concomitant with the operation of society as a whole. Everyday knowledge projects a pre-constructed socialized world. Unless individual consciousness is present in it, this world is closed and static. For a person, however, who is aware of his biographical past, of its irreversibility and, being conscious of his perspectives, fills it with hopes and anxieties, it offers multiple aspects of openness. The pre-constructed social reality thus loses its static character and becomes dynamic.

From the point of view of everyday knowledge only the individual elements and the rules of their combinations are given—as vocabulary and grammar in a language—and individual consciousness is an accomplishment which is produced by man according to his own laws. The fact that from an outside observation point this consciousness seems obscure, incoherent and contradictory, is connected with the circumstances of the individual who lives in the context of everyday life. His motivations, interests and inclinations are necessarily varied and changeable; his judgements and decisions are empirical and based on narrow perceptions, and his social relations are of many different kinds.

Society being taken for granted also means groups taken for granted. National groups, the sexes, age-groups, occupational groups, religious groups

and clans are all so many "taken-for-granted" formations which, however, are not merely a matter of passive acceptance but also of evaluation and probability judgement. Evaluations and probability judgements are not simply added on to the individual objects denoted, but become an integral part of the experience, of the connotation according to which the individual is a member of certain groups found ready-made in his own everydays while he is definitely a non-member of other groups. The "person's own group", the ingroup, provides typical solutions and evaluations. These—as a collection of instructions—make it possible for the individual to interpret, together with others, social and partnership relations, nature and the supernatural in a manner that results in positive comparisons.

Typical solutions are schemes for judgement or decisions worked out by consensus, which enable the individual to tell what is just and what is unjust, what is usual and right, and what is unusual and what is shocking; in other words, these schemes orient the individual in the millions of routine situations in life, giving him a sense of security and belonging. These assessments throw light on what is good and useful and what is bad and useless.

Natural attitudes, typical solutions, and even assessments, lack doctrinaire strictness and homogeneity which, jellying into an ideology, leak back so poisonously in the flow of the priority and value molecules of nation-centered social communication. The "vocabulary" for the interpretation of the world presented by the ingroup (the description is much too formal because it does not suggest the nature of the cohesion between the members of the group) provides collective self-interpretation, an image of identity and community feeling internalized by everyone in the group.

With the disintegration for historical-social reasons of the primary social collectives, participation in the "in-group" is increasingly voluntary. What we call the sense of identity is actually the product of collective self-definition, but this definition is not preordained, it is more a matter of the individual struggling for his own identity through whatever means he has available. Identification with the group means perfect sharing of the stock of everyday knowledge created by the group. This is a process in the course of which the individual, making himself conscious of his belonging to this or that ingroup, fights for coming to know who and what he is, translating the objective fact of his individual existence into a subjective and yet thoroughly collective experience.

The experience of "outgroups" is an inevitable precondition for the experience of the ingroup. As he becomes aware of the things that are not typical, usual and familiar in the outgroup, the individual flees back in alarm to his typical and accustomed familiar world of the ingroup. In fact, his own ingroup gains meaning through recognition of the existence of outgroups. The pictures formed of other groups are, however, an integral part of the ingroup image not only for genetic reasons, but also for functional reasons. The fact is that, once learned, the comparison and distinction needs additional proofs which are delivered to the ingroup member through the looking glass of the outgroup.

Ingroup perspective—outgroup perspective

Here we must consider a fatally important factor in the development of prejudice which arises through the interaction between collective self-interpretation and the images formed of other groups. In a brilliant essay on the problem of what is alien, Alfred Schütz explains that the collective self-definitions formed according to everyday knowledge contain peculiar "to-be-taken-for-grantednesses" which correspond only to the norms of the given group. These definitions of

right and wrong, of true and false, are rules valid only for the ingroup, thus turning the images formed of other groups directly into their negatives as, after all, misunderstanding and being misunderstood are in a cause and effect relationship. This is how the mere fact of being different becomes a negative value already on the level of everyday knowledge (something that the philosophical systems, raised to the level of ideology, use to their own advantage). This easily generates hatred, disgust, antipathy and fear against the members of outgroups, for misunderstandings—being reciprocal—reinforce each other, strengthening also the negative emotional consequences. Mihály Babits, the Hungarian poet and novelist, points out in an essay on the Hungarian character this consideration of the apparently irresolvable conflict of the approach to the ingroup depending on whether it is made from the inside or the outside.

"Everything depends on whether I regard the Hungarians as a group with affection from within, or look at them from the outside. If I look at the group from within, then even the concept of '*extra Hungariam*'[2] becomes understandable and forgivable. If I look at the group from the outside, then the first line of our second national anthem[3] becomes a riddle and deplorable finitude". Belonging to a group inevitably implies in everyday knowledge the irreconcilable conflict of "from within" or "from the outside", which can be resolved only by the method of scientific cognition.

The stranger necessarily regards from the outside any group with which he has come in contact only accidentally (as does the traveller with the penal colony in Kafka); and through his role as observer he is forced to question everything that is taken for granted by members of the group. The feeling of something being self-evident is given for the members of the ingroup because, having grown up in their own culture, they have learnt which problems and which solutions are typical. This makes things much easier for them; obviously, if in every situation that arises in life they were forced to work out their own solutions, things would be much more difficult. The stranger, however, moves in a different field of realities. Not being in possession of the typical solutions, he has to experiment by the trial-and-error method —a way that is not only tiresome but also pregnant with the high probability of failures. And, suppose that the stranger happens to arrive at the most rational solutions, his verifiable discoveries are not accepted by the given group.

No less contradictory is the stranger's endeavour to achieve assimilation. His learning the identity of the group is like learning a foreign language. For a stranger, the culture the group has developed for itself never becomes part of his personal history. He can learn, for example, that there used to be a cemetery on the lot where now this or that building stands; but that will be entirely different from the internal definition of the person who has buried his mother and father in that cemetery. Schütz says that the most important aspect of the psychology of being a stranger is the lack of experience with losses, which makes it impossible for the stranger to have the same awareness of the past as is inherent in the reminiscences and nostalgias of the group. Obviously, the assimilation of foreigners is easier in societies which are typically oriented toward the present or the future.

"We" and "they"

Social psychology calls the basis for group denomination categories. These categories, arrived at by consensus, are simply perceivable criteria for grouping. As the definition of groups by these categories affects the individual's own belonging—he is always forced to compare and contrast "we" and "they" —the final denotation is always emo-

tionally charged—positive or negative or a mixture of the two. (Demonstration of biases stemming from group perception based on categories is one of the most elaborated fields of social psychology.) By this process differences within the group diminish while those between the groups grow. These differences take shape only if the fundamental criterion for the category is in fact characteristic of the group in question, though, very probably, not to the extent the perceiver thinks.

Stereotypes are based on the distortions of the categories which have no longer anything to do with concrete perceptions but become ready-made labels. The false images and the associated emotions provide the foundation for inter-group attitudes—or in the case of a heavier emotional core, for inter-group prejudices. On the one hand personality variants and on the other hand sociological variants affect this perception mechanism.

The experience of national belonging recreates the world for the individual. The presuppositions of existence, values and hidden interconnections are just as much present in this as in the explanatory systems worked out with regard to belonging, for after all the secret of the efficacy of the latter lies in the very fact that they are realistically based in psychology. Making distinctions between the experience of belonging and the ideology of belonging is, however, justified nationally just as much as in the case of other categories elaborated by large social groups. The fact is that everyday presuppositions for taking certain things to be granted are never artificially supplied but leak into the flow of social communications as sedimentations from historical and social processes. At the same time the presuppositions have indispensable functions for man as a social being, and in case these functions are not fulfilled — for example, if the transmission of certain messages concerning belonging breaks down—this will produce the everyday affective and cognitive sediments to fill up the vacuum. Once a person does not find a ready-made group to belong to, he seeks one for himself. The implications are different, but there is partial correspondence in the findings of research on the sociology of religion, namely that congregations show speedy shrinkage whereas a large variety of small sects mushroom. Of course, not everybody who becomes detached from his mother church will join a sect, but those who are not reached by the communicational message of the traditional religions (the gospel, by the way, means good "tidings") and still have a need for religion, will certainly turn to one of the less visible but agile sects where the communication that carries the message takes primarily a personal course.

"I am X"

But what are the needs which can be satisfied by the message of national belonging, in other words what requirements are satisfied by the affective and cognitive system expressed under the denotation of the experience of national belonging? Katz suggests four such needs. As national belonging fragments the human world into units that can be perceived and evaluated through the mesh of experience of the ingroup and outgroups, its comprehensibility increases for the individual. There is probably nothing else that constitutes such a drive for perception as the fear of a vacuum, or complete vagueness and indefiniteness. The late Henry Tajfel demonstrated in his experiments that if a situation is artificially created in which the criteria for the subjects' given group relations lose their validity and are replaced by other categories—necessarily arbitrary, dim and unsure categories—the experimental subjects will grab at these "make-believe" categories. With the help of these categories one experiences a reduction of the uncertainty with regard to what is the ingroup and what is the outgroup.

The distinction between ingroup and

outgroup in the experience of national belonging is not merely an act of categorization but is at the same time orientation with regard to the possible and impossible methods of organizing one's relationship to the world. Biological human life shows extensive variations and even divergences as a function of social and cultural factors. This in itself is certainly not surprising, but it is astonishing what a great degree of resistance is put up by individuals if they are presented by these variations as options. The fact is that the typical solutions and evaluations we mentioned earlier are culturally determined with regard to their validity for most people. These are conventions, but very persistent and hard-to-change conventions and a given custom or culturally sanctified way of proceeding is just as difficult to alter as a given word or rule in a language, which are in the final analysis likewise matters of consensus. The bit of the world framed by the experience of belonging is, of course, a familiar world whose re-creation is shared by all the individuals who bear the same experience and through it they reinforce in themselves the sense of the validity and taken-for-grantedness of this world when they communicate with the people in this group sliced out from the world—and only with them. This is again a way of reducing one's sense of uncertainty as we saw when we spoke about the need for satisfying the demand for familiarity. But in this case tensions are reduced within the field of social existence; and their easing supports the results of cognition which are otherwise always questionable—the opinions, views, attitudes and values about what the world is like—and thus also supports the subject's identity.

The relationship between the individual and his belonging somewhere can be approached in several ways. If we interpret the attitude of belonging to this or that group merely as a means of explaining the self-evident nature of the world, then the need to belong to somewhere is nothing more than the subject operating the criteria of similarity and differences in personal communication and interaction. If the experience of belonging enters the consciousness as self-categorization and is integrated into the social framework, it gains the function of developing a sense of identity. Finally, if the category of belonging comes into dominance in the conflicts that develop as the ego grapples with civilization and finds its role in solving these conflicts, it changes into a personality-moulding factor.

However, if the experience of belonging has only the minimal role of triggering off the statement "I am I", it directly starts an explanatory and rationalizing mechanism which exploits through positive comparisons whatever is connected with belonging. The need for self-justification is, of course, the more profound the deeper the roots of identity in the given person are.

In our interactions and communications we do not simply *use* the affective and cognitive factors of the experience of belonging, but we in fact *create* them. If our cognition were merely descriptive and our behaviour were no more than a chain of expedient actions—which is just a theoretical possibility—then the experience of belonging would lose its sense. This would leave no option and no aims to be weighed; the world would become one-dimensional. In actual fact, however, the world holds out a continuous challenge as against the copy that exists in the experience of belonging, the copy which we are motivated to defend. In fact, we not only keep defending our views, opinions and values, but, wherever possible, we express them. The attitude of belonging is full of challenges which are identifiable as values. When we describe something or do something, the ultimate rightfulness of our procedure is judged by the values inherent in the experience of belonging and not by the proceedings themselves. Thus, even the most sacred group values become very shaky and vulnerable in the eyes of the objective observer, and for this very reason they are protected at all

costs on the basis of faith in the ingroup values.

In satisfying the above needs, we have to accept that national belonging (and every other important and valid belonging) is built on a well of emotions providing the psychological stimulus for identification as we trace back the roots of our sense of identity into the dimness of the unconscious. We think that this emotional foundation is the strongest unifying factor among people who place themselves into the pigeonhole of national belonging and this is responsible for the empirically measurable differences in the affective-cognitive patterns of national consciousness which vary as a function of several "soft" and "hard" sociological variables.

Identification, however, cannot be regarded as an absolutely homogenous process, for the attitude of wanting to assimilate may derive from the need to solve one's identity problem, or from the wish for adaptation, for expedient and profilable behaviour. As the cognitive elements react back on the affective basis for identification, the affective element in national belonging may assume at least four different states: clearly positive, clearly negative (self-hate), indifferent, and ambivalent (i.e. a mixture of positive and negative). The ambivalent attitude is the most interesting sociologically and has not been sufficiently treated in the literature.[4]

Ideas abhor a vacuum

Converse[5] has demonstrated the fact —which we have also found in our research—that the cognitive structures often assumed to exist among the American people are confined to a minority of the population and are just not present for the great majority. This problem is a crucial sociological aspect of national consciousness. Of course, it would be entirely wrong to suppose in this context that the cognitive structures professed by the minority are sociologically of the same weight as its relatively small statistical incidence. The more complex the explanatory and legitimizing system of the national ideas is, the clearer it becomes that they are manifested by the most eminent strata from the point of view of efficacy in communication (i.e. chiefly highly trained intellectuals). These cognitive structures are not only the products of the thinking of an ideology-preserving (and partially ideology-producing) elite, but they are the "beloved brainchildren" of society's ideological "gatekeepers" i.e. opinion leaders of more or less influence.

On the other hand, the cognitive structures we are talking about are in fact definitely determinative, for they filtered into the thinking of various social strata about national topics. The only difference is that they are not determinative with regard to information and knowledge in the literal sense, but rather in their tendency to denominate values.

It should be briefly mentioned that—once we are studying the history of ideas—"public thinking" on the subject of nationality shows a peculiar coexistence of thoughts and ideas coming from widely different historical strata. There are, of course, considerable sociological variations, and the entire manifestation may be an Eastern European peculiarity. To use the term created by László Németh, the eminent Hungarian writer and essayist, we could call the social-psychological enterprise of exposing the coexistence of empirical patterns of thinking—often incoherent and conflicting coexistence —a sort of "historical geography".

This approach is particularly relevant under our conditions in Hungary. The fact is that the Hungarian sense of national identity is traditionally historically stratified and apart from this there has been in the past decades a lot of onesidedness in mass communications on the national issue which, in certain cases, is combined with absolute silence. (An example of the former is the frequently onesided presentation

of the national independence struggles of Hungary, and an example of the latter is the deliberate playing down of the situation caused by the Trianon peace treaty and its consequences.) At the same time, the past decades also show that the importance of national issues has not diminished at all, in fact because of the unbalanced presentation it seems to have grown in comparison to its objective significance. Consequently, public thinking had to turn to the explanatory schemes current earlier in mixture with clichés from the Western media. The result was that deposits from these sources as they entered the flow of personal communications spontaneously and uncontrollably, brought into being—or actually into a monopoly position—a conservative nationalist pattern of thinking which is alien from socialist national existence. Ideas, even in their everyday variants, abhor a vacuum. Institutional mass communication on the national theme started only after considerable delay. Therefore, it is not enough to work out and spread the type of thinking which corresponds to the new situation, but it is also important to stop and alter the spontaneous processes set off by lack of communication. This is a double burden for everyone who wants to think seriously about the problems of a national consciousness that fits socialist social conditions. That is probably the very thing that gives significance to empirical, sociological and socio-psychological studies in this area. After all, effective mass communications are inconceivable without access to the results—however superficial and incomplete they may be—of research done in this field, which has after all been conducted according to the rules of sociological investigations.

References

[1] R. Musil: Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften (1930—32).

[2] "Extra Hungariam non est vita, si est vita non est ita". 16th-century Hungarian ethnocentric saying in Latin, which was the official language of the Hungarian nobility at the time.

[3] "Nowhere else in the whole wide world is there a place for you". Incidentally, it is an interesting addenda that in a monograph on the Austro—Hungarian Monarchy, R. A. Kann calls Vörösmarty, the author of the poem, a "nationalist" poet, as if he were verifying Babits's hypothesis with regard to evaluation "from the outside".

[4] Notable is the fact that traditional social psychology pays but little attention to this attitude. This is expressed in the research by Festinger, Schachter and Back in their study on attitudes linked to student housing at Harvard. Here the "code" was imposed on ambivalent responses and reclassified as either positive or negative. I found in my own research that this rating would lead to essential falsifications where national attitudes are studied.

[5] P. E. Converse, 1964. The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In D. E. Apter (Ed.) Ideology and discontent. Free Press, New York, pp. 206—261.

Tibor Köves

Religion and Communication

The leading representatives of Christian communication organizations of Europe and of the world, invited by dr. Zoltán Aranyos, Chairman of the European Ecumenical Information Organization, held a meeting in Budapest on May 2—4, 1985 with the title "New Possibilities—New Tasks in the Field of Christian Communicatory Cooperation". One of the introductory lectures of the conference—published in the following pages—was held by Tibor Köves, Head of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian News Agency.

Although I have been a Communist even longer than I became a journalist 35 years ago, I am aware of the fact that without the Bible we would not even have a proper word for one of the most important attributes of humaneness. This very important word is—*communication.* This term has got lately a very strong technical overtone, and there is a hint at this aspect in the subject matter of this conference too, mentioning the "new possibilities" in communication. Still I believe that whatever technical wonders have been and will be produced by human inventiveness to make communication easier and faster, the very essence of it will not change. And the essence of it is a *sharing of common fate in the communion of mankind.* Whatever explanation we may accept on the beginning of human existence, we may probably agree on a basic fact: receiving signals from Nature and sharing them with other human beings; giving news about ourselves and receiving news from others—that is communicating information—is *one of the most elementary social phenomena* of human life.

Since even the Gospel cannot endure without spreading it among people, perhaps we may accept a notion, at least as a hypothesis, in the following terms: it is this most elementary *social attribute* of human existence which represents the *universal quality* of information. To my mind, this *social quality* is the *irreducible core* of human communication. Without this social quality information has no meaning and function, whatever the final interpretation of any particular information might be. With that innermost social content, should it concern the material or spiritual aspects of human existence, information is a basic life sustaining social equipment of the human being, deprived of which, he is deprived of life itself.

If we can agree on this notion, at least as an arguable working hypothesis, then we already have a wide enough common ground for a meaningful communication on the new possibilities brought about by the tremendous changes in technical means, operational processes and working methods in all spheres of mass communication.

I hope I made it sufficiently clear that I am not undully mesmerized by the technical aspects of human communication, although I also believe that during the last decade some fundamental qualitative changes have indeed opened a new epoch in the technology of information.

May we, or should we, accept the notion that indeed a new epoch has opened in information technology in general, and in mass communication technology in particular?

There are, indeed, strong arguments

for answering this question in the affirmative. To be consistent with this affirmative statement, the supporting arguments, in my view, have to meet, at least, two conditions:

a) they have to demonstrate convincingly that some of the changes in information technology are fundamentally qualitative in nature;

b) they have to demonstrate the existence of a common attribute of all kinds of information, such an elementary universal quality of any sort of information from which any new qualitative changes in the world of information may be deduced.

By setting this twofold quality criterion for proving our point, we do not need to dwell upon the breathtaking new marvels of information technology. It is only too easy to become utterly dazzled and absolutely flabbergasted just by reading about all these technical wonders in the specialized periodicals.

It may be sufficient to say that as far as the new technical possibilities of human communication are concerned, they seem to be almost limitless. To demonstrate this it will suffice to mention the basic components of this kind of tremendous technical potential, which are already in existence, and even more, most of them are already operational. The basic components of what is termed in professional lingo as ISDN (Integrated Services Digital Network) are the following:

—communication computer system;
—digital transmission system;
—digital data switching system;
—fibre optic system;
—direct broadcast satellite system.

As we all know, each one of these systems is composed of many subsystems, and each one of them consists of a whole range of new machines, devices and techniques. If you put each one of them side by side, you get merely an arithmetic increase in the applied technology. But the combination of these components will create a new super-machinery, raising its combined potential exponentially to a higher power, very much larger than the aggregate sum of its components. And again, when you combine these supermachineries into a new ultrasuper machinery, or rather, into an integrated system of many systems and subsystems—in which each ingredient is designed to make use of each other's potential to the full—then the end-result is bound to be something radically new. Like a leap—into a new quality.

The two most dynamic elements of this ultrasuper system are undoubtedly the computer and the digitalization of every kind of data, making them directly manageable by computer. A virtually unlimited amount of data can be handled by computers with a speed approaching the highest possible, while digital transmission methods will homogenize all messages (voice, text, record, data, video), producing an ever swelling stream of binary signals transmitted through packet-switched terrestrial and satellite networks that send bits and pieces of messages over different routes for reassembly at the destination.

So, simplifying a bit, and anticipating quite a lot, though based on existing techniques, we may consider this generalized picture as the grand total of the technical potential we are talking about.

But—what is qualitatively new in this grand total?

To the very first place one has to put an absolutely unique attribute of the computer itself. The uniqueness of this particular attribute lies in the fact that this is the first technical innovation in history which is not merely a physical extension of human fingers and muscles, but a direct extension of human mental power. And this unique quality includes an extraordinary capability for becoming a purposefully programmed organizing centre, directing and governing the operation and division of work of any interconnected machineries and devices.

We cannot emphasize enough, of course, that man-made machine can never be a substitute for the human

mind, but by liberating it from routine mental tasks, the human mind may better concentrate on those intellectual performances which the machine—lacking the faculty of judgement, critical acumen, order of values, emotions, intuitions, emphathy, and first of all, philosophical and moral social commitment—will never be able to do.

Notwithstanding its obvious limitations, when you have a uniquely new device at your disposal which is able to set up a symbiotic link between the human mental process and the technical means for projecting intellectual products into an instantly available and utilizable form, then you are in a radically new situation.

In the stormy process of technical changes we may notice some other phenomena where cumulative increase in quantity seems to turn into new qualities. For instance:

—data processing and transmission is approaching or reaching the absolute speed, that is the speed of light;

—the potential reach of instantaneous communication in any format and content is now extending over the whole world;

—on the strength of the two abovementioned developments, time and distance on the terrestrial scale may be considered as conquered in data transfer or, at least, they are becoming negligible quantities in a strictly technical sense;

—there is now a technical potential coming into existence which is able to make all bits and pieces of human knowledge available to every human being; so, there is a potential for simultaneous awareness of events for the whole of mankind, and by extension, in a figurative sense, a simultaneous presence everywhere for every human being.

According to the twofold quality criterion I set at the beginning of this line of thought, I still have to make a suggestion about a possible link between these new qualities in the information technology and an elementary universal quality of any sort of information. Without repeating myself too much, I just would like to remind what I said about the uniquely social character of information as the most elementary and universal attribute of human communication.

That is why we maintain that information is such a special manifestation of human life itself that it cannot be conceived as a common product or an ordinary commodity, just like the other "consumables", for selling and buying in the market place according to the laws of supply and demand. (What a very special kind of "commodity" information is, is shown by the very fact that even when it is sold and bought, it does not change possession—the seller keeps it too—, and when it is consumed, it does not disappear, but rather multiplies.)

That is why we maintain that information, being a very particular manifestation of human life, can only be conceived as a social commodity or a social property, though not in the sense of possession, but rather in the sense of nature, as a trait, an attribute or—most fittingly—a quality of human being.

And that is why we maintain that human communication is too serious a business to be left to business alone.

Furthermore I would suggest that at the most elementary level—that is at the genesis of human information—you may find that the binary logic of a man-made nachine, the computer, is not alien from the working of human cognizance. With a very similar way human cognizance has been operating from the very start, saying "yes" or "no", "right" or "wrong", "good" or "ill" when comparing signals, checking new information against old information, putting facts together or classifying and fitting a new experience into the storehouse of Man's previous knowledge.

In the final analysis, the correlation of the unique quality of the computer with the universal quality of information may explain why it is possible that the whole gamut of new information technologies is now organized and

homogenized around the mental process of the human mind and its binary logic extension of a man-made machine.

So I suggest that all those new qualities in information technology I mentioned may be derived from the inherent social attribute of information. Extension of human capabilities into a new dimension—into the dimension of mental working processes; approaching and reaching the final borders of space and time dimensions on the Earth; a potential realization of human universality in simultaneous awareness of co-existence in space and time—all these really seem to be such qualities which are ascribable to the universal quality of information, that is to the inherent social nature of information. When all is said and done, this is the irreducable universal quality of information, and every new quality is an addition in realizing its original role by extending human potentials and social consciousness to the fullness.

A tremendous new potential is growing out from new technologies in every field of communication. And just like every new potential of human creation, this one is also wrought in with an equally tremendous choice for using or abusing it.

The true meaning of this awesome potential I could not put into words any better than it is written in the Proverbs of Solomon when Chapter XVIII, verse 21 says:

"Death and life are in the power of the tongue: and they that love it shell eat the fruit thereof."

I cannot argue with the profound truth implied in these words. Whether the power of the tongue has been used for good or ill, human beings have always had to eat the fruits of it, were they sweet or deadly poisonous. And now this is the first time in the history of mankind when Man has in his hands simultaneously the means of perishing all life on Earth and the means to reach each human being on Earth with the power of the tongue. And those who love the power of the tongue, or simply it is their duty or chosen profession to deal with that awesome power, are burdened in our days with an unparalleled responsibility.

A mutual awareness —and acceptance of this responsibility, I believe, may be a firm enough common gound even among Christians and atheists for a dialogue on the new tasks deriving from the new possibilities in communication. Maybe not for co-operation in the sense as identically minded people can do it among themselves on both sides of the ideological divide. But at least, for better understanding of each other's purposes and motivations. And based on a better understanding, we even may think about some parallel actions or attitudes in reconciling two points of view wherever there are profound common interests and values to be protected.

But is it possible at all that there might exist any communality of interests and values shared by Christians and atheists? Speaking as a communist, I am deeply convinced that such a profound communality of interests do exist. Without having common interests and values no dialogue makes sense. Any common work—and dialogue is part of it—presupposes some common values, although their foundation and their background might be different, their effects are still identical. The realization and protection of common values may not be reconciled in theory but the points of contact may be found in praxis. If you have a closer look at how the relationship has worked out between the Hungarian state and the Hungarian Churches, wou will see that it is not only my personal opinion but the policy and practice of the Hungarian state, lead by a marxist party. I think it proves that the meeting of Christians and marxists, in our view, is not only possible but desirable. It is because on our part we do not consider it as a problem whether a Divine Being does exist or not, but rather what kind of social values and moral principles devout Christians deduce from their belief in a transcendent Being. And I also believe that Christians may find

meeting with marxists not only possible but also important, because they may consider atheism as "irreligious" or "ungodly", but they probably would not consider marxists as "faithless".

I think that our faith in the human being, in the universe of mankind and in purport of the Universe is firm enough to match the firm faith of Christians in the same with a different interpretation of their origin and final purpose. This implies a profound communality of values and the alternative to them is nihil, a complete loss of any standard of value and the annihilation of mankind itself.

This year is portentious in more than one respect on our Continent. Forty years ago the weapons were silenced in Europe. And in a couple of months there will be the 10th anniversary of the birth of the Helsinki Document, what is still a valid proof of finding points of contact, despite all the differences we may have in the philosophical, social, political or ideological context of our views. And, even closer to our own vocation, this year will be witnessing the start of the operation of the first direct broadcast satellite with a potential coverage of virtually all of Europe.

For what purpose will these new means of the power of the tongue be used? For maintaining and strengthening peace we enjoy in Europe uninterrupted for the last forty years? For reaffirming and expanding the spirit of Helsinki? Or otherwise?

Whenever a new weapon or a new device has been invented and put into operation there was always a very strong temptation to use the advantage of it against an opponent. Some of those who have this advantage now, even if it is only temporary, or just for that very reason, might feel this strong temptation again. These people badly need the council of wise men who know the meaning of the proverbial truth about death and life in the power of the tongue.

Personally, I do not believe in legal or technical restrictions in human communication, not even if they could be effective in the long run. But they never are. I rather believe in a responsible and ethical competition of ideas.

In the Proverbs of Solomon I found two verses saying the same truth in two different wordings. The first version is closer to my way of thinking, the other version may be closer to the participants of this conference:

Chapter XII, verse 19 says:
"The lip of truth shall be established for ever: but a lying tongue is but for the moment."
The other version, Chapter XII, verse 21 says:
"Lying lips are abomination to the Lord: but they that deal truly are his delight."

Personally I believe that the same meaning of these two verses could be, and should be accepted as the very core of an unwritten Codes of Ethics in Communication. Very well may be that on this matter I still have to do some convincing with some of my comrades. But it is also possible that some believers of the Christian faith need some convincing too.

It may be impractical to expect total objectivity in news coverage on a divided world of conflicting interests and ideologies. But it is a historical experience that for every violation of objectivity there is a price to be paid, sooner or later. So I believe that it is our common interest that, at the least, we strive for objectivity as well as we can, even if we recognize how divergent our views may be on perceiving and interpreting reality. And, perhaps, it is not too much to ask for equity and fairness in communication all around the world and in Europe, in the birthplace of our common civilization and common cultural heritage. By doing so we might hope that if and when this question is asked again—and hopefully, before the deed was done—

"Am I my brother's keeper?"

then there will be a resounding answer from every corner of the world with all the new power of the tongue:

"Yes, you are!"

Judit Lendvay — Miklós Tomka — János Tölgyesi

May Day as a Media Event

May Day is primarily a social and political event. Its almost century-old tradition is intertwined with the working class movement. Since 1945 it has become an openly held red letter day of the Hungarian working class, where routine elements appear here and there. Thus, obviously the media are not its initiators, but they participate both in the preparation and the accomplishment.

May Day belongs to the annual paid holidays. Spring weather, in addition to rest, may tempt people to go on excursions or to work around the house. However, the festive programmes inspire people to participate at the political event in two ways: in the morning to participate in the parade or to watch it, and in the afternoon and evening to join the entertainment festive programmes.

It seems that in certain groups of society, participation in official or organized festivities is a norm—at least in the "it is done" dimension—which pushes every other possible occupation into the background. More than a quarter of a group, representative according to hard indices, but according to all appearances more than average aligned in the surveyed question,* described the parade as an activity mostly befitting the atmosphere of the day and another almost one fifth defined the viewing of the parade on television. In every part of society, the parade is regarded as an occupation mostly befitting May Day: almost every group mentioned this in the first place and the proportions are also approximately similar. The greatest difference came from age. Older people consider the parade as a less necessary part of the day than younger people do. On the other hand, 28 per cent of old people and pensioners, and 26 per cent of housewives require the television coverage of the parade.

According to official estimations, the 1982 May Day parade in Budapest was attended by about 100 000 people. (In earlier years, the number of attendants was estimated to be essentially higher.) In the entire country there are about three times more participants in the parades than in Budapest. The result always has to be supplemented with those who attend as spectators, organizers, sellers and so on. Thus, altogether about half a million people, approximately 8 per cent of the adult population participated in the parades in Hungary. As against this estimation —which does not distort downwards— every *fourth* person in the survey said they had walked in the parade. Even if we presume that the questionnaires were primarily returned by those who attended the parade, it is more correct to handle the latter data as the manifestation of a social norm obliging participation in the parade than as data of actual participation.

The motivation of personal participation is judged in a different manner by the various groups. A quarter of the party members, and even more of the

* 562 persons were asked through a mailed questionnaire. The breakdown of the group was identical with that of the whole society according to sex, age, schooling, family status, position in the social hierarchy, party membership, car ownership, television ownership and television viewing intensity. 40.1 per cent of the questionnaires were completed and returned.

officials say that people attend the parade because they are party members or because "they want to demonstrate their political conviction". According to the majority of those who are not party members, people go to the parade, because they "enjoy the community of paraders" or because "they want to see the festivities personally". These two types of motives, political demonstration and pleasant mass action appear in a different manner in the various occupational groups: groups higher in the social hierarchy say relatively more frequently that attendance is "done", that "it is a habit" and that the reason is "party membership or political conviction". In the groups on the lower grades of the hierarchy, people argue that "they enjoy themselves in the community of paraders" or they "want to see it personally" or that they "show it to their children".

Unparalleled interest

If we consider the entire day as a celebration and also regard it as a media holiday—and we have to do this on the basis of the extension and continuity of the festive programme—we see a particular wave in the possibilities of mass communicational and personal participation: in the morning participation is only possible through the television (coverage of the Moscow parade), in mid-morning we can participate either personally or through television (Hungarian parades), and at midday and in the afternoon participation can only be personal (festivities and other mass actions), while in the evening it is again the turn of television (the request programme of those who participated in the parade). This structure regulates when and which form can have a relatively greater or lesser mobilizing effect.

There is a great difference in the extent of those who personally participate in the festivities and those who watch them on television. In 1982, personal participation was about 8 per cent, while 80 per cent of the adult population watched the television programme. There is an even greater difference if we examine the time spent in connection with the festivities. The 7.2 million adult Hungarians spent a total of about 1.2 million hours in connection with the parade, with travelling to and from, and with the participation in the afternoon festivities. At the same time, altogether 38.9 million hours were spent watching television on May Day*. Estimating a "time capital" of 24 hours, the adult population spent about one quarter(!) of this with celebrations or with related activity: within this 22.5 per cent of the daily time capital was spent viewing the festive television programmes and 0.7 per cent with parcipation in the parade or at May Day festivities.

The role television plays in the holiday can be compared to two things. With regard to Hungarian viewing habits, a 70—80 per cent viewing index is not rare in the case of evening programmes, and on an annual average there are such programmes every third or fourth day. However, it is unparalleled that a single series of events should attract such a large number of viewers through such a long period of time to the screen. As such an all-day programme structure grouped around a single topic hardly ever occurs on television, it is difficult to decide what are the roles of the programme offer and of interest in this large extent of viewing on May Day. But even without deciding this question, the fact remains that there is a great quantity of programme consumption, which we interpret as an important component of the media event.

* Viewing data from the continuous television viewing survey carried out by the Mass Communication Research Centre with representative samples (N = 1,000).

Another comparison can be made with the ratings of the television coverage of certain events of "historic significance" in other countries. In 1980, the French Centre d'Études d'Opinion endeavoured to clarify in retrospect how many people viewed the live coverage of the 7 or 8 spectacular events of the past 40 years, regarded as the most outstanding ones.[1] Although it is obvious that the data distort upwards (people said about events which were not covered by television that they had seen them on TV; some people alleged to have seen one or the other live coverage, when they were obviously not even born, etc.), only one of them is higher than a 60 per cent viewing index. Naturally, it is possible that in other countries, the television coverage of other, perhaps even more important events may count on a larger number of viewers, but in our opinion, Hungarian ratings approach the peak values of other countries, and by all means indicate that the series of programmes reached the majority of society.

Space and time—in the street and on the screen

Many years of experience, the work of the organizing committee, the provision of technical facilities and the publication of the order of the parade indicate for everyone the organized character of the holiday. The participation of the media in the planning phase is less known, and can be more discovered through the channels of written communication (newpapers, posters, and slogans, etc.). So that this should not upset the balance, during the television coverage of May Day the many years participation of television in the shaping of the event is often mentioned, as well as its preparation for the holiday and its extensive nature compared to other coverage and so on. Television could unite the holiday organizing and celebration role without contradiction.

Although television undertook a major role. One main source of this is that arrangement in time and space assigned different tasks on the local (or the national) organizing committee and on the television, as the concrete reality of a festive parade also can be framed within different co-ordinates than the television coverage. The space in mid-morning: the square where the parade takes place and the surrounding streets. The parade takes place in a single spot and notwithstanding the initial gathering, arriving from various directions in a star-like formation and notwithstanding dispersion of similar logic, it is of linear logic with its peak (the main tribune) roughly half-way. At the same time, television creates a different situation, and it is not exaggeration to say: a different social fact, organized in a different manner, both by introducing the structure of the parade square and the space involved by the festivities—independent from the previous. It covers the parade from direct proximity but the coverage is dominated partly by the sight from the tribune or from the space in front of the tribune. On the other hand it covers these spots to a much greater extent, and thirdly: an emphatic—because of its extraordinary nature—part of the pictures provides a bird's-eye view. In this way television not only demonstrates the extent of the participating crowds, but creates a feeling of seeing the "entire" parade and participating "in the entire event". Through the eye of the camera, viewers are placed in the centre, as if the parade were arranged around them.

Due to the camera stands beside the tribune, viewers feel the tribune to be nearer and more emphasized than the participants of the parade, and may have the feeling of sitting among those on the tribune. But television can do even more. The space of the festivities is not curtailed to a settlement, but to the entire country, extending the space by using the parade in the capital as the backbone of the coverage and the major part of the pictures. The interruptions with the returning pictures from the countryside, the rapid cuts from Budapest to the countryside (and back) and

the lack of over-explanation effectively indicate the unity of the country and the national character of the festivities. Pictures from the May Day parades in the fraternal countries make even further reaching connections tangible. In our opinion, this structure of the depiction of the holiday by television provides much more the feeling of completeness than the linearly arranged parade itself. In addition to the variety brought by the various venues, the "central" place of the television viewer can contribute to the continuous kindling of attention (of television participation). Finally, this space structure throughout the coverage makes it possible for everybody to join the viewing of the programme at any time.

The time structure of the event is somewhat more complicated, because not only the media are adjusted to the time of the festive events, but the events themselves cannot be made completely independent from the television coverage. The fact that the television appears at the parade and covers it, essentially increases the social effect of the morning festivities. But television also extends the duration of the holiday with the morning coverage of the Moscow parade, with the flash-backs to the festive events in the evening television newsreel and finally, with the request programme based on the morning recommendations of the paraders. With the help of television, the few hours festivities were replaced by a whole day festive programme with different atmospheres and contents, in which the morning is more directly, and the afternoon and the evening only indirectly of a political character.

Emotional peaks

The parade, both with regard to its concrete organization, and its television depiction, is organized around a centre, which means that a group or a few persons are placed into the centre. However, this is only relative and cannot be described as a concentration on individual heroes or as pushing the participants into the background.

Moreover, the holiday decreases the "extraordinary character" of the country's leaders. The importance of the appearance of the leaders and their depiction and interviews on television is also partly due to the fact that this occurs relatively rarely. This significance is further reduced (but not deleted) by television by showing the state and party leaders on the screen for a relatively short period of time during the parade, and in addition a number of other interviews are also made with economic leaders, participants from abroad, or with average paraders. It is possible that the organization of the holiday in time and moreover in space around the centre ensures a great significance for this centre, but this is not an isolated focus, and the emphasis is not on the different quality of the people depicted in the focus, but on their social connections and on their organic participation in the festivities. Not a single person or a few persons are turned into an event or are forming the event, either in the social-political holiday which provides the basis or in the media event that is relying on it, but if the case would be reversed, the absence (only theoretically imaginable) of the leaders on the tribune would greatly reduce the importance of the event and would make the maintenance of the traditional structure of the holiday very difficult.

The existence of the persons in the centre, and their not overemphasized role is most probably in connection with the ritual nature of the event. It is not a spontaneous outburst of joy, not the exaltation of a heroe, but a happy celebration of conscious aims, order, peace, and the unity of the whole of society in an elevated atmosphere. This holiday has traditions, its own symbols and slogans, it has a particular order, based on which every participant can list what the parade or the holiday

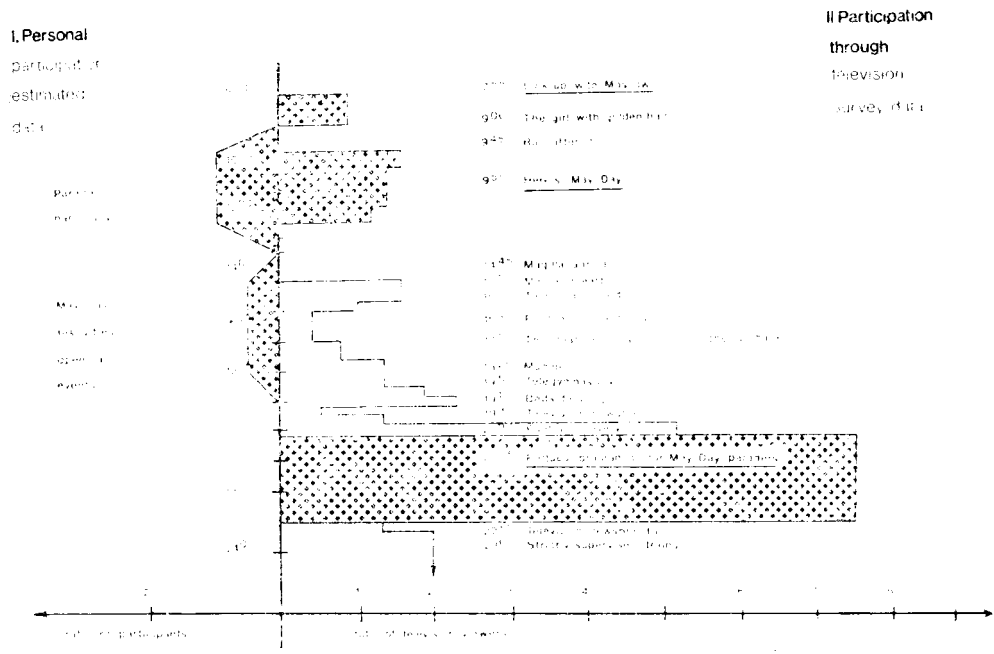
"should" be. The custom and the practice of the rite is furthered by the television, by the national transmission of the parades (patterns) in the capital and in important settlements, by the considerable increase in the number of those who watch the parade through these transmissions and by the introduction of the parades abroad (which in many aspects are organized in a different manner and with a different rite). The contrast that "they do it differently" strengthens the feeling that "we do it this way".

The rite does not simply come from routine. As rites in general, the rites of May Day take effect in addition to ensuring the forms of a concrete event, also on a more general level. The tangible concrete contact between the holiday, the event, and the broadest ideological horizon is ensured by the rite (Cazeneuvre 1971).[2] This function of the rite can be well traced in the May Day parade and in the series of festivities (Voigt 1978)[3], although we have the impression that the explicit effectuation of the rite is hindered by increased routine and by the playful, light character. It is a much more important reservation that in our opinion the pathos and the ritual character of the event—in contradiction to other opinions (Katz 1980)[4]—are reduced, formalized and vulgarized by the television following its technical and aesthetic possibilities and limitations (everywhere independently from social system or cultural standards). The May Day television coverage in our case, with the cuts of venues and with economic or cultural inserts and interviews in the interest of giving colour to the coverage, reduces this character to the minimum or allows it to appear only for short durations. Let us presume that this is not a Hungarian specialty, but perhaps a particularity of socialist mass communication, which does not entrust the covering reporter with either a central or festive controlling (in Katz's terminology: priestly) role.

The event is more essential

Both the central person or group and the ritual character, if handled in a balanced and sedate manner, ensure the planning of the emotional tension of the holiday. The formation of the festive atmosphere starts with the extraordinary schedule of the day (official holiday, longer lie-in, festive attire, etc.). In the media, the start is the morning television coverage of the Moscow parade. With assembling for the parade (in a changed traffic situation), the subjective tension increases, which continues by meeting colleagues and friends and observing the spectacle, which resembles a May Day picnic or a rustic fair. When the parade starts, despite the feeling of personal release, the emotional tension is more purposefully controlled by the schedule of the organized holiday, which to some extent limits the earlier individual tension, while it also transforms it into expectation: alongside the abstract and general, ideological and community aims of the holiday, the more practical target, i. e. the expectation to approach the tribune, gradually strengthens. In front of the tribune, the earlier gradually concentrated attention becomes fully directed onto the onlooking and waving state and party leaders. Despite the 10 or 100 m distance between the leaders and the paraders, the latter feel that this facing each other is an encounter of similar people—and this makes the administrative and mass organizational structure personified by the leaders more human, and at the same time, involves the individuals in them while the comparison with the leaders and through the contact with them, the feeling of one's own importance also become increased.

Reaching the tribune is the first climax of the celebration. The further part of the parade and the dispersion unambiguously involve the phase which conducts and dissolves emotional tensions. The earlier adjustment to definite frameworks and concentration on one point are replaced by a released



Personal and/or media participation — 1982

merriment. This continues in those who participate in the afternoon festivities. New, but lower level emotional peaks may evolve. Finally, there is a last peak, but with a minimal community or all-social charge and this is the evening television programme, the request show. With regard to the structure, the celebration of May Day forms a peak between an ascending and descending branch in the patterns of formality—informality; while in the dimension of personal experience and emotional tension there are several smaller peaks on both the ascending and on the descending branch with transitions of lower emotional charge.

The media coverage generates the emotional charge in a different manner. On the one hand, during the morning programme the tension is rather even, and on the other hand, the evening request programme has at least the same emphasis. In itself, this means an organization around two peaks, none of which is as articulated as the emotional climax during the parade. Thus, despite the undoubted peaks, the television plays an equalizing role. (This statement is made relative by the fact that the majority of those who watch the parade on the screen were among the paraders in the past, the relatively even emotional charge of the coverage and their reminiscences jointly develop the peak in them—most probably when the leaders are depicted or when they are interviewed.)

After all this, it is hardly necessary to point out how much the live coverage is an organic part of the holiday, and a condition for the development of the media event. The same television content to the same duration could not be transmitted as a deferred relay (or could not acquire a noteworthy number

of viewers), it is its live character which enhances its magic. But to ensure that it becomes a genuine media event, live coverage only becomes suitable under the earlier outlined conditions (given time, appropriate organization, and generally accepted subjective importance, etc.).

If on the basis of the abovesaid we formulate in a somewhat more general manner, it can be said that media events of a socialist type—as compared to the Western type—have the following particularities: first of all the general everyday media (and culture) organization and the internal structure and logic of the media event are in harmony. Secondly, the media event and the various sectors of the individual and social conduct are in harmony. Finally, the mobilizing effect of the event, independent from the media, is very strong, from which the relativity and the supplementary role of the media event follow.

That these particularities do not lead to the disappearance of the limit between continuous mass communication and a media event is due to two things. Partly, that the general cultural and socio-political environment increases, in the long-term and occasionally, the expectation towards the media coverage and the effect of the media. On the other hand, the formal and informal expectations towards the celebration of an event ensure extremely large efforts and a long transmission time spent on the festive programme.

As a result of these connections, the most outstanding political, cultural or sports events usually become media events in the socialist society—similarly to May Day 1982, which in Hungary was a media event.

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Tamás Szecskő

Configurations of Communications

Let me start now where I finished last December, in Venice, during the symposium entitled "La communicazione: il problema della strutture", organized for launching the World Communications Year in Italy. At the end of my lecture there I tried to show:

"Communication of our time is of a global character, at least in three aspects. First, it helps to define and articulate the basic problems of Mankind—peace, energy, environment, development—on a global level. Second: the world system of communications itself became a problem of a global character. Third: due mostly to mass communications, individuals are more and more able—and sometimes inclined —to evaluate their own actions, wishes and aspirations in a global frame of reference."[1]

Here and now I pick up only the second aspect—that of the world communications becoming a global problem—and just in order to translate it into a set of questions:

Are we aware of the real scope of the problem? Is our scholarly and political knowledge sufficient to approach it in an analytical way? Do we have appropriate methodologies for studying it at all, and do we have any far-reaching strategies for shaping it in the long run?

I think these types of questions have been formulated in an increasing frequency since the publication of the MacBride report, and the World Communications Year highlighted them even more.

The answers, however, cannot be but tentative, hesitative ones. Perhaps we do not even know what we know and what we do not know! There has been, of course, a mapping of the world communications problems going on since the second half of the seventies, institutionalized partly in the work of the MacBride Commission, and some of the basic components of these problems, some of the issues with a direct political significance have been kept "hot" by different international organizations and multinational corporations interested in the field of communications, informatics and electronic industries. But all these endeavours and deliberations of the last decade resulted only in a kind of partial knowledge. Our understanding regarding the traditional media system has been enriched, but our insight into the social, cultural, economic and political aspects of the new communication technologies did not become deeper simultaneously. Moreover, our explanatory framework for today's global communication problems became historically more valid, but our vision of tomorrow's historical alternatives in the field of communications is yet blurred. We are bound by McLuhan's metaphor: we try to find solutions for future problems by looking into the "rear-mirror".

Even the most distinguished futurists seem to fall into this intellectual trap. Arthur C. Clarke, the internationally respected scholar and science writer said in his address to United Nations in New York on World Telecommunications Day:

"We have now reached the stage when virtually anything we want in the field of communications is possible: the constraints are no longer technical, but economic, legal or political. Thus if you want to transmit the Encyclopedia Britannica around the world in one second, you can do so . . . Yet while recognizing and applauding all these marvels, I am only too well

aware of present realities. In Sri Lanka, for example, a major problem is that the village postmaster may not even have the stamps he needs to put on the telegrams that must be mailed, because copper-thieves have stolen the overhead wires."[2]

So, on one hand, Professor Clarke sees—possibly in a more articulated way than an average communication scholar—the bright prospects of the soaring development of communication technologies and also the alienating contradictions of today, rooted mostly in the historical reasons of underdevelopment. But the technological future seems to be unconditionally bright for him.

I refer to Clarke only to illustrate a rather typical pattern of thinking of the future . . . a future where technology introduces improvements, an increase of happiness, a gradual elimination of contradictions, and a series of other positive developments—while conflicts, strains and contradictions are usually introduced into the processes of the future by social institutions.

This kind of technological optimism is an organic basis for the ideologies and practices of deregulation in the field of communications, because it suggests that the unambigously positive innate character of the technological development should not be subjected to any kind of social control, being these fundamentally harmful.

At this point it is not too difficult to discover the common ground between this naive optimism and the very conscious conservativism of the proponents of the vested interests in the communication industries. One of them just recently remarked that

> "tomorrow's world will be defined by technological opportunities and political constraints",[3]

depicting a rather peculiar Manicheistic world where technology is God and politics is the Devil itself—because it implies social control.

Returning to real life from mythologies, let me express my conviction that technological development, even at its best, cannot escape from creating new types of conflicts. Communication's future will not be without contradictions, quite a few of them due not to reasons of the past, but to those of the future itself.

These problems, these contradictory issues should be forecasted, and later, when actualized, studied by communication scholars. The discipline, however, does not seem eager to bite upon this prey. In the latest issue of the Journal of Communication (Summer 1983) wich is a kind of special edition entitled "Ferment in the Field", where more than 40 authors from 10 countries wrote about the "critical issues and research tasks of the discipline" on 350-odd pages, I did not find more than 14 concrete references to new communication media. New communication technologies are certainly mentioned several times, in a more general way, as a challenge for research, but I did not find any essay in the volume which might have dealt in depth with the new objectives, ways and means which the study of the socio-cultural impacts of the new media necessitates.

One of the essays, however, in the same issue of the Journal, offers an explanation for this phenomenon:

"Communication research has failed to develop adequate theory, methodology and institutional support for the analysis of the role and implications of the new communication technologies. This situation cannot be blamed simply on researchers' unfamiliarity with the technical aspects of the new technologies. Rather, this neglect is suggestive of the current relationship between researchers and society. Decisions on the introduction of new technologies are made by politicians in accord with the army and corporate leaders. Researchers may investigate the social, political, and economic impacts of the new technologies—but only after they have been introduced. Rarely have researchers been given the opportunity to explore the poten-

tial consequences of various alternative policy measures before the decision is made. Such studies could provide the public with some knowledge and potential input into the political decisions that affect their future and could provide research with an important role."[4]

I think, however, that beside this basic socio-political reason there are other factors also which hinder the sociological inquiry in the domain of the new communication technologies. Sociology usually relates social phenomena of the micro-level to macro-structures of the society. In the case of the new technologies it seems to be rather difficult to define—or, at least, to outline—these macro-structures. Since the sixties, the development of the communication systems of the industrialized societies show a probabilistic, organic, non-linear character. While earlier it was one new, powerful element alone (film, radio, television) which broke into the media-system, setting a new equilibrium, forcing the already existing elements of the system to adapt themselves to the changed conditions, today's communications revolution introduced several new elements into the system simultaneously: satellites, cable, video, computer, digital transmission, new ways of recording, reproducing and multiplying, etc. Most of these emerging elements of the communications are interacting, consequently they hinder or facilitate the deployment of each other, making even short-term prognoses rather difficult.

Direct broadcast satellites, for example, seemed to help the development of both the cable systems and the individual reception by disk antennas. The advent of the high definition TV broadcasts shifts the feasibility from individual to collective (cable) reception. (At least, as it looks today: we do not see yet which kind of a new shift could be experienced tomorrow!) The yesterday so promising prospects of the videotext seem to be cut short by the fast penetration of the personal computers. "Ainsi la guerre qui devait éclater entre la terminal vidéotex et le micro-ordinateur est terminé avant d'avoir commencé"—as the French daily Le Monde comments on the United States and Canadian scene.[5] (5) And similar examples can be found abundantly, demonstrating the difficulties of forecasting the state and the macro-structure of the communication system.

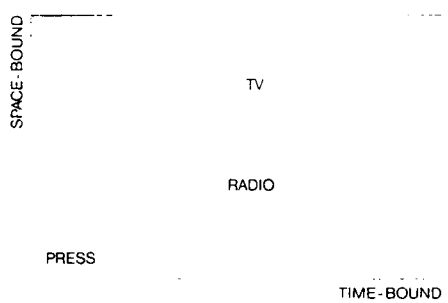
And there is even a deeper—and very often neglected—fact underlying. Mass communication hardware, entertainment electronics is only an outlet of a far less entertaining segment of society's life: that of the activity of the military-industrial complex. Let us face it: the hardware components and the technologies of any modern mass communication system are only a kind of civilian use of—more or less outworn—military technologies. And because this is only the top of the iceberg (or, rather, the residuum of it!), and because the algorithm of the military "black-box" is totally different from those outside the box, even educated guesses are rather difficult here. One cannot know what kind of new technologies will be channelled towards mass communications, mass entertainment tomorrow.

Because of these factors, communications development has more numerous possible, probable—and even feasible—scenarios than any other fields of activity of the societies of today.

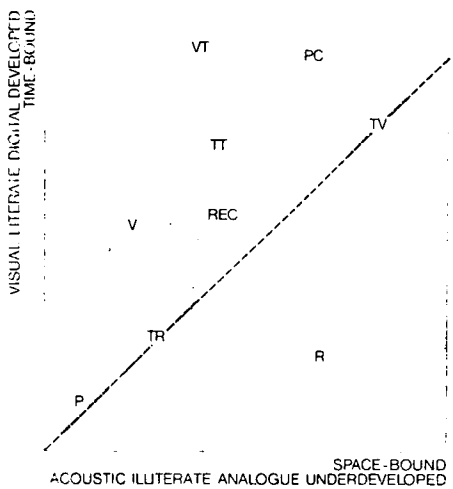
To make our case—that is the work of social scientists—more difficult, there are certain indications that a deep and hitherto mostly hidden transformation of a historical magnitude—like the Kondriateff-cycles in the economy—is working in the communication system of the world as a whole. I try to demonstrate what I mean by the help of some charts.

Traditional mass media have been time-bound and space-bound to a different degree. Printed press proved to be least bound by any of the two coordinates: one can read a paper practically at any time, at any place. Radio-

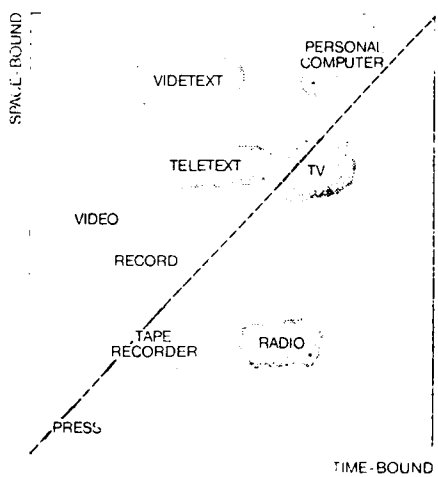
listening is less free: having a large margin of freedom in space (the range extending from the use of traditional table-sets or modern Hi-Fi towers to the highly mobile, miniaturized portables), the listener is bound, however, by the time-structure of the programme schedule. As for the television, traditionally it used to be most strongly bound in both dimensions. With the portable sets space-bonds have been partly loosened, but other aspects of space-boundedness remained: the viewer must keep the eye-contact with the screen anyhow. So the three large media of the traditional mass communication system formed a triangle among the coordinates of time- and space-boundedness.



The advent of the new media filled the space on the chart upwards from the "press—television" axis. Most of them has been liberated to a larger or smaller extent from the time-bonds, but remained space-bound. This is due partly to the predominance of the visual signals in the system and partly to the proliferation of different types, of cables for distributing the messages. This is the age of the "Wired City":



The picture seems to be rather one-sided. But this one-sidedness is a very-very specific one—it deserves our attention. Its heuristic value increases if we juxtapose some qualitative descriptors to the axes. Visuality as contrasted to auditivity, literacy contrasted to illiteracy, digital processes against analogue ones. And I would even go as far as to put the most aggregate binary opposition there: developed world as contrasted to the developing one.



All this is certainly nothing more than a first, rudimentary essay for ap-

proaching the transformations of the media system from a new angle. I have to admit, moreover, that one may trace a conceptual looseness of a McLuhanese character on the ideas embodied in the charts. This remark made, would be well-founded: in one of his last writings before his death, while trying to integrate some of the recent findings of the brain-research into his media-centered vision of communication, McLuhan followed a track very similar to what I was trying to show on the charts. Comparing the functioning of the human brain's two hemispheres, he wrote:

"Because the dominant feature of the left hemisphere is linearity and sequentiality, there are good reasons for calling it the 'visual' (quantitative) side of the brain; and because the dominant features of the right hemisphere are simultaneous, holistic and synthetic, there are good reasons for indicating it as the 'acoustic' (qualitative) side of the brain."[6]

In this article McLuhan calls the left side of the brain the "Western" hemisphere, and adds:

"The invention of the phonetic alphabet created a visual environment of services and experiences which contributed to the ascendancy or dominance of the left, or lineal hemisphere."[7]

Although I have strong reservations on McLuhan's technological determinism, I think, here he touched upon some points of a high heuristic value—like several times in his life. Perhaps it is not too difficult to find spectacular analogies between the microcosmos of the human brain and the macro-cosmos of the social communication system. After all, these analogies could also act as "ferments in the field" of communication reserarch. What is remarkable, however, what seems to be more than a simple analogy, is the fact that some of the most important elements of the emerging new structures of communications and informatics seemingly try to bridge the division between the two segments of the chart. The human voiee analyzer and synthetizer, the "speaking and hearing" robots, the translating and interpreting automats, be their operational state far in the future, tend to reintegrate the visual and acoustic space. And what is most interesting: one of the basic principles of the fifth generation computers is their faculty to use both digital and analogue type of operations. That is, they are to reintegrate the two parts on the chart!

Perhaps communication structures like those of the "Wired City" prove to be the final representation of a certain historical trend in communications development . . . Perhaps in the future, after a turning point, a qualitatively new type of development is beginning . . .

Among Hungarian planners there is a current parable circulating, pertaining-to the difference between short- and long-term planning:

"For a young father a short-term goal is to buy a cradle for his new-born son. The long-term—let's say, twenty years—plan could be either to purchase another cradle (of two meters long), or to foresee the preparations for his wedding."

With having spoken, in a McLuhanese language, of the possible reintegration of the visual and acoustic dimensions of human communication, I did not want to make any firm assertions, just to hint that it is better not to buy a two meters long cradle in communication research either.

Consequently, my first concluding remark is that we should not extrapolate unnecessarily from the present state of affairs in communications. It might be rather difficult to foresee and forecast the behavior of the communications supersystem—if I may use Professor Gallino's term—,but what is more than probable: its running will not be as smooth as the technological optimism is trying to suggest: beyond its genetical diseases it will also suffer of its own innate shortcomings and contradictions.

My second remark is that communication research should closely scrutinize both the cooperative and the hier-

archical relations inside the emerging system, making a thorough analysis of those political and economic forces which are in operation, moulding—developing or distorting—the new structures.

Special attention should be given—and this is my third suggestion—to the gap between the "information rich" and the "information poor" both on a national and international level. This basic question of democratization is hardly to be handled without having an insight into the difference between the authentic and manipulative components of the new needs for communication and information of individuals, groups and society as a whole.

Fourth: as these emerging needs are regarded, the sphere of work should not be neglected at any case. And although the problem of underemployment or disemployment—as a possible result of the informatization—is of utmost importance, scientific endeavours should not be relegated only to this question. We must not forget that even with an increasing share of leasure-time, the basic value-orientations are laid down in the domain of work—that is, in the purposeful, creative, socially oriented human activity.

Fifth: due mostly to the rapidly changing symbolic environment, to the growing informatization of everyday life, the process of socialization itself is going to change. This would not only result in a widening gap between the experiences, skills and aspirations of the different generations but also in a transformation of their life-strategies as a whole. Even the most basic structural components of the patterns of life—like time and space—are possibly undergoing a change that scientific research has to be aware of.

Sixth: institutions, concepts and ideologies related to the traditional information household of the societies, having been developed for more than one century, are rapidly loosing their functionality, effectiveness or meaning. Even some of the simplest terms, like mass communications, are becoming void, senseless or multivalent. Communication research, in order to cope with this problem, should not only try to find new conceptual frameworks and methodologies, but should assist social praxis, too, in building the necessary institutional setup.

As for the new methodologies—and this my seventh, concluding suggestion—a kind of "configuration approach" is needed: a critically constructive (or constructively critical) approach where it is not the separated elements and processes of the emerging new system of communication what is to be studied, but their configurations, their interrelations—"in statu nascendi" if possible.

Or is it a kind of astrology? I hope, not more, than the social prognostics in general.

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Pavel Campeanu

25 Theses to a Marxist Television Theory

Pavel Campeanu is a Romanian sociologist, the head of the research department of the Romanian Radio and Television. His theses, which attracted keen interest, were submitted to the conference of the Comparative Cultural-Theoretical Working Group of the fraternal parties of the European socialist countries, in the autumn of 1979, in Boja, Bulgaria.

In the opinion of our Editorial Board, the discussion of the 25 theses in Hungarian intellectual circles can further the better understanding of the nature of television, and can promote the elaboration of television's "ontology". This is why Miklós Almási, István Hermann and Iván Vitányi were invited to write their opinion about the theses—and other contributions are also welcome.

1 The theory of television, similar to its practice, emerged with the almost uncriticized implementation of the US model. The major commercial organizations of that country developed a system of competitive programmes the aggregate daily duration of which is much higher than the genuine duration of a day. Thus, the competitive economy also extended its mechanism onto the field of television. The effort to sit the largest number of people for the longest possible time in front of the television sets is completely justified in the case of a television channel whose efficiency is expressed in the number of television viewers, who became the involuntary receptors of advertising messages.

2 Research, adapted to its subject, developed over the years as an extension of marketing. Its main starting points were the following:

1. the individual television viewer as a potential buyer;
2. the immediate effect of the message—namely, ignoring or neglecting long-term effects;
3. the ranking of the programmes according to how far they are able to transmit the advertising message to the largest possible number of potential buyers.

Consequently, the main starting points of this procedure are the *individual*, *immediacy* and *quantity*, and all this referred to a hidden and unique attitude, which is not characteristic of television communication, and even less in the general social context.

3 In my opinion, the Marxist researchers of the field did not satisfactorily elaborate on the coherent criticism of the almost classic American theories (Lasswell, Parsons, Schramm, Lazarsfeld, and Merton, etc.) and even less produced a thorough and scientifically competitive Marxist theory. Concerned efforts were multiplied without producing more than a line of partial visions, formulated in various manners. We can mention names, such as Althusser, Dallas Smythe, Burgelin, Fardone, Enzenberger, and Nordenstreng, etc. These are Marxist authors or standing very near to Marxism, who despite their differences have two identical features: they all live in the West and almost all base their analysis on the fact that through advertise-

ments television was directly connected into the economic process.

Thus, Marxist approaches do not add much to the television theory, and researchers in the socialist countries do not really participate in these international efforts.

These theses are not designed to draw up a theoretical model, but to urge that we should all participate in the joint elaboration of such a model.

4 Certain Marxist authors, in order to illustrate the essentially social nature of television—or in general that of the media—particularly emphasize its economic aspects.

The sound foundation of the procedure, however, does not mean the sound foundation of the analysis. In certain cases—particularly when the starting point is the role of advertisements—television is not examined in its economic determination, but as a component of the economy.

The sale of the viewers is at least such a particular as a genuine phenomenon. If we overemphasize this or exclusively emphasize this, the danger exists that we degrade the theory onto the level of the particular, namely, to the level of a partial theory.

5 A valid television theory could not avoid the examination of the links which exist between the relations of production and the communicational relations of television in societies with differing systems.

6 Consequently, if the essence of television messages lay in their commodity character, they should have an equivalent in every other commodity and according to the C—M—C (commodity—money—commodity) formula, they should participate in the general process of exchange. However, it is obvious that the cost of a 60 minute theatre coverage is not identical with the cost of a 60 minute economic programme. At the same time, the expenses of the viewers who watch the theatre coverage are the same as those of the viewers who watch the economic programme: subscription fee, the wear of the set, and electric energy.

This means that the transmission of television messages to the receivers cannot be characterized as a process of exhange. What the receivers have acquired is not this or the other message, but an opportunity to have access to the messages, whose number is always higher than that of the actually received messages.

The expense of getting access to the messages is unchanged and independent not only of the actual number of received messages, but also of the fact of how many people watch the same set at the same time.

The message, which has no real exchange value, and consequently does not circulate as part of an exchange process, cannot be defined as a commodity.

7 The power of television is made fearful by the fact that the relations it produces lose their economic definition. The attraction of their messages can be explained not only by their particular quality, but also by the fact that in a world of dissatisfied requirements they appaer as the means of satisfaction which precede and surpass requirements; the quantity and quality of the received messages are not dependent on the price, but on the time spent on them by the presumed receiver.

Applying economic terms, the time consumption can be interpreted as a saving; although time not only forms the substance of history and economy, but also that of biography. The reverse of the genuine relations reveals the deformation of the image I gain about the world and myself: I perceive the irreversible time consumption, which is doubled by the economic system of money signals short of every genuine value, as a saving.

8 To put an equal sign between television pictures and the social exchange of goods is a procedure that

will hardly withstand the test of criticism. Nevertheless, the experiment has a significant theoretical merit: the suggestion that television is primarily the modality of social existence, and only afterwards that of consciousness. If because of its essence this modality of existence is not directly economic, but economically defined, the first task of a Marxist theory would be to examine television as a particular modality of social existence. In other words, a television ontology should be elaborated. In this approach, the examination of those interferences of existence should take a central place, which take effect between television and the commodity economy (for television emerged and developed within the framework of this commodity economy)—namely, the analysis of the mutual dependences that exist between the relations of production and the communicational relations of television.

At this point, the analysis will exclusively refer to those objective relations that develop around television communication, and will not cover the direct ideological contents of the programmes; not to deny them, but to provide an opportunity for a simpler expounding.

9 The general hypothesis of this approach could be formulated in the following manner:

1. because of its characteristics and extent, television represents a particular area of social practice;
2. its characteristics define its intellectual effect as a social practice;
3. its characteristics, which provide an area of social practice, enfold an intereffect with other areas—primarily with the economy—of social practice.

10 The decisive encounter between the economy and television occurs in the sphere of necessities.

What is the relationship between television and the various necessities of various people belonging to different societies? The answer to this question lies in the genetic code of television; I describe the appearance of television as a break in the history of communication. I believe that the emergence of television was not caused by a particular communicational necessity.

11 It is difficult to prove that at that time the pioneers of television were urged by the pressure of a definite social necessity to transmit visual and auditive pictures great distances. It is more probable that they were inspired by such earlier technological inventions as photography, the cinecamera, telegraph and radio. Television—which provided the never experienced opportunity to combine new problems and new technological solutions—was born in the sphere of technology, through technology and in a high independence from social communication. Namely, this technological invention was not defined by the social necessity of audio-visual communication over great distances; it was this technological discovery that created and developed the necessity of this communication.

12 The least television organically corresponds with a specific communicational necessity, the more suitable it becomes in satisfying non-specific necessities. The functional malleability of this communication technology have not yet turned into its social limit.

These are the most important considerations, which make me believe that today television does not so much mean the technological solution of a social problem, as the social problem of a technological invention.

13 With the help of this technology, information is turned into a "kinetic" picture, which can be transmitted great distances. Because of this kinetic character, television does not introduce static objects and persons, but relations, procedures and actions, which are the subject of spec-

tacularity. Therefore, it can be said that television transforms information into a spectacle. Accordingly, the concept around which we can build a fertile definition of television is the requirement of the spectacle. In fine arts, one becomes the object of one's own contemplation. In the spectacle, the object of contemplation is no longer man, but mobile human relations.

14 With the approval of rivalling programme flows, television becomes the means with which the extreme requirements for spectacularity can be satisfied. The extravagance originates from growths on various levels—from the growth which primarily occurs in the following forms:

1. The increased social time spent on the depiction of the spectacle. This time is incomparably longer than in the previous periods: in many countries television programmes are transmitted for 24 hours a day, in Romania for an average of 15 hours.
2. The increased social time spent on watching the television spectacle. Compared to a life span, the time spent on watching television amounts in more than one country to more than the time spent with work. Immoderation is reflected by the relationship between the duration of activity and watching, which changed in favour of the latter.
3. The increased register of the spectacle, ranging from fiction to genuine events, which turns the picture into a link between actual historic necessity and imagined requirements.
4. The increment of the spectacle in space: from a specialized closed space to the limitless space of private life—to the home. This unlimited mobility makes the spectacle omnipresent: its assortment has a simultaneously desirable and aggressive character.
5. The increase of the expressive power with the deepening of its spectacular essence. In the case of fictive spectacle—the basic model of which is the theatre, the natural picture of the requirement—television is not more than the industrial picture of this natural picture. In this way, television goes even further from its subject: from the requirement and with this extra distance it increases the illusion of being protected, and the reality of not being involved.

15 Its immoderation, which is strengthened by the lack of exchange relations, provides the axis around which the interference of television with the economy is organized.

16 The system of commodity economy, because of its essence, is a form of the socialization of poverty: this poverty manifests itself in the disproportion between the requirements of the members of society and between their ability to satisfy them (what we term as the productivity of work).

The main function of this economy is to distribute and diminish this poverty. The fulfilment of this function turns the economic system into the particular system of compulsions and limitations. Television does not reproduce this system of compulsions and limitations, but is—or at least it seems to be—the treasury of available and optionally chosen intellectual assets. The immoderate offer of television confronts the strictness of economic limitations. With regard to tel evision, human requirements, at least seemingly and from the quantitative aspect, are for the first time in the situation that they are not limited, but—on the contrary—surpassed.

17 The economy appears as the realm of necessity; television confronts it with its own empire: with an apparent freedom. In this way, the impermissive society appears as an inspiring society. Limitation is replaced by gen-

erosity. The economic physiognomy of society is denied by its television physiognomy. Television faces the hard world of tribulation with the charming world of abundance.

18 If action turns television into a spectacle and its dimensions turn it into immoderation, then television as an immoderate spectacle would be justified if it created immoderate viewers. The immoderate emphasis on the role of the viewers is based on the ability of the large scale extension of the requirement for the spectacle.

The social relations and the relations of spectacularity constitute two groups of genuine relations. However, their significance differs, they are fed by each other. Immoderate spectacle drives the transforming social energy from the genuine action towards the genuine observation of the imagined actions. In this way, immoderate spectacle fulfils the function of easing social conflicts.

19 Television, similarly to any other spectacle, expresses the eternal merger of reality and imagination. The merger moves towards interaction: not only reality is turned into a picture, but the resulting picture, in this quality, acquires its own reality.

To some extent the spectacle means programmed replacement. The object of the replacement can be a possible event—this is fictive spectacle. The object of the replacement can be an actual event—this is journalistic spectacle, which presents the picture of reality as reality in the proper sense of the word.

20 In his economic analyses, Marx frequently used concepts from the world of the theatre: mask, disguise, fetishism, appearance, and change.

Value takes the place of use-value; price takes the place of value; money takes the place of price, etc., the way in which the use-value proceeds towards the requirement which it has to satisfy is interrupted by filtering symbols as separating substance. These symbols do not belong to reality: "The form and relations of value concerning the products of work . . . have got nothing in common with the physical nature of the products" according to Marx. "The price of the goods or their cash form, similarly to the general value form . . . is an ideal thing" (in a non-material sense). "If it is true that the exchange value is a relationship between persons, it has to be added that it is a relationship in the disguise of relations between things."

This is how the basic replacement occurs: relations between persons express relations between things. Because of the commodity character, the bearers of genuine requirements become abstract in the objects of these alienated requirements: "in a direct proportion with the increased value in the world of things, the world of people becomes more valueless."

21 Commodity economy and spectacularity provide two different forms of the transformation of reality. The commodity economy transforms the object of requirement into an object of exchange. Spectacularity transforms objects and their relations into pictures. In both cases, the object itself is the object of the transformation. In both cases, the transformed objects simultaneously continue and cease to exist in the transformation. The symbolic environment is a milieu in which reality simultaneously exists and disperses.

22 Immoderate spectacularity opens up its own field, the field of confusion between reality and fiction. This bivalency becomes embodied in the output of the actor: in the embodied spectacularity. The actor is a genuine person who denies himself as such, when he puts on the features of an imagined person.

The uninitiated viewer believes that the actor as a genuine individual has an imaginary individuality, which is his own construction. The uninitiated

viewer carries a particular (or seemingly particular) false consciousness. This false consciousness manifests itself in a value confusion, which puts an equal sign between two spheres separated in their genuine existence: between society and spectacularity.

This false consciousness is only apparently particular: its basic mechanism is identical with that which brings another value confusion into being, the one which permeates social life and which Marx described as "commodity fetishism".

23 Commodity economy and reality are two different spheres, but the economic non-reality produces a reality, which is its characteristic own. Spectacularity and reality are two other different spheres, but spectacularity also produces its own reality, which is nothing else but the transformation of the basic reality and which we are inclined to confuse with the latter.

In both cases, metonymy is involved (which in fact is the essence of all symbol creation). The economy and spectacularity are operating and consequently socially active symbolic constructions. Both base their social efficiency on the fact that people are inclined to confuse reality, which produces the symbols, with reality produced by these symbols. In this way, spectacularity becomes the extensive social practice of value confusion—a confusion of consciousness, which continuously changes over into the confusion of existence.

24 Television cultivating value confusion converges with the commodity economy. Its efficiency, with which it serves the world of commodity exchange, is based on the fact that the circulation of its products avoids this exchange. The confusion of the values can also be exercised independently from the confused values. The essence is that this practice should be systematical, relatively continuous, coherent and the most concise possible. These are parameters which television can satisfy. Television not only serves the economy by learning its symbols, but primarily by legitimating them from the outside with the actual power of its own symbols. The same genuine things simultaneously transform into goods and pictures. Not the way of transformation, but the transformation itself provides the geometrical point of the basic interference which takes effect between televised and economic fiction. Picture fetishism encourages and maintains commodity fetishism.

25 Television is regarded as the object of social consciousness—and this is correct. Television is only infrequently regarded as the object of social practice—which is completely incorrect. Television not only changes our concept of life, but also our way of life. The activity which is the object of social consciousness is determined by the activity that is the object of social practice. The approach which accepts this duality can confirm the premise of such a social integration of television which creates less tension and confusion.

Social integration of such a type could be served by the elaboration of a television ontology, i.e. the study of those genuine relations which are created and amended by television. This does not mean that we underestimate the importance of transmitted programmes. Rather we place them in a context which closely belongs to them: in the context of genuine relations, created and cultivated by the immoderate television.

A part of these relations advances towards a convergence with relations characteristic of the commodity economy. But as long as the commodity economy is the product of poverty—consequently an objective necessity—immoderate television is the result of a subjective decision, which—similarly to all subjective decisions—forever remains to be perfected.

Miklós Almási

Sensible or Routine Worn Picture Reading?

In medias res: the ontology of the television picture—the exciting question raised in the study of Campeanu —cannot be imagined without the analysis of the viewers' picture receiving consciousness and the social determination of their picture reading ability. On the other hand, the quality of the picture's message (its artistic, documentary or informative-entertaining character), i.e. its content cannot be put in brackets. I would like to supplement the theses of his interesting paper from these two —seemingly—subpoles.

1. Campeanu rightly starts out from the sociological circumstance that television has an "exaggerated offer" for the viewers: it transmits more material than can be received, and exceeds the time available for the viewers many times over. This is understandable, since today a selective viewing practice is developing: the viewers select from among the programmes. Nevertheless, the effect of this picture dumping is a consciousness-sociological circumstance that has to be considered, because it has an effect on the perceptive-interpreting reaction of the viewers. "Objects" of different weights, themes and problems become homogeneous on the screen—turning into a picture—and with this immediately appears the danger—and moreover, the fact—of a superficial relationship of the viewers to the picture.

However, this relationship was developed not only by television: the second half of the 20th century conjured up a fantastic abundance of popular picture culture around the everyday man. His sensible environment is lined with pictures everywhere: he leafs through legions of magazines; in the cinema he only exercises the accelerated methods of picture reading, and his selective consciousness is surrounded by posters, advertisements and pictograms: he has to learn to think in pictures, or defend himself against the thought-reducing effect of the pictures. Because things are placed in front of him in two different dimensions: in a mind-captivating (thought and problem evoking) shape, as facts, which conceal mysteries, events, whose background has to be pondered on; and on the other hand, in a (visual) shape which simplifies the concerned event: picks a second from the event, where the "object" can be presented in the most characteristic manner, where the essence of the event can be surveyed in one second, and one does not have to bother too much about questions and problems . . .

However, the "outgrowth" of the picture culture on a social scale reeducated the sensible sight of everyday man; eyes trained in such a way become used to the new requirement of "picture reading", to superficiality. Everything can be "leafed through" in a rapid manner and roughly with identical reactions—the eyes can easily be persuaded to glance over the problems of background layers and over the invisible, but perhaps existing secrets of the picture. For one has to look at the illustrations of magazines with a momentary glance, with only "tracing their interest value", because our glance is already preparing to jump to the next picture, which can also be "digested" in a second. We rarely stop to observe a photograph more attentively and not because its news or problem value attracts us, but because it was taken with an ingenious photographic technique or because what it depicts is of "interest" from some aspect (more or less independently from its content).

This superfluous practice of "picture reading" is a well known phenomenon. Its intellectual effect is less known: namely, that it accustoms us to clichés. We see the high jumper over the bar, or when he is preparing to jump; in the second of a road accident everything is burning, smoking and people are running; and we only seldom meet rare pictures where we witness a never seen (because of being accidental) event (e.g.

the collapse of a bridge with the help of a camera on the bridge . . .). In the latter case, the detour from the cliché, the unusual character—and through it the interest of things—captures our attention. At last, something breaks through the photographic cliché made into a rigid appearance. Occasionally, we also feel compelled to think over the depicted thing—perhaps even over what cannot be seen, what is concealed "behind the pictures" from the world, from society and from the soul of people.

In such cases, we have to realize how much our eyes used to pictures break our habit of autonomous thinking. How far they do not require—as during the reading of a text—that we try to see between the lines, to intellectually survey and supplement the fragment which we receive. In the case of the film—because it is already an artistic structure—the work "guides" the viewers and not only their eyes; they are obliged to look for (and find) connections, to formulate answers to the questions, and in a good case they feel obliged to think. Nevertheless, as a negative effect of our picture reading training, it happens that we admire the details of a wonderful landscape or an ingenious photograph, we lose the thread, we lose the thought structure of the film, and what sticks is rather the heap of interesting mosaics.

Altogether: "picture reading" awakes the illusion of the simplicity of things, more accurately: it mythologizes intricate connections, flies them up into incomprehensible heights and only lifts out the "tangible" facts and events which do not require too much thinking. Thus, the more complicated "background" connections have to be "adapted" as a myth to the view. This is so, even if the picture is accompanied by text or commentary: an explanation formulated in a few sentences is unable to expose all the connections of the visible scene, consequently, it simplifies, makes the text "eye catching", which only increases the simple (and at the same time, mythically incomprehensible) impression. The commentary—if the person who does it takes it seriously—can only ease this effect, can emphasize a segment or important junction of the connections behind the pictures, and even if it put thinking into operation, a further picture exposed from a completely different sphere would delete it, where again picture reading would take over the leading role, and what we would have pondered on (perhaps searched for a problem behind the picture!) fades out. Most frequently to such an extent that by the end of the transmission we have already forgotten about it.

In brief: Our picture reading practice —despite the positive efforts by the viewer and the journalist or television commentator producing the pictures— has automatically been set to the practice of receiving mini-problems. Only that much and not more, so that one should have the opportunity to see the next picture, understand it with the eyes and in the meantime, the problem packaged in the spectacle, which would deserve further "meditation" in a reflexive manner, is "deleted" from one's mind.

But our picture reading practice is not homogeneous either. Suddenly we are faced with a picture, which does not allow itself to be "perused" in such a superficial manner: either in the television or in the cinema. An artistic production, with its structure, with its interconnected, feed-back presentation compels the viewer to step out from his conditioned practice and compels him to think even when he is "reading the picture". (For example, debates connected with inserts, exciting interviews —because they are made by considerable reporting skill where the picture and the text are debating each other, and the viewer does not know what to believe, the text or the spectacle.) The magic of the "tangible" picture is broken here, the routine of picture reading breaks down, and reflexive intellect becomes switched in: in no other way can the spectacle on the screen be enjoyed, or seen at all. (Of

course, viewers conditioned to superficiality have a solution in such cases—they simply switch off the "weak" programme.)

Thus, the ontology of the television picture is bedded in a consciousness-sociological field or in a more general term in the flora of picture-culture overproduction offered by society, which determines the "reading public language" used by the viewers for the television pictures, their visual customs, more precisely the reduction of their problem sensitivity and intellectual reception ability. Although the television picture became a "leading" genre in picture culture, it can only step out from the "commodity fetish model" termed by Campeanu in this somewhat simplified form, if the television picture itself can "blow up" this visual regression, which ultimately means the withering of our reflexive ability, our thinking, our emotional and intuitive reactions. If this is successful —and we shall see in what ways we are experimenting—the "message" about the world that can be incorporated into the television picture will "live". If not, the television picture will lose its "ontological weight" and will not embody the existing reality, but fiction and with it false consciousness and will even further the regress of sensible eyes (and thinking) in front of the magic box. This is one of my supplementary remarks.

2. My second supplementary and debating remark concerns the life of the television picture, if you like "its existence": how and what gives life to this "optical illusion" in the viewer? This existence also depends on what, how, and with what activating power the picture can make us see: i.e. on its message and on the manner in which it was made; on the sensitivity of its sociological content, on its visual dramaturgy; but primarily on how far the programme hits the issues "being in the air" and how far it can turn this into a visual experience so that the viewers should also feel inclined to somewhat step beyond themselves. (Although television—because of the looser structure of the home milieu—behaves in a different manner, it avoids the "work" of direct participation.) Thus, the content and the background layers of the picture cannot be put in brackets as it was done by Campeanu at the beginning of his paper—although he was justified to do so following the logic of his own question. In addition: first it has to be said that the television picture does not simply transmit a message—as it was formulated by Campeanu—putting the content and the qualitative parameters (artistic and documentary character, socio-critical or advertising intentions, the efficiency of the genre picture or of its entertaining substance) in brackets. It is true that information theory equally terms simple news and a grave human conflict as a message—which perhaps has to be unwrapped by the viewer from the story, because it is not included in the direct communication. Moreover, the spectacle of a fine body is also a message, but at the same time it is a moral or social charge which can be discovered from the relationship of the other characters to the "owner" of this fine body, which again cannot be comprehended in a direct visual form, it only reaches us when the picture is solved by our emotional experience (e.g. moral sense) and perhaps is further dissected by the reflective-conceptual questions of comprehension. The common concept of information theory cannot describe this multilayered "message", therefore, it cannot simply use the concept of the social exchange of the "message" for the description of the television picture's ontology. This depends on the force of the quality and the effectiveness of the content included in the picture, which—as it was seen above—also depends on the socially developed model of the viewers' sight culture and picture reading.

On this occasion I would like to speak exactly about this "quality" element, the richness of the internal stratification of the "message". Will the television be able to blow-up our badly con-

ditioned "picture reading" habits, will it be able to move us out from the inertia of our superficial (and immediately "deleting") seeing—and will it be able to launch the reflexes of thinking in spectacle and of the sensitivity of problems beyond the visible, which frequently has to be relearnt? Good teleplays and films, which "succeed in coming through" the screen, and a theatrical coverage formulated in a new spectacle language and redirected with a television centred eye, occasionally can approach this ideal effect.

In my opinion, not the surplus offer or the supersaturation is the confusing phenomenon in the social "exchange process" of the television picture: more the inclination which developed throughout picture reading practice prior to television consumption, and which accustomed the attentive glance to remain on the surface of the spectacle, i.e. that it should see everything shown, but should not lift out anything as a problem for personal meditation. This is why the visual cliché is more dangerous in television than in a picture magazine: with its more suggestive effect and with its custom creating quality, it turns our spectacle handling reactions into a stereotype, namely, it can change our superficial "picture reading" practice into a fossilized routine—and at the same time, the witty tricks of playing with new forms of games, new types of programmes, and puzzles concealed in the layers "behind" the pictures can again and again loosen up this routine inclination. Whatever dark colours are used to outline the dangers of picture reading culture (pseudo-culture), I am of the opinion—somewhat disputing Campeanu—that programme policy permeated with the basic principles of socialist culture and the practice of directors, writers, artists and reporters who are always willing to renew themselves are able to create the "counter-culture" of television practice following the model of the "commodity form". It is possible that this rarely succeeds today, but the effect surveys of "memorable" programmes or types of programmes which grow into social topics indicate that those picture forms are able to step out from the routine of picture reading, which diminishes thinking, in which the picture is only an apropos or an anti-thesis, and the viewers have to unwrap the solution and the problem suitable for further thinking.

Today, I feel, we somewhat underestimate the independence of the viewers in this direction. Nevertheless, we have to face the fact that the cutting technique of modern film art, its play with time, and its achievements of form have already been absorbed by the seeing reflexes of teenagers, they immediately realize a question concealed in a sharp cut, without any additional illustration or explanation "for the sake of those who don't catch on". (In fact their mind swiches off when they see "explanatory" picture or text . . .) Today viewers possess a more developed potential visual culture than what we presume. Present television praxis (this is my private opinion) is adjusted to this presumed "comprehension threshold", namely, it places the measuring rod lower, in case people will not understand it, or audience figures will be lower and so on. Just think of the portrait film of András Pernye, in which the basic motive is Bach's music, its structure, ideology and in general the order of sounds of Baroque music, which is really not an easily digestible theme, if we start out from our prejudices, and in addition, nothing happens on the screen, except that we see András Pernye: there is no explanatory, colouring illustration. Nevertheless, that programme was one of the most successful productions in 1979. Visual material has a magic power: the abundant spectacle "switches off" the personality of the viewer, his reflexive, additional, and problem searching and solving consciousness—little spectacle can be boring, but can also open the way to the supplementary work of the viewer—it has a magic power even in the sense of the depicted pictorialism:

the viewers see more on the screen than what is shown. This is the "gap" where the magic box as an "adult" has to break through in promoting thinking, entertainment and seeing, where one can break out from the magic circle of the television picture—commodity symbol formula mentioned by Campeanu, from the greyish of picture fetish and from its consciousness damping effect. In my opinion, Hungarian television art (and production) searches for the road of tomorrow in this direction.

Of course, this does not mean that I require an increase in the number of "debate programmes". The same effect can be attained by a teleplay or a socio-critical report made with non-conventional means, and even by a mosaic built into an entertainment framework. (A good example of this was the *Terefere* (Chitchat) embedded in humour and satire, which "exploded" a number of concealed mines and thought provoking pictures, and the other programme I could mention was the series by Tamás Vitray *Csak ülök és mesélek* (I'm sitting and story telling). It is also true that the inertia moment of our picture reading culture will have a retracting force for a long time: the sensible social exchange of the television picture will only be able to break through towards a new everyday visual standard language—namely in the direction of a regularly renewing, sensible way of seeing by the viewers—if it is not alone in its attempts, but our entire picture culture strives for this, from illustrated magazines through entertaining films to the extension of visual culture in the sense of fine arts.

How far are these ontological questions? As far as the "life" of the television picture does not cease to exist on the screen: it nurtures or deprives the visual common language used by society. And if television artists and producers strive for the constant "explosion" of this visual common language, if they prevent the fossilization of spectacle clichés, if proceeding a little bit in front of this common language they guide the comprehension of the sensible eyes, and can involve the entire person into the spectacle (not only the viewer who passively "lives" in the magic attraction of the motion picture), then the pictures on the screen—a part of them, not necessarily the entire schedule—can step out from their "commodity essence" (if they are commodities . . .), and can acquire a role in the long march of self-transformation from false consciousness to a sensible world concept. Even if we contemplate in slippers . . .

István Hermann

The Social Position of Television

It is true that very few people deal with television theory in a Marxist manner. An approach of this manner should start out from the fact that television is not simply the result of technology, but grew out from genuine requirements. What are these genuine requirements? Primarily that in modern society—I mean industrialized and urbanized society—people will primarily require to draw conclusions from gestures, manners of attitude, and mimicry, etc., which earlier they could only draw from words, statements and so on. The basis of this is that people living under patriarchal circumstances had a large number of requirements, but their social relations were so lucid, and their human relationships were so defined that they had no genuine requirement for a complex insight into human character.

But the moment people entered the factories and overcrowded towns, etc., they immediately faced a series of signs and signals, which had to be as natural as formerly village customs were. In addition: they meet people living in a different style, under different circumstances, the encounter taking place

at their job, in the street, at entertainment places and everywhere else. If in these places they cannot read human gestures, random movements, and mimicry, if they cannot compare them with the constantly moving and changing symbol systems and requirements transmitted by these signal systems, then they can feel lost.

All this and not only technology resulted in the creation of film art. Exactly this is why film art is a 20th century art. Of course, this does not directly lead to the existence of television. Partly because television is not film, and partly, because it seemed that film art could perfectly satisfy this requirement, and even if occasionally in a trashy form, already in the period of silent films it led people to the sense of hidden symbols, whose task was not and could not be to function as direct communication, nevertheless, they were signs, which—when taken into consideration—helped people to feel more at home—or at least possessing the belief of comprehension—in the bourgeois world. It has to be added that to some extent television continues this tendency. Primarily films presented signs in an artistic condensation, and this willy-nilly have to be taken into consideration to be able to turn to other people with a certain empathy under the circumstances of urbanization. This requirement interference, which was sensed already in connection with certain creations of cinematographic art, is further confirmed by television. How does the requirement interference manifest itself with regard to films? In the fact that films function simultaneously as documentaries, as newsreels and as artistic films, and illustrate what is behind the different genuine movements—even on several planes. The artistic plane reveals many more essential things than the newsreel plane; the documentary plane is placed somewhere between the two, but all three reveal: the man of the 20th century wants to know more about other people, about the way the average man conceals and reveals his emotions and thoughts, and about the way a specially significant person does this. He also wants to know how all this—the concealment and exposure—happens in a given everyday situation, in a sharpened reality situation, or in an artistically constructed genuine conflict situation.

As it was mentioned, television must not be conceived directly to the analogy of the film, but it is undoubted that this elementary modern requirement, which emerged in connection with films, becomes completely satisfied in television, where documentaries, direct news, and artistic creations equally appear. News is much more recent than the film newsreel, the documentary dumping undoubtedly allows even the opportunity of choice, and partly television produced artistic creations, partly those taken from the film, linked together satisfy the above mentioned requirement. Thus, television is a more adequate satisfaction of an existing requirement system—particularly in this earlier mentioned triple connection—than the film or the radio themselves. It is linked with the radio, but not because technically inexperienced people think that television is nothing else but a visible radio, but because the radio is also the expression of unconcealed, but at the same time, concealed, unexpressed and at the same time, expressed human tendencies—of course, necessarily with only the means of sound. But the radio itself is a technological means, which is suitable to satisfy modern necessities, and which—on the other hand—not only satisfies these necessities, but evokes further requirements. The radio in itself intones the emergence of television. The requirement satisfaction by the radio is an intonation for the satisfaction of the necessity-interference on the planes of sight and hearing.

The social existence of television follows only from an extremely abstract point of view from all this. Television as a set is, of course, a commodity, a type of commodity, which on the market has no use-value for the owner, but has

a use-value for the non-owner, who requires television information and the interference of television informative tendencies. The moment he bought it, he starts to use it. In this connection, television transmitters and television programmes of different character have to be distinguished. Obviously, for example, in the United States television programmes consist of lines of information which partly or wholly fit into the consumers' manipulative world. Externally this is indicated by the fact that once the buyer bought the television set he does not have to pay anything more, as advertisements necessarily finance television, thus there is no television licence fee. In exchange, the viewer has to endure that even the best programmes are interrupted by advertisements, commercials and frequently even "invisible" commercials appear in various television programmes. The simple ad which interrupts a film belongs to visible ads, which have to be endured. But the type of whisky offered in a feature film, or the dress the star wears do not officially belong to commercials, nevertheless, consciously or unconsciously they primarly serve advertising aims.

This type of television is the actual expression of a social existence in which the leadership of society is convinced of the following: only to certain aspects do people have to be convinced that society is developing in a correct direction with regard to its own structure. Genuine conviction comes through the evocation and constant enhancement for purchasing and prestige consumption. Thus, television necessarily serves publicity and advertising aims, since this way the television programme itself is completely integrated—with regard to its intellectual level—into the entire world of consumption and consumption as a social target has sufficient strength and dynamics to ensure that at the same time the essential prevailing and guiding tendencies of the existing society do not change, moreover, are justified by the increase of consumption.

The type of television that emerged in the European states incorporates a different problem. This type, similarly to the American one, necessarily relies on interference, which objectively exists in the system of needs for television, i.e. on the fact that direct newsreel-like information, documentary information and artistic information necessarily merge in televison. On the one hand, this tendency can lead to a levelling in people's consciousness, namely, that they confuse and mix up insignificant and significant everyday news with possible pseudo-artistic trashy elements as well as with good or bad documentary elements. On the other hand, it is also possible that despite this levelling and homogenizing tendency the artistic management of television and its programme policy try—frequently successfully—to erect sharp dividing walls between the different screened programmes. They make it clear that the three different requirements are satisfied with different methods at different times and with different means, and television may even succeed in maintaining a certain artistic standard. Even in such cases, there is a natural interference into the general consumption, and the promotion of consumption. In such cases, commercials appear as not even subaltern information among other information, but clearly separated from them, as a special commercial, which cannot be confused with other television programmes.

I do not find it necessary to expound my opinion in detail about the particular function of television, namely, that it depicts the consciousness of society about iself: I did this in one of my books (*Televízió, esztétika, kultúra.* Kossuth, 1976.). Television—contrary to the arts—as a whole does not reflect the historic self-consciousness of the development of mankind, it does not assume the task of science either, which reflects the historic consciousness of mankind, but exclusively the consciousness of a given society about itself. In this type of European television this is as clear as in the earlier mentioned

American type since the American television ensures the image of consciousness about itself with the transmission of the omnipotent force of consumption and manipulation, while a large part of European (bourgeois) televisions bring the image about social life to the viewers in their news and artistic productions by considering consumption as a secondary regulator of social life.

It belongs much closer to European social existance than to the American one that this social existance is based on certain cultural traditions, even if modern bourgeois society frequently denies its own traditional past (its content): nevertheless, formally it is obliged to build over this past. This is how the European—mostly state controlled—television becomes not only the propagator of general consumption, but within this, the propagator of the cultural consumption which a given society can provide. This is why documentaries and historic films are made about old artifacts, scientists of the past, and also about contemporary creations and contemporary public personalities.

It seems indubitable for me—and this is supported not only by theoretical ideas, but also by practical life—that the television programmes of the socialist countries are necessarily not linked with the American type, but stand nearer to the European type of television. There is no difference between the socialist and bourgeois television in the aspect that both depict society's consciousness about itself, i.e. they are willing to accept as a contradiction or a fault etc. of their own society what can at all be accepted as such from the viewpoint of social consciousness and they regard as a social merit, a "positive manifestation" what the entirety of society can accept as something positive. From the aspect, however, of how socialist television fits into the process of consumption, there is a significant difference, particularly because in a socialist society, consumption—with regard to the scale of commodities—is not sufficiently developed, and in this way the advertising character of socialist television is limited to a much narrower sphere than that of any bourgeois television.

In spite of all this socialist television is undoubtedly superior to all bourgeois televisions from the aspect of cultural consumption (although the consumption spectrum is not so broad that it would completely satisfy requirements). In fact it is not a task of television to ensure that people should spend the same time in front of the screen as at work (Campeanu mentions this tendency as the requirement of many television programmes), and it is not its task either to ensure that people should view all television programmes without selection. The essence of television—and not only in the socialist states—is to provide a considerably broad choice. Naturally, the artistic and high standard programmes of television incorporate autonomous artistic values. But there is no television that can stipulate the target to bring 15 to 20 hours of such high standard artistic pleasure to its viewers each week. At the same time, a socialist television has the opportunity to orientate people not only towards themselves, but also towards the genuine cultural life of society. The extent and value of socialist television can lie in the fact that with the transmission of either artistic programmes or documentaires and other publicity it can orientate an increasing percentage of the general public into concert halls, exhibitions, and inspire them to buy gramophone records and books, etc.

All this reveals that television functions as a medium and therefore one cannot speak about the general nature of television. Television is a medium which, in accordance with various social requirements, can reflect the consciousness of society about itself, together with the positive and negative signs of this consciousness. But everything depends on the society which uses this medium. If socialist television wishes to find its assignment (and this

assignment is not unilateral and is not identical in the case of a remote rural settlement or a metropolis) in orientating people towards culture, this may be the consequence of socialist cultural policy. But it is not imperative even in socialism to consider this as the primary task of television. And if we think of countries of differing social systems and conditions in the Third World, of their differing television backgrounds and general economic background, we have to see clearly what a determinative force the social situation has in the case of television standards and programme supply. And if we want to examine the question in a dialectic way, we have to bear the fact in mind that not only man is a social creature, but television in the previous sense is also—even if not a social creature, but at least—a social medium. And the medium is even more determined by the internal structure of social existence than the individual persons are.

Iván Vitányi

Is Another Model Possible?

I am afraid Campeanu's criticism is completely justifed when he starts out by saying that "The theory of television, similarly to its practice, emerged with the almost uncriticized implementation of the US model." In fact no other "model" exists, either in theory or practice.

But is a completely different model possible, or is it at all necessary? In many aspects, Campeanu convinces me that it is, although he still owes us the outlining of this model.

He lists the most important theses of the fashionable "television theories" with witty and attractive dialectics, and immediately refutes them. I have the feeling that the essence of his message can be found in the 12th thesis, in which he expounds that television did not emerge to fit a specific communicational necessity and, therefore, it is also suitable to satisfy non-specific necessities.

This thesis sounds excellent, first it is surprising and in the second moment we feel that the author uttered a really decisive thought. The communicational necessity of society—according to Campeanu—did not reach in its autonomous development the stage in which a television type communication should have been absolutely necessitated. There was a "break", an external force interfered with the process: a technological invention revealed a new possibility which almost charged itself and produced television not only in the technological sense, but induced millions of people to sit down in front of it.

This thought is interesting and original, but if we ponder over it, we still feel something is missing. It was Marx who said—although about artifacts, but in a similar context—that not only requirements created artifacts, but artifacts also produced their own requirements. The same refers to television. In fact it is not an absolute necessity in the emergence of a new phenomenon that the necessity should first appear in its full obviousness, and then it only has to be satisfied. The actual process usually occurs in such a way that the requirement is still latent when the new object, means or phenomenon emerges, but because it is already latently present, it can so quickly become vigorous.

When is this requirement specific and when is it not? The question can easily be turned into a pun if we do not examine the content behind it. In the case of television there is a specific (socially necessary) and a nonspecific factor. It is necessary and particular that on a given grade of historic-social development certain communication media should emerge which transmit the same message simultaneously, in one direction, without feed-back, to innumerable people. This is a specific requirement, but the fact that it turned into television (in its presently known

form) is not absolutely specific and not necessary.

In my opinion, Campeanu correctly captures the problem when he operates with the concept of spectacularity, in the most complete sense of the word. Spectacularity has a two faced nature: it is simultaneously fictive and genuine, simultaneously desirable and aggressive. Thus, the question is when and which side comes into the foreground in television. When the spectacles are fictive, the realm of necessity in fact confronts "apparent freedom". (Naturally, when we say fictive, we do not mean the term fiction in the Anglo-Saxon terminology—which concerns the entire belles-lettres—but as an antonym of realism as we use this concept. Thus, we describe the spectacle as fictive if it leads from an existing social reality towards a non-existent fairy-land, even if this fairy-land excels not with its beauty, but with its aggression.)

One of Campeanu's most important statements is connected with this, according to which television brought the first case in human history when—at least apparently and quantitatively—requirements are not limited, but surpassed. Which means that in fact we receive more from television than we need. From this, he deduces immoderation as the most important factor in the effect of television.

This statement also has a deep truth, although in my opinion it is not complete. We produce not only more television programmes, but to some extent more books than the social requirement on a given level. Just think about it, how many books are on the shelves in private homes, libraries and bookshops, and how many do we actually read in a month's time or in a year's time. Obviously, most of the books are "dead capital", they are not used, they are superfluously stored, they are only meant for potential requirement and the extent of use (reading) is always lower than the possibility. The fact that television companies provide so large amounts of programmes that cannot be viewed by even the most television-centric people is not a completely new phenomenon, objects and values connected with culture are of this nature. (More accurately: they have this nature if we consider them as values from the economic point of view, which in fact is refuted by Campeanu.)

Nevertheless, there is an important truth in the statement if we lift out television—as it is done by Campeanu—from among "cultural commodities" and consider it a social phenomenon, with which people deal the most in addition to their work all over the world (occasionally even more than with their work). The question of requirement crops up again in another way, if we think that in the case of television it does not satisfy the requirement which appears on the surface, but something else, or is the ersatz of something else.

I have the feeling that Campeanu's theses get stuck here, and this is exactly the point where progress is needed. Even if I disputed one or the other of his theses, basically I regard the way he described the television phenomenon with a new conceptual apparatus extremely noteworthy. What I dispute is that I would like to add a "depends on" to most of his inferences; it depends, for example, on the nature of the spectacle, whether it is genuine, half-fictive, entirely fictive, unrealistically fictive and so on.

The question can also be raised in the following manner: fine, we have reached a more than ever substantial criticism of the "American model". But what shall we do, if we do not want to follow this model? Is another model possible at all, or with television, as a stroke of fate, we have to accept the criticized version? Do we only have to change the content of the programmes, or do we have to limit the "immoderateness" of television, and if yes—how? No answer is given to these questions, although this is the point where real debates should start.

Ervin Gyertyán

What Are Films Worth — if They Are Hungarian?

Several years ago, I travelled by the Hajdu Express to Debrecen, when by coincidence I got hold of an issue of the magazine "Nagyvilág" and in it there was an article by Péter Nagy, university professor of world literature, which interestingly—as I found out from the footnote—was the text of a lecture also made for foreign listeners, under the title "The place of Hungarian literature in the world". In fact, I travelled to deliver a lecture to foreign students of a summer university course (perhaps the same group, which was addressed by Péter Nagy), and the theme—present day Hungarian film art—also had several kin features with his (for—according to my naive presumption—the same is interesting from our art, which is interesting in our literature, namely, what ensures an autonomous place for itself through its particular values in universal culture). I greeted the unexpected help as a gift of my good fortune for the composition of my lecture. As I compared the text of the lecture with my own thoughts in the rattling train—thus trying to apply the conventional viewpoints and questions of a much older art, more developed in its concepts, criteria and categories, to film art, which was born almost simultaneously with our century—a particular balance of similarities and differences developed in my head.

Since then, more than fifteen years passed, Miklós Jancsó became an artist listed among the greatest in the world, similarly to Academy award and Visconti prize winner István Szabó, and the names of several other Hungarian film directors—András Kovács, Pál Gábor, Pál Sándor, Ferenc Kósa, and Zoltán Fábri, etc.—are familiar among film-makers, nevertheless, neither the situation nor the balance changed essentially.

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The starting point in fact is identical, both in the case of literature and films. "There is hardly any more exciting and painful question for the cultivators and examiners of the national literature, than what the title contains in a stating form: where is the place of our national literature in world literature? Or formulated in another way: what can we say to the world, to humanity, which is really time-resisting, or with a more highfaulting term, which is everlasting?"—the literary historian-critic author starts his essay with this question, but at the same time he already provides a programme which can belong to both the cultivators and examiners of national film-making, or music or of the fine arts. (Naturally, the fact that we speak about Hungarian only serves as a sample, because this starting point is equally exciting and obligatory for the scholars of every nation.) With the difference that while the scholar of literature (or of fine arts or of music) compares the centuries of the written word (or of painted pictures or of music on score) from the "Funeral oration" or from the "Old Hungarian Mária lament" to present-day written European or world culture in order to find in it the place of domestic achievements, in the case of films we can think only in decades or only in years. (True enough, in feverish and stormy years.) What was century-long stagnation in literature is fortunately at most some decades long idleness in film art.

Consequently, the concept of durability is even more relative in films than in literature, and today it almost seems comical to speak about something everlasting. First, because from the historic aspect, even films regarded as of a most durable value only had to withstand a very short time, compared to the frequently century-long maturity of literary works to become classic. Secondly, even this short period of time dictated such a rapid tempo of artistic outdatedness, which is unparalleled compared to the slowly evolving advancement of traditional arts, which only took on a more rapid pace in our century. This fact, both in general and domestic relations, makes the question-complex of the classic nature of films—using the expression in a value-indicating sense—even more problematic. The historic significance and the local value of the works receive a greater role in the classic value of films—almost up to the 1960s—as well as in the development process of the cinematographic language and cinematographic forms of expression than the absolute aesthetic values—although naturally one cannot completely prescind from the latter, because there is a link between the two, even if not automatic, but mostly of direct proportion. However, this double relativity of durability warns us to be more cautious and modest. Perhaps, instead of searching for the criteria of durable and ever-lasting—which we can leave to our descendants—it would be more correct to limit ourselves to the research of the criteria of what is timely and up-to-date.

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Professor Péter Nagy then continued his lecture: "I believe this question which encourages self-examination and self-criticism is exciting for the sons of every nation. Even for the great nations, the owners of world languages, which exactly because of the universal or almost universal use of their language are used to indentifying a considerable part of world literature with their own literature: but the question is more exciting and more important for the small nations—and particularly for such small nations as we Hungarians—whose smallness in number is coupled with an almost completely unrelated language of strange structure; the work and the creator have to break through this double dam to link up with the current of world literature, and take the place which his genius and its moment of manifestation define."

What is the situation with these dams in films, which since the moment of their birth appeared with the requirement of a universally understandable artistic language, similarly to the fine arts or music? In addition, with the positive difference that with its technical and sales apparatus—at least theoretically—it not only created the lingual, but economic and social conditions for the new artistic communication to really become international. This character was only temporarily changed by sound films, for the spread of dubbing returned the ability to the film to grow beyond its lingual limitations with a relatively low expenditure (and in the majority of cases with little artistic loss). It is a significant fact that while Goethe could recognize the world-wide, universal character of literature as the result of centuries if not a millenary-long progress, until he created the concept of world literature, films—again at least theoretically—emerged as a world art and exactly the evidence of this fact makes it unnecessary to introduce the concept of world cinematography. It can even be said that the situation was the opposite in films than in literature, it was first universal and then it became national.

Nevertheless, if we cast a fleeting glance at the universal history of film art, we experience that from the national aspect, its structure does not much differ from the structure of world literature: it is filled in by the major and traditional cultural nations, and only allows episode roles for the smaller

nations (periodically changing, the Danish, the Swedish or today the people's demokracies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, or some Latin American countries, etc., similarly to the approved history of world literature.) The major periods are trade marked by the rivalry of French, German, Russian, American, British and Italian films, and by their masters, who created the style and school, similar to literature (or to fine art or music), and even the film productions of equal value with the above mentioned ones, such as, for example, Japanese film art, somehow retained their separation. The film art of the small nations even more remained a type of curiosity, or the art of certain film-makers "allowed" into film history. Although who can dispute that Bergman, Jancsó, Wajda, Angelopulo or Milos Forman's Czechoslovak period are as determinative from the point of view of international film culture as the art of the outstanding masters of the mentioned major film making countries?

The backlog—although the source is not identical—which the film of a small country has to overcome in the noble rivalry of the arguing peaks of film art comprehended to the analogue of Goethe's world literature is not smaller than in literature, although it seems that it is much easier for a young Hungarian film-maker to acquire international renown than for a writer or a painter. However, this renown only concerns his name, which is due to a festival or film week and the following press reviews; but the distribution of the major film powers may and in the majority of cases does in fact lower a barrier in front of his work. The double dam: the literary obstacles of numerical smallness and lingual strangeness appear in films as the handicap of narrower production basis and capacity on the one hand, and on the other hand, as the more one-sided international monopoly situation of distribution, which is more concentrated and more financially minded than the distribution of any other artistic branch. Although exactly recently we apperceived a particular phenomenon, namely, that the international—and particularly the American—film capital supports national film productions; however, this support is very deceptive, because this capital is interested in profit, thus in cheap production expenses, and not in the national character, problems or cultural values of films. Hungarian film history of recent years clearly indicates that a high price has to be paid for this support, and the spread of coproduction—from the artistic and aesthetic points of view—is at least an ambivalent phenomenon. (Although this cannot be absolutized, because the outstanding works of István Szabó, such as "Mephisto" and "Colonel Redl" were West German—Hungarian coproductions. Regrettably, each positive example has many counter-examples.)

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Today, since the emergence of this concept, the universal character of world culture lives through its major crisis, because bourgeois culture is unable and socialist culture is not yet able to ensure universality to world culture, which was so proudly quoted in the 19th century, and which is more urgently necessary in our era than ever before, during the history of humanity. This new world culture has to appear with the requirement of a truer and more complete international character, and has to make efforts to liquidate the monopoly situation of a few traditionally developed countries and make artistic value and durability its criteria. This reevaluation, or rather an integration process—the victory of which is only a question of struggle and time, for it also has to defeat the intellectual-political "protective duties" of various systems—also started in world literature, in the other arts and naturally also in cinematography. Even if for the time being mostly through the channels of press reviews, film literature, history writing and aesthetics, for the

first time in the history of Hungarian films, we made our durable way into the current and circulation of universal film art.

When I am writing these lines, I just returned from the 38th Cannes Film Festival, where the Golden Palm was awarded to a Yugoslav film in the category of full length features, the special prize of the jury went to a Hungarian film and the Golden Palm for shorts went to a Bulgarian production. These three films from socialist countries appeared in the official programme of the festival, while the traditional film powers delegated such weak films to the competition that the jury of the film critics—which I chaired—and journalists from all over the world demanded that the international federation of film critics should express the dissatisfaction of the international journalists' society concerning the selection of the festival competition films.

I am convinced that if the selectors had not paid such outstanding attention to the traditionally major and extra strong film productions, but had judged the international offer with democratic equality—although from the artistic point of view we are undoubtedly living through the seven mean years almost all over the world—the festival could have provided a higher standard programme than what we saw. Naturally, I not only mean the Central East European countries, but also the Latin American countries.

Nevertheless: the appreciation of the experts, the specialists, the festival critics, the filmclubs, and the audiences of the art cinemas may mean such strength, which can open a gap—as we saw in the case of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Hungarian, Swedish and Swiss film productions—in the wall bolstered both by the economic interests of distribution isolation and political prejudices. True enough, only a small gap or gaps, but it is hoped and it is justified by the development of Hungarian films in the 1960s that even if slowly, these gaps can be enlarged with persistent work, even if the equal starting conditions unfortunately remain a Utopia for a long time.

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World literature, world cinematography, world culture—these concepts always have a double meaning, depending on how we interpret the world in them. Obviously, this world has a virtual, if you like symbolic meaning, and a genuine meaning. In the symbolic sense, the sphere of world art includes everything which, because of its artistic value, is durable for every people, every nation, and every cultured person, independently from the fact of how much of the genuine world and its nations reach these mutual values at a given cultural and civilization development grade and under what possibilities. Since the peoples deposit their own values into this treasury of eternity, and time and progress safeguard them for those who will only later link up with the entire human cultural sphere, which is becoming more universal with time. Professional criticism, history writing, and the sciences make the itinerary of this treasury—on the present stage of the division of labour—and they are its custodians. The fact that film criticism and the cinematographic science—the cinematographic consciousness of humanity—keep the film creations of Hungary (and of other small nations) regularly on the list from Oslo and Stockholm to Rome, from Moscow to Paris, from Tokyo to London and to San Francisco means that we have bought our ticket for the train of time and if there is no guarantee—because nobody has—that we shall pass all along the journey with all the films which have a booked seat on the international express, at least we have obtained the possibility.

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With the maturity of films into art, and with the emergence of the scientific systematization and apparatus, they undoubtedly lost their ephemeral

character, which for a long time was considered their essential quality, and today we know about—although only a few—films, which in their time were drawn into indifference and only acquired success later, but we also know about the contrary, similarly to literature or painting. Nevertheless, because of the mentioned rapid outdatedness, films more acquire an immediate response and success than the other creations of the arts do. Thus, the world is more essential for them, also in the second, genuine sense of the word. And from this aspect, today Hungarian films have a much broader market than ever before during their history. In the past, the market of Hungarian films—comedies with white telephones manufactured on the assembly line—was no more than a few Balkan countries, and occasionally limited to the commercial interest of German language areas (namely, during the war years, when these countries were isolated from American film production and the gap caused by this was filled in with, among others, weak Hungarian products, not representing Hungarian culture at all). Today, we "own" the cinema-goers of the socialist world, and the support of the highest standard critics of the developed capitalist countries, and there is a growing interest in our films in the Third World. But we are still far from being able to say that the path of a Hungarian masterpiece as smoothly leads to the film enthusiasts of the world as that of a mediocre or weak film produced by the "major powers".

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If we look from the merit side what durable values have been produced by our film art, we do not have to be so modest as—let us say—twenty years ago. The long decades of our film production—primarily the pre-liberation period—seemed to be almost completely barren. The presumed values of Hungarian silent films were mostly lost, and only based on the work of the film philologists can we presume that there were such, and particularly in the pre-First World War decades, and during the 1919 Hungarian Republic of Councils Hungarian films were not far from the vanguard of world film production. Unfortunately, the situation was different with regard to Hungarian sound films. From the yield between the two world wars, only a few productions—Spring Shower by Pál Fejős with French capital, People on the Mountain by István Szőts, and István Székely's Hippolit the Butler—grew beyond the framework of domestic film production.

The genuine prosperity of Hungarian film art started after the liberation in 1945. Our film production started twice to attack the real peaks of art. Directly after the liberation, the promise by Somewhere in Europe and The Soil under Your Feet—perhaps the enfolding of a more rustic Hungarian neo-realism—was cut by the spread of schematism. The second upswing came in 1954, with Fábri's Merry-go-round and Hannibal the Teacher, Makk's Liliomfi, and Ward No. 9, as well as Ranódy's Abyss, which indicated that our film art again started out towards the peaks of films of European standards. But—after the long years of preparation and gathering strength—1962 and 1963 brought the enfolding and self-accomplishment of Hungarian cinematographic art, which has lasted since then with minor and major waves, but without a stop. A special study should be written on the sources of this upswing, and its aesthetic character—and of course. about its problematic and shady sides, as well as about the questions and obstacles of its further progress. The development of the Hungarian or Budapest film school has several factors, but there is no room and possibility here to analyze them in their entirety. However, I have to emphasize two factors. One is detente, which made it possible for the progressive aspirations of Hungarian films to join the progressive

efforts of international film production, and to have fertilizing intereffects with the initiatives of both the West and the East, undertaking an active role in them. The other is the continuous democratization of the country's internal life, which made it possible for Hungarian intellectual life—including perhaps primarily cinematographic art —to be able to face the positive and negative sides of Hungarian history, its processes, development and tragic failures—with appropriate moral seriousness, with an aligned responsibility to the future, and with the artistically and scientifically obtainable requirement of truth without any taboo, and with all this, to be able to capture the specifics which can provide the autonomous character of Hungarian films both in the sense of content and form. This is why we can register with a certain national pride or at least with self-confidence that Hungarian cinematographic art acquired a new status: it joined the ranks of national film productions without which today the world history of films—if striving for completeness—could not be written. And this is true, even if—as the consequence of the mentioned monopoly of film distribution—not everybody knows this among those who should be aware of it.

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A few decades ago, the question was "What are film-makers worth—if they are Hungarian?" Namely, if a Hungarian film-maker—Korda, Kertész or Vajda—leaves Hungary to enrich the film production of another nation. For he is not much worth at home. According to an old anecdote, the following warning was written on the entrance of a major film studio in Hollywood between the two world wars: "It is not sufficient to be Hungarian, you also have to be talented." Today, this question refers to our domestic film production. And the answer we can give: they are worth as much as the genuine value they produce, and as much they can show and depict from the life of our people, from the strenuous past and building present—with artistic strength and generalization. Namely, we have reached the stage of social and artistic development, when in fact Hungarian film production determines its own value—and not only within the national frameworks.

And because the network of institutions which preserves and explains its values as the scientific superstructure of films is continuously being built up all over the world, we can trust that these values will be confirmed by at least the "professional" public. Whether this is much or little depends on from which angle we look at it. Compared to what our film output produces, it is (still) little. Compared to the presence of our literature in the general consciousness of the world, perhaps it can be described as much.

Sometimes in the past, Endre Ady, the great Hungarian poet of the beginning of our century, presented the question in one of his poems: "What is man worth if he is Hungarian?" Then, between the two world wars the outstanding Hungarian peasant writer, Péter Veress, gave this title to one of his volumes of studies. Obviously, man —if he is Hungarian— is worth as much as his people have produced in the field of culture, civilization and history, and placed into the joint treasury of humanity. Today, we can say that Hungarian films also participated in this creative activity of our people and nation. Utilizing our international opportunities, Hungarian films continue to demonstrate to the film-loving public of the world, what man is—and what films are—worth if they are Hungarian.

Márta Nagy

Change in Television Critics' Role?

From the early 1970s on the social role and significance of television critic columns have been increasingly recognized. Since television is paid marked attention (in among areas within the circle of specialists engaged in the cultural guidance, the mass media and general cultural education), it is natural that the role attributed to and expected from the television critics by the general public has also increased. The issue of television critique has been in a focal point of cultural public opinion for years now, and in the past year there has been a marked increase in the number of questions and comments addressed to critique. This is equally valid for the programme-makers and the recipients; for the thousands of newpaper-readers and television viewers. A 1975 nation-wide survey also indicated that among the different types of critique published in the daily papers, television critique enjoys the highest popularity and has the widest reading public.

The Hungarian Mass Communication Research Centre launched a research project on the issue of Hungarian television critique as far back as 1972 because of the widespread interest. The project was repeated twice: in 1975 and 1978, and was limited to the critique published in the daily and weekly press. This article is an endeavour to summarize some of the issues of television critique of current interest.

Critique of programmes or programme flows?

Answering the question is quite easy, since television critique in Hungary is, literally speaking, television programme criticism, i.e. it deals mainly with the evaluation of individual programmes.

Experience indicates that what might be defined as "the critique of programme flows", i.e. the critique of the institution, barely exists. Television critique does not cover the whole of the programme structure. It must even be considered an advance over the situation in 1975 that one or two sentence evaluations of certain programme-blocks appear from time to time. (In most cases they are of a single evening's programmes compiled with a concept in mind, e.g. evenings presenting the programmes of a foreign broadcasting company over Hungarian television). The majority of the critique does not submit to any analysis to see whether television as a mass medium which plays an important role in shaping public opinion and tastes and in influencing ways of life is up to the various expectations attached to it (ranging from the political and cultural policy sphere to the intimate one).

The critics watch individual programmes chosen in advance and evaluate them in isolation from the whole of the programme flow and even from the immediate programme-environment. This practice is not able to gain a circumspect view of the whole of the television programme structure, or of the trends shaped by the intentions of television programme policy as manifest on the screen. Consequently, it generally does not recognize and support innovative initiatives by programme policy.

Of course, the television critics would

find it impossible to follow the ratios of television programme as far as theme selection is concerned. True, they cover all types of programmes but there are fundamental *proportional deviations* between the actual programme ratios and those reflected by the critics (depending in part on which of the many functions of television attracts the attention of the critics). In the given situation the central issue is how the critics choose the programmes they write about and what programmes they do choose.

Break-down of television critique by types of programmes
(in precentages)

	N=	1972 392	1975 1078	1978 1646
TV-plays, television films		20	14	25
Programmes on current political or social issues		13	11	12
Documentary programmes on current events		9	4	4
Quizzes		8	4	5
Popular science and other educational films		7	11	6
Movie pictures		7	9	4
Literary programmes		6	5	2
Mysteries		5	3	3
Entertainment programmes (montage, show, circus, pop music)		4	11	7
Portrait films		4	7	7
Documentaries		4	8	6
Youth programmes		3	1	2
Theatre broadcasts		2	1	1
Classical music		1	1	1
Sport events		2	1	1
Film serials		2	1	8
Educational programmes		1	—	—
Adventure stories		1	2	—
Children's programmes		1	2	2
Opera		1	2	1
Operetta		—	1	1
Balett		—	—	1
Total		**101***	**99**	**99**

* Fractions of percent rounded out to first higher whole number.

Object of interest

From the very beginning television critique has shown an interest in artistic and aesthetic values and this is the fundamental reason prompting it to give preferences to programmes like TV-plays and television films, which can be interpreted within the system of aesthetic norms. TV-plays and television films are very close to the living stage and even closer to the cinema, and these branches of the arts have long ago won the battle for recognition as autonomous arts. The critics, i.e. the theater or films critics, most of whom are artistically orientated, are involved in shaping the view that TV-plays and television films should be the most distinguished television genre. (It's another matter that this "distinction" is not manifest in indulgent critique but in the special attention the critics give them.) In 1978 the proportion of the articles published on these programmes was much higher than in earlier years. An attitude that has become more and more striking is that *television critique*

is becoming an independent television genre, while the other products of the arts made outside the television workshops (where television only serves as a transmission medium) are either ignored by or rarely serve as a subject for the critics.

The critique of programmes dealing with *current political and social issues* has always been subject to problems (these are essentially journalist genres). There were no guidelines which could be copied, followed or adapted. The consequences of the initial difficulties have not disappeared without a trace, but despite this, the critics now approach these programmes more boldly and often. The current practice is to follow a publicistical form which has now advanced beyond the framework of programme critique both in form and content, and uses a problem-centric approach in analysis.

The third type of programme commanding great attention is the *film serial.* It enjoys marked attention since *in general* the film serial as a whole cannot be treated as a commercial product since it is more than not based upon some highly acknowledged aesthetic literary value. Even though it may become commercialized in the course of adaption to television the critics still feel that they have the right to demand highly sophisticated artistic values. At the same time, the serial is definitely an original television product, so it qualifies for attention on this count, too. In addition, for weeks or perhaps even for months on end the serial is subject to general public attention which is another reason why it is very difficult to ignore it.

Press critic interest in the *popular science and educational, and entertainment* programmes has declined to some extent as compared to 1975. While between 1972 and 1975 the ratio of critical comment on these programmes increased, in 1978 it declined, approximately to the 1972 level. This fluctuation in ratio can hardly be accidental. It is probably because of the thematic shift in the mid 1970's. This was the time when general cultural education and entertainment were spotlighted by cultural guidance and cultural public opinion. The Parliamentary Act on general cultural education dates from this time. Resolutions and press articles calling for cultural and entertainment forms, concepts and opportunities in keeping with an up-to-date way of life obviously made an impact on television policy. It endeavoured to meet the cultural policy and social demands for up-to-date general culture and entertainment by introducing new or rejuvenated programmes, serials and topics. The marked attention given by television critique to entertainment, popular science and general education programmes is most likely the consequence of this impact. As this target-orientated publicity toned down and the issue of entertainment gradually slipped behind other current unsolved issues of cultural policy, the critics' attention slowly shifted from this field. (In 1975 11 per cent of the critiques dealt with popular science and educational programmes, as against the 6 per cent in 1978.)

Critic interest in entertainment programmes appears to be activated or kept down by the attention given the subject in cultural public life and not by television programme policies. (Television itself has hardly reduced the significance of entertainment. This is underlined by continuous experiments to introduce new types of entertainment programmes.)

The order of values as the critics see it

Of the many functions of television critique its role in orientation is considered most important. As the outcome of objective circumstances, television critique principally endeavours to supply guidelines to the newpaper-reading (critique reading) public, acting as a partner in debate. (Even if the majority of the critics also have an eye out for the producers of the programmes.)

Of course, the selection of programmes in itself reflects the critics' order of values but more accurate conclusions can be drawn from the *standpoints*, which serve as the basis for evaluation. These standpoints differ so strongly that it is impossible to interpret them within one and the same framework of concepts. This fact forecasts the conclusion that changes in the standpoints of evaluation are by nature a concomitant of the variety on which television is based. Obviously there is a connection between the programme and the standpoints of the critique, but all the same, it is not unusual for programmes outside the realm of the arts to be evaluated within the dimensions of traditional values of critique. This practice has declined, compared to the early 1970's. Nowadays television critique is trying to get away from art critique to such an extent that standpoints of social values, not to speak of everyday trivialities, sometimes overshadow the standpoints of aesthetic value, even in cases where the latter should dominate.

Nevertheless (despite these changes) *aesthetic* standpoints dominate the articles published in 1978; 54 per cent of the articles contain critiques on the general standards of the programmes. This means that standpoints defining general values are used, i.e. traditional critique, evaluation of the actors and other participants, of the author, and background to the programme itself.

Television critique also analyzes according to standpoints alien to traditional critique (or at least strange). These figure in nearly half (46 per cent) of the programme critiques and mainly examine the relationship between the programmes and reality, the influence and functions of the programme, audience demands, etc. Some of them (21 per cent) act as a standard reference to *social* values: social topicality, the thought content, cultural value, the role played in popularizing a given topic and the manner in which problems are raised. Others (23 per cent) focus on values specific to *recipients:* the entertainment, or educational character of the programme, its ingenuity, directness, how interesting it is and its easiness to understand. Standpoints underlining the specifics of television hardly ever crop up; a mere 3 per cent ventured to assess whether or not the programme in question was really suitable for adaption to television, or whether or not the programme was technically suitable.

When evaluating the portraits ("tête-à-tête" programmes) critic attention is generally captured by the personality of the interviewee, by the way he handles his television role. The youth and children's programmes were commented on with the interesting character, the performance of the participants and the educational values of the programmes used as a comparatively stable point of departure.

Praise and callings down

The position of the critics towards television is fundamentally *positive.* This is equally valid for their critical articles published in the early 1970's and in 1978. More than two thirds of the critiques published in 1978 were positive with a tone of praise. Of course, it is easy to distinguish those positions based on whether or not the programmes came up to the critics' expactations. This is why the appraisal of the programmes by critics emphasizing the standpoints of aesthetic and social value was basically favourable; the critics considered the majority of the 1978 programmes to be aesthetically valuable, and also useful and significant from the social point of view. In the analyses focusing on recipient interests—i.e. when programmes were put under the magnifying glass to see if they satisfied the direct demands of the television viewers—the rate of the negative evaluations also increased slightly (61 per cent of the critique was positive in tone). When judging whether the approach to the programme was suitable to television technique, the nega-

tive opinions predominated (53 per cent).

As far as the attitudes of the articles towards the individual programmes and different types of programmes are concerned, the striking differences, once characteristic of the evaluations of programmes, were reduced. (In 1972 and 1975 there was a difference of 44—46 per cent between the most and least favourably evaluated programmes, while by 1978 this figure had dropped to 21 per cent.) Despite the positive shift in value judgement, a distinct line can be drawn between the programmes meeting with the approval of and rejected by the critics.

In most cases the documentary programmes and television interviews dealing with political, social and economic topics, the popular science and educational programmes and the literary and art programmes were the most comprehensively praised and recognized.

A more "critical" position was taken towards dramatic programmes (fiction, i.e. TV-plays, television films, movie pictures, theatre broadcasts, etc.). Apart from the prevailing positive evaluations, the rate of negative critique showed a rise.

Most of the critical views were voiced against the entertainment programmes (quizzes, audience request programmes, shows, cabarets, mystery stories, etc.) although the complaints have declined in recent years. The fact that the critics show increased tolerance towards the entertainment programmes, can be interereted as a sign of something. We can only guess if it is to be understood as a complete change of face on the part of the critics (that is, as acceptance that "mass culture" is justified), or whether it is simply a superficial phenomenon indicating that the critics have shown more tolerance towards entertainment programmes because of external stimuli; or perhaps it may even mean that the standard of television programmes has improved in the last three years and this is the reason behind the more "indulgent" articles.

The ratios of critique related to individual programme types reflect certain critic prejudices. "Traditions" for evaluating the different programme types have evolved and sometimes they even influence the selection of theme, while at other times they affect the critique trend. For example it has become a "practice" to publish critiques on programmes dealing with topical issues and on popular science programmes because they are significant from the social, political and general cultural education points of view. Programmes of literature and the other arts are reacted to by a respectful comment on the arts, often with due regard to the famous author.

In most cases, dramatic programmes are important "events" in the television programme flow, so naturally, the critics respond. As the majority of these programmes have not yet been categorized by literary history, aesthetics or art history, the critic activity in this field is considerably more free and more independent of convention. Thus the differences between articles evaluating this programme type are considerably greater, too.

In the appraisal of entertainment programmes the system of critique is less settled. Basically it depends on how much the critic can accept of the demand of the general public for the respective art genre, and on the cultural and general cultural educational trends which stress the social significance of the entertainment programmes, as well as on his subjective relationship to the various types of his genre.

A genre seeking self-expression

The sudden increase in the quantity of critical articles shows that the need for television critique has been recognized by the newspapers. As far as the character of this critique is concerned, this conscious recognition can be caught

in certain respects only: interest has become more extensive, the analyses more comprehensive and more lucid, and some of the papers are devoting more space to the articles. Despite this, in many respects television critique appears to be in a period of searching for its own means of self-expression, and perhaps it has now reached the stage at which it can become conscious of and, to a certain extent, can define its own possibilities.

The evaluation of the programmes is still too subjective. In the absence of points of support to assist objective analysis, the critic, under the pretext of freedom of personal expression, very often takes a subjective position (which is different from a personal opinion). Although this change began of itself in recognition of social demands and will no doubt continue to run its course, for the time being it is practice to employ conventional stylistic expressions and idiomatic bricks, which imprint the message in form and contents alike.

The absence of a uniform principle is behind this. That principle could lay the foundations for objective analysis and could be extended to include the standpoints employed so far. The infantile disorders of our Marxist critique may also be contributing to the uncertainties of television criticism for they continuously pose problems to conventional critique as well. With television critique, the problem is emphasized by the uncertainties in and explorative ways of handling the object of the analysis. (This may de due to an insufficient knowledge of television and television technique on the part of some critics.) Certain phenomena can be explained by these uncertainties, namely, that critique is very often nothing but a sterile blow by blow description of what was shown on the screen, and does not give a *comprehensive opinion* to orientate the reader, or at least to provide him with the opportunity to confront his ideas with those of the critic.

The experience of the three years selected for the purpose of analysis indicates that the ways of evaluating the various programme types are changing. There are a few programme types where certain criteria of evaluation are consistently applied, while the approach to the rest of them has remained ad hoc. The path has been principally paved for the critique of programmes dealing with topical political and social issues. Articles written about these programmes are generally no longer television critique in the traditional sense of the term, since they no longer analyze the programme, but contribute to the discussion of the problems raised in the programme instead. (This is when the journalist concealed within the critic reveals himself.) These articles are not critique in the original sense of the word. Nevertheless, this genre, which is really close to essayism, can inspire continued thought on the subject and stimulate a social echo. As far as the question of the trends which critique of the other types of programmes will take is concerned, only another analysis, done in a few years' time can give the answer.

Julianna P. Szűcs

Inexpensive Library in Accelerated Time

The paperback is a particular phenomenon of disseminating culture in the 20th century, indescribable with qualities of extent, only with its sociological task — with the role it fulfils in the entirety of society, and not only in the realm of book publishing.

The family tree

The paperback syndrome is a strange transition between mass culture and the world of traditional culture. It belongs to the world of traditional culture as far as its substance is the written word, which acquired a detrimental situation as the result of mechanical communication. It is mass culture as far as the mechanism of production and consumption—in contrast to the conventional and prestige governed cultural productions—is primarily regulated by economic indices and the already surveyed requirements of the general public. Those who like to carry out research into the family trees of certain phenomena may find a connection between the German copybook studies of the past century, the so-called *Lieferungs* and the world of even earlier copybook trashy literature, and between the modern mass publications, which can be found everywhere. Those who ignore the family tree—and they are correct—regard the paperback as a historic phenomenon. The research of the ancestors only takes superficial symbols into consideration. When the brochures were distributed, the main aspect was speed—and only speed. When the old trashy novels flourished, the main advantage was the intellectual satisfaction of the lower levels of a firmly stratified society—and the satisfaction of only the lower strata. On the contrary, modern paperbacks came into life in a world which changed certain forms of culture into consumer goods, and on the other hand involved such social strata into the distribution of these consumer goods, which earlier did not receive any culture, although they were already the proprietors of a traditional culture, which disintegrated in the meantime.

At the beginning of the 1920s, when the financiers of Penguin Books invented this genre, paperbacks had three qualities: A) their sale price was not higher than a pack of cigarettes, B) they were pocket sized, and C) they only contained literature of a guaranteed standard and non-fiction.

The above description allows us to draw several visual facts: A) in contrast to traditional books, but similarly to a pack of cigarettes, the paperback had to have a greater attraction, and self-recommending appearance; B) in contrast to traditional books, the attraction could take effect with reduced size, in an emblem-like entity; C) as the high standard internal content initially belonged to the gist of the genre, the eye-catching cover could not apply all spectacular elements of heteronomous culture in an unscrupulous manner (which, for example, could be applied in the case of pornographic or sadistic publications), but transmitted partly between conventional values and the new value, and partly between the auton-

omous fine art and popular applied arts.

In this sense, a well-functioning paperback has to be a book, and not a book, a commodity and not a commodity. This is the only way it could raise the content it carried into the everyday mechanism of consumption, and this is the only way it could level the values according to the interests of the market.

And the Hungarian paperbacks? Are they similar and if not, should they be similar? The facts are controversial also on the plane of spectacle.

In the domestic book market

Hungarian paperbacks only differed for a long time, until the mid-1970s in their material from the cotton or half-cotton or hard bound books. This refers to the experiments between the two world wars, and to the *Magyar Szemle Kiskönyvtár,* which was considered "Anglo-maniac" and to the excellent series of brochure appearance after the liberation, the *Phoenix* and *Pharos.*

The function of the first Hungarian paperbacks did not differ from that of the higher ranking publications, they were merely cheaper and less ornamental. The printing work was not quicker and the distribution did not much differ from that of the other books.

Perhaps the only exception was the *Olcsó Könyvtár* (Inexpensive Library), which caused a genuine cultural revolution with its—initial—3 and 4 forints prices, yellow cover of poor paper, uniform illustrations, extremely primitive appearance, but because of the good cause, with its movingly commendable intention. Because of the listed formal criteria, the *Olcsó Könyvtár* could not become assimilated to the desirable publications of the consumers' society, and because of its tastefully intransigent value-protecting conception, it could not become an analogue of any market-dictating book publishing enterprise. My generation grew up with the volumes of the *Olcsó Könyvtár,* thus my reminiscences are of source value. We considered these ugly little paperbacks to be "genuine" books: if we had the money we regularly had them bound and put them on our bookshelves.

The standard characteristics of the paperback started to appear at the beginning of the 1960s on the domestic book market. Strangely, not with high standard literature, but with state permitted trashy literature, with a trash tax which made them artificially more expensive (*Albatrosz* books, and detective stories published by Európa without a special series title, etc.). If we look at the covers of the *Modern Könyvtár* or the *Studium Könyvek,* our attention is captured by the stream-lined ornaments, characteristic of the given decade, and by the fact that the title, the choice of colour, the contrasts are not more shocking or eye catching than the paper cover of a hard bound book. This old fashioned daintiness still existed when the change in taste also affected book design, when the squares and triangles, namely, the influence of new constructivism entered the field of book design after the areas of architecture and commercial design. In the mid-1960s, we considered the covers of the *Esztétikai Kiskönyvtár* attractive with their Mondrian style disciplined appearance, and found the well articulated cover of the *Európa* pocketbooks eye catching, but we felt these did not cut a different fragment from the world of spectacle than books in general.

On the other hand, we soon became used to photographs, which appeared on the quickly multiplied Hungarian translations of Agatha Christie, and on the covers of the old and rediscovered "apocryphal" *Rejtős*—although for the time being only in a poor black and white appearance, but the "menial" means of capturing attention were also permitted, although for the time being only as montage.

A long time passed until photomontage was used on the cover page of hard bound belles-lettres and another few years until natural photographs in colour deserved their position in the visual vocabulary of book designers.

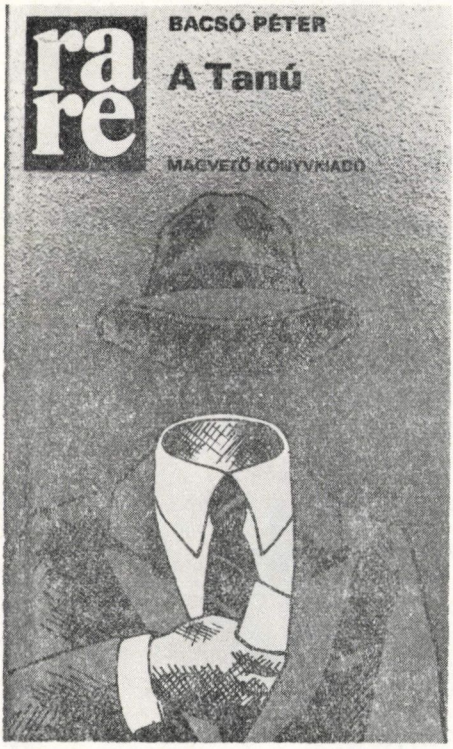
Naturally, this division of form never appeared in the field of West European and American paperbacks. In a milieu where—quoting Tibor Keszthelyi in his *A könyv és az átlag amerikai; Futószalag és kultúra* (Gondolat, 1972)—"Book stores were replaced by revolving wire stands in food stores, fast food outlets, restaurants, railway stations, airports, drugstores, and street kiosks, in pharmacies, cinema vestibules, universities, hotels, at newspaper vendors, department stores, souvenir shops, petrol stations, and who knows in how many more places, which are filled every week with fresh goods"—obviously the means of attracting attention are wider, more refined and more far flung. Our illustration somewhat justified this statement and it is a regrettable fact that some of the Hungarian publications of similar intention are moving clumsily in the footprints of their formal predecessors. (*Gondolat Zsebkönyvek, Kozmosz Fantasztikus Könyvek, Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár*).

The ways of Pécsi and Fajó

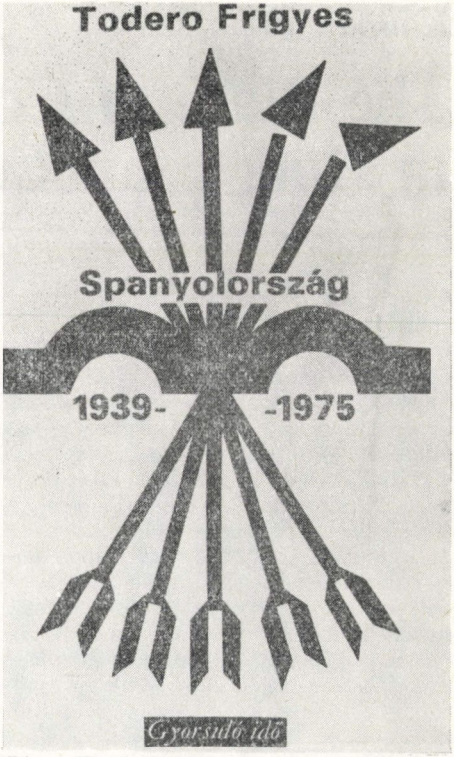
The reasons are varied. Hungarian society is not an "instant society" and its cultural policy could not apply the "buy and throw away" consumers' attitude, even if the financial funds were available. Namely: the present system of Hungarian book publishing cannot invest so much hope capital into paperbacks as the capitalist book publishing. Consequently, paperbacks here and now, for the time being, do not belong to a representative book publishing genre, they are only an opportunity in the jungle of possibilities. Perhaps this is the reason why two series could develop, which satisfy the requirements of pocketbooks on such a high level that could hardly develop amidst the tense relations of demand and offer. I refer to the *RaRe* series, namely the *Rakéta Regénytár* and the *Gyorsuló idő* enterprise. In fact, I refer not only to the series, but the graphic invention, which made these volumes visually valuable, uniform and—characteristically of Hungarian relations—somewhat ironic and playful.

Gábor Pécsi, the designer of the former series, applied more aggressive means. However, we should not take this aggressivity too seriously, particularly not on the turn of the 1970s and 1980s, when the pop-art tone was already given an art historic status. The parlance on this occasion seems to be the visual equivalent of the publisher's intention. The thick black outlined figures, the candied mandarin coloured covers and the hatching recalling old comics were intended as a protest against the artificial and antidemocratic separation of "high" and "low" culture, of elite and mass culture. The attraction of the series—particularly in domestic spectacle substance—is enormous. The fact that this graphic design searches for a link with posters, with record covers and with several phenomena of everyday visuality and the fact that it couples literature with a spectacle that was earlier regarded as "uncultured" finally peeled off the visible traces of well versed culture connected with books. These books easily slip into pockets, open up and let themselves be read, delivering valuable material in an almost unnoticeable manner, alongside the intentions of relaxation. Briefly: this concept carries out the expansionistic task of culture.

János Fajó, the cover designing graphic artist of the *Gyorsuló idő* (Accelerating Time), took a different path in form and content: he avoids the devaluated props of everyday visuality. However, he protects, more precisely he revives the world of meaningful symbols and belief in the strength of former



Gábor Pécsi



János Fajó

Soviet avant-garde communicative symbols. He does not use anything, but two or three colours: two or three regular geometric configurations, but he never uses these elementary symbols in an ornamental manner. He described with them what is indescribable, the main motifs of the study, occasionally even the internal structure of the study. Perhaps exactly this attempt of describing the indescribable and this unjustified optimism result in the irony of the covers. For example, the book about the dispute between Brecht and Lukács is symbolized by the letters "B" and "L", which are set against each other on the cover, the study refuting sumerology is illustrated by disputing question marks and an essay by Gyula Illyés is symbolized by a flower pattern, which resembles folk art motifs.

Are they frivolous? Yes, they are! They are the counter-effect of the publications which in their appearance preserve the respect due to the scholar cast and preserve the etiquette due to sciences. Thus, Fajó did a good deal to resolve a spasm in the slowly over-specialized intellectuals with his floating, airy, but intellectually organized cover designs, and to evoke an illusion in them: the world is cognizable, only one has to be able to select between important and unimportant things. Briefly: this concept carries out the task of intensive education.

All in all, the paperback concept of Pécsi and Fajó flashes up a possibility, which can also be undertaken by socialist cultural policy, but according to its quality would not be a discredit even in the world of market regulated book publishing.

Kálmán Rubovszky

The Place of Comics in Hungarian Culture

Even if every magazine with a comic strip were read by a single person, hundreds of thousands are consuming comics in Hungary today. Although neither the offer nor consumption is so general here as in the bourgeois countries, the number of consumers is so significant that the problems connected with comics have to be dealt with seriously. Throughout the world, an enormous amount of literature was published about this topic, however, this does not give us guidance (only ideas) under our circumstrances. Hungarian literature about this topic—notwithstanding a few striking analyses—is anaemic, rather of a publicistic character. Scientific analyses are missing.

In the following—as an introduction to scholarly meditation—we formulate a few questions connected with comics in Hungary.

What should be regarded as a comic strip?

This is not the most essential question, nevertheless, it should be placed at the beginning. In fact the most typical confusion of expositions about comics result from the fact that the authors do not speak about the same thing. Thus before starting on anything, it should be clarified whether all stories in pictures are comics or whether pictorial stroies have other specifications. Can slides with subtitles be considered as comics or those which include no written text at all? Are only those comics, which have words in bubbles, as it was stated by Miklós Hernádi in the magazine *Kultúra és Közösség* 1974/35? If comics are what others call *fumetti* or *bande dessinée*, etc. then Hernádi is correct. These so-called buorgeois comics appeared roughly simultaneously with the film in a way that can be well outlined, in the age when entertainment became a mass and visual phenomenon. However, there are some who dispute this type of narrowing of the comics' sphere, among them Péter Kuczka, who appeared as a delegate at the first deliberation about comics in Hungary, held in May 1983 at Nyíregyháza, and opined in the following manner: "Let us accept the term and perhaps agree that we consider as comics all graphic or painted design which depict events, plots, and conflicts through consecutive pictures with or without text, with subtitles or with words in bubbles. The shortest comics consist of two designs, the best example of this are some work by Saul Steinberg and the longest—as far as I know—the history of the universe, published by the Italians, goodness knows in how many volumes. A single design is not comics, but an illustration or caricature or whatever, but the upper limit of comics is the infinite minus one."

Foreign literature about the topic generally accepts the narrower, Hernádi type authenticity, reserves the broader sense for the preambles of comics, or simply bypasses the difference between the two interpretations. Some people accept the broader interpretations only to prove the noble, ancient and fine art roots of this medium. In our opinion, bourgeois comics carry the imprints of the circumstances

of birth, so much so that within culture they create a single well recognizable block, which can be clearly outlined. The text is built into the picture in the form of a smoke strip or a bubble, narrativity is characteristic, and the figures make exaggerated and expressive gestures. However, what today is called comics in Hungary is not identical with bourgeois comics, even if they partly originate from them. In other words, we still have the possibility to produce pictorial stories in the broader sense. Moreover, it is not certain that the expression pictorial novel or comics will be appropriate to indicate the future efforts. The term "pictorial novel" is overliterary. Kuczka's words should be supplemented by the comment that here in Hungary not only drawn or painted, but also photographed series of pictures belong to this concept. As underground efforts to further develop the means of comics (comix) also have an effect in the bourgeois societies towards extension, it would be more appropriate to indicate the path of development in the sphere of the broader interpretation.

Valuable or valueless?

Most often the question is answered in a hurried, biased and overgeneralized manner: comics as such are valueless. However, we would be nearer to the truth if this were supplemented with: the majority of the already produced comics are valueless. Even so, we should be careful with the attribute. In fact, the ultimately valueless comics which do not carry an anti-social content have partial values. In certain social or historic situations, man who is alienated from his work, can relax with such indifferent and amusing surrogates. Although this is not a great glory for him, but if, because of his circumstances, he is not intellectually able for more, this is better than to chase other (harmful) passions. It is more correct to raise the question whether this or that comic strip is valuable or valueless. After this, critics should possibly undertake judgement, when it is founded, for which, however, and among others, scientific research is also necessary.

Otherwise, comics have to be judged with the same measure as any other creation of man. The peak of the objective scale is man's freedom, and the examined comic strip is the more valuable concerning its content and form, the more it serves this principle. Unfortunately, even superflous observation indicates that from among communication systems comic strip production is more powerfully linked with the bourgeois business enterprise, operating on the level of catering for the lowest denominator, which only promises genuine use value for the consumers, because in fact it only aims at making a profit.

This distortion of the medium, however, should not be identified with its essence. This is also indicated by the fact that comics functioning in the socialist countries (although their form of expression was mainly inspired by bourgeois comics) frequently endeavour to make progressive contents available to the masses, and it also happens under bourgeois circumstances that such publications play a respectable role in the dissemination of historic and other knowledge. Our scientific analysis, which we carried out within the

academic research main direction under the title the Development of Social Structure, Way of Life, and Consciousness in Hungary, indicated that comics published in Hungary between June 1981 and July 1982, did not carry regressive contents, and although most of them were indifferent, they frequently indicated positive contents (patriotism, etc.). However, it is true that from the graphic point of view our comics are weaker than their bourgeois companions.

Reproduction of worthlessness

The most frequent question is whether comics replace the reading of literary works, whether the emphasis on the justification of entertainment does not help the comics to rob literary consumers from the camp of those who receive the art of words.

Regrettably, no reliable analysis exposed the characteristics in the intereffect of comics and literature. It is pointless to mention that, for example, comic strip adaptations encourage reading, this is a statement without proof, similar to those which announce that comic strips frighten people away from literature. Our research is also standing at the begining of the discovery of the genuine facts, nevertheless, here is a typical fragment from a discussion with a 17 year old apprentice, one of the depth interviews made with some comic strip enthusiasts. Perhaps this will take us closer to the world of comics consumers.

—Did any of the comics you read remind you of a story, which you had read earlier in a book?

—Yes. For example, Star Wars, and I liked it, because there was nothing written beside it. I like comics, which are also in book form, and they contain the same that I have already read in the book.

—List as many as you can! Which you have read in books and then in comics!

—*A törökfejes kopja* (The Turkish headed spear). Then something from Jenő Rejtő, *Az elveszett cirkáló* (The lost gunship), and others. Then *A fekete város* (The Black Town).

—Which of the books you read would you like to see in the form of comics?

—Nowherelivings. A fantastic book written by Francis Gelsed. French. I would like it. The way I imagine the figures . . . I would like to see them. I would like to have the plot of the book appear in front of me. Also in figures.

—Did it happen that after reading comics you went and acquired the same story in the form of a book and you read it?

—I couldn't say for certain, because it happened that I bought the book when the comics appeared and I didn't know which one to read first. And then I read the comics first, because it was shorter.

—But did it happen that you read the comics and you bought the book and read it?

—Yes, it happened.

—Can you list a few titles?

—For example, *A törökfejes kopja*. I didn't see it first, but read the comics. After I read the comic strip I saw it in the cinema, it was much better. And

then I read the book. The three together were very good.

—List then please, the others!

—*Beszterce ostroma.* (The seige of Beszterce). I didn't read the book before I read the comic strip. Not intentionally, it just happened. Then . . . those Jenő Rejtő comics—I read them first as comics and then the books. One is encouraged to see the characters. Otherwise, one cannot imagine them.

—Please choose between the following two statements: Number one. I prefer to read every literary work in the form of comics. Number two. I would prefer to read every literary work in its original form.

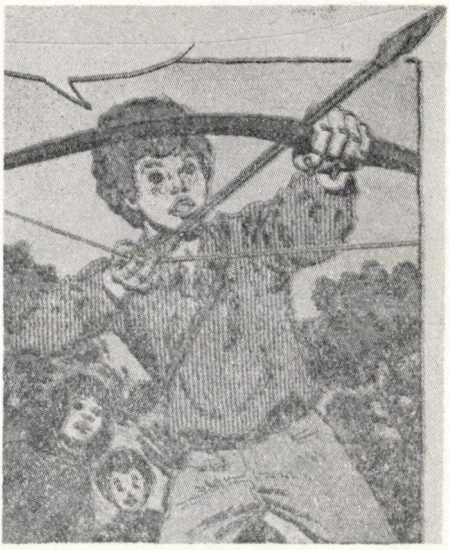
—I would like to read comics. I mean I choose the first.

—Then will you please explain why did you choose this statement!

—Because I would get the same content and I would not be pressed to imagine the persons, because there they would be in drawings. Abridged that's true, quite abridged, but it is better to read comics than books.

It is worthwhile to pay attention to some parts of the interview excerpt. One is that in fact there are literary works the reading of which was encouraged by the comics adaptation. If out of a 100,000 readers this factor only concerns 1,000, it is already important.

The other factor should immediately cool our enthusiasm: comic strips only motivate the reading of literary works which are adapted. In fact most of the works selected for adaptation are adventure stories, superficial, amusing literary products. The controllers of comic strip publications start to outline the diabolical circle with the cautiously formulated explanation that we should steer clear of the adaptation of classic works in the form of comic strips. Consequently, the next step is the adaptation of shallower works. The receiver then looks for these in the libraries, and the public is justified in considering comics as the even more superficial warming up of superficial experiences. This type of production also affects fine art standards. As it was remarked by



László Tiszai, editor-in-chief of the *Füles* magazine at the earlier mentioned comics conference at Nyíregyháza, a better graphic artist refuses to work for the comics workshops, branded as trashy, because of such reasons. What can be done that worthlessness should not be reproduced?

According to one idea, the solution would be if work groups produced original comics in which the copywriter had a literary significance and the designer was allowed greater autonomy. In his contribution, Péter Kuczka urged this solution. However, the question arises that if this enterprise will not be subsidized by the state, then sooner or later it would cause a loss for the creators. In fact if they gave up the stereotypes of mass production, then most probably they would lose the masses as the main financial source of this venture. Experimentation with comics only tallied with mass production in extraordinary periods (e.g. in the case of Mayakovsky in the period of the so-called Rosta Windows).

If we want to define the place of comic strips in our culture according to their communicational particularity, then it can be said that they reflect an autonomus communication system.

This stands nearer to fine arts, but is not a piece of art, it utilizes lingual text, but it is not literature, it applies cinematographic lingual solutions, but is not film. It is a particular communication system, which is illustrative, of great news value, and if produced on high standards can undertake an important role in the transmission of culture, education and the dissemination of knowledge.

Have comics a future in Hungary?

Fortune-telling is not our business. We can make certain forecasts. Comic strips can suggestively promote pedagogic and instructive work. In France, Italy and Africa history, while in Yugoslavia the Bible is brought nearer to the receiving masses in an easily "digestible" form. We find English language books which utilize the form of comics. Thus, this communication system plays a primary role in the dissemination of knowledge and public education, where the educationally backward strata have to be taken nearer to certain value-bearers with the intermediation of certain transitory forms. However, because of their descriptiveness, comic strips can also help people of higher education in surveying one or the other topic which is more distant from them. The "Biblia Pauperum" function as an emergency solution will always exist as long as we do not basically liquidate alienation in our world, as long as we do not change social relations in such a way that there should be no people for whom valuable cultural products are repulsive, so that we should be able to directly consume the assets without anxiety. However, we suspect that suggestive, transitory intermediators will remain necessary.

In the present stage of comic strips, it is impossible to produce autonomous picture stories. Thus, comics have to be revived, perhaps in such a way that they return to the ancient original picture story requirement, which inspired the scenes on the Greek vases, the life stories of the saints, and the pictorial stories of Picasso.

It is a new feature in Hungarian comics production that econonic associations are set up to produce comic strips. It would be too early to comment on these cultural associations. However, one thing is certain: if they have to fully or mostly subordinate their activities concerning the content to the laws of the market, they will create something which is alien to the ideas of socialism. These products can only fulfil a positive function if the St. George of their use will have the strength to defeat the profit dragon of the terms of trade.

Péter Szaffkó

From Chaucer to Updike

English and American literature on the radio and on the television in 1983

The acceptance and reception of Anglo-Saxon literature and culture is an important field of anglistics and americanistics in Hungary, termed by Dionýz Ďurišin, a known theoretician of comparative literature research, as contactology or contact research.[1]

The question what role radio and television play in the reception of English and American literature in Hungary does not simply belong to the sphere of the so-called "genetic contacts", but can also clarify certain "typological connections".[2] As this paper is too short even to make an attempt to examine both sides of the phenomenon, I remain within the field of genetic contacts. My aim is to survey the offer of English and American literary works broadcast or reviewed on the Hungarian Radio and Hungarian Television during 1983, including their forms, their place and distribution in the literary programme assortment.

For the analysis, I surveyed the radio and television programmes of exactly 52 weeks, between January 3, 1983 and January 1, 1984. In general, the survey covered only those programmes which fully elaborated on a literary work and did not take into consideration broadcasts of a magazine character, such as *Társalgó* (Conversation), *Gondolat* (Thought) or *Kritikusok fóruma* (Forum of critics) in the radio or *Studio '83* on the television. At the same time, I made exceptions in those cases where the review was accompanied by a longer excerpt of the reviewed work. Such programmes were, for example, the *Könyvszínpad* (Book stage) or *Kilátó* (Lookout) on the radio. I added writers' portraits to this category, in which a certain form of adaptation also played a role. Finally: I did not include fairy tales, only those works broadcast by the children's and youth radio programmes, which organically belong to the historic development of English or American literature (such as, for example, the Cooper novels).

Programme schedule, programme types

The congregate time of programmes connected with English and American literature on the radio was 93 hours 10 minutes in the surveyed period. Statistically this means that on the average, one hour 47 minutes a week were broadcast exclusively from English and American literature. Although this is only half a percent of the complete schedule of the 3 channels, one has to know that the total time of explicitly literary programmes moves between an average of 20—25 per cent.[3] Within the literary programmes, the participation of English and American literature is 4—5 per cent. For comparison: in grammar schools Hungarian language and literature is taught in 4—6 lessons a week, within which the ratio of English and American literature remains far behind the radio average.

On the television, the total time of programmes made from Anglo-Saxon literature was 148 hours 35 minutes in 1983. This—taking a statistical average

—means that the Hungarian Television transmitted 3 hours of programmes a week based on English or American literary works. (These included Hungarian and certain foreign television adaptations, but no English and American feature films which were not produced on the basis of literary sources.) Based on the entire transmission time of television, the ratio of programmes made from Anglo-Saxon literary material was 2.4 per cent. This ratio can be considered higher than in the case of the radio, because the participation of telefilms and feature films—although their ratings are undoubtedly high— is not too extensive compared to the entire programme. A 1983 survey[4] indicated that the ratio of the so-called entertaining programmes on the Hungarian Television did not amount to 35 per cent of the entire schedule. However, 60 per cent of this consists of teleplays, feature films, and television series, what practically means about 40 hours a week. If we compare the approximately 3 hours a week to this, then the ratio is almost 10 per cent.

In the 1983 programmes of the radio, about 60 works by 45 British and American authors were broadcast in their entirety, including 19 radio plays. The number of adaptations was 27, out of this 8 were serials. Five of the remaining 14 were theatre coverages, and the others poems. Books by 8 British and American authors were reviewed, accompanied by the adaptation of excerpts. Finally, 9 other programmes should be mentioned, which outlined the portrait of a writer or poet in 30 or 60 minutes.

In the 1983 programmes of the television, altogether 85 works by 58 British or American authors were introduced in their entirety. Notwithstanding 7 theatre relays and 3 poems recited in the 5 minute programme *Vers mindenkinek* (Poetry for everyone) in Saturday evening prime time, almost each should be regarded as an adaptation or elaboration. Out of the teleplays or feature films based on Anglo-Saxon literature, 17 were produced in Britain, 35 in the United States, 5 in Hungary, 14 in the F.R.G., and 1 each in the G.D.R., Czechoslovakia, France and Italy.

British literature

I arranged the collected material according to the chronology of the original works. It is practical in this way, because it provides a total image about how far the chosen programmes present the two national literatures; whether there are any clear-cut aspects, or at least tendencies in the selection; and to what extent literary value and popularity—or in other words: high level and lighter entertainment—relate to each other in the programme offer.

It was a good example of an absolutely welcome effort aimed at introducing works lesser known to the Hungarian public, when the Youth Radio scheduled the Canterbury Tales, or at least a few excerpts from the most outstanding works by Geoffrey Chaucher, the first eminent poet of English language literature. Most probably, many people listened to the 60 minute programme on Kossuth Radio, broadcast in the early evening period, particularly inspired by the recently shown film adaptation. Counterbalancing the film, the radio may have had a role in directing attention to the original work.

Late at night on August 26, on Petőfi Radio there was a 30 minute programme entitled *Igen is, nem is* (Yes and no), with the following subtitle: "Shakespeare the renowned Hungarian playwright". The situation expressed by the ironic subtitle is indicated by the fact that last year altogether 10 Shakespeare dramas were transmitted on the radio and on the television, including Hamlet, which went both on the radio and on the television. Out of the 10 Shakespeare works, 4 were theatre coverages, 3 from the BBC series, while the others

were radio or television adaptations. I have to remark that the 2 Hamlets were not superfluous repetitions, on the one hand, because they were not presented by the same medium, and on the other, while the radio broadcast a conventional performance, the television—in cooperation with the Kisfaludy Theatre in Győr—presented a production from a very particular point of view under the subtitle "The Armed Philosopher". Macbeth, directed by Béla Tarr, was of a similar experimental character, with the following remark in the *RTV Újság* (Radio and Television Times): "The television adaptation is an extraordinary elaboration of the tragedy, differing from any earlier presentations. Breaking with traditions, it was shot without editing, placed in continuous sequence. This solution placed emphasis on the psychological movements of the work, providing an opportunity for the actors to enfold their particular style of acting."[5] Two remarks should be made. One, that this Macbeth adaptation is a good example of the existing interaction between the mass media and literature. Obviously, the television with its own means—independently from the success of the accomplishment—can enrich literary works with new aspects and interpretations. The other remark is closely connected with this: we consider it a regrettable fact that the television does not make satisfactory use of this opportunity. It happens very rarely that productions are built from the literary material of other nations, although in many cases, the interpretations of a foreign author from the Hungarian point of view could make a richer impression.

18th century English literature was represented by the 21 part adaptation of Tom Jones, the main work of Henry Fielding, who is considered a founder of British belles-lettres. From the popularity point of view of the radio, the role of the radio plays broadcast in serials, which spread after 1956, is very significant, and it is no coincidence that this is one of the most important forms of programmes in making the outstanding works of world literature known. We can read the following in a report by the Mass Communication Research Centre: "The general public have developed radio listening habits, periods of days and hours, when they automatically switch on the set, but for their favourite programmes or genre they swith on or switch over even at quite unusual times. For example, this applies to the continuation of a play.[6] The same report also reveals that for example, Tom Jones was listened to by about 40,000 people. This is not a low number, if we take into consideration the fact that this programme was not scheduled for the first time on the radio.

Three English romantic poets appeared in the radio or television programmes. Several of Byron's poems—including Inscription on the Monument of a Newfoundland Dog—were broadcast on the third week of the year, when he was The Poet of the Week. John Keats was given space in the Saturday night television programme *Vers mindenkinek* with one poem, Old Meg, She was a gipsy. It is interesting that Shelley was represented with his most significant and most theatrical romantic tragedy (The Cenci), a theatre coverage on television.

Apart from Shakespeare, perhaps Charles Dickens is the best known classic English novellist in Hungary, whose works had numerous translations into Hungarian. Naturally, these could not be omitted from either the radio or television programmes. Oliver Twist was a radio serial and the television showed the French film Great Expectations. To some extent, a lack of conception or at least not too fortunate programming is indicated by the fact that a lecture on Dickens by Mihály Szegedy-Maszák was broadcast—twice—on the School Radio in February and Oliver Twist only in August. Obviously, it would have been more effective to link the two programmes in time. This example

supports Márta Hary's critical remark that "Apart from serials, it would be welcome to see more closer links between the literary programmes . . . The conception of the programme policy which creates chief thematic centres and spans larger periods can still be traced, but perhaps it should be more conspicuously emphasized for the broader public."[7] This opinion was formulated in 1971 by the critic and it seems that after more than ten years it is still topical.

The turn of the century meant a theatrical upswing and the flourishing of drama in almost every country of Europe. By that time, international communication was also accelerated in cultural life and helped many authors to world fame. Undoubtedly, one of the most interesting personalities among them was G. B. Shaw, who was first received with miscellaneous feelings, but his comedies soon became popular. Hovewer, it seems that interest in them has diminished in the past decades. This is also reflected by the surveyed period, for only one of his works was scheduled, and that from among the lesser known. On the other hand, Oscar Wilde, the less significant, but excellent comedy writer, appeared twice on television. On the first channel we saw—in the morning programme —An Ideal Husband, an adaptation by the G.D.R. television, then on the Second Channel in prime time Salomé, an English film. On the radio, a 55 minutes compilation under the title Unknown Acquaintances endeavoured to outline the life and oeuvre of this lyric dandy of strange fate.

Today an increased interest is manifested in the turn of the century. Although Somerset Maugham wrote his more significant works later, his short stories radiate the particular atmosphere of the beginning of the century. Obviously, this is one of the reasons why the F.R.G. television produced a multipart series from these short stories under the title The Vicissitudes of a Globetrotter, of which 12 were screened last year. Another reason for their popularity is the exotic nature of Maugham's figures, the flashing up of the strange destiny of people condensed in short episodes, which are always permeated with eternal human wisdom and humour. The American film Wilson's Award was also based on Maugham's short story, and the radio adapted another short story of his—Dead End. Undoubtedly, most of the screened works, such as Louise, Mr. Knowall, etc., belong to the best, so that the attentive viewers could create an authentic picture about the short story art of the globetrotting writer.

Out of contemporary British literature, mostly the dramas reach the public, which is also justified by the affinity of the genre to the mass media. On the radio we heard the adaptation of John Osborne's Luther—the obvious explanation is its link with the Luther anniversary—then Bernard Slade's Tribute, in the form of theatre coverage, and a lesser known author, David Rudkin's Irish play under the title Cries from Casement as his bones were taken to Dublin. Márton Mesterházi, the dramaturgist of the radio play, explained in an article that Roger David Casement was a diplomat born in the second half of the 19th century, who later joined the Irish rebellion and died as a national hero. Mesterházi gives a noteworthy answer to the question "What has the listener to do with Casement?" His most important argument is: "Rudkin is an excellent writer, and this is a brilliant radio play. And listeners should have access to every excellent work. (I wish there were enough money, interest and world-wide cultural cooperation to make this possible.)"[8] It would be difficult to formulate more densely and more unambiguously the aim for which all experts in mass communication and the public should cooperate, which is simultaneously worthy and indispensably necessary.

Returning to the dramas: two theatre coverages on the television presented Arnold Wesker's The Kitchen and the hit play City Sugar by Stephen

Poliakoff. David Storey's In Celebration was part of the series *Színház filmszalagon* (The Theatre on Film).

From among contemporary British novellists, William Golding should be mentioned, with the remark that although one of his novels was included in the *Könyvszínpad* and another in the *Kilátó* programme, it would have been justified to broadcast one of his works in its enterity, when in 1983 he was awarded the Nobel literary prize. It is praiseworthy that the television scheduled the Irish series Strumpet City by James Plunkett, an Irish novelist, unknown in Hungary. This series depicted the tribulations of the workers in Ireland at the beginning of the century in a very objective manner and with the best means of realism.

Finally, here are the names of our British writers, who acquired literary fame in the genre of radio plays, although they also published other works: two radio plays were broadcast by Giles Cooper (Pig in the Middle, and Unman, Wittering and Zigel), one by Bill Naughton (Late Night on Watlin Street), one by James Saunders (It's Not the Game It Was), and one by Robin White (Soldiers).

American literature

The number of American literary works published in Hungarian considerably increased in the past twenty years, in a similar manner to cinema films or telefilms. Naturally, this phenomenon can be observed in the radio and television programmes, too. The multicoloured nature of 19th century American literature was well illustrated by the following list, far from being complete: J. F. Cooper, E. A. Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Walt Whitman, Harriet Beecher-Stowe and Mark Twain. The best known works of Cooper, Beecher-Stowe and Mark Twain, popular among young listeners, were heard and seen during the past year. During the summer months, Kossuth Radio broadcast the well known Indian stories one after the other, as well as The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. The less important Beecher-Stowe novel Uncle Tom's Cabin was performed by the theatre Népszínház, and recorded by the television, and The Man that Corrupted Hadelyburg based on Mark Twain's works, an American film, was also screened, as well as the two part The Prince and the Pauper, an adaptation by the Czechoslovak television. One can again miss the co-ordination in the programming concerning the screening of Mark Twain's works, and the transmission of a compilation under the title This Is All Me. The latter was based on the writer's autobiography and this way we can add it to the writers' portraits.

The world literary significance of Walt Whitman, one of the greatest figures in American poetry was the topic of the programme *Eszmecsere* (Discussion) in the Third Programme of the radio, broadcast late at night. The usual Tuesday evening series included the four part American television adaptation of Hawthorne's finest novel The Scarlet Letter.

Two of Jack London's works represented American literature from the turn of the century: The Call of the Wild, a two part radio adaptation and Martin Eden, an autobiographically inspired work, which at the same time belongs among the best works of the writer, adapted by the Italian television as a five part series. On the First Programme we saw the American television adaptation of a prose by Henry James and one by Edith Wharton.

20th century American poetry was only represented by one poem by Cummings in the programme *Vers mindenkinek*. At the same time, eminent representatives of American drama were transmitted both by the radio and television. The following dramas were shown as American adaptations: O'Neill—The Iceman Cometh, Albee—A Delicate Balance, and two works by Lillian Hellman and

Neil Simon, without exception in prime time. Arthur Miller's best known drama, Death of a Salesman, originally recorded in the theatre Nemzeti Színház was repeated in 1960, while Wings by Arthur Kopit, a representative of absurd dramas, was broadcast by Kossuth Radio.

From among the masters of prose, I could give a long list with names and titles, but I only pick out a few. On the radio we heard the adaptation of short stories and novels by William Faulkner, Hemingway, Saul Bellow, and P. G. Wodehouse. The *Kilátó* magazine programme dealt with the latest Updike novel: Rabbit is Rich and an American television adapted his short stories, which were screened on the First Channel in the late evening hours.

In addition to telefilms based on works by Willa Cather, F. Scott Fitzgerald and Irwin Shaw, I should mention Breakfast at Tiffany's based on one of Truman Capote't best short stories, and the British television series Tales of the Unexpected written by Roald Dahl, an American novellist of British origin. Altogether seven 25 minute episodes of this series were screened in 1983.

Good chrestomathy

What conclusions can be drawn from the above survey? Primarily that in my opinion mostly well selected Anglo-Saxon literary works appeared in the literary programmes of the Hungarian Radio and on Hungarian Television during the period under review. Most probably the quantity can always be increased, but it seems that in order to maintain a healthy balance, no essential extension is necessary. At the same time, we feel that within the genre, British and American poetry is somewhat pushed into the background and this would be worthwilhe to improve. It seems that the proportion of classic and contemporary works is also satisfactory. After surveying the programmes, the general impression is that the radio contained more higher level works from the aesthetic point of view, as well as the dissemination of literary knownledge, but this is primarily due to the basic profile of the radio and television.

It can also be ascertained that the literary policy principle which Dr. János Zentai has detailed in his recently published book *Rádió és irodalom* (Radio and literature) was unambiguously effectuated in the choice of the literary works (due to numerous factors ranging from the quality of the available materials to the financial situation of the radio and television).[9] If we systematized the reviewed works in four categories (supports, informs, endures and forbids[10]) then most works would belong to the first and the second categories—namely, to the artistically and politically supported works and to those which were transmitted for information—,but even the works in the third or fourth category formulate mainly realistic problems and basic social criticism on a high artistic level. (It should be reiterated that I am only hinting at the original literary works and not the standards of the transmitted programmes, which should be the subject of a separate study.)

The analysis also revealed that both the radio and the television considered the programming of classic creations as important, and promoted the meeting between them and the growing generations. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that the producers and editors are not satisfied with mere repeats, but always experiment with new forms. This can be judged as an emphasis on the quality.

Based on all this, it seems that—with a regular eye on the programme schedule and with a lot of free time—those who are interested have the opportunity to continuously acquaint themselves with the eminent and worthy creations of British and American literature. And this is not a minor

result. However, programmes are missing which could create a closer link between the literary works rather (and necessarily) scattered in time, and seemingly selected according to varied aspects. As long as such programmes do not promote information for the listeners and viewers, no uniform literary-historic evaluation will emerge in them. Of course, this is not a primary task of the radio and television, but because of their mass effect, they could provide considerable assistance in this process. Symbolically it could be said that the radio and television literary programmes are similar to a chrestomathy, for which it would be worth compiling a useful guide in the future.

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9. Dr. János Zentai: Rádió és irodalom. Budapest, Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, 1983.
10. Ibid. 155.

István Gergely

Exhibitions: Symbols — Pictures and Problems

Nowadays, the fact that news has become "consumer goods" necessarily increased the social significance of the communicational, information carrying media. These, as if in rivarly with existence, serve the news requirement with the things of the genuine world and simultaneously creating new and new vacuums find more differentiated methods of their own possibilities.

Following social changes and technological development, new genres and new trends were born and enfolded, almost in front of our eyes, for the purpose of satisfying the hunger for news. The vigour of the conventional means of expression can also be proved only by their adaptability to the new relationships. This also refers to the "exhibition" as a genre—as a form of communication. However, an untrodden path is pursued by those who undertake the exposure of the domestic situation of exhibitions and in general the characteristics of this genre. We still face a systematic and methodical examination. It would be timely to deal more with this multifarious and very complex theme, because it not only concerns exhibitions as a part of environmental culture: a sensible and appropriate exhibition can efficiently serve the arts, sciences and in principle all topics and targets, which it organizes into its communicational system with its own form of expression.

In general where can we see such exhibitions?

In museums, in the exhibition halls of cultural institutions (permanently or temporarily), in culture centres, educational institutions, the halls of social bodies, in scientific and technological institutions (at congresses), in the Design Centre, at industrial and commercial fairs, displays, on vehicles (bus exhibitions), open-air displays and in parks (skanzens), etc.

This rough list makes it clear that a significant part of exhibitions are not organized in "professional" institutions. Namely, there are relatively few venues where the personnel and the technical apparatus are qualified for this activity. (One can feel this in most of the accomplished exhibitions.)

Notwithstanding the technical personnel and equipment of the institutions which are engaged with the organization of exhibitions, it is worthwhile to pay more detailed attention primarily to the organizing-designing apparatus, the experts. The point is that exhibition-making is not a profession: there is no such "trained skill". No educational institute teaches this, or provides the necessary qualification. Consequently, the "experts" are autodidacts: after having qualified in some trade, they practiced in the skills of exhibition-making. One can observe that the difference between the occasionally organizing and professional exhibition organizing institutions is in fact only the routine.

The completion of an exhibition (apart from the technical accomplishment) is typical team work. It does not seem to be necessary, for example, that the expert, art historian, organizer, interior decorator and copywriter, etc., should be one and the same person. But somewhere these spheres of activity become integrated and outline a definite discipline—valid for everyone. Its elaboration, dissemination, training and implemen-

tation could be the guarantee for the development of exhibition culture. The cognizance of such a—theoretical and practical—"equimultiple" could ensure really resultful work for all experts engaged with exhibitions (including critics).

As a practicing exhibition designer, I frequently experience the fact that the greatest problem of the work group gathered for the solution of certain tasks is the understanding of each other's metalanguage (professional jargon). This is not a simple question of semantics, but the tension of presumed contradictions between the truth of learnt skills and the authenticity of the particular genre of the exhibition.

An example to illustrate the above: in a given situation, in a relatively narrow space, scientific accuracy justifies let us say 20 photographs and 30 lines of text. However, the exhibition only allows 10 photographs and 5 lines. That much is realistic, because of the extent, the distances and other situations, i. e. this is how much the spectators are able to perceive—the surplus may be present, but in vain, it cannot be apperceived. The conflict situation is clear: for the effectiveness of the exhibition it has to be abridged, some details have to be omitted. Scientific requirements and completeness may seem to suffer, but whether the truth of the thesis becomes impaired de facto or only seemingly depends on whether the scientific worker can think in space and exhibition, or whether the organizer can perceive and accomplish the expression of scientific completeness condensed to fit the situation. The key to the solution is not a dire compromise, but the healthy interdisciplinary thinking of the contributors.

Homo sapiens—from the Massai tribe!

I met a characteristic example of the relationship between the objectivity of the scientific approach and the unavoidable subjectivity of exhibition design in Nairobi, at the Anthropology Exhibition of the Kenya National Museum.

As a summary of the development phases, the "family tree" of man appeared on a large scale concluding wall. In the usual manner, it was depicted from the bottom upward. At the top of the human evolution line, after depicting the Heidelberg, Neander Valley and Cro-Magnon, etc., man, there was the Homo sapiens. Yes, but he was depicted as a characteristically Kenyan long armed man with elongated head, most probably a member of the Massai tribe. No professional force confirms the scientific accuracy of the depiction, nevertheless, I felt that on-the-spot it simply could not happen in any other way. Based on slanted eyed and black skin Christ depictions—as distant analogues—it is not too risky to reach the conclusion that in the interest of the given target (for an exhibition is an applied genre) this gesture can be regarded as scientific. In this way, a much fuller and more comprehensive truth gained validity, because it was true in its effect and in its deeper conceptual charge and not only on the surface (on the surface of the skin).

According to practical experience, a deviation from the innervated forms of the rites of display—at first sight—mostly meet with antipathy. In the particular atmosphere of an exhibition, the time of perception is of special significance, because in movement the spectator senses the impulses as processes occurring in time. In such an approach it is important to know the "conceptual preformations" (Adorno) of the public, as the prop of adjustment or exactly as the conscious departure. Thus, the knowledge of taste and habits is an important means in the rapid approach, efficiency and authentication of the message of an exhibition. "Authentication" is not only a question of the usage of the word. The point is that the truth of the thesis has to be made believable, there and

then, on-the-spot. To make something believable in the given situation means authentication. In order to compose this, the decisive motif is captatio benevolentiae.

The main motif of our exhibition in Tokyo about Japanese—Hungarian cooperation, ethnographic analogues, and about our literary, art and musical contacts, came about in such a way that I saw trees in the churchyards and in front of small houses decorated with coloured inscribed ribbons. This is an ancient folk custom: these trees symbolize the driving away of evil, and the accomplishment of good wishes and desires.

In Japan, the survival of traditions can be better traced than—let us say—in Hungary, where the folk custom of decorating trees with coloured ribbons of different meanings has become extinct—who would understand a hint of that? In Japan—where it is part of the collective, conventional living and known symbol system—it may provide support and can be the concrete means of establishing contacts. Based on my little model, produced in my hotel room, we chose the tree, which then suggested new and further thoughts and possibilities. The organic configuration turned into a symbolic signal system. Simultaneous interpretation and stories were born from the main and sidebranches, from the trunk and the small shoots. My Japanese partners held lengthy debates on the relationship between the colour and the text of the ribbons, then advised me which colour best suited each thought. The exhibition indicated: the application of this form of expression favourably promoted the effect of the message and authenticated its intention. This was true only there and then, it cannot be repeated in Hungary or anywhere else, but it was good and instructive as an experiment: it makes us aware that the symbols, the signs, and the phenomena of nature can be interpreted not only among our innervated formations.

The picture takes the tram

In Augsburg, Bavaria, fine art exhibitions are held on tram No. 4, which starts out from the main railway station. (The Transport Company does not increase the fares.) It seems that the spectators (passengers) and the exhibiting artists are both satisfied: the latter because of the increased sales.

The drawings, coloured graphics, photographs and prints induced some to cast a brief glance, others to spend more time looking at them between the stops, instead of bored gazing at the scenery. In these mobile galleries, the works became their own advertisement. The formula is clear: one has to make use of transport and sell works, but one does not have to go to galleries. It seems it has been discovered that there is a tiny unconditioned place in the communication network which can be filled in. It would be easy to regard this phenomenon merely as a witty business trick, and handle it (or belittle) as a fact—not too significant fact—of the increasing flood of exhibitions. One necessarily recalls the story when the scholar was asked whether one is allowed to eat while studying the Holy Scripture. The decisive answer was: No, it must not be done! But—continued the wise man—if you ask whether you are allowed to read the Holy Scripture while you are eating, then the answer is: Yes, because dealing with noble things is always and in every situation a respectable act. If we apply the parable to our case, then we can formulate that it is still better if they watch high standard pictures than if the passangers on the tram stare at each other or at the macaroni ads. For watching fine pictures and drawings is always and in every situation a useful thing.

Most probably, the "elegant", frequently grimacing gallery spirit which can be frequently caught in our contemporary Hungarian artis-

tic public life has a considerable part in my ponderings. Although the Salon des Beaux Arts exhibition form is a typical bourgeois phenomenon: the offspring of the 18th century. Of course, only for this it must not be regarded as a harmful inheritance—and not an exclusive one either. For earlier, the plebs met fine arts outside the churches in full blooded—far from distinguished or sterile—substance: in the streets, at fairs, stands of tradesmen, and at meetings of travelling artists, etc. Is it a sacrilege if the "picture" steps out from behind the walls of the exhibition hall and goes to meet the overmanipulated public? (At a recent "Art and Society" exhibition held in the *Műcsarnok* Gallery, some critics seemed to discover "market" effects, in a pejorative manner, in the ensemble of paintigns, industrial objects, photographs, statues, posters, and furniture, etc., intended to express a period. And not without reason, because in my opinion the publicity of art has to be undertaken with looser means than the customary exhibition canons. The mentioned exhibition had 60,000 visitors!)

This remark in brackets is far from being the answer to the question: does fine art get nearer to the general public on tram No. 4 in Augsburg?

The answer can obviously only be that there is more chance for it if it is there, than if it is not. Even if the circumstances are far from optimal (e.g. the situation, the limited duration and the changing light). But it may provoke some emotion, curiosity and interest, which may remain after alighting and activates. Some people who would never go to an exhibition may meet fine arts in this way. You may contradict, saying that isn't this similar tc commercial publicity, as in the case of the mentioned macaroni ad? The answer is simple: Yes, it is! The difference is "only" that which exists between a fine drawing and a pack of macaroni . . .

All Souls' Day in Puebla

A lot is said nowadays about spontaneous architecture, about whether and how far central planning is possible, excluding the possibility of personal activity. In my opinion, sensible "professional" planning is correct if it allows freedom for the creativity of the user. In planning exhibitions, the properly meditated masterwork can be considered a good example: but excellent proofs can also be found to the opposite. For me, Puebla, 60 kilometres from Mexico City is such an example. It was All Souls' Day. A few of the motivaters of the events: "Death is not fearful—one should laugh at it—the dead are among us—remembering the dead is a merry day." This is the nucleus of the folk philosophy. Children suck sweets with skulls printed on them, graves are covered with white table cloths in the cemeteries, and people hold a gay banquet. On the balconies and in the patios of the houses "thematic exhibitions" are on display. The programme is: mock death! (With requisites, objects, drawings, plastics, songs, and lighting effects, etc . . .) The skeletons on the balconies, the white sheets around the puppets and the related—not always decent—illustrations are accompanied by text. These are spectacular but merely mood determinative elements of the town. Exhibitions are arranged from the possessions of the dead members of the household in the patios, balconies and in the rooms. These displays—photographs, letters, clothing and gramophone records, etc.,—represent a full value (in cold terminology:) documentation. Love and links may result in exhibitions of miraculous atmosphere.

It is certain that an ethnographer or sociologist would judge the spectacle in a different manner. For me, these exhibitions and the masses of adult and children "actions" turned the All Souls' Day in Puebla into an exceptional spontaneous event.

An exhibition is always an event—whether it is a craft fair or a festive exposition. The happenings verify and exaggerate it, and make it memorable: they confirm this event. We always plan and organize the happenings (projections, lectures, demonstrations and games, etc.) and are anxious that no unexpected extraordinary action disturb the exhibition. I believe we are correct, if we prepare for all expected possibilities, including actions. Because such sweeping fullness as in Puebla can only very rarely be experienced. There, the "exhibitions" are the results of the joint activity of minor or major communities, of families. They painted, drew and organized, and their creative mood and talent took effect. One may believe that the habits, conventions, and the formulae set up over the years are significant—perhaps even determinative, but this does not reduce the excellence of creative enthusiasm. As the latin saying goes, "contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis"—against the power of death there is no medicament in the gardens. The spontaneity of the small exhibitions in Puebla and the fascinating power of joint action that day—it seems—belied the saying.

Factory from 05 a.m.—exhibition from 11 a.m.

During the examinations of the characteristics in the genre of the exhibition, the question was often raised whether a phenomenon or ensemble could be regarded as an exhibition or —despite some similarities—not.

This is far from being an abstract argumentation. In fact the clarification of the contours of the genre can also determine the sphere of the activity, influence and competence of those who operate (or make preparations) in this field. This sensitively concerns the cause of the entire exhibition culture. How wide this sphere can be, let me quote a Swiss example.

Gruyéres is a beautiful small town in Fribourg canton. It is visited daily by many thousands, its tourist turnover is extensive throughout the year. Its world fame is due to its exclusive cheese. Its traditional cheese manufacturing process made the name of the town known for centuries. The completely automated snow-white building of the factory stands among the small houses, interwoven with a rust free network of pipes, operating in a closed system. But the factory operates only from 5 a.m. until 11 a.m. Then it opens its gates to visitors, and from 11 a.m. until 4 p.m. it becomes an exhibition: an introduction of itself. The white walls become projection screens, with the help of automatically controlled slides and projectors the whole operation of the factory can be seen. The history—how and with what means and methods it worked in the past; how the traditional methods were used in the present new technology. With the help of taperecorders, loudspeakers, and "guides" an exciting, sensible and fine exhibition opens to the general public in the sparkling clean workshops (or exhibition halls?). When the projectors work, the giant glass walls become darkened by automated light excluding lamellas and a multitude of light graphs and other exhibition technological bravuras characterize the moderate, elegant, but unambiguously publicity propelled manipulation. At the end, one can taste the completed "works" (according to the guide, the manufacturing of cheese belongs to the arts).

The metamorphosis of a factory (or an exhibition)! Production demonstration in exhibition halls? Or exhibition in the factory? Obviously the latter, with the addition that it is not an exhibition in the plant, but the plant itself is an exhibition. For the hygiene and standards of production are a similar documentation to films or other illustrations. (The building itself was designed according to this dual aim.)

Back to the line of thought, the limits of the genre of exhibition: the example of Gruyéres stands far from us

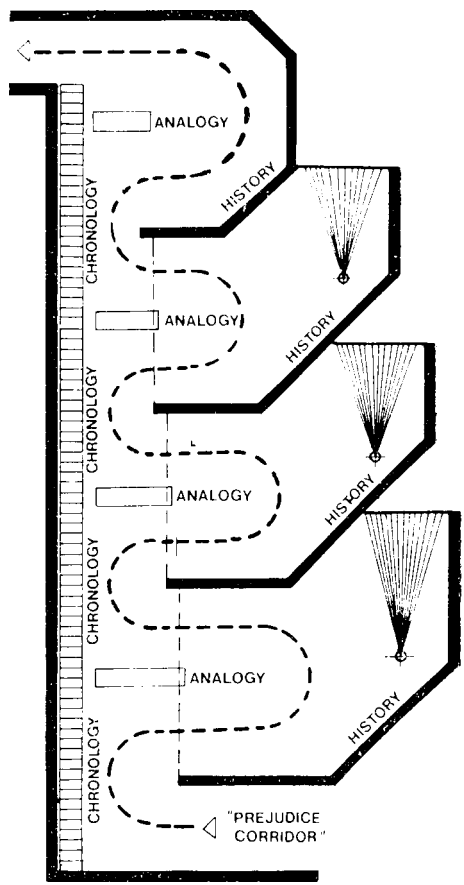
in many respect, regarding both its programme and possibilities. I mentioned the example (and not the paragon) to confirm that the concept and practice of exhibition can grow far beyond the customary framework and can be built deeper into public thinking in a more versatile manner.

Linked with Gruyéres—on this occasion—I would like to mention a small but practical question. If we think of how we introduce a factory or an institution to guests, then it becomes obvious: it is worthwhile and useful to discover and improve the possibilities which belong to the exhibition or display culture. I do not mean expense consuming dreams or unrealistic programmes, only the recognition that exhibition culture can live and develop not only in galleries and exhibition halls. In fact the key to this is not money, but the attitude. A publicity enduring attitude presumes such demands and postures which produce festive and beautified circumstances, not only for the duration of the manifestion, but also cover "exhibition worthy" weekdays.

The Düsseldorf experiment

In 1979 in Düsseldorf a Hungarian historic exhibition was set up—based on my idea—on a ground area covering more than 1,000 m². The content of this explicitly documentary exhibition—thus without object material—was elaborated by a work group consisting of experts. In the following I explain the planning, and the elaboration of the space and symbol system. During this, I will not touch upon the aesthetic references of the space shaping, only strive to introduce the logical building of the space structure and the methods of the theme elaboration.

Based on the conclusion of various pre-studies, one could almost certainly start out from the fact that the North Rhinelanders are essentially uninformed about Hungarian historic preambles. Their slight knowledge is mostly magazine standard stereotypes, which in the scientific, cultural and artistic field can be regarded as the lowest average. From the analysis of these circumstances, it became obvious that the exhibition cannot start with the conquest or with the historic preambles of the Carpathian Basin. To shock the visitors and to drive them with disturbing and launching impulses into the course and atmosphere of the exhibition: that was the aim of the first phase. The solution became a dark—somewhat winding—low space: the corridor of bias or "clichés". In this closed space, we gathered and depicted in a caricature form (with pictures, drawings, text, kinetic and sound



effects) all those stereotypes, which in general people imagine about us. The "*Magyar*" chocolate-box formula appeared here in light, music and requisites, and the blown-up photocopies of magazines, which—publishing good or bad about us—conditioned (pre-conditioned) the visitors. With this gesture, we expressed that we were aware of all this, but is was worthwhile to find out more about Hungary. The actual historic exhibition started after the expression of the thought "not only—but also." It was clear that the exhibition had to comply with the German manner of thinking, which is extremely systematic and requires logical elaboration. Necessarily, the indispensable basic information had to be placed in space in an accurate and consistent manner, and the system of thought expuonding had to be made unambigous. (The "discovery" and the understanding of this by the rationally thinking visitor provided a good launching for the apperception of the message. He would follow the rhythm, arrangement and symbol-system of the material, elaborated according to this method in a relatively quick manner.) Naturally, the exhibition could not create the impression of completeness or even the illusion of such efforts: the depiction had to be tuned onto signals, then condensations, the emphasis of major events, namely, on the illustrative documentation.

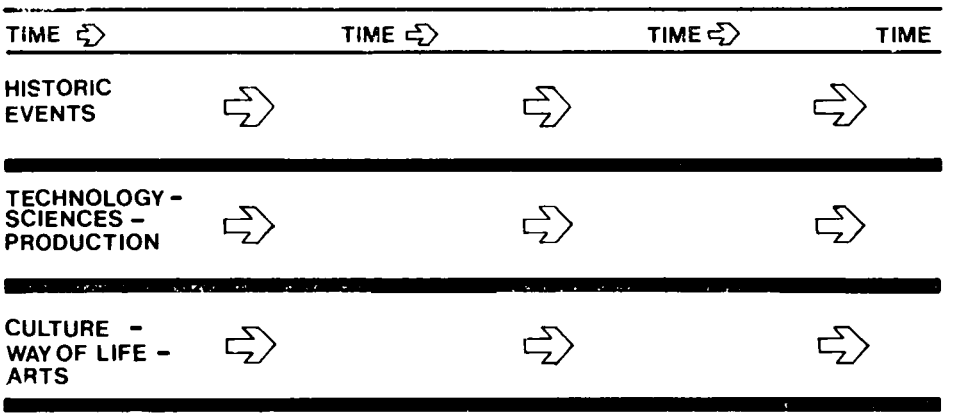
According to a maxim of the genre definition, an exhibition is a symbol system which is sensed by the general public in motion, in a process in time. Thus its structure means the composition of space arrangement and chronological sequence—periodicity. In the chronological elaboration, (similarly, for example, to history), the necessity of continuation and periodicity is even more obvious.

Consequently, it is desirable to immediately and lucidly express the chronological sequence (both of history and of the exhibition). This became one of the main lines of the exhibition: spectators met 54 outstanding events (date and description) of Hungarian history in a chronological order. Because of their complete unawareness, a type of prop or hand strap had to be provided, promoting easier perception. As a practical solution, the occasional comparison of well know facts and figures in German history with those in Hungarian history was used. It concerned analogues, whose known motives and historic determination were familiar to the average visitor. In some places this analogue system was linked with concrete historic events, as for example the comparison of the peasant movements of Thomas Münzer and György Dózsa. In other cases, it was formal, for example, the mounted statue of Prince Johann Wilhelm in Düsseldorf and of his contemporary Ferenc Rákóczi II in Budapest are almost completely similar. The analogies arranged in groups were rhythmically repeated, always in a similar space arrangement. This was the second line of the exhibition. The third line was the composition of historic documentation, photographs, drawings, etchings, and text, etc., supplemented with film and slide projection.

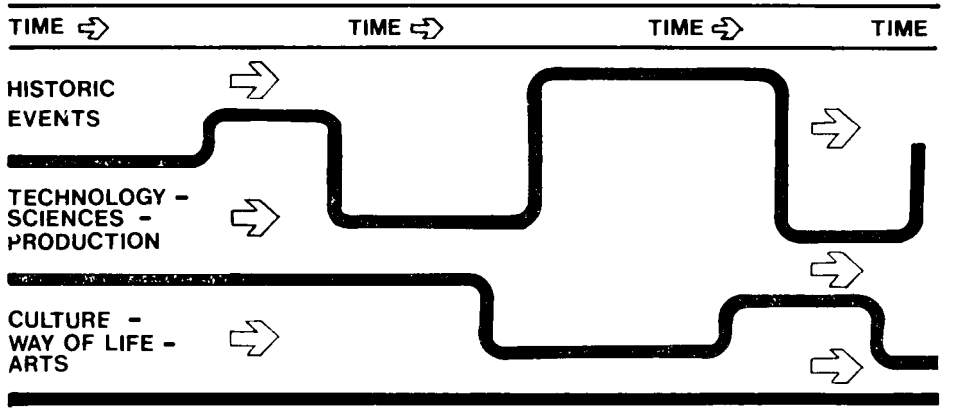
Thus the three main lines: CHRONOLOGY—ANALOGY—HISTORY. The logic of the structure—namely, the spatial interpretation of the preception, understanding, and connections of the three lines—followed from this.[1]

The understanding of the system can be promoted by the groundplan, which also illustrates the main direction of the spectators' movement. The continuity of chronology is interruped by the analogy groups that are placed in space and as guide rails direct the visitors to

[1] Visitors perceived the exhibition according to their own movements in a linearly definable serial. The elements of the serial depended on the system of space arrangement, route and other conditions. Naturally this does not mean a type of didactic imit, but a sensible regularity.



Basic conceptual scheme: limited, inflexible – not applicable



The solution: it reflects the significance of the events and their historic importance

the alcove-like part of history. Leaving these, they are again faced by chronology and the rhythmic process is repaeted. This is an important element of the system, because opposite the historic alcoves, always the chronological and analogical data of the concerned century were placed, thus the "historic topicality" remained valid in every situation concerning all three lines, and according to experience they merged into a uniform picture. At the same time, the complete space became panoramic and only when moving along—following the movement—did the spectacle dissolve into phases, which could be separately interpreted.

With regard to the third, the HISTORY line: it is obvious that a historic process cannot be displayed without a further systematic articulation. The logic of systematization was the following: on the available surface, three parallel horizontal zones were created:
—historic events;
—the documents of the production of

material assets (technology-sciences); —culture, way of life and arts.

In the top line, dates appeared in a horizontal direction. This in fact created a co-ordinate system which made it obvious what were the cultural and technological conditions in the period of the concerned outstanding historic event. We had to ensure that this co-ordinate system should be able to truly express the realistic relations when elaborating the concerned historic period. For not equally important events occurred in the different periods in all three zones: either the historic, the scientific, or the artistic reterences were determinative and characteristic. It logically followed that the line of the horizontal axes had to adapt itself to this. There were periods when the historic events dominated the physiognomy of the period (e.g. Turkisch occupation), in other periods science and technology became determinative (e.g. some decades of the past century, where the exhibition was supplemented with material from the Museum of Technology. Thus the decisively separated lines became the period expressions of the emphasis of significance. (One could rely in this substance on the effect increasing course of films and slides.)

We carried out effect analysis of how far the concept and the individual elements of the system to accomplish it satisfied the expectations. The results can provide guidance in new intitiatives.

Most probably the mentioned—only at random picked—examples cannot provide a basis for deducing conclusions for generalization. Nevertheless, one of their common elements can be regarded as outstandingly important, namely, that the "microstructure" of exhibitions and the "macrostructure" of the social substance create a very close and intricate system of connections. The mentioned exhibitions took place under such extremely differing circumstances (e.g. Nairobi) that this statement may sound like a platitude. After all, the exhibition is the venue for the enounter of the topic, the organizing principle and the spectators. The venue of their physical and intellectual encounter, and the "parties" behave according to the concerning community relations. In this sense, the exhibition organizier can only express himself in a symbol structure in Kenya (or in Japan) which meets with a suitable on-the-spot perception.

And in Hungary?

What is our thinking structure like adapted to which Hungarian exhibition culture could develop?

It was mentioned earlier that the "Tree of Symbols"—as an actual bearer of communication—seems only realistic in Japan. Would the exhibition system of Hungarian history—separated in space, synoptic, inducing comparison and thinking—applied in Düsseldorf, prove acceptable in a Hungarian milieu? It seems almost certain that the differentiated manner of communication, relying on logic, space view, and the versatile cognizance of the topic, would be well received and understood in Hungary. This is also confirmed by examples in the case of several other genres: we have no reason to underestimate the perception ability of the Hungarian general public. But there is no reason to overestimate it either. It is a fact that in Hungary the situation of visual culture is rather unclear, its standard is rather unbalanced—and it is a fact that it needs rapid and effective development.

For such considerations: it would be worthwhile to give a more multifarious and larger social role to the genre of exhibitions as a communicational possibility which is able to shape taste and develop space sensitivity and complex thinking.

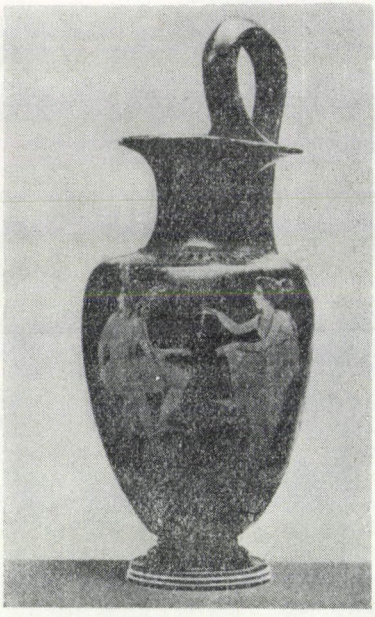
Pál Miklós

A Dictionary of Ornaments as Display

Since object culture took its place among human products qualified as artistic creations worthy of study—and this can be calculated since the period when archeology grew into a European science in the 17th and 18th centuries trade marked with the names of Mabillon, Montfaucon and Winckelmann—the systematization of natural objects and particularly the depiction of man in visual schemes was joined by the similar typology of man's creations. (It should be noted that this was an earlier development in the Far East: a 30 volume document of the Chinese antiquity cult "Pictures of antiques" (Bo-ku-tu) was published in 1311, due to the then several hundred years old book printing skill.) Primarily these pictorial illustrations and comparison tables illustrated archeological studies. Later these textbooks—collections of motifs and ornaments, emblem dictionaries and heraldic encyclopaediae—became more frequent and more popular with artists, architects, designers and draughtsmen. (A classic example at hand: *Systematisch geordnetes HANDBUCH DER ORNAMENTIK zum Gebrauche für Musterzeichner, Architekten, Schulen und Gewerbetreibende sowie zum Studium im Allgemeinen—herausgegeben von Franz Sales Meyer, Professor, etc.*, the first edition of which is almost 100 years old and my copy is the current reprint of the 12th edition from 1927, in Leipzig.) This type of interest —on the part of both artistic industries and the public—cannot be separated from historism and eclectics characterizing the 19th century all over Europe, from the taste and fashion of the first major nostalgia wave of the modern era, from the aesthetic norm system searching for shelter and security in antiquities. And its current boom cannot be separated from the nostalgia breeze permeating our days.

However, there is a deeper lying reason why historic interest and the animation of the awareness of the past awaken an objective interest in readers, radio listeners, television viewers, cinema-goers and mainly in museum visitors towards old objects, duds previously owned by the grandparents and forgotten in the loft or things offered at very high prices by keen-eyed antique dealers. (According to my experiences the interest of the present "first generation" collectors is greatly motivated by this type of objective curiosity: collectors of technical antiquities—optical instruments, clocks, watches, instruments and machinery—study with extreme fervour and try to understand the mechanism and operation of the objects involved in their sphere of collection.)

This is naturally connected with a number of social phenomena which surround us with the compelling circumstances of the consumer—so called "throw-out"—civilization, and of a culture more than ever exposed to the changes of fashion. Or, from an other angle, due to mass communication, or the "mass media" this makes the treasures and new discoveries of the historic sciences, archeology, art history and old poetry accessible to a broader public than ever before—frequently in a very pleasant and witty manner. But the fact that the curiosity in these objects, exactly because



Greek dishes: crater, jug, amphora

as a consequence of the particularities of the scientific dissemination of knowledge, mostly remains dissatisfied can be explained with a strange reason lying in the nature of the material world.

This reason can be found in the teleological differentiation of the objects. The semiotic classification of man-made objects warns us that each type of object undertakes a dual role: on the one hand it transmits between man and nature (practical, material communication), on the other hand it transmits between man and man (social, symbolic communication); each object undertakes both roles, but in a way that it enforces them at each other's expense. Consequently there are objects, which in fact concentrate on the symbolic role (thus their practical role becomes reduced to the minimum) and there are others, which place the practical role so much into the foreground that their symbolic role almost completely disappears. All fine art creations are examples of the first group and all undemanding—aesthetically indifferent or trashy—utensils are examples of the second. And we can find between the two the objects which are in general termed as "pretty", or "noble", more technically as "creations of the applied arts", namely utensils produced with more aesthetic ambition. (To what proportion each object within the type of objects represents the symbolic or practical function, depends on the era and historic, social and cultural factors: baroque aristocratic drinking dishes were ornamental goblets made of precious metal, the drinking dish of our contemporaries, even if they serve representative purposes are unornamented, glass or ceramic cups, which only excel with their noble form or choice material and the drinking dish of the peasants in the past century, even if they wanted to impress with them, were earthenware mugs, maximum with a painted pattern.)

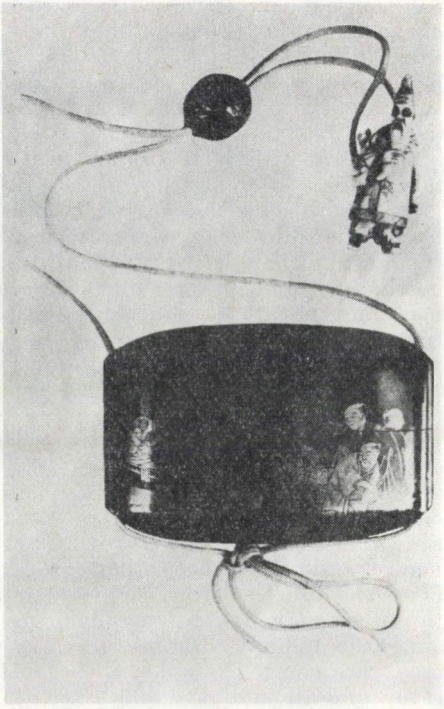
These two main types of objects also differ from the teleological point of view. In fact objects with a symbolic

Holbein: Portrait of Georg Gisze (1532)

Vermeer van Delft: The cook (1660)

function were initially intended for preservation, while utensils—already before the appearance of planned obsolescence—for using up. The situation is similar in the case of applied art objects, for the stronger the symbolic role, the stronger force the teleology of preservation takes; consequently they are less used, better tacen care of and held in esteem. The structure of collections and museums indicates that the types of objects which most clearly characterize the life of different periods, everyday commodities that were shaped only to a minimal extent, satisfying man's inextinguishable and initial aesthetic requirement and enforcing the principle of shaping "also according to the laws of beauty" (thus mostly only satisfying the requirement for a utilization and shaping perfection for which even a neolithic stone implement could be considered as an example) survived only in small numbers. In this way, the reconstruction of previous life, as we know today, in most cases becomes distorted: the requisites of representation of different periods have been preserved and are known, but the mass necessaries which were probably the most characteristic, both in spectacle and in vividness are not or hardly known. Exactly because these were made for utilization—namely to be worn out—, were not decorated; and vice versa, because their plainness carried the teleology of annihilation, they accomplished their destiny. Habeant sua fata . . .

Nevertheless, exactly these everyday commodities preserve every in and out of their practical function in the purest or starkest manner, a witty mechanism, an operational principle—genial not only in the past, but also today. Among the major historic achivements, examples of this were the old Chinese water-raising devices (preceding by about thousand years the ingenious invention of Cardano in Europe: the cardan shaft), clepsydra and sand-clock or the jug with teat, which has been used by peasants up to recent times and the



Inro and netsuke, Japan (19th century)

Cellini: Salt-cellar for King Francis (1543)

secret drawers of writing desks with their refined locks, jewellery with a special compartment for poison or the oil lamps exemplary in their expediency. Naturally it follows that from among the classic applied art objects we consider as most valuable those which were preserved not only for their external decorative form, but for their faultlessly and extremely instructively operating mechanism too, such as for example the astronomic clock of Emmoser or the automated puppet of Turiani.

But exactly because such objects, preserving both their exterior and interior, survived only as exceptions, as rare single examples, the majority of old types of objects are only housed by museums. The old types of objects departed from us—much more so than old pictures and statues. It is not necessary to repeatedly affirm that the physiognomy on Holbein's picture shows the same character today, a psychologically evaluable face and gesture as to what they meant for his contemporaries or—from the opposite direction—it means the same psychological document as a current portrait or photograph today. However, it must be a very knowledgeable art historian who can explain the use of all the implements seen on the picture—spectators of a general education will be unable to identify most of them with their practical use. Although these are within the world of European culture; if we step outside it we are faced by even greater mysteries. Even a European spectator of average culture does not know that a Japanese inro or netsuke was a medicine-box and a small carved figure on a ribbon used to fasten it to a man's sash. Or who could say why a Chinese arm chair (not a throne) has such a strangely broad seat, except if the expert explains that people used to squat in them with crossed legs—and not only the Ch'an monks.

The old objects and types of objects departed from us to a much greater extent than pictures and statues did. This may be due to their teleological

Bottle for the wine-bin, glass, Hungarian (18th century)

differences—independently from the fact whether the teleological element means intentions or a regularity prevailing in the deep structure of history. We can enjoy and appreciate the fine male body of the David statue even if we do not recognize the sling hanging on his back, or its purpose and manner of use. (Nota bene: this is also one of the inventions of ingenious technique!) We also appreciate "The Cook" by Vermeer van Delft, the poesy of the everyday situation and the charm of the rustic figure and face, dissolved in lights, even if we are unable to identify the strange box on the floor. However, when we see these objects in a museum display, we are justified in demanding an explanation in words or picture concerning their nature.

Well, if we found this a justified demand and tried to understand the reasons, then we should ponder how this requirement can be satisfied, how the various types of objects, and their historic variations could be made known at a museum display. In plain words: how could a dictionary of form and ornaments be accomplished as a display.

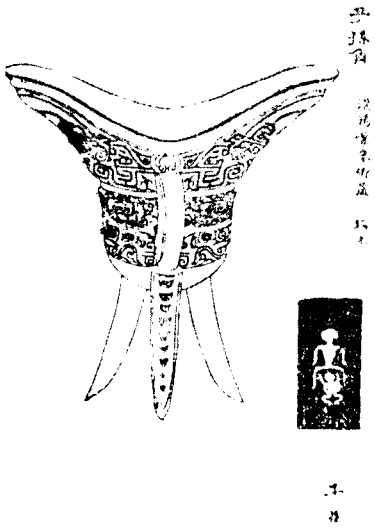
We may start out from the fact that the form and size of an object basically determine its use and practical function. At the same time, it is determined by the technical and natural scientific knowledge of its period. Storing furniture was originally a carpenter-made chest and not only because its frequent shifting or moving in safety was necessary, but because the saw-mill was not yet inveted, which could produce "boards" to any amount and size. The Greek amphora differs according to its function not only through its ornaments —everyday use: for storing water or oil; (more) exclusive use: for storing wine—but it also differs according to its shape and size: a different, small amphora was used to keep noble perfume oil in and another, a big amphora was for "household" oil and an even bigger one for water.

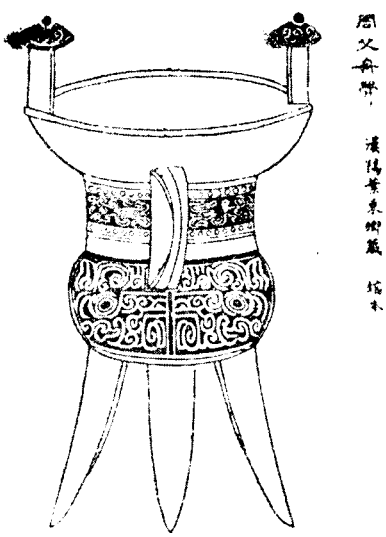
The structural accessories on the object indicate the manner of use, but at the same time provide an opportunity for ornamentation. The top of the amphora and the handle, the ears of larger dishes and the levers of craters all indicate their mobility, but the extent of use also determines whether these components should be strong or more ornamental. The embossed figurative depiction on a leather saddle indicates the custom of the rider, who after having dismounted, kept the stallion beside him and also indicates that no extensive rides are made in these saddles. However, these are only indifferent, one could say, ergonomical relations of the objects, independently of the fact of who used them.

Although the objects also carry a reference to those who use them, the formal, structural and ornamental solutions of the objects are also determined from the sociological aspect. The shape of the seating appliances differed in the same period according to who they were intended for: we can parade a large number of varieties ranging from the throne to a foot stool even from the Middle Ages. Objects of attire are mostly considered as the representatives of sociological determination. Naturally the materials of the objects also differ from the sociological point of view: precious metals as against earthenware in the case of dishes, noble wood in contrast to pine in furniture and boradcloth or linen as against silk in clothing.

The extent of the ornament on the object, then its simplicity and schematic nature or its complexity and individuality are also of basic importance in the differences of ornamentation. In contrast to the modest and mechanically repeated ornaments on earthenware dishes, the precious stone inlays on precious metal dishes, and the plastic ornaments which occasionally present entire groups of statuettes and lower the dish itself into the background represent the other extreme.

The other distinction of ornamentation is the type of the merely geometric or stylized floral ornaments, reduced to an indifferent or zero symbol value,





as againts the figural, pictorial ornaments painted or plastically finished on the objects. Between the two extremes, the symbols, emblems, and heraldic units take an interim place as well as the verbal decorations with a text mostly in a calligraphic solution.

Finally, the material from which the ornaments of the objects are made must not be forgotten; whether they are made from the object's own material, like the carvings on certain elements of furniture, turned forms or from elements alien to the material or the object, furthermore, whether they are of natural colours or painted.

However, with this typifying on a semiotic basis, we only took the first step, endeavouring to find a safe guide in the varied world of objects, which we inherited after the merciless selection of history—and which is still relatively rich. This typifying, naturally constructed in a consistent man-

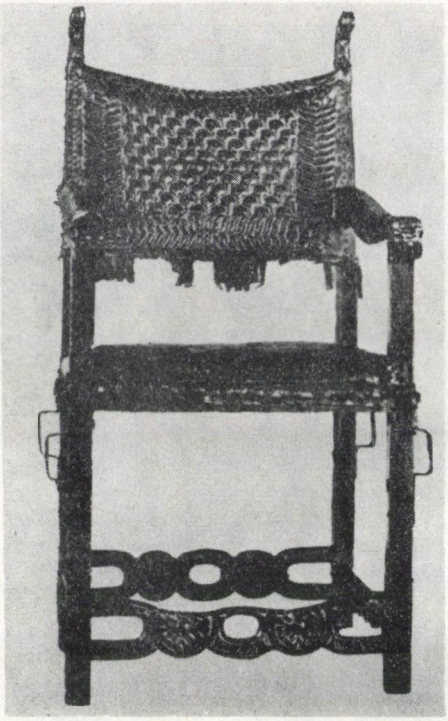
Two dings (three-legged dish) from the Bo-ku-tu (1311)

Salt-cellar, shepherd's carving from Buzsák (around 1930)

ner, may be the foundation both for comparison and for evaluation.

However, evaluation in this display may as a maximum be a value-orientation, namely, an open order of rank, indicating mostly tendencies. As it was suggested earlier, the types of objects are distributed according to ages and cultures to such an extent that transition between them is practically only possible with certain amendments, often with essential value changes. Many types of oriental objects can be placed in Europe as ornamental objects of a collector's zeal, exclusively because of their artistic value. The wine-bin or the jug, the transporters of beverages, were unknown in oriental cultures or only known in their very primitive forms (for example, in the bottle gourds), they cannot have any value in the Islamic cultures which forbid the consumption of alcohol. All this strongly influences the value of objects, which can always be perceived as a complex-value, as the unit of material (functional) and aesthetic (symbolic) value. Concretely, examining the issue laden with the essential aspects of our value-system, it will be found that in the line of objects according to historic eras and cultures, we cannot step out from the value-relativity.

However, finally—in my opinion—this cannot be an obstacle in the path towards enriching our knowledge about objects with essential elements, and towards placing them in usable systematic and category frameworks. Moreover, this is exactly what makes this systematized or systematizable material open, in order to make attempts for independent evaluation in increasing numbers. And after all, this is the purpose of a museum display: to provide for the broadest possible strata, a Thesaurus of examples and related material in a demonstrative and pleasing manner which can help them develop a universal cultural outlook and through this, build sensible and cultured forms for their life—or for the use of objects—and the framework of a sensible life.



Transylvanian chair (17th century)

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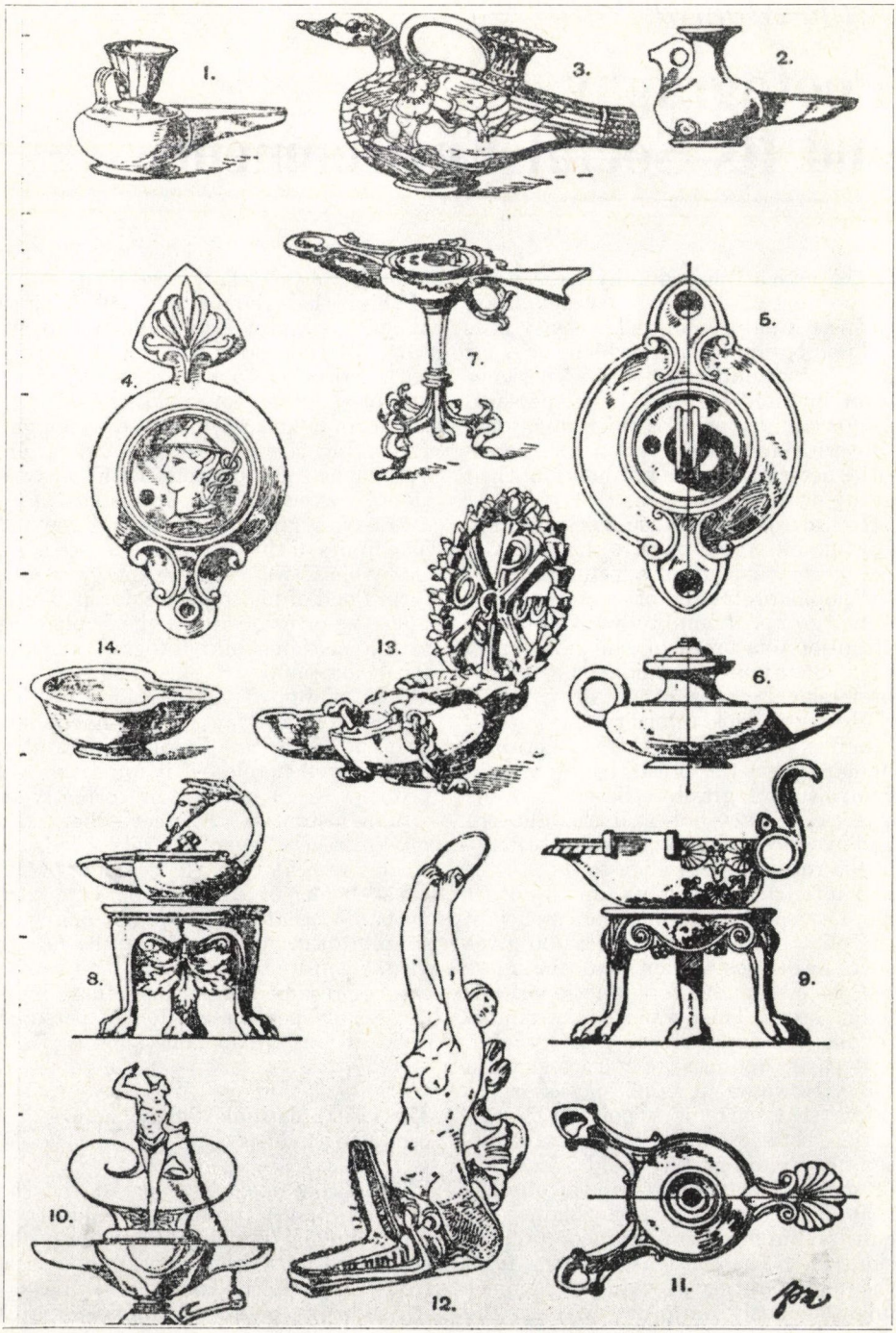
Mexer: Handbuch der Ornamentik: old lamps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Attila Montvai

Photography and Its Social Environment

In this article, photography is discussed in the most general sense possible. I am trying to analyze not the internal laws of photographic art—which are far from being indifferent—or "experience reproduction" for exclusively personal use or a "face print" confirming identity with authenticity, but the necessities determining the fulfilment of their group or social functions.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, I would like to emphasize that the aim is not the revision of a value order or the public protection of the interests of some group. I simply wish to draw attention to a problem which is hardly ever mentioned outside the closed professional circles.

However, this intensity has clearly tangible consequences. For example, in many cases the cultural environment compels photography—based on some eclectic, in fact not well thought out and even less understood value order—into a role which is alien to its essence and internal movements, on the other hand, misunderstanding the essence of the photographic communication gives such "messages" which are nothing lese but the continuous reproduction of this value order. This is partly determinal to the development of photography, and partly reduces its culture-shaping force. However, it is not necessary to prove that there is a powertul interaction between information transmitted by photography and generally interpreted culture. It is also obvious that it is unjustified to blame the cultural environment for incomprehension, when the tensions resulting from the uncertainties of value judgement unambiguously appear within the photography. A characterestic example of this is that frequently the professional photography environment reacts with the greatest suspicion, frequently with irritation to experiments which are orientated to extend and change the form language. It is also a thought provoking fact how the general public approaches photographs with conventional expectation, influenced by extra-photography thought systems. The limits of this expectation are easily traceable if we examine the grey uniform flood of photographs for personal purposes or for example the implementation methods of photographs made for decoration.

The power of expectations is also indicated by the fact when the photograph is not willing to obediently play the compelled role—if it approaches a problem in an unusual or correctly in an uncustomary manner—then the public reacts very sharply. This is clearly indicated by the remarks in the guest books of exhibitions. It is not probable that the phenomenon is simply an indication of the absence of visual culture by a given stratum, it can be presumed that the refusal indicates a deeper interaction of personal and cultural endowments.

The visual platitudes of the picture producing industry

Photography is so widespread and the "photographic producing industry" pours such a flow of pictures onto our contemporaries that they cannot escape from their effect. The picture producing industry creates and disseminates

visual platitudes and visual judgement schemes. It is a natural consequence that the visual evaluation of reality and the following, usually verbal interpretation also carry the characteristic symbols of the mass product. In this way, the experience turns into a mass product: millions of tourists visit the visual schemes of the brochures in reality. Experience is replaced by identification and the place of intellectual elaboration is replaced by the comparison of the fact and the cliché. Finally, a strange, schizophrenic condition emerges, in which the facts consist of an existing visual scheme and one turned into small change.

Further analyzing the possible or already experienced consequences of the flow of pictures, we discover a very important and very far leading chain of effects. In fact, the deluge of pictures causes uniformization, and disseminates uniformized life situations and patterns of way of life. Not only because there is a stratum whose life model is still undeveloped in many respects and whose life is influenced by ideals transmitted by photography, but this effect is two-directional: identical life situations require completely identical photographs. Tableuax are produced—from the nursery to the joint photography of the excursion-making senior citizens—in infinite numbers, recording banal situations for a generation. Therefore, the appearance of these objects produced through photography is completely determined, their experience value is also mutual and not more nor less than that of a preserved lock of hair.

The reverse effect is also traceable. A spectacle of commercial value—e.g. the apprearance of a beat group—simultaneously disseminates the reproduction of the given spectacle. This is why hundreds or millions of buyers appear, who try to resemble them. It is also obvious that not only the appearance has an attraction, but its commercial value is determined by the life situation and the abilities to create them, etc. Thus, the requirement to identify with the photography also indicates the requirement of identity with them. A logical consequence of the above is that when photographs are made for personal use, similar necessities also come into force.

A form ot such photographs is the "self-document", its characteristic representative is travel photography, where the owner poses in front of a well known tourist spot, or wedding photographs, etc. The aim of such photographs, made for the tenth or hundred thousandth occasion, where the difference is only in the changing element, in the physiognomy of the owners, cannot be the recording of the individual experience, which cannot be shared with anybody else. The requirement which urges the taking of photographs is not the recording of reality' but the documentation of the existing or desired life situation, personality or level of consumption, etc. Consequently this requirement makes photographs—at least such photographs—mass products. A scheme system emerges, which motivates the act of photography and a system of custom emerges, which determines the use of photographs: projection and the decoration of the home, etc.

There is a dual effect. On the one hand the produced masses of pictures mean "photography" for a broad stratum and on the other hand these masses of pictures influence people—what leads to completely different cultural fields. Only one more step towards the requirement that reality should be shaped according to the customary visual scheme or if that is impossible, the photography should be shaped accordingly. A few years ago, a well known photographer took a picture from the embankment of some water at sunset. As no yacht could be found at that time in the appropriate spot, he added the silhouette of a sail boat to the copy that went to the exhibition. The analysis of this single gesture would be interesting, but at the moment it is only worthwhile to

mention that if reality does not produce the appearance befitting the scheme at the given moment, there is still the the possibility to improve on it!

Every dog has its day

Based on the aforesaid, I can state that the motivations of photography lead out from the field of aesthetics and are also connected with the viewpoints of the cultural background, such as sociology, life model and action psychology, etc. The situation is similar, if we examine the communicational mechanisms of photography.

A photograph is the end product of a technological process, its aim is to depict a genuine situation to the best possible extent from the visual point of view. Starting out from here, it is easy to identify the communications of photography with the communications of the depicted and identifiable piece of reality. If this happens, then the value measure of the photography is not itself, but the moral, political and so on content of the depicted piece of reality. The same destination waits for the evaluation of aesthetic contents. Expressing this in a more simple manner, for example, a photograph of a beautiful dog is a fine and good photograph! The "dog" automatically guarantees entry into the aesthetic and morally good category, and vice versa.

Although this may sound primitive argumentation, the principle—through more or less complex transmission—takes force in a powerful manner. This chain of effects can be illustrated in a simple model. When photography becomes a message transmitter—because of the technical and technological facilities—it can be considered as the replacement of a genuine situation. Consequently, when interpreting the picture primarily the model of reality emerges in the observer. This model—which henceforth becomes the replacement of the scene recorded in the photograph—naturally carries the symbols of the knowledge and experiences of the observer.

A comparison with reality can take place between two extreme cases. One possibility is that the two objects can be compared and the observer accepts the picture as a document. The other extreme case is when the two models are contrary to some aspect, cannot be identified; in this case, the observer feels that his own picture of reality is questioned and because of the alleged documentary character of the photography his refusal will be extremely fierce. This is why the public is so indignant about all photographic experiments regarded as "unrealistic", this is what explains the well known phenomenon documented by the guest books of exhibitions that if the observer is faced with fine art creations, which are contrary to his former knowledge, but of guaranteed value because of their high artistic rank, he reacts in a different manner than if the same thing happens at a photographic exhibition.

The consequences of this outlook take effect in a broad circle. They partly determine the place of photography in the social value system, and partly distort the value system used in the classification of photographic communication. Ultimately, this determines the relationship between cultural environment and photography, which indirectly also limits the moral esteem and culture-shaping role of photography.

The problem obviously does not lie in the case where the mentioned mechanisms operate concerning the documentary value of photography, but where the insufficient knowledge of facts and connections distort or drive the system of expectations towards photography in one direction, which finally affects the development of photography in Hungary.

The above said touched upon the relationship between individual people and photographs. However, the problems and the sums of uncertainties on this level have consequences, which affect a much broader field and are of

an importance that must not be ignored. It was already emphasized that in fact the photograph is a utensil, its use is basically determined by the cultural background of the user. Its change of value occurs when the application happens within an institutionalized framework; its most important, but not the only form is press photography. As institutionalized communication replaces individual interests and motivations with group or collective motivations and interests, and the choice and the desired effect in publication are determined by these interests and motivations, the role and the necessities found in the circumstances of the implementation sensitively indicate the intricate relationship between the cultural environment and the photograph.

Earlier I mentioned the effects of the picture flow produced through photography. Returning to this thought, let me add that the institutionalized form of communication provides this effectiveness to the flow of pictures. For the strata which are less or not at all able to form their own culture and particular world concept, the institutionalized communication provides the guarantee of the communicated or transmitted patterns of the collective background, it guarantees the validity of the analyzed pattern and the possibility to follow it. If these connections are not appropriately known, then the published photograph can easily provoke effects which differ from the intentions or are contrary to them.

A bright tone—merriment

The role of publicity photographs is similarly important because of their economic and consumer outlook shaping effect. It would be a mistake to believe that the picture of the object in the photograph induces the viewer to buy. The advertisement has to provide a model of conduct, it has to evoke a requirement in the buyers. If it is so, then advertisement photography is to some extent a play with fire: it may easily happen that we advertise models which are alien to us. The manner of how to provide the financial background for the satisfaction of requirements following the consumers' conduct, the requirement to acquire money, which determines the way of life of certain strata and their adjustement to society are far from being issues of personal significance. Even if these processes cannot be determined, they can be influenced with applied photography, with the help of the use of pictures.

The picture in the photograph can be regarded as an object, which is present on all possible levels of the information system. These levels of use often change under the impact of factors determined by the external basic processes of the cultural background, whose exposure is not indifferent. As the determinative factors themselves are slowly changing, the distinguishable manners of use and the application of photography are also very slowly developing. There are areas where established habits are valid, but there are some where the group norms prevail. In private life, photography is considerably spreading, while it is faced by cultural models whose bases can only be exposed by sociology, psychology and behaviourism.

Such effects are particularly sensitively indicated by those photographs which have departed from their actuality, and from their direct information content, and are used as a decoration and environment shaping element. Statistically it can be illustrated that such photographs are mainly used by the stratum which has a low independent culture producing force, and the use of photographs is only the result of following one or more commonly accepted patterns.

Another interesting field is the examination of the stratum which did not reach the level of independent photographic expression, but has the

ambition to approach the aesthetic sphere. As this stratum—at least in the field of photographic activity—exercises a pattern following attitude, the possibility exists to examine the motivation of this activity and the norm system of the given stratum.

The picture evaluation and picture reception attitude of this stratum shows interesting connections. In fact their examination allows the direct mapping of the effect mechanism of the mentioned spectacle and spectacle evaluation schemes. A well known example of this is the scheme system applied at the definition of the visual "message": dark tone—sorrow, bright tone—merriment, smiling man—positive attitude, misery, poverty—hostile attitude, and so on. The phenomenon, which on the surface may seem amusing, conceals very deep problems.

András Székely

Everyday Small Print: Stamps

In the first half of the 1950s, Lajos Pirovszky was the geography teacher in a primary school. His study circle was considered so effective by scientists that the children who led the circles were invited to some sessions of the Geography Society, and these esteemed 7th and 8th graders received honorary copies of the new map booklets prior to their release. Pirovszky did not bother very much about the curriculum and *in addition* to geography, he taught universal cultural history with audio-visual means and practical methods. He was pleased if we stuck stamps depicting historic monuments, townscapes, characteristic landscapes or perhaps portraits of famous explorers onto the appropriate points of the maps we drew in our copybooks—and naturally the owner of the stamp had to know the story of the depicted scene. Most probably, Mr. Pirovszky committed pedagogic errors according to his superiors, but the class knew geography and collected stamps. Not savings stamps, like children do today.

We all knew that stamp collecting could be the source of wealth. Somehow we managed to get into the cinema, where a French film for those over 16 was being screened, and we got to know not only Marina Vlady at the beginning of her career, but the truth that the rare stamp is the *relatively smallest sized asset.* However, our interest was rather of an aesthetic character. We were more interested in *pretty* stamps than in valuable ones. The "British colony" and the "French colony" were the most fashionable; I looked for "motifs", historic art monuments or works of art; my favourites included a strange shaped series from Tuva. Particularly because there was no exchange partner who knew where this Central Asian autonomous territory was situated.

This childhood hobby was later followed by other passions, but even a few years ago I was still adding to my collection depicting "preHellenic archeology"; on the one hand this motif is spectacular and on the other hand pleasantly rare. However, stamps as a visual experience are becoming more shoddy all over the world. I think partly I stopped collecting, because I was disgusted by the motley or plastic pictures of the mini-emirates, competing for the fascination of juvenile eyes.

On a few square centimetres

According to traditions, a stamp is a small print. This is appropriately expressed by the name of the Hungarian stamps used around 1870, "lithoprint" and "copperprint". Of course, the turnover was so big that *graphic technology* was insufficient for the multiplication of the franking token of postal consignments. However, the *stamp face* preserved something from the mixed graphic inheritance of historism and art nouveau from the turn of the century. Moreover, this art nouveau element became an important part of Hungarian stamp traditions. The early stamps were designed everywhere with the confidence of a witchdoctor. In the case of stamps, an otherwise secondary circumstance

becomes a determinative factor and this is the size. Nowadays, a trend called neo-expressionism harps on the size—in their case it is a screen of 4—5 metres—stating that it is an essential aesthetic element, because the viewers almost become lost in the spectacle. With regard to stamps, the case is the contrary, the smallness is determinative: everything has to be "communicated" on a few square centimetres, in the aesthetic sense of the word, in addition to the practical message. In fact, a stamp is an applied graphic work, which undertakes tasks beyond practical utility and decorative appearance; tasks which were stipulated as targets by last century fine arts. A simple example: *stamp release in itself is the measure of national autonomy.* Even if that much autonomy as Hungary possessed within the dualist monarchy, or Bavaria in Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany. It is no coincidence that the catalogues separate the history of Hungarian stamps into two, basically different parts: the period of Austrian and Hungarian postal administration. The dividing line is the Compromise of 1867.

Stamps—as it was discovered by our geography teacher—are excellent means to visually become acquainted with a country. Of course, this cognizance is usually superficial and mostly limited to stereotypes. If it is Australia, then it is the lyre-bird, the kangaroo, or the water-lily-like opera house. If it is Hungary, then it is the *Hortobágy Puszta*, hussars, or Rubik's cube (see Ádám Cziglényi's lines from 1968 or Pál Varga's from 1982.) Obviously, stamps cannot transmit pictures about a country articulated in sociological depths. It cannot recall the Australian aborigines' adjustment problems to urban life, or the fact that the inventor of Rubik's cube uses part of his income to support other inventors (which, on the one hand, is Rubik's virtue and on the other hand, the fault of the innovation system). All this cannot be demonstrated by stamps, not even as a hint, but it is the duty of the graphic artist that he should not present the thematic platitudes with *visual platitudes.* The pathetic-romantic depiction on Cziglényi's designs and the crowded composition on Varga's stamp, which contradicts the mathematic essence of the cube, provoke an effect contrary to the intentions . . .

Themes and styles

Stamp issues try to choose the theme of the stamps in the most effective manner, partly for business reasons. Those who love flower stamps cannot be bad men. Thus, who do not love them, must be bad men, and who would admit this? Instead, one buys one of the numerous Hungarian flower series: from 1950, 1951, 1958, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1965 (a choice of two series from that year), 1966, 1967 and 1968 . . the last flower series with roses was issued in 1982. Undoubtedly, a popular motif. But there are too many of them, similary to other phenomena of nature: butterflies, insects, decorative fish, wild game, tame game, zoo animals. Their prolificacy is connected with the fact that for many years the Post Office issued more stamps than necessary onto the —international— market, not only reducing the value of modern Hungarian stamps to some extent, but causing a certain inflation with regard to the artistic value of the stamps. It is worth comparing the fine, appropriate green and brown shades of the 1953 *Forest Game* with the medley of the 1976 *Wild Game Cubs.* And both were designed by Ferenc Gál! The scarce printing possibilities of the past pressed the virtue of coordination onto the graphic artist.

Sándor Légrády, the great old man of Hungarian stamp designing, excellently administered these meagre possibilities for almost half a century. (True enough, his block which he intended to be the crown of his oeuvre in 1978 is a genuine fossil in the small print of the era—perhaps because he wanted to utilize modern technical

opportunities, the heap of regalia returned from the United States, arranged according to the millenary taste, became a theatrical medley.)

Légrády was the prototype of the applied, artist who played the song the client ordered: in 1932 he depicted St. Elizabeth, in 1933 Boy Scouts, in 1938 St. Stephen, in 1940 Horthy's jubilee, and in 1945 Bajcsy-Zsilinszky. Essentially, with the same artistic concept. Then in 1950, those who wanted to post a letter grew up with his *five year plan* stamps. In addition, in 1951 he designed some supplement to these optimist stamps, advancing the results of the plan. He also designed a few other compositions befitting the era, with Lenin and Stalin, then from 1953—starting with the fine Rákóczi line—he returned to his genuine labour of love: eminent personalities, poets, scientists, but mainly to the propagation of the glory of the Hungarian past. His activity seemed increasingly outdated, he varied the same composition scheme (portrait in the front, and a scene in the background), nevertheless in Hungarian stamp issuing, the subjects of which became increasingly broad, multifarious and colourful, his works represented a certain continuity. This was not harmful, because the above mentioned extension resulted in a more uneven and gaudy production in the 1960s and 1970s. His oeuvre would deserve scientific elaboration, taking into consideration the situation of the applied artist, under the requirements of a world pregnant with political changes.

Légrády was a characteristically Hungarian stamp designer, because the roots of his creative outlook dated back to the Hungarian late art nouveau, to the architectural and applied art concept of around 1910, which in small print reached its peak in the stamps of the 1919 Republic of Councils, and which later, although filled with neo-Baroque elements and then flavoured with the Roman School, became adjusted to the official aesthetics of the counter-revolutionary period. Neverthelees, he preserved so much "modernity" that many fine compositions were born among the stamps of the Horthy era—for example, in 1940 the *Matthias block* by Gyula Tóth, or the series by György Konecsni with an art patronizing aim in the same year. Usually the designers remained within the framework of plane-decoration and paid attention to the limits provided by the size. It is interesting that the trend for details and space depiction was the strongest around 1940 and 1950. It seems that in the intensified atmosphere of territorial expansion and plan fulfilment, both the client and graphic artist strive for the maximum and not for the optimal, although there are very few factors so important in arts as proportionateness.

It would be very difficult to define the Hungarian stamp style of the past 20 or 30 years. If we say that it is the style of the serious stamps by Zoltán Nagy, then we do not know what to say about the rambling variety of József Vertel or the meretricious colourfulness of Ádám Cziglényi. Or what shall we do with the numerous cosmonaut stamps, which were designed by several people? Perhaps—exactly because of the lack of individuality—they represent the nadir of Hungarian stamp design. A complete sphere of topic, without a single really attractive design! And in addition, the romantic-naturalist concept is in sharp contrast with the precise beauty of techniques! Let it be said in the excuse of the designers that stamps connected with space flights are not the most successful ones anywhere in the world. It seems that the flight of the cosmonauts cannot be felt by the artist in the same manner as the output of man who conquers the skies with an aeroplane, observable from our earth.

Original work of art

Beauty and didactic utility: this praiseworthy aim was in the minds of the stamp designers and of those who

ordered the stamps. It has not always been fulfilled, and the reason for this is that some practical aspects were ignored. For example, that photographs are not true documents. An overretousched face, blown up from a random found excursion group photograph, says very little about the individuality of the depicted person. Just think how many photographs a photographer takes in the case of a portrait! How much he converses with the photographed person to obtain a view of his internal world . . . Nevertheless, Károly Vagyóczky was comissioned to design stamps about numerous historic figures, lesser known, frequently tragically young martyrs of the working class movement, based on such photographs of maximum documentary value. In some cases, he could cope with the task, in other cases, he had to give up the struggle. Based on a bad photograph, nobody can make a good graphic design, if he has to adhere to the photograph-likeness. Whether this adherence was necessary, that is the question. János Kass designed a partly imaginary portrait about Margit Kaffka in 1980, although Aladár Székely took a fascinating portrait of the authoress . . . I believe that despite the fact that the photograph applied on the stamp is more than 80 years old, the stamp which preserved the graphic character says more than that which emphasized the photomechanic process.

Stamps reproducing pictures also belong to a type of aberration, no matter how popular they are. There is an international contradiction between the size and good intentions. In addition, our printing technology is not satisfactory either. We have to accept the fact that a print reduced to stamp size and of mediocre colour fidelity does not inform, but *misinforms*. It may make the name of the painter known, but gives a false image of the artist's world. From the extensive Hungarian stamp issue of reproductions, I can only recommend the Michelangelo and Picasso block for those who collect this motif for the sake of arts. It is no coincidence that art albums can hardly be fitted into book shelves: the bigger the reproduction, the more faithful, and occasionally it says more about details than the picture in the museum (for it is never so well lit up than when producing the reproduction). Naturally, I cannot dissuade the Post Office from issuing this popular topic, which in addition makes it possible that the same Madonna of Esterháza should be issued even on three ocassions: once as the Italian object of art of the museum, once in commemoration of Raffaello, and once as the stolen treasure. Most probably this is a record in the history of the Post Offices. Thus, stamps should be small prints. The question is whether a good graphic artist is also a good stamp designer. The case of János Kass indicates that this is not always so. Of course, Kass is also a typographer, his designs are always professional, but from among his graphic designs I would only say that his 1979 children's line and block were really suitable for stamps. The beauty of his works comes from the flying impetus of the line and not the minute refinement. His modern designs, such as the 1978 peace dove, strech the framework and seem to be a shrunken poster.

At the same time, it is worth observing what a good impression the *reproduction of graphic designs* make in stamp size! This is why the topic "stamp on stamp" is so popular. This is why a series is so eye-catching if it is designed on the basis of posters—for example, the posters of 1919—and this is why the 1979 Dürer block (designed by Ádám Cziglényi) is so excellent. And we can add the fine Kisfaludy stamp (1980) by Károly Vagyóczky. But those are the best stamps on which the designer reworked the photographed spectacle into a graphic work of art.

This has international traditions. This is how the French popularize the treasures of their museums. It seems as if their art stamps issued since the

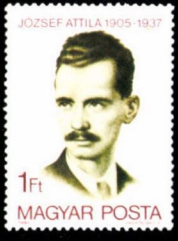

56. BÉLYEGNAP '83
MAGYAR POSTA
4+2Ft


56. BÉLYEGNAP '83
099053
MAGYAR POSTA
20+10Ft


56. BÉLYEGNAP '83
MAGYAR POSTA
4+2Ft


ALPÁRI GYULA 1882-1944
2Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


ERDEI FERENC 1910-1971
1Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


JÓZSEF ATTILA 1905-1937
1Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


BOLONI GYÖRGY 1882-1959
2Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


MAGYAR POSTA 40f


MAGYAR POSTA 60f


MAGYAR POSTA 1Ft


MAGYAR POSTA 2Ft


MAGYAR POSTA 4Ft


CSEPELI VÖRÖS ERMŐ
MAGYAR POSTA 6Ft


100 ÉVES A GYŐR-SOPRON-EBENFURTI VASUT
5Ft
MAGYAR POSTA
100 ÉVES A GYŐR-SOPRON EBENFURTI VASUT 1979
5 Ft
MAGYAR POSTA
100 ÉVES A GYŐR-SOPRON EBENFURTI VASUT 1979
5 Ft
MAGYAR POSTA
100 ÉVES A GYŐR-SOPRON-EBENFURTI VASUT
5Ft
MAGYAR POSTA
1879-1979
107431


MÁRIÁK AZ ÚRKOPORSÓRÓL
2Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


JAKAB APOSTOL AZ ÚRKOPORSÓRÓL
3Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


ANDRÁS APOSTOL AZ ÚRKOPORSÓRÓL
4Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


TADE APOSTOL AZ ÚRKOPORSÓRÓL
5Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


MAGYAR POSTA
RUBIK KOCKA
VILÁGBAJNOKSÁG
BUDAPEST 1982
2Ft

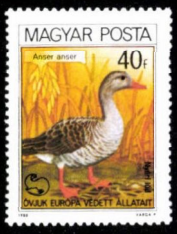

1Ft
Kaffka Margit író 1880-1918
Magyar Posta


HAZÁNK FELSZABADULÁSÁNAK 35. ÉVFORDULÓJA 1945-1980
1 Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


KISFALUDY KÁROLY 1788-1830
1Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


2Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT
MAGYAR POSTA
Egretta alba
20Ft
Nagykócsag
237992


MAGYAR POSTA
Anser anser
40f
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


MAGYAR POSTA
Nycticorax nycticorax
60f
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


MAGYAR POSTA
Anas clypeata
1Ft
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


MAGYAR POSTA
Chlidonias leucopterus
2Ft
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


MAGYAR POSTA
Podiceps cristatus
4Ft
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


MAGYAR POSTA
Himantopus himantopus
6Ft
ÓVJUK EURÓPA VÉDETT ÁLLATAIT


75 ÉVES A MAGYAR AUTÓKLUB
MAGYAR POSTA
40f


75 ÉVES A MAGYAR AUTÓKLUB
MAGYAR POSTA
60f


75 ÉVES A MAGYAR AUTÓKLUB
MAGYAR POSTA
80f


75 ÉVES A MAGYAR AUTÓKLUB
MAGYAR POSTA
5Ft


A MABÉOSZ X. KÜLDÖTTKÖZGYŰLÉSE · 1976
MAGYAR·POSTA
49. BÉLYEGNAP '76
2.50
+1 Ft
BUDAVÁRI GÓTIKUS SZOBROK
112898


1 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1929 VILÁGKÖRÜLI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


2 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1931 ÉSZAKI-SARKI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


3 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1931 MAGYARORSZÁGI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


4 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1931 KELETI-TENGERI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


5 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1931 ANGLIAI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


6 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1933 AMERIKAI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA


7 Ft
LÉGIPOSTA
1929 SVÁJCI REPÜLÉS
MAGYAR POSTA
LURABA 1981
Svájc, Luzern 1981. Március 20 - 29.


MAGYAR POSTA 2 Ft
1782
200 éves a Diósgyőri Papírgyár


1300 ÉVES A BOLGÁR ÁLLAM
681 1981
GEORGI DIMITROV 1882-1949
2 Ft
MAGYAR POSTA


2 Ft
KNER-GYOMA
100 ÉVES A KNER NYOMDA
MAGYAR POSTA

1960s for a flat price of 1 or 2 francs followed a century-old printing technique. They reproduce the paintings ranging from the primitive bulls of the Lascaux Cave to the 20th century bull of Picasso elaborating them in a graphic-like manner. They know that fine stamps in themselves are works of art, and this way can provide information and experience. This concept is represented by Éva Zombory in Hungary, conscientiously and with taste, finding her genre (and taking into consideration the limits of her imagination). Her manner of depiction, adding a drawn character of the seen world, is extremely genially "stamp-like"—it is worth comparing the 1970 stamp day Corvina fragments with Légrády's theatrically intensified goldsmith line from the same year. Two artistic worlds, although the intensions are identical: to make the inheritance of Hungarian culture public. The previous solution, exactly because of avoiding loudness, is most probably more effective. One can only speak with sympathy about the moderate elegance of how Zombory solved the line of butterflies in 1984, which in fact is a topic inducing the use of wild colours. Attila Bánó, a beginner who depicted weapons and ornaments from the age of the Magyar Conquest in his precise style, looks for similar elegance in stamp designing.

In recent years, several new and correct trends appeared. Bright cartoon scenes, based on designs by Attila Dargay. A block for stamp day (designed by Vagyóczky in 1983), giving new life to a fine Pest graphic design of town historic reference. Then the balanced and rational graphics by Pál Varga and Ervin Widerkomm. The perceptive flag line by László Kékesi from 1981. The welcome development of László Dudás from the seven, over-romanticized wonders of ancient times (1980), to the pleasant colours of balloon flight. And the list of examples could be continued! If what we observed in the past years becomes a continuous tendecy—namely, that less types of stamps will be issued—then Hungarian stamps will regain their *character*. Despite the individual variety of the designers. Or because of it!

István Lázár

The Branded Stamp

Disputes repeatedly flare up about our stamps, the aesthetics of Hungarian stamps, about their price, exchange value, "convertibility" or "inflation". Recently newspaper articles and radio reports clashed, occasionally quite fiercely. In this latest phase of the dispute, which emerged at the turn of 1984/1985, judgement was again more powerful than praise.

A large part of the objections were justified, even if occasionally the fierce criticisms were formulated according to somewhat elevated, but abstract aspects, based on unrealistic maximalism. And the helpful intention of the critic suffers if he does not take into consideration, does not sense or is unwilling to respect the actual sphere of force in which Hungarian stamps are born. Perhaps this is why it is necessary to write down something, which is obvious to many. Let us consider a few evidences.

If one creates a list of ranks, one has to say that stamps are 1. means of postal franking; 2. objects of collection; and 3. export goods base. Accordingly, the following bodies participate in their production and are interested in the issue: 1. the Hungarian Post Office; 2. MABEOSZ, the representation of collectors gathered in a federation, and 3. the Hungarian Philatelia Company.

Naturally, it may be conspicuous that I left out the *visiting card* character of Hungarian stamps. Namely, that stamps are (one of) our country's respresentatives, small but finding their way to many places and thus having more than a slight effect; they can be described as visiting cards or advertising slips. However, I am unable to fit this fourth, very important function, with appropriate exactness into the above—more or less—stable order. I do not know where I should put the visiting card role in the hierarchic order of franking, collecting and export goods. The person which represents the given function can be easily fitted in the other three functions. At the same time, the worthy appearance of Hungarian stamps making them befitting visiting cards of our country, is of such a general social interest to which it would be difficult to fit anybody as the representative of this point of view. This fourth function or aim must be or should be respected equally by the Post Office, the collectors and the foreign trade bodies—but who should or who could really ensure it? Where could one "allocate" the implementation of this interest?

Another thing may also be conspicuous. Hungarian stamps are not visiting cards only outside the country, but they are domestic means of publicity, or the bearers of certain prestige interests. Namely, many bodies, institutions and occasionally individuals are interested in—initiate and urge—the *subject* depicted by our stamps.

I hurry to emphasize that most criticism concerns the appearance of the stamps and their graphic or easthetic qualities, not taking into consideration the major significance of the *subject* in the future, abstract or concrete value of the stamps. Although a graphic artist may have fine abilities, it is obvious that it is more difficult to prepare a good stamp design about a domestic lathe or power station than about folk ceramics, Rubik's cube or some eye-catching rare species of butterfly. The fact is that what is included in the stamp plan of the concerned year—which persons have to be commemorated, the jubilee of which institutions, and which political, sports, cultural or

other events *must* be depicted—has already decided a good deal and the graphic artists' sphere of movement is initially limited.

Let us return to the basic position:

1. Naturally, the Post Office would like to issue fine stamps of stable value. However, and this has to be seen, it is partly only a hobby or ambition: the real interest of the Post Office is very little in this. At the same time, its hands are tied by the size of the stamp, and in general its use as the means of franking; by the cost of production, when better paper and higher standard graphic and printing finish are more expensive and last but not least, by the enormous pressure on the Post Office by those who want their stamp: the leaders of towns, plants, political and cultural institutions, etc., demanding "their own" stamps, and occasionally such aspirations break with great, almost irresistible force through formal and informal channels. Thus, it is very difficult to elaborate the stamp issue *topic* plan in this intricacy of practical, material and moral-political aspects, and finally the plan rather reflects the indications of various compromises than the Hungarian "stamp ideal" which is theoretically approved by almost everyone.

2. The demand list of collectors is led by the beauty and durability of stamps, and while they emphasize the previous, they count the latter. It is a special collector's aspect to collect motifs—sport, nature, history and so on—in an infinite, nevertheless, limited and limiting variety—therefore, everyone places his own sphere of motifs into the foreground. The aesthetics of stamps are emphasized by every collector, but the general aesthetic culture of the hundreds of thousands of collectors is hardly higher than that of the average population. Thus, although Hungarian collectors can perhaps not be regarded as people of explicitly bad taste, we cannot nourish illusions about their extreme refinement. And with regard to the inflation of our stamps, although protective measures were taken (a cautious liquidation of stocks, the alleviation of the validity of franking, and the obligation to rebuy stamps at face value), the situation is far from being rosy. It would lead far to question how and with what we destroyed—even compared to our possibilites —the cash value (frequently strictly estimated in currency!) of Hungarian stamps. How the too many issues, the ratio of faulty motifs, the over-sized editions, and the not well thought out exports pushed us somewhere into the middle of the "stamp islands" nurtured by commercially aimed issues, of ministates, financed and justified by almost only their post, and the much more prosperous countries which are known for their durable and moderate stamp issues.

3. The Hungarian Philatelia Company, the exporter in a monopoly situation, is not in an easy position. Collectors abroad are even less demanding in the aesthetic field, most of them seek the motifs and not graphic values. In addition, the paradox can be discovered that the merchant—similarly to the fashion line here—has occasionally a worse taste than that of his customers. As the company usually offers Hungarian goods to a general agent in each country, the demand and value judgement or perhaps the taste of some major customer gains extensive strength on the "export side". At the same time, considerable pressure is exercised on the company from inside. The chronic currency requirement of the country does not permit the endangering of the "currency production" of Hungarian stamps with peacockery. It is true that the annually earnt few million dollars are not peanuts, but only one tenth of what Hungarian bunnies—the export of rabbits—earn for the country. I place the Philatelia Company onto the third place in the above mentioned ranking list after repeated considerations. However, occasionally it occurred that "the tail wagged the dog". The aspects of the Company could overtake several others. Much more so, because a—small—ratio of the cur-

rency income is spent on the improvement of the technical background for stamp issuing.

And here we could go into detail about what was only mentioned earlier: whether better paper is available for better stamps; the state of our printing houses as an industrial background which is not satisfactory for such delicate work as stamp production, as the reproduction of high standard minigraphic art. (This is the reason why part of our stamps are finished in Soviet printing houses in a somewhat better quality than in Hungary.)

*

Am I looking for too many excuses? I think the decent process is if we first summarize the manifold system of aspects and conditions within which Hungarian stamps are born. After this, we can ascertain that despite all these obstacles and even under the present general conditions, our stamp publication could be better in general and the stamps could be improved individually too.

First, the yearly compilation of the motif plan—which requires co-ordination of various interests, but finally is concentrated in one place—could be imprived forgetting about stereotypes, and about a part of the perhaps not always irrefutable "must" topics and increasing the sphere of new and novelty-like ones. The strengthening of the knowledge disseminating and outlook expanding function of stamps would be particularly important. At the expense of the conventional dog-cat-horse-butterfly and the absolutely worn out sports motifs, particularly Hungarian history topics could be given priority. And the eminent Hungarian personalities— artists and scholars—could be publicized. Historic—partly archeological—topics also promise the improvement of graphic quality. The line issued in 1984 —also praised by András Székely— dealing with archeological and artistic relics from the age of the conquest was valuable from the point of view of advancing modern national consciousness in such a clear and fine graphic appearance that I also consider exemplary. More so because it often happens that finely designed lines of a good topic—a pregnant example of this was the line about Jewish art sacra in Hungary—are ultimately spoiled by their colour, by the crude "aggressive" background. There is hope that the archeological relics of the Carpathian Basin will be depicted by further lines—the line illustrating the findings of the Neolithic Age is already being designed—and perhaps this can be the theme with which progress towards a more simplified, purified and more aesthetic style of Hungarian stamps not only started, but also can be strengthened.

The quality of the graphics could also be improved if broader competition could be opened between artists who are willing to design stamps and learnt the skill of stamp design. For this, the financial and moral appreciation should be strengthened, and the rank of stamp design should be increased. More precise and more conscientious work by the printers could be ensured with the strengthened interest of the stamp printing houses. It must not occur that the emphasized remarks of the graphic artist or the Post Office, the observations made on the galley-proofs are not taken into consideration, but after hurried corrections and with unmatched shades and other printing mistakes the stamps are printed. Under the general printing conditions, of course, stamps cannot be isolated and produced in a type of printing reservation . . .

How could it be ensured that the imagination of the designers should fly more freely? The graphic artists are frequently upset, because the customers—and not only the Post Office, but, for example, in the case of a jubilee stamp, the leaders of the concerned institution—press overcrowdedness and secondary motifs on the basis that "this must also be on it . . .". This makes simple and more modern solutions impossible. It would be essential

from the aspect of our entire visual culture that Hungarian stamps should never lag behind, where for example, pictograms, computer designs and the motifs and trends of op and occasionally pop art already appear occasionally in ads, information, publications and in street views. Stamps could be an excellent means—and this is the case in some countries!—in the development of new visuality. But here in Hungary, they are more the means of conservation, part of the conventional visual culture, which is becoming obsolete.

Of course, not every Hungarian stamp can be an avant-garde small graphic. But while ensuring that our stamps should better reflect the joint tokens of national stamp publishing which are recognizable on each copy, these joint tokens should not prevent fine art traditions and new visuality from characterizing our stamps to a healthy ratio in a parallel manner, supplementing each other.

In this spirit, I dare to suggest that the *chief designer* of Hungarian stamps should be searched for. An art manager should be appointed by the Hungarian Post Office for at least five years, who with the intention of prolongation, and during his tenure in office, based on the subject plan approved by the Post Office, orders with *great sovereignty*—not excluding the possibility that partly he designs stamps—and follows the path of our stamps up to the final printing. According to the licences of the Hungarian Post Office, it has the complete monopoly of Hungarian stamp issuing. However, for some time it has been sharing, at least on the consultation level, the problems of topical and graphic design. The yearly subject plans are elaborated after lengthy debates and co-ordination; the acceptance and approval of the individual lines and graphic design of the stamps is accompanied by discussion and the judgement of a jury. Nevertheless the end result still shows similar signs to those which we find in industrial designing, in textile designing or commercial graphics: a guiding hand is missing, a controlling spirit, whose whole existence is filled in with design, thus his responsibility is not formal, legal or economic, but existential. (It does not mean that the person's job depends on this: rather his professional prestige . . .)

An objective observer can hardly dispute that the themes and aesthetic quality of Hungarian stamps improved —somewhat—in the past years. Compared to the many determinative or hindering factors, this improvement is perhaps not so minor. However, compared to how important stamps are, as the visiting cards of our country, and as a factor of our everyday environmental culture, and compared to our wish of how we would like to see Hungarian stamps in an optimal case, this improvement is rather modest.

If we only strive to increase export successes, the sales of our stamps abroad, maybe we should spoil—from our point of view—the aesthetics and undoubtedly the theme. When we see that some of the Hungarian philatelists "vote with their feet", namely, they leave the Federation, and stop collecting, this cannot unambiguously be blamed on the quality of the stamps; more probably—although *financial* disappointment must be a factor—the relapse could be explained by other entertainments and hobbies (television, gardening, etc.). Thus, we have to look at more general and more theoretical aspects and targets. For example, the way in which our fame is represented by stamps in the world, not so much as an object of philately, but as a means of franking on millions of letters, or the fact that this small graphic can play a role in public education in Hungary and not only among philatelists, but among the entire population.

Of course, it can be said that Hungarian stamps essentially befit our present public thinking, and the general state of our visual culture and our paper and printing industry. It is what we deserve. But even if this statement is true, it is too disarming to be passively accepted.

Előd Juhász

The Bernstein Phenomenon

It still cannot be unambiguously decided whether Leonard Bernstein, a genially multifarious artist at the age of 66 and at the peak of his powers, flourishes and matures his talents to the utmost in composing (the way he so frequently announced) or whether he continues his former "parallel" operation as a conductor, composer, pianist, writer, poet and performer? We can play with the thought "what would have happened if . . .?"—if Bernstein had adhered to exclusively one of these activities? If he had only composed or conducted or performed, etc. It is worth examining all this separately with the television manifestations of his music transmissions in the centre, to make it tangible from how many elements and layers the personality we occasionally mention as a "phenomenon" primarily due to the television is constructed.

The pianist

Bernstein likes to mention that "I like to do with pleasure everything that concerns music". This "everything" refers both to his activities as a performer and creator. His career as a performer started at the piano, and he has never become unfaithful to his "first love". He plays the piano almost everyday: "When I am preparing for a tour, then I play an average of an hour a day, and when I am on the tour then 10 minutes a day". Perhaps there is some playful exaggeration behind his words, but it is a fact that his multifarious occupations would not allow him more, and more regular practice.

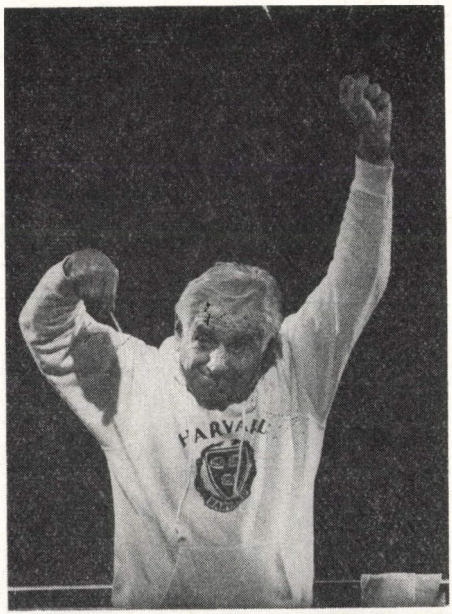
Nobody can doubt that Bernstein is a pianist, despite the fact that he never in his life gave a full concert! However, since his youth he frequently appeared as the soloist of concertos, and several of his excellent chamber recordings are also known. He likes to play in small or major companies, in the circle of his friends. (Recently, when he was in Budapest he asked for a piano to be brought to his suite, and improvised concerts for his friends, which lasted until the early hours of the morning. During his farewell partly, we tasted the atmosphere: first, he improvised a sad and mournful rhapsody excerpt, then a stormy rapid one, a joyful full blooded Hungarian one . . .)

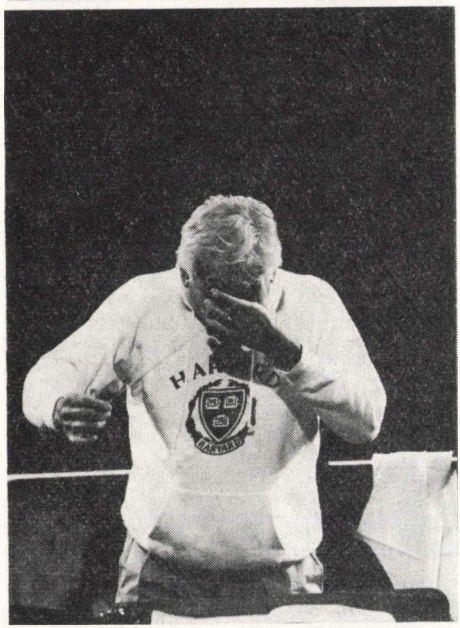
He uses every occasion, also in his television series to illustrate his words at the piano. Whatever he chooses—jazz or a Bach fugue—he plays it seriously, creating illusion, in style and in a convincing manner.

The conductor

He knows that the essence of a conductor's work is the rehearsal. For this, one needs a lot of patience and perseverance and not least pedagogic talent. And Bernstein is a born teacher. He teaches the piano as well as—let us say—water-skiing or yachting. He is always pleased to explain everything, if necessary repeatedly and of course, most of the time not in the same manner, but with colour enriching it with new ideas. According to his friends, he likes to "teach" at home, among his family.

At the rehearsals, he creates a pleasant atmosphere. He transmits his wish with logic and conviction to his musician colleagues. It is an important basic feature of his personality that he respects and honours his partners, and does not let his eventual "superiority" be felt. He is always ready to laugh and





to joke. During some of his rehearsals, he performs a dance or a pantomime aimed at fully accomplishing his own ideas. But if the situation requires it, he engages in detailed analyses, and these are not dry or boring, he tries to say something new to his colleagues. He speaks comprehensively and in a simple manner even about the most complex musical questions.

He is full of temperament, romantic enthusiasm and passion when he works. He conducts with his entire body, with energetic, flexible and large movements and with an expressive mimicry. His "beats" are precise, they can be followed—and they are spectacular and artistic. He was frequently criticised for his exaggeration, for the overemphasis on effects, for his acrobatic, dance-like conducting—namely, for affectation. This may have some basis and for many people exterior phenomena destroy the experience of a Bernstein concert. Nevertheless, these "visual exaggerations" most frequently do not harm the production.

"With regard to my informal attitude on the podium, I can only say that my gestures have one target: music. I do not consciously act on the podium. If I did, it would be immediately reflected by the music, for false gestures result in false sounds."

The composer

According to Aaron Copland: "Leonard Bernstein's great composing talent was overshadowed by his excellence as a conductor and pianist . . . The most conspicuous feature of his music is that it has a direct effect on emotions. His melodies and harmonies speak with indirect warmth to the audiences. His music, where it is weaker, is typically conductor's music, eclectic, light, of cheap inspiration. Where it is the best it is of vibrating rhythm, inventive, of irresistible impulse and frequently of enormous dramatic power."

Only another composer can formulate so precisely and so pertinently. Bernstein himself reveals even more: "I am a born collaborator"—namely he always requires various motivations, whether it is the prophet Jeremiah from the Bible or a French cookery book.

His performer's and creator's periods are constantly alternating. "I do not spent 24 hours a day with composing. Therefore, I don't consider myself a 'full-time' creator." For him, composition is a way of expression, such as writing, piano playing or conducting. He compared the strict logics of creation to the solution of cross-word puzzes, saying that there is a very close link between music and puzzles. (Perhaps this is how he tried to justify his puzzle-solving hobby.)

Nobody can doubt his creative calling, his full knowledge of the composing profession, his skill and empathy. But when it is an advantage, it is also a disadvantage, because it obstructs the consistent enfolding of his own style and individual tone.

His best pieces are characterized by the richness of emotions, by the emphasis on effects, by clear-cut contours and contrasts, and an irresistible flow and vitality. His more lyric tone occasionally "rubs" on the category of sentimentality. The pertinent situation and character depiction is one of the most characteristic qualities of his music. He has an excellent sense of satire. His expressive and suggestive force of presentation is mostly effective even without the knowledge of concrete programmes. If we are searching for its "secret" we could hardly find it in the alarming danceful rhythm, and in the energetic music, and not even in the fascinating melodies. The entire effect is determinative.

The "outfit" helps in this. In the same way as he handles the instruments, he brilliantly exchanges the various moods with acrobatic skill from infinite sadness through grotesque contorsions to the turbulence of dramatic passions. He similarly conjures up almost every style of music history. Of course, the danger continuously exists that all this may conceal the particularities of his music, and his character which cannot be mistaken with anything.

A portrait

"People who only know one thing hate those who do more things. I do very hard and serious work for everything. And you know what the press says? It repeats three words which I hate most: sparkling, versatility and lightness."

We can read the decade-old, continuously returning dilemma from these words: our age, which is so ready to systematize and put people into type casts, faces the Bernstein oeuvre impotently. He considers himself to be a "general practitioner" of music. And most probably not only in a concrete, but also in an abstract sense. For this term primarily refers to doctors—to the "general" practitioners.

He lives the life of the superstars. Practically he is inaccessible (that he was accessible in Budapest was an exception!). His secretaries control each of his steps. He is conducting, giving lectures, composes, he travels, shoots films and makes records—not to speak about his social engagements: receptions, invitations . . . there are many he has to turn down.

However good his schedule is, however well he can concentrate and make himself independent from his surroundings, he has to face the problem of fragmenting himself in such a way of life. Particularly because he wants to do "everything" well, and better than others—and frequently he succeeds.

With his personality, he attracts and wins over people. He impresses most of them, on the podium and off it. This must certainly be due to his mobile, dynamic and fortunate appearance which radiates tension and a richness of emotions. He is wonderful as a conversational partner, he is a juggler of words and gestures. He is a showman —in the full and favourable sense of the word. We may say that he is a master, moreover, the artist of publicity.

He is extremely well informed, he often fascinates his surroundings with his "extra-musical" knowledge. He has a refined literary sense, but he also engages in fine arts, psychology, aes-

thetics and philosophy. His outstanding memory "absorbs" everything. To some extent he is an exhibitionist—even as an adult he remained what he was, who constantly strives to fascinate his companions. His everyday life includes the theatre, cinema, sports, chess, and various parlour games. He frequently refreshens his speech with sports terms, and the latest slang. He likes to be amused but he prefers to amuse others. He is basically not an introvert like most musicians.

The writer and the performer

Although Bernstein's own homeland—the United States—favours the top grade, if it is just, it cannot add the word "most" to any of his activities. Perhaps only two exceptions amend this image: one is the West Side Story and the other is his music teaching television production. Most probably these are the fields where he could make the best use of his versatile faculties and talent.

In these activities, he was helped not only by his early inclination, but also by the circumstances, the traditions of the New York Philharmonic. We know that Bernstein was not a "prodigy", but he started to compose and write poems—including several which reflected music effects—at an early age. His desire of expression already pointed beyond the mere musical means. However, it is more important that from his early youth, he possessed the ability to turn other people's interest towards music and towards music-making. Of course, not only "verbally" or with his written words, but with music, mostly with his own music.

For the first time he appeared as a presenter on television in the Omnibus programme on November 14, 1954. His theme was the first movement of Beethoven's 5th Symphony. Similarly to almost every other occasion, he did not try to conquer his public with the customary concept of the "beat of fate", but with music, in this case with following the burdensome work of Beethoven. He introduced the constant dilemma of a composer, the problem of choice, how he fought for the accomplishment of the final form. All this with original ideas—showing original drafts, playing the piano and making comparisons—and not in the form of dry musicologist paradigms. He did it informally, colourfully and in an amusing way, but what is even more important: comprehensively for everyone.

Following the extreme success of the lecture, the television later made these Bernstein programmes a regular feature. Thus the Young People's Concerts, the successors of the Omnibus programmes, trade marked with Bernstein's name, were turned into a series in 1958. He was given an almost completely free hand, it was up to him what theme he took onto the screen and how, but naturally television experts participated in the final formulation of the scripts. This does not reduce the value of the lectures, neither does the fact that in most cases—however spontaneous it looks—Bernstein does not improvise, but adheres to the jointly completed script, with more or less fidelity.

In one of his articles he hints at the two major sources of mistakes in musical dissemination: many people approach music from a "bird's-eye view" with the help of anecdotes and quotations. Others press a musical Baedekker onto the listener, which is similar to geographical tourist guides. He split with both, and developed a new type of popularizing style. He always captures the innermost stratum of music, its "soul" and—however complicated it frequently seems—he reveals it in a clear and light, almost playful form to his audiences. "Through speaking to my audiences, I gave life to music in front of their eyes, with programmes in which I dissected the themes with instructive intentions—I brought the music to the public and excluded the intermediator.

I did not handle the podium as an altar . . ."

Frequently he brings examples from the attendant arts, from his own experiences, and also from others. He helped the understanding of tonality with baseball comparisons, and used pop examples to illustrate the modal lines for intervals. ("First I introduced the modes on the piano. In order to distinguish them I used a Gershwin song for the Dorian and a Beatles song for the Mixolydian. No, it was a King's hit, everybody liked it and loved it. Those who saw this programme—I believe—will never forget what the Mixolyd mode is, even if they hear it in a Ravel composition . . .")

When he spoke about dissonance, as an illustration he played the America from West Side Story with one hand, and with the other the American National Anthem. At one of his lectures, he showed a blown-up score on which he placed the musicians in the proper place—that helped understand the various instruments, orchestration and the "secrets" of score reading.

Or other examples: under the title "Unusual instruments of the past, present and future" he paraded various curiosities not recoiling from music experimentation, including hints about the various implementations of electronic and concrete music. When he placed jazz into the limelight, he avoided the well known historic essay, the idea of "Down the river from New Orleans . . ." and concentrated more on the melody, harmony and rhythmic particularities, making the audience feel the character of jazz, differing from any other music.

On several occasions, he activated his audience during the lectures: e. g. he taught them the basic elements of conducting. Wherever he can do so, he makes the most of his parodying abilities. When explaining what recitativo (musical declamation) means, he improvised the "elevating" sentence "the price of the chicken is 3 cents higher" in the style of Mozart, Verdi and Wagner. When explaining the melody, he started with what cannot be called melody. He started to clarify the concept of classic music in a similarly negative way.

His performances almost always contained some surprise: for example when he analyzed the New World Symphony, he listed the themes, and proved that none of them are "Americans", but rather reflect the influence of Schubert, Brahms, Moussorgsky, Wagner and others.

Usually he quotes many popular, well known musical excerpts, and approaches the unknown gradually, in the manner of a good teacher, and the listeners hardly notice this didactic intention. With his ideas, witty comparisons, and familiar tone, he creates a pleasant atmosphere and always captures attention. He speaks, but also plays the piano, sings, and naturally conducts. It was a justified remark: he is the artist of selling. And selling music is not always the most grateful task, particularly not when unknown or unpopular themes are involved. But exactly his series is the counter-example: there was hardly any topic which he could not tackle in an elegant, nevertheless, expert manner and carry nearer to his listeners and to their interest! How ? With unattainable informality, but never in a matey tone or baby talk. Undoubtedly, his personality is the decisive factor in this multifarious instructive work, the suggestivity with which he not only arranges his message, but is able to make us believe it. Even if we would like to debate one or the other of his solutions, or manner of expression, these tiny details become unimportant beside the wonderful overall impact: the bravura of musical education on an artistic level, and the rare experience of the personality's magic.

We also know about the continuation of the television series: Bernstein delivered 6 lectures at the Poetry faculty of Harvard University, which were not

only covered by the television, but also published in the form of a book. Although the line of thought basically starts out from linguistics, the entire heavy volume is naturally centred around music. His thoughts, the exposure of contexts and his analyses are interesting in an unparalleled manner—but undoubtedly because of its high standard, it had a lesser mass effect. Nevertheless, this does not mean a kind of new tendency in his educational oeuvre, because since then the latest 11 part cycle has been recorded —according to the news, it is an organic continuation in tone, comprehension and character of the Young People's Concerts: under the title "Bernstein/Beethoven".

To authenticate all this, here are a few excerpts from the interview of the writer of this article with Bernstein in Vienna, made ten years ago.

L. B.: In the television programmes I tried to keep in mind the average young age, the 13—14 year old, and not without some risk. I know that many people watch the programme so most probably there will be some for whom certain parts will be difficult and for others they will be natural. However, I hope that I will never do one thing: I will not "descend", I will not tell fairy tales . . . There are two things important for me: to capture the soul and atmosphere of the pieces during these lectures and to teach and explain. Perhaps I am much more a teacher than anything else. Whatever I do is an experience, to tell others my feelings and thoughts about music. I always feel the necessity of this "transmission".

I never want to "dilute" what I have to say: I speak about my feelings and my thoughts connected with a certain composition, even if the line of thoughts eventually leads to deeper philosophical problems. This was, for example, in the case of Thus spoketh Zarathustra or in another television transmission, a full programme of the Faust Symphony, in which naturally I spoke about Goethe, Liszt and the Faust problem . . . Every lecture needs deep concentration, great devotion and much energy, because it is an extremely complicated task to speak about the most difficult questions in the clearest possible way . . . The constant problem is that I am always late, I have too much to do.

E. J.: That was always the case in your life . . .

L. B.: Yes; the problem is that I feel it more than before: the more I speak about music the less I understand it. I have to return to music, I have to play and I have to listen to music. Without this, we find ourselves in a jungle of words and ideas; if all of them were kept in mind, while listening to the music, we would be frightened away from music itself. I more and more believe that music has to stand up for itself. For really great music stands on its feet without crutches.

E. J.: No doubt, but even if we can do without words and explanation, we certainly cannot do without faith intertwined with music. I don't primarily mean the religious sense of the word, but rather what we feel in the same manner: one has to believe in the sense, beauty and curative effect of art, of music. But you, Mr. Brenstein, can formulate this in a much more attractive and pertinent manner.

L. B.: Perhaps it is better to quote the words of Keats, when he wrote about the Negative Capability of the Arts: "Negative Capability, that is, when a man is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason." (Bernstein freely quoted from a letter by Keats to his brother, dated December 21, 1817.)

It is about the ability to solve existing problems. I can formulate it in a different way: without expectations, hopes, without the expectation of something better, life would not be bearable. We have to guess, expect and

prepare the "new morning". But perhaps this sounds a bit banal. I would rather say: trust in each other needs to be strengthened, so that people should look at each other in a different manner: with more warmth and understanding. This in fact can be promoted by music. I emphasize that I cannot help personal worries and problems, I am not a psychologist, an economic expert or a politician.

E. J.: But you are a musician—thus you helped and help in another way!

L. B.: At least I would like to . . . although not on the plane of realities. But perhaps exactly the "artistic" plane is the most realistic, because it concerns our emotions, the most intimate strata of our life, much more than anything else. Music can help us in surveying ourselves and in improving the relationship between people. And as long as music exists and survives, even if we cannot solve its secret, we can trust its power.

Coda—in negative lighting

On November 16, last year, Bernstein's Budapest concert was broadcast live by television. Between 20.15 and 21.45 ratings fell from 880,000 to 480,000, while on the Second Channel 4.1 million people watched an old Hungarian comedy *Fűre lépni szabad* (Step on the grass!)

Coda—with positive note

At last the "Bernstein fever" again placed music and music-making into the centre of the interest of millions—from nursery children to statesmen.

Namely, unbeliavably low ratings on one side of the scale, and on the other the "Bernstein phenomenon" due to which we experience an increase in musical prestige with a perspective effect. This radiation and intellectual energy transmission is also a particularity—perhaps the most important one—of his personality.

Attila Malecz

Jazz in Hungary

A basic and natural activity of the radio concerning jazz music is to broadcast programmes and record programmes with our jazz musicians. The significance of the latter is increased by the fact that gramophone record-making possibilities are minimal in this genre. In addition, the radio also organizes festivals and jazz events, particularly in provincial towns inviting Hungarian and foreign performers, and is also engaged in recommending and managing Hungarian jazz musicians abroad. There is no other country in whose jazz life all these functions are exclusively fulfilled by the national radio. In Hungary, the concerned institutions (ORI an Interconcert) "handed over" this role to the radio.

Benevolently undertaking it, the radio acquired an involuntary monopoly situation, and with this became the target of criticism. In addition, "within the house" everything is in the hands of a single producer. When the radio accepts an assignment which reaches far beyond its competency, it partly promotes jazz life in Hungary and partly further strengthens the monopoly situation and centralization, which is so characteristic of our cultural life. This involves the danger that finally its activity may have results which are contrary to its intentions. It is not difficult to realize that under such circumstances a major responsibility lies on the institution.

The offer

The available data enables us to publish not only the static, descriptive analysis of the jazz programme offer during a certain period in the radio, but even to undertake a three tiered, dynamic comparison in time, with regard to the majority of the examined factors.

The first source of data was an article by Péter Róbert *Dzsessz a rádióban* (Jazz in the Radio, RTV Szemle 1977/4), which only undertook the analysis of one month's programmes—May 1977. (Naturally one month is not sufficient for a full valued realistic comparison). The next step was my study,[1] in which I analyzed all jazz programmes between July 1979 and June 1980. After this, the analysis of 17 complete programme weeks (4 months) between November 23, 1981 and March 21, 1982 allowed the depiction and supervision of certain time tendencies.

In 1977, we heard an average of 30 minutes jazz a day, in 1979—1980 almost its double: 59 minutes. By 1981—1982, this value dropped back to the 1977 level (38.3 minutes). The same curve appeared with regard to the daily average number of programmes: 1 in 1977; 1.5 in 1979—1980; and 1.1 in 1981—1982.

But before a more detailed statistical analysis of the programme structure, let us turn our attention to the content. During the one year reviewed period of 1979—1980, we heard 39 Hungarian and 277 foreign performers. This means that the 31 per cent ratio of Hungarian performers registered in May 1977 dropped to 19 per cent in 1979—1980, and according to the latest data it does not even amount to 15 per cent. If we take into consideration that a part of the programmes in which Hungarian performers appeared consisted of 10—15 year old recordings, it has to be stated that contemporary Hungarian jazz plays an increasingly subordinated role in the radio. It should

also be mentioned here that there is a favourable phenomenon. While in 1977, the listeners were not aware of the content of 80 per cent of the programmes, this ratio dropped to 22 per cent by 1979—1980 and due probably to the somewhat amended editing of the *RTV Újság* (Radio Times) and due to its larger format—today it only comes up to 4 per cent.

To see the content in a more tangible and plastic depiction, here is the list of the first 40 places in the ranks of broadcast performers (309 Hungarian and foreign performers ranked according to duration) in 1979—1980. More than half of all the broadcast jazz programmes during the surveyed year were presented by the following 40 performers:

1. Miles Davis (1,082 minutes)
2. Chick Corea (541)
3. Aladár Pege (413)
4. John McLaughlin (372)
5. Molnár D. B. (348)
6. Dave Brubeck (318)
7. Weather Report (315)
8. Doldinger Passport (265)
9—10. Gusztáv Csík (258)
Rudolf Tomsits (258)
11. Jeremy Steig (247)
12. György Vukán (242)
13. Eddie Gomez (233)
14. Dizzy Gillespie (197)
15. Stephan Diez (194)
16. Béla Szakcsi Lakatos (192)
17—19. Herbie Hancock (190)
Charlie Parker (190)
MJQ (190)
20. Ella Fitzgerald (181)
21. Keit Jarrett (176)
22. Stan Kenton (170)
23—34. Albert Mangelsdorff (167)
Stanley Clarke (167)
25. George Duke (163)
26. Jan Garbarek (161)
27. Jiri Stivin (150)
28. Tamás Vig (149)
29—30. Csaba Deseő (148)
Toshiko Akiyoschi—Lew Tabackin (148)
31. Maynard Ferguson (143)
32. Duke Ellington (139)
33. Jasper Van't Hof (137)
34. Benkó D. B. (135)
35. Ralph Towner (134)
36. Count Basie (132)
37. Oscar Peterson (217)
38—40. Gerry Mulligan (120)
Joe Pass (120)
Django Reinhardt (120)

If for the sake of descriptiveness we pick out the Hungarian performers form the list, then we gain the following:

1. Aladár Pege (413 minutes)
2. Molnár D. B. (358)
3—4. Gusztáv Csik (258)
Rudolf Tomsits (258)
5. György Vukán (242)
6. Béla Szakcsi Lakatos (192)
7. Csaba Deseő (148)
8. Benkó D. B. (135)

These 8 performers filled in 12 per cent of all the jazz programmes, and they received 62.5 per cent of the programme time alloted for the 39 Hungarian performers!

But let us see the foreigners:

1. Miles Davis (1,082 minutes)
2. Chick Corea (541)
3. John McLaughlin (372)
4. Dave Brubeck (318)
5. Weather Report (315)

These 5 performers out of the 270 foreigners filled in 15 per cent of the programming time, and 19 per cent of all broadcast foreign jazz.

Before comparing these with the 1981—1982 results, let us first see how much this programme offer met the requirements of listeners.

Let us compare the "voting list"[2] (demand) of jazz club audiences with the broadcast preferences (offer) of the radio in 1979—1980. With regard to Aladár Pege, the audience "agreed" with the radio. The Molnár D. B. which stood in the second place only got the 16th—19th place from the audience, while Gusztáv Csik, György

Vukán and Rudolf Tomsits who appeared on the 3rd to 5th places never even got to the audience list. The radio gave very little time to Imre Kőszegi, who was on the 4th place on the audience hit list and the Binder Quartett on the 7th place was not even heard on the radio, not even in the coverage of the 1979 autumn Szeged Jazz Days, where they performed. Some well known musicians belonging to the vanguard of Hungarian jazz did not appear in the radio programmes: György Szabados who won a competition abroad and was the 5th on the audience hit list, then Tamás Berki, János Gonda, Gyula Kovács and Kati Bontovics . . .

With regard to foreign performers, no essential difference seemed to exist between the demand of the audience and the listeners, and the offer of the radio, at least with regard to the first places. But a more thorough analysis indicates that apart from a minimal identity of the two lists, there is almost no relationship between them.[3]

And now let us see the 1981—1982 list of performers.

1. Aladár Pege (138 minutes)
2. Toto Blanke (112)
3. Spyro Gyra (110)
4. Antal Lakatos (106)
5. Thelonius Monk (86)
6. Count Basie (85)
7—11. Molnár D. B. (80)
John Abercrombi (80)
Pharoah Sanders (80)
Jack Dejohnette (80)
Archie Shepp (80)

(The radio reacted to the death of Th. Monk, one of the greatest personalities of modern jazz, with praiseworthy speed. Unfortunately, it did not give even 1 minute of programming time to Gábor Szabó, another prominent personality of modern jazz, who died during the same period.)

Instead of a further analysis of the aggregate list, let us see the Hungarians.

1. Aladár Pege (138 minutes)
2. Antal Lakatos (106)
3. Molnár D. B. (80)
4. Benkó D. B. (60)
5. Kaszakő group (52)
6. Masina group (52)
7. Csaba Deseő (50)
8. Géza Lakatos (35)

This list has several interesting features. Aladár Pege, one of the first 8 of the 1979—1980 list is still here (who not only kept his first place among the Hungarians, but took the leading place in the absolute list, while the proportion of the Hungarians was further reduced and while in 1979—1980 he received 13 per cent of the programming time for Hungarians, this ratio increased to 16 per cent today), and there are the Molnár D. B., the Benkó D. B. and Csaba Deseő. That these strange ratios did not change is indicated by the figures, namely, that the first 5 Hungarian performers received half of the programming time dedicated to 26 Hungarian jazz musicians or bands during the surveyed 4 months in 1981—1982! Some of the Hungarian jazz musicians of decisive significance, who were missed in 1979—1980 at last appeared in the programmes, but unfortunately only with symbolic programming time. According to the 1981—1982 4 months data: Károly Binder (26 minutes), János Gonda (25 minutes), Gyula Kovács (11 minutes), and György Szabados (23 minutes). The picture becomes more detailed if we glance at the 44 minutes of the amateur Masina trio, which appeared recently or at the 52 minutes of the Kaszakő group, which is really not important.

Types of programmes, programming structure

Let us see what is the situation with the series, which from a certain aspect can be regarded as the measure of the

producer's conception. While in 1977, series took 20 per cent of the programmes, in 1979—1980 this increased to 35 per cent, but recently we may have a strange feeling when we leaf through the *RTV Újság:* as if innumerable series were broadcast or more simplified, as if there were only series. From the aspect of analysis, this naturally makes us cautious, therefore, before surveying the concrete types of programmes and series, and before evaluating the current 1981—1982 situation, let us look at the balance of the programme structure of the surveyed 1979—1980 year. During that period, we find 4 types of programmes, which can in fact be considered as series: *A dzsessz történetéből* (From the history of jazz), *Dzsessz a hetvenes években* (Jazz in the seventies), *Örökzöld dzsesszmelódiák* (Evergreen jazz melodies), *A dzsessz világa* (The world of jazz), but it can already be ascertained that perhaps it would be more beneficial for jazz enthusiasts if the various series were made by different producers/presenters and in this way they would not only be more colourful and varied, but more views could take effect and perhaps it would not be harmful to involve a few external experts in the work. The appearance of the series can only be praised, but what editing principles were followed during the remaining two thirds of the programming time? This larger part of the programmes was linked with the jazz weekends organized by the radio or filled in with other radio jazz recordings, but the main features were the occasional gramophone record premieres.

The congregate broadcasting list is led by the foreign contributers of the series. If we ignore them (as the series are single and of exceptional effect), the Hungarians come into the lead, but—as we have seen—somewhat repetitiously (Pege, Csik, Molnár and Vukán, etc.), or the foreigners, who attended the Radio Jazz Weekends. Thus the 1979—1980 principles of programme structuring can be roughly outlined in the following manner:

1. Series (35 per cent)
2. Introduction of the invited personalities to domestic festivals or recordings of festivals
3. Regular broadcasts of a few domestic "superstars"
4. The remaining time (40—50 per cent) devoted to the "remnants" —not introduced in the above—of world jazz production, with emphasis on jazz rock and ad hoc new records.

We arrive at the present period of radio jazz programmes if we more closely survey the series.

A dzsessz történetéből started at the beginning of 1979, and ended at the end of 1980. The 40 minute broadcasts in stereo were placed in the Third Programme, usually around 20.00 to 21.00, once a week, occasionally with a supplement. Thus, the timing was good, the quality of the sound was also good, but the Third Programme from the point of view of national reception is less beneficial. During the surveyed year, the following performers appeared in the programme: Charlie Parker, Miles Davis, Stan Kenton, Gerry Mulligan, Django Reinhardt, Dave Brubeck, Modern Jazz Quartett, Art Blakey, Billy Holiday, and Ella Fitzgerald. After the survey, a programme on the work of John Coltrane, the eighth on the audeince hit list, was broadcast.

Dzsessz a hetvenes években started in December 1979 and its career ended in the last days of 1981. It was broadcast on weekends on Petőfi Radio from 23.15 until midnight once a week, nationally under bad reception conditions and too late. During the surveyed year, the series included the following: Chick Corea, Stanley Clarke, John McLaughlin, Billy Cobbham, Keith Jarrett, Jan Garbarek, the Weather Report, Joe Zawinul, and Wayne Shorter. The characteristic trend of the 1970s was jazz rock, truly reflected

by the series, but we cannot ignore the afterlife of the main-stream, and other older style trends. Listeners may have received a rather uneven picture of these. For example, it is worthwile mentioning the continuation of the avant-garde free trends in the 1970s, so-called loft-jazz, whose better known representatives were: David Murray, Lester Bowie, and the Art Ensemble of Chicago. Nothing could be heard about them, and very little about other important trends.

A mai dzsessz (Jazz today) can be considered as the successor of the previous series, which took the baton in the first days of 1982, introducing a performer every week. However, following its title, this series could carry a good deal.

A Beatles együttes és a dzsessz (The Beatles and jazz) seemed interesting and attractive to listeners. Planned for 5 months, once a week in stereo on the Third Programme, it was launched in 1982.

Örökzöld dzsesszmelódiák was the most stable from the broadcasting point of view, for years it was broadcast on Kossuth Radio in the early afternoon on Wednesdays with an average duration of 52 minutes. Its profile was the introduction of jazz-standards with the help of several performers and occasionally with thematic broadcasts in which "jazz evergreens" were played by different performers (e. g. Oscar Peterson, Modern Jazz Quartett, Duke Ellington, Dave Brubeck and Eroll Garner, etc.). It is fortunate that the ratio of these thematic broadcasts (occassionally linked with other composers) within the series amounted to 35 per cent accompanied by a slight increase in the average programming time.

A dzsessz világa is an informative magazine programme usually broadcast once a month, occasionally more infrequently, particularly late on Sunday evening on Kossuth Radio, with a duration of 60 minutes. The backbone of the programme consisted of information on the jazz weekends organized by the radio, news about provincial club life, introduction of new records, information on the hit list by the critics of the contemporary American musical magazine Down Beat and interviews with Hungarian musicians (most frequently with Aladár Pege.)

Recent analyses, as I indicated earlier, suggest—at least at first sight—that in contrast to 1979—1980 almost the entire jazz broadcasting time consisted of series.

In order to see this change, we have to list those types of programmes, which were not included in the above and which the radio offered during the surveyed 4 months in 1981—1982:

Dixieland recordings
Old Timer jazz recordings
Blues recordings
Big-band recordings
Jazz recordings (or From our jazz recordings)
New jazz recordings
Finnish jazz recordings
Japanese jazz recordings
Australian jazz recordings
Australian big-band recordings
Jazz festival recordings
International jazz concerts in 1981 organized by the Hungarian Radio
Recordings of the Szeged Jazz Days
Recordings of the 10th Szeged Jazz Days
Memorable jazz concerts
Jazz archives
Kaleidophone—for jazz enthusiasts
Domestic jazz recordings in the 1960s

Undoubtedly, the list is breathtakingly impressive, at the same time the question is justified: is it believeable that during such a short period and during a reduced broadcasting time, so many series could exist—requiring genuine conceptualistic editing—or are we facing fine sounding titles of the available scheduled music material, which suggests for an outsider the false appearance of richness and conceptuality? My impression is that a refined version of the mostly ad hoc editing of 1979—1980 was born, which

did not simultaneously result in the enrichment of the content. For that this seems a too simple solution.

Jazz—during working hours and in the evening

Jazz trends according to broadcasting in 1979—1980:

(in percentages)

1. Jazz-rock	38
2. Swing	16
3. Bop	15.1
4. Avant-garde-free	14.8
5. Cool	8.2
6. Classic	7.9

The character of the Kossuth Radio, according to genres of broadcast jazz programmes (1979—1980 data) swing+jazz-rock, that of Petőfi Radio jazz rock+free, and that of the Third Programme jazz-rock+bop+cool. Apparently jazz-rock dominated everywhere, while the classic trends were pushed into the background.

While half of the broadcasting time was devoted to the Third Programme in 1979—1980 (the other half was divided between Petőfi and Kossuth Radios to a ratio of 4:3) by 1981—1982 the participation of the Third Programme decreased to 29 per cent (the other two channels shared the increased broadcasting time 50:50). Thus, jazz was reduced exactly in the Third Programme, which is orientated on special stratum genres, and the reduction of the broadcasting time by 37 per cent is most probably due to this.

With regard to the distribution of programmes between the days of the week, the Wednesdays' outstanding proportion (25 per cent in 1979—1980) was further incerased to about one third (as the congregate result of the "evergreen" series and the reduction of broadcasting time), at the same time, the under-representation of the weekends was increased by the reduction of their proportion from 21.7 per cent to 20 per cent.

Kossuth Radio retained its character with regard to the afternoon jazz programmes and Petőfi Radio with its evening jazz programmes. On the Third Programme, in addition to reduced broadcasting time, the morning and afternoon character strengthened at the expense of the evening programmes. [4]In fact, when the young and old in the country are chained to the television from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m., the Third Programme should produce the peak of jazz music, which is beamed to the most specialized stratum of listeners (as it was done in 1979—1980).

Between 1977 and 1979—1980, parallel with the increased broadcasting time, an unfavourable shift occurred in the structure of jazz broadcasting according to the time of the day: the ratio of the evening broadcasts was reduced and that of the mid-morning ones increased. It seems that a considerable increase in broadcasting time was only possible at this expense. By 1981—1982 this distribution had a further deterioration and it was accompanied by a relapse to the almost 1977 level. The ratio of the evening broadcasts (18.00—22.00) was further decreased from 27 to 17 per cent, and at the same time the ratio of programmes after 22.00 increased from 28 to 37 per cent.

Apart from the distribution between the days of the week, we can ascertain that in 1979—1980 the most frequented period of weekdays was the early afternoon, followed by the evening period. On the other hand, at weekends the evening broadcasts were the longest. During weekdays almost half the programmes were scheduled between 8 a. m. and 6 p. m. (during working hours), while during the weekends only one third of the programmes were broadcast during the day. In 1981—1983, we could register a single noteworthy, and at the same time, fortunate change: on Saturdays—when one has the opportunity to listen to the radio in the eve-

ning—the evening character was replaced by the night character (the ratio of jazz programmes after 22.00 increased from 17 per cent to 40 per cent.)

Another unfortunate change: the ratio of programmes with approximate starting time on the Third Programme (because they only existed there in 1977 and in 1979—1980), increased from 5.3 per cent in 1979—1980 to 20 per cent and with a ratio of 3 per cent this "type of programme" already appeared on Kossuth Radio. (In aggregate their ratio increased almost thereefold from 2.6 to 7 per cent.)Practically, these programmes played a space filling role after live coverages (which are always longer than advertised) and in this way, further reduced the already shortened broadcasting time.

The detailed changes in the programme structure indicate that the considerable reduction of the possibilities (schedule) was accompanied by the similarly large scale limitation of the opportunities of accessibility (reception). It is a pity that the radio—perhaps because it considers it an overspecialized stratum genre—pushes jazz onto its periphery from the broadcasting viewpoint. In this way, listening to the broadcasts frequently becomes impossible, not only for the relatively broad camp of enthusiasts, but also for the potential listener. Despite the fact that the radio could gain new strata for the genre, which with regard to the musical taste developing effect of jazz[5] and with regard to the standards of our musical culture, unworthy of the Kodályan principles, would not be a negligible task.

Demand

Let us become acquainted with the opinion of the club audiences about the jazz offer of the radio. Almost every fourth interviewee was satisfied with the amount of jazz programmes. It is characteristic of the seriousness of this audience stratum from the musical point of view that only 42 per cent of them attend the clubs because of their fondness of jazz: the rest go for company, for the pleasant atmosphere and for beer. In contrast to this, for two thirds of the entire club audiences, music provides the primary attraction.

4 per cent of the club audiences never listen to the radio jazz programmes, 57 per cent rarely and only 39 per cent listen regularly. (Occasional listening was explained by 55 per cent with technical reasons or factors independent from the radio, 36 per cent blamed the broadcasting times, and 9 per cent referred to problems concerning the content and editing.)

Altogether 51 per cent approved the programmes' standard, 36 per cent regarded it as mediocre and 13 per cent as weak. It should be remarked that 58 per cent of those who approved the standard attend the clubs for the jazz itself, compared to the 71 per cent of those who disapprove of it. 22 per cent of those who disapproved of the standard referred to problems of broadcasting time, 58 per cent to problemsof the content and 20 per cent criticized the work of the producer. 82 per cent, respectively 70 per cent of those who referred to the producer or content of the programmes, attend the clubs because of jazz, what indicates that the opinion of serious jazz enthusiasts shows a more devastating view about the radio. Audiences in the countryside are less critical: they listen more often to the radio jazz programmes, consider them more satisfactory than those in Budapest, and their criticism is less fierce.

The critical remarks refer to certain spheres of problems:

Problems of broadcasting time (11 per cent): the radio broadcasts almost exclusively at night or during working hours, there are a lot of repeats, broadcasts are on the Third Programme, which is unattainable for many, there are several programmes with previously undetailed content; the best are always scheduled at night; if it

were not for jazz, the intervals during live coverages could not be filled . . .

Problems with the content (28 per cent): more musicians should be introduced, and not only the greatest: we are missing the introduction of domestic replacement; we know little about the music itself; more stories would be needed; not really jazz problems; monotonous; they do not reveal the aesthetic essence; formalistic; not sufficient recent information; many mistakes; only the entertaining part of jazz is broadcast; LPs are rarely broadcast, the last conception was included in András Pernye's series . . .

Critical remarks concerning the activity of the producer (10 per cent): the expertise of the producer is minimal; the linking text is unimportant; a different name is given than who plays; the end of the record is left off; the listeners are exclusively left to the taste of Imre Kiss . . .

Let us now survey the deeper contexts of opinions about the radio:

Those who are satisfied with the jazz programmes of the radio, but listen to them only infrequently or occasionally, almost without exception referred to the broadcasting time or problems of another communicational nature. Out of those who regard them as mediocre or weak and listen to the programmes at irregular periods, 12 per cent, respectively 38 per cent reasoned their irregular listening with problems concerning the presentation or content. It is characteristic of the dissatisfied stratum of the audience that the more fiercely they criticized the producer or the content of the programmes, the more rarely they listened to the radio jazz programmes.

Satisfaction with the radio or the regularity of listening is strongly influenced by whether the radio appears among the jazz news sources of the audience. It is interesting that the opinion about the programmes also depends on whether the interviewee became acquainted with his favourites on the radio. It was found that tape-recorder owners are more regular radio listeners.

In a similar manner, the extent of the gramophone record stock is also connected with the regularity of radio listening. 25 per cent of those who have 1 to 4 jazz records, 38 per cent of those who have 5 to 10, and 51 per cent of those who have more than 11, ranging perhaps to several hundred gramophone records, regularly listen to the radio jazz programmes. Therefore it is not the case that those who have a large collection of gramophone records prefer to listen to their records to listen to the radio, but on the contrary: up to a relatively small number (to 11 records) the ratio of listening increases gradually (together with interest in jazz), then a standard level is reached, most probably because the further increase of the gramophone records does not so much depend on interest than on financial possibilities.

50 per cent of those who have more than 100 jazz records listen with the same regularity to the radio jazz programmes, as the owners of more modest collections, but their opinion about the standard of the programmes—in contrast to the latter—is more critical: while 50 to 75 per cent of owners of more modest collections are satisfied, only 14 to 15 per cent of those with more than 100 records opined favourably.

The invisible part of the iceberg

The supervision of the result of the demand-offer described above seemed to be expedient in a broader circle: on the national representative sample of the panel surveys undertaken by the Mass Communication Research Centre. It was found that the opinion of the public did not considerably deviate from that of jazz enthusiasts, thus the critical opinion of the latter cannot be regarded as specific and therefore, it has to be taken into consideration.

According to the panel data, the

series *Örökzöld dzsesszmelódiák* is the most popular jazz programme. The number of listeners amounted to 150,000 to 300,000. The response was very favourable.

The series *A dzsessz történetéből* on the Third Programme was the programme of a limited stratum (maximum 80,000); out of the surveyed panel of 1,000, often nobody listened to it. The number of average listening could not be more than 2,000 to 20,000. At the same time, the response was favourable.

The situation was similar with regard to the series *Dzsessz a hetvenes években:* despite its favourable reception, a maximum of 5,000 to 20,000 people stayed awake until midnight for the sake of the programme.

A dzsessz világa was also favourably received, but in a similar manner, few people (approximately 20,000 to 40,000) waited for the late night beginning (22.00).

"Miscellaneous" jazz programmes were received with a mixed feeling: the ratio of mediocre and weak description among them was high. Ratings were also lower, although in early evening periods or in the Third Programme at mid-morning they amounted to 50,000 to 100,000.

The ratings indicate that we can reckon with a jazz enthusiastic stratum which is considerable from a cultural-policy point of view, but does not attend jazz clubs: thus, the club audiences only indicate the peak of the iceberg. In fact these data support the results of the survey from several aspects. On the one hand, it can be seen that the relatively more conceptual series are more favourably received by the audience, at the same time, they notice in some way and do not evaluate in a positive manner the random production, which characterizes a large part of the programmes (65 per cent).

In the introduction, I started out with the ambivalence of the radio's jazz activity. The described results of the survey show the roots of contradictions in a rather unambiguous manner. The responsibility of the radio in our jazz life would argue a more circumspect programme editing than in the past. This would result not only in more successful programmes, but could promote the health of our jazz life's structure and the more conscious use of jazz in the shaping of musical tastes.

References

1. Malecz Attila: A jazz Magyarországon. Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont—Népművelési Intézet. Tanulmányok 1981/15. p. 200.
2. In 11 jazz clubs in the provinces and in the capital altogether 604 persons filled in extensive questionnaires, indicating the habits and motivation of attending the club, opinions about the clubs, and about the institutional system, the social stratification of the audiences, their communicational habits and musical taste. Within the examination of tastes, each interviewee listed his favourite Hungarian or foreign jazz performers, 3 of each.
3. The rank correlational coefficient is 0.29 concerning the first 13 common performers of the radio and audience hit list.
4. Mid-morning: 08.00—12.00, afternoon: 12.00—18.00, evening: 18.00—22.00, night: after 22.00.
5. See: A jazz Magyarországon, pp. 89—105.

Mária Vásárhelyi

Access to the Electronic Media in Hungary

A study written in this field in 1973* analyzed the supply of radio and television sets, and concentrated its attention primarily on the quantitative changes. The centre of the question was still the pace of the acquisition and spread of the first sets, and there was a significant ratio of those who did not possess a radio and/or television set. Today, the central question of such an analysis is the *qualitative consumption*, namely, who has the opportunity to buy the more modern means of mass communication, and differentiation can primarily be interpreted along these qualitative indices. At the same time, the stratum must not be forgotten which is low in percentage, but numerically amounts to six digits, and which still has no radio and/or television.

Radio sets

During our survey (1981) 98 per cent of the adult population possessed radio sets. Since the various types of radio sets presume different listening customs and mean a different quality of access, the analysis examined the supply with sets along this dimension.

In 1981, 57 per cent of the population had one, and 7 per cent two or more *table radio sets*. The analysis of the stock of table radios was made more difficult by the heterogeneous composition of the stock: we considered the primitive "folk radio" of the 1950s as a table radio, as well as the most up-to-date stereo sets. However, these two types of sets and the connected listening customs are so far from each other, that the static data of the stock mean very little. Therefore, it would be better to draw valid conclusions from the dynamics of the change in the stock. On this basis, we can ascertain that while in this entirety there was a reduction in the proportion of those who possess table radios within the population, an internal restratification process could be observed among them. In 1972, the youngest age group, under 30, possessed the least table radios, and this is understandable, because the beginning of the 1970s was the peak of the pocket and portable radio fashion, while today members of this stratum who live in Budapest and in provincial towns posess the largest number of table radios. It can be presumed that in the future these sets will acquire an even greater role, because today, when the overwhelming majority of the adult population possess a radio, and a considerable part of them have more than one, the quantitative demands will gradually be replaced by qualitative ones, and these can primarily be satisfied by domestic produced table sets. At the same time, the higher standard table radios—presumably— will put the cultural and entertainment function of the radio into the foreground.

Today one smiles at the "typical youngster" of the beginning of the

* András Szekfű: Eszközellátottság és -használat. MCRC 1973.

1970s, who strolled along the street carrying his portable radio, because while that time the possession of a *portable or pocket radio* was a status symbol among young people, today the fashion is the small, "walkman"-type tape-recorder carried in the pocket and listened to through stereo earphones. These sets will lose their status symbol character, and will function as they were intended: a more mobile form of listening, within and outside the home. At the same time, the lower prices will also make them accessible for strata of lower income.

During the year of the survey, 56 per cent of the population had one and 28 per cent two or more portable radios. While in 1972, the possession of such a set could be described with stratum specific criteria, because mostly young people and intellectuals possessed such a set, today these limits are becoming faded and there is hardly any social stratum whose supply would significantly differ from other strata.

Since the stock of *car radios* is decisively connected with the increased number of car owners, and the analysis of this surpasses the scope of the present article, we can only indicate the pace of the stock increment with one figure: while the ratio of car radio owners was 7 per cent in 1877, the same ratio increased to 14 per cent by 1981.

The above shows that today the various types of portable and pocket radios are most popular. 75 per cent of those who own a table radio also have a portable radio. At the same time, only 56 per cent of those who possess a portable radio own a table radio. 9 per cent of the radio set owners have a table, a portable and a car radio as well.

The quality of the stock of sets

In 1981, altogether 52 per cent of the adult population owned a set with a *VHF band.* If we survey the stock of sets with a VHF band over the past 15 years, then a not too rapid, but yearly increasing change in the stock can be observed: between 1967 and 1981 the supply of such sets increased from 18 per cent to 52 per cent. The ownership of such types of sets is strongly differentiated alongside the socio-demographic characteristics included in the survey. The best supplied stratum includes intellectuals under 40 living in Budapest, while the least supplied stratum includes people over 50 living in provincial towns and villages. Obviously the listed data also carry the differentiating role of income.

In 1977, the Mass Communication Research Centre for the first time examined—with a national representative sample—what percentage of the populations owns a radio suitable for stereo reception. As compared to the 4 per cent of that time, today 28 per cent of the adult population own such a set. However, this does not mean that so many people listen to their radio in stereo mode, because in 1977 one third of those who owned such a set did not listen to the radio stereo programmes, many of them used the stereo amplifier with their tape-recorder or record player. The ownership of a stereo radio is also a strong stratum specific criterion. The description of the best supplied stratum tallies with that of the owners of sets with a VHF band. The strongest differentiating factor here is the per capita income, which is understandable, because the price of a good quality set with the necessary accessories —in domestic supply—is much higher than e. g. that of a black and white large screen television set. However, it is remarkable that the age breakdown shows that young people possess such sets to the largest extent. It seems that this generation is willing to spend more on electronic media even if their income level is lower than that of the next generation. The order of necessity in their life gives priority

to quality radio or music listening, in contrast to other necessities, which are preferred by the older age groups.

Who has no radio today?

In 1981, only 1.9 per cent of the adult population did not own a radio, and about 1 per cent did not possess either a radio or a television set. This ratio—of course—cannot be termed high, because ten years ago the ratio of those who did not possess either of the electronic media was 5 per cent.

If we analyze the socio-demographic composition of that 1.9 per cent more thoroughly, then we find that most of those who have no radio set belong to a few social strata and within these their ratio is much higher than the above one, and we also find that the majority of those who have no radio set belong to the most deprived, poorest and most lonely strata of society. 4.2 per cent of retired people living in villages, within this 9 per cent of those over 70, 6.4 per cent of retired people with a pension under 2,000 forints, 7.3 per cent of widowed people and 27 per cent of aged, uneducated people do not possess a radio set. Examining the internal breakdown of those without a radio, the contour becomes even stronger: 44 per cent of them are over 70, 67 per cent live in villages or on remote farms, 71 per cent belong to the inactive strata, 76 per cent did not complete the 8 grades of elementary school, and 66 per cent of them have less than 2,000 forints per capita income. 1.9 per cent in fact is such a slight proportion compared to the population of the country that we do not even pay attention to it. But if instead of 1.9 per cent we say 150,000 people whose majority live isolated and who would have a high need for the radio as a source of information and as a companion, then this figure has a much larger significance. Half of these people do not have television set either. For these old people of low income, who cannot help themselves, because their income hardly covers the expenses of their lining to pay 400 or 500 forints for a pocket radio is an impermissible luxury. In a social extent, this is not such a high number that society could not help to overcome their loneliness, providing them with a radio set, opening a window onto the world.

Television sets

While in 1972 altogether 29 per cent of the adult population did not possess a television set, this decreased to 7 per cent by 1981. The same factors influence the access to television sets as to the radio, although—understandably—the size of the per capita income has a bigger role than with the previous. At the same time, the other indices concerning social stratification, included in the analysis, do not influence the supply over a certain level of income. Families where the per capita income is higher than 2,000 forints a month are practically supplied with television sets. However, where the income remains below the above level, the indices are sharply separated according to residence, age and occupation.

After the rapid increase of the initial period, naturally, the pace of increment slowed down, because we are nearing the stage of saturation. However, it is worthwhile surveying the supply of the different social strata over the past ten years. The pace of increment was most powerful in those strata, which in 1972 were far behind the average level of access. This is understandable, since they had the most to overcome. However, it is a fact that by today the active strata are practically levelled in this respect, for even among the agricultural manual workers, who were worse supplied in 1972, at present the supply is 95 per cent, though ten years ago only every third household had a television set. In 1981, altogether 97 per cent of the active population possessed a television set. At the same time, the access of pensioners and inactive people to

television is only 87 per cent and their backlog seems to be insurmountable under the present price conditions. The reason for this is—as it was mentioned when speaking about the access to radio sets—that this is exactly the stratum where social deprivation appears in an accumulated manner and which has no opportunity to prosper.

Let us survey the characteristics with which we could describe the camp of those who have no television set: 60 per cent of them are women, 63 per cent have less than 2,000 forints per capita income a month, 77 per cent are pensioners or other inactive people, 71 per cent did not complete the 8 grades of elementary school, 79 per cent are older than 50, 69 per cent live in villages or remote farms, and 47 per cent of them live alone.

In Hungary there are about 500,000 people who have no television set and this half a million people—as it was said before—will not be able to buy a set from their own resources, although a television set would bring the largest qualitative change into their life, because they only make use of the forms of extra-home entertainment on the most infrequent occasions. Goodwill and social cohesion could find a solution for them. One of the possible forms of help could be the production of inxpensive "folk television" sets. Sets which do not include various price increasing and in many cases completely superfluous prestige additions (multichannel switches, etc.) and in this manner they could be sold at a much lower price that would make them obtainable for the mentioned strata. Regrettably, during the past ten years no progress was made in this direction, on the contrary, the average price of television sets is increasing each year, and the assortment of prices is only expanded upward. Of course, it is a question whether the domestic industry would be able to produce a set which could be priced much lower than the level of the present offer... It seems it is a more realistic way to organize social actions, within which still operating old sets, with only nominal prices in commercial turnover, would be available for those who are in need of them.

Second sets

During the year of the survey, 16 per cent of the Hungarian population possessed two and 1.4 per cent three or more television sets. This means that every sixth adult citizen possesses more than one set. Naturally, this is not so evenly divided within the population. Ten years ago, the ratio of those who did not possess a second set was statistically immeasurable, and during the past ten years, as it was indicated by the above data, the presence of the second sets became significant even on national level. The acqusition of these still shows an unchanged ratio of increment. The financial possibilities placed an upper limit on this process, and if we compare the prices of television sets and the present level of incomes, then it can be presumed that families with lower than average income will not buy second sets in large numbers. Examining the case according to age breakdown, the age group between 30 and 49 posseses the most second sets (19 per cent of them have two or more television sets), followed by the age group between 50 and 69. Within the youngest adult generation, it is a rare phenomenon when a family has more than one television set, presumably partly because of financial reasons, and partly because in their life television has no such outstanding role in spending leisure time than within the older age groups, and the younger ones more frequently find entertainment outside their home. This hypothesis seems to be indicated by the fact that in contrast to the other data of access, exactly young people in Budapest possess the least second sets, while it is a fact that people living in the capital have the most opportunity

to spend their leisure time outside their home. This also explain s that while intellectuals considerably surpass those belonging to other groups of occupation with regard to access to the mass media, among the Budapest residents skilled and semi-skilled workers possess the most second sets, only followed by the households of intellectuals. All this seems to indicate that in addition to the financial references with regard to the second set, it also has dimensions connected with the way of life. The second television set may infer a more mobile form of life to use it during their travel, but primarily it means a strong bond with the television. Supposedly, the television is so organically integrated in the life of a significant part of those who possess a second set, that without it they would be unwilling to spend even a few days.

Record players

In 1981 altogether 18 per cent of the population possessed mono record players and 16 per cent stereo record players, while 66 per cent did not own any type of them. Although the increase of the record player stock was not too rapid during the past few years, the internal composition of the stock changed to a considerable extent and the ratio of better quality stereo record players increased to a greater extent than the total.

The strata supplied with record players can be described in a similar way to those who possess better quality radio sets. According to age groups: the age group between 30 and 40 own the largest number of record players; the age group between 18 and 29 is only a small percentage behind them, but the composition of the record players in their possession shows a more favourable picture as they have more stereo than mono sets. The oldest age group—over 70—own the least record players, only 10 per cent of them. The type of residence also strongly differentiates the supply: while in Budapest 49 per cent of the population, in provincial towns 40 per cent and in the villages 22 per cent own some type of set. The differentiating effect of the residence is even stronger if we examine the internal composition of the stock. Budapest residents have 3.5 times more stereo sets than those living in the villages. The analysis according to residence and age group shows that while in Budapest 60 per cent of the best supplied stratum—between 30 and 49 years of age—own a record player, only 30 per cent of the similar age group in the villages possess one. At the same time, the youngest generation in the villages have hardly any more stereo sets than those over 70 in Budapest. Only 5 per cent of retired villagers have a set, and the ratio of stereo sets among these is 1.5 per cent. The per capita income has its strongest differentiating effect in the ownership of stereo record players. There is a 25 to 30 per cent difference between the supply of the lowest and highest income strata in all the three types of residence; at the same time, within the types of residence the difference in income—with regard to the extreme income categories in the provincial towns and villages—causes about a fourfold difference in the ratio of the stereo record player owners. With regard to mono sets, higher income only results in a few percents of change—with the exception of the lowest income strata whose supply is 9 per cent in the provincial towns and villages.

Tape-recorders*

During the past period, the supply of tape-recorders doubled. At present two out of five people have tape-re-

* This part of the analysis was prepared by Miklós Tomka.

corders, which means that there are such sets in the families of more than 3,000,000 adults. Taking into consideration the low supply of the older age groups it can be supposed that including children, almost 5,000,000 people have access to a tape-recorder. The expansion of the supply of tape-recorders was continuous and rapid in the past years. Based on various facts similar progress can be forecast in the future. This prognosis is supported by the fact that the supply is low in some strata (low educational level, unqualified or old people, and villagers, etc.), whose situation is highly affected by social changes—such as higher educational level and urbanization. Within the supply of sets, the ratio of stereo tape-recorders increased quicker than the total, 5 years ago 12 per cent of the tape-recorders and in 1981 28 per cent of them were stereo sets, but still only a one-ninth part of the adult population have a stereo tape-recorder. It seems that the tape-recorder is increasingly part of the life of the majority of the younger adult population. 57 per cent of those under 40 have a tape-recorder, within this 15 per cent own a stereo set. Within the age group 41 to 50—53 per cent; 61 to 60—32 per cent and over 60—17 per cent own a tape-recorder. The ratio of stereo sets (in the above order) is 16 per cent, 9 per cent and 4 per cent. Although the increase in the supply of tape-recorders—relatively—is somewhat quicker among the lower educated strata than among the higher qualified groups, the supply according to schooling level follows the same structure as ten years ago—at most on a higher level. At present one-fifth of those with less than 8 grades of the elementary school, half of those with elementary school education, almost two-thirds of those who completed their secondary studies and three-fourths of the university graduates possess a tape-recorder. Among the secondary and higher qualified people every third set is stereo, while only every fourth set owned by lower educated people is stereo. The differentiating effect of the residence and the per capita income results in similar tendencies as we experienced with regard to the supply with record players.

Summary

Today the basic tendency of development could be characterized with the change which at present and also in the future will primarily occur in the number and quality of the possessed sets. At the same time, this type of progress will presumably more strongly differentiate the population. The spread of better quality sets depends, on the one hand and primarily, on financial conditions, and on the other hand, higher standard demands will play a greater role in the field of consumption. Ten years ago, social advantages and disadvantages were illustrated by who owned such sets at all, today the same can be indicated by the quality of the sets. At the same time—in my presumption—an analysis to be written in ten years time will face similar problems, because the qualitative progress will probably more slowly advance than what we have experienced in the field of basic supply. In addition—starting out from the present prices of the sets—we can estimate an increasing difference between the social strata, for the extra facilities of the better quality tape-recorders are not in proportion for the lower income strata with the conditions of saving, which the purchase of such a set requires. They would be unable to buy certain sets even if they tried to save money with all their efforts. At the same time, the high income groups engaged in a high prestige occupation buy more quality Hi-fi equipment and even if today these primarily function as prestige consumer goods, most probably they will become a general feature in the near future.

Róbert Tardos

Colour Television in Hungary

In the 1970s, the Hungarian Television started to transmit in colour. Following the years of experimental transmissions, the ratio of colour transmissions surpassed the 25 per cent limit in 1976. Over a period of five years, colour transmission within the entire programming time rose to an ovewhelming majority:

1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981*
29.7	26.3	41.8	57.2	66.3	69.6%

On the side of programme offers, the path was cleared for the spreading of colour television.

Supply of sets

As it was expected from the beginning, the supply of sets was slower than the expansion of transmission. Since 1976, the ratio of colour television set owners among the adult population increased in the following manner:

1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982**
0.6	1.4	2.4	5.7	6.7	7.7	10.0%

The increase was gradual—annually 1—2 per cent. The leap in 1978—1979 may have been due to the purchasing fever following the general price increases in the summer of 1979, while the 1981—1982 increase indicates the relatively significant expenditure in 1981, and the OTP (National Savings Bank) credit purchase system, which at that time was availlable.

The above data can be supplemented with statistical data concerning the retail turnover of colour sets: from 1975 until the end of the first 6 months of 1982, somewhat more than 230,000 colour television sets were sold. It should be added that the number of sets imported from abroad (not through commercial channels) or those sent by relatives cannot be ignored. (For a period, colour television sets were in short supply, and had a waiting list.) Until 1981, sales were gradually increased—parallel with production—but in the first six months of 1982, only the same amount of sets were sold as in the corresponding period of the previous year, although the commercial network had serious expectations with regard to the World Cup coverage. Obviously, the stoppage of the credit purchase system was not an insignificant circumstance.

At present, about one million people in Hungary have the opportunity to watch television at home in colour. To evaluate this figure, a comparison should be made on the one hand with the experiences concerning the supply of black and white television sets, and on the other hand, the spread of colour television abroad.

In Hungary, the supply of black and white sets underwent a rapid upswing even on an international comparison.

* This study was made on a comission in 1982. Since that time, colour transmission within the entire programming has risen to almost 90 per cent (86.3 per cent on the First, 91.6 per cent on the Second Channel in 1984.)

** By 1984 this rate attained 18.5 per cent.

With regard to the first seven or eight years, about 100 subscribers per 1,000 inhabitants approached the data of the F.R.G., the Netherlands and Austria (in their first seven-eight years), preceding, for example, Belgium, France and Switzerland. During the first four years of introducton, the increase in the number of black and white sets did not significantly surpass the later increase in the supply of colour television sets. However, in the next three or four years the spread of black and white sets was much more dynamic than that of the colour television sets [by 1965, the national (B& W) supply amounted to 30 per cent, among intellectuals 60 per cent, and among workers 45 per cent.] The West European upswing in colour television started during the boom at the beginning of the 1970s. The increase in supply in general did not lag behind that of the black and white television sets, and in certain cases surpassed that. By 1980, the percentage of colour sets in Western Europe varied between 50 and 70 per cent in the majority of the countries (in Italy and in Spain, which started later, a rapid increase of 10 per cent a year, ensured 30 per cent.)

For the time being, very few statistical data are available with regard to the supply of the European socialist countries with colour TV sets; however, the existing data indicate that the ratio of those who possess such sets in the Soviet Union and the G. D. R is higher than in Hungary.

It is not necessary to expound in more detail that in these comparisons there is a need to take into consideration the particularities connected with the period of dissemination, the production background, the price structure, living standards, social structure and so on.

Social stratification

The determinative role of income was unambiguous from the beginning, and it seems that during the past period it essentially remained of similar strength. The access of those who belong to the upper income third was three or four times higher—both five and six years ago and now—than that of those who belong to the lowest third. In the initial period in the spread of colour television, the influence of other factors except the financial situation, did not become clear cut. Later, the effect of social stratification manifested itself more clearly. In 1981, the possession of a colour television set was differentiated according to schooling and domicile on the given grades of income in the following manner (in percentages).

Income per capita	secondary school or higher graduation			8 grades of elementary school or less		
	Budapest	provincial towns	villages	Budapest	provincial towns	villages
over 3,500 Ft	24	16	13	15	9	4
2,000—3,000 Ft	17	12	10	10	7	4
under 2,000 Ft	22	11	5	5	4	2

Access within indentical income levels is unambiguously reduced when we move from the capital towards the villages, and from the higher educated to the lower educated persons.*

It is worth looking in more detail at these characteristics, and in connection with the factor of occupation. The access of university graduates to colour sets became relatively higher

* The 1984 data show very similar patterns of colour TV ownership according to these factors of social stratification.

in the past years than that of those with secondary education. In 1981, the access value of white-collar intellectuals with colour television sets was slightly higher than that of other intellectuals, production controllers and clerical workers (14 per cent as against 11—11 per cent), while the ratio of set owners among the managers was much higher (31 per cent). The intellectual groups are relatively closely followed by those skilled and semi-skilled workers who are working in the servicing industries. (It is possible that the increased access among the intellectual and manual middle strata will have an effect on the lower income groups of workers who are somewhat farther from the possibilities of the "second economy".)

The access of agricultural manual workers to colour television sets is considerably lower than that of other groups: in 1981 it was only 2 per cent. This stratum followed the others with a several year long "phase delay" even in the field of black and white television. Consequently, the necessity to change the set—which has a considerable role in buying colour television sets—appears again with a few years delay among them. But it can also be influenced by the position of agricultural incomes (the backlog in access increased after 1979). Naturally, the increased expenditure, which affects the villagers in general (connected with house building and the addition of comfort), also plays a role.

The durable leap of the Budapest residents is also connected with the differences in the use of income and the savings customs. Among the saving targets of the residents in the capital, the improvement of the housing condition played a lesser role in the past years—for various reasons—particulary compared to the villagers. A colour television set as a relatively obtainable, "displayable" (valuable) object, plays a certain compensatory role for a part of the residents in the capital. This is also indicated by the fact that the supply is relatively high in Budapest, even among those of lower income and schooling standards. (In addition, at the given income level, there is a negative connection with the possession of a set and the quality of the home, and with the personal aspirations concerning the improvement of the housing conditions). Compared to the above, the differences according to age are of lesser extent, but can be well interpreted. These are particularly obvious on the medium and high income levels: since 1977 the access to colour sets of the age group between 31—40 rises above the others. This primarily covers family situations (during this period of life, parents are "tied up" because of the children, and therefore, the role of how to spend leisure time at home is particularly significant, moreover, school children also belong among those who urge this requirement; the major family investments have already been overcome to some extent by that period of life).

Demands and plans

In the mid-1980s, altogether 60 per cent among the active earning age group, who did not possess a colour television set answered that this object would not be greatly missed if they could not sooner or later acquire it. Altogether 24 per cent of those who were interested said that they would extremely miss colour television. (For comparison: 6 per cent of those who did not have a bathroom showed indifference to the question, while 87 per cent announced their strong demand. The ratio of those who did not desire an automatic washing machine or a car was approximately the same as with regard to a colour television set, while the percentage was much higher—39 and 35—in the case of those who said that they would extremely miss it if they could not acquire it sooner or later.)

Even if not to a large extent (about 10 per cent) there are some among those who are more or less interested in a colour television set, who are not planning to buy it, not even in the long

term. Most of those interested (42 per cent) do not consider buying it within four or five years, only perhaps later. Within one or two years 17 per cent and within four or five years altogether 33 per cent plan to acquire such a set. The previous comprises 6 per cent of the active wage earning age group, while the latter consists of 12 per cent. In our opinion, in addition to the present number of set owners which comes to about 10 per cent, there is a similar group of the population, which will increase the camp of colour television set owners in the coming few years.

Naturally, there are more chance elements in the opinions than in the actual purchase. This is indicated by the fact that interest in a colour television set and purchase plans, compared to the supply, can be explained to a lesser extent with the objective socio-demographic factors. (Opinions about the requirement and plans to purchase a colour television set are generally less defined and less clear cut than with regard to other objects.) Understandably, the number one influencing factor of interest and requirement is the financial situation. In addition, the sexes also play a role in this: based on the acquired data, men are more interested in purchasing a colour television set in the future. On the identical plane of the financial situation, the difference in the interest according to the types of settlement tends to move towards the countryside: the lower supply in the villages is not caused by an initially refusing attitude.

Among the subjective opinion-like factors, there is a connection between the price of a television set and interest in it. Those who find a colour television set too expensive, show less interest in it. And this was the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the interviewees: 83 per cent answered in this manner (while in the case of a car, which is more expensive in absolute value, the percentage of answers was 77, with regard to travel abroad 61, and in the case of an automatic washing machine 56).

The main explanatory factor of ideas and plans of purchase was also the financial situation. At a given income level—if the requirement already existed—manual workers formulated short-term intentions. In addition to the supply, the plans also include the family factor: the influence of the number of children.

Is a colour television set a luxury asset? According to the survey data, for a significant part of the population it is. In 1980, altogether 65 per cent of the active earners qualified it as a luxury article, while 20 per cent considered it a natural possession. At a given grade of supply, this evaluation is natural to some extent. (True enough, an automatic washing machine, which is also infrequent, was considered rather natural than a luxury.) However, the question is how this opinion will change, when the supply is increasing. During the survey in the autumn of 1982, 59 per cent of the corresponding age group described it as a luxury and 24 per cent as a natural possession. Consequently, some shift can be observed, although this is not much higher than the increase in supply (the possessors of the sets obviously consider the acquisition as a more natural thing.)* The connections of the survey indicate that qualifying a colour television set as a luxury article is not so much due to value aspects and moral scruples, but to economic considerations (the burden of the family budget, the requirement of financial security, and the perspectives and insecurity of the economic future). No indication is needed to prove that, under the deteriorating economic circumstances, the role of these factors can only grow.

Most probably the rapid spread of colour television sets is not a vital issue, nevertheless, it cannot be described as

* In accordance with the increase of the ratio of ownership, some further shift took place in these data by 1984 ("luxury"—46 per cent; "natural"—29 per cent).

completely indifferent whether the supply will increase to at least the same ratio as up to now. An earlier study by the Mass Communication Research Center, connected with black and white television sets, outlined the significant burden on the family budget, and the high prices on an international comparison. This is even more applicable with regard to a colour television set: the relative set price—compared to the income of the population—comes in several countries only to a fraction of the Hungarian prices.

Most probably the possibilities to decrease the prices are limited by circumstances, such as the obtainable size of the series, cooperational and import conditions, and the limitations on foreign currency, etc. Credit purchase and loans play a similarly important role in this. The partial rescinding of the 1982 loan stoppage may have had an enlivening effect on demand. This also raises the question: could certain financial solutions and mechanisms be developed, which with the co-ordination of the interests of the concerned parties (producers, sellers, loan providers and consumers) would bring about sensible forms of loans and credit purchase?

Emőke Valkó

Video Here, Video There

In 1984, altogether 120,000 adults lived in Hungary in homes, which already had a video recorder. Based on estimations concerning the frequency of sets, it can be ascertained with 99 per cent probability that 72,000 video recorders were owned by private individuals (the actual figure moved between 72,300 and 72,800). This is a number surpassing even the boldest estimations.

The data originates from the 1984 survey of the Mass Communications Research Centre carried out on a sample of 10,000 persons. Information was gathered from personal interviews from the members of the sample, representing the population of 18 and older, concerning their supply with the mass media, and their listening, viewing and reading habits. Regular data collection for the past more than ten years allows the tracing of changes and the description of the appearance and spread of new media and phenomena. Based on our data concerning the changes of the last ten years in the mass communication system, an accurate and detailed picture can be drawn up.

Visiting acquaintances

Ten years ago, only a few institutions possessed video recorders in Hungary. The import of privately owned sets only started four of five years ago and rapidly increased in the past two years. At the beginning of the 1960s, when television started to spread, it was a general custom in Hungary to watch television in groups with acquaintances, in the homes of friends, neighbours or in public halls of institutions and catering premises. Today, when almost every home is supplied with one or more television sets, these are long past reminiscences, although this happened hardly more than twenty years ago.

Today, we witness and participate in another folk movement. For the sake of a film, not projected in the cinemas or on the screen of the Hungarian television, or for the sake of a video programme many people visit acquaintances to watch them. Six out of one hundred interviewed adults explained that they have acquaintances with a video set. Accordingly, there are about 470,000 adults who have the opportunity to watch video. Most probably, the concerned ratio is higher among the population younger than 18, particularly if we also take into consideration the access to the sets of schools and various cultural institutions. The intensive social relations and the increased interest in technological novelties of young people explain that 15 per cent of our 18—19 year old interviewees have acquaintances with a video recorder.

This new technological miracle—which is an everyday phenomenon in the West—is not only knocking on our doors, but has become a considerable factor and the organic part of the life and entertainment of several hundreds of thousands of our compatriots. The number of videos and the ratio of those who have acquaintances with such sets allows us to deduce how broad the stratum is which has access to the video, this new media.

The regular number of viewers of video sets in private ownership can be calculated as 200,000. We included the owners, their dependents and their children. (More accurately, the number moves between 202,500 and 203,400.)

If we estimate that the close relationship, circle of friends and children's companions amount to 10, then the camp of those who have access to video is probably around 700,000. Thus the camp of video viewers is a minimum af 670,000, but probably amounts to 800,000 or 900,000. All these people can meet the experience of watching films and programmes recorded on video casettes independently from television transmissions and schedule, chosen from a different type of assortment.

This does not involve a narrow, but loud stratum, which puts its interests aggressively into force. It is a mass requirement that people should have something to see on the video, in addition to the recorded programmes of the Hungarian Television, and there is a serious danger that this happens today mostly in an undesirable way and manner. In one or two years, we should find a cure from the infantile illnesses of videoing, so that they should not cause durable deformations and should not hinder the further broad scale spread of this multifunctional and socially useful new medium.

Who can afford it?

1984 was a significant turn in Hungarian videoing. First of all, the domestic production of video sets started, together with the rental of video recorders and programme cassettes. And the customs duty on imported VHS system sets was considerably reduced. The price of the video equipment is similar to that of cars, their purchase is not simple and can be considered as a significant family investment.

Who can afford such a luxury?

Approximately one third of the sets are in Budapest, one third in the provincial towns and one third in the smaller settlements. 2 per cent of the adults living in Budapest, 1.8 per cent of provincial urban dwellers, and 1.2 per cent of villagers have videos. The average level of supply is 1.5 per cent.

Half of the owners are between the age of 30 to 50, and this is the group where sets are possessed to a ratio which is higher than the average. (2.1 percent of the age group of 30 to 39, and 1.7 per cent of the age group of 40 to 49 have such sets.)

Groups according to school qualification own video sets to the following ratio: those with less than 8 grades—1 per cent; 8 grades—1.5 per cent; secondary school—1.9 per cent; and university—2.1 per cent. 17 per cent of video owners completed less than 8 grades, 44 per cent completed 8 grades, 26 per cent have secondary education, and 13 per cent have university qualifications. According to occupation: one third of them are professionals, one quarter skilled workers, 17 per cent semi-skilled or unskilled workers. One third of them are old age pensioners. The following groups are better supplied than the average: managers (2.7 per cent), intellectuals (2.1 per cent), other white collar workers (1.9 per cent), and skilled workers(1.9 per cent).

In 1984, altogether 98 per cent of all adults possessed a radio set, 96 per cent a television set, 18 per cent a colour television set, 53 per cent a tape-recorder, 33 per cent a radio-cum-taperecorder, and 40 per cent a record player. 1.5 per cent of all adults owned a video recorder while 8.5 per cent of all colour television owners and 10 per cent of those who have colour television sets with decoding appliance possessed a video set.

Today, approximately every tenth Hungarian inhabitant has the opportunity to watch programmes recorded on video cassette, and every 20th adult has an acquaintance who already bought such equipment. When characterizing adults who have acquaintances with a video set, we can report on the considerable differentiating effect of the examined social and demographic variants. Altogether 6 per cent of adults have acquaintances with video, but this percentage is 15 in the age group of 18 to 19, it is 10 per cent

among the 20 to 24 years old, and 9 per cent among the 25 to 29 years old. In Budapest, 13 per cent of the adults have acquaintances with video, this is 5 per cent in the provincial towns, and 3 per cent in the villages. The opportunity of access also differs according to school level. 11 per cent of those who graduated from university have acquaintances where they can watch video, this percentage is 10 concerning those with secondary school qualification, 5 per cent among those who completed 8 grades, and 2 per cent among those who completed less than 8 grades. The ratio of those with acquaintances who possess video is much higher than the average among intellectuals (15 per cent), among the 18 year old or older students (14 per cent), among managers (8 per cent), other white collar workers (8 per cent), and among skilled workers (8 per cent).

The total income of the family and the per capita income did not prove to be a strong influential factor among the set owners [a slightly higher supply than the average (1.5 per cent), 1.8 per cent was found in families with a total monthly income of more than 10,000 forints]. However, the acquaintances with video are more strongly dependent on income relations, 11 per cent of the adults living in families with more than 10,000 to 15,000 forints monthly income have such acquaintances. Among those with lesser income, the ratio is under the average. The same phenomenon can be observed in groups according to per capita income. 8 per cent of those who have more than 4,000 forints per capita income and 12 per cent of those with higher than 5,000 forints monthly income have acquaintances with a video set.

Difficult to choose

Ten years ago, when I first saw video, I would not have believed that anybody outside the cinematographic and television profession, not in a technical occupation, beyond the camp of amateur film makers or outside schools should be interested in this medium in the foreseeable future. Two years ago, when I visited an acquaintance who just returned from long service abroad, and asked my children what would they like to watch: The Thief of Bagdad, Huckleberry Hound, Dudu Car or The Wizard of Oz the choice was difficult. Although the 15 to 20 cassettes of films and programmes were all recorded from the schedule of the Hungarian Television, we were embarrassed by the abundance. With the possibility to exchange recordings, this still seems to be an abundance. Tape-recorder and record player owners are already used to the fact that independently from the radio offer they can choose and listen to music and other sound material. According to our survey, 37 per cent of adults record some of the radio programmes, and some even record the sound of the television. (15 per cent of adults record the television sound without spectacle, which naturally only reproduces part of the original experience when listening to the tape.) Altogether 75 per cent of the tape-recorder owners tape radio programmes and 31 per cent tape television sound. Where viewers have the simultaneous possibility to watch 10 or more television programmes, a certain custom mechanism may have developed in the choice, but where only two channels are available, and the programme structure avoids a clash of programmes, there is no such choice situation.

Leafing through the weekly *RTV Újság* (Radio and Television Times) everybody could choose a list of programmes to fit his/her interest and taste, which could be played at an optional time from video tape. Most probably that would be more attractive than the daily offer of the television, and there would be less "idle running" spent in front of the screen, just out of custom and lack of something better.

The real magic is not here today,

but primarily in the fact that such films and programmes are becoming accessible for many, who could only see them when they travelled abroad. With the rental of video sets and cassettes, the pleasures of videoing are becoming theoretically accessible to anybody, but the majority have to refrain not only from the purchase, but also from the rental, simply for financial reasons.

As it was seen from the above, I belong to the fortunate 6 per cent who have acquaintances with a video recorder. For the time being, I can count on one hand how many they are, but perhaps in a year's time I will need both my hands for the counting.

The majority of the privately owned video sets replace or multiply the entertaining function of the television, and among others, provide the possibility for the individual import of international film production. It also basically changes television viewing customs. With its small number, but extremely effective presence, this new means of mass communication is also conquering terrain in Hungary, which is the first real challenge to traditional television. For me, it is extraordinary and strirring—for my children, it is natural and very tempting.

Mária Dankánics

How Much Time Do Children Spend Watching Television and Listening to the Radio?

In parallel with the fact that children as a stratum of the public acquire an ever increasing importance for the mass media, these media need more and more the information audience research can offer.

From the sixties on more and more mass communication research was carried out on the relationship between the child and television. No matter, however, which aspect of this topic is dealt with, sooner or later we must face the basic question: when and for how long time do children watch television, listen to the radio, what kind of programmes are they interested in? For this reason there are more and more countries where the children's use of the mass media is systematically surveyed and within this a regular audience research is also carried out.

We only want to hint here at the fact that it was at this time that advertisers also discovered children. Thus the research of the relationship between the child and mass communication—the importance of which was obvious even previously—became so to say profitable for commercial television. But apart from this television and radio companies are also willing to support such research since their results can be well utilized both in programming and in planning.

Following the attempts of the previous year, in 1979 the Mass Communication Research Center started to examine regularly the reception of radio and television programmes among children and youngsters of 3 to 17. In the first six months data collection was performed three times, each comprising a one-week period:

from 19th February to 25th February, 1979;

from 16th April to 22nd April, 1979; and

from 25th June to 1st July, 1979.

We think the data collected so far entitle us to outline some characteristics of how children listen to the radio and watch television.

The method and sample of investigation

There are many kinds of methods applied all over the world in audience research concerning children. The methods themselves were already given at the time our investigation started. Most of them had originally been worked out for the research of adults. Nevertheless, their adaptation to the particularities of children and the checking of their validity in this new field needed thorough investigations. Having surveyed the professional literature and considering our capacity of investigation, we chose as the instrument of our research the mailed programme diary. Our decision was strongly influenced by the fact that audience research of adults which had a more than ten-year-long tradition in the Mass Communication Research Centre was also carried out by programme diaries.

Youngsters of 9—17 keep their programme diaries themselves, whereas

in the case of the children of 3—8 their parents or relatives do it instead of them. Each day they jot down all programmes (and their time and duration) they watched or listened to that very day. In addition they noted some data concerning the circumstances under which the programmes were watched or listened to, and the older ones even evaluated the programmes giving marks.

Our method was considerably different from that applied in the audience research concerning adults. During the weeks of examination the children gave us accounts by the programme diary of both their watching television and listening to the radio. This enables us to make a joint examination of some characteristics of the use of television and radio as well as to examine their relationship to each other.

The tests are carried out on representative samples. The diaries are always sent out in a way that children of 3—8, 9—14 and 15—17 years should equally be represented by six hundred persons. The composition of this subsample reflects the sociodemografic composition of the population of the same age.

The quantity of viewing and listening

On the basis of entries in the programme diaries we made up a table showing the average time children spend with radio and television (Table 1). Within this the total time limit changing according to age-groups, the inner proportions of time devoted to the various channels can be seen on Table 2.

Children of 3—6 years spend 12 hours per week watching television and listening to the radio, whereas in the case of the 12—14 year old this time increases to a whole day. No further increase of time devoted to these two media can, however, be observed with the 15—17 year old. The two components of the total length of time (television and radio) do not change in the same way together with age. It is only the quantity of listening to the radio which increases permanently, as for television the children of 12—14 spend the most time with it, much more than the 15—17 year old. Thus for the eldest children the increase in listening makes up for the decline in viewing.

Table 1

Weekly averages of the time spent watching television and listening to the radio

(hours; minutes)

	3—5	6—8	9—11 years old	12—14	15—17
RADIO Kossuth	1;16	1;32	3;34	3;07	2;59
RADIO Petőfi	1;49	1;50	3;20	6;48	9;38
RADIO Third Programme	0;02	0;00	0;01	0;04	0;07
TV First Programme	9;23	11;09	13;37	16;00	13;02
TV Second Programme	0;07	0;06	0;17	0;39	0;54
Total of radio	3;06	3;22	5;55	9;59	12;44
Total of television	9;29	11;15	13;54	16;39	13;56
Total	**12;35**	**14;37**	**19;49**	**26;38**	**26;40**

Table 2

The inner proportions of the time spent watching television and listening to the radio (in percentages)

	3—5	6—8	9—11 years old	12—14	15—17
RADIO Kossuth	10	10	13	12	11
RADIO Petőfi	14	13	17	26	36
RADIO Third Programme	0	0	0	0	1
TV First Programme	75	76	69	60	49
TV Second Programme	1	1	1	2	3
Total of radio	24	23	30	38	48
Total of television	76	77	70	62	52
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

We tried to determine the lowest age limit of the children examined in a way that we get data about the beginnings of watching television and listening to the radio. This was, however, only partly successful—only in the case of radio. Children of 3—5 listen to the radio only to a very small extent. The parents' letters also prove that these small children are not yet able to pay attention to the radio programme for a longer time. They are, however, experienced viewers or at least spend a relatively long time in front of the screen.

The time data seem to show that in the lives of younger children television acquires a more prominent role than radio. In the group of 3—6 year old children radio occupies only one quarter of the time spent with these two media. However, as the time of listening increases more rapidly as compared to viewing, and—as we have seen it—it even decreases in the case of the 15—17 year old, the time proportions of the two activities get balanced in the eldest age group.

The weekly balance, however, is formed by daily inequalities. It is well-known that the total of listening to the radio depends rather remarkably on whether television broadcasts any programme and if so, how many. Thus for example, as compared to an average weekday, children listen more on Mondays, when there is no television programme, whereas they listen to a less extent in weekends. It is, of course, mainly the festive programmes of television that divert the public from radio. An extra broadcasting day, which in the examined April week was Easter Monday, may decrease the high ratio characteristic of Monday to the low level of a weekday (e.g. on Mondays of February and June 12—14 year old children listened to the radio for three and a half hours on average, whereas on Easter Monday only one and a quarter hours).

The seasonal fluctuation of viewing and listening could be judged exactly only on the basis of data about several years. Three programme weeks of winter, spring and summer only allow careful observations.

According to some common beliefs: 1. in summer, having got rid of their school-duties children can spend more time with television and radio; 2. at the end of the school-year they get out of closed rooms at last, they have more free time to spend in the open air and so there is less time left for television and radio. Both suppositions are logical, it is by no means surprising

that our data support one supposition in one group and the second in another group.

Teenagers really view less in summer, but if they spend their time in the open air they will surely take their radio sets with them, because the time they spend listening does not decrease. In case of 3—8 year old children the time of televiewing remains unchanged, nevertheless they spend definitely more time listening to the radio in summer than in winter or in spring. Since we do by no means want to augment the number of common beliefs we shall not make guesses here instead of revealing the causes.

Radio and television programmes

Children under 12 (with the exception of some programmes on the Second Channel) almost exclusively watch the First Programme of television. Considering the elder group, we can already find some programmes on the Second Channel every week that are watched by 10—30 per cent. Nevertheless, their influence can hardly be noticed in the weekly average televiewing times. Besides the well-known restricting factors (the possibility of reception, the lack of an adapter) the decreasing importance of the Second Programme for the smaller ones can also be accounted for by the fact that they are just leaving television by the time the main programme on the Second Channel starts (at eight o'clock or even later). In the elder children's group we can observe the tendency—characteristic of adults—that the monopoly of the First Programme can only be broken by a more attractive programme on the Second Channel. (This was also proved by the observation that during the three weeks examined the ratings of the Second Channel were independent of the programme time.)

In the new programme structure introduced in the radio in 1979 children's programmes are broadcast on Radio Kossuth in the morning and in the afternoon. Bed-time stories can be heard in this same channel every evening. The programmes for youngsters are broadcast by another channel (Petőfi). The question, however, arises: to what extent the inner proportions of the different groups' listening are adjusted to the distribution of their programmes between the two channels?

In case of the younger group—and even with 9—11 year old children—the ratings of Radio Kossuth and Radio Petőfi are nearly the same, the time of listening to Petőfi has exceeded that of Kossuth only to a small extent. In the two groups of elder children, however, the definite dominance of Radio Petőfi can be observed: the 15—17 year old listen three times more to Petőfi than to Kossuth. The preference of the programme of Petőfi to such an extent cannot only be due to the existence of the juvenile band, what is more likely is that Petőfi, broadcasting more pop and dance music, meets better the demands of young people. This is also supported by the audience research of adults (on the basis of data of 1978), which showed equal ratings of Kossuth and Petőfi*.

As it is shown on Table 2 the ratings of the Third Programme are insignificant. It is probably not only the small number of radio sets suitable for reception that plays a part in this but rather the fact that their programmes do not attract the youngsters at all.

Is it much or little?

Having indicated the most important data, we may perhaps raise the simple question, whether the time children spend viewing and listening is much or little. The most difficult and the less

* The data about the adults' listening were collected by Klára Révész.

reliable way of solving this problem is to approach it in a subjective way. We could justify with a lot of arguments why we consider the 12 hours the younger and the 26 hours the older children spend with radio and television much or little. The questions how much time youngsters actually spend from the 24 hours of the day with the two examined media and what functions they have in their lives must be considered as two completely different ones. Television and radio can have a wide range of functions which can be examined only by the systematical presentation of value criteria. If we want to examine more closely the functions of gratification and value transmission of these media first we must give an objective answer to the first question by making comparisons.

According to the data of the audience research of adults carried out in the Mass Communication Research Center during the three programme-weeks examined by us as well, adults watched television for 15 hours and 19 minutes on average.* Only 12—14 year old-children, the age-group that watches television the most, spend more time with televiewing (80 minutes), whereas the eldest group spend less time watching television (84 minutes) than the adults, and in the case of children under 10 this time was even less.

During the same weeks the adults' reception of the programmes was not examined. In the ten examined weeks of 1978 adults listened to the radio for 17 hours 41 minutes on average. This is 5 hours longer than the time of the 15—17-year-old, who use radio most frequently.

Our data can also be compared with the results of audience research carried out in foreign countries among children. The two examinations which seem to be suitable for this aim were made—similarly as in our country—in Great Britain and the USA, in the first years of the 70s, i. e. two decades after the beginning of regular televiewing.**

In Greenberg's opinion the time English children spend listening does not differ much from that of Hungarian children. It is only in the case of the 9—14-year-old that some difference can be detected. This group in Hungary listens to the radio 15—20 minutes more than in England. The data of the American research on the use of radio cannot be compared to ours.

Daily averages of the time spent listening
(hours; minutes)

BBC		MCRC	
5—7 years old	0;27	3—5 years old	0;27
8—11 years old	0;34	6—8 years old	0;29
12—14 years old	1;01	9—11 years old	0;51
15—19 years old	1;58	12—14 years old	1;26
		15—17 years old	1;49

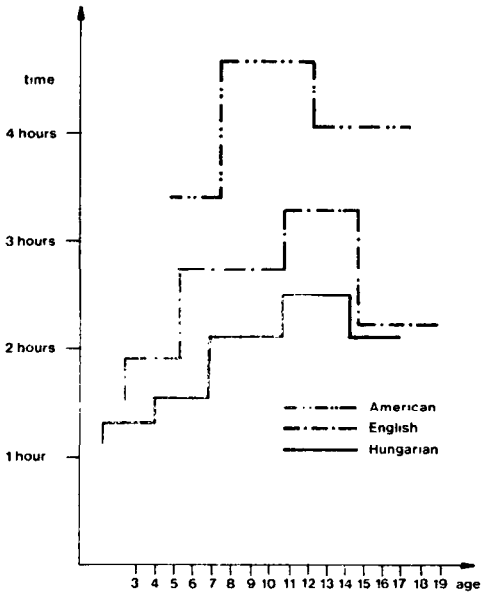
* Gyorstájékoztató a televízió műsorainak fogadtatásáról. 1979. 26. hét. TK Panel
** Greenberg, B. S.: Viewing and Listening Parameters among British Youngsters. In: Children and Television (ed. Ray Brown), London, 1976, and Lyle, J.—R. and Hoffmann, H.: Children's Use of Television and Other Media. In: Television and Social Behaviour, Reports and Papers, Volume IV. Television in Day-to-Day Life: Patterns of Use (eds: E. A. Rubinstein, G. A. Comstock and J. P. Murray), Washington, 1972.

The comparative data referring to watching television are shown by the figure. According to the data of Lyle and Hoffman children living in the surroundings of Los Angeles spend twice as much time watching television than their Hungarian counterparts in all the three age-groups examined by us. English children do not watch it so often, nevertheless children of 8—14 watch forty minutes more every day than Hungarian ones.

*

These comparisons prove that Hungarian youngsters do not spend too much time listening to the radio or watching television. According to recent foreign results the time spent viewing shows a decreasing tendency. However, the time we have surveyed will probably increase with the increase in programme time, diversification and the introduction of the Monday broadcasting day.

AVERAGE TIME SPENT VIEWING DAILY



Zoltán Jakab

Television Programmes on Offer in Some European Socialist Countries

In the autumn of 1983, the Director-General of UNESCO presented the results of a world-wide mass communication survey covering about 50 countries to the General Assembly. The title of the survey sounds innocent: *The international flow of television programmes and news.* In fact, major storms and debates could be expected to follow the research report, because it covered a conspicuous case of world-wide communication inequalities and disproportions. For example, about the role of a few developed capitalist countries dominating the world market of television programmes. Exactly about those countries who are the most militant representatives of the principle of the "free flow of information", while they belong to those markets, which are most closed to television programmes from abroad.

When writing this article, the survey had not been completed, nevertheless, the outcome can already be seen. In fact, the research is the repetition of a similar survey of 1973* and in fact there was not much change in the world during the past ten years with regard to the international traffic of television programmes.

For the survey, organized and carried out during hardly more than a year, the world was divided into 8 regions, and in these areas one or two research institutes co-ordinated the work of the participants. In the "East Europe" region UNESCO invited the Mass Communication Research Centre, Budapest, to play the role of co-ordinator, and research institutes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R., and in the Soviet Union participated in the survey.

This cooperation is a welcome—and regrettably rare—occasion to compare a few characteristic features in the television of the European socialist countries, based on data collected according to a unified system. Although the survey only covered a two-week period (January 31—February 13), the participants agreed that this period in general correctly reflected the usual programme schedule of the individual countries.

Transmission time

The survey included the national programmes, namely, in general two programmes in each country. In Czechoslovakia the data collection covered the federal and the Czech and Slovak programmes.

Major differences appeared in the weekly average transmission times. The Czechoslovak Television (CSTV) transmitted 195 hours, the Soviet Television (STV) 184 hours during one week. The corresponding data of

* See: Nordenstreng, K. and Varis, T.: Television Traffic: A One-Way Street? Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 70. UNESCO, 1974.

the G.D.R. Television (DDRTV) was 135 hours, that of the Hungarian Television (MTV) 98, and that of the Bulgarian Television (BTV) only 93 hours. Because of the difference in the number of transmission days and of the examined programmes, the average quantity of transmitted programmes on one channel and in one transmission day is a better index. Accordingly, the largest offer was provided by the STV with 13.1 hours, that of the CSTV and of the DDRTV were similar (9.3 and 9.6 hours respectively), while the MTV transmitted 8.1 and the BTV 6.1 hours. To explain the outstandingly long transmission time of the Soviet Television, the dimensions of the country have to be taken into consideration together with the many time zones it belongs to, which means that the actually received quantity of programmes in the different areas of the country is lower than the duration of the transmissions.

Programme supply

During the survey, the content and functions of the programmes were categorized according to the system approved by a UNESCO conference of government experts in 1976. The categorization of the programmes was promoted by useful definitions, which did not exclude the possibility of different categorization of identical programmes, but considerably reduced it. (Differing evaluation particularly appeared in the "cultural" and "entertainment" categories and somewhat influenced the ratios of the "informative" and "educational" categories. All in all, it seems that the categories were sufficiently unified to sensibly compare the national data. (See Table 1.)

The structures of the complete programming of the five socialist countries differ to a considerable extent. The proportion of the informative programmes is rather high in the BTV and STV, almost 30 per cent, while the counter-pole is represented by the DDR and the MTV with less than 20 per cent. The proportion of the educational programmes is uniquely high in the MTV, the same refers to the cultural programmes of the MTV, and STV. The BTV screens the largest number of children's programmes, while the ratio of entertainment programmes is by far the highest in the DDRTV. (In the Hungarian Television, the ratio of entertainment programmes did not come up to 35 per cent of the complete transmission time, which at the same time meant the smallest proportion. It seems that this ratio was the manifestation of a long existing tendency* in the surveyed period.) Naturally, the composition of prime time** considerably differs from the general television menu, particularly because of the much lower proportion of educational and juvenile programmes. In general, many more entertainment programmes are screened in the peak viewing time than otherwise (with the exception of the BTV). At the same time, some characteristic features of the countries unambiguously appear in this period. Even in this period, the ratio of informative programmes is very high in the BTV and the STV, it is over 30 per cent. In the MTV, the proportion of cultural programmes is high in this period, almost 20 per cent, while entertainment takes a particularly large proportion in the transmission of the DDRTV. (As compared to 70 per cent in the DDRTV, the relative weight of entertainment programmes in the CSTV and STV is somewhat over

* Prime time is not identical in the different countries. In the BTV and STV, the period between 19.00 and 23.00 is considered prime time—based on the viewing customs—, in the other 3 countries the data refer to the period from 19.30 to 21.30—22.00.

** See "Tömegkommunikációs adattár". Vol. II., pp. 52—53. MCRC. Budapest, 1978.

Table 1

Breakd own of programmes according to categories and countries (in percentages)

Programme category	BTV	CSTV	DDRTV	MTV	STV
Informative	28.5	21.2	17.7	16.4	29.4
Educational	7.6	13.0	8.5	21.0	14.3
Cultural	12.7	12.0	7.6	17.7	15.3
Juvenile	12.2	8.3	9.1	7.1	5.3
Entertainment	38.2	41.4	56.7	34.3	35.6
Others (commercials and miscellaneous)	0.7	4.1	0.4	3.4	0
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.99

Table 2

The proportion of imported programmes in the schedule, in prime time, according to countries (in percentages)

	BTV	CSTV	DDRTV	MTV	STV
Complete schedule	27.4	23.8	30.3	26.5	8.1
Prime time schedule	20.7	24.9	39.4	35.2	17.7

50 per cent, in the MTV under 50 per cent, and in the BTV it is under 40 per cent.)

In the entire offer of entertainment programmes, there is a considerable difference between the individual television networks with regard to the percentage of drama and music materials. In the CSTV and MTV almost 60 per cent of entertainment consists of cinema films, teleplays and TV series (while in the case of the other three countries, the proportion varies between 50—56 per cent). The relative proportion of music programmes in the entertainment offer of the BTV and STV is very large: 20 and 26 per cent respectively (in contrast to the 11—15 per cent of the other three countries).

Imported programmes

The proportions of imported programmes are almost similar and it is a general feature that more imported programmes are screened in prime time than at any other time. (See Table 2.)

Compared to the 1973 survey, it seems that the ratio of imported programmes increased in the DDR, MTV, and STV, while there was a considerable reduction in the case of the BTV.

Naturally, programming policy, production capacities, and financial possibilities play—even if not to the same extent—the most important role in the extent of the imports. This is most clearly and most convincingly illustrated by the proportion of imported programmes within all entertainment transmissions. The outstanding proportion of imports is not so obvious in any other category. 18 per cent of the entertainment on the STV, 44 per cent and 41 per cent in the BTV and CSTV, 50 per cent in the DDRTV and 57 per cent in the MTV is of foreign origin. (The MTV data reflect a 10—15 year

Table 3

Imported programmes according to their sources and countries (in percentages)

	BTV	CSTV	DDRTV	MTV	STV I
European socialist countries	68.7	49.5	50.9	15.5	29.6
Other socialist countries	—	1.6	—	—	6.4
Western Europe	29.4	39.2	45.3	67.6	55.3
North America	—	4.3	3.8	16.8	5.6
Other countries	1.8	5.4	—	—	3.1
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0

long tendency, as it was shown by earlier full surveys.*)

With regard to the entire region, the STV is the most significant source of imports: more than 20 per cent of imported materials originate from there. (The proportion of Soviet programmes is higher than average in the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak schedule.) There is a considerable proportion of West German, French, British, and US programmes in the schedule of the region—altogether about 40 per cent. (With regard to the role of the F.R.G. it should be noted that the European Skating Championship at Düsseldorf took place during the surveyed period, which made the ratio of West German materials much higher than the average in almost every country which participated in the research.) The list of imports continues —with practically identical proportions —with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the G.D.R., altogether with about 13 per cent. During the surveyed period, the examined television organizations screened programmes from altogether 26 countries, not including coproductions with foreign countries.

However, considerable differences can be seen in the different countries of the region with regard to the import orientation. (See Table 3.)

With regard to the ratio of the import structure, the nonrepresentative character of the surveyed period undoubtedly showed its effect. For example, in the Hungarian programme imports, usually the ratio of programmes produced by the European socialist countries is much higher, almost half of all programme imports. At the same time, it is obvious that the television market of the surveyed countries can hardly be considered a closed market surrounded by protectionist bastions.

* See: Jakab Z.—Losonczi I.: Importműsorok a képernyőn 1962—73. MCRC., 1973 (mimeo).

Tamás Terestyéni

Foreign Languages in Hungary

German, Russian and English are the most widely spoken

The knowledge of foreign languages is an integral part of general communication culture. The more languages spoken, the more opportunity there is for communication with other cultures. Our survey on the knowledge of languages was made using a questionnaire data collection method to find out about how widespread communication culture in foreign languages is, about the linguistic-ethnic composition of the population, and about the efficiency of teaching foreign languages in Hungary. In addition to making the comprehensive data collection we also tried to find some connection between the knowledge of languages and the audience indices for foreign television programmes that can be received in Hungary.

A few words about the method of investigation

Before describing our results we have to say something about the methodological limits to our study. First of all we must point out that our data are not based on the actual knowledge of languages but on the answers received to such questions as "Do you understand, speak or know any other language or languages than the Hungarian?" The affirmative answers given to the question may cover very different levels of knowledge depending on the self-confidence and self-estimation of the person asked. It may refer to a knowledge of native speakers as well as to a rather elementary knowledge. Therefore it is possible that the people asked under- or overestimated their abilities, consequently the statistics based on their answers may be distorted in some direction, probably upwards. However, the distortion is probably quite small, because we can assume that to people who do not speak any foreign language the knowledge of language itself is not such a positive value or prestige issue that they would consider worth claiming untrue knowledge.

The other problematic point of our investigation was the regional geography distribution of the sample, i.e. the persons asked. Of course, not even the large sample representative surveys of detail (including sex, age, settlement type etc.) can cover all settlements in the country important from the ethnic-linguistic point of view. It may occur, for example, that no nationality settlement is included in a sample taken from some of our counties densely populated by national minorities, and this will obviously distort the data downwards. Similarly, it may also occur that in some region too great a proportion of national minorities will be included among the interviewers and this may distort the statistics upwards. We may suppose, however, that since in Hungary the national minorities do not live in large blocks of settlements but are rather dispersed throughout the territory of the country, in the case of a large sample the local under- and overrepresentation resulting from random regional geography selection will become balanced out on national level.

Counting on the methodological uncertainties we collected data by two surveys to control reliability, one in 1979 and one in 1980. Both surveys were based on a sample of 10,000

people over 18 which was representative according to sex, age, residence, profession and education, and extended to 99 settlements. The reliability of the investigation was underlined by the fact that the results of the two surveys only differed to a minimal extent and even these minimal descrepancies can be explained easily by the differences between the questionnaires and the questions and some regional geography chance differences. The only area in which we were unable to receive reliable data was that concerning the gipsy population, fundamentally because of registration shortcomings and other difficulties which left the gipsy population underrepresented when the sample was initially set up.

Now, we must discuss the foreign languages we took into consideration in our investigation. The list contains four languages spoken all over the world: German, English, French and Russian and the German includes the dialects spoken by the German (Swabian) minorities living in Hungary. Other languages spoken extensively in Europe and other parts of the world (Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Hindu, Indonesian, Swahili etc.) are hardly known in Hungary and therefore we included them in the category of "other languages". We used this same category for the European languages not spoken by larger minorities in Hungary (Italian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, the Scandinavian languages etc.) and for the classic dead languages (Latin and Ancient Greek) and for Esperanto. Romanian and Slovak, spoken by minorities living in Hungary, were listed in separate categories while the languages of the Southern Slavic minorities (Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian) were included in the "Yugoslav" category. The gipsy language was treated as a separate category. Greek, which is spoken by an insignificant number of people, and Yiddish, which also can only be found sporadically, were included in the category of "other languages".

Every seventh adult

14 per cent of the Hungarian population over 18 speak one foreign language, 3.5 per cent speak two and less than 1 per cent know three or more foreign languages (N = 9870). 52 per cent of those who speak some other language are men and 48 per cent are women (N = 1378). 15 per cent of all Hungarian adult men and 13 per cent of all Hungarian adult women speak some foreign language (N = 4830; N = 5040). The higher proportion of men is principally the result of the fact that in general the educational level of men is higher than that of women, since, self-evidently, the knowledge of foreign languages is related principally to education.

Knowledge of languages and education levels (in percentages)

	incomplete primary education	primary school	secondary school	college, university	total population
knows foreign language	**7.0**	**7.2**	**23.8**	**47.4**	**13.9**
does not know any foreign language	**93.0**	**92.8**	**76.2**	**52.6**	**86.1**
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N=	2959	4041	2062	808	9870

It is striking that primary school studies have absolutely no effect on the knowledge of languages, although foreign languages are taught in the upper grades of primary school. It is even more thought-provoking that although the ratio of those who speak a foreign language is much higher among the people with secondary and particularly with higher education, these higher ratios do not reflect the fact that these people all studied such languages for a long time on what was, in principle, a high level.

In Hungary most major Indo-European languages and the languages of the neighbouring smaller nations are the best known.

The break-down of the knowledge of languages by the languages

	in percentage of the adult population	in percentage of the adults knowing foreign languages
German	7.8	55.9
English	1.9	14.2
French	0.8	5.7
Russian	3.0	21.7
Romanian	0.6	4.3
Slovak	1.4	8.9
Yugoslav	0.8	5.7
Gipsy	0.5	3.4
other languages	0.6	4.5
total of persons knowing foreign languages	13.9	
N =	9750	1378

German is the most widespread language, on the one hand because it is used by an important minority living in Hungary, and on the other because it is often chosen for study due to historial and cultural tradition. German is followed by Russian but its ratio by no means reflects that it is a compulsory subject as early as primary school level. Third on the list is English: its international scope, its importance in scientific, technological and commercial life and its role in pop-culture has no doubt considerably increased its popularity in recent decades. Compared to these three, knowledge of French is far more limited. Following German Slovak is the next minority language on the list with the Yugoslav languages and Romanian coming next. The gipsy population, and consequently the gipsy language are underrepresented for the reasons already mentioned and therefore our data do not reflect actual proportions, which are really higher than what appears here. In the category of "other languages" Italian, Polish, Czech, Spanish and Bulgarian lead the list.

If we are to receive a realistic picture of the linguistic culture of the Hungarians we must first separate the people who have learnt a language from the national minorities who speak a foreign language as their mother tongue.

The break-down of native speakers and non-native speakers according to languages
(in percentages of the adult population)

	native speakers (national minorities)	non-native speakers
German	2.37	5.44
English	0	1.99
French	0	0.80
Russian	0.05	2.98
Romanian	0.32	0.28
Slovak	1.16	0.23
Yugoslav	0.71	0.05
Gipsy	0.47	0
other	0	0.63
total of languages	5.08	8.82
N =	9870	9870

This shows that over one-third of the Hungarian adults speaking a foreign language are native speakers. Within this German accounts for the largest ratio, followed by Slovak, the Yugoslav languages and Romanian.

The national minorities living in Hungary are usually bilingual. They speak Hungarian just as well as their own language and use both as required. In other words both their mother tongue and Hungarian are native languages to them.

Most of the people who are not a part of these minorities speak one or more of the four major languages. The languages of the national minorities are only spoken by very few non-natives. Even Romanian and Slovak, for which we received relatively high values, are only spoken by people who lived or live together with the national minorities or who emigrated from one of the neighbouring countries and settled in Hungary. This is not surprising since with the exception or the schools maintained for the national minorities Romanian, Slovak (Czech) and the Yugoslav languages are not taught either in primary or secondary school in Hungary and there is no large number of university of language courses in these subjects either. Gipsy is not taught at all. Nobody bothers to study the gipsy language with the exception of a few resolute philologists.

There are many ways of learning a language. The following table shows the sources of education used to study a language by the people who attended school under the present system of education, i.e. the 18 to 29 age group.

The contribution made by the different forms of education to the knowledge of languages
(in percentage of people who speak other languages)

	German	English	French	Russian
primary school	0	0	0	100.0
secondary school	55.5	60.2	73.6	86.9
college, university	16.2	39.7	10.5	42.7
publically organized language courses	14.5	20.5	5.2	7.2
private lessons	39.3	34.9	15.7	2.9
other ways (residence abroad, correspondence, auto-didactic methods etc.)	19.6	19.3	10.5	10.8
N (all people between 18 and 29 who speak foreign languages) =	**108**	**78**	**18**	**137**

(The total is naturally not 100 per cent since a person may have used as much as a combination of all four forms listed to study the same language.)

In the case of all the three "Eastern" languages secondary education seems to be the largest source of knowledge.

The role of private lessons is also considerable in the case of German and English, but relatively few people took advantage of the opportunities offered by the publically organized language courses, especially those who speak French. Knowledge of Russian is based mainly on school studies. Only a few of those who speak Russian studied in language courses and hardly any attended private lessons. A relatively large proportion of those speaking German and English used opportunities of a non-educational character. To avoid any misunderstanding, we must call attention to the fact that the above table does not show the effectiveness of the different sources. It only reflects the ratio of the foreign language speaking people who used one or another (or more) of these sources in learning the language.

National minorities and their knowledge of their own language

A break-down of native speakers and non-native speakers according to age indicates trends that will definitely exert an influence on the future development of the foreign language communication culture.

The following table shows that the number of native speakers declines in direct ratio to the decline in the age level for all the languages spoken by the national minorities. This leads to the conclusion that the number of people speaking a foreign language as their mother tongue is declining and a considerable reduction is to be expected as the older generations die out. The Yugoslav peoples maintain their linguistic traditions to the greatest degree while the Romanian and Slovak nationalities pay the least attention to preserving their language. The question that apart from natural ethnic assimilation, what political, economic and cultural factors lie behind this decline in the knowledge of languages of the national minorities should be the subject of a separate study.

The knowledge of non-native speakers on the whole shows a growth parallel to the decline in age, and this is quite natural, since the lower the age-group the higher the level of education. The number one component of the rise is the significant growth in the number of people who speak Russian but the gradual advance in the level of English is also worth noting. The knowledge of French has remained on approximately the same level in all the age-groups, while in the case of German a small decline can be observed among the younger generations as compared to the older population. This means that in the future the number of people who speak English and especially Russian will grow and the number of German speakers will stagnate or perhaps decline slightly with the general rise in the education level.

The ratio of people speaking foreign languages in break-down by age and languages

(in percentage of the total number of people in the different age-groups)

native speakers	18—29	30—39	40—49	50—69	over 60	all the age-groups
German	0.75	0.86	2.49	3.65	5.24	**2.37**
Romanian	0.08	0.10	0.28	0.57	0.61	**0.32**
Slovak	0.31	0.76	0.83	1.20	2.12	**1.16**
Yugoslav	0.35	0.56	0.39	1.02	1.22	**0.75**
total of minority languages	1.49	2.28	3.89	6.44	9.19	**4.56**
non-native speakers	**18—29**	**30—39**	**40—49**	**50—59**	**over 60**	**all the age-groups**
German	4.77	4.94	3.50	5.65	5.52	5.44
English	3.44	2.04	1.86	0.97	1.22	1.99
French	0.79	0.76	0.62	0.68	0.89	0.80
Russian	6.05	4.03	1.75	1.48	0.89	2.98
total of major languages	11.95	11.29	7.35	6.87	6.32	**8.75**
total number in age-groups	2263	1960	1767	1750	2130	9870

Speaking languages and watching foreign television programmes

The foreign language mass media can play an important part in strengthening the foreign language communication culture (the cultures of the national minorities) and in stimulating the study of languages. Therefore it is worth examining whether there is any relationship between the audience levels of foreign television programmes that can be received in Hungary and the knowledge of languages.

The map on page 163 shows which areas of Hungary can receive the television programmes of the neighbouring countries with an acceptable picture and sound quality, using an average television set.

The areas where the Austrian, Czechoslovak, Romanian and Yugoslav television programmes can be received coincide to a considerable extent, although by no means completely, with the areas where the national minorities who potentially understand the language of the programme actually live.

Our data show that 29.1 per cent of the viewers over 18 regularly or occasionally watch foreign programmes (N = 8901). This amounts to 26.3 per cent of the Hungarian adult population (N = 9861).

The ratio of people who speak foreign languages is higher among the foreign television programme audience than that of the people who do not speak a foreign language.

The audience level of foreign television programmes

	in percentage of the viewers of foreign programmes	in percentage of total viewers
watch Austrian TV	33.4	9.7
watch Czechoslovak TV	32.9	9.6
watch Soviet TV	3.1	0.9
watch Romanian TV	13.8	4.0
watch Yugoslav TV	35.5	10.3
total foreign programme audience	2594	
total television audience	8902	

Knowledge of languages and the foreign televison programme audience

	speak foreign language	do not speak any foreign language
watch foreign programmes	34.3	28.3
do not watch foreign programmes	65.7	71.7
total	100.0	100.0
N =	1342	7477

This table in itself does not prove the point since the differences are not particularly great. The following data, however, clearly show the relationship between the knowledge of languages and the "consumption" of foreign television programmes.

What foreign television broadcasts are watched by people who speak the languages of the neighbouring countries?

	speak German	speak Russian	speak Romanian	sepak Slovak	speak some Yugoslav language
watch Austrian TV	41.9	31.3	7.1	31.2	16.6
watch Czechoslovak TV	33.0	48.1	28.5	81.2	2.7
watch Soviet TV	0.4	2.8	14.3	0	0
watch Romanian TV	6.3	15.1	0	9.3	2.7
watch Yugoslav TV	32.2	43.3	50.0	6.2	83.3
number of people speaking some foreign language and watching foreign programmes	**236**	**106**	**14**	**32**	**36**

(The total is not 100 per cent since anyone knowing any of the foreign languages listed here may receive and watch more than one foreign television programme.)

The table shows that those who speak German principally watch Austrian television, those who speak Slovak concentrate on Czechoslovak TV, and the people speaking some Yugoslav language watch the programmes broadcast by Yugoslav television. The data clearly show that people who speak German, Slovak or a Yugoslav language and watch foreign programmes, mainly watch the programmes broadcast in the language they speak. An objection which can be raised is that the Austrian, Czechoslovakian and Yugoslav television appear to be just as popular or even more popular among the people who do not speak these languages well or do not speak any foreign language. To counter this we must examine the ratio of people who do not understand the language of the programmes and yet watch Austrian, Czechoslovak and/or Yugoslav television.

The audience level of Austrian television for people who speak and do not speak German
(in percentages)

	speak German	do not speak German
watch Austrian television	11.3	7.7
do not watch Austrian television	88.7	92.3
total	100.0	100.0
N =	785	8965

The audience level of Czechoslovak television for people who speak and do not speak Slovak
(in percentages)

	speak Slovak	do not speak Slovak
watch Slovak television	21.7	7.0
do not watch Slovak television	78.3	92.0
total	100.0	100.0
N =	120	9630

The audience level of Yugoslav television for people who speak and do not speak Yugoslav languages

(in percentages)

	speak some Yugoslav language	do not speak any Yugoslav language
watch Yugoslav television	36.6	7.6
do not watch Yugoslav television	63.4	92.4
total	100.0	100.0
N =	82	9750

These tables show that people who speak German, and principally the Yugoslav languages and Slovak watch the programmes broadcast by Austrian, Yugoslav and Czechoslovak television to a higher ratio than do people who do not speak these languages. The data proves the close connection between the knowledge of these languages and watching foreign television programmes broadcast in the languages they know in the case of people speaking German, the Yugoslav languages and Slovak. We can add that since in Hungary the Yugoslav languages and Slovak are spoken only by people who speak them as a native language we can be sure that people who watch Yugoslav and Slovak television are from these ethnic groups. Finally, to avoid any misunderstanding we must point out that the above fact cannot allow us to draw the conclusion that people who speak these languages only or mainly watch this or that foreign programme because they want to practice or reinforce their knowledge of the given language. The chance to practice or learn a language is undoubtedly attractive but this can hardly serve as explanation for this choice between watching foreign or Hungarian broadcasts.

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