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STEVAN MAJSTOROVIĆ

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# NATIONALITIES AND FOREIGN CULTURAL EXCHANGE\*

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The majority of European states are not nationally homogeneous. Some encompass entire nations, while in others one or more nations predominate and the rest are encompassed only in part. These parts of other nations are designated as "national minorities" — an insufficiently precise term. The qualifying term "minority" is usually understood to refer to a part of one nation whose main body lives in a neighbouring state. The expression "national minority" would be acceptable, in this sense, if its meaning ended here. However, this is not the case, — it becomes easily transformed in internal usage and under the influence of current political, cultural and other circumstances. In everyday lingo it designates not a minority with respect to a nation from without, to a home-nation, but rather a dominating nation (or nations) from within, a minority with respect to other nations within the framework of the same state.

All of this implicates far-reaching political and legal consequences, for it presupposes that the minority has fewer rights than the majority, which is in contradiction to national and citizenship equality. Thus, in everyday practical life, this very expression takes on the meaning of a moment which, like the Sword of Damocles,

\* Mr. O. Klineberg, in his article for this special issue of „KULTURA“, expressed the desire to learn the extent to which the principles of international cultural cooperation are implemented in multinational Yugoslavia's internal cultural development.

This article is dedicated to Mr. Klineberg in the hope that it presents enough data on Yugoslavia's international and internal policy as well as on cultural practice and the current and often very specific dilemmas confronting Yugoslav cultural development. (S. M.)

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hangs over the heads of the "minority", as a constant warning that they are not at home, but visiting. Such a quantitative criterion for determining the rank of a nation within a state is not only politically conservative, but also occasionally very relative. Namely, in certain cases, the "minority" represents a majority within local frameworks, while in others it represents a majority even with respect to certain other nations and within the framework of the state. Local communities in Vojvodina, Yugoslavia are an example of the first case, in which the Hungarian, Slovak or Ruthenian populations predominate over the Serbian and the "minority" outnumbers the "majority". An example of the second case are the Albanians and Montenegrins, where the former are more than twice as numerous as the latter, who have the status of a nation. As we can see, the term national minority has many weak points.

To avoid any ambivalence in definition, the Yugoslav political system has substituted "nationality" for "minority". It thus preserves the distinction between "nation" — which presupposes a whole or the largest part of a nation, and "nationality" — which indicates a part of a nation and does not, or should not, presuppose qualitative differences in position and rights. While recognizing the need for finding a more adequate expression than that of "national minority", many, and especially linguists, are dissatisfied with this new term, but for lack of a better one they accept it and today it is widely used. (Linguists draw attention to the fact that "nationality" indicates membership in a nation and that this new meaning disagrees with the one that already exists).

Here the emphasis is on the problem of terminology, while we are interested in the role played by "national minorities" in international cultural cooperation. As is known, throughout history the minorities were most often the reason for revindication and they determined the concept of culture. The idea of a national state came into constant conflict in nationally mixed regions with the fact that the population is a conglomerate and that even the most ideally drawn boundary lines would not be able to encompass within the framework of the state all the members of one nation. Wars and the political changes which they brought with them, and which presupposed new boundary lines, represented only a temporary solution which lasted as long as there was a balance of power. As soon as it disintegrated, a revision was made leading to new revindications. Looked at from a historical perspective, all of this marked a *circulus vitiosus* and the growing knowledge

that a lasting solution cannot be found within the conceptual framework of a national state. This would be possible within such a framework only by resettling the population which, in some cases, would mean hundreds of thousands and even several million people. On the basis of similar attempts made in recent history one can easily imagine all the property-law, political and cultural consequences this would have, even were such a forced solution technically possible. (And of course, if the disputing nations could at all agree as to whose minority should be resettled and where). And there still remains the basic issue in this problem: the right of people to live where their ancestors settled down, in their homesteads, and resettlement as a brutal violation of their elementary rights.

The extent to which the concept of culture was subjugated to this kind of national policy is similarly known. One need only cast a glance at history textbooks from neighbouring states to see how much they differ in historical interpretations of the same events. With all their differences, they are written on the basis of the same principle: to ascribe history's more glorious moments, if possible, to their own nation and her darker ones to their neighbour. The same role was played by interpretations of cultural history in which, as a rule, the cultural achievements of neighbouring countries were disparaged, if not ignored, while one's own were magnified. The "contribution" made by cultural strategists was in some respects even more destructive than that made by politicians and militarists, for the line they took in piloting mind and feelings leaves, as is known, more lasting psychological effects. It is equally common knowledge that cultural climate is largely built according to the model of the national state and, obsessed with national exclusiveness, the extent to which it thwarted sober and critical reinvestigation of one's own history and a rational and objective assessment of cultural values. Such a climate offered this kind of attitude greater opportunities for being condemned as defeatism than for being accepted as an outlook on the problem.

When certain forms of cooperation and cultural solidarity were indeed preserved in nationally mixed regions, that was because the population succeeded in transcending the narrowness and exclusiveness of a nationalistic culture and policy through the experiences of a life lived together and a similarity of interests. What could be learned firsthand of the life and customs of their neighbours did not easily fit in with the a priori conclusions. On the contrary, the opportunities offered by a common physical

environment to personally verify what was suggested were much more often for reasons of approbation than negation or rejection.

There was also occasion, however, for minorities to adopt, if sometimes unwillingly, a defensive form of nationalism and a corresponding strategy in which they shut themselves within their own spiritual framework. This is a normal reaction to attempts of assimilation by the culture of the dominating nation which, for its part, is motivated by nationalism. (As a rule, nationalism justifies itself by claims of others' nationalism and its exclusiveness by the exclusiveness of others' nationalism, which results in the fact that in spite of their adversities, nationalisms incite each other). This leads to a situation in which the cultures of neighbouring nations take opposite sides and are pressured into adding their weapons to a parallel struggle between two nationalisms, — the weapons of language, tradition, national traits, religion, — in short, anything which will emphasize differences and divergence.

As we have mentioned, an awareness of the elements of a common social fate developed parallel to this course of events. Hence, the spontaneous birth of a cultural concept which presupposes all the qualities of life and all the wealth of the expressive possibilities of an environment, regardless of language, tradition or national traits. This concept did not exclude the national element, nor insist on a supranational synthesis, but quite to the contrary affirmed national cultural traits by giving quite a different meaning to differences than that given them by a nationalist approach: the meaning of common spiritual wealth and a contribution to the fund of values which belongs to all. It was this concept, which negated national exclusiveness, that affirmed national cultural characteristics and gave them a true humanistic meaning. The idea of cultural confrontation and separation was thus refuted in everyday life by its antithesis — the idea of cooperation and cultural penetration, of mutual stimulation, of the variety of expressive and creative forms of a common life together.

The above is a brief description of Yugoslavia's long-standing historical experience which in a 1959 document on the position of national minorities is condensed into a metaphor which says that contrary to the past, in which they were the source of discord, "now the nationalities should represent bridges of cooperation and friendship with neighbouring nations". The question arises as to how this new role given the nationalities is realized and how up-to-date

it is, the extent to which it represents a factor in cooperation with neighbouring states today. Several nationalities inhabit Yugoslavia, differing to quite a degree in number and level of development in their material and spiritual cultures. They all enjoy the same political status and right to free cultural and economic development, as guaranteed by the federal and republican constitutions. Their function as "bridges of cooperation with neighbouring states", however, is not the same because, as we know, this does not depend only on Yugoslavia but rather on political relations with neighbouring states. We have chosen the Hungarian nationality as a case study, for it best answers the function of a "bridge" and in terms of nationality population in Yugoslavia, is only second in number (about 500,000) to the Albanians (over a million). The Hungarian nationality lives, for the most part, in the Republic of Serbia, in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, while smaller groups inhabit the republics of Croatia and Slovenia. In this paper we shall speak only of the Hungarians in Vojvodina and their role in cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and neighbouring Hungary.

\* Let us mention some data on cultural institutions and activities. The national theatre in Subotica has an adjunct Hungarian drama theatre and there are Hungarian amateur theatres and culture and arts societies scattered throughout Vojvodina. Radio Novi Sad broadcasts programmes in the languages of the nationalities, mostly in Hungarian. Over ten years ago, the Philosophy Faculty in Novi Sad founded a department of Hungarian language and literature and four years ago the Hungarian Institute was founded, also in Novi Sad, for the study of the cultural and political history of Vojvodina Hungarians. Some of the papers published by the Institute include a certain number of comparative studies of Serbian and Hungarian literary history.

"Forum", the publishing house of Vojvodina Hungarians, has in the period from the war to 1971, put out 220 books from the literatures of the Yugoslav nations (classic and modern), out of which 72 were published by publishers in Hungary, 60 were joint Yugoslav-Hungarian efforts, and 88 were Yugoslav. The first two groups dealt with works from the Macedonian, Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian regions and the third mostly with works by Hungarian writers in Yugoslavia.

During the same time period, 155 works of Hungarian literature were published in the languages of the Yugoslav nations. Almost half of that number is divided between two writers: Ferenc Molnár (compulsory school reading in most of the Yugoslav republics) and Layosz Zilahy (a selection based on commercial and not literary value). In comparison, literary value is the criterion for works selected from Yugoslav literature for translation into Hungarian. Yugoslavia's leading writers, headed by Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić and Miroslav Krleža have had their complete works presented to the Hungarian public. In addition, certain collections have been

Even without the Hungarian nationality, cultural contacts between Yugoslavia and Hungary would be intensive and developed, for good neighbourly relations and the spirit of cooperation reign between two countries with socialist systems. However, both cultural and arts institutions of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia do greatly contribute to the evolution of such relations. We could close this brief survey with the statement that the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina affirms and in a wider scope fulfills the function of a "bridge" between two neighbours. However, this still leaves many problems and current dilemmas, the nature of which is highly specific.

Developing in a buffer-zone between two nations and two state organisms, the culture of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia finds itself between two extremes which threaten to degrade it creatively and reduce it to provincial proportions, between a) the danger of remaining on the margins of the home-nation's culture and developing in its shadow, and b) that of developing in cultural isolation within the Yugoslav socio-cultural range, remaining a kind of cultural reservation. Linking two cultures and giving them the opportunity of more intensive mutual communication, it cannot reduce its role, as we have seen, to that of a "bridge" alone and a simple mediator and communication channel. It has its own needs for association and communication, for an opening towards both cultures and towards the world cultural scene, as well as for these cultures' interest in it — the need to affirm its own creative values with the

published in Hungarian: An Anthology of Modern Yugoslav Lyrics, Modern Yugoslav Prose, An Anthology of Modern Yugoslav Story Writers and A History of the Literatures of the Yugoslav Nations. Thanks to "Forum", today practically all books and publications put out in neighbouring Hungary are available to the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia. In 1971, "Forum" alone imported 4.213 books from Hungary, 22 journals for subscribers and open sale. Conversely, last year "forum" exported Yugoslav books to Hungary to the value of 360,000 dollars, including journals and periodicals.

A daily newspaper in Hungarian appears in Novi Sad, as well as a trade union paper, two children's and youth papers, two literary journals and a weekly paper. A literary journal and, as of not long ago, a journal for social affairs, science and culture are issued in Subotica. In addition, there is a certain number of specialized papers and journals (religious, health, craft, apiarian and so on), all in the Hungarian language. Exchange guest appearances by amateur groups and professional ensembles are everyday occurrences. The Hungarian Drama Theatre in Subotica is more and more engaging actors and directors from Budapest theatres and the Segedin theatre. The following may serve to illustrate this spirit of cooperation: in preparing a new edition of the Hungarian encyclopedia, the publishers in Hungary sent all the lexical material dealing with Yugoslavia to Novi Sad for Yugoslav experts to critically assess and correct it.

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help of and through these cultures in whose cooperation and mutual penetration it contributes. In other words, the condition for its progress and survival is openness towards both the culture of the home-nation and that of the community in which it lives, — an active rather than a passive transmissive role.

This is newly gained knowledge and above all the result of Yugoslavia's internal development, followed by the growth of political relations between the two countries which after a crisis period between 1948 and 1955, re-established good-neighbourly relations to their mutual interest. Wide-spread decentralization and the spread of self-managing relations brought to a head the need for a cultural transformation of local communities and led to their wide political, economic and cultural opening towards Yugoslavia as a whole, together with no less an intensive opening of Yugoslavia towards the world. A decade and a half ago, the development outlooks (including cultural) for the nationalities could be seen almost solely in a political solution and a traditionalist view of the problem of nationalities primarily as a problem of relations between the "majority" and the "minority". Now, when the rights of the minority are indisputable and when social development has succeeded in making them feel increasingly less the contradiction of their position, the emotional tear between national and cultural-historical bonds with the home-nation

Broad-based cooperation also operates in the field of education. A wide-spread exchange of textbooks exists through the Provincial Institute for the Publication of Textbooks in Novi Sad and on the basis of an agreement reached by Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on joint publications of textbooks for the needs of the nationalities. Grammar, language and exact sciences textbooks are imported from Hungary and put into immediate circulation while others are amended in Yugoslavia and adapted to the needs of Yugoslav teaching programmes (history textbooks, etc.). Handbook manuals for teachers are imported from Hungary while Serbo-Croatian language textbooks for the needs of Serbian and Croatian nationality schools in Hungary are proof-read and presented to the expert eye of Yugoslav linguistic specialists, at the request of educational organs in Hungary.

In recent years several hundred young members of the Hungarian nationality registered at the University of Budapest and other schools of higher learning in Hungary at their own initiative and in agreement with the Provincial Secretariat for Education in Novi Sad. Others have been sent by cultural and other institutions in Vojvodina for schooling, mostly to the Academy for Theatre and Film in Budapest. In addition to all of this, one must not forget joint scholarly gatherings, various cultural events on both sides, regular or periodical contact between cultural workers, etc. And finally, one more piece of data: cultural development and that of the educational institutions of the nationalities is financed by a special fund subsidized by all of the Yugoslav republics, thereby implementing the principle of socialist solidarity and national equality.

and feelings of loyalty and social solidarity with the environment in which it lives, one suddenly realizes that this is not the end of the story and that qualitatively new problems arise.

Self-management opens up prospects for settling and gradually over-coming the dual nature of the minority being. The older generations of Vojvodina Hungarians recognized either a loyal citizen or a good Hungarian, the presumption being that a loyal citizen can never be a good Hungarian, and vice versa. By emphasizing the role of the personality and bringing to the fore its social position as well as its position within associated work, self-management diminishes this dichotomy, for every citizen, regardless of nationality, race or creed, has the right, and is socially encouraged, to be the propagator of economic, cultural and political initiatives, to directly interpret and realize his own interests and become a social personality. He has these rights under self-management not because of membership in some national, religious or regional groupation, but by virtue of the fact that he takes part in the work process. The source of his rights, duties and obligations is associated work in which he has an equal role and which guarantees a material basis for his rights. And so thanks to self-management and associated work, the "minority", like many in the "majority", (who enjoy no privileges or special treatment in associated work), feel at home. This is a qualitatively new social position which does not abolish the national element, but which takes the social basis from national exclusiveness, which had previously afforded it its basic incitements.

Self-management also facilitates the settling of dilemmas which were most often silently ignored because of their delicate nature, — dilemmas on the character of the culture of the nationalities. Even those who at all costs refuse to even think of assimilating or negating the national character of a nationality culture were far more ready to ascribe specific traits to the cultures, erstwhile stressing the meaning of the socio-cultural environment, than they were to recognize them as an organic part of the culture of the home-nation. Today, Yugoslav political documents very clearly stress that the cultures of the nationalities are an organic part of the culture of the home-nation. This is not merely a theoretical stand taken on the part of Yugoslav self-managing socialism, but practice daily confirmed by the breadth and intensity of cultural and scientific contacts with the home-nation. In this respect, boundary lines have completely lost their traditional meaning — not only are there tens of millions of crossings annually between Hungary and Yugoslavia in

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both directions, but cultural contacts are being maintained in corresponding proportions. Educated in the old school, members of the older generations on both sides would be amazed by what is going on — they find it difficult to understand that this is a qualitatively new situation and that in self-managing relations the distinction between “minority” and “majority” is gradually losing its former meaning.

Seven years ago in a Hungarian high school in a town in Vojvodina, some Hungarian parents asked a parent — teachers meeting to improve the teaching of the Serbo-Croatian language. Had it been ten years earlier, they would have insisted, in general consensus and as an expression of national equality, on teaching to be done solely in Hungarian. This question was decisive for political and cultural equality, for a citizen's feeling of dignity as a member of a nationality. Now insistence on the purely political and demonstrative aspect and their bounds can turn into its opposite, for at a time when communication has become a condition for personal progress, narrowing it down to the language of the nationality objectively represents an attempt to be turned into a cultural and economic reservation. A qualitatively new problem has arisen with a practical nature: if the children of the “minority” do not learn Serbo-Croatian well, apart from their mother tongue, then with all their political equality and right to free cultural development they are in fact unequal, for they cannot compete on the same footing with the “majority” for entry into higher schools of learning and academies in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Niš and other cultural centres. They are restricted in choosing their career and perspectives of personal development and referred only to the local communities in Vojvodina which are inhabited by Hungarians. (Similarly, the children of the “majority”, like themselves, are handicapped and restricted in their development unless they learn a foreign language, which is no longer only a national problem but one of communication, which in our very open and interconnected world of today has become increasingly actual as a problem!) The entire Yugoslav work market should be open and accessible to young Hungarian representatives, and language should not be an obstacle.

Socio-economic development and the perspectives for personal improvement influence the members of nationalities to learn a language which allows them free movement within the scope of Yugoslavia. Learning a non-mother tongue for both the “minority” and the “majority” has become a matter of free choice as a result of co-habitation and on the basis of

well-understood personal interests. The fact that state regulations and rules no longer allow the educational authorities to enforce the compulsory learning of a "majority" language and that the children and parents are given a free choice, so that the language of the "majority" becomes practically an optional subject, is a qualitatively new moment in cultural and educational policy. Conversely, the children of the "majority" group can, again optionally, learn the language of the "minority" group spoken in their environment, if they find it to be in their interest. Today over 15,000 Serbian children in Vojvodina learn Hungarian, because languages are equal in bilingual regions and a good knowledge of Serbian and the language of the nationality is a condition for getting the most important positions. (The official language in administration and courts in bilingual regions is Serbian and the language of the respective nationality).

Social and economic changes, industrialization, which was intensive in Yugoslavia during the past two decades, and urbanization as a companion of the former (during this period the village to town population ratio changed from 79% versus 21% to 49% versus 51%) led to radical transformations, one of the results of which is the fact that cultural isolation is increasingly less possible. The social and professional structure of the population is greatly altered, largely increasing social mobility. The processes of transformation exert a constant pressure in favour of a cultural and economic opening in regions and local areas, so that gradually the traditional cultural reservation is disappearing, while for years it stubbornly held on and was not limited by language barriers nor a particular cultural tradition, but by a reservation entitled: the province! Under the influence of new systems of communication, the evolution of education, progress in transport and traffic and an expanded material base, a parallel, often spontaneous and unnoticed process is occurring of general de-provincialization, while polycentrism is growingly replacing one-time cultural monocentrism. The cultures of the nationalities are ascribed an increasingly important place in this new and budding cultural system, not only as a link between two cultures, but above all because of their creative contribution and meaning.

Communication is the pass-word of the modern world and cultural self-affirmation, but it must be two-way communication, which is the only stimulative kind. The situation is such, however, that in spite of all the changes, the nationalities, including here the Hungarians, are still more the subjects of influence than the propagators

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of any cultural influence. This is not their problem alone, but also that of the cultural and social environment in which they live and that of their home-nations. Everything points to the fact that communication between the cultures of nationalities and Yugoslav cultures is far more intensive and all-encompassing on the part of the latter towards the former than vice versa. Even today, the Yugoslav public is insufficiently informed of the cultural achievements of Vojvodina Hungarians, who in the past few years have left behind their provincialism in many things, especially literature, and who meet if not surpass the Yugoslav average! (The prize-winning novel awarded by "Forum" in Novi Sad falls, in the opinion of experts, among the best literary achievements in Yugoslavia last year, but there is still no action being proposed to translate it into Serbo-Croatian). As we can see, the problem does not stop here, with the culture of the nationalities stepping out and beyond the provincial and folkloric framework and opening up. It is equally important that on both sides of the "bridge", in the home-nation as well as in the socio-cultural environment in which it develops, it not be treated as provincial or merely functioning as a mechanical mediator, but rather that they open up towards the nationalities! (Many are of the opinion that the problem of the "minority" is in fact that of the "majority", i. e. that it is more a question of the "majority" opening up towards the "minority" than the other way round.)

This disproportion in cultural communication is partially characteristic of relations between Hungarian culture and that of the Yugoslav nations. Let us take publishing as an illustration: although the Hungarian reading public has been introduced to all the more important works of Yugoslav writers, largely thanks to the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia, a rare few of the leading modern Hungarian writers are known to the Yugoslav public (László Németh, Gyula Ijes).

This is above all a result of the political situation in the 1948—1955 time period, when the Yugoslav cultural public felt the political pressure of Stalinism and concentrated efforts to isolate the country politically, economically and culturally, — then Yugoslavia turned towards Central Europe and developed with it broad-based cultural contacts. This opening to the West initiated the wide-spread influence of modern literary, theatre, music and arts trends in Yugoslavia, all of which were in conflict with Stalin's political and aesthetic dogmatism. At that time, Hungary was still shut off to such influences, while Yugoslavia, in an attempt to avoid political involvement or pressure, kept

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herself cut off from the cultural influences of the East. Consequently, cultural relations with neighbouring Hungary were narrowed down to the barest official frameworks.

The political situation at this time was reflected directly on the cultural development of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia, as well. Although weak, the traditional contact with the cultural trends of the home-nation is never totally broken, but mutual relations do suffer important qualitative changes. Instead of tracing the traditional cultural trends and aesthetic ideas of the national nucleus, the culture of the Hungarian nationality evolved with a critical and even negating stand towards them. The young intelligentsia of the Hungarian nationality is formed, is Europeanized and becomes wide open to the world cultural scene. It is formed in the Yugoslav cultural and political climate, whose fundamental constituent element is rejection of the dogma of and intellectual resistance to Stalinism and a quest for new creative and expressive forms and possibilities.

In the arts, it develops a special sensitivity for the modern, expressing its relentless stand on any form of subordinating art to aesthetic schemes and political and ideological pragmatism. Sticking to the national forms and traditions of language and its lexical fund, this young generation of creative beings draws the original line of cultural development which is no longer on the margins of the culture of the home-nation, but rather on its own and specific forms. What is more, having developed in relative isolation from other cultural spheres and the influence of world cultural centres, people from the world of art in the home-nation, with the partial help of the culture of the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina, maintained contact with European and world cultural events. The most prominent members of this cultural trend among the Vojvodina Hungarians for the first time had the feeling during this period of stepping out beyond the marginal framework.

Parallel to this, qualitative changes appear with respect to the other side of the "bridge" — in the sphere of Yugoslav culture. That same younger generation of intellectuals and artists refuses to live and work in cultural isolation, in a reservation for its nationality. Its intellectual orientation and creative achievements more and more impose themselves on the Yugoslav cultural public and join up with Yugoslav cultural centres. Although a major break-through has still not been made, this young Hungarian generation from Vojvodina is increasingly present

in the artistic, literary and musical life of the country. Some of them do not even need to use Yugoslavia for communicating with the world cultural scene, but do so directly.

The intelligentsia of the Hungarian nationality was once by and large composed of writers — progressive political ideas were spread almost exclusively through poetry and prose. Since the regions inhabited by the Hungarian nationality, like the whole of Vojvodina, are almost solely agricultural and without any developed tradition of industry, the professional intelligentsia existed only in rare cases and the scientific and scholarly, not at all. The political instability of the region (frequent demands for territorial changes and political tension) for its part affected the orientation adopted in schooling and forming the intelligentsia. Young people from the nationalities, and even from the "majority" groups favoured the "exact" professions (doctor, engineer, technician), which depend little or not at all on political changes, over the humanistic disciplines. Parents geared their children's education towards the practical professions out of caution for "one never knows in this region what will be tomorrow" and "how long the present political division will last".

This led, among other things, to a large deficit in certain professions (lawyers, teachers of history, language and the other humanistic disciplines), typical for this region among both the "majority" groups and even more the "minorities". For the first time in history, the Hungarian nationality now has its own specialized cadres from all the disciplines: historians, philologists, sociologists, lawyers, historians of literature, technologists and aestheticians. Intellectual thought no longer circulates only through literary channels, but also through specialized and scientific publications, studies and research. This new situation in their intellectual life is illustrated by the fact that the first science and higher educational institutions of Vojvodina Hungarians are successfully functioning (the Hungarian Institute, the department of Hungarian language and literature at the Philosophy Faculty in Novi Sad) and by the journal for social theory in Subotica, etc. (The greatest authority in the field of the hydrological sciences in Yugoslavia, for example, is Engineer J. Volf, a Vojvodina Hungarian.) Already now this new intelligentsia has become an important factor in forming the cultural climate, social consciousness and the evolution of social thought among the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina.

These qualitative changes provoke a process of differentiation in the cultural orientation of attitudes towards both the culture of the home-

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-nation, and the Yugoslav cultural scene. In the former, attitudes oscillate between two extremes: towards total autonomy with respect to the culture of the home-nation and towards complete dependency on it and acceptance of a marginal role. With respect to the Yugoslav cultural sphere, this differentiation also wavers between two extremes: conservative isolationism and assimilation. The first is manifested as a psychological resistance to accepting creative competition and the reinvestigation of artistic values which bear with them an opening and exit to the wider Yugoslav cultural scene. As much as it may be justified by theoretical reasons, such an attitude is in essence conservative and is basically motivated by a rejection of such selectiveness in favour of a more closed cultural environment and atmosphere and isolationism as a means for preserving the positions attained and for protecting the spirit of mediocrity.

Although in the first years following the war the artistic output of the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina was relatively modest and, with some exceptions, mostly in traditional folkloric and regional forms and meanings now the situation has greatly altered. The emphasis on two-way communication in the immediate post-war period aimed first and foremost at cultural and political effects, and manifested formal cultural equality and a sentimental and protective attitude by the "majority" group towards the "minorities". In comparison, the present insistence on two-way communication aims at mutual cultural interest and is artistically motivated. If the Yugoslav cultural public remains insufficiently acquainted with the cultural achievements of the Hungarian nationality and if this original cultural trend is insufficiently integrated into Yugoslav cultural trends, then that is not only to the detriment of the culture of the Hungarian nationality, but also to that of the entire Yugoslav cultural scene which is deprived of an impulse and misses the chance to include this form in its fund of national expressive forms and their active circulation.

An awareness is growing in this young intelligentsia of socially belonging to the Yugoslav cultural scene and of the possibilities of its own original contribution to Yugoslav culture. This new sensation is reflected in poetry and prose but also in the practical demand for redefining the role of the most important cultural and arts institutions. The strict and traditional division of institutions on a national basis seems to have been transcended by the feeling that central provincial institutions should not only be Serbian, exclusively "state" or "majority" institutions, but also that they should contribute

to the cultural evolution of the nationalities and encompass them as well. This demand has already partially begun to be put into effect — Matica Srpska of Novi Sad, the oldest Serbian cultural institution in Vojvodina for the first time this year presented a programme for publishing the best works of literature from the nationalities in Vojvodina, thereby parting from tradition and contributing to and encouraging the cultural development of the nationalities. (For its part, the Republic of Serbia, through the Republican Fund for Culture in Belgrade, as of last year has been stimulating the Serbian translation of works in the languages of the nationalities through special premiums. It is important to note here that the reasons for this are not of a political or representative but rather and above all of a cultural nature. They testify to the fact that today it is possible to publish such a selection and present it to the Yugoslav public without selective compromises and on the basis of true value criteria. There are proposals for other cultural institutions which are, in status, institutions covering the entire Province to reorient and train their cadres to serve the needs of the nationalities and express their cultural interests in the future, (the Vojvodina Museum, the Philosophy Faculty which, for the present, only has a department for Hungarian language and literature and not for those of other nationalities, and so on).

This critical approach has been recently reflected in the demand for transcending local frameworks in favour of wider territorial inter-association, for the integration of cultural trends which would also encompass the cultures of the nationalities. It is also being insisted that regions be brought into cultural contact where previous such contact was weak, with other regions of Serbia (Kosovo, southern Serbia) as well as other republics for example. At the same time, proposals can be heard from cultural workers in the Hungarian nationality for cultural contact with neighbouring Hungary, which is primarily effected through the Hungarian nationality, to be expanded and encompass direct cultural links with the cultures of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities (Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian, Albanian) and the Hungarian. A cultural worker of Hungarian nationality metaphorically expressed this demand as a need for opening "new border crossings" for cultural traffic "which is becoming increasingly important for both countries".

Another demand in this connection is for the introduction of new forms of organization in the cultural life of the nationalities, a demand for so-called "vertical links". All cultural insti-

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tutions and organizations in Vojvodina are joined in a common organization, both the Serbian and the cultural institutions of the nationalities. It is now being asserted that the cultures of the nationalities and their institutions have reached such a level of development that the specific problems confronting them require special cultural organizations which would be able to satisfy their new needs. This refers especially to the need for functional and operative association which would contribute to greater effectiveness in existing cultural initiatives. As a result of historical circumstances and the predominantly rural nature of Vojvodina, the fact that the number of professional cultural and arts institutions is small, folklore and various forms of cultural amateurism are still the prevailing forms of cultural activity. Amateur cultural societies of the nationalities, which in the past few years have greatly expanded their activity, have many problems in common, from professionally training their cadres to dramatic literature, props, furnishings etc. These are all reasons for posing the question of reorganization and vertical association and coordination.

On the other hand, there are those who are of the opinion that this manner of association is out-dated and that it would mean a step backwards if it were to be adopted. According to this way of thinking, association on a territorial basis, directly in the regions in which both the "majority" and the "minority" live, which has already been justified and affirmed in self-managing practice and which is an expression of national equality, should now be desintegrated. This is a principle of association based on common interests and not on separating national groupations. According to this opinion, vertical association would play into the hands of conservative political forces on both sides which are obsessed with a nationalistic approach. This discussion is still in progress. However, regardless of its final conclusions (and we should mention that the vertical association of cultural institutions of the nationalities in other republics already exists in practice) it is already obvious that the organization of cultural life will have to be altered and adapted to new relations and a qualitatively new situation. In addition, let us note that the problem of communication is simultaneously posed here as a problem of communication and operative association of cultural initiatives within the frameworks of the nationalities themselves, and not merely as a problem of their communication with their home-nation or other Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

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So far we have been speaking of the position of the culture of the Hungarian nationality and the qualitative changes in their relations with the culture of their home-nation as a socio-cultural environment in which it develops. Let us add certain practical aspects to this — the difficulties encountered in cultural cooperation between the two countries in which the Hungarian nationality plays the role of a bridge and a mediator. Some of these difficulties result from the fact that apart from common socialist platforms there are important differences in both Hungary and Yugoslavia in the organization of cultural life; in the forms of financing cultural institutions and the method of decision-making and conceptualizing cultural policy as well as in ideological and aesthetic criteria. The organization of cultural life in Yugoslavia is to a great extent decentralized — from the Federation, republics, province and communes to individual institutions. This however, is not the case with Yugoslavia's northern neighbour where cultural life is to quite a degree centralized which means that the partners for exchange are often not at the same level nor enjoy the same privileges. However, these are not insurmountable difficulties and provoke only a partial deceleration in cultural traffic and do not restrict it.

Other difficulties arise from various regulations, procedures in verifying diplomas, problems with currency in transferring and paying out honorariums for artists, fiscal regulations, etc. A particularly current problem is posed by the notarization of diplomas, because members of the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina who recently have been registering in higher schools of learning in Hungary with increasing frequency, encounter employment difficulties in Yugoslavia, because there is no agreement between the two countries regulating this matter. Other problems are of a specific nature and are much more connected to cultural circumstances in the country than they are to international cultural cooperation. (The organization and financing of cultural activities and the institutions of the nationalities, for example, vary, because of market restrictions, from regimes used by other cultural institutions because they are almost entirely subsidized by funds from the social community, and thus have certain repercussions on the relationship between cultural institutions of the nationalities and other cultural institutions).

The cultural development of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia (like that of other nationalities) was very dynamic over the past

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ten years. The Hungarian nationality has completely and successfully realized its role as a bridge of understanding between two neighbouring countries. Thanks to such a role, which was of mutual value, Hungarian libraries in Vojvodina are enriched by new stocks of books and schools and scientific institutions by textbooks and special studies. (Needless to say, this is only a quantitative summary, and one should mention its qualitative side: the fact that the spiritual cultural effects have been highly beneficial). Yet another positive outcome of the existence and functioning of such a bridge is the fact that the cultures of the Yugoslav nations are widely and to an enviable degree presented to the cultural public in Hungary, which is the result of well-thought-out work and intellectual effort on the part of cultural workers and artists of the Hungarian nationality in Vojvodina. However, the problem of communicating the culture of the Hungarian nationality cannot be reduced to only its foreign political aspect, to the problem of cultural communication between neighbouring states through the mediation of the Hungarian nationality. It is much more complex and includes the problem of communication for the Hungarian nationality and its association with all cultures in Yugoslavia as well as with the culture of its home-nation and with world cultural trends.

Although not directly connected, the function of a bridge for cooperation and understanding between two neighbouring countries executed by the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia is a complementary function opposite to the one executed by the Yugoslav nationalities in Hungary: the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. They are not as numerous as the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia, but their cultural circles could in the same way present Hungarian culture to the Yugoslav public as do cultural circles in the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia project Yugoslav culture towards Yugoslavia's northern neighbour. However, reciprocity and total complimentarianness in this function would be a completely unreal expectation, for these nationalities were drastically deprived and obstructed in development during Horthy's nationalism between the two wars while during the period of Stalin's pressure on Yugoslavia, they were systematically restricted and politically and culturally suppressed. As a result they still have not reached the level of cultural development or formed their own intelligentsia to the degree and the level of the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia. Consequently, one cannot expect this bridge at least for now, to have even near the poten-

tial power in cultural traffic enjoyed by the Hungarian nationality bridge in Yugoslavia. This is an important factor of two-way communication which will not be totally or completely reciprocal until the Yugoslav nationalities in Hungary can accept their side of the role as a bridge and make a greater contribution to cooperation and cultural permeation between the two neighbouring countries. They should be systematically encouraged in this sense by both the cultural public in Hungary and the home-nation in Yugoslavia.

Realizing its role as a bridge between two countries and the cultures of neighbouring nations, the Hungarian nationality in Yugoslavia is affirming its own creative achievements. Its development in the past ten years has been marked by a qualitative leap which is of historical importance; it is more and more stressing the characteristics of an independent and equal cultural course as its regional traits within frameworks which transcend the borders of the Yugoslav — Hungarian lines.

(Translated from the Serbo-Croat by KRISTINA ZORIĆ)