

**JÁNOS KÁDÁR**

**FOR  
A SOCIALIST  
HUNGARY**

**SPEECHES, ARTICLES, INTERVIEWS  
1968-1972**

**CORVINA PRESS**

TITLE OF THE HUNGARIAN ORIGINAL:

A SZOCIALISTA MAGYARORSZÁGÉRT

BESZÉDEK ÉS CIKKEK 1968-1972

KOSSUTH KIADÓ, 1972

TRANSLATED BY GYULA GULYÁS AND KÁROLY RAVASZ

TRANSLATION REVISED BY URSULA McLEAN

COVER AND JACKET DESIGN BY ISTVÁN FARAGÓ

© JÁNOS KÁDÁR, 1974

PRINTED IN HUNGARY, 1974  
ZRÍNYI PRINTING HOUSE, BUDAPEST

## CONTENTS

SPEECH MADE AT THE CULTURAL HOME OF THE IKARUS BODY AND VEHICLE FACTORY, BUDAPEST ( <i>February 1968</i> )	7
SPEECH OF GREETINGS TO THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN BUDAPEST ( <i>February 1968</i> )	33
ADDRESS TO THE 4TH CONGRESS OF THE PATRIOTIC PEOPLE'S FRONT ( <i>April 1968</i> )	40
SPEECH AT THE SOVIET-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY IN MOSCOW ( <i>July 1968</i> )	57
SPEECH AT A MEETING IN THE BUDAPEST HOSIERY MILL ( <i>October 1968</i> )	72
SPEECH TO THE FESTIVE SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY ( <i>November 1968</i> )	87
SPEECH MADE AT THE COMBINED SESSION OF THE GYŐR-SOPRON COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE AND COUNCIL ( <i>February 1969</i> )	111
SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES ( <i>June 1969</i> )	121
CONVERSATION WITH GIUSEPPE BOFFA, SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "L'UNITÀ", THE CENTRAL DAILY PAPER OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ( <i>November 1969</i> )	139
PRESS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE ( <i>December 1969</i> )	156
A FEW QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S YOUTH POLICY (CONTRIBUTION AT A SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE) ( <i>February 1970</i> )	167
SOCIALISM—THE MAIN TREND OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT ( <i>April 1970</i> )	177
SPEECH AT THE FESTIVE SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF HUNGARY'S LIBERATION ( <i>April 1970</i> )	194
LENIN—THE THEORETICIAN AND ORGANIZER OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION ( <i>April 1970</i> )	216



ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE CORRESPONDENT OF "NEW AGE", NEWSPAPER OF THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (November 1970) .....	229
REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (November 1970) .....	238
CLOSING SPEECH TO THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (November 1970) .....	303
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE UPI CORRESPONDENT, R. C. LONGWORTH (March 1971) .....	317
CONTRIBUTION TO THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU (April 1971) .....	334
CONTRIBUTION AT A MEETING OF ACTIVIST JOURNALISTS (November 1971) .....	339
SPEECH AT THE HUNGARIAN-RUMANIAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY IN BUCHAREST (February 1972) .....	363
SPEECH AT THE APRIL 1972 SESSION OF THE NATIONAL AS- SEMBLY (April 1972) .....	374
REPLY TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS (May 1972) .....	394

**SPEECH MADE AT THE CULTURAL HOME  
OF THE IKARUS BODY  
AND VEHICLE FACTORY (BUDAPEST)**

*February 1968*

Honoured assembly, Comrades,

I am happy that in accordance with the programme of our visit to your factory, we now have an opportunity to speak at this mass meeting on matters of common interest, on questions which are engaging our Central Committee and government.

First of all, some brief words about the internal political situation, the state of our country. The internal relations of the Hungarian People's Republic are in good trim: our country, our society, is at work implementing a commonly determined, clear programme; there is broad agreement in our homeland. Our Party's 9th Congress formulated the aims and tasks most precisely and fully. At that Congress our Party took up the major problems of our society one by one, analysed the situation, put the new tasks on the agenda and marked out the road and the manner in which we want to approach our aims.

The Congress was followed by many important social events: the trade union congress, the congresses of the youth league, the co-operative farms and the general co-operatives, and many other events important to our society. We have already concluded a full economic year since the Party Congress. So on the basis of a many-sided and established judgement of values we can now say that the Hungarian working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the working people, have accepted approved, and support with deeds the aims of our Party's 9th Congress, both as regards the main question, the complete building of a socialist society, and various other questions as well.

This agreement, as I said, is firmly established. However, we are not in the habit of entertaining illusions, nor of deluding others. When we say that in Hungary the political situation and the atmosphere is good, we are also very well aware that not everyone takes the same attitude to the main objective, the main efforts. In Hun-

gary, besides people of political awareness and socialist convictions, there are also some, though not in large numbers, who do not agree with even the fundamental objective, the building of a socialist society. Then there are others, the kind of people who are indifferent to what kind of social system there is. But I dare to say that even persons who have a hostile attitude towards socialism have become resigned to the fact that socialism is being built in Hungary, for there is nothing they can do about it.

Among people who do not harbour hostile sentiments, but do not regard the building of a socialist society as their life's aim, one hears opinions—you are aware of this too—such as: all right, so long as it does not get any worse than at present. If we take this into consideration too, and appraise the situation realistically, we can still say with full justification that the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, in other words, the overwhelming majority of our people do not simply acknowledge the fundamental socialist aims of our Party and our people, but support them with devotion, honour, enthusiasm and deeds.

This is the situation in the country. This is reflected, for example, in the report on the realization of the 1967 national economic plan, which was made public two days ago, and in which the work, effort and impetus of socialist construction is expressed in figures as well.

You know the main data relating to the fulfilment of last year's plan. I might add that the Hungarian People's Republic can quote these figures with assurance and confidence before the whole world. After all, the Hungarian national economy underwent extensive development last year. As we know, industrial production went up by 9 per cent and productivity in industry by 7 per cent in one year. We reached our target for agricultural production and, considering the particularly difficult circumstances and the not very favourable weather, this is a great achievement. In the same year, 1967, we invested 15 per cent more than in the previous year. Consumption also went up by an adequate amount and the money income of the population in 1967 was 7 per cent higher than in the previous year. Retail trade increased by 10 per cent, real wages per head of population by 3–3.5 per cent and real income per head

of population by 6 per cent. To sum up, the overall fulfilment of the plan, taking into account the difficulties which are frankly admitted in the report, is such that we can state in the final analysis: we fulfilled the plan better and to a greater extent than originally envisaged.

The fulfilment of the 1967 plan in the IKARUS Factory fits into the general development well. The IKARUS Factory overfulfilled its target by 0.6 per cent, and delivered 2.5 per cent more products for export than planned. If we take into consideration that last year life in the factory was burdened with great difficulties, which you overcame, then we can only speak of this result with appreciation. For certain changes have taken place in the orders, while at the same time there were also hitches in the deliveries needed for production here. Meanwhile reconstruction went on, or more precisely: large-scale development and investment work was carried out. Taking all this into consideration, for my part I value these achievements highly and welcome them.

I believe there were many provisos for overcoming the difficulties and in the meantime fulfilling the plan. Among them: the management of the factory had to show its mettle and define the assignments soundly. At the same time this effective work required an attitude of exceptional self-respect—as we say nowadays—to the tasks in hand from broad sections of the workers. This achievement, naturally, embodies the work of the party organization and the trade union, the work of the KISZ (Young Communist League), of the factory management and of the people directly guiding production. It embodies the vigour and exemplary achievement of the socialist emulation of the organized workers who took part in the socialist brigades, the brigades competing to achieve the title "socialist" and in the work brigades in general.

In my opinion, great political and moral results have found birth in this process. When I was here on a visit six years ago, one of the many reasons—and not the least—which brought me was that here at the IKARUS Factory the socialist brigade movement got going with great vitality. The six years that have passed have shown that the promising beginning of that time was no flash in the pan, but was the lasting and firm determination of the workers. Because



since then three workshops, and indeed one of the office sections too, have won the title "socialist". Taken as a whole we may say that the factory reflects very well and accurately the socialist work which is in general going on in the country. Life at this factory, here on the outskirts of the capital, is otherwise such that one might almost say that the entire population is represented in it: workers, working people commuting from the countryside, even whole families, and intellectuals live and work here; and the nature of their work and its results are similar to those of the whole country. Please allow me to congratulate you with all my heart on your results for the year 1967 on my own behalf and on behalf of the Central Committee.

The IKARUS Factory is an important plant not only for the Ministry of the Metallurgical and Engineering Industry, but also for the Hungarian national economy as a whole. This follows from the size of the plant, from the character of the products and from the fact that quite a considerable part of these products, some 80 per cent, are manufactured for export. The importance of the plant also derives from the plan for large-scale development envisaged in the government resolution on the IKARUS Factory. At present the plant—taking the entire premises into account—employs about 7,000 people, but long-term ideas envisage the growth of the plant, a large-scale increase in production and the development of technology. As you surely know and have often discussed, more than two years ago the government took a decision that more than 800 million forints must be invested in developing the factory. During the past two years investments worth some 300 million forints have already been put through, and it is envisaged that the rest will also be completed in the course of the current Five Year Plan. If we carry out this development, then I believe it will be proper to say that IKARUS is Europe's largest, or at least one of its largest, bus factories. This already indicates the enormous national economic importance of this plant and the work going on here.

Comrades in the party organization and at workshop conferences are now dealing more and more with the plan for 1968. The fact that the total value of production will have to be increased by more than 42 per cent within one year, that productivity will have to be

raised by 20 per cent and meanwhile the capital construction will also have to be continued—that is, that you will have to produce and build simultaneously—means, frankly speaking, that you will have no easy task.

There are many young people in the plant, but there are also some older workers to be found who must in particular have experienced that, generally speaking, the tasks do not become easier but always tend to grow more complex and difficult. In some way or other this belongs to the facts of life. Naturally this should not be interpreted mechanically, i.e. the varying problems are not identical in character. When we spoke with the comrades, managers and workers here six years ago, the central issue then was: what will happen to the factory? is there any need for it at all? what will it manufacture? whom will it produce for? how will it produce? and from what? In other words, it was a question of the life and future of the factory. Well, just compare the problems of six years ago with those of today when the future of the factory is assured for decades to come and its development is provided for. These are not mere words, but it is already materializing in part.

I should like to recommend to the workers of the IKARUS Factory what I once recommended to the scientists of the Academy of Sciences. I asked them to look to the future and let their thoughts soar to the skies, but at the same time to keep an eye on what was at their feet as well, because if they did not, they would stumble and would not reach either the heights or the distances. I should like to ask the large and powerful working collective of the IKARUS Factory—always keeping in mind the great and long-term goals of development—to devote suitable attention to tasks of today. If I might be allowed to use a commonplace expression, let them put their shoulder to the 1968 plan and, if possible, let them fulfil it even better than the way they carried through the 1967 plan. However difficult the tasks for 1968 may seem, every condition needed for their solution is there. As far as I am concerned I am confident that you will also fulfil the 1968 plan with honour. On my part I wish you good health and much success in the implementation of the 1968 plan.

Naturally certain conditions are necessary for this work. When

I said that you have the required conditions at your disposal, I was thinking first of all of the conditions within the plant. But naturally other conditions are also needed for work, conditions which are not dependent on the factory community, the managers and the workers at the plant. These conditions for your work also exist and will be at hand. Again I am thinking of our greater community, first of all the Hungarian People's Republic, and its general situation and state. Because this is the primary background for your work also. The position of the Hungarian People's Republic is encouraging, and in my opinion, the future too looks heartening. We have firm working-class power, we have a goal which the Hungarian working people have adopted: the further and complete building of a socialist society; and in pursuing these socialist aims our society is united. As the result of our struggle and work up to now we command better conditions for future work than in years past.

As far as the most important basis of our society and our political and cultural life is concerned, the economic foundation, the work and struggle up to now have yielded the following result: with the socialist transformation of agriculture, a socialist national economy with a unified structure has come into being. On this socialist foundation, the socialist national economy is growing and will become stronger from year to year. Therefore when we review the present tasks and sigh: "Good heavens, will there never be less of these tasks?"—we must recall that everything which is already behind us, and the battles we have fought, have born fruit and are helping us in our further struggles. I do not wish to go back too far. Let us recall what a great job it was at the end of 1956 and the beginning of 1957 to defend and consolidate working-class power; and then the next task, the socialist transformation of agriculture, was also not easy from a political point of view, when our two basic labouring classes argued a little on whether co-operative farms should be created now or later. This obviously came up and had its effect here too at the IKARUS Factory. Because people also talked about it among themselves.

It is not a simple process for the individual to arrive at approval for a socialist society. Among journalists and people working in

similar political spheres comparisons are sometimes made which show that in the bourgeois countries addresses at meetings, speeches in parliament and even newspaper articles are "shorter" than in our country. I thought about this and arrived at the conclusion that to a certain extent this is inevitable. For bourgeois society to survive and indeed even to strengthen a certain amount of the system of concepts already in people's heads is completely sufficient. Such is idealist ideology. Such is the primitive concept of life, such is the wolf-like attitude of that society: "root hog, or die, I have no concern for either God or man, so long as I have mine!" Such concepts exist in capitalist society. People instinctively gather this point of view bit by bit, starting at an early age, and of course through the way in which the capitalist system is taught in the schools, churches and various other places. Our task, however, is not so simple, unfortunately. We have to do double or triple work. First we have to pull the weeds which are bad and cannot be used when living and working in a socialist society out of the thinking of a great many people; and then we have to implant and strengthen new ideas. We beg for forbearance, this is why our speeches and articles are "longer". Because the ideologists and political spokesmen of capitalism operate quite easily. One does not like to offend the sentiments of religious-minded people, because we have no need of this, but if we were able to preach and say: "this dictatorship of the proletariat and this whole socialism has been ordained by God, one has to do what fate has decreed, forever, amen", then our speeches would also be shorter.

Every politically conscious person in the Party, and in our society in general, has done great work in past years. Great results were born of this and today these are helping us too. Because when one does not have to argue with people any more about what kind of system we should have, and whether there should be socialism in agriculture, or individual private farming, then the fundamental questions of society are already in order and we can better concentrate our attention on matters which everyday life brings with it and which we also have to solve.

Undoubtedly there are people in the great capitalist countries who scorn Hungary: what is that poor little country capering about,



what has she been able, and what does she want, to achieve? But we who are living our own lives remember what a great many things our people accomplished in two decades. That they created life out of the ruins of the war, smashed capitalism, built a new, socialist social order, defended it in a separate, by no means easy battle, then laid the foundations of socialism and are now working on building it completely. We may rightfully say, therefore, that our people are both strong and rich, not only in spiritual matters, but they also have material foundations the like of which the Hungarian people never possessed in their history.

Not long ago I met a capitalist diplomat. He said to me: do you claim that if there had been no socialist system here, then there would have been no development? I replied: I do not claim that if there had not been some change in the system they would not have managed somehow to scrape away the war ruins, production would not have got started, and the country would not have developed to some extent. But, I said, what our people have achieved is, first of all, that they have become free, then that everyone has bread, if he wants to work for it; that what lawfully belongs to him cannot be taken away from him; that he has human dignity; that as far as material development is concerned, in twenty years we made up the handicap of at least eighty years which the capitalist system caused in Hungary—this could not have been accomplished in Hungary by any kind of old régime. For this a new system, a socialist system, was needed.

Such, therefore, are our general conditions—good and encouraging. Naturally we need to continue both the work of building, and the ideological and political work. Because it is very rare that a person who thinks in a Marxist manner ceases to be a Marxist, but before someone becomes a person thinking in a Marxist way, a man with socialist concepts and morals, great work is required. And it requires even greater work to turn all the sons and daughters of a whole people into such persons. In order to achieve this we must continue our efforts. We cannot say that we have already convinced our people of everything. Life raises its own problems every day, and for this reason the work of political enlightenment and conviction must be continued unceasingly and constantly. Here

at the IKARUS almost everyone is studying, which is very correct and good, because development always brings with it new things, which must be familiarized and mastered.

You are familiar with the Party's general policy and you are well aware that the Party spares no effort whatever in working to strengthen our régime and power, and to make our socialist aims understood. In our Party, in the mass organizations and even in state and economic leadership it is a general rule that people must be persuaded. Power must be ensured and defended with arms—this belongs to the nature of power. At certain times it is not the propaganda brigades, but the armed forces which have the say. But for the solution of the everyday problems of construction and development bayonets are not the suitable weapons. Here the only help is that the aims must be good and the masses must agree with them and support them of their own accord. It is possible to fight for power with force of arms, power can be defended with force of arms, but it is not possible to build a new society with force of arms. This is our general standpoint, this is our endeavour and whoever examines our domestic policy carefully knows very well that this marks the course of our action.

On the question of defending power and socialism, our standpoint is unequivocal: we will not allow force to be used against our régime, against socialism. When someone has acted with force, we have responded with force. When they understood this to be our rule and abandoned force, then we too stopped using force at once. To ask questions, to argue, to bring up ideas, to carry on a genuine exchange of views—not only do we not oppose this, but indeed we want and actually need it. In keeping with the needs of our society we want people who reason and express their ideas, because from this meeting of ideas must emerge what is indispensable for action: decision.

Well-considered, proper decisions are forged in debate. But we also have a fundamental rule with respect to debate. We debate various matters at suitable forums, but when we have concluded the debate and we say: comrades, so we have reached agreement, then we must no longer debate, but work, let us put into effect what we agreed upon. If we do not debate at the outset and do not

clarify just what we want, but simply declare that this and that is the assignment, come on, get to work—then people will debate during work and at the expense of work. But if we have debated and have reached a decision on the basis of this about what we are going to do, then let us not start to debate again instead of working; this is not our method. Everything has its time and place. Whether we go this way or that, it is customary to ask before we start out, but once we have started off in the direction decided, then let us go that way.

Our people's democratic régime, working-class power, is firm. We have our socialist aim, we have our own method of work which we have evolved and which has proved useful and effective. It still remains valid that whoever opposes our socialist aims, and stands athwart the road of our people and society, will fare badly. Our Party is a humane party, it represents the most humane realm of ideas, communism. This idea, the Party, our struggle and our work are for the working man. This same humanism makes it obligatory for us not to tolerate any kind of hostile intrigues against the régime. From either within or without the country.

We will continue the policy which people in our country already know well and approve. Communists have a difficult and heavy responsibility: they have to lead. In addition, they have to work and stand their ground in an exemplary manner. The building of a socialist society is a joint task. This is not dependent on party membership, because the completely built socialist society will not be a society of party members, but a socialist society of working people, therefore, everyone will have to share in its construction. Our political endeavour at home, as the Congress also proclaimed, is to regard everyone, every force, and every person who plays his or her part, with honest intentions, in the building of socialism as our friend and ally, and we wish to work in sound understanding with them. This is the essence of our policy.

The Patriotic People's Front is to hold its congress in the near future. In our country the people's front movement is the social framework for the political rallying and cohesion of communists and non-party people. We are convinced that if this People's Front Congress is fruitful, then it will further strengthen our patriotic

popular unity—I would not even know how to describe it otherwise—which is being realized through socialist aims.

A question of primary importance for communists is how we judge people. Some comrades have said that in this matter our new leadership is very liberal. We are not liberal, we are communists, therefore we maintain that it is impossible to judge a man only on the basis of papers, whoever he may be, because paper is one thing and a human being is another. For the very reason that I am a communist I believe that people can be changed, i.e. that ideology influences people, and if ten years ago someone was not a supporter of the socialist idea, he could have changed in ten years. A man must not be pictured as a little statue carved out of stone, but really as a living man, whose thinking changes and develops.

You are aware that when the struggle for power was going on we had some problems with certain writers, artists, church and non-church people. But just look at and reflect on how and in what manner we settled these matters. I dare to claim that this was done scrupulously and in a communist manner. Here is the latest Christmas issue of *Népszabadság*. If you will recall, in addition to Comrade Zoltán Komócsin, Gyula Illyés and Péter Veres wrote articles in this issue and György Lukács gave a statement. As I read the issue it occurred to me that eleven years ago it would have been difficult to imagine that they would appear together in one issue of the Party's official paper.

In this I see something that warms me to the bottom of my heart. It means that our Party really has learned its politics. It has learned what we most profoundly needed in 1956, how to distinguish, to differentiate between people. Because the matter is not simply that someone is now on this side, and the other person is on the opposite side, and then either we wipe out those on the other side to the last man, or they exterminate us. Here the front was more complex and difficult. Fortunately our Party was able to differentiate to split the people who were temporarily gathered on the other side, and was able to lead those whose real place was on this side to the right road. This is the content of genuine communist work. Because if I say of a person that he is conservative, reactionary and anti-social, and with this I have concluded my social work, this



can be finished in a moment. But sometimes it may happen that we have to take pains for years on end to guide someone on the road to us. And anyone who does this kind of work may be pleased over the strength of our ideas and the correctness of our Party's policy. Because he will be able to perceive that people do indeed develop and, except for a few incorrigibles, they ultimately find their place. This is the work we must continue to do in future too both on a national and a local scale. This is real communist work. In this sphere too, the party organizations here locally, the youth league, the trade union and the rest of the social organizations are working in the right way and getting suitable results. From the standpoint of fulfilling the 1968 plan and realizing the more long-term plans, this is just as necessary and important as, for example, the development of technological processes in the various workshops.

Our goals are such that every person with honest sentiments and straightforward ideas can concur with them. We hold it our responsibility to rally these forces, organize them, guide them in the proper direction and work in sound harmony with them. And when somebody works honestly and decently we appreciate it. Because if we again began to deal with who did what nine, fourteen or twenty-seven years ago, we would return to our own past. Over a certain period of time we have established a clear situation and we have concluded this battle, so now let everyone adapt to matters in a new manner. As he adapts, so will our attitude to him; we will deal with him on the basis of his merits or his sins. We must hold ourselves to this.

Speaking of the situation within the country I would like to touch upon the reform of economic management and some of its social bearings. According to the Central Committee the reform was necessary and it was time that we decided to carry it out. Naturally the reform of economic management brings many new problems with it for both managers and workers. The first thing I should like to emphasize is: the Central Committee did not work out and approve the reform merely to devise something and make people's lives more difficult. The reform of economic management had to be worked out and decided upon because our social develop-

ment and the development of our national economy had reached a point where we had to make up our mind; either we want to continue ensuring a suitable impetus and pace for socialist construction and economic development, or we get bogged down and must reconcile ourselves to bumping ahead by one or two per cent annually. Because the essence of the reform is that we shall try to work with greater energy and get further ahead. This is valid in every respect, for the development of the means of production, of the national economy and of living standards. Because these go hand in hand: if one rises or increases only slightly, then the others can only rise or grow to a slight extent also. If we are able to advance at a proper rate in the development of the means of production and the relations of production, then and only then will we be able to make progress in consumption and in the living standards also.

One of the aims of the economic reform is to introduce method in the sphere of production prices which until now had been determined by government decisions and decrees. Earlier production prices were determined on the basis of criteria which were then perhaps acceptable and necessary. But the prices were not on a par with actual values, and they did not express them precisely. Consequently there were factories and there were products which were nominally lucrative, but in reality, if their prices were calculated according to their real value, they were unprofitable. And conversely: there were some factories and certain products that were listed as unprofitable according to the old price; on the other hand, at prices corresponding to their real value it would turn out that they were lucrative. A certain length of time will be needed and years will pass before production prices come close to the true and actual values, but this will have to happen. If we hand out equally and to everyone the task of producing more quickly, at lower cost and in greater quantity, but the recipients are not in the same circumstances, then not everyone will be able to fulfil his task.

To mention only a single question—and this also affects people in the IKARUS Factory—there is, for example, the question of three shifts. Anyone who knows women working in the textile mills is well aware that for twenty years this has been an everyday issue

there. Women in the textile mills say: why must it be a law that we women in the textile factories have to work three shifts? We understand that the means of production must be better exploited, but why is it a law that my husband and my grown-up son in the metal factory opposite work only two shifts? Are the means of production there not just as expensive as they are in our mill? Should they not be striving to make better use of the newly purchased means of production there?

The reason I mention this is to make it clearer that this economic reform does not by any means only consist of how much soap and bacon cost, but it touches on the substance of the economy as a whole. It is very important that we learn to work with the means of production intelligently and effectively. This is generally done, of course, but in many spheres and in many places this has not yet been achieved and this situation is intolerable. One comrade related that in the old days among the horses hitched to a coach was a trace horse, which had to do no more than to look good, because the other four pulled the coach. A country, a people cannot live in such a manner that four pull, and one just handsomely waves its mane and in the meantime eats a double portion of oats. This is not just, things will not work out this way.

The consuming aspect of the question also belongs here. We claim that man in a socialist society should receive a bonus as producer, and not as consumer. Because the very same person who goes into the factory to work is both producer and consumer. We ought to see to it that this man should receive more for his work than up to now, he should earn better, but naturally in proportion to the work done. In this respect, if possible, he should be given an even greater incentive as producer, and not as consumer. Because it is a strange thing when we give him an incentive as a consumer; a quite extreme example of this was that six years ago a man went into the tavern and asked for two decilitres of wine and received a state bonus of 80 fillérs for consuming it. For the wine-drinker paid less for the wine than what it cost the state. And as far as production is concerned, people do not all work the same way. If someone's earnings are largely the same whether he works more or less, then he would have to be Saint Paul at least to work

himself to exhaustion, in spite of it all. Because if it is all the same how a person works and there is no tangible result of his good work in the form of earnings, then after a time he loses his ambition.

What we would like to achieve in production is that if someone does not work he should not earn, but if he works a great deal he should also earn a great deal, but in consumption what we want to attain is that if someone consumes something he should also be the one to pay for it. This essential aspiration is also embodied in the reform. Of course, this cannot be done in one day, nor even five years, at least fifteen years will be needed for this, but the prices which have extended far beyond the real values must be adjusted gradually at all events, because this too belongs to equitable distribution.

The question is connected with the socialist morality scale of values too.

Our society needs a set of standards which will hold someone who likes to run beside the coach as a side horse suitably close to the coach, on the basis of "you must pull too, brother". And whoever does not pull after all should be ordered out of the queue when distribution takes place because he was not there when we queued up for work either.

With the help of the economic reform we wish to make better approach to our fundamental aims. Naturally this will not happen from one day to the next, and in a certain sense a little patience is also needed. Waiting for a miracle will not get us anywhere, but time will have to be allowed for everything, so that matters develop suitably and our plans are realized.

A few years ago I visited a co-operative farm beside the Ipoly river, the Rákóczi Ferenc Co-operative Farm, where we talked about all kinds of questions freely and quite informally. One of the brigade leaders asked: "When will we become equal citizens?" "What do you mean?" I asked. He replied that they wanted the same kind of old-age pensions as the industrial workers. He put forward the old arguments which others usually produce at such times, that a worker goes into the factory, does his work, and when his time is up he goes home and has no more worries about anything else; but we, the peasants, he said, work from dawn to dusk.



I told him that years ago we were out here to campaign in favour of co-operative farming. Then you people told us that you agreed with socialism, that you would definitely organize a co-operative farm, but not right away, let's wait a bit. We acknowledged that then; what could we do, we had to wait. Now I say this, I replied, you people will have the same kind of retirement pension system as the workers in industry, only wait a bit, a little time will be needed, because the conditions for everything have to be created.

Nowadays many workers raise the point that our government, our Central Committee, somehow seems to be quite pro-peasant and favour the peasants in this and that. I should like to reply to this: from this point of view our Central Committee is not on the side of a single social stratum; we concern ourselves with the problems of society, of working people equally. Otherwise we are indeed endeavouring to stimulate agriculture by various means so that we should make some progress there too, which would be in the interests of our working class and the entire people. If things were really so fine in the countryside, the way some city people presume it is, then the people in the villages would not be migrating to the cities, but the other way around.

Careful regulations are needed to show certain classes and sections of workers how they should, and how they should not live. There must be proper proportions in this respect. The most important thing we would very much like to achieve is that every working person earns in accordance with the work he does, that is, in keeping with the principles of a socialist wage system. Another thing: in the sphere of consumption we also require regulations that will provide guarantees that communism will not be realized too early, and not just for a few. We shall realize communism for all of society. In the meantime we have to establish an intermediate order that will be in conformity with the character and stage of development of our socialist society. Until then, let there be free benefits only where the interests of society require it, and at the same time conditions make it possible. Such are infant welfare, public health, and so on.

It was with such thoughts that we embarked on this great undertaking. We are certain that we will attain the aims of the economic

reform in the same way as those of the earlier great battles, the struggle for power and the goals of the socialist transformation of agriculture. We still have a great deal of work to do for this, but this too will be realized.

The transition, the conditions under which we entered the reform of economic management, were favourable. Since we were unable to set for ourselves the goal of creating an entirely new situation in production from 1 January, immediately and at once, we were intent on entering the first reform year without any hitches either in the sphere of production or consumption. And this was how it was. By now the first experiences are to hand, and I am able to inform you that both in respect of production and consumption completely normal conditions prevail within the country. What is more, the 1968 plans are a bit better established now on a national average than earlier. The quantity of orders placed is no worse than in other years. The enterprises have prepared themselves with materials also, and production results correspond to the normal and customary increases. The same is true of consumption. The defeatists and the hostile tried to frighten us by claiming that because of the reform there would be unemployment. What the "unemployment" is like in this factory, you know well. Plans of campaign have to be drawn up, so to speak, to decide where to get manpower. But even if this is not general, throughout the country the tendency is for a shortage rather than a surplus of labour. Therefore the foundation of the reform was sound and the transition proved to be healthy.

As far as public morale is concerned, the situation is one of calmness and confidence. One sign of this is the fact that in the first two weeks of January savings accounts grew by 361 million forints, which is three times as big an increase as a year earlier. There was a certain amount of growth then too, but now it has trebled. I can add that at present there are somewhat more reserves of the most important goods in the country than at the start of other years. The conditions, therefore, which are necessary for work are assured.

Speaking of the international situation, again I do not wish to go into detail. In general, people interpret and handle these questions

properly. Our domestic and international aims are in harmony. Just as we are working for socialism and democracy and prosperity for the people here at home, similarly we are fighting for the same thing in our international endeavours. We regard the promotion of progress and the prevention of world war as our most important international aims. We desire peace, this is what we have worked for up to now, and this is what we will work for in the future.

The international position of the Hungarian People's Republic is firm, her prestige has increased, she enjoys international respect and her words have weight. This is due in part to our correct standpoint on foreign policy, and also to the results achieved by the Hungarian people, and the fact that we are a socialist country, part of a tremendous force.

As far as the imperialists are concerned, everyone knows that in one thing and another they have also grown wiser. They do not do the same things in the same way as they did fifty years ago. In those days they still declared outright that they wanted war. Now the imperialists say that they want peace, but in the meantime their minds are concerned with war. Or take another example. I have read Horthy's memoirs. The title of one chapter was "Counter-revolution". See how much the world has turned, I said, in 1919 they called the counter-revolution openly by its name. But in 1956 they already described it as a revolution. Because the imperialists can no longer openly reveal that they are fomenting a counter-revolution, they are compelled to say it is a revolution. However, today all thinking people throughout the world know that the meaning of words is given by deeds and facts, for this reason they also know what the truth is in this question.

At the present time the grave provocation which the largest imperialist power, the United States, is committing and continuing in Vietnam, is in the focus of international attention. This imperialist aggression seriously endangers the peace of mankind. Not long ago a war was unleashed in the Middle East. Most recently fresh tension arose over an American spy ship which the coastal defence forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea captured. The imperialists, while always referring sanctimoniously to international law and representing themselves as the angels of peace,

sent a spy vessel to Korean waters. The Koreans captured her and took her into their harbour. At first the United States was outraged. Now the captain of the captured ship and the government of the United States also have confessed that she was a spy ship equipped with instruments which had the task of carrying on espionage against the socialist countries. The ship lurked in Korean coastal waters in order to create a war provocation. Now a discussion and a tussle are going on to decide what the future of the vessel will be. You still no doubt remember the U-2 spy plane, which was shot down over the Soviet Union. And what did the United States do then? First it denied the existence of the spy plane, claiming that such a thing never existed now or in the past. For they did not yet know in the United States that the pilot was alive and had been captured. When the world learned this too, the Americans then declared that for "purposes of self-defence" they had the right to spy over the territory of every country. Yet they obviously have no right to do this, and international conflicts stem from just such unlawful acts. The standpoint of the socialist countries that they will allow no one to encroach upon their sovereignty and territorial integrity is justified. The imperialists are endangering the peace and calm of mankind with their provocations, and they are bringing great suffering to various peoples with their local wars. The whole world is indignant over what the American aggressors have been doing to the Vietnamese people for years. Large-scale massacres and killing and every possible kind of imaginable villainy are being committed there.

As far as the Hungarian People's Republic is concerned, we desire to serve the interests of peace and progress in every way possible through our international policy. Therefore we are working and acting in very strong solidarity with the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries, the socialist nations, in the sphere of foreign policy too. We are in solidarity with the Vietnamese people, the anti-imperialist Arab peoples of the Middle East, as well as the recently provoked people and government of Korea. We oppose and condemn imperialist aggression.

Our aim and endeavour is that the peoples should live in peace. We are striving for friendship among the peoples. And with the



capitalist countries we desire peaceful co-existence. The victory of communism does not call for the instrument of war, because communism will win in accordance with the laws of social development, as the result of the class struggle of the exploited. Our foreign policy is also suited to this. We support every international action which promotes the easing of tension, peaceful co-existence, and in general rapprochement, friendship and co-operation among nations.

For this reason we also support the proposal which the Soviet government has now submitted in Geneva that suitable treaties and regulations be worked out to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Actually only the Soviet Union and the United States possess significant stockpiles of such weapons, and Great Britain to a smaller degree. However, if twenty or more countries have nuclear weapons, then naturally the danger will grow that a conflict might break out in which atomic weapons will also be used. In that case the horrible destruction of mankind and civilization would follow. Naturally we oppose this and we are fighting against such a danger.

Our foreign policy, just as our policy in general, is a principled one; it is a communist policy based on Marxist analysis, which expresses the well-considered interests of our people. The great historic experience of our Party and our people finds expression in this policy. A fundamental element of this policy is that one is free to think of the destiny of both our own and other peoples only with great responsibility. This firm and steadfast principled policy is a long-term one, because only in this manner can a people establish their own future securely.

Hungary is a faithful friend and ally of the Soviet Union. For us this is a question of principle, and not a matter for a season. When we tell someone that we are their ally we mean this literally. Because if I am a friend today and not tomorrow, if today I am an ally and tomorrow act the contrary, then nobody will want the alliance and friendship of such a country, because it cannot be counted on or relied on in critical times. That the Hungarian People's Republic is the friend, good ally and comrade-in-arms of the Soviet Union, the Warsaw Treaty countries and the rest of the socialist countries

is very good for us and fits in with our outlook and the interests of our people. This friendship and alliance ensures the future of our people.

It was often mentioned in the past that the Hungarian people, who have lived in this part of Europe for more than a thousand years, have no relatives whatever near by. Here is this poor small people, all alone, orphaned, wedged in amongst Slavs, Germans, Latins, Turks and other peoples. As far as blood relations are concerned, this is actually true, as the Hungarians have blood ties only with the Finns, the Estonians and a few other small peoples. But these are not the only kind of relationships in the world.

When we use the expression: the fraternal Soviet people, the fraternal Vietnamese people, and so on, naturally the intelligent, thinking person knows that this is not a blood relationship but a relationship based on common ideas, on solidarity and a community of interests. This is a true fraternal relationship. We know that in the family, in human personal relationships it is not always the ties between blood brothers or sisters which are the best. True, unbreakable fraternal relationships can, however, come into being between persons and peoples who think in the same manner, are pursuing the very same noble aims and are fighting together shoulder to shoulder. Such a fraternal relationship binds the Hungarian people to the Soviet people, to the Vietnamese people and other peoples.

Now for the first time in history we can say at last that the Hungarian people are allied with forces who have the identical characteristic that they are in the van of social progress. Now our allies are countries which are marching in the vanguard of social progress. The peoples with whom we live and co-operate in fraternity know where the Hungarian People's Republic stands. Since we pursue an open, principled policy not only those who are pleased by our affiliations can reckon with this, but also those who are not pleased by them.

On the other hand, I can say that people who dislike our affiliations also raise their hats higher than in, let us say, 1957, because they acknowledge that, although they have done everything they could, still they have been unable to cause the downfall of the

Hungarian People's Republic. And if the Hungarian People's Republic exists, she will have to be reckoned with. I am thinking of the United States. It too has normalized its relationship with us, so this is the trend of things today. The United States is a great and developed country, it has more than 200 million inhabitants, it is the greatest imperialist power. Not long ago I said to a United States diplomat, in the course of a conversation: If it were up to me the régime in the United States would fall within two hours, and if it depended on you, our system would fall within five minutes. But this does not depend on me or you. Whatever we do, the United States exists and is what it is, and whatever you do, we too exist and will continue to exist. Do whatever they can, the imperialists of the United States are unable to turn back the wheel of history, and they never will be able to, because now they will always have to reckon with the invincible might of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system. It is in the light of this knowledge that we pursue our foreign policy, that we work to rally the socialist countries, the other progressive, anti-imperialist countries and all progressive forces.

We are working for unity to join forces and rally the strength of the communist and workers' parties also. We are striving that the whole world communist movement should be united. At the present time, unfortunately, this is more a goal than reality. There are differences of opinion among the socialist countries too. This is the kind of situation we have to live and work in. If we were united, it would be better, but there are problems.

We hold that the differences in views appearing on various ideological questions should not be allowed to prevent us from acting in unity against the imperialists. This is our opinion. Unfortunately we do not agree with the Peking opinion on this either. The socialist revolution has produced such results that already fourteen socialist countries are in existence. This is good, this is a tremendous force upon which we are able to rely. Let us not forget either that there was a time in history when there was a dictatorship of the proletariat only in the Soviet Union and in Hungary, but the Hungarian working class still fought!

The political line of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

and the Hungarian People's Republic in foreign affairs is widely known internationally. Everyone is familiar with our position, they know that we always speak unequivocally. Stemming also from this, a special sort of confidence finds expression in the fact that when the fraternal parties decided that representatives of the communist and workers' parties ought to meet again, they proposed Budapest as the site for their exchange of views in this connection. This also means they have faith in our internationalist policy. We are honestly working for the success of the consultations, so that we may democratically compare our views and take some definite steps towards initiating a large and extensive international conference. We support the view that the main forces of progress, the communist and workers' parties, should constitute a united anti-imperialist front, rallying the other forces of progress as well, because a leading nucleus is needed; and today there can be no substitute for the role of the communist and workers' parties in taking the initiative on a world-wide scale. Various progressive endeavours exist, there are progressive countries, but nothing can replace the initiative and the vanguard role of the communist and workers' parties, and the socialist countries. So this is the way in which we look forward to the consultations and are working honestly for their success. Naturally this will be a joint meeting and joint consultation of the participating parties. Our Party will also only be one amongst the rest, and will put forward its views and represent its standpoint. But the office of host devolves on us and we want to discharge it with honour.

Every party is independent and every socialist country is sovereign, but in our opinion it does not follow from this fact that they should go in as many directions as there are parties, or that there should be as many discrepancies as there are countries. Independence and sovereignty mean that in the framework of a constructive exchange of ideas we should draw together our experiences, compare our views and formulate a common endeavour and political line which will meet with all our interests. We are convinced that this is not only possible, but also necessary; the interests can and must be harmonized. In our view independence means that every party must decide with even more responsibility



on the major issues which have an influence on the fate of their own country and life of their own people. Because independence also means great responsibility. Therefore it is not a centre that is needed, not a leading party, but unity, the joining of forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the common communist ideology and viewpoint, internationalism. We have worked in the interest of this up to now, and shall continue to do so in the future.

In touching on these questions my intention was mainly to remind you of certain of our essential aspirations, and to ask that in the future you take these into consideration in both your political and production work. Once more I would like to salute the workers of the IKARUS Factory. Although we have been to many parts of the factory, unfortunately I have been unable to meet with everyone. I would ask you to be so kind as to convey my greetings and best wishes to all those whom we did not meet today. And please be so kind as to pass on what you have heard in some way; perhaps it would be even better if you added your own conviction and belief that whatever the mechanism is like, and however the economic management is reformed: it is necessary to work. And if we work properly then the reform will create better conditions which will make our work really more productive and more effective, so that better results can be brought to birth and we can distribute more and can distribute it more equitably than up to now.

If everyone in his own place, the workers of the Central Committee, the Budapest Party Committee, the Ministry of the Metallurgical and Engineering Industry and the IKARUS Factory, carries out his part of the tasks which await us, then we shall prosper. If someone among these does not stand his ground at his own post, does not carry through his own work, whatever it may be, then we will not be able to achieve good results. I believe that among them all, and between the Central Committee and the workers of the IKARUS Factory in particular, the necessary unity exists; we are all working for the same purpose. Retain this spirit, this manner of thinking, and there will be new results and we will make progress.

In the international sphere, of course, we still have many battles to fight. The present international relations of forces are such that

the imperialists are committing provocations and will continue to commit provocations, and we have to struggle against them. But so far it has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a world war and we will continue to prevent it if we fight properly. And just as until now, we will continue to strive that our people may live and build in peace, because this is what we need. We want no gifts nor anything else from other peoples, only this, that we have the conditions in which we can work, and then we shall create what our people require. In co-operation, we will work and fight shoulder to shoulder with those of our allies, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, with whom we have fought together up to now, and with whose help we have come thus far. Everyone can work in tranquillity and honesty, and the results will follow.

A few more words to the communists. For some years I have often repeated over and over again that one should respect non-party workers, and I have never mentioned that one should honour the communists. In this I am led by the opinion that it is much better if non-party people say of the communists that they march in the van, are ready to make sacrifices, are worthy of respect and should be followed, than if we said this about ourselves. We had to earn respect for the Party, for party membership, for the name communist in a difficult situation. I dare to assert that great results have been achieved. Our society is united, and this is due to the fact that the Party, the leading force of society, enjoys great prestige and great respect among the people. The popular masses in truth have confidence in the Party, and they follow it. I believe that communists, each and every one, feel this.

We should not preach that "we are of a special mould", because by this alone we are unable to convince other people. We are of the very same mould as are the working class, the people, but we have become communists, we have communist convictions and principles. This, the name communist and party membership, goes with certain obligations; moreover, with the obligation that we have to live and work in a way worthy of this. Now in factory and village, everywhere, the name communist enjoys respect, and we should very carefully safeguard this respect. Belonging to the Party does not entail additional pay or anything like that. But it

does go hand in hand with a balance on the moral side, however, which none of us would exchange for thousands of forints or any kind of bonus. This also adds something to a man's conscience, to a man's aspect; apart from this it adds something to society which is indispensable to it, i.e. the fact that such a force exists and there exist such men as can be followed.

I would ask you, all the workers of the IKARUS Factory, to strengthen our common cause with your work and attitude, your deeds and words. Work in such a way that through your results the factory and the country may thrive, and that the honour of the Party may grow—that Party which will help your work, your struggles and your successes in the future as well.

Thank you for your attention and your cordial welcome, and once again allow me to wish you the very best and much success.

**SPEECH OF GREETINGS  
TO THE CONSULTATIVE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES  
IN BUDAPEST**

*February 1968*

Comrades,

First of all I would like to express thanks to the fraternal parties represented here, and personally to the comrade delegates, for having accepted the invitation to come here. I wish to emphasize that our Party holds it a great honour that the inaugurators entrusted us with the direct preparation of this meeting and chose the capital of our country, Budapest, as its site. In the name of the Central Committee and membership of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and our entire working people I convey my heartiest greetings to you on the occasion of the opening of the Budapest Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. I wish all of you good work and please enjoy yourselves in the hospitable land of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Comrades,

The joint Declaration of the 18 communist and workers' parties in November, in which they took the initiative in calling this Consultative Meeting, aroused great attention from international public opinion. Since then the attention and interest have only grown, and it may now be said without exaggeration that both friend and foe view the meeting and its results with great expectancy. This is fully understandable. This expectation follows, on the one hand, from the complex world situation which demands clear words and action, and, on the other hand, from the fact that the international communist movement is at present the most powerful political and intellectual trend of thought among mankind which also plays a decisive role in shaping events. Thirdly, people are interested in what this Budapest Consultative Meeting will bring which is new, and whether there will be progress on the questions of the strengthening of unity in the international communist movement, the convening of the Conference of Communist

and Workers' Parties and the co-ordinated programme of action in the struggle against the imperialists.

The imperialists, particularly the American imperialists, trampling the most elementary norms of international law underfoot, interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states by using political and economic pressure, organize armed coups against governments which are not to their liking and unleash war in various regions of the world. They have occupied South Vietnam with a colonial army of more than half a million men and are waging an undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. For years they have been massacring the peaceful population, killing children, women and aged on a large scale in the north and south of the country alike; they are committing the crime of genocide against the entire Vietnamese people. In the summer of last year they launched a war against the independent Arab countries and in these very days they are committing more and more frequent armed provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The aggressive moves of the imperialists, the so-called local wars, are causing the peoples untold suffering and they constantly carry within them the danger that they will bring a new world war on mankind.

Naturally the people attacked are resisting with all their strength, and the socialist countries and the forces of progress are aiding them in every possible way. The powerful counterblows in January and February of the heroic Vietnamese people prove better than anything that, whatever they do, the imperialists are unable to stifle the people's aspirations for freedom, they are unable to deprive the people of their right to determine their own destiny; they are unable to reverse the trend of history. Every supporter of progress and peace-loving mankind, particularly the standard-bearers of this struggle, the communist and workers' parties, must act even more firmly than now against imperialist aggression and must intensify the assistance they are extending to the peoples directly attacked. Because this would best ensure the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle, the foremost political and moral task is to do everything to strengthen all the forces of progress and to co-ordinate joint action better.

The front of forces struggling against the imperialists must be further broadened and consolidated. Imperialism is an international force, which desires to achieve its aims by alliances reaching across national frontiers. Within the anti-imperialist, progressive forces the most significant and the best organized force is the world's working class, which is itself international. The historic role and responsibility of the working class demands that we oppose the imperialists with the unity of action of the communist and workers' parties. The international communist movement from its very beginning, and owing to its character, has been international. If it unites its forces, then it can cope with all the tasks incumbent on it in the historic struggle to curb the imperialist aggressors, for the freedom of the peoples and for social progress.

In the struggle against imperialism natural allies are the representatives of the communists, the socialists, other progressive forces and the most diverse political and social trends, all of whom for whatever reason are prepared to take action against imperialism and the dictatorship of the monopolies, against the aggressors, in the defence of freedom rights, progress and peace. The anti-fascist popular movements which arose in the Second World War and the present anti-imperialist movement both demonstrate that the fight against imperialism can be effective and victorious to the extent that it is capable of rallying all anti-imperialist forces.

In the inauguration and evolving of the anti-imperialist front the communist and workers' parties had and still have a great role in every country. The persons in the vanguard of this struggle are, as a rule, the most self-sacrificing and most consistent fighters, the communists, upon whom, for this very reason, the office of leadership and all its burdens devolve. It follows from all this that if the intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle, the enlisting of growing masses in this struggle and the unification of all the progressive forces are on the agenda today on a world scale, then only the communist and workers' parties who profess a common standpoint on the fundamental issues and act in unity are capable of accomplishing all this.

Working out the correct ways and means of intensifying the



anti-imperialist struggle which extends throughout the world, enlisting new forces, rallying all progressive forces and strengthening unity in a way which suits the ideas of all the communist and workers' parties, is not easy under the given conditions, but it is both necessary and possible.

Communist and workers' parties are at work in virtually every country in the world and under the most diverse conditions. One section of the fraternal parties are fighting to destroy dependence under the old and the new colonialism, and to achieve national independence and their own independent development for their people. Other parties are struggling to curb the dictatorship of the monopolies, still others are struggling to achieve power under capitalist conditions. One part of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries are working underground under very difficult conditions, others are working legally. A section of the fraternal parties are governing in the free countries of the world socialist system, exercising power and organizing and leading the building of socialism, or communism.

This diversity is natural and reflects the present condition of the world, the complex state and multiplicity of the international situation as a whole. The growing strength of our world movement, the unceasing development of the countries of the socialist system, the results of the fight against imperialism offer evidence that our parties are solving their direct responsibilities more and more successfully. In every country more and more people are recognizing that the communists are the best fighters in the struggle for the better existence of the workers, the security of their people, the prosperity of their nation, and that the Communist Party is the force destined to lead the working class and the people.

In their area of activity, in the conditions of their country, every fraternal party strives for the independent, creative application of Marxism-Leninism, to achieve the greatest effectiveness. The results of their work, however, depend to no small extent on the development of the international situation, the growth, the success or sudden halts in the international communist movement and the general position and results of the socialist countries. The work of all the other fraternal parties and the unity or division of

the international communist movement influence the work of individual fraternal parties.

The differences in our immediate political aims inevitably entail an inclination on our part to examine the questions of the international communist movement in subordination to the daily work of our own Party. Perhaps the situation is similar in other countries; we Hungarians, for example, believe that the cardinal points of the compass, North, South, East and West, are reckoned from Budapest; that is to say, for us this is the centre of the world. But, seriously speaking, if we wish to estimate the international questions of our movement accurately and realistically, then we must compare and harmonize our own observations with the views and opinions of the fraternal parties.

The international communist movement, the combined strength of the socialist countries is growing and is more and more becoming a determining force in world development. The efficiency of this combined force is reduced and objectively imperialism is allowed a certain scope for manoeuvre by the fact that at the present time our movement is not united. Serious theoretical, philosophical and political differences in views have arisen in recent years within the international communist movement. Within the circle of fraternal parties the endeavour is steadily gaining strength that we should proceed from our common interests, put aside all kinds of differences in views and subordinate everything to the interests of the fight against imperialism. Following this general requirement of the international communist movement, we must strive for a more comprehensive and effective unity of action than in the past because there can be no halt to the struggle.

Comrades,

Today the international communist movement has no centre, and the opinion is generally held that there is no need for either one or more centres. The individual communist and workers' parties are working today in complete independence, and this is the way it will be in the future too. Questions to be examined in common and joint tasks, however, do exist. We have a common ideology, a common theory, Marxism-Leninism, and a common principle, internationalism. Our interests are common, our enemy,



imperialism, is common. Therefore, what is the solution in this situation? The conference of communist and workers' parties is necessary; at this we can examine the situation and determine our tasks in the light of Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of internationalism, and we can co-ordinate our actions on the questions of common interest.

Democratically prepared and conducted international conferences hold the independence of our parties in respect, and do not affect it. The communiqués, declarations, appeals and manifestos summarizing the conclusions of the joint deliberations are addressed to the parties, the countries and the peoples and they are not decisions binding on the membership of the individual parties. The central committees of the individual parties themselves adopt resolutions in which they state what they will do in their own work for the sake of achieving the aims designated in the appeals issued from the common deliberations. This is a practice that evolved many years ago and is followed by the fraternal parties. This is how it was at the conferences of 1957 and 1960, the Vienna conference of West European parties, the Karlovy Vary conference of European parties and the other joint conferences held in recent years. Obviously this is the way it will be in the future too.

In the comradely exchange of ideas at an international conference of fraternal parties, in the framework of a free, democratic debate and only jointly can we formulate the correct Marxist-Leninist answer to the central and most important issues of our times. Under the present circumstances of the tremendous growth and spread of the international communist movement not a single fraternal party undertakes, or can undertake, to appraise the world situation on its own and to determine alone what the tasks of all the communist and workers' parties are in the general questions of the international situation. Not a single party is able to set forth the demand that all the other parties are obliged to accept its own views. The sum total of the theoretical observations and revolutionary experiences of all the fraternal parties gives us our theoretical knowledge and can further develop our theory, Marxism-Leninism. The exchange of ideas at joint deliberations strengthens our unity, increases the political weight of the international

communist movement and aids the efforts at establishing unity of action of all the progressive forces.

Comrades,

With what I have said, on my part I wished to emphasize the great significance of the meeting and the great importance of the questions to be examined. I am convinced that the Budapest Consultative Meeting will take us closer to the international conference of communist and workers' parties and will contribute to the strengthening of our unity. If agreement exists among us in principle regarding the aim, we shall find the road leading to it, and the suitable forms, so that we may let the world know of our understanding, and mobilize the masses for the struggle in the interests of a good cause.

Hungarian communists and our entire people, together with the communists of the world, want all the communist and workers' parties to unite their forces. The exploited and oppressed of the capitalist world, the fighting people of Vietnam, the workers of the socialist countries and every progressive-minded person in the world expect our parties to join with all progressive forces and in unity to deal newer blows at international imperialism and the enemies of peace and progress.

I wish you much success in your work!

Thank you for your attention.

*Népszabadság*, 27 February 1968.

## ADDRESS TO THE 4TH CONGRESS OF THE PATRIOTIC PEOPLE'S FRONT

*April 1968*

Honoured Congress, Comrades, Friends,

In our country the people's front movement unites persons of differing world outlook who agree on the fundamental aims of socialism and peace. We may therefore rightly say that the Fourth Congress of the Patriotic People's Front is a significant event in our domestic political life; the successfulness of its work is in the interest of our people and of our entire society. The chairman's opening speech, the comprehensive report and proposals of the National Council, and the valuable committee materials dealing with the great questions of socialist democracy, of the reform of economic management, of socialist patriotism and of youth offer a good basis for genuine discussion. With this in mind, first of all I respectfully salute the Presidium of the Congress, the delegates, foreign guests and all the participants, and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party I wish you all good work.

Comrades,

We communists know that the work of the Party and of the People's Front has been interlinked from the outset; this is the way things are at present, and we believe their work will be inseparable in the future too. The Party is struggling for the realization of socialism, of communism, in the knowledge that to create a classless, free society of working people is in the interests of the entire people and can come into existence only as the joint creation of the entire people.

The successful solution of our historic task demands that the labouring classes, the workers, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie should join forces and that communists and non-party people, materialists and religious believers, should cooperate on the basis of interests and aims which are fundamentally mutual. From all this follows the essence of the Party's domestic policy, the striving for the constant development of socialist

democracy, the policy of alliances aimed at the realization of socialism and rallying and establishing the unity of all the nation's creative forces. Popular language describes this most essential and most lasting element of the Party's domestic policy in other words and quite correctly as a people's front policy.

In our country, the Party is today indisputably the leading force in society and its influence prevails in a decisive manner in ideology, politics, state life and all the main fields of economic and cultural activity. Historical experience proves that the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party is indispensable, is necessary throughout the entire period of socialist construction, until the realization of communism. In emphasizing this I must also point out that both at its Congresses and in everyday work our Party gives expression to the fact that this leading role is not regarded as a question of rule, but as a task stemming from the Party's historic mission, and as a service in the interests of the working class and the people.

The Party's leading role is interpreted and put into effect in a way which presupposes and demands the independent, responsible functioning of state and social bodies in their proper sphere. The Party requires the active participation in public affairs of all the social forces and factors which accept and support the goal of socialism. I believe that the experiences of the past ten years have convincingly showed everyone that we communists do not regard those progressing with us in the building of socialism as tolerated fellow-travellers who are necessary for the moment, but as allies of equal rank. We honour our allies, we have a high appreciation of their help in everyday work, and as far as the future is concerned, we hold that we are building our common homeland together, in which every builder of socialism will have an equal right to a place, in the same way and without any discrimination whatsoever.

I wish to mention one or two more things in connection with the direct role of the Party. The test of theory and any policy is practice, and only life can verify whether it is correct. Already for the past twelve years the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been proclaiming and implementing a policy with a consistent line.



The Party's policy is unequivocal and open, the tenets of its programme are known to every activist in the People's Front and to the entire political public opinion of our country. In our policy words and deeds coincide, what the Party has proclaimed it has always acted upon in practice too. It is our conviction that the correctness of the Party's policy has been verified by practice, by life, and has won and enjoys the confidence and support of our working class and the whole people on the basis of what the masses themselves have directly experienced.

With due consideration for all the domestic experiences, and the most recent international events and experiences, on behalf of the Central Committee I can today repeat and confirm what our Party declared a year and a half ago at its 9th Congress: we will make no change in the general line of our Party's policy.

We regard the more effective and better practical implementation of this policy as our principal task. The fact that the relevant conclusions of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, which Comrade Ferenc Erdei presented yesterday, fully coincide with this statement, fills me with great satisfaction. I am convinced that the preservation and consistent continuation of our general political line meets with the interests and wishes of our people. I am confident that the 4th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front now in progress will also approve and support this our political endeavour.

We do not interpret the maintenance of our general line as in any way resting on our laurels, or that our policy is becoming rigid. We cannot treat Marxism-Leninism as a collection of dogmas, but as a guide to action. During the past ten years our Party has always put the most important topical questions of our revolutionary development on the agenda and appealed to our society to solve them. This is what happened at the time power was being defended and strengthened, with the socialist transformation of agriculture, with public education, and today with the further development of socialist democracy and the reform of economic management; and this is how it will be in the future as well.

Comrades, Friends,

The Party can mark out the direction to be followed, it can

lead and guide social processes ideologically and politically, but the general implementation of policy, the effective service of the general interests of the people and of the nation demands the active participation of all the forces of society. In mobilizing them, however, the people's front movement has a specific and indispensable role.

The practice of the socialist countries demonstrates well that our revolutions have internationally identical, essential features, such as the public ownership of the means of production, the elimination of the former exploiting classes and the leading role of the revolutionary party of the working class; and there are other questions where solution differs in accordance with the attributes and characteristics of the individual countries and peoples concerned. Thus the question of a given society's political mechanism is not one of principle, but of practice, and accordingly in some of the socialist countries a single political party functions and in other socialist countries there is a multi-party system.

In our country historical development was such that one political party is functioning, the revolutionary party of the working class. At the same time, although irreconcilable class antagonisms ended in our society with the elimination of exploitation, still not every contradiction has vanished, because temporary and soluble conflicts of interests even present themselves among the labouring classes. The position of the labouring classes in production, within society, are not exactly identical and this is reflected on a mass scale in the viewpoint of that class. Even the individual labouring classes consist of people with individually differing political development and outlook in the present, transitional state of our society. Under the present conditions the determination of the pace of revolutionary development, the co-ordination of the interests of the various labouring classes, the ensuring of the proper composition of personnel and functioning of the Parliament, the councils and the state executive bodies which represent the sum total of the citizenry, are constant and recurring political tasks.

Naturally the various bodies of the Party deal with these questions which affect all of society, but precisely because of their general nature the Party cannot and does not take it upon itself to

decide and solve them on its own. Seeking out and elaborating the roads leading to our aims, and the methods suitable for resolving the individual questions, are matters the Party again cannot undertake alone. In order that we may achieve joint action by people of differing opinions on individual questions, and on questions of fundamentally mutual interest, the Party must ensure its own standpoint by enlightenment, argument and persuasion, i.e. by political means. From all this in general, and following in particular from the fact that in our country there is no multi-party system, the Patriotic People's Front, on which our Party fully relies in the solution of state, social and political questions, is a particularly important and indispensable part of our society's political system.

When our Party regularly consults the opinion of various bodies of the People's Front regarding Congress directives, initiatives affecting the whole of society and daily political questions in the course of work, then it is discussing, comparing notes, and often jointly formulating decisions and moves with its closest allies. This is putting our socialist democracy into effect; it is one of the guarantees that decisions and resolutions are correct, therefore our Party will continue and develop this practice in the future too.

From time to time the question occurs to certain people: what are the prospects for the future of the Patriotic People's Front? I have already spoken of the fact that in our opinion the leading role of the Party will be necessary in the entire period of the building of socialism. I should like to supplement this by saying that during this same period, that is, until the building of a classless society, communism, is completed, a policy ensuring the alliance of the labouring classes and the joint social action of communists and those outside the Party will be necessary; for this reason there will obviously also be need of the Patriotic People's Front and its work.

Honoured Congress, Comrades,

Here you are now taking stock of the work done during the past four years. In my opinion the report of the National Council gave a faithful account of the work done and of the results achieved. In my opinion it is obviously impossible to particularize the work

accomplished by the People's Front and the actual impact of its work separately. In many spheres it is possible to set forth the development of the country and our society in figures, and those data speak of considerable development. I believe that anyone who makes an appraisal of the country's present favourable political situation, the healthy atmosphere of our society, the results achieved in economic and cultural construction and in the raising of living standards, really speaks of the results of the work done by the People's Front, which has effectively contributed to our progress. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party recognizes and appreciates the work done. I express my thanks to all the officials of the Patriotic People's Front, to all comrades and to our non-party friends, who support our Party's policy within the framework of the people's front movement, and who have accomplished devoted, fruitful work during the past four years for the benefit of socialism, the people and the country.

In the report of the National Council, in my opinion correctly, the history of the people's front movement and the experiences of the road travelled were touched upon comprehensively. Speaking of this hardly anyone can dispute the fact that our working class and our people entered a new era in their history when in the period following the Soviet Union's liberating struggle they achieved power; then enjoying the solidarity and support of the international forces of progress they defended it in a grave struggle. In the years recently past we have finished laying the foundations of socialism and have achieved large-scale progress in the development of the national economy, public education, culture and public health and in the raising of living standards.

Everyone also knows that progress was not unbroken; we achieved great victories in the struggle for the new society, but in the meantime we also suffered serious setbacks. We have no reason, no right, nor any intention to boast. But at a time of stock-taking we have the right—moreover, it is our duty—to know and to make known whether the sacrifices, the work and the struggles were worth it. At such a time, honouring the rank-and-file, mutual soldiers of the Party and the ideals of the People's Front, and the efforts of the working millions, we must also say that during the



past years, with steadfast struggle and work, we have restored the honour of our Party, our state and our people here at home and throughout the world also. The Hungarian People's Republic stands firm on its feet, our people are confidently and thoughtfully advancing on their self-chosen road of socialist construction. The "sensation" so pleasing to the imperialists has been absent for some time from our country, and will continue to be absent.

Honoured Congress, Comrades,

The complete building of a socialist society is no less a revolutionary task than was the achievement of power, and it is not even any easier; in fact, in many respects it is more complex. The complete building of socialist society is a new task for our Party and our people, in the course of solving which we are often confronted with unexpected and so far unfamiliar questions. On this road the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Party, all the active forces of society and the day-to-day support of the masses are equally indispensable.

After liberation the Hungarian people, with the establishment of the people's power and the achievement of the victory of the socialist revolution, entered the front rank of world development. With the results achieved in building socialism, the development of the national economy and culture, they overcame the negligence of centuries and in many respects overtook and left behind large and wealthy capitalist nations. When we compare our results to the past we may truly mention them with pride, yet they are not satisfactory when we judge them by our increased requirements and demands.

We must place the most varied questions on the agenda because we have to advance simultaneously in practically every sphere of social life. We need to move ahead in increasing productivity, and in general in the sphere of more effective economic work, scientific work, technology, skilled training and education, and culture, in order that we may be able to raise living standards to a higher level also. It is not possible to complete the building of a socialist society and it is not even possible to get ahead in the sphere of the production of material goods if we do not increase the political and moral forces of our society. We have to develop the democracy

of our system, its community-mindedness, and we must increase the spread and influence of socialist awareness and morality.

Our forces and possibilities necessary for the tremendous tasks of building socialism have also increased, but we have to learn how to make fuller use of them. Sure supports in the solution of our complex tasks are our revolutionary theory, the historical experiences of the Party, the working class and the people, the firmness of our system, the creative strength of the mass of millions of people and the solidarity of our international class brothers. Hasty or random changes have no place in our life, we must ensure a proper pace and well-considered schedule for building socialism. As regards the development of our society, sectarian-dogmatic rigidity is just as dangerous as liberalism which has abandoned the Marxist class point of view. To halt in the course of progress is just as impermissible as some kind of adventurist leap forward. Our Party, the Patriotic People's Front and our society place the topical questions of our development on the agenda one after the other, and work out the principles and the proper ways and means for their solution.

Comrades,

Among the topical questions which today occupy our public opinion, and naturally they are also on the agenda here at the People's Front Congress, I wish to speak about the question of socialist patriotism.

Since our people were liberated, took their destiny in their own hands and found a home in their native land, patriotism has won new meaning and new strength, and has grown stronger. It is understandable that the ideological institutions and political forums of our society are dealing with the questions of patriotism to a great extent and from many aspects. In my opinion the social committee set up by the Patriotic People's Front has worked out a thorough and sound document for further work on the questions of socialist patriotism.

The concept and ideological content of patriotism naturally changes and develops according to the times. The nationalism of the old ruling classes combined with the contempt and hatred of other peoples is, in the thinking of our people, separated by a whole

world from socialist patriotism, which found roots and is gaining strength in our times, and is coupled with respect for other peoples and internationalism. Not only communists and patriots sympathizing with socialism of our times deal with the clarification of this most essential question of principle; this was also done by our ancestors, other far-seeing, true patriots who preceded us. As an example, let me remind you of what our great revolutionary poet Ady wrote about patriotism more than a half century ago: "Nationalism is not patriotism... Anyone hostile to progress, to striving for something better, to the unconditional freedom of the human intellect, is a traitor to his country even if he does nothing but constantly sing the national anthem."

Our people saw enough of the nationalist "patriotism" which trampled the forces of progress underfoot while they sang the national anthem during the quarter century of the Horthyist counter-revolution, in the period of the struggle to achieve power between 1945 and 1948, and in fact, even for a few short days in 1956. On the other hand, today's patriotism, linked with Ady's pure patriotism, expresses our people's national sentiments and their vital interests correctly, and this is dealt with in essence by the people's front's document, when it declares: "Our country can fulfil its mission only if it turns into a modern, developed socialist country and our people become an advanced, socialist nation. This is the great, historic task of our nation, and at what pace and with what kind of results our present and future generations discharge this task, depends not least on our people's socialist awareness and socialist patriotism."

The question of socialist patriotism is one of the greatest issues of our public life; it is a good thing that the Patriotic People's Front puts it as the focal point of its work. It is not feasible to discuss the question of socialist patriotism in detail within the framework of my remarks here; I only wish to allude to the fact that this idea too, like every other idea, requires steadfastness and deeds which correspond to the idea, first of all from those who profess it.

It is the duty of the country to look after its sons, to ensure the citizens of our state a job, a livelihood, the possibility of education,

rights, freedom and protection. The Hungarian People's Republic, as far as the entire people, the millions, are concerned, has lived up to this obligation in accordance with its strength up to now, and will continue to do so in the future. It is the constant task of the Party, our government, the Patriotic People's Front and all of our social organizations to safeguard the rights of the individual citizens and to provide an existence for the working people which is fit for humans. At the same time it is essential that the relationship of the individual citizens to the homeland be one of true patriotism without reservations and conditions.

In everyday life the individual can and does have problems concerning earnings, advancement, housing, university enrolment and many other types of question. But whatever our individual situation or fate may be, we have only this one homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic, and if it is a question of fulfilling our duty to the country, there can be no place for bargaining, there is only one single moral command, the honest fulfilment of one's duty. This is patriotism. If this is everyone's attitude to the country, the attitude of large and small, old and young, our homeland will be even stronger, more and more in the way the true patriots always wanted to see it.

My friends! Just a few words about the question of youth, to which everybody for whom the future of the people, the nation, has been important, has always attributed great significance. We Marxists do not divide society according to age-groups, and recognize no irreconcilable contradictions between the old and the young. Every age-group has its own characteristics and problems, for the solution of which society has to extend aid with suitable measures and institutions, just as is taking place in our country in keeping with our potentialities. For a correct individual approach to the question, on my part I would always recommend, and to everyone, acknowledgement of the fact that age is a changing state; it does not depend on individual decision, and youth and old age in themselves are not merits or sins. We judge people, independently of their age, on the basis of their work and behaviour.

The people's front movement can do much in order that our



society may always deal with the questions of youth in a proper manner, that educational work may improve and that our youth may prepare in the best possible manner to solve the great tasks which await them.

The members of our generation grew up under the inhuman conditions of the capitalist system; the young people of today have matured under the conditions of building socialism. The young people regard everything that the older generation achieved in struggle and built with devoted labour under difficult circumstances as given and natural. For this reason the older generation places great value on our socialist achievements, comparing them with the past and thinking of the progress made, while the young people are more impatient with the existing faults and obstacles which prevent questions being solved. This impatience in itself is no fault, it is natural inasmuch as it makes its appearance as a driving force that spurs young people to creative activities which serve our socialist aims.

Almost each and every one of our social organizations deals with the question of youth, but apart from the KISZ perhaps the Patriotic People's Front can do most, along with the teachers and parents, in the sphere of individual occupation with young people and of drawing them into work for the public good. We should bring up our young people to love their country, to respect socialist ideals and norms of morality, and to accept and foster them. Beyond this let us educate them not to illusions, but to realities. Let us not say to them that now everything is ready and the road will be smooth for them. To attain our lofty aims, to implement our ideas more fully will require the struggle and labour of generations yet to come, and we should talk to the young people accordingly.

The great majority of our young people are studying, working, they are sharing our labours and our struggles. We must educate our youth for struggle, for work, for steadfastness, to lead an upright life, and, if necessary, to show heroic firmness of purpose, because the complete victory of our ideas at home and, as is sure to happen, on a world scale has demanded much and still demands much of the adult generation, and will demand no less from Hungarian youth of today in the future.

Comrades, Friends,

The overthrow of the capitalist system in our country put an end to the old ruling capitalist and landowning classes, who, among others, expropriated for themselves the concept and the rights of the nation. Now in our country the people, who hold power, have become the nation, and a politic nation in a favourable sense of the term. Our public opinion is profoundly occupied by the live and great issues of our society; recently, for example, it was concerned particularly with the reform of our system of economic management. But today I do not wish to deal any more with domestic political issues. In this connection I would only like to say this much, that our domestic position is firm, balanced, and here at home, within the country, we possess suitable conditions for the proper solution of the tasks which await us next in our work of building socialism. In the concluding part of my contribution, I want to deal with international questions which occupy our public opinion.

In our restless world, a world in transformation, a tremendous struggle is in progress for the freedom and independence of the peoples and nations, for social progress, between the forces struggling for peace and the forces of reaction who are defending their exploiting and imperialist system, their power and their spheres of influence. The whole policy of the Hungarian People's Republic, hence her foreign policy as well, is determined by peace and socialism, which express the fundamental aims of our people. Our foreign policy which serves the aims of peace and socialism is familiar to everyone. This is what determines internationally which countries are our allies, our friends, and which are our adversaries.

The freedom, independence, achievements and peace of the peoples, among them the Hungarian people, are endangered by international imperialism. World imperialism is in a state of permanent political crisis. This is being deepened by the financial crisis, the instability of the dollar and the pound, and their uncertain position.

The crisis and decline of imperialism are denoted by their adventurist wars, some time ago in Korea, now in Vietnam, and

the most recent aggression in the Middle East. Through armed coups the imperialists help to set up cliques which serve them and are alien to the people, just as they did recently in Greece. The profound crisis of the imperialist system is borne out by the fact that in the one-time classic and great countries of bourgeois democracy power is being taken over more and more by the militarist and big finance groups, and rifles with telescopic sights and revolvers have emerged as the instruments for resolving political differences. Kennedy, the President of the United States, more recently Martin Luther King, the Nobel Prize winning pastor, and since then a further 46 Negroes in America were shot down in the open street by assassins, just as was Dutschke, the West Berlin socialist youth leader. This is the situation in which imperialist capitalism, even behind the guise of democracy in its own countries, is only able to preserve its anti-popular rule by using money, arms, terror and assassins; it is a situation which urges the peoples to exercise great vigilance.

In connection with the present aspect of American imperialism, let me quote a few lines from a German intellectual invited to take up a teaching post in the United States, which were published in a number of Western journals and periodicals. Hans Magnus Enzensberger, West German writer, upon his departure from Wesleyan University in America, where he worked for a few months, wrote the following in a letter to the president of the university; in this he stated why he was unable to continue working at the American university any longer: "I regard the class that rules in the United States of America and the government which carries out its policy as the most dangerous body of men on earth. This class, in this way or that, and to a varying extent, constitutes a threat to everybody who does not belong to it. It is waging an undeclared war against more than a thousand million people; among its weapons may be found everything, from saturation bombing to the most subtle methods of persuasion; its aim is to establish its political, economic and military rule over every other power in the world. It is a deadly enemy of revolutionary change."

I need add nothing to this eloquent statement.

The criminal aggression of the American imperialists against

the people of Vietnam affects all of us closely and day after day engages public opinion throughout the world. The Vietnam people's just, heroic fight, their victories, condemn the aggressor to failure. Impotence on the battlefield, internal difficulties and the attitude of condemnation on the part of world public opinion have prompted the United States government to make a declaration voicing its readiness for negotiations.

In response to this declaration, the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam gave a quick, bold and proper answer, expressing its readiness to establish contact, and compelling the government of the United States to show its true colours. The President of the United States stated repeatedly that he was prepared to engage in political negotiations "at any time, anywhere". In spite of this, the wrangling over the scene of the talks now indicates, and indicates clearly, that United States policy continues to be tactical in character and is two-faced on this question as well. We have supported the fighting people of Vietnam from the start, and will continue to do so until American aggression ends. We are prepared to extend material, military-technical, political and diplomatic aid to the Vietnamese people in the future too, as far as our resources permit.

Another factor in international life which makes for constant tension is the Israeli aggression of last summer. The most recent armed attacks against Jordan have again given evidence that the government of Israel is continuing its aggressive policy, is ignoring the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, and is crowning its agglomeration of earlier crimes. In this instance too, we stand on the side of the attacked, the Arab countries, and we support their cause. We are endeavouring to achieve a political settlement of the question by restoring the conditions before the aggression.

In Europe in the wake of the consistent policy of the socialist countries and progressive forces of the continent, the atmosphere has grown more favourable in many respects for the establishment of peace and security. In the work for this we Hungarians have also done and will continue to do our share. Our Party took part in the consultations of the communist and workers' parties of



Europe at Karlovy Vary, the theme of which was the establishment of European security; our government is building up and developing its contacts with numerous Western European countries for this very same objective.

Such a useful expansion of contact took place during the visit to France of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Comrade Fock. We are satisfied with the results of this visit, we are pleased with the improvement and expansion of Hungarian-French relations.

West German revanchism and militarism still represents the greatest obstacle in the way of favourable development; even on its own, and even more under the protection of American imperialism, this represents a threat to the security of the people of Europe. Certain members of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany complain at the lack of confidence on the part of the European socialist countries, at the same time they do nothing to arouse confidence.

The government of the Hungarian People's Republic, as up to now, will continue to work for the realization of European peace and security.

Comrades,

Our public opinion at home—understandably—takes a keen interest in the question of the relationships between the socialist countries and in the trend of our relations with the other socialist countries, as well as in certain events which are at present taking place in the socialist countries.

Last year people were pleased to hear that we had further strengthened our alliance with our great friend, the Soviet Union, and with the German Democratic Republic by new treaties of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid. Our public opinion was sorry to learn that the standpoints of our country and the Socialist Republic of Rumania diverged in appraising the German question, and after that on certain specific questions of Israeli aggression.

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia and Poland our Party and public opinion are entirely at one with the fraternal parties and they sincerely desire the further strengthening of the forces of socialism in their countries.

As far as our Party and country are concerned, on the one hand

we fully respect the independence of every fraternal party, the sovereignty of every socialist country. And on the other hand we are striving through bilateral contacts for good relations and co-operation with every communist and workers' party and every socialist country. Our socialist patriotism is coupled with profound internationalism. We regard this as best serving the interests of the Hungarian people and our country as well.

We unceasingly support Hungarian-Soviet friendship, the Warsaw Treaty, and the strengthening of co-operation within the organization of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and we are working for this. Similarly we are working with every means for the unity of all the communist and workers' parties of the world and all forces of progress, and for the unity of action of the anti-imperialist forces. We always support multilateral consultations between the communist parties and the socialist countries, as well as joint action against the common enemy of the peoples.

This standpoint of ours is widely known and obviously this is why the fraternal parties have confidence in us and have decided to hold the Consultative Meeting of communist and workers' parties in Budapest, also designating the capital of our country as the site for the preparatory committee of the international conference.

Our Party, our working class and people will continue in future to stand firmly by the lofty principles of internationalism, the brotherhood of the socialist countries and the friendship of the peoples.

Honoured Congress, Comrades, Friends,

As is evident, the international situation is complicated. Although, to speak frankly, as far back as I can remember, I cannot recall a single quiet year. Let our people work calmly and steadfastly; history and the world are progressing forward and not backward. The forces of socialism and peace are growing, they are invincible and they will triumph over all difficulties.

Once again I whole-heartedly greet everyone taking part in the Congress on behalf of our Party's Central Committee. I would ask you to feel, and to tell every active member of the People's Front, and every supporter of the movement, that your activity

in public affairs for the building of our country, for the benefit of international peace and progress has been worthwhile work, which has already yielded a rich harvest and will do so in the future too. The Party, our people's state, our entire society are counting on you, just as the Party and the people support you in your splendid work. I wish you all, the entire Patriotic People's Front movement, much success.

*Népszabadság*, 19 April 1968.

## SPEECH AT THE SOVIET-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY IN MOSCOW

*July 1968*

Comrades, Dear Soviet friends,

I convey hearty greetings to the honoured Presidium and everyone taking part in our friendship rally today. I thank Comrade Brezhnev for the cordial words with which he appreciated our Party's activities, our people's work and the sincere fraternal relations of our countries.

Our delegation has been in the Soviet Union for a week. During this time we have enjoyed Moscow's hospitality, have repeatedly discussed our common affairs with the leading Soviet comrades, visited Volgograd, paid our tribute to the memory of the heroes of the battle of Stalingrad and went to see the capital of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, Tallinn. We are satisfied with the results of our visit and our negotiations, and we value them highly. It gave us exceptional pleasure that wherever we went, at every stage of our journey, we noticed esteem for Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people building socialism, and the true friendship of the Soviet people.

We are grateful for all this. In the name of every member of the party and government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic I again express thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government for their invitation. We thank the Soviet people for their friendly reception, the hospitality with which they have surrounded us. I am availing myself of this opportunity to convey to you, the population of Moscow, the great Soviet people engaged in the construction of communism, the fervent, comradely greetings and fraternal best wishes of the Hungarian communists and the Hungarian working people.

Comrades,

The purpose of the visit of our delegation was further to broaden our contacts, expand our co-operation and strengthen the friendship of our peoples. We feel that we have achieved our aim and have successfully fulfilled our assignment. This was greatly facilitat-

ed by the fact that our Soviet partners were motivated by the same purpose. Our work was aided above all by the fact that our unity is firm, Hungarian-Soviet friendship is unshakable and our ideas, interests and aims are common. The friendship of our peoples is developing unbroken and is stronger today than ever before.

The foundations of our friendship were laid fifty years ago on the part of the Soviet Union by the immortal Lenin and his Bolshevik contemporaries, and on our part by Béla Kun, Tibor Szamuely and the first Hungarian communists. Generations worked for it and many consecrated it with their blood. Our friendship, which was proclaimed at one time by only the most politically conscious, far-seeing leaders, has by now become the personal affair of millions in our countries. The implementation of our common aims, the deepening of the friendship of our peoples and our co-operation are aided by the fact that our personal ties with the Soviet party and government leaders are imbued with mutual confidence. Our people have respect and great esteem for Comrades Brezhnev, Kosygin and Podgorny and all those upon whom the enormous task and responsibility for the leadership of the Soviet party, state and society devolve. Everyone who knows what an important role the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state play in the present and future of mankind understands this.

When our delegation negotiates with the representatives of the Soviet people on the development of our friendship and co-operation, it is acting in accordance with the interests, desire and will of the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian working people. Today tens and hundreds of thousands work on intensifying our co-operation; Hungarian-Soviet friendship has become our peoples' friendship in the full sense of the term, millions of people safeguard and strengthen it year after year.

Comrades, Friends,

The Hungarian people follow with great sympathy and appreciate highly the results of the splendid and devoted work of the Soviet people, results that are familiar the world over. In the course of the present visit of our delegation we have gained new, direct and personal impressions of the rapid development of the Soviet

Union's national economy. The tremendous scope of the growth of Moscow, Volgograd, Tallinn and the Soviet cities in general is evident and captivating. Numerous branches of Soviet science, space research, the defence industry are in a leading position internationally.

In the last seven years the production of Soviet industry has increased by 80 per cent, that is, it has nearly doubled. The construction of housing in the Soviet Union is growing at such speed that its rate of development is hardly equalled in other countries. As a result of the most recent decisions of great importance the production of the Soviet Union's vast agriculture is enjoying a healthy increase.

Even the most prejudiced Western bourgeois critics are obliged to acknowledge the standard of the public education system and the public health organization of the Soviet Union which far and away surpass that of the other countries, as well as the systematic increase in the high degree of social provision and rise in the living standards of the population.

In the name of our people we whole-heartedly congratulate our Soviet friends on the results they have achieved. We Hungarians sincerely wish that the Soviet people, with the party's leadership, by putting into effect the authoritative decisions of the 23rd Congress, attain newer and newer successes in the construction of communism, for the benefit of the great family of Soviet peoples and the glory of the socialist system.

Every progressive person in the world commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Hungarian people celebrated the birth of the world's first socialist state and the victories of its half a century of progress, its great achievements, together with the fraternal Soviet people. As the result of the heroic struggle and sacrificing work of the Soviet people the Soviet Union has become a power with a strong national economy, advanced culture and invincible military strength. All of mankind who yearn for social justice and peace look to her with confidence and hope. Hundreds of millions wish the great Soviet people may achieve further successes and advance resolutely on the road of building communism.



Comrades, Friends,

In our country, the Hungarian People's Republic, the people are working confidently, with firm faith in the future, on their great creation, the complete building of a socialist society. Just over ten years ago, in the days of the raging counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956, not many would have believed that in 1968 the chief characteristic of the situation in Hungary would be peace and order based on stable and firm socialist relations. And yet this has still come to pass. This is thanks first of all to the fact that the Party, winning the support of the working class, the people, settled accounts with dogmatism and revisionism, and politically isolated and smashed the bourgeois counter-revolutionary forces.

The Party is working in unity with the masses. In the spirit of our policy of alliances, serving the common socialist goal, the Patriotic People's Front movement embraces and unites all the creative forces of our society, of the nation. With unity our people have achieved great results working on a broad front, in the socialist transformation of the country. Since liberation Hungarian industrial production has increased sixfold and in the last ten years has doubled. Over a period of ten years, while it was being reorganized and after, agriculture has increased yields by 25 per cent. Consolidating our régime, we have completed laying the foundations of the socialist society and achieved great progress in all spheres of construction.

The Party's 9th Congress designated the tasks which must be solved in the present stage of building a socialist society. At the beginning of this year we started to introduce the reform of economic management worked out at the initiative of the Party, and we are working on the fulfilment of the third five-year national economic plan. The aim of the reform is that we work more effectively within the framework of socialist planned economy, make fuller use of productive forces and make our development more vigorous.

The results of the first five months of the year 1968 show that the ideas were right. The output of state industry went up by 6 per cent and within this the production of metallurgy increased by 7.5 per cent and of the chemical industry by 11.6 per cent; and the rest

of the indices of the national economy developed as envisaged in the plan or better. Our socialist agriculture has been consolidated and is developing; work in the fields, although this year we are struggling with a severe drought, is going on in exemplary fashion. In the development of the sciences, in public education, culture, public health, in the development of the working people's living standards we have results worthy of appreciation.

In the Hungarian People's Republic the conditions for further socialist development are there. We cannot claim that there are no problems awaiting solution, or cares. We inherited part of our problems from the past. During the twenty years of the socialist system which followed liberation, our people overcame centuries of backwardness, although we still have things to make up for. The serious mistakes made in our country while building socialism, and the damage caused by the counter-revolutionary uprising, also set us back. Apart from this, progress also brings with it new and often difficult questions which await solution.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, is pursuing a consistent and unequivocal policy. For more than a decade our policy has been unbroken and constant, but our party regards it as a duty constantly to analyse social development and the situation, and to give correct answers to the new questions posed by life. After the defence and consolidation of power, when the situation was ripe this was the way in which the socialist transformation of agriculture was put on the agenda and solved; in this way the reform of our system of economic management has now been initiated.

The Central Committee of our Party regards as its responsibility the constant perfection of the Party's guiding work, dealing with questions of ideology and culture, and the development of democracy in party life and public affairs, all in accordance with the requirements of our class aims and of socialism. In its struggles our Party relies not only on communists, on the membership of the Party, but on the entire people. We are confident that our Party and our working class, possessing as they do Marxist-Leninist theory and considerable revolutionary experience, with the support of our people, will solve the tasks of the future as well, and the

Hungarian People's Republic united with the forces of international progress will advance on the road of socialism.

Our Party, the Hungarian working class and our people were the first to follow the example of the Great October Socialist Revolution at the time and in 1919 established the Hungarian Republic of Councils. Then, through the outside intervention of the forces of international imperialism the first Hungarian workers' power was crushed by force of arms and a ruthless counter-revolutionary régime introduced, but whatever our class enemies did, nevertheless socialism still triumphed on Hungarian soil!

The liberating army of the Soviet Union brought us freedom and the possibilities of new life, and afterwards the Soviet people have always been with us as helpers, in good times and bad, in both battle and the work of building. The internationalism of the Soviet Union is exemplary, we see in the Soviet Union the most faithful ally of the Hungarian People's Republic, and a true friend. Our people are aware of what they owe the Soviet Union and they will not forget that our unity and cohesion will be even stronger in the future.

Comrades,

Hungarian-Soviet friendship permeates the life of our society. Our warm and fruitful contacts—in keeping with our internationalist relations—are developing soundly and they are assisting our work of socialist construction. Our co-operation along party and state, economic and scientific lines, as well as in the cultural field, is developing to our highest satisfaction.

The exchange of goods between our countries has recently been increasing by a yearly 15 to 20 per cent. The development of our industrial co-operation is significant, among other things, in aluminium processing, bus manufacture and other spheres.

In the spheres of culture also, new forms of regular contacts and co-operation which are proving useful are emerging and being built. In addition to the mutual and regular presentation of Soviet culture and Hungarian culture within the framework of successful programmes, from year to year our people get to know the particular culture of one or another Soviet republic. We have had good experience in the work of the new-type body established between

our countries, the Intergovernmental Commission for Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Co-operation.

At our current discussions with our Soviet comrades we exchanged views on numerous important questions. One by one we took the experiences of the building of socialism, of communism, in our countries, the topical questions of our bilateral relations and the international situation. Our discussions were friendly, cordial, once again we were able to state that on all the fundamental questions we touched on, our views and endeavours coincide, and the standpoint of our parties and governments is identical.

Our talks have advanced our co-operation. We concluded our highly important new twenty-year treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid in September last in Budapest. Now too, we have accomplished our common task in accordance with the provisions and spirit of this treaty. Our determination that we should further broaden the co-operation of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic in every sphere is firm and mutual, and we will do everything so that the unity of our parties and peoples, and Hungarian-Soviet friendship will be ever stronger, enduring and unbreakable.

Comrades, Friends,

The development of the international situation, the events of our complex world, quite understandably preoccupy our parties and our peoples intensely. International political events reflect the clashes and effects of the contradicting forces of progress and reaction. There may be, and there are, temporary deviations and retrogressions, but history continues to advance on its own road. The forces of progress are growing throughout the world. As a consequence of the irreconcilable contradictions of international imperialism, the capitalist system is struggling with grave and growing problems. In various capitalist countries today not only governmental, but constantly increasing and deepening social crises are unfolding.

In the United States of America realistically thinking public figures and leading American journalists have also stated that their society has been led into serious crisis by the growing dissatisfaction over the Vietnam war, the unsolved problems of the Negro



population and the poverty-stricken, and the alarming increase in the growth of crime. In France, Italy and Great Britain the struggle of the working masses against exploitation by the monopolies is intensifying. Spontaneous rebellion against the inhuman capitalist régime is expressed also in the often anarchic actions of the masses of youth. In the leading capitalist countries serious financial problems are emerging, signalled by the shaken positions of the pound, the dollar, and more recently the French franc. The right-wing backlash and the trend towards fascism evident in certain capitalist countries are of no help to the troubles of imperialism either.

We are entirely at one with our class brothers fighting against exploitation in the capitalist countries, and with the peoples struggling against imperialist oppression and for their national independence. The imperialists when grappling with a crisis often seek a way out in adventurist undertakings. This obliges the socialist countries, the progressive movements of the capitalist world and the recently liberated peoples of Asia and Africa to exercise increased firmness, to act energetically and be vigilant.

The facts testify that the imperialists, furious over the collapse of the colonial régime, and dreading their own working classes, the working masses and the spread of communism, have been stepping up their aggressiveness in various parts of the world in recent years.

The American imperialists are conducting a genocidal war against the population of South Vietnam and have for years been carrying out armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, thousands of kilometres from their own borders. The heroic fight of the Vietnamese people, their uncompromising resistance against the colonialist mercenaries and their puppets, have earned the wonder and admiration of the whole world. The peoples of the socialist nations, among them the Hungarian people, have up to now given every possible assistance, commensurate with their resources, to the fraternal Vietnamese people and they will do so in the future too.

The Vietnamese people are defending their homeland, their freedom and their right to self-determination in bitter, heroic armed battle. We are fully at one with the struggle of our Vietnamese brothers, with their rightful demand that the American aggressors

immediately and unconditionally end their bombings of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and that they cease all hostilities against them. The initiative is in the hands of the Vietnamese patriots in every respect, and it is obvious that the American government has run into a political crisis, a blind alley. Despite this fact the American imperialists are still attempting to play for time at the negotiating table in Paris. It is the duty of the progressive forces of the world to make further great efforts in order to aid the Vietnamese people, expose and isolate the American imperialists and to put an end to their aggressive war.

The peace-loving forces must also do everything they can in the interests of resolving the critical situation in the Middle East. With the support of the imperialist states Israel committed her aggression one year ago, and to this day has not complied with the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, and would stubbornly like to annex the occupied Arab territories. The prime minister of Israel and others of her leaders made threats of further armed aggression a few days ago. The Hungarian People's Republic, condemning the aggressive acts, takes a stand on the side of the attacked Arab countries in the international arena. We support the Arab countries in their defence of their independence and their territorial integrity. We are striving to contribute to the elimination of the consequences of aggression and to a political solution of the conflict.

The establishment of the security of the European continent is a question that closely affects the Hungarian people. The foremost obstacle to this is the militarist and revanchist policy which the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany are pursuing with the support of the government of the United States of America. The Bonn government is endeavouring to manoeuvre in the sphere of diplomacy and inter-state relations. It would like to represent the Federal Republic as a democratic, peace-loving state. But there is a wide gulf between words and deeds. This is borne out by the fact that progressive forces are repressed, while on the other hand the neo-fascists receive ever greater scope for their activities.

Most recently so-called emergency laws were adopted by the Bundestag, which mean, first of all, that the West German workers

are tied hand and foot, and apart from this serve the cold-war policy against the German Democratic Republic.

The future of the whole German people is represented by the society that is being built and strengthened in the German Democratic Republic. We are at one with the people and government of the German Democratic Republic and we are helping their struggle, which they are waging in close alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries against West German militarism.

For the sake of the peace and security of Europe we support all the progressive forces of our continent. It is our opinion that governments and parliaments must also consult on the common problems of the European countries which are exclusively their concern. We are convinced that with a constructive exchange of views, with a sober appraisal of the situation with rational agreements and firm and concerted actions of the peoples of Europe the problems of the security of Europe can be solved.

Our government advocates a policy of peaceful co-existence between countries with differing social systems. This policy was proclaimed by the socialist countries, they have fought for it, and they have achieved significant successes. The principle of peaceful co-existence has such an appeal to the masses, it is so popular, that even the imperialist aggressors voice it while trampling on the rights of other peoples and attacking peaceful countries. The policy of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by us guarantees the security of the peoples, the sovereignty and independence of the nations. Communists have no need of war to spread their ideas. They want peace and quiet for the peoples. In this spirit our government also seizes on every chance to remove the danger of war from over the heads of mankind.

The Soviet Union and a good many other socialist countries have more than once made constructive proposals for reducing international tension and ruling out the possibilities of war. We regard the treaty for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons as such an initiative. From the very beginning we were in favour of it, and now we have signed the treaty. Since only four countries voted against it in the general debate in the UN, we hope that, recognizing

the significance of the treaty, more and more countries will sign it, among them those who for various reasons have so far held back.

Comrades,

Nowadays the unity of the socialist countries, their internal firmness, their ties with the Soviet Union, have exceptionally great significance and have an impact on the whole of international affairs. This has also been recognized by the imperialists. They are devoting tremendous sums to the propaganda war against us, they have even set up a separate "scientific research institute" for the purpose of creating ideological confusion, in order to cause rifts in the ties between the socialist countries, to sow confusion in the ranks of the progressive forces and to raise obstacles in the way of world-wide anti-imperialist unity. They are striving particularly to disrupt the ranks of the socialist countries by inciting nationalism and national hatred. Their purpose is to detach these countries from the Soviet Union and turn them against one another. We must wage a consistent ideological struggle against all such hostile endeavours, and we must strengthen and develop the organizations of the socialist countries, and every form of bilateral and multi-lateral co-operation.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic believe that in the present situation our very important common task is to strengthen unity amongst the socialist countries, within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty as well as the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The countries of the Warsaw Treaty have repeatedly declared that their willingness to put an end to their defence organization, if the imperialist powers dissolve NATO, continues to be valid. However, so long as the aggressive military alliance of the imperialists which threatens the peace of the peoples continues to exist, it is our internationalist duty to strengthen and modernize our common defence alliance organizationally and militarily, and to make it even more effective.

Our co-operation which has materialized in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has been useful in helping our countries. We will preserve and develop the results achieved within the



framework of CMEA. We regard making the economic co-operation of the socialist countries more effective as our important and timely responsibility. We are strengthening the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance with all our might, and we are taking an active part in its work. It is our opinion that, alongside the development of the independent national economies, opportunities will open up for a further strengthening of economic relations and better co-operation. We approve every rational measure designed to serve the welfare and economic development of our countries and peoples and to raise co-operation to a higher level.

Our experiences so far have taught us that we must fight unceasingly against all bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and anarchist attempts which publicize the building of socialism in a given country, separate from the other socialist countries, and indeed the building of socialism without communists. History has proved, and is proving, that just as there is no anti-Soviet communism, there is no socialism without communists.

In the present international situation particularly grave historical responsibility rests on the group of Chinese leaders who are pursuing a course of nationalism; with their propagation of petty-bourgeois, pseudo-revolutionary ideas and disruptive, splitting activities, objectively they are playing into the hands of the imperialists, and they have caused and are still causing serious damage today to the progressive movements of the world. Petty-bourgeois revolutionism combined with nationalism which once again has become fashionable is not the same as proletarian revolutionism. What is called the "cultural revolution" in China has nothing in common either with culture or revolution and is nothing else than nationalism and the spirit of anarchy and destruction running wild.

It is the duty of the true supporters of socialism, of proletarian internationalism, of Marxism-Leninism in every country to defend the Party's policy and ideology against right-wing and "left-wing" distortions. At the same time it is their duty to fight against petty-bourgeois pseudo-revolutionism, nationalism, national isolation, chauvinistic hatred and all kinds of hostile views.

Our most powerful weapon is our ideology, our theory, Marxism-Leninism. We implement our policy first and foremost with

ideological weapons and also defend it in this way in the socialist countries where we hold power. As soon as our class enemies begin to attack the foundations of the socialist system in an organized and aggressive manner, it is our right and duty to make use of the instrument of power as well in defence of socialism, the cause of the working class.

The world-wide political and ideological struggle for socialism, for the understanding of people, for their hearts and convictions is going on both between the two social systems and in the socialist countries. We discard the argument that hand in hand with the victory of socialism and its development the class struggle automatically sharpens. But our own struggles and the experiences of other socialist countries prove even today that this struggle does sharpen under certain conditions; it becomes more complex and the class struggle intensifies. But whatever the country in which this struggle goes on, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in such a situation too, is in complete solidarity with the communists, with those who, settling accounts with dogmatism and with revisionism, defend the power of the working class and the cause of socialism against the class enemy. We appreciate their struggle and are prepared to render every kind of internationalist assistance.

Comrades,

Strivings for unity within the international working-class movement have been gaining strength recently. A significant expression of this was the Budapest Consultative Meeting of the fraternal parties in February, where they agreed that in November this year they would convene the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow. Agreement was reached at the Consultative Meeting that the unity of the international communist and working-class movements must be established on the main questions of the fight against imperialism. Since then the meeting of the preparatory committee has taken place in Budapest, and the working group preparing the material of the international conference has also held its first meeting.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for its part has always exerted its efforts to contribute to the restoration of working-class unity. It will strive for this in the future as well. We are deeply



convinced that the Moscow conference of the international communist movement will be a milestone on the road leading to unity; it will make possible the expansion and effective action of the most extensive and world-wide anti-imperialist front, and with this will do a great service to the cause of socialism, human progress and peace.

Comrades, Friends,

Our visit in the Soviet Union which has been rich in great experiences is approaching its end. Our delegation, having accomplished with responsibility the work entrusted to it, is returning to its homeland, the socialist Hungarian People's Republic.

We arrived in the Soviet Union with the honourable assignment of further strengthening our relations. We are profoundly moved by the thousand and one manifestations that the idea of friendship between our peoples lives deep in the Soviet people. We have experienced repeatedly and in many forms that the Soviet people love and esteem the Hungarian people, understand their problems and support their aspirations.

There is no continent where people do not think with great appreciation of the main pillar of human progress and great force for peace, the Soviet Union. There is no continent where the Soviet people do not enjoy great respect, the Soviet people who, with their heroic work, their splendid results, the deep responsibility they show for the fate of other peoples and the great sacrifices they have undertaken for human progress, have won admiration, esteem and honour for themselves. We are pleased to know that we may consider the Soviet people our sincere friends, our faithful allies. In the spirit of internationalism we regard, preserve and strengthen this friendship as our precious treasure. The friendship of the Soviet people is the strong support of our national existence, freedom, independence and socialist future, the firm guarantee of our development.

Now when we take our leave of you, we use this opportunity once again to express our thanks to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Supreme Soviet and the government of the USSR, to our immediate hosts, the populations of the cities of Moscow, Volgograd and Tallinn, and to the entire

Soviet people, for the sincere sympathy, warm hospitality and friendship with which we have been surrounded during every minute of our stay here.

In bidding farewell we again wish much success and fresh results to our fraternal party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our true friend and ally, the Soviet Union, both here at home, in the building of communism, and in the international arena, in the struggle for the peace of mankind. With heartfelt sincerity we wish the entire Soviet people many successes, happiness and peace.

Long live the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live the great Soviet Union and may it prosper!

Long live the fraternity and unity of our peoples, unbreakable Hungarian-Soviet friendship, and may it grow continually stronger!

*Népszabadság*, 4 July 1968.

**SPEECH AT A MEETING IN THE  
BUDAPEST HOSIERY MILL**

*October 1968*

Honoured meeting, Comrades,

Above all I should like to express my thanks for the invitation to the socialist brigade which took the initiative, the social and state leaders and the workers of the factory. I greet those of you who are taking part in this meeting and all those you represent with all my heart. I should like to convey the heartfelt greetings and best wishes of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic and the government.

I would like to speak about a few, to some extent familiar, questions which are engaging the attention of the leaders of our Party, our state and our society, and their leading bodies.

We can state with pleasure and this is exceptionally important to us, that our society, our entire people are carrying out their work under the Party's ideological and political guidance, and the activities of them all are imbued with and guided by the programme adopted at the Party's 9th Congress. The 9th Congress surveyed the situation which had developed in our country; it reviewed and passed judgement on our work; it ascertained the results, revealed the shortcomings and denoted the tasks awaiting solution.

The Congress declared: we will not alter the main line of the Party's home and foreign political aspirations; we will reinforce it and do everything to implement this policy in practice. If we look back on the past two years we can see that this really was what happened. The programme adopted at the Congress, i.e. the further consolidation of the people's power, the strengthening of the Party's leading ideological-political role, the rallying of all the creative forces which want socialism and the strengthening of national unity which serves the aims of socialism; and in foreign policy, to ensure the defence of socialism, progress and peace—these are a living, creative part of our social activity, a guide to action in our everyday work.

The Congress confirmed and endorsed our plans for economic and cultural construction. It marked out the most important tasks, namely the reform of the economic mechanism, the further consolidation of socialist agriculture and the tasks of developing socialist consciousness and public thinking; in a word, everything that needs to be done so that, after laying the foundations of a socialist society in our country, we should work with suitable effectiveness and purpose to complete the building of a socialist society.

Our entire people accepted the resolutions of the 9th Congress. We are justified in saying this, because the parliamentary and council elections were held after the Congress. The results of the elections verified that every politically active force in our society acknowledged the Party's ideas and concepts as their own; they were accepted by the Patriotic People's Front movement, and through their votes, by the working people. Since then two years have passed, and an abundance of facts prove that our society is working to make the resolutions of the 9th Congress reality and in this work we have achieved no trifling results.

At the Congress we examined critically the results we had achieved in economic construction. We took note of those results with pleasure, but we also stated that the development of socialism requires more efficient and more efficacious economic work from us. In order to prevent a slowing down of the pace at which the building of a socialist society was completed, and ensure that no break occurs in the rise in the people's living standards, it is necessary to implement all the new endeavours which we have summarized under the collective term of reform of the economic mechanism.

The same thing is happening in cultural construction, in public education, science, popular education and also in the sphere of art, although here the process of development is somewhat more complicated, as socialist public thinking and socialist awareness are not easy to evolve. And it is not easy to get everyone to learn that he can only work effectively for himself and his family too if he seeks prosperity together with the people of the country.

Among the resolutions of the Congress there is the further strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, the main political



basis of our state. We should further strengthen the co-operative farms, this new achievement of our socialist revolution, in such a way that the fundamental labouring classes should share in the results of the common work in a suitable manner and to a suitable extent.

One of the resolutions of the Congress was that living standards and social provisions for people in the countryside must be brought closer to that of the working class. A number of suitable state decrees with the force of law have already been adopted to this end, and their practical implementation has begun. In this sphere too we have achieved significant results.

The Congress also adopted resolutions in respect of other important areas of our social and political life. For example, in the further development of socialist democracy, party life and the democratism of public life, and the striking of stronger roots for our ideology and political ideas. It is our great achievement that communists and non-communists, the overwhelming majority of our people, arrived at identical conclusions in realizing that the only road to their prosperity was to carry the socialist revolution further, which is, at the same time, the road to further prosperity for the Hungarian nation.

We may rightfully say today that socialist patriotism is not only in the process of birth, but lives, exists and is gaining strength day after day in our people's way of thinking. One of our most important tasks is that we should all work for its further unfolding and deepening.

I do not wish to speak in detail about the questions of the reform of economic management, and certain indices of industrial and agricultural production, as Comrade Fock recently spoke about them quite plainly to Parliament in his government report. The report discussed the questions which we solved with success, and also those—for example concerning productivity—in respect to which the situation has not developed in the best possible manner during the past few months. Naturally the government report could not deal with the numerical results of agricultural production, as we reckon these production results according to the calendar year, and the picture will therefore only be complete on 31

December. But we can already say on the basis of information to date that this year our agriculture will in all probability fulfil the production plan. Anyone who recalls the weather conditions, and is at all familiar with life in the countryside and with agricultural work, is very well aware that, for this year, this is a very great success. And let me tell you that the merit belongs first and foremost to the people working in the sphere of agriculture, the managers and the workers. This result also bears out that our working class and its revolutionary Party did well to place the questions of promoting the development of the peasantry on the agenda. Our peasantry responds to this with decent, honest work now too, which can only be acknowledged in words of appreciation.

From a social point of view and historically it is exceptionally important that we were able to achieve this result because at the initiative of the Party our society and our people put on the agenda and accomplished the socialist transformation of agriculture. Without this it would have been impossible to attain the type of bread-grain crop last year and this which we did, a harvest the like of which has never been seen on Hungarian soil in the past.

The complete building of a socialist society is a lofty historical goal. Our work serves the aim of creating the free and happy society of the working people, in which the labouring man enjoys the fruit of his work in every respect. A good number of facts were mentioned in the prime minister's report which are related to this.

Summarizing the questions of general development we may state with assurance and confidence that the general direction of our policy—in the social, economic and cultural spheres alike—has been correct.

Now, if I may be permitted to, I should like to say a few words about your factory too.

I have seen many beautiful and fine things during the short time I have spent here today. Naturally I know more than what I saw and heard here about the factory today. This factory, as the result of a rational amalgamation carried out at the proper time, has been a large enterprise for some eight or nine years, comprising four other mills which were independent in the past. The size of your factory, in addition to the fact that you produce

important consumer articles, has attracted the attention of government and Central Committee circles.

In my opinion the development of the Hosiery Mill is in harmony with the country's general socialist development and with the growth of Hungarian socialist industry. There are also signs of development of the kind that our comrade the general manager mentioned, that you have twice won the Challenge Flag of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Trade Unions, and your products have won a grand prize at the International Fair.

I must speak separately of the factory's social and political development as well. One can sense and experience in the most varied ways, but at all events with pleasure, that there has been vast development in this respect too. Anyone who comes to see you after a long time and listens to a few of the contributions, notes with pleasure that the women and young people have made enormous strides in matters of political knowledge, in education and culture, and in standing their ground in production also.

In connection with the contribution of the woman comrade who spoke just before me, I too would like to say a few words about the socialist brigade movement. Today we had a brief meeting here with leaders of the socialist brigades. Even this brief meeting reflected a few of the specific characteristics of the entire brigade movement. Among other things, how and in what manner the aspirations of people becomes fused almost into one, that on the one hand they should ensure their own livelihood and advancement with honest work, and that on the other hand they should live in a socialist manner, that is, not according to some kind of jungle law of the wilderness, and that everyone should prosper with his workmates and shopmates, together with the workers of the whole factory and with the whole people. I do not separate this movement from the development of all of the workers, because the two are interdependent. I believe that the interest of all the workers in the affairs of society has grown, because a developing and strengthening socialist brigade movement can only grow in such soil.

Up to now 63 brigades in the factory have already earned the

title "socialist". Not long ago a further 40 brigades competed for this title, but this figure has now increased, because new brigades have joined the movement in connection with the Party's jubilee. Now more than 110 work brigades are active in your factory. The brigade movement embraces the entire factory and the various age-groups represented here.

Allow me to congratulate you sincerely, with all my heart, on the political and social development achieved in the Budapest Hosiery Mill, and the results in production. We are well aware of the great efforts that lie behind the results.

In this factory 80 per cent of the workers are women. Naturally the women have had a lion's share in the results achieved here. One of the great questions of socialist society, the genuinely free society of labour, is the final settlement of the position of women; not only in the legal sense, but in such a manner that women should have equal rights and opportunities with men for prosperity. However, the road to realizing this is still long. Unfortunately not only in the minds of men are there prejudices that women should be kept in a subordinate social status, but also among a section of women.

The many decades of the history of the working-class movement have been accompanied all the way by the struggle that equal work should receive equal pay. We have achieved power, we have laid the foundations of a socialist society, but we have not yet entirely carried this principle into effect. Various surveys bear this out. The free Saturday every other week, for example, is an excellent thing. But everybody knows that this does not mean the same free Saturday for men and women. So much so that many women comrades—who are grateful for the free Saturday—express their pleasure by saying: "a bit more time to do the housework". This, then, is still what many women get out of their fortnightly free Saturday.

A great many material problems also await solution. Part of them are technical problems, which can be solved with the expansion of laundries and sewing-shops, and other similar measures. However, motherhood raises entirely different, and much more serious, problems. The Party Congress also dealt with this, and afterwards the government adopted the measure on the child care allow-



ances.\* Since the decree went into force, approximately 70,000 women have availed themselves of the allowance. The rate of population increase has now somewhat improved. But this means that again more room will be needed in kindergartens and schools, which will require new material resources.

Comrades,

The reform in economic management, about which I would also like to speak briefly, is a very great undertaking and task for our society. As regards its more long-term aims, we expect great results from this reform. With the reform we want the sense of responsibility and creative force of socialist man to develop better and to a greater extent. We are certain that this is the way it will be, and that great creative forces will be liberated in our entire economic and social life.

The purpose of the reform is that we should assert the fundamental laws of economic life in the interests and for the benefit of socialist development. Sooner or later we must see to it that commodities appear on the market at approximately their social value, and that it should not be possible to "conceal" any kind of poor workmanship or fault in their price. Production costs must be brought down, consumption of materials and technologies must be improved, so that prices should not be too high; at the same time they should be close to actual values. This is necessary in the case of consumer goods too. There are some consumer items, however, whose prices will remain stable, such as bread, for example, which we do not regard as a purely commercial article.

Just as the quality of products differs, there must be a corresponding differentiation in their prices. Whoever desires to purchase cheaper goods should be able to do so. However, someone who is exacting, and follows fashion to a great extent, must pay the corresponding price for it. This is the way prices must develop.

\* Beginning with 1968, every Hungarian woman in employment, in order to take care of her new-born child, is entitled to stay at home for a period of three years following the birth of her child. To compensate for the loss of income they are eligible for a monthly allowance of 600 forints for each child under the age of three. In 1971, 178 thousand women were beneficiaries of this allowance.

This is not a programme of two years, but the ultimate development of the reform must reinforce this tendency.

The trend of earnings is a matter of extraordinary importance. The principle of a socialist wage system must prevail to a greater extent than up to now. Greater differentiation in earnings is necessary than in the past. Whoever contributes more to society must also receive more. The Party and the government have already taken a stand in connection with the fact that fringe benefits must not be allowed to decline, but when an improvement is contemplated, it is the wage expressed in forints that should be increased, rather than that part which the workers are unable to reckon. For they do not appreciate the latter to an extent which corresponds to its value.

Comrades,

We owe the results achieved in socialist construction to a number of factors. First of all we attribute them to the fact that the activities of our Party are guided by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and our home and foreign policy is correct and just in principle, corresponding to the aims and interests of our working class and people. The correct general line of the Party is the same as, let us say, the sights of a weapon. If they are not aligned correctly, it is impossible to hit the target.

The general line of our Party has been unbroken for twelve years. If you recall the situation of twelve years ago, you can judge how difficult were the circumstances under which we had to find correct orientation, to restore elementary order, and to evolve the policy which has since proved to be correct. And if you survey the development which we envisaged then, and what we have realized up to now, then everybody will understand that this was possible only in the so-called struggle on two fronts. That is, that we consistently asserted the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and tolerated no deviation from them whatever. We have not made and will not make any concessions to either dogmatism and sectarianism or to revisionism and right-wing views. By this time history has verified that we could not have acted differently. And the result is so clear, so tangible, that in fact not only do the masses of peasants and workers and the entire people approve this policy

and demand that we should continue in this manner, but even our enemies are compelled to take note of it. The journalists of the imperialist press write in their papers that in Hungary there is "surprising" calm, people accept the policy of the Party and the government, and these journalists often add this is "incomprehensible". It may be that they do not understand this, but we understand and know what sort of a road our Party and our people had to map out and how they are advancing on this road.

We shall continue to proceed on this road in the future as well. We are strengthening and developing the leading role of the Party, and we shall continue our endeavours to unite all forces, and to consolidate the cohesion of our society. I would mention an example which shows the strength and firmness of our society. I am thinking of the days following 21 August, when well-known events occurred. The events surprised people, despite the fact that they knew that problems existed in Czechoslovakia. At the first moment many things were not clear to people. Yet the basic attitude of our party membership and the broad masses was that they accepted and backed the decisions of the Party and the government. This is valid for Hungarian society as a whole, but it may also be said separately of the working masses, the peasant masses and the intelligentsia. It may be said of the soldiers who were there in Czechoslovakia, and who—in a very complex situation—behaved splendidly, demonstrated a high degree of maturity and carried out their tasks precisely and well and in a very disciplined manner. These facts also show that our people and our party membership understand, accept and support our standpoint. We may claim that nowadays our people have not rowed into either left-wing or right-wing waters, and this is a very good thing.

In internal policy, in economic and cultural matters we shall continue to progress on the road we have followed so far. In the same way, we shall not alter our foreign policy. A cardinal and fundamental precept of our foreign policy is that we are advancing with the Soviet Union, the first socialist country, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We are striving for co-operation with all the socialist countries. We are pursuing this same aim within the world communist move-

ment and in other spheres of the forces of progress. With respect to the appraisal of the Czechoslovak situation opinions within the world communist movement and amongst the socialist countries differ, they are often contradictory and opposed to each other.

It is our conviction that we are defending our Marxist-Leninist point of view. In questions of principle we do not compromise with anyone. Despite the divergent standpoints we are striving for comradely relations, friendship and co-operation with every socialist country and all the communist and workers' parties, without exception.

We are convinced that if in the present world situation—at a time of different social systems—we are capable of negotiating and debating with representatives of both the developing countries and the capitalist nations, indeed, when necessary and on occasion, even with representatives of the great imperialist powers, then without doubt we must also be capable—and we must display that much comradely patience and steadfastness—of carrying on debates on principle whether with fraternal parties, or with representatives of the socialist countries on questions in which our opinions are not exactly identical. At any rate, we are capable of striving for unity and co-operation, provided our world outlook, our ultimate aims and our fundamental interests are identical.

But if there are and remain differences in view, these must be put aside and we must deal with matters in common, in terms of our efforts, for co-operation. Our Party continues to hold the view that in practice we must work in this spirit and this is what we shall do in future too. We do not demand of anyone that he give up his convictions. We will not abandon our own convictions, part of which is that we are striving for the unity of the socialist camp, for the greatest degree of co-operation, and to strengthen the cohesion of the world communist movement. As one of the manifestations of this—out of the trust of the fraternal parties—we became the hosts of the preparatory committee of the international conference of communist and workers' parties. We are accomplishing this task with honour and respect. The committee met just recently, and will meet again in the near future. It is our opinion that a broad international conference must also be convened when



it is fitting and possible. The sooner the better. The socialist world, and the forces of progress in general, are under attack from imperialism. We must unite our forces against the common enemy and its aggressive moves. This has been our standpoint up to now, this is what it is at present and we shall continue to adhere to this point of view in the future.

In the same way, in our foreign policy we are pursuing our principle that we must strive for the normalization of contacts between countries with differing social systems. We must urge rational co-operation which represents mutual advantage, and we are prepared to do this.

We always take a stand in support of progress. We are opposed to every imperialist aggression, and we are at one with the peoples struggling against imperialist aggression. As far as our possibilities allow, politically, diplomatically and in other respects too, we are aiding and supporting their fight in actual fact. We are at one with the Vietnamese people who are heroically fighting against imperialist aggression. It is common knowledge that preliminary discussions have been going on in Paris for months between representatives of the governments of the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In recent days news has leaked from Western sources that the United States is getting ready to halt, to suspend the bombings. I do not wish to comment on this, but I should like to emphasize that our Party and our people have great respect for the Vietnamese people, who are standing their ground heroically under particularly difficult circumstances, and are making it impossible for American imperialism to attain its aims. And this respect will remain always.

We are deeply convinced that American imperialism will have to cease its aggression. We believe that the sooner this happens the better it will be for the people of the United States too. We are certain that the many heroic sacrifices the Vietnam people have made for freedom have not been in vain, and sooner or later they will bear fruit.

In the Middle East the situation is virtually unchanged. There is no movement either forward or backward. The sole reason for this is that Israel refuses to accept the resolutions of the UN Security

Council of 22 November last year, which, although not solving the problems, could serve as a basis for a political solution. We shall continue to support the Arab countries fighting for their freedom, and the progressive Arab forces, and as far as we are able we will do everything so that, with the UN resolutions as a starting-point, the question should be solved not through bloodshed but by political means.

As you are aware, the question of European security has been put on the agenda in international affairs. Our Party took part in the talks at Karlovy Vary where a multilateral exchange of views took place on this question. The European communist and workers' parties are striving for a solution which meets with the interests of all peoples of Europe—including the German people—and offers security for peaceful development. In our opinion the condition for this is that everyone must acknowledge the realities of the present day. The government and public opinion of the Federal Republic of Germany must ultimately take into account the results of the Second World War. The reality that at present two Germanys exist in the heart of Europe must be the point of departure. We entertain no hostile designs whatsoever towards the Federal Republic of Germany, and the rest of the socialist countries in general take the same kind of standpoint. At the same time the governments of the capitalist countries must also understand and acknowledge the fact that the German Democratic Republic, the first German workers' and peasants' state, in the heart of Europe is a reality and is an exceptionally important factor in the security of the peoples of the continent. If they acknowledge this reality and proceed on this basis, then conditions can be established in Europe too which will make normal, systematic creative work possible in accordance with the interests of all peoples.

I would like to speak briefly about the Czechoslovak situation too. The development of the situation in Czechoslovakia, starting in January, underwent many changes. There was a period of sharp controversy, then we negotiated, agreement was reached, then once again a period of controversy followed, and after that came the steps taken on 21 August. In accordance with the decision of our government we also took part in this action, our troops also en-

tered Czechoslovakia. Now a new settlement has been reached, the agreements of August in Moscow and the most recent one, which naturally was arrived at on the basis of prior consultation with us, and which, in our conviction, is timely and correct. Accordingly the Hungarian troops have begun, and will shortly conclude, their withdrawal. This again represents a new phase.

I believe I do not have to demonstrate that in their appraisal of the Czechoslovak situation the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian People's Republic were led, from the start and throughout, by Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and feelings of friendship. Never did we wish the fraternal Czechoslovak party and the Czechoslovak people anything other than that they should protect their achievements, which they had already attained in the course of socialist development; that they should continue on this road and not offer any opportunities to our class enemies, the imperialists, to threaten these achievements and the security of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and through this security of the rest of the socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic among them. This motivated us when we negotiated in Moscow, and again when in Warsaw with four other parties we appealed to the fraternal Czechoslovak party in a letter, and this motivated us at the time our troops entered and now when they are withdrawing. There have been, are and will be debates about whether our move was essential and inevitable. According to our Party and government it was unavoidable and necessary. We are convinced of this because in Czechoslovakia the danger of counter-revolution became an ever increasing threat day by day. The danger grew in the heart of Europe that a new arena would open up for the imperialists, and they would most certainly have exploited it to their advantage. A most serious danger threatened the security of the socialist countries. We wished to eliminate this threat and that is what we did.

As far as we are concerned: we Hungarian communists, and the Hungarian supporters of socialism in general, have enough problems here at home. We hope and trust that the Czechoslovak communists and the Czechoslovak working people will solve the present great problems of the Czechoslovak party and society.

We are also aware that a certain amount of time and efforts are necessary for this. From the very outset we stressed on every occasion: we appreciate the fact that there must be a break with mistakes; we can also agree that methods of socialist leadership, methods of work, economic policy and culture have to be developed. But we could never agree that the way should be opened for the forces which had been attacking the Communist Party and the socialist system unhindered.

We have been guided throughout by a consistently principled standpoint and this will guide us in the future too. Our wish to the Czechoslovak communists and the Czechoslovak working people is that they should solve the open, great and important questions of the party and society in a socialist manner. This is what we desire, and to this extent we are interested but we have no interests whatever in any other respect.

Our confidence in the masses continues to remain unshakable. We know that hundreds and thousands of communists live in Czechoslovakia. Now there are some feelings of resentment, and confusion of one kind or another, but sooner or later the process of clarification will take place. The majority of the Czechoslovak people are undoubtedly in favour of socialism. These people have also travelled a historic road, and we are convinced that the present problems will be resolved in a socialist manner.

The imperialists are bent on breaking the people of Vietnam with napalm bombs, artillery bombardment from warships, bombings and assassinations, and by every possible means, and naturally they want to wipe out the socialist system in Vietnam. But in this they will not succeed. They thought that in Czechoslovakia, by some means or other, they could start something more smoothly. We must tell the imperialists clearly that in the international situation an area of greater calm will come about when they understand that neither with bombs nor with ideological subversion nor with any other means—such as the ones they tried out at one time in Hungary and most recently in Czechoslovakia—will they succeed in once more turning that state which has become socialist into a capitalist country. We, who are supporters of communism and socialism in the world, will never allow this under any circumstances. We con-



tinue to declare that neither revolution nor counter-revolution can be exported. The social system depends on the strivings, the will and the decision of that particular country's people, and this will be so in future as well.

We Hungarians, on our part, keep on the agenda and urge the development of the Warsaw Treaty and the more effective co-operation and cohesion of the socialist countries, because this serves the defence of our common interests and speeds our development.

These were the international questions I wanted to speak about to you.

In these days we shall be celebrating a number of great, historic anniversaries. The 50th anniversary of the founding in Hungary of the Marxist-Leninist Party will be in the near future. We will commemorate the "Michaelmas Daisy" Revolution of 1918, then next year the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. The commemorations themselves are very important, and at the same time they serve the proper education of our society and our youth. For us communists, and supporters of socialism, they represent good opportunities to judge our present-day deeds by the past, by historical antecedents, and answer the question: have we accomplished what is worthy of the splendid revolutionary heritage of our Party, our working class and our people, what is worthy of those heroes and martyrs who unfurled their flags in a much more difficult situation than the present.

In conclusion, let me thank you once again for your attention and patience. I regard as the main experience of today's visit and meeting the fact that we could become convinced that the Party, the government and the working people are on the right road and advancing together. We must preserve this mutual confidence, this sober clear-sightedness, adherence to principle and readiness for struggle and work; this is what will yield yet new results for us.

I heartily wish all the best and much success to the managers and workers of the Budapest Hosiery Mill, and all the managers and workers of the factories of Óbuda represented here, and the local residents.

**SPEECH TO THE FESTIVE SESSION  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
ON THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY**

*November 1968*

Honoured Central Committee, Comrades,

We are commemorating an event of historic importance today, the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Hungarian Communist Party. On this festive occasion I extend greetings to everyone taking part in the Central Committee meeting and to every member of our Party, to our working class and to the entire Hungarian working people.

Comrades,

Fifty years ago, when on Russia's blood-soaked soil, in the storm of the civil war, the young Soviet power was fighting for the right to live, all around, throughout the world, capitalism ruled. But the first workers' power had already been born, to which hundreds of millions of the oppressed and the exploited looked with confidence. At this great turning-point in world history a new chapter also began in the history of the Hungarian working-class movement. In our country, too, the pioneers unfurled the banner of communism, the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian Communist Party, was formed and embarked on its historic road.

The ideas of socialism, of communism, have covered a tremendous road during the past half century. Communist and workers' parties have come into existence and have grown into a significant political force in nearly every country in the world. Socialism has become a world system embracing fourteen countries on three continents. A great turning-point came about in the destiny of our people also. The Hungarian people, freed from the shackles of capitalism, are working successfully today to complete the building of socialism in the ranks of the nations advancing in the forefront of social development.

The world-wide break-through of socialism cannot be stopped. The struggle of the two systems, however, is going on in every sphere. Imperialism provokes armed clashes. A whole series of peoples are burning with the fever of exploration. The working-class movement is not devoid either of waverers, of emotional "revolutionaries", revisionist traitors and various disruptors of unity. The struggle of the capitalist and the socialist system is intensifying in the ideological and political spheres. The responsibility of the revolutionary forces is growing, historical experiences are acquiring deeper meaning, and in the wake of revolutionary practice our scientific theory, Marxism-Leninism, is developing.

It is under such conditions that we celebrate today. For the present-day work and struggles of our Party, our working class and people, we may draw great strength from the revolutionary experiences of the past fifty years of the Hungarian working-class movement. It is our duty to take stock, evaluate and make use of them! It is our duty all the more so because historical experiences in our country, just as in every other part of the world, are increasingly strengthening the awareness in the masses that only from socialism can the peoples expect a reply and a solution to the burning questions of the age.

In our country, starting with the turn of the century, the struggles of the toiling masses for the betterment of their fate unfolded with ever increasing vigour. The country's grave problems became catastrophic when the capitalists plunged the peoples into the World War of 1914. The Habsburg Monarchy allied with German imperialism, the Austrian and the Hungarian ruling classes assumed the role of incendiaries, declaring war on Serbia, and in the wake of this the imperialist military machines were set into motion and Europe was engulfed in flames. The sufferings of the war years, the death of millions, the privations of hundreds of millions, induced the peoples, in the face of all kinds of terror, to launch a struggle to remove the war governments.

The working masses and the peoples who, as a result of the treason of the Second International and the bankruptcy of social democracy, remained without leadership, sought ways and means to bring the war to an end, to overthrow the capitalist system which

engenders war, and to take their destinies into their own hands. And in November 1917 the Russian socialist revolution gave a reply to these great questions. The Great October Socialist Revolution struck a tremendous blow at capitalism, at all the supporters of the imperialist war, and made the influence of socialist ideas stronger than ever before.

It was with boundless enthusiasm that Hungary's proletariat greeted their Russian brothers whose victory filled them with the hopes of a rapid conclusion to the imperialist war and the birth of a new world. Following their example, the left-wing forces intensified their struggle, and in our country, too, the broad masses bestirred themselves. This was manifested in the general strikes of January and July 1918, the revolt of troops at Pécs, and the soldiers' mutinies that flared up in various parts of the country. The overthrow of the war government and the Monarchy, the achievement of Hungary's national independence were the aims of the general strike of 29 October, the great demonstration of 30 October and the armed uprising which had developed by 31 October, and which eventually achieved their aims. Following that, on 16 November 1918, the republic was proclaimed. With the leadership of the working class the people overthrew the Monarchy, established the republic and won independence for the country. With this, however, the great questions of the class struggle, the fundamental problems of the workers, were not yet solved.

The bourgeois democratic revolution was victorious, but the people's demands could only be satisfied by a socialist revolution. For this leading political force was needed, with the ability to lead the struggles of the working class and the masses, a force which would show the way to liberation. The new, revolutionary party of the Hungarian proletariat matured and was formed in the revolutionary struggles of the year 1918. The act of its formal founding was the consultation in Buda on 24 November 1918. On that memorable day there gathered in a house in Városmajor Street the political general staff which proclaimed the founding of the Party, elected the Party's Central Committee and set about building up its organizations, and propagating the Party's ideas. With this, in response to the imperative demand of the historical situation, the indepen-



dent political party uniting the revolutionary forces of the proletariat, the Hungarian Communist Party, came into existence.

Fifty years ago the best sons of the Hungarian working class, of our people, met with each other in the Hungarian Communist Party. Among the builders of the Party were the best left-wing representatives of the social democrats: Béla Szántó, László Rudas, Béla Vágó, Ede Chlepkó, Jenő László and many others.

The builders of the Party included numerous leaders of the revolutionary socialists, Ottó Korvin, Antal Mosolygó, József Kelen, Imre Sallai, József Révai, József Lengyel and others. The former prisoners of war who had returned home, and who had gone through the school of the Soviet revolution and had become familiar with Lenin's ideas and the experiences of the Bolshevik Party, provided very great assistance in the formation of the Party. Among them were Béla Kun, the most prominent leader of the Hungarian internationalists in Russia, the Party's first chairman, Tibor Szamuely, Károly Vántus, Ernő Pór, Ferenc Jancsik and Ferenc Münnich.

It was in the fight for the Republic of Councils that Jenő Landler, who became one of the leaders of the Communist Party when it was reorganized under the extremely difficult years of the white terror, Dezső Bokányi, people's tribune of the Hungarian working-class movement, Jenő Varga, the scientist who earned international fame, and György Nyisztor, the well-known leader of the agricultural labourers' movement, developed into communists and never again left the banner of the proletarian revolution.

Comrades,

At the proper historical moment, following the ideas of Lenin and the example of the Bolshevik Party, as the offspring of Hungarian reality the Communist Party of the Hungarian working class, this militant detachment of the international communist movement, was formed in the autumn of 1918 by the best forces of the Hungarian working-class movement. In those November days fifty years ago decisive issues came to the forefront of the political struggle. These were: should the revolution be concluded, preserving the capitalist system, or should the struggle continue against the exploiting classes, for the confiscation of the large

landed estates and the placing of the banks, the factories and the mines under public ownership; should one be content with a bourgeois republic, and should the people be satisfied with the nice promises of the future, or should a socialist republic of councils be set up? The Communist Party gave a reply to this historic question. It launched and developed the struggle for the proletarian revolution, for the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils allied with Soviet Russia.

In the months following the founding of the Party, the struggle sharpened. At the time of the bourgeois-social-democratic coalition government an increasingly open dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary masses predominated, and in February 1919 there was a large-scale anti-communist provocation which was followed by police persecution. Pro-Soviet manifestations were hounded. But they were unable to halt the revolutionary process. The organized workers and the poor people of the countryside turned with ever growing confidence towards the Communist Party. The workers took over the management of more and more factories, in the villages the poor occupied large estates, and in many provincial towns and a few counties administrative power passed into the hands of workers' councils.

The pro-Western foreign policy of the bourgeois-social-democratic coalition also ended in complete failure. From behind the smoke-screen of the "democratic" phrases of the victorious Western powers there emerged the true visage of the imperialist plunderers. The infamous Vyx Note of 20 March gave the *coup de grâce* to illusions regarding the Western powers. In every section of the population concerned over the fate of the country, the recognition prevailed that the vital interests of the nation demanded alliance with revolutionary Soviet Russia and the ensuring of support from the international proletariat. In those ominous days, when the Hungarian bourgeoisie, the bourgeois government met with total failure, the representatives of the Communist Party and of the Social Democratic Party agreed to assume responsibility for the destiny of the people and the future of the country, to establish the unity of the working class, and to form a united party in order to lay the foundations for proletarian power.

Four months after the founding of the Communist Party came the historic day of 21 March 1919, the day when the revolution of the proletariat triumphed, and the Hungarian Republic of Councils was proclaimed. It is very rare in history that a party's immediate revolutionary objective is accomplished in such a short time. Four months from now we will commemorate the half-century jubilee of the proclamation of the Republic of Councils. We will appraise the domestic, international and historical significance of its creation, its work of social transformation, its revolutionary patriotic war and its struggles.

In August 1919, with the armed intervention and superior strength of the external imperialist forces, the Entente troops called in by counter-revolutionaries at home crushed the Hungarian Republic of Councils. They restored the feudal-capitalist order, and with the reign of White Terror and a quarter of a century of ruthless repression they took revenge for the fact that the Hungarian proletariat had taken power, aided the struggles of the proletariat of neighbouring countries and disrupted the imperialists' advance and military campaign against Soviet Russia. They even strove to blacken the very memory of the Republic of Councils. But the Hungarian Republic of Councils stands untarnished in the light of history. Our Party, our working class and our people may be proud of their first workers' and peasants' state, and of the fact that the things for which our ancestors took up the cause fifty years ago are being carried through today.

The experiences of the first Hungarian socialist revolution have become the lasting theoretical weapons of the Hungarian and international working class. The Hungarian Republic of Councils proved that the revolution of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the proletariat, was not specifically a "Russian phenomenon", but an example that can and should be followed by the workers of other countries. The Hungarian example demonstrated already then that the victory of a country's working class can only be won with the leadership of the Party armed with Marxist-Leninist theory and united with that class and the masses, with the leadership, that is, of the revolutionary vanguard. The birth of the Hungarian Republic of Councils demonstrated also that the

strength of the working class is multiplied and made into a class capable of leading the nation by its political unity.

After the downfall of the dictatorship of the proletariat and with counter-revolution gaining the upper hand, the political unity of the workers disintegrated. But the idea of unity lived on. Decades passed before the communists and the left-wing social democrats, fighting against the bourgeoisie, against reaction, against fascism, and struggling against the disrupting activities of the right-wing social democrats, the Peyerists, again united their forces in 1948, restored the unity of the working class, and once more were able to establish their united revolutionary party. To this we owe the fact that today a united party, united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, leads the struggle of our people and can commemorate the founding of the Communist Party in 1918 as its own celebration.

Honoured Central Committee, Comrades,

After the crushing of the Republic of Councils a dark era of a quarter of a century of brutal oppression and unbridled terror descended on our Party and our people.

The graves of martyrs and heroes mark the historic course of our Party. Many fell, sacrificing their lives for communism, for the freedom of the people.

In 1919 Tibor Szamuely, Ottó Korvin, Jenő László, Árpád Kerekes and many others; in 1932 Imre Sallai and Sándor Fürst. In the Spanish Civil War Máté Zalka, Vilmos Zsinkó and György Sebes, together with many of their comrades-in-arms, gave their lives for Hungarian freedom, and the freedom of the peoples. In the years of the Second World War Ferenc Rózsa, Zoltán Schönherz, György Kilián, Gyula Kulich, Endre Ságvári, István Pataki and many other loyal sons of the Party and the homeland died as heroes.

In 1956, when arms had to be taken up again in defence of the workers' power and socialism, among those who fell we lost Imre Mező, József Kalamár, Éva Kállai, Miklós Biksza, Sándor Sziklai and János Asztalos.

We recall the memory of those comrades with sorrow—László Rajk, Tibor Szőnyi, András Szalai, István Riesz, György Pálffy,



László Sólyom and others—who were loyal fighters for the cause and the working class during their lifetime, and died as victims of the cult of the personality.

In hundreds and thousands of marked and unmarked graves lie those communists and our comrades-in-arms who had to die because, proclaiming progressive ideas, they fought for socialism, the freedom of the working class and the people. But their sacrifice was not in vain, because the Party lives, the cause has triumphed and the people have triumphed: a socialist Hungary is being built on free soil!

The Party never gave up the struggle: defying all kinds of repression and persecution it continued the struggle in the most difficult times under the gravest circumstances.

We may say that throughout the entire period of its fifty years of existence, under the conditions of oppression and of freedom, in peace and war, it has fought unceasingly always, everywhere and under all circumstances for the everyday interests of the workers and has proclaimed the ideas of communism.

Throughout the twenty-five years of the Horthy era the Party worked underground. The selflessness, the heroic readiness of the Party's members to make sacrifices ensured the continuity of the work. The oppressed and exploited working class, the peasantry, the working masses reorganized and launched their fight for freedom, for their rights and for a livelihood. The Republic of Councils of 1919 had a decisive impact on the Hungarian class struggles of the Horthy era. The bourgeoisie dreaded its very memory, but in the working people the hope lived ineradicably that the socialist revolution would triumph again.

The underground Communist Party led the fight, organized the proletariat and the most politically conscious representatives of the poor peasantry and the intelligentsia. In the middle 1920s it brought into existence the legal Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the semi-legal trade union opposition, and working within the organizations of the Social Democratic Party, and especially in the trade unions, together with the left-wing social democrats, they organized a whole series of mass strikes. The greatest militant action of the Budapest masses was the demonstration of the 1st

of September in 1930, when the revolutionary working masses again ruled the streets.

In the wake of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, the unity of the working class strengthened in our country too, and the people's front movement developed in the face of fascism and the threatening danger of war; this lent fresh impetus to the struggle. Resistance against the forces of fascism increased and broadened at the time when war was unleashed against the Soviet Union, during the Hitlerite occupation of our country and finally during the reign of terror of the Arrow Cross hordes led by Szálasi.

In the period of the war, in addition to the revolutionary workers and left-wing elements, such patriots also joined the anti-fascist movement who had a different world outlook, but understood that if we did not act, fascism and its war of plunder would plunge our nation into destruction, into extreme peril. The Communist Party launched and led the Historical Memorial Committee,\* the mass anti-war demonstration of 15 March 1942, the Hungarian Front which rallied the patriotic forces, the blowing up of the statue of Gömbös,\*\* the armed underground actions and the battles of the partisan detachments. Hungarian communists living in exile fought against the fascists, for the freedom of the peoples in the ranks of the army in the Soviet Union, in the resistance organizations of nearly every country in Europe, and in the ranks of the Soviet, French, Belgian, Slovak and Yugoslav partisans.

At the time of the Second World War, too, the Communist Party was the leading force of the struggle which embraced the best sons of the nation, the aim of which was to withdraw from

\* Formed in February 1942, the Historical Memorial Committee was formally established to collect historical relics and documents. In actual practice it became the leading body of the anti-German resistance movement. It was headed by outstanding anti-fascist writers, artists, journalists and politicians.

\*\* Gyula Gömbös (1886–1936) was a politician of fascist views. A leading personality of the counter-revolution following the fall of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, in October 1932 he was appointed Prime Minister of Hungary. In the following year he was one of the first European statesmen to visit Hitler. His statue in Budapest was blown up by a commando unit of the underground Hungarian Communist Party during the German occupation of Hungary.

the war and to create an independent, free and democratic Hungary. Our people were not able to carry this struggle to victory through their own unaided strength.

Comrades,

Freedom for the Hungarian people was brought by the army of the Soviet Union, through its heroic and self-sacrificing battles. The Soviet army defeated and drove out of our country the Hitler-fascist invaders who held out to the bitter end, and the Horthy-fascist reactionary Hungarian forces who allied themselves with them for life or death. Hungary was liberated and won back her sovereignty, and the possibility of social progress opened up before our people.

At the time of liberation the Communist Party, forced underground for a quarter of a century, was the only organized force which regained its feet at once, and put forward a programme for the reconstruction of the country and the revolutionary transformation of the whole of Hungarian society. With the leadership of the communists, and in the wake of the self-sacrificing work of the people, the ruins of the war disappeared and there was a Hungarian rebirth.

The further struggle against reaction, which came to after the stupor of defeat in the war, was led by the communist-social-democratic unity committees, the left-wing bloc and the left-wing forces rallied within the compass of the Hungarian National Independence Front and forged into unity by their struggle. The political unity of the Hungarian working class, represented by a united revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, was again established in the fight against reaction and to achieve workers' power. We may rightly regard 1948 as the year of the turning-point because, with the leadership of our Party and the support of the working class and the working masses, the revolution triumphed for a second time in our country.

The crucial means of production came under public ownership, and the building of socialism was begun.

The years following the victory of working-class power, of the people's democratic system, were years of vigorous socialist construction. The work done produced epoch-making results. The

country was transformed into an industrialized, vigorously developing socialist country. Our people achieved these results under the guidance of our Party.

During this same period, however, serious faults arose within the Party's leadership, then assumed serious proportions, and to an increasing extent distorted our socialist relations and demolished sound relationship between the Party and the working class, the Party and the masses. From 1953 on these grave faults caused an open political crisis and ultimately, as a result of the revisionist trend, joined by the class enemy and international imperialism, and with their active participation, they culminated in the counter-revolutionary uprising of October 1956. The power of our working class, our régime and all the socialist achievements of our people fell into grave danger.

Comrades,

In the grave situation of autumn 1956 the Hungarian communists, our reorganized Party, again showed the way out. Our Party, breaking radically with the faults of past leadership, ended the distortions; relying on the working class and the people, and with the help of the Soviet Union and the support of the socialist countries and the international communist movement, it led and carried the struggle to victory. The power of the working class, the lawful socialist order of the Hungarian People's Republic was restored and gained strength, and within a short time all the necessary conditions for the further building of socialism were established.

Our development has been unbroken for twelve years now. Since then the socialist reorganization of agriculture has taken place, laying the foundations of a socialist society has been finished and we have entered the phase of the complete building of a socialist society. Since 1957 our industrial production has increased two and a half times; socialist agriculture was established and has grown firm, increasing production—also as compared to that in the year 1957—by about a quarter. The basis and effectiveness of Hungarian scientific work grew and expanded. Our public education developed at every stage and in every sphere, and there are measurable and significant results in the sphere of culture. The



socialist public thinking and unity of our society developed and strengthened. This finds expression particularly in the fact that our people accepted the great forward-looking objectives of our 9th Party Congress with complete accord, supporting them and effectively working for their implementation.

Our Party has always striven and will continue to strive for a realistic appraisal of the situation. We do not want to idealize the state of our public affairs, yet we can assert that the Party's policy has been correct and it has proved itself. We can claim that the three successive Party Congresses, the 7th, 8th and 9th, decided correctly when they did not alter the general line of our Party but strengthened it. This meets with the wish of the masses, because if there exists today a universal desire embracing the widest section of the people in Hungary, it is precisely that the Party should continue to advance consistently on the road which it has followed in the past decade. We can declare that we shall continue to follow the same road!

Comrades,

Today, when we communists, and together with us the whole country, commemorate the founding of our Party fifty years ago, at the same time we also assess the experiences and lessons of historical progress, and we can only do this with complete frankness. When we speak of today's sound state of public affairs we cannot avoid taking at least a glance at the position of the Party and the government twelve years ago; we cannot avoid pointing out clearly by what road and means we succeeded in radically altering the situation in our country.

Twelve years ago our Party was not united and combat-worthy either theoretically, politically or organizationally. There was great ideological confusion among the masses; conditions of anarchy reigned in the country. But even then there were hundreds of thousands of communists loyal to their ideas, to the working class; there were honest workers, peasants and intellectuals loyal to socialism, to the system, who recognized the gravity of the situation and, under the leadership of the Party, joined forces, united and set about solving the great and difficult tasks.

The Party did not invent anything new in principle, it simply

returned to the sources of Leninism and drew upon them. In the life of the Party we restored the Leninist norms, collective leadership, democratic centralism. Between the Party and the working class, the Party and the masses, we restored the relationship demanded by Lenin, of mutual confidence and lively everyday contact. Our Party chose the Leninist approach to the fundamental questions of ideology, politics, economy and culture. It observed the maxim that a many-sided examination and appraisal is necessary in deciding each and every question. Perceptiveness, steadfastness and infinite patience are required in convincing the masses, but this cannot be a policy of subservience—because there can be no compromise regarding principles. The best policy is a principled policy! The Party proclaimed a two-front struggle and is pursuing it to this day. It fought simultaneously against dogmatism, sectarianism and a pseudo-left-wing attitude, as well as against revisionism, a right-wing attitude, the reactionary class enemy and the counter-revolutionary elements.

We never understood this struggle in a primitive way, as mechanically striking one blow to the right and then one to the left. The direction and emphasis of the struggle is always decided by an accurate appraisal of the situation. At a given time, in a given party, even internationally, at one time the right-wing and at other times the left-wing danger may be greater, it is the task of the Party to appraise the situation correctly.

In November 1956 the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party took up the struggle against the armed counter-revolutionary uprising, and naturally it struck to the right with decisive force and the necessary resolution, and dealt the main blow at revisionism, the class enemy, the counter-revolutionary forces. Yet it proclaimed a two-front struggle and carried it into effect in the sense that it fought against the right wing in such a manner that it broke with the dogmatic, sectarian "left wing" and its methods, and did not tolerate renewal of this anywhere in any respect.

Our experiences reaffirm that it is always the deviation against which no uncompromising struggle is waged, to which we make concessions, that becomes the principal danger in time. Our Party also considers it important to realize that it is neither

possible to fight effectively against a dogmatic, sectarian deviation from a right-wing revisionist position; nor is it possible to fight successfully against the revisionist trend from a pseudo-left-wing sectarian basis. In our experience, it is only possible to fight effectively against all kinds of deviations, either right-wing or left-wing, on the foundation of Marxist-Leninist principles. Ten to twelve years ago we had to wage a sharp struggle against both deviations. We have been fighting in this manner since then, and we shall continue doing so in the future on these principled foundations. It is for this reason—and in this sense—that we call our ideological struggle a struggle on two fronts.

Comrades,

The strength of the communist and workers' parties lies in the truth of their ideology, their international unity, in proletarian internationalism. The spirit of internationalism has always existed in our Party. Our Party has steadfastly and resolutely fought throughout for the strengthening of internationalism, against various manifestations of nationalism, and it has made great efforts to overcome bourgeois nationalism, which the Hungarian upper classes implanted in the masses and inflamed throughout a long historical era.

We have always regarded, and still do so today, the relationship to the world's first workers' and peasants' state, the pioneer of socialism and communism, the Soviet Union, as the touchstone of internationalism. As the result of the Party's educational work, the awareness of socialist patriotism lives today in the masses of the Hungarian people and is growing stronger, and this combines with a feeling of deepening friendship towards the Soviet Union, the idea of the brotherhood of the socialist countries, with proletarian internationalism and the conception of friendship and mutual respect among the peoples.

During the past two decades our Party dealt a great deal with the laws of the building of socialism and their correct interpretation and application. We regard as an indispensable condition of building a socialist society, and for this reason we consider it the duty of our Party, that we apply the general, common, international laws of the building of socialism correctly to Hungarian

conditions. In the same way we consider it a fundamental requisite that we employ the general principles of socialist construction according to, and with consideration for, the specific national forms and framework springing from the historical past of our homeland and the attributes of our country.

In our judgement to oppose the general principles of socialist construction to national characteristics is anti-Marxist. To ignore and neglect either confuses and ultimately makes impossible the complete building of a socialist society.

Historical experiences verify that national and international interests can and must be reconciled. It is impossible to assert any kind of supposed or real national interest at the expense of international interests. If we violate the general interests of the socialist community, ultimately national interest will also suffer.

Comrades, Honoured Central Committee,

I have touched on a few of the principal questions of our Party's struggle and its viewpoint in connection with them. In formulating the Party's point of view we have always proceeded from Marxist-Leninist theory, from the historical experiences of our own Party and the fraternal parties, from the actual situation and from careful analysis of a given question.

In working out our Party's general policy we have drawn extensively on the conclusions of the historic 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which, going beyond the individual precepts of great significance, inspired and still inspire every party of the world communist movement to the independent and creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory and the development of socialist practice. In our opinion the fundamental, historically significant conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are still valid today.

The conclusions adopted at the 1957 and 1960 conferences of the communist and workers' parties, in the formulation of which our Party also took part, also played a significant role in shaping our Party's policy. In our opinion the conferences pointed to the right road for the world communist movement, for the struggles of the progressive forces and for the anti-imperialist struggle on the main questions of common interest, in the class struggle on



a world-wide scale. Accordingly, in its activities the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has adhered and will continue to adhere to the general political line formulated at these two significant conferences of the world communist movement.

In recent years an extensive debate has arisen amongst the parties on a few important questions of the building of the communist movement and particularly the building of socialist society. Opportunist, right and "left-wing" views conflicting with Marxism-Leninism also emerged in the debate, among them a number that found expression in the very standpoints of the revisionist trend which arose in Hungary in 1956. These views—particularly in connection with the Czechoslovak events—have been revived once again. There is mention of the most diverse matters in them, first of all the role of the party, the observance of the rule of law, the sharing and monopoly of power, liberty, freedom of the press, humanism, democracy and many other things; and with an anti-socialist and anti-communist edge to all of them, interwoven often with anti-Soviet, nationalist views aimed at disrupting the unity of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties.

Our Party, fighting against these and similar views, and dealing with the above-mentioned questions on their merits, arrived at suitable conclusions.

In our opinion, for the effective building of socialism there is need of firm working-class power, the guiding role of the Marxist-Leninist party, the assertion of the principle of democratic centralism within the party, the public ownership of the means of production, the organizing role of the socialist state, socialist planned economy, socialist public education and culture, socialist public thinking and internationalist co-operation with the rest of the socialist countries.

We have created all these conditions in our country in an uncompromising ideological and political struggle. Our Party, firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, most resolutely rejected and continues to reject all varieties of nationalism, of anti-Soviet views, whether they originate from the Chinese leaders or from anyone else. It firmly rejects all views that attack or question under any slogan or title whatever the power of the work-

ing class, the Party's leading role and the organizing role of the socialist state.

On these fundamental questions of our ideology and policy our Central Committee has never left any doubts and has never tolerated any ambiguity, it has openly proclaimed its standpoint, and in practice has sought and found suitable solutions to these questions. In our country the working class holds power. The main political basis of the state is the worker-peasant alliance. In the framework of the Patriotic People's Front movement we are pursuing a policy of alliance, which socially embraces all the labouring classes and strata engaged in work; and politically this puts into effect the alliance of communist and non-party people for the purpose of building a socialist society. We are convinced that national unity of a socialist character is in the process of taking shape and strengthening, and we are striving for the further intensification of this.

Socialist society by its very essence is of the highest order, the most humane and most democratic system of all those known by mankind up to now in the course of history. So no new attributes need to be stamped on to the concept of socialism; our socialist system should only be really socialist, and we must further develop its basic institutions and features. We are developing socialist democracy, the chief feature of which is the active participation of the working people in the management of public affairs.

We observe socialist legality and also see to it that it is observed. In our interpretation this means that a man may not be punished if he has committed no crime, and no crime should go unpunished. The law protects the citizen who abides by the law, the person who violates the law, however, is held responsible and punished in accordance with the provisions of the law.

No one is persecuted in our country for his or her political views; however, anyone who commits an act of political nature which infringes the law, and constitutes a crime against the socialist order, is punished severely, because the socialist social order is the most important achievement of the people and because this is sacred and inviolable.

The press, radio and television are important means of mass

communication, which can and do assist in the propagation of our world outlook, the popularization of our socialist aims and the shaping of public opinion. At the same time they are instruments of power also, which have their rational and necessary limits. In our country there is no censorship nor has there been any; but the law prohibits and punishes use of the press to incite war, foment hatred against other peoples, racial or religious incitement and incitement or agitation against the social system. We will not forget, and nor must others forget, that one of the bloody battles for power in Hungary in the autumn of 1956 was fought at the radio building and for its possession.

The struggles of our Party have provided us with this kind of experience in connection with the above-mentioned questions. We have made use of them and we shall not forget them.

We have always represented our standpoint with complete frankness, principled firmness and resoluteness. And if we can say, as we can indeed, that our working class and our people have confidence in the Party and heed its words, then this is due not least to the Party's honest straightforwardness and the implacability it has displayed in questions of principle. Not a single revolutionary party can fight in such a manner that it says one thing and thinks something else, or cautions with one eye and winks in the other direction with the other. As for those who play irresponsibly with freedom, democracy and similarly great, and for us, serious words, we have always given them a suitable reply and can do so on all future occasions too.

We have a high appreciation of the results of the struggles and work of our Party and people, and our socialist achievements; above all we are increasing and fostering firm people's power and we will not risk this for anyone's sake.

Comrades,

It has always been a task of our Party to take a stand on the day-to-day interests of the working people, never losing sight of the ultimate goal of the working class, the creation of a socialist and communist society. In our country today there are no exploiting classes, the exploitation of man by man has ceased. But differences in the situation of the working class, the co-operative peasants,

the intelligentsia and the petty bourgeoisie and certain strata of society still exist, although the fundamental interests are common. Our aim is an intelligent, peaceful life, communism—in other words, a classless society.

I have just spoken of the great results of socialist construction and of its unbroken progress. I believe we must and have the right to speak of the results of our work, in the same way as it is our duty to speak of its weaknesses also. The results of socialist construction are truly great, enormous, if we compare them with the past, or the one-time low point, the level we started out from. But they are not satisfactory when compared with our possibilities, and even less so in comparison with our people's growing and rightful demands, our lofty ultimate goals.

Thus there is a justified demand for the elimination of bureaucratic excesses, for a more flexible administration, the further improvement of the economic and cultural situation of the working people and the speedier solution of the problems of their social welfare. In the wake of the development of socialist awareness the masses today are themselves urging a more resolute assertion of higher, socialist moral requirements, the criticism and surmounting of anti-social egoism and attitudes and, if they are of such a nature, their punishment as well. All this, naturally, presses for not only the making of subjective decisions, but also the establishment of objective conditions.

It follows from the Party's leading role that it has the obligation to perceive the main questions of our society's development in good time, to take them up and to work out a suitable solution for them in accordance with the new requirements of the new situation. In the wake of our Party's initiative, our society has now put several major questions on the agenda; they are the tasks of deepening and widening socialist democracy; the raising of the technological and technical level of our national economy; important and timely questions of science, public education and culture; and the further improvement of living conditions of the working people. Each of these questions which affect all of society requires separate attention; their solution demands suitable efforts and each one has to be dealt with properly.



In his time Lenin called attention to the fact that among questions there is always a key question, and upon its solution depends the solution of countless others and at a given time the whole of development.

During the past decade such a key question in our country was the defence and consolidation of the power of the working class which was under threat; and after this the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The correct solution of these two great tasks helped, each in its own time, to solve all the important problems of our society and gave great impetus to the socialist development of our country in general.

Now the decisive link in the chain for the better solution of every other task is to improve the efficiency of economic work, to implement the reform of economic management. The essence of the reform is the systematic development of socialist national economy by making management more flexible and decentralizing it considerably; in addition, to enforce the economic laws of the socialist system more effectively in the interests of development. The first year since the introduction of the reform—it can now be said—has confirmed that it is fundamentally correct and viable. For the future we must develop more fully the numerous potentialities latent in our economic situation which have not been utilized up to now.

The 9th Congress marked out the tasks in all the decisive spheres of social activity, the solution of which will bring us closer to a level more suitable to the interests of the working people, and at the same time to our more long-term aim, the complete building of a socialist society. It is our profound conviction that if the Party and the people work with such unity and purpose as they have till now, then we possess all the conditions needed for the effective solution of our tasks at home. We may claim with full responsibility that we will solve these tasks; we have the necessary conditions at our disposal, above all working-class power is strong in our country; we have a Party, a splendid working class, a peasantry which embarked on the road of socialism, and an intelligentsia which honestly serves the cause of the people. These are the foremost conditions for our further work and success.

Honoured Central Committee, Comrades,

The international activities of our Party and government are in harmony with our domestic policy. In the international sphere we are also fighting against reaction and for progress, always and everywhere. Throughout the world dissatisfaction is growing against imperialism which is attacking the peace of the peoples. The anti-imperialist mass movements arising and gaining strength in all parts of the world indicate that the peoples are beginning to be sick and tired of the tyranny of the imperialists, and are tenaciously, heroically fighting for their freedom, independence, democratic rights and peace. Imperialism pressed in this manner is doing everything it can to maintain its various positions. Imperialist attacks are being carried out against the socialist world, against the peoples and countries which have recently won their freedom from the colonial yoke, and against the forces of progress generally. The present international situation requires the intensified vigilance of the revolutionary forces in all parts of the world, and the unity of the supporters of peace and progress. This has been our standpoint on principle till now, this is what it is at present, and we will adhere to this in the future as well. This is demanded by the interests, the peace and the security of the peoples. This is the way we can extend still more aid to the heroic Vietnamese people and other peoples fighting against the imperialists. This is the way we want to contribute on our part, so that the peoples of Europe may obtain greater guarantees against the American imperialist-backed attempts of the West German militarists, revanchists and neo-fascists which threaten the peace and security of the continent.

It is the mission of the world communist movement, and within it of our Party, to fight for social progress, for the prevention of a new world war and for a firm and lasting peace by mobilizing the popular masses. The principle and policy of peaceful co-existence stems from this. For this reason we continue to be adherents of the policy of peaceful co-existence in respect of countries with differing social systems. In accordance with this principle we are striving to normalize relations with the capitalist countries for economic contacts which are mutually advantageous, for cultural

exchanges and personal contacts, and the maintenance and development of the tourist trade.

Peaceful co-existence, however, can only be based on relations with equal rights, and presupposes non-interference in internal affairs and abstention from aggression and acts of subversion against the socialist system. The imperialists must give up trying to divert even a single country from the road of socialism, either by force or by disruption. This can never be successful because every attempt of the imperialists will come up against determined opposition on the part of the forces of socialism. According to our convictions on principle, revolution cannot be exported, but in the same way counter-revolution cannot be exported either.

In our foreign policy we act and proceed in close unity with our allies in all major matters of common interest. History has confirmed that the first, true and sincere friend of the Hungarian people, who have embarked on the road of socialism, is the Soviet Union, to which our country is linked by unbreakable ties of friendship and brotherhood. We are a member nation of the Warsaw Treaty, and we will continue to urge the maintenance of the Treaty's organization and the growth of its effectiveness, so long as the aggressive NATO alliance and danger to the socialist countries exist. Our socialist construction is helped by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and by relying on this we are striving to raise the economic co-operation of the socialist countries to a higher level, including the application of rational integration.

We are striving for co-operation and unity with all the socialist countries and every party in the international communist movement. In our opinion, the differences in views and controversies that have arisen in recent years in respect of certain socialist countries and communist and workers' parties do not rule out the possibility of co-operation on many questions, and even less do they rule out that we should engage in unity of action against our common enemy, international imperialism. Proceeding from fundamentally common interests, we are seeking comradely settlement in those relations too where there are differences of view, and we are in favour of contacts, bilateral and multilateral meetings and exchanges of views.

From the very beginning the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has supported the convening of a new international meeting of communist and workers' parties. The Preparatory Committee has this very week held in Budapest the meeting that was due and which has ended in success. It is with pleasure that we welcome this fact and the stands taken, and we believe that we have taken a new big step forward. In our opinion the situation is really ripe for the imminent convening of the international conference, and the conditions for it exist.

Honoured Central Committee,

The fifty-year militant road of our Party is marked by great victories, and from time to time by failures, but taking into consideration the entire course of progress we may look back with pride over the fifty years which have passed since it was founded. The Party has always held its banner unsoiled and on high, and its ideas have triumphed.

We Hungarian communists always claimed for our Party that it was an instrument, a weapon in the service of the working class, the Hungarian people, but in order that the Party should become a weapon which will never be blunted in the class struggle, and will remain so, people were always needed who would selflessly and devotedly serve the Party's cause, even at the price of their lives. Such men and women were always to be found in the ranks of the working class, among the people. And as there were such men and women, so there are at present, and so there always will be as long as it is necessary to fight for the people, for peace and for socialism.

Today, on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Party we recall with honour the founders, the comrades who formed the Party; those who carried to victory the glorious Hungarian Republic of Councils, those who during the twenty-five years of the counter-revolution, working underground, preserved the Party; those who at the time of liberation and afterwards fought for power and worked for the reconstruction of the country. We recall with appreciation the entire membership of our Party, all those who work today within the Party, who have laid the foundations of socialist society and are continuing to build it.



We recall today those friends also who are not members of the Party but, following the words of the Party, as our good allies, are working together with us for the complete building of a socialist society and are serving the sacred cause of the working class, the people and the socialist homeland.

We recall with affection the young communists, the youth of our country, the future, the trustees of socialist Hungary, those who will tomorrow carry the banner further!

Honoured Central Committee, Comrades,

Among the members of the Central Committee, and here at this meeting, are present many veteran militants of the Party. They can confirm the fact that it was worth fighting! The flag which was unfurled fifty years ago, and which led the working class to victory in difficult and arduous struggles, waves on high.

Our Party has always possessed, and we feel certain that it will continue to possess in the future too, the ability to fulfil its historic mission worthily. On the 50th anniversary of the founding of our Party we solemnly declare that the Hungarian working class, our working people and the fighters of the international communist and workers' movement will be able to count on the Hungarian communists, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in the future too. Our Party will continue to advance in close unity with our international class brothers, and will lead our people further on the road of creating a socialist Hungary, towards the hope of the peoples, the brilliant perspectives of communism.

Long live the Hungarian working class and its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party!

Long live the Hungarian people who are building socialism!

Long live the socialist countries and may they flourish, long live the world communist movement, long live proletarian internationalism!

*Népszabadság*, 24 November 1968.

**SPEECH MADE AT THE COMBINED SESSION  
OF THE GYŐR-SOPRON COUNTY  
PARTY COMMITTEE AND COUNCIL**

*February 1969*

Comrades,

I extend my hearty greetings to the members of the Győr-Sopron County Party Committee and of the County Council, as well as to all taking part in this combined meeting. I convey special greetings to the pioneers of the co-operative farm movement.

We are commemorating a historic anniversary, an event which was a decisive turning-point in the life of the peasantry in the county, the country and our entire people. It is no exaggeration if we say that the socialist transformation of agriculture, the fact that our peasantry embarked on the road of socialism, is an event of historic significance.

The socialist transformation of agriculture was a great victory for the worker-peasant alliance. This alliance was not of recent date, it was forged in many decades of struggle for the freedom of the people, for total social, political and economic liberation, and it was closely interwoven with the earlier turning-points of our history. In the quarter-century era of Horthy fascism the struggle against fascism represented one of the main contents and purposes of this alliance.

Although the Hungarian people suffering under fascist terror and oppression were unable to act effectively against fascist ambitions, yet in their thinking and sentiments they opposed fascism. They opposed the criminal acts which the oppressors of the people, the leaders of the fascist dictatorship, committed in the name of the country and the people.

In this grave period Hungarian patriots, people with the most diverse world outlooks recognized that the nation was threatened with final destruction. For this reason the communists, who by that time had fought for a quarter of a century in illegality, defying all kinds of persecution, were the first to launch the struggle to

rally our people, to persuade them to resist and to lead them against fascism.

The struggle had a class basis. The working class assumed leadership and found a loyal ally in the most conscious peasant masses.

A few days ago we commemorated the meeting of Vésztő,\* which after 1919 was the first major action where the leading, most class-conscious representatives of the working class met with the broad masses of the peasantry: agricultural labourers from the villages, honest, patriotic middle peasants and even well-to-do peasants clasped hands with them and revived the worker-peasant alliance. This was of great significance, because at last the people also made their voice heard; they expressed the fact that the aspiration of the working class, the peasantry and the progressive section of the intelligentsia, that is, the true patriots, was to remove the danger of fascism which hung over the head of the nation, and to proclaim that the people wanted a free, independent and democratic Hungary. In the course of our later struggles this offered us great assistance in the solution of historic tasks.

To our people—just as to many other peoples—the Soviet Union, the world's first worker-peasant state, pursuing her own patriotic war, extended aid so that we might rid ourselves of the fascist "middle ages". At the price of great sacrifice the Soviet Army drove the German fascist invaders out of Hungary, so the danger of the final destruction of our nation was removed, the Hungarian people became free and the hope of new possibilities, new life, appeared on the horizon.

Following liberation—when the country lay in ruins in the literal sense of the word—work was begun at once by the communists, the democratic, progressive section of our people and the patriots, who understood that history had granted us new opportunities to create a new and free country for ourselves. The basis of this

\* A small provincial town, Vésztő served as the venue in February 1944 of a national conference of labourers and navvies organized by the Agricultural Labourers Section of the Hungarian Peasants Federation. This conference was the first major demonstration of Hungarian agricultural labourers after the outbreak of the Second World War.

rallying of forces was also the close unity and alliance of the working class and the peasantry. The main slogan of this developing democratic movement—and it is also worth recalling this—expressed the desire of the people: "Land, bread and freedom!" With the land reform our people dealt a heavy blow at the old world, they pulled the foundations of the power of the capitalists and the landowners, the land, from under the feet of the exploiters. In order to lay the foundations of socialism, the factories and the banks also had to be taken away from the capitalists, that is, they had to be divested of their dominance over economic life. The working class also marched in the van of this struggle, and the nationalization of industry, the banks and wholesale trade, in a word, the acquisition of power and the key positions, was supported by the peasantry as a loyal ally and great force. This was already the second great historical struggle within a few years, when the working class, in alliance with the working peasantry, mutually harmonized, co-ordinated and completely implemented the demands of the two great classes.

Every worker and peasant, every honestly working intellectual, in fact our entire people, may be proud of the years of the country's large-scale industrialization, the development of the popular forces, the launching of the tremendous work of building the country and the results achieved in the great work of socialist construction.

Although serious mistakes were committed in the leadership of the country, still the decisive fact and the most important thing for the people was the tremendous creative work and effort which turned our country into an industrial nation, a socialist country advancing on the road of industrialization. The mistakes mentioned above were serious, and appeared in the most varied spheres, in connection with the peasantry too. The mistakes committed in those years in agricultural policy undermined and weakened the worker-peasant alliance. This created favourable opportunities for all the enemies of Hungarian people's democracy, of our people's democratic state—both domestic and international enemies—to organize an attack and launch an assault to destroy the People's Republic and to turn back the wheel of history.

In 1956, when history posed the question for the Hungarian



peasantry: which way now, and whom to follow, when it became a question of rescuing the People's Republic and ensuring socialist development for our people, this peasantry passed a great historical test. They entered the lists not in support of the counter-revolution, but of the working class, and assisted in the restoration and consolidation of the internal order, freedom and sovereignty of the Hungarian People's Republic. They reasoned and made their decision very wisely and intelligently: they voted in favour of people's power, of the cause of socialism. This was again a period when the worker-peasant alliance once more stood the test of history.

After 1956 the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, in the manner of a Marxist-Leninist party, proceeded on a principled basis to work out its policy and define its method of work. It examined the questions of the worker-peasant alliance, of the countryside, of agricultural policy on this same principled basis. It was quite clear that there must be a radical break with the mistakes. This was the first thing that the Party decided. We carried this out under conditions in which we had to fight against anarchy and the forces of the enemy simultaneously. Our Party and government gave a clear, substantial, communist reply to the essentials of every question. Our Party's policy is at the same time the policy of the working class, the peasantry and of the people; expressed in everyday terms, we call it a people's front policy.

Just as complete and unqualified confidence in the working class can be the only basis of the work of the Party and communists, in the same way only on the basis of complete confidence in the peasantry is it possible to pursue a correct, principled policy. The peasantry is the class brother of the working class, and the worker-peasant alliance is the force which maintains power and statehood. It is also natural that the basis of our work can be only confidence in the people. Our Party and government acted accordingly. They asked for understanding of the policy, and won the support of the people. The political struggle was decided by the restoration of the worker-peasant alliance. This was how we achieved the result that the country again became the peaceful home of the working people ensuring favourable conditions for work.

When the socialist transformation of agriculture was put on the agenda in our country, learning from experience we felt that the peasantry must sense and know that they are our class brothers, with whom we shall ultimately reach an understanding. We were firmly resolved that we would observe the voluntary principle, democracy, in the period of organizing the co-operative farm movement also.

The practical implementation of the Party's principled policy made various regulations from the state and the authorities necessary. Among them, for example, was the abolition of compulsory delivery of produce to the state, the invalidation of the kulak list\* and the regulation of price relations.

May I be permitted—and perhaps this is acceptable—to speak first of the fact that the setting up of the co-operative farms was first of all the great merit of the working class. We can say this in three senses. Firstly: the Party which politically and properly took the socialist transformation of agriculture into its hands is the revolutionary party of the working class. Secondly: the working class as a producing force and labouring class created the material conditions for the success of the transformation and for large-scale socialist farming. Lastly: great merit is due to the tens and hundreds of thousands who, after completing their regular, everyday work in the factories, tirelessly visited the villages over the years, and although they did not always meet with understanding, they organized and agitated, and helped the peasants to find the right course.

We may state—and perhaps it is permissible for us to recall this on this occasion—that the sacrifice made by the working class, and by the individual workers in it, for the establishment and development of socialist agriculture was not in vain. They extended aid to the fraternal class at the proper time, and in the final analysis

\* *The kulak is a capitalist in agriculture who regularly employs hired labour. In 1949 the registered list of kulaks comprised those rich peasants who were in the possession of landed property or means of production in excess of what one can work or operate by himself. The kulaks were restricted in the exercise of certain of their civil rights. After the country's economic and political stabilization these restrictions were lifted.*

—as is usually the case in a good cause—they served the common cause, the welfare and future of the country and the people.

It is the great historic merit of our peasantry that, understanding the appeal of the Party and the times, they embarked on the road of socialist agriculture.

The peasantry may also recall the times of ten years ago with the conviction that they decided correctly and well and responded to the call with positive action. What was created by the hundreds of thousands who took part in the socialist transformation of agriculture, which serves the better life of the generation of today and the future of the people and the nation, belongs to history.

With the socialist transformation of agriculture the laying of the foundations of socialism was concluded and the complete building of a socialist society could be put on the agenda.

Since that time too our Party has pursued a principled policy on the questions of agriculture and the worker-peasant alliance. This was expressed at the 9th Congress of the Party too, where we dealt, among other things, with agricultural policy and a few other questions of great significance which affect the life of the peasantry. For their solution we put forward various kinds of proposals and we have already put a large part of them into practice. I refer to the adoption of legislation on the land and the co-operative farms, the raising of certain purchase prices, the adjustment of retirement pensions, financial aid for child care and the placing on the agenda of a number of other social welfare problems concerning the peasantry. These measures were necessary. To these humane and truly socialist measures the Hungarian peasantry on their part responded by supporting the Party's policy, the programme of the Patriotic People's Front and our socialist development.

In general and on all main questions the Party is putting into effect a political line corresponding to the socialist agricultural policy, the worker-peasant alliance and the policy of alliances. We may conclude: we owe it to the Party's correct policy and to the support of our entire people that we have been able to ensure calm, steady development for the country for twelve years now, and this has produced great results.

It is worth taking a look at the extent of the development of our large-scale socialist agriculture in the past ten years. The growth is enormous, although the process is still going on, because the co-operative farms are becoming socialist large-scale production enterprises in the literal sense of the term, not at a single stroke, but gradually.

We stated at the time—and we still say so—that the organization of the socialist agricultural enterprise, the co-operative farms, must provide more for the peasant than the individually farmed holdings in the past.

The entire working people of Győr-Sopron County, the county's peasantry, may be proud of the fact that they were the first in the country to conclude the socialist transformation of agriculture. During the past ten years the agricultural commodity production of Győr-Sopron County grew by 82 per cent and last year the gross value of production was 1,300 million forints. In the county—as compared with conditions in 1957—the income of the working peasantry has grown significantly. At that time the average monthly income of the co-operative farm members was 1,100 forints; in 1968 this sum was 1,820 forints.

Today our co-operative farm movement is so strong that the best jointly owned farms are serious rivals to the most developed and best state farms in all respects.

In the competition, in which sometimes one and then possibly the neighbouring state farm advances, the country and the people are the beneficiaries at all events.

If we take into account also what great development took place in agriculture beyond the borders of Győr County over the past ten years, we may conclude that the historic step of socialist transformation brought great and significant results for our entire people, the peasantry among them. During the past ten years the number of co-operative farm members grew from 118,000 to a million. The gross production of agriculture in this period—although, as we all know, the weather was not favourable—increased by a steady 2 per cent annually and by 21 per cent altogether. And this result was achieved in the decade which, as a matter of fact, was only the period of organization and the emergence of large-scale



farming. Ten years ago the assets of the agricultural co-operative farms—and their number was relatively small—amounted to 4,000 million forints; at present it is 48,000 million forints, which carries great weight even by nation-wide standards. A considerable share of the national assets is owned by the co-operative farms.

The value of the annual income of peasant families in the co-operative farms grew from 22,000 forints to 26,000 forints, which shows quite considerable development on a national average. The benefits enjoyed by co-operative members through old-age pensions and under other heads amounted to 14 million forints ten years ago and to one thousand million forints last year.

The peasantry of our co-operative farms developed greatly socially and in political consciousness. This can be judged by people's thinking, by the fact that their attitude to politics has matured, that they are concerned with public matters and the problems of our country and international affairs.

This political development is shown also, among other things—and naturally we take this into consideration as well—in the fact that the number of party members among members of the co-operative farms, in comparison to 18,000 ten years ago, is now 96,000.

The greatest social gain is the fact that there has emerged and welded together a united peasant class which has embarked on the road of socialism. This is a great support and strength, stimulating and helping socialist development.

The idea of co-operative farms has now triumphed in the mind, and been given body in practice. This is confirmed, perhaps better than by anything else, by the fact that in 1968 a round one hundred thousand people in the country applied for membership of the co-operative farms. And the farms owned in common are in such a position that they can pick and choose, for—also on the basis of the sum total of national data—out of the 100,000 applicants 80,000 were accepted.

In the past few days, at general meetings of the co-operative farms, the results of the year were assessed and the tasks of the present and the future were also discussed. The Central Committee and the government are asking people to continue their work with the same devotion as up to now, in their love of the common

cause and enthusiasm for a good cause, and that they should solve the tasks of this year, 1969, of 1970 and the years to come with the same success and results as during the past ten years.

Let the highly deserving leaders of the co-operative farms, the members, the agronomists and other experts, and the skilled workers—whose numbers are gratifyingly on the increase—develop their work further; let them work for the fulfilment of their yearly and long-range plans, let them strengthen their jointly owned farms, the socialist character of these farms, let them increase the incomes of their co-operative farms, improve the cultural conditions of the villages and broaden the sphere in which machines, chemicals and other up-to-date devices are used. At the same time, let them pay suitable attention to the affairs of the jointly owned farms without neglecting the farming of the household plots but devoting the benefits of development to them, as well as to the present and possible future work of side branches of production in the co-operative farms. All this serves the welfare of the members and their families, and of the villages, the county and the country. Let them also remember that the requirements of our working class and our people are growing, we are expecting more and more goods from socialist agriculture to satisfy the demands of the consumers and the requirements of the country. Their work, the sound operation of the co-operative farms are valuable contributions to the systematic raising of the living standards of the working people.

The Central Committee and the government, as in the past, will continue to deal with suitable attention and devotion with the timely problems of agricultural policy, the problems of our peasantry and the questions of further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance which now has a socialist content. Our peasantry, embarked on the road of socialism, may also count on the Party's Central Committee, our entire Party, the government and our local councils in this sense and in this respect as well. At the same time I would like to stress also that the Central Committee, the government, and the councils are counting and depending on our peasantry.

I am profoundly convinced that if we continue to deal with our common affairs in the manner of comrades, class brothers, workmates and comrades-in-arms, if we clarify tasks in this manner

and then set about carrying them out with the same understanding as we did in the past ten years, then we will achieve great new successes. Of this we may be certain.

We are consistently vindicating the general political line of the Party and the government, in close co-operation with the masses of the workers, of the peasants and of the intelligentsia. We wish to reinforce the unity and joint work of communists and non-party workers, of people with different world outlooks, the religious and the non-believers. We differentiate people first of all according to how they stand their ground in work, in socialist construction. We appreciate them according to this and we will work so that they will share in the results achieved accordingly. We regard every Hungarian citizen who honestly and honourably performs his or her work with respect.

The fraternal alliance of the working class and the peasantry—under the leadership of the working class—was always the most significant force of society. This has already been effective and functioning in a significant period of our history, under differing conditions, for major aims corresponding to the requirements of differing times.

On behalf of our Central Committee, the leading bodies of our state and myself I warmly congratulate the Győr-Sopron County pioneers of socialist agriculture, the co-operative farm movement. I congratulate all those who carried through the socialist transformation of agriculture, who in the past ten years developed the co-operative farms with honest, devoted work, and who today too are working enthusiastically on the solution of our present and future tasks. Speaking of the peasantry of Győr-Sopron County I think of the country's entire peasantry that has embarked on the road of co-operative farming. I heartily congratulate all of you in the conviction that when you started out on the road of farming in co-operation you took a great and decisive step which equally serves your own fundamental interests, socialist development and the interests of the country. I wish you new, further successes in your work!

*Népszabadság*, 28 February 1969.

## SPEECH AT THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

June 1969

Honoured Conference, Comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and our delegation I extend my hearty greetings to the representatives of the fraternal parties and to all taking part in our Conference. I extend my greetings to our hosts, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in particular, and I express thanks for the care with which they have ensured suitable conditions for us to do fruitful work.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party supported the convening of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties from the start; we are pleased that the overwhelming majority of the fraternal parties have sent their representatives. We believe that the fact that after nearly ten years a joint consultation of representatives of fraternal parties coming from all continents is being held once again is of great significance in the development of the international communist movement. In the current period, when our movement has no international organization, nothing else can take the place of a meeting and exchange of ideas of such a wide scope, and this is indispensable to us for correct Marxist-Leninist orientation.

The struggle between international reaction, which opposes all aspirations for freedom, and the hundreds of millions fighting for social progress, national independence and peace, is going on on a world-wide scale. In our days the even broader unfolding of the anti-imperialist struggle and the strengthening of our unity in this struggle is the foremost international task of the communist and workers' parties. All the more so as our unity is the basis and condition for rallying the broadest masses, peoples and nations and all progressive people in the world against imperialism. Therefore the stand taken by the Consultative Meeting and its initiative in convening our Conference, as well as its character and aim were entirely correct.



The course of the preparations for our Conference testifies that aspirations towards unity have been gaining strength within the international communist movement in recent years. This Conference came about in such a manner that more than 70 fraternal parties, proceeding from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism, our common class interests and our aims, and putting aside the ideological and political differences which exist on certain questions, subordinated everything to the interests of the joint struggle against the imperialists. A resolute striving for unity has led us here to Moscow, and the further strengthening of this unity in the struggle for our common aims will result in new tremendous victories for the cause of communism and peace.

Comrades,

The work carried out democratically and collectively in the Preparatory Committee has been fruitful and has created good conditions for our deliberations. Throughout the period of preparation the independence and equal rights of the parties were ensured and were effective. The inalienable right of party representatives to express the standpoint and ideas of their parties in connection with the questions on the agenda freely and without any restrictions was asserted to the full. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has a high appreciation of the work of all representatives of the fraternal parties who took part in the preparations.

We are convinced that our Conference will contribute significantly to the growth of the effectiveness of the anti-imperialist struggle and to the consolidation of unity within the international communist movement. The task of our Conference is to provide a principled platform and programme of action which will meet the requirements of the struggle against imperialism, and which every communist and workers' party and every anti-imperialist force can actively support. The mission and intention of our delegation is to contribute on our part and to the best of our ability to the solution of these tasks before the Conference.

Comrades,

A fundamental condition for the fight against imperialism is that we should analyse the world's complex course of events from many aspects and in a Marxist-Leninist manner from time to time. This

analysis can only be carried out through the collective work of the fraternal parties and by a comparison of their experiences.

The joint struggle and the co-operation of the communist and workers' parties is only possible on a political platform based on a theoretically firm, Marxist-Leninist analysis. We regard the main draft document submitted to the Conference by the Preparatory Committee as sound; it meets this important requirement and places an effective ideological and political weapon at the disposal of our parties in the anti-imperialist struggle. In the opinion of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party the draft of the main document is good and we agree with its appraisal and general line.

In our opinion the draft document correctly analyses and appraises the complex and contradictory international situation and its main issues. In accordance with the facts, it illuminates the aggressive activities of imperialism, which is hard-pressed by the progressive forces and struggling with crises, and the dangers which lie in the policy of the imperialist powers. It also correctly assesses the possibilities and tasks of the anti-imperialist forces.

The conclusion is realistic that one of the principal characteristics of the international situation is the growth in strength of the socialist countries and of the communist and workers' parties, the increase in their influence, and the constantly intensifying struggle of the peoples for freedom and peace. There is no doubt either that in recent years the situation has grown more acute and the aggressiveness of imperialism has intensified. We must see that the imperialists are resolutely bent on driving a wedge between the forces of socialism and on utilizing our real lack of unity for their own political purposes.

It is a correct conclusion that efforts must be increased to beat back and prevent the peace-disrupting, adventurist attempts of the imperialists. Also valid is the important conclusion which is borne out by history that the forces of progress, if they unite, are capable of curbing the imperialists, and of protecting the achievements of the working people, of the peoples; they are capable of preventing the outbreak of a new world war and are capable of carrying to victory the cause of progress.

The principal force of international imperialism today is American imperialism; after the Second World War, which was profitable for them, their monopoly capitalists have attempted to drive the world under their rule. Under the infamous flag of anti-communism they are attacking the forces fighting for socialism, progress and national independence. Although the plans of the American imperialists for world domination have been broken, and will be broken in future too, they will not abandon them, and with their allies and satellites they are organizing ever new actions against the countries of socialism, the forces of progress and the freedom and security of the peoples.

The most brutal and flagrant attack of the American imperialists at present is the aggressive war against the people of Vietnam. This war is at the same time an attack against the peace of the whole world. The Vietnamese people are waging their successful fight for their national independence and their right of self-determination with heroism and great readiness for sacrifice; they enjoy the sympathy and support of the progressive forces of the world and all honest people. We approve that our Conference should declare our solidarity with the Vietnamese people in a separate document, and should say with determination that we will provide them with every assistance in the future as well for their just struggle and final victory.

The critical Middle East situation with its threat of a new explosion each day rightly rouses the indignation of progressive-minded people and fills the supporters of peace with concern. Israel's ruling circles serve the big-power aims of the imperialists and stubbornly cling to their own ambitions for conquest. With the support of the American imperialists they are doing everything they can to prevent the establishment of a just and lasting peace in this region. We have taken a stand in support of a political settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the UN Security Council resolution of 22 November 1967. We believe that every assistance must be granted to the attacked and threatened Arab countries.

The parties of the world communist movement, the forces of progress and peace must also devote great attention to the prob-

lems of Europe. In Europe the most likely and direct threat to peace is the No. 1 European ally and protégé of American imperialism, West German revanchism and militarism.

In keeping with the principles of peaceful co-existence the Hungarian People's Republic, despite the differences in social systems, is striving for a settlement of relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and the building of mutually advantageous multilateral contacts. But a serious obstacle to the settlement and development of relations is the fact that to this day the Federal Republic of Germany refuses to recognize the European frontiers which emerged after the defeat of fascist Germany. She does not want to recognize the existence of the two German states, she does not want to recognize the German Democratic Republic, an important pillar of peace and socialism in Europe. On the other hand she allows scope for revanchist and neo-fascist aspirations. All this obliges the peoples to be vigilant, and not to forget that German monopoly capitalism has twice dragged the world into a war within a single generation.

The most recent, Budapest session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty initiated a constructive move for the establishment of European peace and the collective security of the European peoples. We proposed as a first step the setting up of an all-European conference. The favourable response to the appeal bears out the correctness and timeliness of the move. We will continue the work. The establishment of European peace and security demands suitable contribution on the part of the government of every country on the continent, but it also demands the lively action and support of the masses, the peoples. In developing the social movement necessary in the interests of peace and security the European communist and workers' parties have, and will continue to have, a determining, serious role.

The fundamental problem of our times remains to prevent the unleashing of a new world war, more destructive than any up to now, to protect peace and make it lasting. We live in an era of social revolution, the road to which was opened by Lenin and the Russian Bolsheviks in the Great October Socialist Revolution. At the same time we live in a rapidly developing scientific and



technical revolutionary era as well. History assigned the communist and workers' parties, our world movement, the lofty task of leading this struggle; let the achievements of human knowledge serve not the destruction of mankind, but its liberation and prosperity.

We, communists, are fighting for general and complete disarmament, so that mankind's outlook may be bright and free from all threats. But until such time as this becomes reality, we will support all sensible moves leading in this direction. We support the treaty preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, just as we support the Geneva conference to discuss the possibilities of reducing the armament race. We are unflinchingly fighting for the realization of the numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the Warsaw Treaty.

All working people, communists and non-communists throughout the world, look to our deliberations with expectation. They expect of us that the peace front will become more firm against the aggressors, the disruptors of peace. The Hungarian delegation supports the draft peace appeal of our Conference, with its repeated proclamation that the communist and workers' parties are prepared to join with all the forces which can be taken into account and all honest people in the interests of warding off the danger of the new war that threatens mankind, and in the defence of peace.

Comrades,

The world communist movement is of widespread dimensions. Our fraternal parties have been established and are working in nearly every country in the world, and their strength is steadily growing. On the basis of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism they are independently formulating their policies and fighting for the interests of their class and their people, and are uniting their strength against the international forces of imperialism in the spirit of internationalism.

The circumstances under which our parties are working are extraordinarily varied. The communist and workers' parties, in those countries where socialism has triumphed and is being built, are working while also bearing the responsibilities of government.

In certain capitalist countries they are fighting as great legal parties, and elsewhere they fight under circumstances of semi-legality, or underground, subject to ruthless persecutions.

When it is a matter of co-ordinating our efforts on an international scale, of strengthening our unity in the face of the common, imperialist enemy, it is our duty to listen to each other with close attention, and strive mutually for the best possible understanding of each other's position. The struggle of every militant detachment of our world movement is of equal importance to us.

The socialist world system comprising 14 countries on three continents is the greatest historical achievement of the international working-class movement—the main force of the world-wide fight against imperialism. The new world system is historically young, and its development, naturally, raises many new, complex problems. Their solution is the task of our parties.

The development of the socialist world system depends on the solution of the tasks which arise within the individual socialist countries, and no less on how we are able to exploit the tremendous forces which are inherent in the effective and multilateral co-operation of the socialist countries. The Hungarian People's Republic has a high appreciation of the socialist co-operation which has evolved in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and CMEA, and she is actively striving to develop relations and co-operation with all socialist countries.

In the work of every party in our world movement—whatever the conditions under which that party exists and works—an identical task presents itself, the proper co-ordination of our struggle, and the unification of our forces, on the basis of our world outlook and class aims. The firm, principled basis of our unity and collaboration is Marxism-Leninism, internationalism, the fact that the fundamental interests of the workers, the working people of different countries coincide.

A concomitant of the period of capitalism is that the forces of progress and reaction confront each other not only in isolation as it were in certain countries, but internationally, on a world-wide scale as well. When international capitalism drowned the Paris Commune in blood, Marx already pointed out that the de-

fensive struggle against cosmopolitan capitalism drove the working class to international collaboration.

In the face of the forces of international capitalism today even greater collaboration is necessary than a hundred years ago. Since the victory of the first socialist revolution, the founding of the Soviet Union, the struggle of the forces of socialism and capitalism has been in the focal point of international events, and this has been more the case since socialism became a world system.

Imperialistic capitalism, even in the present situation, has not given up the idea of overthrowing the socialist system, or at least its attempts to tear one or another socialist country out of the community. In this is expressed the general interest of international imperialism, the class interest of the capitalists.

An eternal warning from the history of the Hungarian working class, of our people, was the crushing of the first working-class power in Hungary, the Republic of Councils of 1919, by international imperialism through outside armed force, the troops of the Entente Powers. The counter-revolutionary régime which they planted in the saddle collapsed in 1945, when the Soviet Army which liberated our country drove the Hitlerite fascist invaders from Hungarian territory.

Developments were such that the Hungarian people who embarked on the road of building a socialist society underwent yet another severe test in 1956. Seizing on well-known faults which existed in fact, exploiting the confusion of the supporters of socialism and the disruptive work of the revisionists, the forces of reaction at home, encouraged and aided by imperialism abroad, precipitated a bloody counter-revolutionary uprising.

This attempt of the enemies of working-class power ended in failure, because the revolutionary forces in our country, enjoying the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the international communist movement, gained the upper hand.

During the Budapest phase of the Preparatory Committee's work the representatives of the fraternal parties were able to ascertain for themselves personally that the Hungarian people, after defending and consolidating their power, have been consistently

and fruitfully continuing their work towards the complete building of a socialist society.

The example of Hungary illustrates well how the imperialists will always attempt, by the most varied means and methods, to undermine, loosen up and, if possible, overthrow the state, the power structure of the new, developing socialist countries.

Our Party, our working class, the Hungarian people, have learned how and with what counter-revolution begins, what it is like when it gains the upper hand and, taking off its mask, acts openly. The counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956 occurred not long ago; its lessons are still very much alive. The events taught our Party what kind of role was played by the mistakes committed on our part among the causes which brought about the critical situation of our people's democratic power, how they were utilized by the internal and external enemies of our system, for their own purposes, what kind of forces attacked us and which were the ones on our side.

In the difficult period of 1956 the Hungarian People's Republic was aided by the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the international communist movement. The international forces aiding our country kept in view the fact that the defence of working-class power, of the socialist achievements in a given country is the common affair, the common interest of each of the socialist countries, and of the international working class. History teaches that the decisive and inexhaustible source of strength for the peoples of the socialist countries, and of the working classes of the individual countries, is proletarian internationalism, unity and collaboration, and mutual support of each other's struggle.

The widespread political controversy which attended the Hungarian events of 1956, and the one still going on today in appraising the events in Czechoslovakia, also demonstrate convincingly what an important question of the international class struggle is the development, or possibly sudden halt, or crisis of a socialist country, and that a class viewpoint is decisive in its appraisal.

In connection with the events in Czechoslovakia the representatives of certain fraternal parties suggested that the leaders of the



socialist countries should not mix the questions of proletarian internationalism with the interests of the state. We have to recognize, and experience bears this out, that when it is a question of the fate of a socialist country, then everyone is concerned.

International imperialism, and each of the imperialist powers separately, is interested in the weakening of the socialist countries; indeed, as far as they are concerned, it would be desirable if the socialist world system ceased to exist. The whole of the international working class, every people engaged in the building of socialism, and each and every communist and workers' party is separately concerned too, supposing a socialist country gets into a critical situation, finds itself confronted by serious difficulties, and it must overcome them to continue to develop and strengthen.

The interrelationships of proletarian internationalism and the interests of the state—since it is a matter of the socialist countries—must be appraised properly. The parties governing the socialist countries are communist parties. The objective of the parties and peoples in these countries is the construction of a socialist society, and the achieving of communism. The internal order of the socialist countries and their relationships with one another are built on identical principles and their goals are identical, therefore their fundamental interests are also common. It is no empty phrase, but a reality, that the success of any one of the socialist countries increases the strength of the others, and the difficulties of any one of them burdens each. Their joy is common, but so are their cares.

Not a single communist party and not a single socialist country may gain strength at the price of harming or weakening the others. For this reason the leaders of the socialist countries may not separate the questions of proletarian internationalism and the state interests of the socialist countries from each other. If the leaders of a socialist country make internationalism and the country's state interests independent of each other, then they can only damage the common cause and the interests of their country.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian People's Republic never denied that they were interested in the events in Czechoslovakia. And this cannot be otherwise in the case

of allied socialist countries. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic are neighbouring countries, their peoples who are engaged in the building of a socialist society are linked in history by a community of fate.

In every phase of the events in Czechoslovakia the Central Committee of our Party and the government of our country were led in their actions by the principle of internationalism, the feeling of solidarity and nothing else. All we are interested in, all that we do wish and can wish, is that the questions of Czechoslovak society find a socialist solution.

The internal questions of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic must be solved by the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the working class and peoples of Czechoslovakia. We are confident that they will do this. All the more so as the Central Committee of our Czechoslovak fraternal party has recently taken matters firmly in hand. We sincerely wish the Czechoslovak communists and the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples success in the struggle for the defence and further development of their socialist achievements.

Comrades,

The draft document submitted to the Conference, appraising the role of the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism, speaks with appreciation of the development which has taken place in our countries, and also alludes to problems and tasks. We believe that this is right and proper. We are striving to develop the work of our Party in accordance with the new requirements of progress and further to increase our results in socialist construction. At the same time we are well aware that if we do not work methodically for the elimination of mistakes which may come to light, then we shall only damage the cause of socialism. In addition to this I must also stress that we will not and cannot permit abuse of the socialist system and attacks on the system itself under the pretext of fighting against mistakes.

The socialist countries have many kinds of critics. Our enemies attack our system ceaselessly and under the most varied pretexts.

Nowadays it is fashionable to identify the concept of the socialist state with bureaucracy. Naturally there still exist bureaucratic

aberrations and tendencies in our country. We fight against these by improving the administration, by developing the life of the socialist state and by developing socialist democracy, by gradually drawing ever new strata of the working masses into public activities, into the making of decisions. In no single sphere of the life of society do we idealize the standards of maturity achieved, but are striving for constant rise in them.

This is one side of the matter. The other is that the socialist state is the power of the working people; it is the most democratic state known so far in history, in which the exploitation of man by man has ceased, and which is in the service of the people. According to experience, the time when the socialist state will wither away has not yet come; in the present divided world there is need for its defensive functions, and its organizing role in economics and culture is also indispensable in the building of a socialist society. Accordingly, our Party is working to consolidate the institutions of the state and to develop its work.

In our country, in Hungary, it is a political, moral and statutory law that no one may raise a hand against the workers' state, and with no kind of "innovating" aim whatever will we allow this to be watered down or shattered.

Comrades,

Each of the countries which have embarked on the road to socialism has enriched practice with some specific feature. There is no doubt that the building of a socialist society will show an even greater variety of ways and forms in the future. Neither at present nor in the future will our parties be exempted from the foremost Marxist-Leninist requirement that they must carry into effect the general, joint laws of the building of socialism, and must at the same time take into consideration the attributes and historical and national characteristics of their countries. Leaving out of consideration either the general laws of socialism, or national characteristics and attributes, breaks the course of development, leads to crises and into a blind alley.

Our parties are independent and the socialist countries are sovereign and independent countries. The sovereignty of our countries, the national independence of our peoples, go hand in

hand with the socialist social relations and are founded on them. In the present historical stage the sovereignty of our countries and their national independence is ensured, first of all, on the one hand by their alliance with the rest of the socialist countries, and on the other hand by the firmness and further development of the socialist foundations of their society.

We cannot forget for a single moment that the independent activities, indeed the very existence, of the communist and workers' parties and the sovereignty, the national independence and the possibilities of development of the socialist countries are ceaselessly being attacked and endangered by the reactionary circles of the capitalist countries and international imperialism. Our imperialist enemies have clearly recognized that they can only count on the success of their counter-revolutionary schemes directed against the world socialist system if they succeed in opening gaps and sowing dissension between the socialist countries.

However, the adherents of socialist ideas must not be allowed to depart from the class foundations in the heat of any kind of debate. We, Hungarian communists, most resolutely reject those views that seek to separate and divide the socialist countries from one another under the labels of "large" and "small". We also reject the views which, under the pretext of fighting against "military blocs", wish to put the aggressively motivated military organization of international imperialism under the same heading as the defensive alliance of the socialist countries.

We must fight with the necessary firmness and political courage against every kind of imperialist attempt aimed at breaking up and dispersing our ranks. We must intensify our struggle against the bourgeois ideas which infiltrate our ranks, and the revisionist and dogmatic views which distort the principles of Marxism-Leninism and lead the wrong way. Among the bourgeois ideas undoubtedly nationalist views are the most dangerous to our movement, among them the variety which manifests itself in anti-Soviet nationalism.

Comrades,

It is impossible not to speak of what is today the foremost worry of the international working-class movement, one of the



biggest questions which complicates the international situation. Our draft documents do not deal with the policy of the Chinese leaders; this follows from the consideration that the documents of the Conference should dispense with the criticism of certain parties. Yet, when speaking of the struggle against imperialism, and strengthening our unity, we cannot leave out of consideration the undeniable fact that today the policy of the Chinese leaders and their followers is a great obstacle to our strivings for unity, complicating and making the struggle against imperialism more difficult to an exceptional degree.

Objectively the present-day policy of the Chinese leaders is the greatest gift, advantage and hope for international imperialism.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party naturally regrets the fact that relations with the Chinese Communist Party have taken this turn. But there can be no compromise on principle and we cannot be neutral either. Here it is not a question of a controversy between two parties, and some kind of subordinate question, but one of the international communist movement and the main political line of our struggle. Therefore our Party's Central Committee has repeatedly and resolutely condemned the petty-bourgeois pseudo-radicalism and strivings for hegemony of the Chinese leaders; their disruptive activities, nationalism, anti-Soviet attitude and armed provocations on the frontier, and the whole harmful tendency of their political line.

We continue to entertain sincere feelings of friendship and solidarity with regard to the Chinese people who are now living through a serious tragedy. We trust that the achievements of socialism in China will not be lost, that these people with their great revolutionary traditions will be capable of overcoming the difficulties and will once again join in our common struggle. This is in the interests, first of all, of the Chinese people, but also of all the forces and adherents of progress. The hopes of imperialism must be smashed, and despite all the difficulties caused by the Maoist trend, the inter-party unity of the international communist movement and of the socialist countries must be strengthened in the fight against imperialism.

It is self-evident that imperialism is pinning hopes on the dif-

ferences in views that exist at present among the countries of the world socialist system and in the ranks of the international communist movement.

The imperialists as the unwanted advocates of "progressive socialism", of "independence", of "sovereignty" are striving to disrupt our ranks by force of military and economic pressure, by siren-voiced enticement, by open slander and secret subversion. They would like to divide the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties from one another, and above all and especially from the Soviet Union, which, since its existence, has been the principal obstacle to their plans. From the Soviet Union whose military power, political and moral prestige is the foremost obstacle to the unleashing of a new world war by the imperialists, unless they wish to summon forth the hour of their own destruction. The imperialists are compelled to reckon properly with the Soviet Union's effective power, and of necessity every progressive force must also see the role of the foremost bulwark of peace and socialism correctly.

There is not a single communist or workers' party whose history could be separated from the history of the Soviet Communist Party, the emergence of Leninism, from the activities of Lenin, who worked out the theoretical and functional basis of the new-type, revolutionary party of the modern working class. There is not a single socialist country which could say that its existence is independent from that of the first socialist country; there is also none whose security, whose encouraging prospects of socialist development are not protected by the existence, the internationalist policy and the tremendous power of the Soviet Union.

We often declare that all the parties of the world communist movement, every country of the world socialist system, is equal in rank. This is indeed the way it is, and this is right and proper. Nowadays, however, we speak less frequently of the fact that while we are indeed equal in rights, our position as regards responsibility and the burdens we bear is not equal. If we calculate everything relatively, if we want to be honest, then we must say that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, who claim only an equal, lawful share of the rights for themselves, are carrying

immeasurably greater responsibility on their shoulders than any of us. In an internationalist and selfless manner they have sacrificed and are sacrificing more than anyone else in the cause of communism, for the freedom of nations, for the prevention of a world war and for a better future of mankind.

Our comrades, the workers and millions of working people the world over, deservedly appreciate and always will appreciate the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. By carrying the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory and by everything they have done since, the Communist Party and people of the Soviet Union not only assumed for themselves the pioneering and honourable, but burdensome role of advancing in the van; they have also undertaken all the self-denial and sacrifice involved, worthily filling this role at all times.

Seeing this role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the USSR is not merely a question of sentiment. It is closely connected with our question on the agenda, the struggle against imperialism and the question of our unity.

In the life-and-death struggle against imperialism, in the conflict between the two existing world systems, the capitalist and socialist systems, it is a vital question that our unity should grow stronger, and that the socialist countries, communist and workers' parties should stand firmly welded in unity in opposition to imperialism. An essential question of our unity, of internationalism, of rallying all the anti-imperialist forces into a cohesive mass, is a proper principled relationship to the Soviet Union.

Comrades,

I would like to speak about the great event of the international communist movement due next year, the 100th anniversary of the birth of the immortal Lenin. We support the ideas which are contained in the draft document submitted in connection with this outstanding anniversary. In our opinion we all agree that we can most fittingly commemorate this great anniversary with loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, by loyally following the teachings of Lenin, by the strengthening of the unity of our movement and by revolutionary deeds. In our work we must draw upon everything that Lenin's life and work have given us, communists, so that

we may further advance on the road which the Soviet revolution, under his leadership, opened up before the international working class, the peoples and all of mankind.

Comrades,

In the months of preparing for the present Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow and now, in these days, we have taken a great stride forward. The fraternal parties convened at the Conference proclaim with one voice that the further strengthening of the unity of policy and action of the international communist and working-class movement is imperative. This is the most fundamental and mutual interest of our movement, of every single fraternal party and of the international working class.

Unity can only be brought about on a voluntary basis, it requires work in common on the basis of conviction, and it cannot be forced upon anyone from the outside. But it is necessary, because this is demanded by life. Let us not believe that our unity on every question of common interest will be attainable from one day to the next. But we have no doubt that, if we work steadfastly, our efforts will be crowned with success.

We have also arrived at identical conclusions on the need to rally all the anti-imperialist forces, in addition to the unity of the communist and workers' parties, in order to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle. The condition for this is the active, initiating role of the fraternal parties. Our parties are approaching everyone with the intention of sincere co-operation, who is willing to act in the interests of social progress, national independence and peace. We are proposing an alliance of partners with equal rights to everyone who understands that the rallying of the peoples against imperialism is based on the defence of the vital interests of the working people of the world, of mankind.

Honoured Conference, Comrades,

In conclusion I wish to emphasize once again that the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party agrees with the drafts of the documents submitted, considers them good, accepts them and proposes that they be adopted.

We are well aware that the adoption and publication of the documents which summarize and record our standpoints is a very



great step forward, but this is not everything. After this begins the real work of our parties for the implementation of the contents of these documents. We are convinced that if we continue the struggle in the future in the same spirit as we have done our work in bringing about this Conference, then results cannot fail to materialize.

Now, in these very days, the whole world, friend and foe alike, focus their attention on Moscow, on the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. Let our deliberations turn the hopes which the communists of the world and progressive mankind attach to this great international meeting into reality. To wind up, I can assure the representatives of the fraternal parties that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian communists feel the responsibility which falls to them, and they are prepared to work and fight in unity with all the fraternal parties for the success of our common cause.

*Népszabadság*, 11 June 1969.

**CONVERSATION WITH GIUSEPPE BOFFA,  
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF "L'UNITÀ",  
THE CENTRAL DAILY PAPER  
OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

*November 1969*

**QUESTION:** Commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Republic of Councils you made an appraisal in Hungary of the long journey of the Hungarian Communist Party from the time of Béla Kun to the Rákosi era, and to our days. In the light of this half-century of past, what do you consider to be the most significant experience in the history of your Party, and what are the negative elements which you criticize, so that you might also draw lessons from them with an eye to the future?

**ANSWER:** Before replying, I should like to say: I consider it an honour that the editorial board of the central daily of the Italian Communist Party has called on me; I am ready to be at their disposal, and I shall answer their questions.

As far as the first question is concerned:

On the recent 50th anniversary of the founding of the Party and the proclamation of the Republic of Councils of 1919 we did indeed review the journey we have made and took stock of the experiences. I should like to note that we have named each phase of the Party's struggle in a manner which expresses their social essence, and we do not consider one or another of them to be the "era" of this or that leader. The journey made had its surprising turns, the past fifty years have been rich in events, it was often a stormy period. As a consequence of all this, our Party disposes of significant experiences of many kinds and makes use of them in its widespread activities today. Therefore the full reply to your question is really given by the entire policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Still, among the experiences of the Party's struggle I would underline principled policy, party unity, cohesion with the masses and internationalism, as having special importance. It may be said that the Party's struggle was successful when it preserved the

purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and applied them creatively; and was condemned to failure when it allowed scope for revisionism or dogmatism in ideology, or right-wing compromise or "left-wing" sectarianism in politics. The Party's forces multiplied when it was ideologically, politically and organizationally united; on the other hand, it became powerless when it was divided by factions and trends. It was able to fight and work effectively when it fully enjoyed the active support of the working masses; and it became isolated when it was unable to fulfil its mission, when it detached itself from the masses. The Party's strength multiplied when it safeguarded the idea of proletarian internationalism in its purity, when it properly reconciled the national and international interests of the revolutionary struggle; it lost strength when it violated the principles of internationalism and when its ties with the forces of socialism, with the detachments of the international working-class movement, were loosened for whatever reason.

Our Italian friends too are well aware that in the recent past the Hungarian communists fought grave battles. They know that at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s the dogmatism and sectarian policy of the Rákosi leadership, the revisionism and class betrayal of the Imre Nagy group and the struggle between these two cliques, on the one hand, and the subversion and open attack of the class enemy, the imperialists, on the other hand, led to a serious, long-drawn-out crisis in the Party and our society. And all this led to the Hungarian counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956.

The development that has taken place since then testifies that our Party has taken the historical experiences seriously. One of the foremost lessons of the critical period was that we always have to see reality, and not what we would like to see, that we have to settle accounts with all kinds of subjectivism and pursue a realistic policy.

Facing up to reality, to things as they are, the recognition of difficulties and reckoning with them seriously is a command and a necessity for the Communist Party and communists generally. Gramsci writes about this so eloquently: "Actually it is a charac-

teristic of the weak only that they become absorbed in the play of fantasy, that they dream with open eyes that their desires have the power of reality and that everything will happen according to their wishes... And then, in reality, wherever such people engage in work they find the difficulties exceptionally severe, and only because concretely they never gave them a thought."

I spoke of grave struggles, of crises successfully surmounted through principled policy. Yet we believe that we must continue to work day after day for the purity of our guiding principles, for the understanding of the masses, for their support, for party unity and for the socialist unity of our society. These tasks can never be considered solved "once and for all". Domestic and international development constantly raises new questions which the Party must answer at the proper time. Therefore Marxism-Leninism must be safeguarded from distortions, but it must also be protected from becoming rigid. We continue to fight against the constantly recurring revisionist views concerning the new questions posed by the new situation, just as we fight against the dogmatic treatment of problems. We call this a struggle on two fronts. We are convinced that this is necessary in order that our Party may apply Marxism-Leninism in a truly creative way.

Touching on the experiences of the Party's historic road, I must say emphatically that in the five decades of struggles it was always a tremendous source of strength for us that our Party fought and worked throughout the period of its existence as a militant detachment of the international communist movement. Our Party's historical experience testifies to the strength and validity of internationalism, a strength which is invincible and can be replaced by nothing else. In our ideological and practical work, in addition to the experiences of our Party, we are striving to utilize the experiences of all the fraternal parties. Among the fraternal parties, we regard the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in particular with high esteem and as indispensable. This party led to victory the world's first socialist revolution, and the Soviet Union is the main pillar of the world-wide struggle for progress to this day.

Within the international communist movement in general, and



the countries of the world socialist system in particular, it is an important task of each communist and workers' party to co-ordinate national and international interests correctly. In our experience to leave out of consideration national characteristics, attributes and interest is harmful, but at the same time no kind of imagined or real, particular national interest can be asserted at the expense of the progress of the international interests of socialism. If we violate the interests of the international communist movement or of the community of socialist countries, ultimately national interests will suffer harm because of it.

I can claim that one of the important factors of strength of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the fact that throughout the period of its existence it could be both national and international at the same time. This is how it was in the Party's everyday work, even in the most critical periods, at the time of the First World War, during the period of the Second World War and most recently in the ominous days of the counter-revolution of 1956, and at all times when to reconcile national and international interests was of particularly great significance. This is how the party of the Hungarian communists became, in the course of its history, one of the firm internationalist detachments of the international communist movement, and at the same time the nation's leading party.

QUESTION: After the crisis of 1956 you sought the widest possible support in the country for your Party's policy and the building of socialism, on the basis of the slogan: "he who is not against us is with us". Do you regard the results of this effort as positive, and to what extent do you still regard this slogan as valid today?

ANSWER: I have already spoken of the fact that our Party attributes particular importance to understanding and support for the Party's policy from the broad masses; the Party should lead the masses, not by command, but by persuasion, and should fight and work with them in unity, on the basis of mutual confidence. Winning the support of the masses requires a radical break with all kinds of mistaken beliefs and prejudices, and a correct working style and work among the masses in the Leninist sense of the term.

The struggle to win the support of the masses after grave mistakes and serious defeat had to be started at the end of 1956 under conditions of incitement to nationalism, anarchy and ideological confusion. This was crowned by the fact that with the incitement of base emotions attempts were made to turn people against us communists by spiritual and moral terror, a fact which Comrade Palmiro Togliatti pointed out so excellently at the time in his article on *Irodalmi Újság*.<sup>\*</sup> Even in that grave situation, when dogmatism and then revisionist betrayal destroyed the Party's contact with the masses and caused immeasurable ideological confusion, the main source of strength for us communists was the purity and strength of our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our unshakable faith in the masses, the masses of workers, of peasants and of the intelligentsia. Our aim was the restoration and strengthening of confidence first of all in the Party, of loyalty to our system, of faith in socialism, of internationalism, of fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries.

In such a situation, naturally, putting the communists and the supporters of socialism back on their feet and rallying them in unity was the first task. But we laid no less emphasis on separating those who were misled—and their number was not small—from the real enemies of socialism and leading them back to the right road. This policy rested on Marxist-Leninist principles, it was sincere, it was communist, and therefore humanist. We proclaimed our policy tirelessly, we worked to win the masses, but we made no concessions on principle to anti-socialist views, to nationalism, to anti-Soviet attitudes. We worked for the unity of our working class, for the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance and for a wide-scale rallying of forces nationally—but we strove to carry out all this by the open proclamation of our aims, on the principled basis of socialism.

One of the expressions of this policy was the statement quoted

<sup>\*</sup> "*Irodalmi Újság*" (*Literary Journal*) was the weekly published by the Federation of Hungarian Writers in the years from 1950 to 1956. After 1955 revisionist influence was felt to a growing degree in its editorial policy.

in your question, and which, in a certain sense, has also become a slogan, namely: "He who is not against us is with us". It was not by chance that this formulation originated and was first heard at one of the sessions of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front in which a free exchange of views between communists and non-party people took place.

I consider this slogan suitable and valid for today too. We proclaim and strive in a proper manner to assert our Party's guiding role in the life and activities of society. At the same time we proclaim that socialist society is being built not only for the communists, but for every worker, for the people. It is clear without a doubt that communists alone cannot complete the building of socialism, this can only be carried out as the joint work of the entire people. Therefore we, in the Hungarian People's Republic, are consistently striving to involve all honest people, and every creative force of the people, of the nation in the building of a socialist society, so that the complete building of socialist society should become a national cause. We are endeavouring to win the appreciation of the non-party masses for the communists and response to their call on the basis of the work the communists do on behalf of society. At the same time we proclaim that, irrespective of party affiliation, world outlook, origin or occupation, everyone who takes part and holds his own in the work of socialist construction is entitled to equal rights and respect.

These ideas determine our relationship to not only the worker and peasant masses, but also to the creative intelligentsia. Our party and non-party scientists and artists do not simply "receive assignments" but actively take part in the development of science and art and in working out the methods of solving our social questions. The country ensures every possible condition for our scientists and artists for their creative work. This meets with their sense of vocation, with their feeling of responsibility, and this results in effervescent, lively and rich intellectual life and harmonious co-operation between the Party and the intelligentsia. We are striving for relations in which the intellectuals share with the Party and the state the responsibility they bear for the present and the future of the country. Many things are necessary for evol-

ing this sense of responsibility: sincere confidence is just as necessary as a penetrating debate on divergent opinions. But we are convinced that if we succeed in establishing this—and it is succeeding to an ever greater degree—then this will represent a much more effective defence of the interests of our people engaged in the building of socialism than any kind of petty patronage and administration whatsoever in this sphere. The struggle and labour needed to bring about this co-operation were not easy; it was not created from one day to the next, and the process is not complete either. But it has already borne fruit and we are convinced that this seemingly longer road is in reality the shorter and the more effective.

Specifically concerning the slogan, "He who is not against us is with us", it must be stated frankly: the purpose is to stimulate those honest citizens who ideologically are not yet at one with us, or perhaps are even remote from us communists, to a more devoted engagement in the work of socialist construction. This is not intended to be some sort of compromise, or unprincipled "entice-ment". Naturally it is not all the same to us to what extent and how the socialist consciousness, the identification with the ideas of socialism of our citizens, develops. We are also aware of the fact that the spread and the strengthening of socialist ideas, both in the masses and in individual persons, is a process, and on the other hand it is interrelated with the material construction of the socialist society and with the everyday work accomplished by the individual.

It is the duty of our Party, the communists, to do everything to promote the material construction of socialist society, just as it is our duty to spread and deepen socialist public thinking, and the involvement of the individual person in both. Replying to your question, therefore, once again I am ready to repeat what was first stated a good number of years ago: under our socialist conditions, anyone who is not engaged in conspiracy or subversive activities against the régime, but is performing socially useful work in whatever sphere, is taking part in socialist construction. In other words, whoever is not against us is with us!

QUESTION: Nearly two years ago a reform was introduced in the



Hungarian economy which affects every aspect of management and planning. Are you satisfied with the experiences and do you believe that further measures in this same direction will be necessary?

ANSWER: So many kinds of information, interpretations and even misinterpretations regarding the Hungarian economic reform introduced on the 1st of January 1968 are making the rounds abroad that a few words about its essence are unavoidable.

I would emphasize above all that it is not a question of a reform in general, but of a reform of the mechanism of economic management and its further development, a reform of the system of the socialist management of the economy. The main characteristic of our national economy continues to be that it is a planned socialist economy.

An essential element of the reform is that the implementation of national economic plans is envisaged not through concrete plan directives sent to the enterprises, but through economic regulators based on the laws of commodity, money, market and value relationships which prevail and exert their influence in a socialist national economy also. The managers of enterprises have been granted considerable autonomy, and by taking into account the guiding indices of the national plans, with a knowledge of the economic regulators, they themselves draw up plans in accordance with the interests of the enterprise, in keeping with the requirements of more efficient, more lucrative production.

The experiences of the first two years of the reform are satisfactory. Despite essential changes in the methods of central management, there have been no hitches in production or consumption, which at a time of such major reorganization is in itself a success. In such a short time, naturally, we could not achieve the fundamental objectives of the reform; but experiences up to now are encouraging. The planned character of production has not diminished, on the contrary, it has increased to some extent. The marketable proportion of the total product has improved, in foreign trade both imports and exports have grown, the latter to a greater extent; the country's balance of payments position has improved. The fundamental aim of the reform is an increase in the efficiency of economic work. Although this has not come about in every

sphere, and we may speak only of initial results, still their significance is quite sizable. In brief, these things characterize the experiences of the introduction of the reform.

The observation and analysis of experiences, the perfection of the various economic regulators is continuing unchanged. The constantly improved, more effective assertion of the principles of the reform also remains a lasting task, and with their assistance so do the development, at a proper rate, of growth in productivity and in production, the fundamental questions, that, is of economic work.

Our experiences indicate that there is no need to modify the basic principles of our system of management. It is obvious that a measure of such great significance, which affects every area of the economy, can only be carried out gradually, and its introduction is not without problems. Consequently, in addition to the measures already implemented, there will also be others. However, these will not affect the essential features of the system introduced, but instead will serve their more effective realization, their more consistent assertion. I am certain that the full unfolding of the impact of the reform in economic management will serve the vigorous continuation of construction, the great aims of the complete building of socialist society.

QUESTION: Do you believe that the innovations introduced in economic activities—in an important sector from the point of view of the country's life—must entail innovations in other spheres also, particularly in the sphere of political activities?

ANSWER: We are aware that there is a great deal of speculation regarding this question; in fact, certain imperialist circles and theoreticians hope and predict that as a consequence of the economic reform our society will somehow "loosen up". These are futile hopes. We, on the contrary, are certain that, as a consequence of an increase in the effectiveness of economic work, our state, our system, the power of the working class will further strengthen and be firmer.

There is no plan for and there will be no change in our political structure as an effect of the introduction of the economic reform; neither in the structure of the Party, nor in the assertion of the

principles of democratic centralism, nor in the basic institutions of our social system, in their essential characteristics.

The working out and introduction of the reform was never simply an economic question for us. We were always clearly aware that this is a complex socio-political question. It was and is clear to us that there is close interrelationship between political and economic life, these two important sectors in the life of society are constantly under each other's mutual influence. In our view there will be, and this has already started, a certain change in political work actually related to the economic reform. What kind of changes have I in mind? An aspiration of our Party and government that is always on the agenda is the further development of the socialist democracy of our system. Such ideas also played a role in the working out of the economic reform.

The actual changes in political and economic political work are: (1) with the increased autonomy and sphere of authority of the state and economic managers of the enterprises, the competence of the party organizations, trade unions and other social organizations, the role and weight of their independent attitudes grow proportionally; (2) it is in the direct interests of the working communities of the industrial and agricultural works, co-operative farms and all other economic units and institutions to increase the workers' interest and active voice in public affairs; (3) the economic competence, autonomy and responsibility of the fundamental institutions of the life of our state, i.e. the local councils, also increases, and together with this the involvement of the population and consequently their interest and activities in every question of a self-government will grow. Similarly, questions of production and matters affecting the entire working community will not be decided in the enterprises and the factories simply between the walls of closed offices either, but with the widespread involvement and participation of the workers, and with consideration for their standpoint.

It is evident that the combined impact of all this will mean a further growth in the social activity, the socialist way of thinking and the voice in deciding questions of the workers and the broad masses of the population; socialist democracy will develop and

with it will grow the political strength of our Party and our system.

QUESTION: To what extent do you already regard as socialist the society which has been built in Hungary during the past twenty years? What is necessary in your opinion for this to be entirely socialist?

ANSWER: The social process, which began in Hungary after the liberation, from 1948 led to the establishment of the political power of the working class, that is to the socialist revolution. The 8th Congress of the Party at the end of 1962 could rightly state that in our country, with the socialist transformation of agriculture, the laying of the foundations of a socialist society had been concluded.

I consider our society fundamentally socialist in character. Power is in the hands of the working class, the working people. The means of production—not counting minor exceptions—are under socialist public ownership, and there is no exploiting class in our country. In the Hungarian People's Republic the exploitation of man by man has ceased.

In the form of an interview it is not possible to give detailed explanations and a scientific definition of what is necessary so that we may declare in our country: the building of a socialist society has been completed. On the other hand I know that in Hungary, in twenty-five years, our people have overcome centuries of backwardness. Out of an agrarian country with survivals of feudalism was born a well-developed industrial-agrarian country that is fundamentally socialist. The country's economic standard grew rapidly, hunger and poverty was wiped out, and in comparison to the past workers' living standards have reached a high level and become secure. In the sphere of education and culture revolutionary changes have gone forward by leaps and bounds.

At the same time I am aware that there are still some sections of the people who live under difficult conditions; they do not earn satisfactorily and are inadequately supplied; that the housing question has not been adequately solved; that part of the youth must solve difficult problems in order to begin an independent life. I think that for the complete building of a socialist society there is need for considerably more advanced means of production; a



higher level of scientific work, of public education and culture, and a higher standard of living must be established.

We also know very well that socialism means not only a larger piece of bread, a separate home, a refrigerator and possibly a car, but also, above all, new social conditions and new human relations. The building of socialism is not merely an economic task; the unfolding of human life in the full, real sense of the word, the harmonious relationship and development of the individual and the community must also be ensured. We have achieved results in this sphere as well. Beyond the general and internationally acknowledged achievements of the cultural revolution, I have in mind here, for example, the social activity which heightens awareness represented by the socialist brigade movement which evolved spontaneously in the factories, launched by the masses; or the co-operative farm democracy in the countryside. The slogan guiding the all-embracing mass socialist brigade movement: "to live, study and work in a socialist manner", like the internal democracy of the co-operative farms, and other new and recent but highly significant socialist achievements in our public life serve not only production, but the improvement of culture, and together with this the shaping of a socialist way of life, of the community of the people.

Even if there are still numerous tasks facing us, we are on the right road in our society in realizing Lenin's great dream that the thousands of years of human culture should truly become the common treasure of the masses. Beyond this it is our endeavour that we should not only preserve this heritage, but that continuing and renewing it, socialist culture and art should blossom forth. As with so many other ill-willed prophecies, the one that socialism makes the individual colourless has not materialized either; on the contrary: it is commonly known that the atmosphere of the advanced capitalist countries "alienates" individuals and the masses and reduces them to uniformity. The alternative offered by socialism is not simply more humane, but it is also the only possible perspective for mankind.

We are unable to give a deadline today for completing the construction of a socialist society and the establishment of communism. But our task is not to prophesy, to promise, but to work

and struggle. The Party does not lose sight of the historic goals. We are certain that the party of Hungarian communists, the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people will not stop halfway. They are advancing, and with every step they are approaching the great goal, the creation of a socialist Hungary, and will attain this goal.

QUESTION: Do you believe that progress is possible on unity in the international communist movement on the basis of the experiences of the Moscow Conference, in view of the divergence in views and differences in opinion which were manifested both among those who were present, and vis-à-vis the parties which stayed away?

ANSWER: I am fully confident that we are in the process of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement, and within this the unity and co-operation of the socialist countries.

I base my confidence—among other things—on the experiences of the extraordinarily significant and successful Moscow deliberations. It is true that there were divergent views at the Conference among the parties present, and some of these were also manifested with respect to the parties which stayed away. But in Moscow not only differences in opinions came out, but something which is much more important: unity and strivings for unification were revealed which were much more powerful than the differences in opinions. It will suffice to point out that the more than 70 parties were completely unanimous in their appraisal of the international situation, the most important topical questions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Conference was united in its proletarian internationalist solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle. Unity and solidarity was similarly shown towards the Arab peoples, as well as in numerous other unanimously adopted declarations of solidarity.

As far as the divergence in views between the major part of the parties and a few fraternal parties are concerned in connection with the main documents of the Conference, I should like to touch on this also. It is commonly known that a unanimously accepted resolution originated from the 1960 Moscow Conference which was made public. It is common knowledge that in 1961, hardly a

few months after the conclusion of the Conference, serious signs of the disintegration of unity—unfortunately—appeared in the international communist and working-class movement. There were some who violated the joint resolution they themselves had accepted and signed, and embarked on a course of disruptive activity. This time a not entirely unanimous resolution has originated, yet we may rightly say that despite this fact the Conference strengthened unity and strivings for unity; and following the Conference we can observe the gratifying fact that efforts are being made in conformity with the spirit of the agreements. I can enumerate among these—*inter alia*—the successful World Congress of Trade Unions which recently took place in Budapest, and the joint efforts made by the European socialist countries in the interests of the peace and security of the continent, which particularly since the Prague Declaration have been evoking an ever greater response.

Not one of the fraternal parties' representatives could have left this year's 1969 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties with the feeling that anyone had wanted to curtail their freedom to put forward the standpoint of their party, or to apply moral compulsion to persuade them to sign anything which was not in accord with their convictions. The open character, democratic preparation and mode of management of the entire conference gave me the impression that it was a truly open, comradely exchange of views, which strengthened our unity. The comradely atmosphere, democratic method and internationalist spirit of the Conference also made it possible and helped those parties whose opinion differed at the Conference once again to make comparison and appraisal, and to bring their standpoint closer to the views represented by the others. The decision of the Conference to send the standpoints expressed to those parties which did not take part in the Conference too, and to appeal to them to join in the common struggle against imperialism, is internationalist in nature.

I repeat, I am confident that the unity of the international communist movement will grow stronger, all the more as the differences in views are transitory, whereas the interests of the international working class and of the peoples represented by our parties are not transitory and are mutual, both with regard to the

fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism, and the questions of peace and socialism. Our enemy, international imperialism, is a common enemy, and we can only fight more effectively against him by strengthening our unity.

QUESTION: The Appeal by the Warsaw Treaty countries for a collective security system in Europe was issued from Budapest. What perspective is there for this initiative today, in your opinion, particularly after the 28 September elections in the Federal Republic of Germany and the formation of the Brandt government?

ANSWER: The Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries, proposing that representatives of the European states should meet to discuss the creation of a collective security system, is of great significance and has encouraging prospects. I base my opinion on many things.

Given the course of development in the foreseeable future, the peoples of European countries with differing social systems—if they are not to be annihilated in a destructive war—have no other alternative for ushering in an era of greater tranquillity than to establish a system of collective security on the continent. The willingness to work for this, as is proved both by the Budapest Appeal and by the statement issued from the Prague meeting of foreign ministers, is there on the part of the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries.

The peoples of the countries of Europe do not forget the horrors of the Second World War and are also fully aware that the most powerful confronting military forces which exist in the world today are precisely here on our continent, almost within arm's reach of each other. Nothing good can stem from this if the elementary questions of security are not settled in some way. The reaction to the appeal, the positive response of more than two-thirds of the European countries, is also encouraging. Special mention should be made among them of the memorandum of the Finnish government and the personal efforts of President Kekkonen which contribute greatly towards success in preparing for such a conference. It would advance the common cause of the European peoples if all the governments on the continent, including the Italian, gave a positive answer to the Budapest Appeal, to the



statement issued by the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries meeting in Prague and to the initiative of the Finnish government.

We think the conditions for the convening of a European security conference are rapidly ripening, and it would be heartening to see a decisive step taken already in 1970.

Meanwhile there are also impeding forces at work which, though they dare not openly thwart these initiatives, are all the more busy behind the scenes. As is known, in the statement issued by the meeting of foreign ministers in Prague, the Warsaw Treaty countries proposed a date and a two-point agenda, and also expressed their readiness to consider any other proposals. Those who are opposed to this cause now say that the time is premature, that we did not propose any "real" questions for the agenda, and so forth. And those inclined to pessimism believe them. We are convinced that the proposals made by the Warsaw Treaty countries are acceptable to anybody. We proposed a free exchange of opinion, a conference and a solution. If a government has any better proposals, we await them, and our governments are ready to consider them.

As for the elections in the Federal Republic of Germany and the so-called "Little Coalition" government which was formed under the leadership of Chancellor Brandt, I think this development might eventually prove to be a positive factor for the prospects of European security. What is positive in this change is above all the defeat of the CDU-CSU, the Christian Democratic party alliance, which has been in power since the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany, and which by its policy considerably strengthened the sway of revanchist military forces, refused to recognize the borders which resulted from the Second World War, and finally conducted a campaign against the German Democratic Republic, illegitimately claiming the right of sole representation.

Naturally the new West German government will also be judged by the conclusive evidence of actual deeds. But let me assure you: we will not reject any constructive initiative truly conducive to peace and to European security.

I have been able to reply to your questions to this extent. In conclusion let me say this: I take this opportunity through

*L'Unità* to send my hearty greetings too and express my good wishes to our Italian comrades and friends and to the Italian working people. I wish them much success in their efforts and aspirations for their own better future and for the friendship and the understanding of the peoples.

*Népszabadság*, 30 November 1969.

## PRESS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE

December 1969

ZDENEK HORENI, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of *Rudé Právo*: In 1956 the Hungarian party lived through a much more serious period than did the Czechoslovak party last year. The development differs; despite the individual characteristics, however, a number of generally valid conclusions may be drawn from the events which took place in the two countries. What is your opinion on this question?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: I myself use every opportunity to draw attention to the differences, to the divergent features of the events of 1956 in Hungary and those which recently occurred in Czechoslovakia. At the same time I am deeply convinced that in essence the two affairs are the same.

The Hungarian and Czechoslovak events convincingly confirm the Leninist teaching according to which the bourgeoisie, stripped of power, do not resign themselves to defeat.

Putting the matter in another way: the Hungarian People's Republic, just as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as a result of the socialist revolution in our countries, was liberated from imperialist oppression. The reactionary elements and international imperialism, however, will not resign themselves to this; consequently, if through a conjunction of circumstances certain opportunities open up for revenge, they make use of them without fail and attempt to restore their power. International imperialism makes an effort through this to draw the liberated countries once again into their own spheres of exploitation.

An identical feature of the events in the two countries is that when mistakes occur in the course of socialist construction, and as a result of this the mass influence of the Communist Party, leading and guiding society, weakens and working-class power also becomes weaker, then the imperialists, the remnants of the class enemy and the most varied reactionary elements launch an assault to overthrow working-class power. Naturally the forms of this attack may be different. Imperialism, the bourgeoisie, the class enemy have also learned from experience. This explains the individual characteristics

of their action, how they strive to win over to their own side people who are dissatisfied for various reasons or are shaken in their convictions, and to herd them in front during their assault. The real class enemy disguises its actions.

Miklós Horthy appeared in Hungary in August 1919 and in fact was already the harbinger of European fascism. History has swept away his whole system, and Horthy himself too, Horthy who lived in exile somewhere in Portugal at the beginning of the 1950s, where his memoirs were also published. The first chapter of his memoirs was devoted to his youth when he was aide-de-camp to the Habsburg emperor and king. The title of the second chapter was "Counter-revolution".

Nowadays we are confronted by an enemy who is not so "honest"; in these days the enemies of socialism rather call counter-revolutions as revolutions throughout the world. This too is an expression of recognition by the capitalists that the idea of socialism, the socialist revolution, constitutes an exceptional appeal all over the world and it is not advisable to call their own class struggle, to speak of their own assault, as a counter-revolution.

As far as the second essential feature of the events is concerned, my opinion is as follows.

Among the followers of socialism are not only communists, Marxist-Leninists; the ideas of socialism have taken root in much wider masses of the people. In such a situation the adherents of socialism must do as the class enemy itself does. I refer to the fact that differences of opinion exist among the various enemies of our system; but when they feel that the historic moment has arrived, when they can launch an attack against the socialist system, against working-class power with the hope of success, putting aside their differences in views, they unite their forces for the purpose of achieving their class objectives. Now, among the adherents of socialism too, there are differing opinions and ideas on certain questions. However, when we are confronted by an enemy attack, communists and all adherents of socialism, workers, peasants, intellectuals, and all honest people must join forces and must subordinate everything to a single, central aim: to protect people's power and the achievements of socialism.



In November and December 1956 there were many things we did not see clearly. There were differing ideas. However, we did not deal with these at that time. We said: now all adherents of socialism, all honest people must unite their forces for the defence of working-class power and the achievements of the socialist system, and once we have waged this struggle with success, then we may argue or discuss how or in what manner we can make further progress.

If we engage in debates, and in the meantime the class enemy overthrows the People's Republic, then every achievement of the building of socialism will be lost. At that time this was how we appraised the situation, this was the way we went about things, and today we may draw the conclusion: the Hungarian people came through an extremely grave and dangerous historic period and are consciously travelling the road of socialism. I believe that along with every divergency in our struggle this is the identical, the common feature.

OTOKAR SVERCINA, General Director of ČTK: Would you please give an account of the specific experiences which the HSWP gained in the period after October 1956 in the fight against the counter-revolutionary, right-wing opportunist forces?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: In the initial stage of the struggle, in the complex situation of that time, we were confronted by exceptional difficulties, so much so that many believed our forces would not be sufficient to overcome these difficulties. A tragic aspect of the situation was the fact that the confusion caused by revisionism offered ample opportunities for the class enemy to exploit the bewilderment of the people and to mobilize persons to fight against the People's Republic, whose real interest it was to stand on the side of the People's Republic. Let us not forget that the open crisis in Hungary began in the summer of 1953, and that to a constantly increasing extent the revisionist ideological and spiritual demoralization aimed at shaking the self-confidence of the adherents of socialism, confusing their clear and resolute reasoning went on for more than three years until the autumn of 1956. It followed from this that the real fascists, imperialist agents and war criminals succeeded in mobilizing a certain number of misled young people,

university students and others, who, despite their subjective intentions, acted as the forces of counter-revolution.

In the struggle we regarded it as most important that—by frankly indicating the essence of the events and proclaiming our standpoint—it should become clear to people as early as possible just what the issue was, and thus everyone should find his rightful place. Although the counter-revolution was unable to mobilize large masses, still it was able to organize street demonstrations. It sometimes happened that as many as 400–500 people paraded somewhere, and proclaimed appealing, camouflaged slogans of the counter-revolutionaries. All kinds of slogans were voiced, even one saying “Long live King Stephen”—though he died a thousand years ago—and that “all Hungarians are brothers...”, the only kind that was not, was “long live the counter-revolution”.

The demonstrating masses made their appearance and we were confronted by the question: what shall we do? As far as power is concerned, there can be no compromise. Anyone who makes an attack against working-class power, against the socialist system, whatever his origin may be, be he a party member or a non-party person, if he attacks with force, then he must be beaten back with force. In this respect there can be no compromise.

Not only the real counter-revolutionaries demonstrated, but others as well, and we considered it vital that we must separate them. The chief result of our Party's struggle was that it did succeed within a short time in separating people who were not deliberately hostile and were misled from the politically conscious enemy, and bringing the former over to the proper side, in support of the people, the cause of socialism.

One could discuss the question at length, but let me only say this at the present time: we consider it particularly important that, while openly proclaiming our aim, and not yielding an inch on the question of power, we must differentiate in the struggle between the true class enemy and the deluded, those who were accidentally involved. It is easier to expose the enemy this way and wage the struggle with success.

OLDRICH SVETKA, Editor-in-Chief of *Tribuna*: After crushing the counter-revolution, how was the Hungarian Socialist Workers'

Party able to win the full confidence of the workers, the Hungarian people; how did it become the acknowledged leading force of the country?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: We endeavoured to represent an undistorted, Marxist-Leninist standpoint in the fundamental and vital questions of the struggle. We openly proclaimed our policy and we carried on a sincere dialogue with every stratum of society. It must be noted, of course, that in the particularly acute phase of the struggle there is no room for lengthy exchanges of view, for speeches, there is no way of replying to questions *en masse*. However, one must not spare any pains to illuminate every essential question thoroughly, to discuss it with the working people, workers and peasants, intellectual workers, the youth and with all important strata of society.

The effectiveness of the Party's struggle was ensured decisively by firmness on principles. On fundamental questions we took no account of whether they were popular or not at the given moment. We adopted a Marxist-Leninist, communist, internationalist position—without compromise, irrespective of whether they applauded or booed.

As you are aware, in 1956 we requested armed assistance from the Soviet Union for our fight. Whoever has time for it may philosophize as much as he likes on questions such as these. But our reasoning was quite simple. For us every achievement of the people is precious, and the people's blood is precious. We considered it decisive to crush the counter-revolutionary uprising in the shortest possible time. This was why we asked for help. There is another side to the matter: if in 1919 the régime of capitalists and landowners could allow themselves to call alien armed force, the Entente troops, to their aid—perhaps you know that in those days French troops, Senegalese riflemen, were stationed in Szeged, and these served as the armed force of the counter-revolution—in a word, if the bourgeoisie were permitted to do so at that time, then the working class also have the right to turn to their international class brothers for aid; they are obliged to establish order and frustrate counter-revolutionary attempts.

As far as that part of the question is concerned, how we won the

people's confidence and respect: I do not wish to make any kind of allusion to the present situation in Czechoslovakia; however, at the talks I mentioned one of our experiences which has some sort of connection. This was the fact that we were respected for many things later for which we were criticized earlier.

We were confident that the people would understand us, even if at the moment they did not comprehend why this or that had to be done. People reason, they are cultured, and they are able to appreciate a consistent attitude.

In the years following the counter-revolution many people expressed their thanks to the Party, to the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government for their firm action, for their protection of the socialist achievements, among them many of those who did not agree with our actions in 1956. People use a severe yardstick in judging leadership. The only leadership which can enjoy respect is the kind that dares to stand up to demagogy.

The source of confidence and acknowledgement for our Party and government was the fact that we restored the constitutional, lawful order of the Hungarian People's Republic, we restored socialist legality, and we safeguarded the achievements of the working people. Let me add that the manner of approach, or, as it is called, the style of the Party's work, is exceptionally important. I do not wish to go into detail about this, only to say this much: unfortunately it often happens in the case of individuals—and sometimes not only individuals—that a rightful and just cause, for example, the correct and good cause of socialism, is so represented by them that people are not won over, but alienated. Thus the approach, the manner of struggle, the Party's tone in general, is exceptionally important. Not only did we ask for confidence in the Party—we ourselves had confidence in the worker and peasant masses and in the intelligentsia; we had confidence even when on the basis of outward appearance the question might rightly have been asked: what is this confidence founded on?

At the beginning of 1957 in the competent party forum we debated, for example, whether we should set up the workers' militia. Quite a serious discussion took place on it. In the course of the events it happened that weapons were out in hundreds and thou-



sands, and it was not possible to know who had them. Among those arguing were some who said: the task now is not to distribute arms, but to gather in those that are out. We said: no. We had faith in the workers, the peasants, the employees and the intelligentsia. We had confidence in them and we established the workers' militia, although the situation was extremely confused. I could not say how many weapons we distributed, so that the workers and peasants and the intelligentsia might defend our system with "voluntary service". I do know, however, that this workers' militia has already seen a good many years, and in no single instance has it occurred that the custodian of a weapon has turned it against the working-class power, against the cause of the people. We are firmly convinced that only on the basis of mutual trust is it possible to work, only if the working people have confidence in the Party and the Party has faith in the masses. All this means that we have faith in the truth and strength of our ideas.

I saw in your country the presidential coat of arms and the Hussite slogan: "Truth shall triumph!" We "translated" this very same slogan to the language of our socialist truth. At the end of 1956, in the gravest and most critical situation too, we had faith in the strength of the socialist idea, in the class-consciousness of the working class, in the loyalty of honest people to socialism. We were certain that the truth would be victorious. We would win—although at that time the situation was not so clear. There were some who gave the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government a week, and others who gave it three weeks. Well, the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government still stands today!

JAN ZELENKA, General Director of Czechoslovak Television: What possibilities are there for the development of Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic and technical-scientific co-operation?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: After the slackening in the economic co-operation of the two countries during the past year, the restoration of economic contacts began at the end of 1968 and has continued vigorously in the present year. We may say today that the contacts are returning to normal. The possibilities for broadening economic co-operation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the

Czechoslovak Socialist Republic are unusually favourable. This also follows from the economic structure of the two countries. The fact that we are immediate neighbours also speaks in favour of the development of co-operation. In our opinion the situation is ripe for a change-over from simple goods exchange, which makes up a large part of our trade, to co-operation and specialization in production. This question is the order of the day in the development of the Czechoslovak national economy, and the situation is similar in our national economy and, furthermore, in the economies of the rest of the socialist countries too. Economic co-operation on a higher level is on the agenda both in our bilateral relations and in CMEA.

As regards Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations, this question was dealt with at the recently held session of the inter-governmental mixed commission; in our exchange of views on this occasion it was mentioned that the extension of higher forms of economic co-operation between the two countries should be speeded up. The determination and intention to do this exists on the part of both the Hungarian and Czechoslovak sides.

BOHUS CHNOUPEK, General Director of Czechoslovak Radio: Comrade Kádár, where do you see the significance of the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in the summer of this year?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: According to the official estimation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and my personal convictions the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in June this year was extraordinarily significant, and a positive step in the life of the international communist movement. The deliberations were marked by a theoretically firm, resolute and joint anti-imperialist stand. As is commonly known, the conference took place with the participation of 75 parties from the world communist movement, and the fraternal parties discussed and put forward their standpoints on various questions in a comradely, free atmosphere. In the standpoint of all the fraternal parties the urgent desire and endeavour to strengthen the firmness of the world communist movement was expressed. The same thing emerged as far as the co-operation and

the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries was concerned; and an absolutely clear and unequivocal standpoint was arrived at respecting the need to make effective efforts to rally all the anti-imperialist forces for the protection of social progress and peace in the domestic work and international activities of every militant detachment of the world communist movement.

It is common knowledge that recently various differences in views have appeared and find expression even today in the international communist movement. Nevertheless this year's Moscow conference of the fraternal parties proved that the attempts to bring views closer to each other, to strengthen unity, to unite forces are very powerful. The imperialist press considerably magnified the fact that a few fraternal parties did not accept the full text of the statement issued, and did not sign one or another section of it. The Western press endeavoured to represent this in such a light that "there was no unity..." Whoever was present at the conference can testify, and whoever has studied and become familiar with the documents could ascertain that the Moscow conference strengthened unity and offered considerable hope that development in the years to come would be favourable in this respect as well.

I should also like to make separate mention that our delegation noted with a feeling of satisfaction that the delegation of our Czechoslovak fraternal party took part in the Moscow conference as a delegation of an influential party of equal rank and contributed substantially to the success of the conference.

Editorial Board of the Bratislava *Pravda*: What kind of prospects are there for the setting up of an all-European conference, for European peace and security?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: It is commonly known that the representatives of the parties and governments of the countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty organization carried on successful and fruitful discussions recently in Moscow. I am convinced that these discussions will greatly assist our further common struggle, our concerted action and independent initiatives for peace and security.

I am convinced that under the impact of the Budapest Appeal

issued to the peoples and governments of Europe, which evoked an exceptionally positive response from the public opinion of our continent, conditions are maturing for us to advance on the road of establishing European collective security.

In these very days the Vietnam aggression of the imperialists and the situation which has arisen in the Middle East occupy a central place among international issues. It is a well-known fact, however, that the detachments of the greatest military forces existing in the world today confront each other eyeball to eyeball here in Europe. This cannot go on indefinitely in this manner. The situation needs to be resolved, to be changed without fail. We are deeply convinced that this is not a question of the special interests of the Warsaw Treaty, and not even of some sort of party affair of the communists, but in the literal sense of the term the vital interests of the peoples of Europe.

In this connection the question arises with particular weight: are we able to build and stabilize normal relations and mutually useful and advantageous economic and cultural relations, or not?

It is my conviction that the awareness is constantly growing—not only in the public opinion of the countries of Europe, but of other countries as well—that steps have to be taken to improve the situation in the interests of the firmer security of Europe. I believe it is natural and necessary that the initiators of this highly significant action are the member nations of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Budapest Appeal, the Prague stand of the foreign ministers and the communiqué issued on the present meeting offer a clear picture of the fact that we are thinking of serious deliberations which take the realities of Europe into account, of such an agreement and security system as is acceptable to every country of Europe. I am confident of its success.

BEDRICH KACIREK, Editor-in-Chief of *Práce*: What kind of results did your present discussions in Prague bring, Comrade Kádár?

JÁNOS KÁDÁR: The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and I myself personally were pleased to receive the invitation and we looked forward to the talks with great expectations.



I can say that a comradely, cordial meeting and exchange of views took place in a very good atmosphere; this met our expectations and hopes. I believe this meeting was timely and did a good service to our parties' internationalist, fraternal unity, to the co-operation of our countries, and to the cause of our peoples' friendship.

We reviewed every essential sphere of the two parties' relations and co-operation and we talked over a whole series of international questions in which the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak parties were equally interested.

It is my conviction that the exchange of ideas was useful for both sides. We mutually familiarized each other with our own problems, and the assessment embodied in the communiqué met with agreement on both sides.

As far as the Czechoslovak situation is concerned: we do not deny that we too are interested in it. Regarding Czechoslovakia's development, and the problems of the Czechoslovak party, we hope that they find a Marxist-Leninist solution. We are confident that Czechoslovakia's economic, social, cultural and other problems will be solved in a socialist manner. We are convinced that the working people of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will advance together on the road of building socialism. History has taught us that we share a common fate and also that we cannot achieve results at the expense of the other country. We must advance together and we must prosper together.

We wish the Czechoslovak working class, peasantry and intelligentsia much success and prosperity. We are certain that the fraternal Czech and Slovak peoples will resolutely and speedily advance in the building of socialism.

*Népszabadság*, 19 December 1969.

## A FEW QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY'S YOUTH POLICY

*(Contribution at a Session of the Central Committee)*

*February 1970*

Honoured Central Committee, Comrades,

I agree with the report submitted, with Comrade Aczél's opening speech and with the draft resolution.

The Central Committee deals regularly with youth, and with important problems concerning youth, whether it be a question of the training of specialists within the scientific policy, of socialist labour emulation, or of our cultural policy. And this is indeed natural, because a considerable percentage of Hungarian society is made up of youth, therefore it is impossible to speak of a single socio-political issue in such a way that it does not affect them either directly or indirectly. All this notwithstanding it is still extremely important that the position of the youth and the work of the KISZ (Young Communist League) have been put on the agenda of the Central Committee as an independent item.

Agreeing with the arguments of the opening speech, I consider the discussion of the question opportune. Our discussion can help socialist construction in general, and our activities among the youth more specifically.

There is also need for this assistance. On the one hand we must clarify a few questions of principle concerning our youth policy, and on the other hand we must examine how it is possible to increase the material means for the expansion of cultural and sports opportunities for the youth.

An important point of departure of our work is how we judge the youth. Only by formulating a correct standpoint on this question can we arrive at a suitable conclusion and can our exchange of ideas be really useful.

In my opinion we can draw up a picture of the youth in two ways. On the one hand we must form a general picture of them which shows what the fundamental traits of youth are like. On the other hand we must analyse and make a differentiated evaluation

of the characteristics of certain groups, strata and age-groups, in fact, individual members of the youth.

In speeches and in political writings very frequently—in my opinion without cause and need—the expressions “youth” and “young people” are used alternately, whereas they do not mean exactly the same thing. I consider it proper that when it is a question of judgement in general then we should speak of the youth, but in case of differentiated appraisal we should speak of young people.

As far as the youth are concerned, their political and moral situation, their position is closely connected with the political, moral situation and position of society. The youth are suitably and fittingly present in every sphere of the life and activities of the Hungarian people engaged in the building of socialism. Boys and girls—enormous masses of Hungarian youth—are either studying, preparing for the work of socialist construction, or are already taking part in that construction. Their activities range from labour performed honestly, out of simple duty, to setting a very splendid example. In socialist labour emulation, in the socialist brigade movement—this is also borne out by statistics—the youth are participating splendidly, in keeping with the proportion of their numbers, if not to a greater extent. In my opinion this is the correct point of departure and yardstick for the fundamental appraisal of Hungarian youth.

Of course, if someone asks what young people are like, it is extremely difficult to answer, just as if someone asked the absurd question, what are the adults like? The simplest reply is that they differ. Therefore, when it is a question of what young people are like we have to differentiate. Otherwise we would be beating the air and spouting phrases.

How we judge the social aspirations of the youth is also extremely important. The actions of the youth living in the capitalist world, in the society of the leading capitalist powers—whether in the United States or Japan, France or the Federal Republic of Germany—are marked mainly by the characteristic, their differences notwithstanding, that in total effect their behaviour is aimed at rejecting capitalist ideology and policy, the bourgeois social system. Often this endeavour takes place in a most nebulous form, in an

anarchic manner. However clearly evident is their disavowal of the existing society, we must also discern just as clearly that only part of the youth link the disavowal of capitalism with the desire for a socialist system, and with the assumption of struggle for it.

What are the aspirations of the youth in the socialist countries? Their striving is fundamentally determined by the fact that in contrast to the youth of the capitalist countries they do not disavow but they are for the system, for socialist ideology and its policy. It is understandable, however, that while relying on the achievements of the people's democratic system, they often criticize the shortcomings of our practical activities and their possible distortions, and are more critical than the grown-ups in censuring mistakes and demanding a better solution of certain matters. I would take this to mean that in many specific questions they demand better socialist practice.

If this general appraisal is acceptable—and I am convinced it is acceptable—we have in essence determined our relationship to the aspirations of youth. By “we”, naturally, I mean the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. These are: an even more vigorous propagation and establishment of socialist ideas, a more effective and better explanation of our Party's policy and a resolute endeavour to put that policy into practice better. Naturally these principles relate not only to youth policy; this is the aim of every deliberation and activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

As far as aims are concerned, we are in harmony with the young people striving for better things. The above-mentioned principles in our work have to be accepted; in the fundamental questions of our society—particularly those which most directly affect the life of the youth—we must strive constantly, unceasingly for better, socialist solutions.

Living, live worries have appeared, and still appear, for example, during study and the beginning of a career. It is the duty of the Party and society—particularly of educational policy—to deal with these in such a way that, taking into consideration the justified observations of the youth, they eliminate what causes them. I believe nobody misunderstands me. I do not propose that we should urge the young people to engage in wrong actions. In fact, the young



people who object to mistakes and oppose them will also look at things differently when they understand that their own, perhaps not even consciously formulated, aspirations and the aims of the Party ultimately coincide.

When we examine the present and the recent past, the political and moral state of Hungarian youth—speaking generally—is satisfactory. If we look ahead, however, the youth will have to meet greater needs and demands than at present, and we have to prepare them for this.

In his address Comrade Aczél mentioned one question: ideologically what kind of goal must we set in the education of the youth? This may also be formulated as: what kind of demands do we make of them. If we take into consideration what kind of tasks await the youth of the Hungarian people in socialist construction, our demanding attitude is justified.

An interlinked, dual task awaits our youth. We constantly speak about the one, and rarely about the other. The task of carrying out the complete building of a socialist society awaits them. And presumably the task of preparing the transition to communism will emerge in the life of the present young generation. Apart from this and in the meantime—together with the youth of other countries—they must also help in promoting the victory of the socialist social system on a world scale.

Our youth must feel a sense of responsibility for the world-wide victory of socialism, they must prepare for life, for work and for struggle in the knowledge and awareness of this. Young people studying in the primary and secondary schools—and even university students—will still be alive and working in the year 2000 and thereafter, in fact that is when they will be in the prime of life. We have to come forth with clear-cut ideological requirements from them, in their interests. Of course, not under pain of penalty, but through educational work, agitation, through good organization we must see to it that the youth master the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism, that they learn to reason with the scientific method of our theory and accept and profess the policy which stems from our world outlook.

Youth too can only choose between capitalism and socialism.

We must educate our young people in such a way that they choose socialism and that they have a socialist world outlook. How effective this will be, how great a percentage of the young people will be like this, is not worth reflecting on now. Our task is to comply with the Party's purpose and mission: we must disseminate Marxism, proclaim our comprehensive socialist aims and win acceptance for communist policy among the masses to a greater extent than at present. This is the Party's general commitment, and in particular its commitment with regard to the youth.

That young people should master the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is not only in the interests of society, but of the young people as well. Today, in February 1970, it is still possible to live in a country engaged in socialist construction in such a way that coming home from work part of the people, though an ever decreasing part, say: "I have done my work properly, and the rest doesn't interest me." This is not as it should be even today, but a few decades hence it will be an utterly unacceptable, socially absurd view and attitude.

Thirdly I would mention the characteristics of youth which belong to their age. In the period of becoming an adult the young person himself reflectively seeks his bearings in the midst of the affairs of the world and endeavours to evolve a solid world outlook for himself. In the course of the discussion it was mentioned that among the young people there is, to a certain extent, less egoism and selfishness than among the adult generation. This is quite natural! This is the time of life when everyone seeks ideals, ideas and progressive views, and desires to live according to them. This is where we have to meet the youth, it is here that the interests and the demands of the youth link with the Party's commitment. This is the meeting-point which we must consciously acknowledge and make use of, in order to fulfil our commitment to the future.

In a few words I would like to touch on the questions of morality and moral education. I would not suggest that we positively formulate moral commandments, but we should propagate and proclaim the ideas of socialist morality better, with greater vigour and more resolution than we have up to now; this I would indeed suggest! The moral standards of our youth should begin in such a

manner that the young person is a patriot and internationalist; he should study, work and meet his national defence obligations. These are primary requirements.

The transformation which has occurred in our society, the socialist revolution, plus the scientific-technical revolution, in addition to many other things, has also affected family life. The radical social changes, the revolution itself, then the flare-up of the counter-revolution, the influx of the village masses to the city, the large-scale involvement of women in production, have shaken the earlier economic foundations of marriage, the foundations which fifty or thirty years ago were still determining and dominant in Hungary. Existence, a livelihood, does not depend on whether a marriage survives or dissolves. Everybody knows what this entails. This too belongs to the real situation. And this must not be forgotten either when we criticize the youth, or this or that aspect of their morals.

It was mentioned in the discussion that many expected today's Central Committee session would finally establish clearly and unequivocally whether we consider the KISZ to be a vanguard or a mass organization, and on this basis it would finally put a stop to this long-standing controversy. The question cannot be settled so simply. On this issue there will and must be a constantly repeating polemic, because this comes with the active life of the movement. It is possible to answer the question: what does the Party consider the KISZ to be; but not in the way it is asked, i.e. is it a vanguard or a mass organization?

The Hungarian Young Communist League is an organization of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and at the same time the mass organization of the Hungarian youth. The KISZ must be both at the same time the Party's youth organization and the mass organization of Hungarian youth. Its responsibilities can only be determined on the basis of this duality.

In my conviction the KISZ is a political mass organization, a mass organization of the youth! When we speak of the fact that the KISZ is a political organization grounded in Marxist-Leninist ideology, this does not indicate the degree to which this ideology must permeate every member of the youth federation, but rather that the Party's youth organization can have no other foundation.

The KISZ is fundamentally and primarily a political mass organization. I deliberately emphasize its political character. The activities of the KISZ are extremely varied: they embrace many things from Marxist-Leninist seminars to dances: building work, acting as patron, socialist brigade work, exemplary study, and a good many other socially important tasks. Thus the scope is large and the area of their activities is broad. But somehow in all these the principle must be asserted that this is the Party's youth federation, and is primarily a political mass organization! Naturally I do not take this to mean that they should open every dance with a brief political introduction, because that is absurd. But in my opinion if the KISZ lays emphasis on its fundamental characteristic, then in some manner even the dance which it organizes and patronizes must be of the kind—let us say in taste and conduct—which will not be unworthy of the Party's youth organization.

It follows from all this—which incidentally featured in the opening speech and in a great many contributions—that the responsibilities of the KISZ may not be separated from each other: the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and communist education from the brigade movement, from in a certain sense less formal organizational work, from recreation. The problems arise when these are separated and attempts are made to put into effect one or another task only, on its own. Then before long it turns out that a Marxist seminar in itself cannot really turn someone into a really mature person, nor can amusement fill the life of young people. For that matter it would not be a good thing if the KISZ competed with anyone at all as to who can best provide amusement; why, I know of an organization much better at providing amusement than the KISZ, for example, the catering industry, which recently has got into the swing of things and knows how to provide entertainment.

KISZ functionaries meditate a great deal about how romantic tasks can be given to young people. Certainly not by meditating. It is not possible to provide romance by inventing romantic things, and then carrying them out in practice. If we transposed this to the adult movement, it would be the same as if one of our party branches decided that, starting tomorrow, it would make history.



But if anyone started with such resolution, it is certain that he would not make history. But if he does his regular work it will certainly become a part of history! If the KISZ decides that it will be romantic, then it will not be so, or if it is, then it will be the kind of romanticism which is like the tourist trade "cowboy romanticism" of the Hortobágy *puszta*. But if it understands its everyday tasks well and performs them properly, then it can offer revolutionary romanticism to the youth.

There are some matters which cannot be solved in a direct manner, but only indirectly. When we say that the KISZ is an organization of the Hungarian youth, the Party's organization, a political mass organization, then somewhere it also contains the meaning that it must be like this, it must work in such a manner that it will appeal to and be acceptable to the youth. It must work in a way which captivates the youth and fires their imagination.

One of the tasks of the KISZ is to train reserves, to educate communists for the Party. A number of people at this discussion mentioned the party admission statistics in this respect. They said that the proportion of party members among young people was low, and they said this was related to the 21-year age limitation. Ever since the existence of the KISZ the young people have argued a great deal about what the minimum age limit of party membership should be. One part of them ask us to make it possible for young people to join the Party from the age of 18. Another part, fearing that the best forces will be taken away from KISZ work, insist on the 21-year minimum age limit. It is not a good thing if the proportion of party members among young experts is low. I associate myself with those who spoke before me: in the course of the preparations for the Congress, in dealing with the problems of young people, we must keep this question on the agenda and alter the present practice.

The question also came up: should the KISZ consist of unified or stratified organizations. I am in favour of a unified organization for this reason among others: why should we disrupt the organization now when we have no particular reason for it. Let there be a unified Hungarian Young Communist League, but with exceptionally differentiated strata of work. We should not demand dif-

ferentiation between the KISZ branches organized in factories, or in secondary schools, these are already differentiated enough! In one there are industrial apprentices, young skilled workers, and in the other secondary school pupils. These young people need not be differentiated any further, their whole life is filled with their specific problems. The county and town executives, and particularly the centre, need to differentiate. I cannot recommend an organizational solution now. Care should be taken, and this is rather difficult, that the departments set up at the centre, in formulating their general instructions, sift them in such a manner that they do not require every KISZ branch equally to abide by everything, because then they will be unable to specialize in their work. The differentiation of work, therefore, must be solved in guidance, in leadership.

A number of speakers mentioned the ages of the KISZ functionaries, saying that there are too few young youth leaders. Personally I am in favour of more mature, more experienced youth leaders. I do not mean by this that he should be 90 years old, with an impressive beard. I consider it quite normal and sound if the age of the youth leaders at national and county levels is between 30 and 40. I see nothing wrong in this. If we look around a bit, we can see that ever since a civilized society has existed the young people have always been dealt with by highly experienced, mature people who have a good knowledge of and a love for youth. And this is also my opinion! And nobody should feel angry over this, not even the young people, because it is an old experience that the leadership of 16-year-olds is never left to 16-year-olds. Let the leaders be 26-year-olds, or even older.

I agree with those who consider it important that young, well-trained skilled workers, technicians, experts, scientists, researchers and agricultural specialists should see a future with promotions ahead of them. Unfortunately this is not always the case. We have trained hundreds of women agronomists who have graduated from universities, but only a fraction of them are capable of finding employment in the profession, because conservative views and ways of thinking—which may even be found in the consciousness of us communists—obstruct and hamper the placing of young women in co-operative farms or state farms as agronomists. I am in favour

of having fresh, new forces engaged in work as early as possible, with a salary commensurate with the work done, and let there be more and more young people among the creative workers.

Comrades,

I should like to conclude by saying that I very much appreciate the work of the meeting and the discussion. If in the Central Committee, in the Council of Ministers, in the Ministry of Education, in the Ministry of Labour and in the ideological spheres we carry this matter further and deal with the responsibilities which we have only been able to indicate here, if the Party and KISZ branches seriously go to work and mobilize society, then we will make considerable progress! We need this, because it will bring us greater value than anything else: the future, a socialist youth.

*A Few Questions of the Party's Youth Policy*  
Kossuth Publishers, 1970.

## SOCIALISM—THE MAIN TREND OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

*April 1970*

Throughout a considerable epoch of modern history the aspirations of the ruling class of the capitalist system which had come to power, and the internal contradictions of that system, determined the fate of mankind and the trend of the world's development. The victory of the socialist revolution in Russia and then the growth of socialism into a world system altered the world situation. The world-wide struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism determines the future of mankind and expresses the main contradictions of our times.

The communists, proceeding from the laws of social development and the simultaneous existence of the two social systems, are struggling at the level of state policy for the predominance of the principle of peaceful co-existence in relations between states with differing social systems. At the same time we are well aware that in ideology, in politics, in economic and cultural life, in every sphere of social activity, keen rivalry and struggle, a world-wide class struggle, is going on between socialism and capitalism.

The ideologists, propagandists and politicians of capitalism, working out of conviction, or for hire, from the outset of Marx's appearance to the present day have been asserting that the socialist idea is not viable, and have been attacking the socialist system as it has been realized in practice. But the socialist idea, socialism in practice, the socialist system, has withstood the test of life.

Every attack attempted by the bourgeois philosophers has shattered on the idea of socialism, just as the young Soviet power withstood the "test of arms" and won at the time of the attacks of the interventionists fifty years ago and in the sea of flames of the Second World War. During the past twenty-five years the new countries of socialism—among them our homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic—beat back more than one open armed or disguised attempt at imperialist intervention, with the help of international solidarity. Even today the Vietnam people are continuing



their heroic struggle against the American aggressors and their satellites for the right of self-determination. The fight goes on; violent imperialist attempts still take place and obviously will occur in the future as well. But the socialist countries are firmly advancing on their road.

In our times the only genuine scientific social philosophy and world outlook based on a firm theoretical foundation is Marxist-Leninist theory. The world's communist and workers' parties can only fulfil their mission if, firmly adhering to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to the principle of proletarian internationalism, and developing both theory and practice, they work exercising vigilance towards the class enemy and confidence in the working class and labouring masses. The Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class, whether they work in socialist or capitalist countries, in contradictory situations, must solve complex and difficult tasks day after day. Yet they forge ahead, surmounting every obstacle, because they are given tremendous strength by the knowledge that capitalism is a decaying system, and the main trend of world development, the future of mankind is socialism.

This article wishes to touch on only a few topical questions of the road already travelled and of the present time.

1. In the middle of the nineteenth century, at the time of the appearance of the Communist Manifesto, capitalism was in its period of development and prosperity. The decades up to the end of the century, up to the beginning of the twentieth century were characterized by the predominance of free competition, the spread of capitalism domestically and internationally, the continuation of the division of the world into spheres of interest and the completion of the colonial subjugation of the peoples.

For the working class this epoch was the period of organization into a class, and preparation for the revolutionary struggle ideologically, politically and organizationally. At first the working class fought spontaneously, then in an ever more organized manner against capitalism; they brought into existence their own organizations, above all the trade unions. The movement of the working class cannot do without an ideology of its own in its political struggle. The first work to systematize scientific socialism, the

Communist Manifesto, made its appearance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the modern proletariat was still only in the process of birth, but the poetic declaration of the work, "a spectre is haunting Europe", already indicates that soon the working class was to emerge on the political scene as an independent force shaping history.

By the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a new situation emerged in social development. The era of free competition in capitalist development came to an end, and there began the rule of the monopolies and finance capital, in general the era of imperialism. The fight for markets, for tempting extra profits grew sharper, and since there were no longer any "free" areas left for capital it was continued not for the partition of the world, but for its repartition. The internal contradictions and international antagonisms of capitalist society grew extremely acute. The storm clouds of an imperialist world war gathered ominously.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the working class also found themselves in an entirely new situation. The turn of the century represented not only the beginning of imperialism, but at the same time the beginning of the epoch of the proletarian revolution, the transition from capitalism to socialism. The organization of the working masses into a class was completed; the working class grew more and more familiar with and identified themselves with the teachings of Marx and Engels, brought into existence their own class organizations, and through this these ideas became a material force: the working class became an independent political factor. The period of preparation reached its conclusion and history put the practical political struggle, the overthrow of capitalism, the waging of the socialist revolution on the agenda. The question was, would the working class be capable of fulfilling their historic mission?

The First and the Second International, the parties they brought into existence and co-ordinated, in the initial period of the organization into a class, of the independent political appearance of the working class, fulfilled their historical role. But the treacherous leaders of the social democratic parties which functioned at the turn of the century, just at a time when there would have been the

greatest need for a revolutionary theory and organization, distorted Marxist teachings, made the parties unsuited for keen political struggle; the parties lost their capability for political orientation and they gave up their revolutionary character. The working-class movement was engulfed by revisionism and compromise. The infamous declaration of Eduard Bernstein, the founder and foremost advocate of revisionism—"the ultimate goal is nothing, the movement is everything"—represented betrayal of the cause of socialism and accurately expressed the substance of revisionism.

It was in this situation that Lenin came forward, who now, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth, is remembered with respect by all progressive mankind. Lenin's historical greatness lies in the very fact that he recognized the new situation. He revealed that with imperialism a new era was beginning in the development of capitalism. He perceived that in the new situation new tasks devolved upon the working class. Studying imperialism he discovered the law of capitalism's uneven development and he drew his conclusion from it. In his article "Slogan of the United States of Europe" he wrote: "Uneven economic and political development—is an unconditional law of capitalism. It follows from this that the victory of socialism is possible at first in a few, or even in a single capitalist country."

Lenin cleansed Marxism of distortions, applied and further developed it in accordance with conditions at the beginning of the twentieth century, organized the new-type revolutionary party of the working class and led the struggle with success.

Lenin's system of theoretical and political reasoning enriched scientific socialism with inestimable values; it was in this manner that the general designation of scientific socialism changed to Marxism-Leninism, or expressed in another way, Leninism is the Marxism of our times.

2. In Lenin's rich theoretical and political activity conceptions relating to the development of world socialism and scientific conclusions occupy a place of eminence.

In the nineteenth century, according to early Marxist prognostics, the socialist revolution should have been victorious in the most developed countries. The representatives of scientific social-

ism then, proceeding from contemporary conditions, believed that the revolution would take place simultaneously in all the civilized countries, or at least in the most developed capitalist countries.

Lenin's brilliant perception regarding the law of uneven development of capitalism, and the conclusion he drew from it, that in the epoch of imperialism socialism could triumph even in a single country, laid the ideological basis for the Great October Socialist Revolution. In this manner this perception had far-reaching, decisive influence on the fate of all mankind, and it is still a valid thesis of our theory today.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 crowned the struggle of the working class up to that time, it represented a turning-point in the history of mankind and verified in practice the correctness of the Leninist teachings on imperialism, the party of the new type, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The mere existence of the Soviet Union, its half century of development is an example of the irresistible, sweeping advance of socialism. In fifty years worker-peasant power has triumphed and become firmly established; with the defeat of the intervention and the suppression of the civil war domestic and external consolidation was achieved; with war communism and the New Economic Policy which followed, the problems of the provisional economy were solved; with the introduction of a socialist planned economy and the socialist reorganization of agriculture, socialist property and production relations triumphed throughout the entire national economy; the building of socialism was completed for the first time in one country.

In the Soviet Union, where they are already working on the establishment of the material and technical conditions for the transition to communism, industry in 1969 produced eighty-five times as much as in Czarist Russia in 1913. With tremendous labour and enormous effort the Soviet people have travelled from the wooden plough to the space rocket, from mass illiteracy to the world's most advanced educational system. With a readiness for sacrifice and heroism that deserve admiration they built and defended against all enemies the support and hope of the world's oppressed,



the world's first socialist state. That state is the Soviet Union which today is already highly developed economically and culturally and an invincible world power militarily. All this exerted and still exerts an exceptionally great influence on the trend of the struggle of the international working-class movement and the development of the entire world. This was how scientific socialism, which was proclaimed in the middle of the nineteenth century and was then familiar to and followed by only a few, found realization.

The period following the Second World War brought a new turn in world development, in the rapid advance of the socialist social system. The victory won over Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and Japan and their satellites twenty-five years ago—since the Soviet Union already existed—had a double military and political significance. On the one hand the progressive world triumphed militarily against fascism, mankind's most dangerous enemy at that time, and on the other hand, as the consequence of the existence of the Soviet Union, the strengthening of the international working-class movement and the swift advance of the democratic movements, the political possibility for social emancipation came into existence in numerous countries. This opportunity was exploited by the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, among them our own, the Hungarian people, and later a number of peoples of Asia and of Cuba.

As the inevitable consequence of general development from capitalism to socialism this trend led eventually to the formation of the world socialist system extending to three continents and embodying fourteen countries. With the victory of the revolution in Russia 16 per cent of the world's territory broke away from the unified system of the capitalist world, and 138 million people, about 8 per cent of the world's population, were liberated from exploitation, from oppression. At the beginning of 1969 more than a quarter of the world's territory, and more than 34 per cent of its population, 1,200 million people, belonged to the world socialist system. Whereas in 1917, when the Soviet Union alone represented the new social order, the share of socialism in the world's industrial production was only 3 per cent; by 1969 the industrial production of the world socialist system already approached 40 per cent.

3. The establishment of the Soviet Union and then the emergence of socialism as a world system exercised a tremendous multifarious influence on all the social trends in the rest of the world also. The coming into existence of the world socialist system fundamentally altered the political face of the world. In this way the forward sweep of socialism in a mere fifty or sixty years has already on three occasions led to a new decisive turning-point and has brought about a new situation. At the outset the capitalist social order, fully developed imperialism, was the ruler of the world, then its sole rule was broken; at that time, the first socialist country, the Soviet Union, stood alone against the world capitalist system; now the world system of socialist states confronts it.

With the attainment of the world socialist system in the class struggle of world-wide proportions between the forces of socialism and capitalism the main base for the fight for socialism, for progress and peace was established. In this is realized the political and economic might of the international working class; it is the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle; it is from this that every liberation struggle receives support for which there can be no substitute.

The world socialist system has an influence, above all, on the working-class movement of the capitalist countries and on the entire international communist and working-class movement. It restricts the possibilities for oppression and exploitation of capitalism; it affects the activities and attitude of the ruling circles of the capitalist world; they are compelled to make concessions to the working masses which they would never have made earlier, under any circumstances, when they were the sole rulers of the world. The existence of the world socialist system established favourable conditions for the struggle for emancipation of the working class of the capitalist countries. Its effect is indicated by the facts of the upward trend of these movements.

In the capitalist world, the working class, with the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard, are waging a steadily unfolding fight against the rule of monopoly capitalism. The economic struggles of the workers are growing in strength. Whereas earlier 8–10 million went on strike yearly in the advanced capitalist countries, in 1968

the number of strikers multiplied. The loss in the number of work-days through strikes was earlier 45–65 million annually; in 1968 it was already 220 million.

The main force of the mass movements continues to be the working class, but the mass basis of the movements is widening; the growing activity of the youth, who are disillusioned with capitalism and are seeking a new course, is striking. The struggle of the working masses for the improvement of their living conditions, for the extension of their rights, more and more often assumes a political, anti-war and anti-imperialist character.

The anti-imperialist liberation struggles of the peoples of the third world, the disintegration of the colonial system could only unfold and turn into an irresistible process after the establishment of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system and their political, economic and military consolidation. In 1919 colonies and semi-colonies still made up 72 per cent of the world's area and here could be found more than 69 per cent of the world's population. As a result of the growing anti-imperialist colonial liberation struggles, particularly in recent decades, only 4 per cent of the territory of the world was under colonial rule at the beginning of 1969.

The supporters of peace, the Soviet Union, the political and military strength of the socialist countries, are capable of preventing imperialism from unleashing a new world war. The socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, dispose of a military potential which is already invincible today, and which they are constantly strengthening in defence of the security of their own peoples, and in the interest of ensuring world peace.

In this way the world socialist system and the international communist movement has in our time become simultaneously the standard-bearer of social progress, the socialist revolution, national liberation and peace, the trustee of mankind's future and their only realistic way out and hope.

The objectively mutually supporting forces of the world socialist system, the international working class and the anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples together constitute a tremendous factor for progress which has brought about new conditions

for the world-wide struggle between socialism and capitalism, progress and reaction and the forces of war and peace.

Today the forces of progress together exceed the forces of imperialism and have become invincible. These trends and relations of forces have opened for mankind the road on which, by advancing and overcoming imperialism, a really free world will be attainable, a world free from the exploitation of man by man, from the oppression of peoples and nations, and from war.

4. The victory of socialism on a world-wide scale is an inevitable and, in historical perspective, an irresistible and accelerating process. The period between 1917 and 1970 testifies to this. But this process is going on under specific domestic and international conditions. These mutually effect each other; they constantly raise newer and newer questions to which we must find the correct Marxist-Leninist answers.

Socialism is developing on the basis of general laws; its universal political and economic characteristics are expressed in the fact that despite the divergent past and specific development of the socialist countries they are realizing the common criteria of socialism in more or less the same time and way.

In the European socialist countries, historically speaking, the time of the achievement of working-class power and the transformation of production and class relations essentially coincide. In their economies the period of transition from extensive to intensive development, the need for the development of the system of economic management, and the growth of the impact of the technical and scientific revolution on the national economy occurred in the course of these years at almost the same time.

The foremost characteristics of the socialist structure of the given countries—notwithstanding the numerous divergencies of peoples' national characteristics and other factors—are the political power of the working class, the social ownership of the means of production and the social character of production and distribution.

Lenin himself had worked out theoretically the relationship of the common features, the laws of development and the national characteristics of socialist construction. The vindication of the



common laws of development does not preclude but demands the observance of national characteristics and special attributes. Socialism develops in the course of the simultaneous predominance of the common laws of development and national characteristics. It is the responsibility of the communist parties to recognize these interrelationships and apply both correctly.

In the struggle for socialist power, just as in the struggle waged for the building of a socialist and then communist society after the seizure of power, according to the experiences of the socialist countries so far, socialism can be built with undiminished energy only where scientific socialism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism are applied undistorted, where the ideological and political leading role of the communist party prevails and worker-peasant power is firm, where contacts with the masses are close and the ideas of internationalism are pure. Historical experience bears out that the socialist countries which exist today fashioned new social and production relations and achieved economic, cultural and social results which cannot be compared with the situation prior to the socialist revolution by ensuring these conditions.

The fact that in each of the fourteen socialist countries it is possible to discern common features does not mean that these countries are built according to one "pattern", some kind of single "model" pressed upon them from the outside. In the countries belonging to the world socialist system the new social order is built within the national framework. The building of socialism in the Soviet Union took place under certain specific circumstances; the people's democracies show different features both as regards form, pace and method. National characteristics and the mandatory consideration of a country's attributes, however, are inseparable from the observance of the internationally common, main laws of development of socialist construction, and even less can they be set in opposition to them.

The experiences of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the well-known shocks experienced by the Hungarian People's Republic, convincingly bear out that it is not possible to violate the general principles and laws of development of socialist construction with impunity. Every deviation from these either in the di-

rection of a right or "left-wing" opportunism, undermines the Party's leading role, and consequently it makes the struggle for power more difficult and prolonged; or it retards socialist development and may even divert certain countries from the road of socialism.

The protection, fostering and development of the fundamental principles and institutions of socialism are a constant task everywhere. When these foundations were undermined by dogmatism and attacked by revisionism, then we deployed all the forces at our disposal—international and national—in their defence, just as the national and international forces of the old social order attacked them.

Our Party firmly follows Leninist policy; with the support of the working masses it has achieved, defended and is strengthening the power of the working people and is successfully leading the work to complete the building of socialism; it is forging a powerful, popular national unity led by the working class, and is pursuing an internationalist policy.

5. The development of the countries of the world socialist system and of the international communist movement which occurred in the recent period, and the shaping of the international situation has verified and strengthened the scientific truth of Marxism-Leninism. The 1957, 1960 and 1969 deliberations of the world's communist and workers' parties—appraising and generalizing the experiences of practice—have also enriched theory and armed our parties even better ideologically. This must be appreciated to the full, as in many instances the new questions of development also evoked ideological confusion; they led to mistaken, right-wing revisionist views contrary to Marxism-Leninism, and in other instances to "left-wing" opportunism.

In these questions some have gone only so far as to refrain from openly recognizing the common, principal laws of development of socialist construction, and their assertion; others, by one-sidedly voicing the national characteristics, slip into a nationalist position; still others arrive at the total negation of the "Soviet model", meaning the "model" realized in the majority of the people's democratic countries, and in some instances at the complete negation

of internationalism, at open political opposition to the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. What does the Marxist-Leninist examination of reality, socialist theory and practice show in this so highly important question? The development of world socialism is a rich, multifarious process. "Every nation will arrive at socialism, this is unavoidable," wrote Lenin in his article "Caricature of Marxism", "but they will not arrive entirely in the same manner, each will lend a specific feature to this or that form of democracy, to this or that variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to this or that rate of socialist transformation carried out in various spheres of social life."

One thing is certain, in the building of socialism the most difficult situation was that of the Soviet Union, which, without any precedent or experience whatever, under extraordinarily adverse conditions, and surrounded by enemies, embarked alone on the building of a socialist society. The socialist countries which came into existence after the Second World War were and are in a much easier position, because they are able to utilize the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; from the very outset they could rely on the Soviet Union's political and economic strength and military alliance.

One of the specific features of the development of world socialism is the fact that, contrary to earlier conceptions, in the majority of cases up to now it is not in the advanced capitalist countries that it has triumphed. However, in each country where the working class have come to power, with the leadership of their party, with the support of the entire working people, they have overcome centuries of backwardness within an exceptionally short time and established material security for the population. There are some who are inclined to draw conceptual conclusions from this.

It is not mandatory that the socialist revolution must triumph in the less developed countries in the future, too. Prophecy is not the communists' stock-in-trade. It will depend on historical circumstances, on given conditions, what direction, in which country and on which continent socialism will blaze the trail; whether it will triumph by peaceful or non-peaceful means and will be on the order of the day in a developed or an undeveloped country.

The development of the history of the twentieth century itself bears out the profound truth of the Leninist perception that with the turn of the century mankind entered the epoch not only of imperialism but also of proletarian revolutions. The entire capitalist society is ripe for socialist transformation. The road which led to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, to the birth of the Soviet Union, to the emergence of the world socialist system, to the collapse of colonialism—leads in the direction of the worldwide victory of socialism.

The multiplicity of forms will presumably continue to grow in the future. The greater the number of countries joining the main stream of social progress, the development in the direction of socialism, the more colourful and rich will the picture be, because each country will bring with it the features of its own specific political, economic, cultural and social development. At the same time, however, the importance of reconciling the common and individual features will continue to grow.

On the question of the building of socialism, why should we Marxists have to fear the accusation of some kind of uniformity—which in fact does not even exist? In essence every social system has a number of common fundamental laws of its own. The capitalists are not so shamefaced. As regards the form of state, the pace and manner of development, capitalism also brought into existence a multiplicity of forms. There are republics, kingdoms, monarchies combined with parliamentary systems, military dictatorships, junta rule which preserves the appearances of a monarchy, imperial rule, principalities, capitalist countries with single-party and two-party system, and one could enumerate the variety of forms at great length. But capitalism also has its common features which are typical of every country: the political power of the bourgeoisie, capitalist private ownership of the means of production, individual expropriation as against the social character of production, and the system of exploitation.

In those countries where socialism will triumph hereafter, the prevalence of other forms of the basic characteristics enumerated is conceivable, but it is beyond debate that the socialist social revolution will only be possible if the rule of monopoly capital and its



allies is overthrown and replaced—either by peaceful or non-peaceful means—by the power of the working class and its allies, and the fundamental means of production go over to social ownership.

It may be presumed that the peoples who embark on the road of socialist development hereafter will be in an easier position than were we, the workers of the people's democratic countries, because they will be able to make use of the rich experiences of not only the Soviet Union, but also the world socialist system, and they will be backed by its political, economic and military power.

6. The sovereign and independent countries of the world socialist system are developing further within the framework of the class struggle of international dimensions. We have to reckon that capitalism will survive for a considerable period and socialism will continue to develop alongside the existence of capitalism.

Imperialism is no longer able to overrun the forces of socialism, but it is displaying desperate resistance against the spread of socialism. It will not abandon its efforts in the future either to overthrow the power of the workers in the socialist countries in some way, but it has changed tactics to attain its aim. Now it is endeavouring to loosen the internal order of the individual countries and relations between the various socialist nations first of all by political manoeuvres, creating ideological confusion, economic pressure and penetration. It is striving to disrupt the unity of the socialist countries and to turn them against the Soviet Union.

The main line of the counter-revolutionary restoration policy is to incite nationalism, to counterpose national and international characteristics and to attempt to divert the socialist countries to the path of liberalism. These manoeuvres harbour within them dangers to the socialist countries.

According to historical experience nationalism is able to penetrate the detachments of the international working-class movement, and furthermore can find favourable soil in the socialist countries as well if the Party departs from the road of internationalism, because the vestiges of nationalism continue to survive even after the victory of the proletarian power; and imperialist impact, owing to the transitional character of society, may repeatedly be renewed. Differences can and do arise on the soil of nationalism which dam-

age the cause of socialism, but they cannot alter the ultimate outcome of the struggle between the two social orders.

In this situation particularly great stress is laid on how the socialist countries, the world socialist system develops, how it grows politically and economically, how it gains strength militarily and how successfully the experiences gained in the building of socialism are made the common treasure of all. All this underlines the historical responsibility of the Marxist-Leninist parties and communists active in the socialist countries to their own peoples, to their homeland and for the fate of all mankind.

Socialism will continue to develop in a national framework, but the development of the individual countries alongside the existence of imperialism can only be ensured permanently within the community of the socialist countries. For this reason the strengthening of the unity of the socialist countries, the development of their co-operation, continues to remain an obligation of the first order, which is at the same time the best national policy for our peoples.

For this reason the fundamental criterium of communist revolutionism is who, which party, gives what kind of answer to the questions of nationalism and internationalism, and how it applies the Leninist teachings in the spheres of the national and the international, the common and the individual interests; whether it is able to assert Leninist ideas in the face of petty-bourgeois "revolutionism" and reformism.

7. The foremost guarantee of the further development of the international communist and working-class movements and world socialism is the strengthening of the international co-operation. The condition for this is the clarification of questions related to the international struggle. The strengthening identity of views which emerged from the open, principled debate at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 effectively contributes to the development of world socialism and the growth of its prestige.

In the history of the world communist and working-class movements there was epoch after epoch of various international organizations of the workers' movement, each of which fulfilled its own specific mission. The First and the Second International and the

Third Communist International each had its historical purpose in its own time. At the present time there is no need for a similar international organization. There is need, however, for the communist and workers' parties to hold further regular and multilateral exchanges of experience and co-ordination of action.

One of the tested and indispensable forms of this is an international conference of the world's communist and workers' parties. The most recent, the Moscow Conference in 1969, took a great step forward towards the strengthening of unity. A contributing factor is that the communists realistically determine the most important tasks with due consideration for the existing world situation, the fundamental changes in the international relations of forces, the tasks in the building of socialism which are next in turn, and from the standpoint of mankind the most timely problems which await solution.

The theoretical and practical tasks in the forefront of the activities of our Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, at the present time are the development of socialist democracy, increasing the effectiveness of economic work, raising the standard of the sciences, culture and training, and the deepening of socialist public thinking. A constant task is the development of co-operation among the socialist countries, and its elevation to a higher standard, for the benefit of the peoples building socialism and our common internationalist cause.

Imperialism, inseparable from its nature, constantly maintains tension with its conquering, war-like aspirations, its repeated acts of aggression and exploitation, and its thousand varieties of threats. The only way out of this situation for mankind is socialism.

It is our conviction that the communist and workers' parties must be firm first of all theoretically. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of the whole world's communist movement; every party contributes to its enrichment with its own experiences. Marxism-Leninism is the sure compass for the everyday work and struggles of the communist and workers' parties, and for the development of the countries of the world socialist system and world socialism. It is the internationalist duty of all the fraternal parties to make efforts so that we may overcome the anti-Marxist views, the right-wing re-

visionist and "left-wing" opportunist trends by a joint concentration of our forces. Defeating the attempts of the class enemy to evoke ideological confusion, we can fight effectively against the poison of nationalism and for internationalism and true patriotism.

This is the way we can undertake, in a manner worthy of true Marxists and Leninists, the great responsibility which we must bear in the decisive struggle going on in our times, when the conditions for the stormy sweep forward of socialism are maturing, when socialism is the main trend of world development.

*Béke és Szocializmus*, 1970. No. 5.



**SPEECH AT THE FESTIVE SESSION  
OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY  
ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF HUNGARY'S LIBERATION**

*April 1970*

Honoured National Assembly, Comrades,

We have assembled today for an exceptional occasion, for a festive session. First of all allow me, too, to greet the members of our supreme legislative body, the National Assembly, our dear foreign guests and everyone taking part in the session on this solemn occasion. From here, from Parliament House, I greet every son and daughter of our people, every one of our countrymen. Beyond our borders, I greet in particular the great Soviet people, the peoples building socialism, the international working class, the fraternal parties and every friend of people's Hungary.

Comrades, Friends,

For mankind struggling for its existence, for the peoples of the world and of Europe, the fourth day of April of the year 1945 did not stand out in any particular prominence from among the bloody days of the Second World War. But for the Hungarian people that day had special significance; for them it marked the start of the great decisive turning-point in their modern history. It was on that day that the triumphantly advancing Soviet Army drove out the last of the Hitler-fascist occupying troops from the territory of our country and gave the world to understand that Hungary was liberated!

Twenty-five years ago, on the day of liberation, 4 April 1945, a new page opened in the history of the Hungarian people; our people regained their national independence, and the possibility of development, of social emancipation opened before them. For our people liberation was tantamount to a new second conquest of the homeland, and 4 April deservedly became our people's greatest national holiday. What they won back on that day they hold as their own, what was then only a possibility for them has since been realized; the Hungarian people, oppressed and deprived of

their rights, became the possessors of power and lords of their fate; and today in their independent, free country they are working to complete the building of a socialist society.

For us 4 April is a great anniversary, a red-letter day in our calendar every year, the official state holiday of the Hungarian People's Republic. For the Hungarian people this was, and remains for ever, the day of liberation.

Comrades,

On this day we celebrate our liberation, our national independence, our people's power, and we appraise the great achievements of our socialist revolution. On this great holiday of our nation, in our thoughts we recall for a few moments the distant, long past times, and the memory of the hard struggles of many, many successive generations.

Our people have lived here for more than a thousand years, from the days of the conquering Prince Árpád and the founder of the state, King Stephen; they lived among the sea of peoples, here on the banks of the Danube and the Tisza rivers where kingdoms had sunk into oblivion.

The Hungarian nation, small in numbers, often marched on the warriors' road and many times the battle raged and blood flowed for survival.

On this day we recall those who once fought for the homeland under the banners of Hunyadi, Rákóczi and Kossuth, and those, who, as followers of Dózsa, Petőfi and Táncsics, stood up for the freedom of the people.

The centuries followed each other, and at the dawn of a new era a new class was born, the working class, which, after the lords and the bourgeoisie, took upon itself, to an ever increasing degree and with increasing responsibility, the cause of freedom and prosperity for the people and the nation.

Today we recall those of our working-class brothers who, understanding the call of the times, took part in the battles of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and at the time of the civil war fought on the side of the young Soviet power. We think of those who, being the first to follow the example of our Russian brothers, unfurled the red banner of the international working

class in our country and fought for the Hungarian Republic of Councils, for a new, freer world.

The best sons of our working class and our people fought far away from their homeland, on the battlefields of war-torn Spain for the freedom of our people and of all peoples. During the Second World War, here at home, and within the ranks of the Soviet, Slovak, Yugoslav, French and Belgian partisans, they fought with arms for our working-class cause and for our nation against the forces of fascism. Today, on the holiday of our freedom, we recall our martyrs who fell in the anti-fascist struggle, who sacrificed their lives for our people's freedom and our nation's honour.

For centuries the struggle for national independence, against Habsburg oppression and the constant threats of German imperialism and other conquerors, continued with varying success. The most courageous of the oppressed and the humiliated often rebelled for a bigger piece of bread, for the rights and emancipation of the working man and the people. With the hard struggles of generations we were able to secure, among so many bloody battles and afflictions, the survival of the Hungarians, the survival of the people, and that with hope. The yearning for freedom was always strong, nor was there ever any lack in readiness for sacrifice. Yet our own strength proved to be insufficient to liberate our homeland and our people from alien oppression once and for all. After so many battles and sacrifices, and at a time of extreme peril, when a foe more evil and powerful than any up to then, Hitler-fascism, which trampled on almost every people in Europe, attacked our national existence, the long awaited help arrived and the day of liberation dawned on the Hungarian people.

Comrades,

A quarter century ago the most consistent fighters for the freedom of the peoples, the sons of Lenin, the soldiers of the Soviet Union's Red Army came to our country and drove the subjugators of our people, the occupying fascist forces, from the soil of our homeland. Many Soviet fighters shed their blood on Hungarian soil and gave their lives for our people's freedom. We feel a deep and undying gratitude towards the Soviet people for that incomparable sacrifice. We shall never forget: our liberator was the Soviet Union!

We turn to the living with thankful words and remember with reverence those Soviet fighters who sacrificed their most precious possession, their lives, for our liberation. Our people will preserve their memory from generation to generation.

The sons of other already liberated peoples fought on the side of the Soviet Army. We recall with reverence those Bulgarian, Yugoslav and Rumanian fighters who gave their blood and sacrificed their lives for Hungary's liberation.

We revere the memory of those soldiers, British, Americans and other nationalities, who also fought and lost their lives on the territory of Hungary in the heroic struggle against fascism.

We believe that the memory of those who fell in heroic battles always and above all demands proof from the living, that the sacrifice was not in vain. In the Hungarian people the determination is strong that we will always preserve the freedom brought to us by those who fought for us, and we will never allow anyone to steal it from us.

Comrades,

The liberation of the Hungarian people was followed not long after by 9 May 1945, the world historic day of victory over the fascist forces of Hitler and Mussolini, the day when the guns were silenced at last and the first day of the quiet of peace came.

The First World War, as is commonly known, was fought between the imperialists for a repartition of the world. The Second World War turned into a struggle of the Allies against the forces of fascism, a war of liberation of the peoples. The reason it could become that was that among the allies in the world-wide struggle against fascism was the world's first workers' and peasants' state, the socialist world power, the Soviet Union, which bore the main brunt of the war. In the anti-fascist war entire peoples rose to fight for their freedom, and in the van of the struggle of the individual countries fought the communists, the most consistent democrats and true patriots.

The aim of the fight of the peoples, the masses taking part in the struggle was the destruction of fascism, the achievement of national independence and social freedom, the extension of democratic rights and the establishment of a lasting peace. This made possible



the anti-fascist coalition on a world scale and brought nearer victory over the fascist powers. The victory of the Soviet Union and the Allies in the Second World War saved mankind from a great, inconceivably grave catastrophe and created a new situation in the world.

To the disappointment of reaction the Soviet Union emerged from the Second World War tremendously strengthened politically, morally and militarily. In the heroic struggle against the fascists the influence and strength of the communist parties increased in every country; the fight of the various anti-fascist and democratic forces, and the liberation movement of the oppressed, colonial peoples all over the world gained impetus. All this indicated that after the victorious conclusion of the war against fascism the world could not and would not return to the conditions prior to the war, mankind would have to move further ahead.

After the hotbeds of fascism in Europe and Asia were destroyed, a world situation arose in which the achievement of national independence and the possibility of a revolutionary transformation of society became a tangible reality for many peoples.

Comrades,

The Hungarian people were liberated at the time of the defeat of the retreating Hitler-fascists, in a period when, with the approach of final victory over fascism, a relatively favourable world situation was ripening. But tremendous tasks awaited the Hungarian communists and other progressive forces, because the situation in our country was inconceivably serious. The vanished ruling classes and their fascist régime swept the country and our nation to the brink of final destruction.

The counter-revolutionary government which had ruled the country from the autumn of 1919 was a willing ally and servant of the fascist powers in their foreign policy. They had signed the infamous "Anti-Comintern" pact, and as a crowning act to their crimes and betrayal of the nation had hastily joined Hitler's war against the Soviet Union. As a consequence of all this the Hungarian people inherited from their erstwhile rulers, the capitalists, landowners and their fascist régime, a politically compromised, looted, smoking country which lay in ruins.

Today we remember, and we should make others remember, that in 1919, by force of arms, the imperialists saddled the Hungarian people with the counter-revolutionary Horthy régime, which established feudal conditions in the country. For a quarter of a century it contaminated the masses with fascist ideology, persecuted all progressive thinkers with ruthless terror and barred the working people from political rights. Industrially Hungary was underdeveloped, her agriculture was burdened by survivals of feudalism, and millions of workers lived an uncertain existence in penury.

In the war one-third of the country's otherwise underdeveloped industry was ruined; bridges were methodically destroyed and homes seriously damaged; a major part of the land was left untilled and a large part of the livestock was driven away. The people hungered and were left unprovided for. More than half a million citizens out of Hungary's population of nine million perished in the battles and in the fascist extermination camps. The total loss of life in the war was the same as that of the United States which then had a population of 140 million.

The solution of the extremely complex and multifarious tasks in the period directly following liberation, the clearance of the ruins, the launching of production, the organization of public supplies, the restoration of communications, demanded above all that the people regain their feet, regain their self-confidence, and that the disarrayed forces of society be organized rudimentarily and a new democratic power, an organized state, be established.

At the sight of the desolate, seemingly hopeless picture presented by the collapsed state, by the anarchic situation of a society smashed to atoms, and by a country lying in ruins, many lost heart and could not see any way out ahead of them.

In order to overcome this defeatism, a leading force pointing to a clear road was necessary to mobilize the masses. In our society this political force was represented by the Communist Party, banned and persecuted but resolutely fighting on during the quarter century of fascism, which proclaimed the unity of all patriotic forces and the necessity of a democratic transformation of society. In its appeal the Party called for the establishment of a new homeland with the unity, active struggle and work of the people,

and for the smashing of reactionary forces. It declared that never since Mohács\* had the country been in such a grave situation, nevertheless—"there will be a Hungarian rebirth!"

On the initiative of the Communist Party the flag of the Hungarian National Independence Front was unfurled, and a party coalition was set up; they urged the establishment of the first administrative bodies of the new, democratic state and the setting up of a provisional national assembly, a provisional government and the national committees.

For the work of construction, however, the external, international conditions also had to be ensured. Throughout a quarter of a century the ruling classes had systematically infected the consciousness of the masses with nationalistic, chauvinistic poison, and had implanted in them the dispiriting feeling of a "people without kin", the feeling "we are all alone". In the minds and the feelings of the otherwise already confused masses a big and vitally important question was, after the war crimes of the Hungarian fascist régime, where and in whom on the international field would a friend and support be found for a people whose country was yesterday still a satellite of Hitler's Third Reich in the eyes of the Allied Powers. After so many afflictions and disappointments our country and people found true friends at last in the Soviet Union and its people.

The Soviet Union suffered immeasurably from fascist aggression, from the occupying troops of the Hitler-fascists and their satellites, yet she never identified the ruling circles of the individual countries with the peoples of those countries. As we know, the Soviet Union, when the question came up, declared that Hitlers may come and go, but the German people will remain. And the internationalist Soviet Union, which proclaimed the mutual respect and friendship of the peoples, acted accordingly in the case of Hungary as well. She beat back the fascist Hungarian state as a hostile force, which had attacked the Soviet Union as Hitler's satellite, but she did not

\* A town in southern Hungary near the Yugoslav border, Mohács was the scene of a battle in 1526 in which the feudal army of Hungary suffered a decisive blow from the Ottoman forces. This was to be followed by 150 years of Turkish occupation of Hungary.

identify the Hungarian people with the country's reactionary, anti-Soviet ruling circles, she did not identify them with Horthy and Szálasi.

The Soviet Union liberated the Hungarian people, and helped Hungary in her aspirations towards concluding peace, so that the defeated country could conclude peace and regain her sovereignty within a short time. In the history of the Hungarian people the Soviet Union was the first great power which treated our little country as an equal, accepted her as a friend, then as an ally, and concluded a treaty with her. The material aid which our people received from the Soviet Union directly after liberation, at a time when the Soviet people had no surplus themselves, came at the best possible time. The greatness, the moral and political value of the all-round support which the Soviet Union extended to our country and our people cannot be expressed in words.

Comrades,

There was already a leading force which stood in the forefront of construction, we already had a great and selfless friend on whom we could depend in the restarting of life. Our people were able to proceed, and at the appeal of the Party they did indeed set about rebuilding the country and constructing a new social order.

At the very outset the necessity for the political rejuvenation of society arose at once and imperatively. Under the blows of the Soviet Army the whole power structure of the old capitalist, landlord state had also collapsed. But it was the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people, who had to destroy the social foundations of the capitalist system and construct a new, democratic state; they were the ones who had to lay the foundations of a new, socialist social order.

The leading and stimulating force of the rebirth was the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the Hungarian Communist Party. An important role was played by the Left Wing Bloc uniting the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party and the National Peasant Party, which was the nucleus and cohesive force of the Hungarian National Independence Front which succeeded in rallying the broadest democratic forces—even the Smallholders Party and the Bourgeois Democratic Party were involved. This



political alliance provided the country with a government up to 1948. At one and the same time it ensured co-operation among the parties, and was the sphere of an acute struggle on the fundamental questions of revolutionary development.

The democratic alliance of parties realized within the Hungarian National Independence Front, and its coalition government, relied at home on the popular masses who were growing increasingly active and were urging revolutionary change, and internationally on the support of the friendly Soviet Union; and on the whole it fulfilled its historic mission.

The development which took place in Hungary in the years following liberation, demonstrated that if there was a clear goal, if there was proper leadership, if all progressive forces united, then the strength of the liberated people was capable of surmounting all resistance and every difficulty.

In the resolute class struggle which was waged to establish the new world, with the nationalization of the mines, the banks and the factories, our working class and our people destroyed the economic and social foundations of the power of the big capitalists, and with the distribution of land, that of the big landowners. They did away with the old bourgeois order, with all prerogatives of the privileged, with the survivals of feudalism, and they opened the road of progress, for the victory of the socialist revolution.

As the result of steadfast struggle against the forces of reaction for the democratic and socialist revolutionary goals, and devoted hard work, in the first three years following liberation the ruins disappeared from our country, the inflation ended, production got under way and was placed on firm foundations, and the cultural revolution began and produced substantial results.

The greatest result of the struggles of the first years, however, was the establishment of working-class unity, and the achievement of the power of the working class allied with the peasantry, the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party could then declare with full justification that the struggle for power had been decided: 1948 was the year of decision, the people were working for themselves and were building the country for themselves.

The power of the working class rests on broad, democratic

foundations. In exercising power the working class involved, and involves above all, their foremost ally, the peasantry, moreover the competent representatives of the intelligentsia and every working category.

The decisive majority in Parliament, in the local councils, in the governing posts of the bodies of power, in the officers' corps of the armed forces, in the workers' militia, in the courts, in the arbitration committees, in the people's control bodies, are the class-conscious representatives of the working class and the peasantry, who are politically and competently prepared. We may declare with justification that in our country we have people's power, because our institutions are democratic, and in the affairs of the state and of the people decisions are made directly by the working people themselves, or through their representatives.

The working class and their revolutionary Party, in possession of power, firmly led the country to the road of socialist development. As the main historic result of hard struggles, our country, the Hungarian People's Republic, was placed on firm socialist foundations.

Comrades, Friends,

Reviewing the road travelled over a quarter of a century, comparing the position of our country then and now, and taking into account the results of the struggle and work, the Hungarian People's Republic is able to show achievements which deserve recognition.

Our country's economy and the nature of its production has radically changed. The country of a one-time backward economy of large estates and capitalism has become an industrial-agrarian country with a socialist industry, socialist co-operative agriculture and small-scale industry and service co-operatives. Our people have not only rebuilt the country out of the ruins, but have also established a completely new, socialist national economy.

Our working class, our working people built a host of new power stations, factories and plants, and founded new industrial towns. During the twenty-five years of people's Hungary our country's stock of means of production, of machines, equipment and means of transportation, and the number of industrial buildings doubled.

In the wake of the people's work the national income is rising annually three times as quickly as between the two world wars, and today it is nearly four times as great as in 1938. In our socialist system, where there is no more exploitation, the whole of the national income belongs to the people, every one of its forints covers the needs of the country and the people.

In the era of the prolonged political struggles the Hungarian working class established and developed socialist large-scale industry with self-sacrificing work, which now produces seven and a half times as much as did the industry of capitalist Hungary in 1938. The class-consciousness and sense of responsibility of the Hungarian working class, which has also increased in numbers, developed greatly; for them work is not simply a production process, but more and more the conscious building of socialism. This is splendidly shown by the widespread emulation movement which embraces the whole country, and the socialist brigade movement which has unfolded in recent years, and which expresses the new, socialist characteristics of the working man. The land reform, which ended the semi-feudal system of large estates in 1945, altered the conditions of development of our agriculture and represented a step forward. When our peasantry embarked on the road of socialist development with the establishment of the co-operative farms ten years ago, this was a new revolutionary step forward. The solution of this decisive task of the socialist revolution elevated the peasantry socially and strengthened the main political foundations of our state, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, to a great extent.

The results of our co-operatives and of our state farms bear out the industry and talent of the Hungarian peasantry, and the superiority of socialist large-scale production. Today Hungarian agriculture—with one-third fewer people—produces one-third more than did capitalist agriculture based on the landed estates and the poorly equipped small holdings in 1938. In Hungary before the war 14 quintals of wheat were produced per hectare, now the national average is nearly twice as great, and we produce 27 quintals per hectare. Before the war 20 quintals of maize were produced per hectare, and in 1969, on a national average, 38 quintals per hectare.

During the past twenty-five years outstanding results were brought to birth in our country, not only in the economic but in the cultural sphere as well. In the wake of the cultural revolution possibilities for learning and education opened up for the working masses who were formerly barred from culture. The development of schooling, scientific training, book publishing, the theatre and the arts indicates our people's aspirations, their growing desire for education. At the same time the development bears out the fruitful activities of the Hungarian intelligentsia, scholars in the sciences, teachers, artists and creative intellectuals in general, their devotion to socialism and to the people.

The facts and figures testify to the general development and the change in cultural life. Whereas in 1938 only 2,500 books appeared in Hungary in nine million copies, in 1969 as many as 4,500 works were issued in 48 million copies. The scope of development of our intermediate and higher education is shown by the fact that in this school year there are four and a half times as many young people studying in our secondary schools and four and a half times as many students enrolled in universities and colleges as in the 1937–38 school year.

The social revolution which has taken place in our country is also reflected in the social composition of the students attending educational institutions at the intermediate and upper level. Before liberation, under the capitalist system, the proportion of children of manual workers in the secondary schools, the universities and colleges was only about 3–4 per cent of all the students. At the present time a round 52 per cent of the pupils at the secondary schools and nearly 40 per cent of the students at universities and colleges are the children of working-class and peasant parents.

In the Hungarian People's Republic the revolutionary development in the sphere of education and culture has not yet been completed, the level of our people's culture is still continuing to rise to an ever growing extent in the spirit of socialism.

In our country, in the wake of economic and cultural construction, in accordance with the aims of socialism, our people's living conditions have altered fundamentally. The Hungary of "three million beggars"—in which tuberculosis was called "morbus Hun-



garicus", the Hungarian disease, and where unemployment, the soup kitchens and slums were the lot of the working man—has long belonged to the past.

The right to work, to cultural and social provisions, the moral and material esteem of the workers characterize our society. During the past twenty years, since 1949, real wages increased by 93 per cent, nearly doubling. Under the old social system only one-third of the population was insured, now 97 per cent of the workers, for all practical purposes the entire population, enjoy social security. Care for the aged has been established as a regular feature. Mothers-to-be, mothers, children and adolescents are extended special protection and support by the state.

It is the achievement of the past quarter of a century that working people live under conditions of a secure existence, their living conditions are improving and every citizen of our country can think of the morrow with confidence.

Comrades, Friends,

During the past twenty-five years our working class and people, with the leadership of the Party, have covered a tremendous distance. In every sphere of work, results to which we may proudly refer have been achieved. The historic experiences of the struggle teach us that an indispensable condition of progress is the correct and clear designation of the aims of socialist construction, unity of the Party and the people and their cohesion, and the concerted action necessary for the achievement of the socialist aims. When all these were present we advanced vigorously, when they were lacking we came to a standstill. Our history so worked out that the power of the working class of the people, as we know, fell into grave danger in 1956.

After the year 1948, and the achievement of power, the country and the working class, with the leadership of the Party, developed on the road of socialism, and the vigorous work yielded great results. In the course of progress, however, sectarian and right-wing mistakes occurred and grew progressively worse from year to year; these finally led to a profound social crisis and the counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956.

Persons having a decisive influence on the leadership of the

Party and the country gradually departed from the path of Marxism-Leninism, and in practice they put aside the Leninist principles concerning party life, the relations between the Party and the working class and the Party and the masses. This led to ever greater mistakes and finally to grave distortions in domestic policy, economic policy and cultural policy; the Party's internal forces and contacts with the masses were demolished, and all this together caused a break in socialist development.

The determined enemies of socialism exploited the opportunity which arose and the rapidly growing revisionist trend; enjoying the full support of international reaction, the imperialists, they launched an assault on the working-class power, against our people's democratic system.

In this grave situation the Hungarian communists, relying on the steadfast adherents of our system, of socialism, trusting in the working class, in the popular masses and requesting and enjoying the support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, the international communist movement and progressive mankind, put an end to the raging counter-revolution. Everyone was given to understand that the constitutional, lawful order of the Hungarian People's Republic and the socialist achievements of the Hungarian people were inviolable.

The Party, with the support of the working class and our people resolutely and simultaneously eliminating the mistakes committed in socialist construction and the counter-revolutionary forces, defended our people's great socialist achievements. It restored socialist legality and the constitutional, lawful order of the workers' state, and in every respect it established the conditions for the further building of socialism. As the result of all this, confidence in the Party and our system, and the honour and prestige of the people's state, the Hungarian People's Republic, were restored here at home and throughout the world.

Today friend and foe know: as the result of twenty-five years of struggle and work the order of the capitalists and landowners, the power of the fascists, the prison of the workers, the one-time Hungary of the gentry, has ceased to exist, and gradually we will even wipe out its traces and its memory. The Hungarian people

availed themselves of the opportunities offered by liberation to good effect; rising from their one-time affliction they established for themselves a new homeland, a socialist homeland.

Comrades, Friends,

When we take stock of our results we may justly state that our working class, assuming every sacrifice, stood their ground even under the most difficult circumstances. They met all the historical commitments which, during the past twenty-five years, devolved upon them as the leading class of society and the nation. The revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the Party, may stand before the people with a clear conscience because it lived up to its great mission. With the Party's leadership our working class and people scored a complete victory over the class enemy; during a brief generation, from the capitalist world they reached the higher social order which is free from exploitation, socialist society.

The Party pointed out the road correctly when it mobilized for the decisive tasks: the simultaneous clearing away of the war ruins and the remains of the old régime; the distribution of the land; the achievement of power by the working class, and when necessary, the defence of that power, the establishment of socialist industry, the socialist transformation of agriculture; and the development of socialist public education and culture.

Our Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is guided by Marxist-Leninist theory. We consider it our constant responsibility to prevent Marxism-Leninism, the guide to our struggle and action, from stiffening into a dogma, or from being falsified in a revisionist manner and divested of its revolutionary substance. Our Party works in the spirit of Lenin's teachings when it avows that in our work we must avoid stereotypes and the simplification of complex reality. Proceeding from the specific analysis of the specific situation we must define our tasks by applying theory in a creative manner. Following Lenin's guidance we claim that it is the task of the Communist Party, advancing together with progress, to seek constantly for the correct Marxist answer to the new questions of the changing situation and the proper solution to the new tasks.

Our Party proceeds in a revolutionary manner when it values,

but does not idealize, the level of development achieved in a single sphere of work, because it declares that our society, our people must constantly aspire to greater heights. At all times, and today too, it keeps topical tasks on the agenda; the development of the democratic character of party life; questions of the development of state life and socialist democracy; the elaboration of socialist plans of economic and cultural construction; the perfection of methods. It keeps them on the agenda so that the implementation of economic and political plans of socialist construction can be constantly improved.

It is the conviction of Hungarian communists that the decisive question of building socialism is to co-ordinate the chief similarities, which are held in common internationally, and national characteristics, giving imperative consideration to the country's natural endowments.

In judging certain specific questions of the domestic and international situation, in determining the tasks and in examining the possible ways of solving them, our Party strives for a realistic and many-sided approach to questions and weighs every decision with suitable care.

Our Party is now preparing for its 10th Congress. This time, as always, the Congress will be an opportunity for the Party to assess the results of the road which has been travelled, to take stock of experiences and to point out future tasks.

Our Party, as the ideological, political leader of Hungarian society, as the country's governing party, sees as its task the faithful service of the interests of the working class and the people. Public opinion is well aware that the complete building of a socialist society is not a narrow party interest, and not even just in the interest of the working class, but the interest of our whole society and the nation, and can only be realized as the accomplishment of the whole people.

The only reason the Party of the Hungarian communists was able to fill its historic mission over fifty years, the only reason it could be the leader of our society and the organizer of our constructive work during the past twenty-five years, was that it was linked to the masses by close ties; and in the future, too, it will only be



able to work effectively in close amalgamation with the working class, with the people.

The Party wages its struggle, not alone, but in unity with millions of sympathizers. By applying the Leninist policy of alliances, it rallies every fundamental class, every stratum into national unity for the purposes of building socialism within the frame of the Patriotic People's Front. This movement embraces the broad masses of the workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia, the petty bourgeoisie, communists and non-communists, believers and non-believers, everyone who identifies himself with the common goal, the complete building of a socialist Hungary.

Our Party professes with deep conviction the profound Marxist truth that the real makers of history are the millions of the masses. Our twenty-five-year-old homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic, is the accomplishment of the working people. For the great victories of the socialist revolution, the great results of construction, honour and thanks are due first of all to the working people; to the hundreds of thousands, the millions, to those people, men and women, young and old, who fought enthusiastically, with devotion and at times under very difficult circumstances, and worked, never sparing their strength, for our homeland, a socialist Hungary.

Our working class, the Hungarian people, were never alone, never left to themselves, not even in the great work of socialist construction. Our great creations, the new socialist cities brought into existence during the twenty-five years—Dunaújváros, Tiszaszederkény—our new power stations, our foundries, our iron and chemical works, our large-scale agricultural production units which are increasingly better equipped with tractors and combines, the Budapest underground railway which was put into service yesterday, all speak of the assistance of our international class brothers. We refer to the new relationship and co-operation which embraces both mutual advantage and fraternal assistance, which could emerge only with the establishment of the world socialist system and only between the socialist countries. Now, when we speak of the great results of twenty-five years of construction work by our people, we express our sincere thanks to the Soviet Union

and the rest of the socialist countries for the genuine internationalist co-operation, for the assistance, which they extended to our people, to the Hungarian People's Republic, over the past quarter of a century in the frame of bilateral relations and CMEA.

The Party's leadership, our people's devoted, self-sacrificing work, the internationalist co-operation and fraternal assistance of the socialist countries—these together brought into existence everything, all those results of our constructive work, for which now, on the 25th anniversary of our liberation, we are able to give account to the whole world, without bragging but with justification and assurance.

Comrades, Friends,

As the result of our work our position in the world has changed. Extensive contacts link our country to the friendly, socialist countries, to the developing countries and to various states in the world. As the result of our struggle and our construction work our country's prestige has grown; she occupies an honourable place in international life, and our words are heard at various international forums.

In our international activities we strive to promote social progress, to support the people's liberation movements, and to strengthen peace. It is our task and aim to ensure for our people favourable external conditions for the building of socialism. In accordance with our principles we support the struggle of the international working class and the people's anti-imperialist battles. In the sphere of inter-state relations we favour the peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social structures and the establishment of settled relations and mutually advantageous contacts.

The communists do not need war in order to achieve their goals. Although we are well acquainted with the nature of imperialism we do not regard a new world war fatalistically as unavoidable. We are convinced that the forces desiring peace and the peoples, with suitable vigilance and efforts, are able to ward off the threatening spectre of a new world war which hangs over mankind. The Hungarian People's Republic is struggling for the elimination of wars and hotbeds of war, and advocates the solution of disputed international questions through negotiations.

We serve the interests of our people and follow the principles of internationalism, when we take part in the international activities of the socialist countries, in the work of the Warsaw Treaty organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. In order to promote our progressive aspirations, to aid in the solution of major questions of mankind and with the intention of strengthening friendship among the peoples, we play an active part in the work of the United Nations Organization and other international organizations. We are working for the very same things in the sphere of bilateral state relations.

From the point of view of our foreign policy which is based on principle, we are doing everything to consolidate European security, so that the peoples of our continent, the Hungarian people among them, who have suffered so much may live in peace. Twenty-five years ago millions were fighting in the war which German imperialism, fascism, brought upon Europe and the peoples of the world. Since then many things have changed, not least on German soil. The first German workers' and peasants' state was set up. A very important factor of European peace today is our friend and ally, the German Democratic Republic, and her foreign policy.

The Hungarian People's Republic believes that we have to proceed from the new realities. Common efforts by the peoples and governments of Europe are possible and they should be made, and a system of collective security and lasting peace must be established on our continent.

From the very beginning we have condemned the United States' aggressive war against the people of Vietnam. We also condemn the most recent—Laotian and Cambodian—provocations, which indicate that the imperialist adventurers wish to envelop all of Indochina in flames. Our solidarity with our Vietnamese brothers, who have been fighting against the aggressors for a long time, remains unchanged, and we are aiding their heroic struggle. We are convinced that the Vietnamese people will achieve their aim, and they will triumph!

We continue to be fully at one with the heroic Arab peoples fighting against aggression and for their freedom. We condemn the

attitude of Israeli government circles and their encouragers, which makes a settlement and the establishment of peace in the Middle East area impossible; it is playing with fire, conjuring up the danger of an even broader and more serious international conflict.

Reviewing the whole international scene we see that the imperialists are still threatening peace and the freedom of the peoples in many other areas of the world. But this does not in any way alter the main historical fact that with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution the world situation has fundamentally changed. With the birth of the world's first workers' and peasants' power, the Soviet Union, the sole rule of imperialism came to an end.

This change in the international situation has been further strengthened in the last quarter of a century with the emergence of the world socialist system. The lords of international monopoly capitalism, the capitalists, can no longer make decisions amongst themselves on matters affecting the fate of the world, as they once did. Today they are compelled to reckon, above all, with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries, and the world's other progressive countries.

We will steadily continue the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic, which is based not on narrow speculation, but on firm, principled foundations and historical experience. Our country has met every one of her international commitments up to now, and will do so in the future as well. The most essential element of our foreign policy, the firmest support of our people's peace, their socialist future and our national independence, is Hungarian-Soviet friendship. It is our constant endeavour that our friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union, with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, with all the socialist countries, all progressive nations and every anti-imperialist force should further increase.

We are convinced that the world is continuing to head in the direction of social progress, towards socialism, that the peoples will win their freedom, their national independence, and will achieve peace and make it permanent. It is certain that if we firmly adhere to our foreign policy principles, and stand by our allies



and friends, and by the just cause, the international conditions for our work of construction at home will further strengthen.

Comrades,

We are in a year of great jubilees. This spring we are simultaneously celebrating the 25th anniversary of our country's liberation and the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the great leader of the international working class. Lenin, the Soviet Union and the liberation of the Hungarian people are concepts which for us are inseparable from each other.

The heartfelt celebrations of our country's liberation have already gone on for half a year. Every Hungarian county, town, community and even the smallest village has commemorated the day of its liberation. Now we are commemorating the liberation of Hungary. With solemn words and creative work, with the splendid socialist deeds of the labour emulation which is going on throughout the country, our working people are commemorating the great day of liberation. Our celebrations are accompanied throughout by sincere honour and gratitude towards the liberating, fraternal Soviet people.

During the quarter of a century which has passed since liberation the Hungarian people proved that they were able to make use of their freedom. They carried the socialist revolution to victory. They established and built a new, socialist homeland. The Hungarian People's Republic embodies everything for which our working class, our people, the best sons of our nation fought, and is at the same time the repository of their finest hopes.

Reviewing the entire road travelled, taking into account the main results, we can say that a truly historic and splendid quarter of a century is behind us. It was worth fighting, struggling and working.

Now we are celebrating. After the celebration comes the everyday work; the building of socialism requires new deeds. Let our festive pledge be that relying on the results and achievements of our twenty-five years of work, unsparing of our strength, we will do everything in our power to make our free land, the Hungarian People's Republic, continue to flourish. With firm determination and in unity we will continue to advance further on the road of

socialist construction, on the side of our friends, our brothers, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. If we do this, then it will be certain that years and decades rich in results will greet the Hungarian people and a splendid future will await the nation.

Long live our homeland, the Hungarian People's Republic!

Long live our liberator, the Soviet Union!

*Népszabadság*, 4 April 1970.

## LENIN—THE THEORETICIAN AND ORGANIZER OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

*April 1970*

Vladimir Ilich Lenin, who revealed the laws of the emergence and inevitable destruction of imperialism, developed Marxist theory further and led the proletarian revolution to victory in Russia, exerted a profound influence on the whole international working-class movement through his ideas and thereby on the fate of the peoples and the development of the world. His name is known in every country in the world, his memory does not fade, but gains in vividness year after year. At this time the world communist movement and all of progressive mankind are celebrating the centenary of Lenin's birth together with the Soviet people. It gives us Hungarian communists profound satisfaction to know that in the ranks of the progressive peoples commemorating Lenin are also the Hungarian people who can celebrate while they are in the midst of building socialism.

Commemorating Lenin means that we recall his human greatness and his outstanding attributes as a revolutionary and hold him up as a model to our generation and our youth. But a commemoration worthy of him also demands that we strive unceasingly for a better understanding of his ideas and a closer following of his teachings, and that we act in accordance with them. A worthy commemoration demands of us, above all, that we do everything so that our Party should solve the present-day tasks of the socialist revolution in accordance with Lenin's teachings.

Lenin is known in the broadest circles as the leader of the victorious Great October Socialist Revolution. But Marxist-Leninists know and greatly appreciate that Lenin was not only the theoretical and practical preparer and leader of the triumphant revolution, but after the victory of the revolution he also initiated the elaboration and practical realization of the main theoretical and political questions of the building of socialism.

For the communist and workers' parties of the world Lenin's ideological heritage, in its entirety, is an inexhaustible source and

gold-mine for theoretical guidance and practical work. All who follow the teachings of scientific socialism, and work on their basis, to this very day regard the Leninist teachings in general as the cardinal precepts of Marxism-Leninism concerning the revolutionary vanguard, the state of the working class which has achieved power, and the socialist system. Specific questions of the building of socialism, and his teachings in this connection on the leading role of the Party, the organizing role of the state, the principles and methods of economic and cultural building work, and numerous other questions, occupy a significant place in his rich legacy of theory. From this very same period are known Lenin's guiding ideas on the relationship between the countryside and the towns, and on the farming co-operatives, which provided the basic principle for the socialist transformation of agriculture and the solution of this great task of the socialist revolution.

Lenin recognized that in the new situation which had emerged by the twentieth century the socialist revolution could triumph in one country also, and that owing to the contradictory nature of the general development of society throughout a whole historical epoch socialist and capitalist countries would exist simultaneously. With his perception he laid the ideological foundation for the building of socialism in one country as well as the necessity for the peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems, which is one of the cardinal precepts of the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

Following the guidance of Lenin, for the first time in history the foundations were laid and a socialist society was built in the Soviet Union, and today work is already going forward on the establishment of the material-technical conditions of communism. Although Lenin always cautioned other parties against mechanically copying the "Russian example", with her pioneering work of building the new society the Soviet Union has given numerous fundamental, internationally valid experiences to those peoples who later embarked, or will embark in the future, on the road to building socialism. In this way the fundamental Leninist teachings on the building of socialism offered great and indispensable assistance to the peoples who have embarked on the building of



socialism during the past quarter of a century, in the period when the foundations of a socialist society were laid, and they still help today, in the phase when socialist construction is being completed. The correctness of the Leninist teachings on the building of socialism is brilliantly borne out by practice, by the half-century past of the Soviet Union, and the results of world-wide importance which she has achieved; by the emergence of the world socialist system and the vigorous development of our countries.

In the Hungarian People's Republic we have already finished laying the foundations of a socialist society and we are now in the stage of its complete construction. It is understandable that the Leninist teachings on the building of socialism and the practical experiences of the Soviet Union greatly occupied and still occupy our Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, even to this day.

Although when he worked out his relevant ideas he could rely only on the initial experiences, we maintain that Lenin, as the theoretician and organizer of the building of socialism, also created a work of genius, and everything which he worked out is still authoritative for the communists today.

This article wishes to touch on only a few questions of this broad thematic sphere.

The international experiences of the building of socialism unequivocally demonstrate that the leading role of the Party cannot decline even after the winning of power, on the contrary, it must become stronger. The Party fulfils its historic mission as the ideological-political leader of the building of socialism, as the organizer and mobilizer of the masses.

The party of a working class which assumes power becomes the ruling party. The activity of the party embraces the whole of state and social life. Besides the increasing ideological and political work, the responsibility for guiding state life, economic and cultural processes, and beyond this every substantial problem of the community, not the least of which is concern for the systematic improvement of the living and working conditions of working people, devolve on the communist parties active in the socialist countries.

All of this together demands great preparation and more work both from the party as a whole, and from party members.

There are some who want to revise the Leninist teachings of the party, who attack the Marxist-Leninist vanguard and cast doubt on the necessity of a theoretically, politically and organizationally united party. Such are those who nowadays speak about several kinds of Marxism and proclaim the "pluralism" of Marxism. There are some who want to transform the politically, ideologically united communist party, the vanguard of the working class, on the pretext of "modernization", into a debating club, into a loose framework of factions and groups.

Others, on the other hand, still do not understand that the party is not a sect, but a living organization. It is expected of the party that it should treat Marxism as a living science, and should apply it creatively; it should not depreciate it to a dogma; it should always face up courageously to the new situation with its new questions, its new responsibilities, and find the Marxist solution for them. The party is unable to fulfil its mission if it withdraws into itself, if it detaches itself from the masses. Its strength is ensured by its close contact and cohesion with the masses.

Our Party rejects every view or attempt—whatever guise it appears in—which would weaken the vanguard of the working class, its political and ideological unity, its discipline, its readiness to lead and the constant, close contacts which link it with the masses.

Our own experiences also teach us that the Party's multifarious, complex tasks can only be tackled by a party which is faithful to the Leninist principles, which preserves unsullied and creatively applies revolutionary theory, which is ideologically, politically united and disciplined, which has good contacts with the masses, and which follows an internationalist policy.

It was Lenin's decisive, historical deed that in the legacy of Marx he perceived and emphasized the full significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat, turning it into a theoretical and practical programme as the state power of the epoch leading to a classless society, as the instrument of the building of socialism.

Nor have the Leninist teachings on the dictatorship of the proletariat lost any of their timeliness since then.

Lenin regarded the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence of Marxism. In the period of the struggle for power, when the stubborn, aggressive, armed resistance of the exploiting classes had to be crushed by force, he emphasized first of all the dictatorial character of power. For him, however, the ultimate goal of the dictatorship of the proletariat was always the completion of the building of socialism. Referring to the work of construction following the seizure of power it was precisely in the famous greeting he sent to the Hungarian workers that he said the following: "...the essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not force alone, and not force first and foremost. The main essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the organization and discipline of the leading detachment, the vanguard, the only leader of the working people, the proletariat. The aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to establish socialism..."

Lenin interpreted the dictatorship of the proletariat—like Marx—as the specific unity of force and democracy. He never left any doubt about the fact that neither dictatorship nor democracy exists "in general". Power, state power, always has a class character, it is for some kinds of classes, and against some kind of class; in our times either bourgeois or proletarian. The dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy for the millions of workers, and dictatorship for the minority, the exploiters.

At the same time he did not regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as unalterable. He held that it develops in accordance with the domestic and international situation, with the changes in social conditions of existence. Substantial changes take place in the methods of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the stage of the seizure of power and the building of the foundations of socialism, as well as in the period of the complete building of socialism.

History bears out that the bourgeoisie bereft of its privileges, filled with hatred and still possessing a certain amount of strength, makes an attempt to attack the young working-class power. In this stage the class struggle sharpens. History also shows, however, that in the course of normal development, with the progress of

socialist construction the bourgeoisie has ever less political and economic strength and social influence. Our experiences also confirm that at one time the repressive and at another the organizing function of the state comes to the forefront, depending on the situation and development. In our country at the present time the work of economic and cultural organization by the people's democratic state is in the forefront; the socialist democratic character of our society and its institutions are strengthening and developing.

In the period of the struggle for power Lenin energetically and effectively opposed those who sought to limit the struggle of the working class exclusively to the economic sphere. He even argued with the petty-bourgeois view which regarded economic activity as the essence of every society. Lenin's struggle against the various trends of "economism" is familiar.

After the winning of power and the political victory of the working class, on the other hand, he posed the question in a different manner. He called attention to the fact that the working class and the party had not only political but just as important economic responsibilities. Politics is a concentrated expression of economics, he said. While he emphasized the unconditional precedence of politics—which is the ABC of Marxism—he vigorously opposed the underestimation of economic work. He proclaimed that politics independent of economics did not exist for the communist party.

It was perfectly clear to him that after the achievement of power socialist construction, the organization of work on a higher level and the raising of productivity would immediately and of necessity be the order of the day. It was no accident that he said that economic construction was the party's second programme. He took this so seriously, he regarded it as so important, that he drew far-reaching conclusions from it regarding the fundamental questions of the struggle between capitalism and socialism. In his work entitled "The Great Initiative" he stated his famous conclusion: "The productivity of work, in the final analysis is the most important, the main thing from the standpoint of the



victory of the new social order. Capitalism brought into existence a productivity of work that feudalism never knew. Capitalism can be defeated for good by the fact that socialism brings about a new, much higher productivity of labour.”

The economic activity of the Soviet Union had three outstanding phases which Lenin directly influenced, and which have proved instructive theoretically and politically to this very day.

In the stormy years of the civil war the young Soviet state supplied the front and preserved its power by the economic methods of war communism. After the country's political and military consolidation, however, as the establishment of the conditions for normal life, the launching of production and the organization of the building of socialism became urgent tasks, Lenin turned all his attention, and the whole party's attention, towards the solution of economic questions.

After profound analysis he realized that in the period of the building of socialism—contrary to earlier beliefs—socialist society cannot do without commodities and money. Paying no attention to those who preached about the return of capitalism he introduced important measures. Recognizing the important role of commodity production and circulation, he urged the linking together and the stepping up of production and trade. Let us learn to trade!—was the famous slogan he launched. In production he came out firmly in favour of moral incentives linked with material incentives, for socialist, differentiated waging, and opposed all kinds of egalitarianism. With the introduction of a grain tax and by making it possible to market the remaining part of the produce he gave the countryside, the peasants, an incentive to raise production.

Accepting Lenin's recommendations, the party and the government led the country from the phase of war communism to the phase of the New Economic Policy (NEP), and with this they scored a tremendous political victory; they solved problems of economic life which temporarily were extremely serious, and established the material foundations for the equally indispensable provisioning of the population and the building of socialism.

Simultaneously with this Lenin began the preparations for socialist planned economy. The electrification plan which he initiat-

ed, which was called “State Commission for Russia's Electrification” (GOELRO) and which became world-famous—at that time even the sympathizing, noted British writer, H.G. Wells, regarded it as sheer fantasy—laid the foundations for socialist planned economy.

When the 1928–29 economic crisis shook the whole capitalist world profoundly, the economy of the Soviet Union, standing like a lonely rock in the sea of capitalist countries—as the result of the Soviet people's sacrificing efforts—developed at a tremendous pace.

In this way the Leninist economic conception, and then the Soviet Union's famous five-year plans and their tremendous results, firstly: provided generally valid experiences for the building of socialism, secondly: demonstrated the superiority of the socialist social system from the standpoint of economic development, and thirdly: played a tremendous role in the world-wide political struggle between capitalism and socialism.

In the economic policy of our Party we are striving to follow, and apply to our present conditions, the Leninist principles and the experiences of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries. Proceeding on this road our country has achieved substantial results. In the course of twenty years the national income in Hungary rose to three and a half times, and industrial production to seven and a half times the previous level, and at a faster tempo than in any capitalist country.

Even today we are seeking and developing further the means and methods which ensure still more effective economic work, greater methodical order and the further development of productive forces; we seek to raise the scientific-technical level of production, to apply the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution of our times even more widely, to broaden economic co-operation with the socialist countries, and in this way to raise the living standards of the people still further.

Lenin, to use the present-day meaning of the term, was no “technocrat”, and in the solution of economic tasks, too, he saw that the great lever which could launch the country from backwardness on the road of socialism was above all in the working

masses. He was convinced that great creative force and talent lay dormant within the ranks of the emancipated working class and the peasantry. In his essay "How Shall We Organize Emulation?" he wrote as follows: "...these talents are just beginning to find themselves, are just beginning to awaken, to strive towards the living, the creative, the great work, they are now beginning by themselves to set about building the socialist society."

He recognized as the mobilizing force the fact that the socialist revolution created for the first time the conditions of a truly broad, a truly massive-scale labour emulation among workers, an emulation in which they could demonstrate their capabilities. In the essay entitled "The Great Initiative" we can read: "The very reason the 'Communist Saturdays' have such tremendous historical significance is that in the sphere of increasing productivity of work, of changing over to the new labour discipline, and in the establishment of socialist economic and living conditions, the workers show us their conscious and voluntary initiative."

In the Soviet Union, from this seed socialist labour emulation grew to full proportions, and today is already the lever of the work of building in every country of the world socialist system. For example, the socialist brigade movement embracing broad working-class and other labouring masses has today also unfolded in our country, following the example of the communist brigades which were formed in the Soviet Union, and in the wake of spontaneous mass initiative. The meaning, the substance and the purpose of socialist labour are expressed by their slogan: "to live, work and learn in a socialist manner", and it serves not only to increase production, but in the meantime the moulding of socialist man also.

The debates which are going on concerning the concept and interpretation of culture and its role in the building of socialism cannot even today dispense with—nor have they superseded—the teachings of Lenin, which it is timely to recall. The Leninist conception of cultural revolution is: to put an end to the cultural monopoly of the former ruling classes, to open up opportunities for the masses to study and acquire culture, to preserve the values of the old culture and establish the new socialist culture. The cul-

tural revolution which has taken place in the socialist countries—our own country among them—bears out Lenin's view that it is not necessary to wait until the masses become "cultured"; power must be achieved, and after that the cultural level of the masses must and can be raised at a rapid rate. Naturally all this has nothing to do with the Maoists' so-called cultural revolution, which compromises socialism, is anarchy and sets back socialist development.

Nowadays many people maliciously distort Lenin's struggle for the establishment and the acceptance of literature and art imbued with revolutionary and social responsibility. They either deny the correctness and truth of this struggle, or they simplify its compound, complex character, which Lenin himself always emphasized. He advocated the partisan nature of art in the class struggle. By this we mean first of all that the fundamental social purpose of culture, literature and art is to assist in the revolutionary transformation of the life of the people, to help the socialist objectives of the construction of society, and universal human progress. The abundance of socialist art, of outstanding works, the generations of creative socialist artists substantiate Lenin: genuine culture and the people, really worthwhile art and political work which takes its specific characteristics into consideration, cannot be turned against each other.

All this is substantiated also by the socialist cultural revolution, which in our country can already look back on a past of more than twenty years, and which unfolded in the wake of Leninist teachings. Millions of manual workers have achieved a standard of public education, of science, of art, from which every significant cultural value of our times is accessible and can be assimilated and further developed. In our society the achievements of culture simultaneously increase the strength of our socialist system and promote the work of building and the unfolding of the individual's personality and talent.

For the revolutionary parties the Leninist style of work and methods leading to the implementation of one's aims have a significance similar to the theory of the building of socialism.



Lenin ascribed great significance to the close relationship between theory and practice, he fought against subjectivism and narrow-minded practicalism, he scourged those who narrowed down ideological work to the mere glorification and justification of socialism. But he also criticized those who separated theoretical, ideological work from the service to the cause of the people. The way he defended both theory and politics from right-wing and pseudo-left-wing distortions is an important lesson for all time.

In accordance with the ideas of communism man stands at the heart of Lenin's every revolutionary act, just as man stands at the heart of socialism. Everything takes place for him and by his acts. Socialism realizes the free society of labour, in which the socialist human ideal can achieve fruition. Lenin's entire activity, his revolutionary struggle and his personality expressed this profoundly humanist aspect of socialism.

His confidence in the working masses, in the people, was nourished not by some kind of superficial optimism, but by a thorough knowledge of the laws of development of socio-historical changes. From his knowledge of the specific nature, the necessities and his Marxist interpretation of the class struggle sprang his profound humanism, which is a very militant and uncompromising attitude, and which opposes everything which is obsolete, and which draws one back into the past. This humanism has nothing in common with either the modern revivers of "permanent" revolution, the present-day reformists, the advocates of the capitalist welfare state, or the proclaimers of the ideologically obscure and politically confused "socialism with a human face". Socialism which denies and replaces inhuman capitalism is itself humanism, which emancipates man from his state of defencelessness, of degradation, from his fate as a pariah, and really turns him into a human being.

Socialism, which realizes a classless, free society, can only come about as the handiwork of man, of the working masses, of the entire people. Therefore Lenin devoted particularly great attention to the masses, to their needs, to real concern for the people, to consulting their opinion, and taking them into consideration, to seeing that the party was linked with the masses by close ties built on constant, mutual confidence. He condemned petty-bourgeois

impatience and taught that the masses had to be given an opportunity to become convinced of the correctness of the party's policy and the advantages of the new social system on the basis of their own experience. This attitude is best expressed by his policy of alliances which proclaims the collaboration and unity of the labouring classes.

In our country also, with the leadership of the Party and the working class, the Hungarian communists have succeeded in rallying in unity the peasants, the intellectuals, communists and non-party people, and all those who agree on the most fundamental questions of the building of socialism. We have succeeded in rallying our people in firm unity; and in the framework of the Patriotic People's Front is expressed and reflected the fact that in our country the building of a socialist society is the recognized interest, the consciously undertaken and professed objective, not only of the Party, not only of the working class, but also of the people.

Together with the general, internationally valid laws of development of the building of socialism Lenin devoted great attention to the significance of the national characteristics of the individual countries.

He saw in advance that the greater the number of countries with varying levels of productive forces and with differing historical heritages where socialism triumphs, so much the more diversified will be the picture as regards the details of how it is realized. At the same time he also pointed out that the greater the number of countries where socialism triumphs, so much the greater will be the significance of the comparison and co-ordination of the general laws of development and national characteristics. Neither the one nor the other must be neglected, nor must they be opposed to each other; the guarantee of progress is the realization of the dialectical unity of the two. The ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the national interests of a given people who are building socialism, and the international interests of socialism and its successes are inseparably interrelated.

Lenin's theoretical and practical activity in connection with the building of socialism and his further development of theory through

this are the invincible ideological weapons of Marxism-Leninism and of the international communist movement. Only the parties which are consistently true to the ideas of Lenin are capable of meeting to the full the consequences of historical development and the requirements of the working class, the labouring masses. Loyalty to Leninist ideas and heritage is the basis of the results of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its international prestige; and it is the basis of the results of all the peoples who are building socialism, all communist and workers' parties, and of our Party and people too.

The fighting experiences of our Party, the development of the Hungarian People's Republic and the achievements we have attained during the twenty-five years which have passed since liberation, substantiate and confirm the teachings of Lenin on the building of socialism and their international validity in every respect. Our work of construction and our struggles were always successful when we faithfully followed the Leninist teachings; we made mistakes and suffered failure when we departed from them, when we permitted the dogmatists and the revisionists to distort them.

The Party, the Hungarian communists enjoy the confidence and the support of the working class, of the working people; this is primarily because in the life of the Party, in ideological, political, organizational work, in contacts with the masses they enforce the Leninist norms. This was how they were able to win, to defend and to develop the power of the working people, to strengthen the foremost political foundation of our state, the worker-peasant alliance, and this is how they are able to guide the great process of the building of socialism.

Our Party, our working class and the Hungarian people commemorate the centenary of Lenin, the greatest theoretician and organizer of the building of socialism, with loyalty to the ideas of Leninism and by seeing that they are put into force; we commemorate him with results achieved in the work of building socialism, with festive thoughts and with words and deeds.

**ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS  
OF THE CORRESPONDENT OF "NEW AGE",  
NEWSPAPER OF THE INDIAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

*November 1970*

**QUESTION:** Enemies of socialism for their own ends present the experience of socialism in very dark colours. We know that during the period of building socialism there have been mistakes and even injustices which bourgeois propaganda claims to be an inherent part of the socialist system. Why did these aberrations, violations of democracy and civil rights occur in a number of countries?

**ANSWER:** The socialist revolution overthrows the rule of the exploiters, nationalizes the mines, factories and banks, and gives the land to the working peasants. It is obvious that the manufacturers, landowners and their spokesmen try to paint a black picture of socialism.

After the creation of the people's democratic system, in the course of building socialism, in Hungary too in what was fundamentally a positive historical period, grave mistakes were committed and events occurred which violated democratic rights and socialist laws. These events, however, did not occur because of the nature of the régime but, on the contrary, because of political and personal errors which conflict with the essence of socialism and are alien to it.

Undoubtedly, the economic and cultural backwardness of the country inherited from the bourgeoisie, as well as the fact that the working class which had seized power was inexperienced in government, played a role in the errors and distortions under discussion. Nor can we overlook the fact that the young working-class power had to accomplish the work of construction while carrying on a ceaseless struggle against the subversion of the still powerful class enemy within the country, and the threats and assaults of international imperialism.

Moreover, the imperialists try to gloss over the fact that their own power—the capitalist system—was born amid bloodshed



and created an organized régime of exploitation, of colonial oppression of nations and peoples, and of unlawful acts unmatched in history. It is sufficient to recall, from the recent past and present, the mass murders committed by the fascist countries, the crimes committed during the Second World War, or the brutality used to maintain the established order in the United States today and to carry on the war against the Vietnamese people.

In Hungary, the situation was aggravated by the fact that at that time the prevailing "left-wing" mistakes were utilized by various right-wing trends, by the real class enemy and by international imperialism, in launching a general attack against the socialist system and unleashing a counter-revolutionary insurrection.

Our Party and government drew the necessary conclusions from the resulting situation. They swept away the former sectarian-dogmatic leadership and also smashed the counter-revolutionary forces. Law and order and socialist legality were completely restored in our country. Proper safeguards ensure the protection of the rights and individual freedom of all law-abiding citizens and of our people's socialist achievements, as well as the defence of our system against all those who may venture to attack it.

The Hungarian People's Republic has rectified the mistakes and enforced justice; our people are working with great zeal and important results for the noble goal, the complete building of a socialist society. The example of our country proves convincingly that although serious mistakes may be committed while building socialism, they are thrown out by the régime itself as elements alien to it. Peoples who are taking the path to socialism can now learn from our experiences, precisely because these mistakes are not laws of development, they can be avoided.

**QUESTION:** The ideal of socialism for us means a form of democracy superior to bourgeois democracy. What according to you makes it superior; and how, for example, do the advanced socialist and capitalist countries of Europe compare in this respect?

**ANSWER:** Capitalism gave rise to a great variety of political systems and forms of government, from absolute monarchy through military dictatorship to bourgeois democracy. There is no question

that of these, bourgeois democracy, an achievement of the rising bourgeoisie, ensure rights of varying degrees to the population. These rights are, however, circumscribed and actually illusory from the point of view of the masses. Rather they are restricted to elections, to self-government with limited jurisdiction, and have no bearing on the substance, the class-rule of the capitalists and property relations. Bourgeois franchise does not nullify the fact that the decisive majority of the voters are exploited and do not own the means of production which are fundamental to existence.

In contrast, socialism does away with the basis of exploitation, capitalist private property, and replaces it by socialist public property as the basis of society. Political rights therefore are as broad as possible and can be exercised by those really entitled to them: the working masses.

Socialism has already registered achievements which capitalism has never been capable of doing. For instance, the superiority of socialist democracy is proved by the expansion of democracy to economic life. The working people are entitled to the rights of owners, to have their say on the main aims of production. So political democracy is not limited to the election of representatives but through many media ensures wide popular control over these representatives.

**QUESTION:** If happiness is part of democracy, where is the common man more happy?

**ANSWER:** Even the best bourgeois democracy conceals laws of the jungle. Societies based on exploitation are deeply inhuman; they oppress the working, subjugated millions both economically and politically, and offend their dignity as human beings.

Socialism does away with the exploitation of man by man. It does not tolerate that only a few should be well-fed and well-sheltered; its aim is to rid people's lives, once and for all, of hunger, misery and humiliation.

People seek prosperity through work, together with all their fellow-men. Socialism realizes this endeavour; that is why there is harmony between socialism and individual ambition; and that is why people find prosperity in socialism.

Happiness does not come by itself, one has to strive for it. Firm

foundations have to be built for it. Pleasure in having acquired material wealth, however, does not mean complete happiness; it is merely a condition for it. Happiness is the experience of man acting in line with society's interests, the sense of a meaningful life. The potentialities of an active man can truly be developed only in a socialist democracy; this is why people can become happier under socialism.

**QUESTION:** How much freedom and how much control, discipline and self-discipline are needed to find the correct balance between obligations to society and individual freedom?

**ANSWER:** Liberated man does not live in a chaotic community, but in the organized society of free people, which of necessity must have order and discipline.

Democracy cannot be "introduced" by decisions alone. It is important to prepare the masses to exercise their democratic rights, to awaken their political interest and the desire to share in public affairs.

To take part in public affairs means that the individual has to be able to harmonize his own interests with those of the community and of all society.

The man of socialist society lives freely, but in a responsible and conscious manner. We can talk about responsibility only if there is the possibility to discuss and decide on matters. Responsibility and discipline are closely related. Discipline in a democratic sense does not exclude but presupposes free debate, the open contest of opinion and criticism. These are unconditional requisites for proper decision-making and for collective action to implement the decisions.

**QUESTION:** Looking at the experience of your country before 1956, and experience of your neighbours, one can say that the development of democracy has not been without ups and downs. What guarantees have you created since 1956 to ensure the steady development of socialist democracy?

**ANSWER:** In our history we have had ebb tide and flood tide too. For quite a long time now the ebb tide has been over and our trend of development is steadily on its way up.

As for guarantees, in my reply to the first question I referred to

constitutional safeguards in our country which ensure the defence, rights and individual freedom of all law-abiding citizens.

In Hungary we consider only those persons guilty and subject to punishment who are convicted by the courts on the basis of evidence. Even a confession of guilt is not by itself basis for conviction. Since 1956, not a single individual has been convicted unlawfully in Hungary. Not even our enemies who shower us with invective can say otherwise.

The major safeguard against a recurrence of events similar to 1956 and the excesses preceding them is consistent adherence to party democracy in party life, and the observance of socialist law and order in state life. This is the only way in which there can be a party leadership which enjoys mass support and political guidance, which takes no decisive social step without the persuasion and active support of the masses, which avoids impatience and stagnation.

**QUESTION:** Is the multi-party system a help or a hindrance in the development of socialist democracy? The electoral system—one or more candidates for the same electoral seat—has been modified in Hungary; what have been the results of this experiment?

**ANSWER:** This is not the main question of the political system of socialism. Just as in the capitalist countries the number of parties does not express the essence of the régime, the extent of democracy or dictatorship, so we do not consider this the essence of the régime under socialism. The development of political conditions depends on the position and history of the given country and on the intentions of the political groups accepting the programme of socialism. There are several socialist countries in which a number of parties are active.

After our country's liberation in 1945, the possibility existed for a multi-party socialism in Hungary too. In the struggle for power in our country, the two workers' parties—the Communist and the Social Democratic—united; other smaller parties withered away, while the right-wing parties which took the path of reaction were reduced to nothing, together with the counter-revolutionary forces. This is how the multi-party system disappeared once and



for all from the alternatives of Hungarian public affairs. Today, there is no need to restore this practice.

The Patriotic People's Front, which realizes the political alliance of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the labouring classes, of communists and non-party people, as well as the strong mass organizations carry out the function of construction and day-to-day criticism. This of course adds to the Party's responsibility, to the significance of socialist democracy which gives scope to continued popular control. The overwhelming majority of our society believes that this state of affairs is satisfactory and expedient, and our people's achievements in building socialism testify to the correctness of this system.

The electoral law of the country which has already been in force for some years made it possible for several candidates to run in the recent elections for both Parliament and the councils. Accordingly, there were two or more candidates in nine constituencies and in about 700 council wards.

In October this year the National Assembly amended the electoral law with the aim of furthering a number of aspects of the democratic features of our election system, of expanding the possibilities for more than one candidate to stand, and to ensure equal chances for them.

The amendment increases the competence of the nominating meetings. According to earlier practice the candidate had to receive a majority of the votes cast at the nominating meeting to ensure his placing on the list of candidates. In the future the vote of one-third of the voters will be sufficient for someone to run in the election.

Legally candidates were equal in the past; however, those who figured on the top of the list actually enjoyed an advantage. If the voter cast his ballot without any change, the vote went to the candidate who occupied the first place. The amended law stipulates a voting procedure which ensures, in cases where more than one candidate is running, equal chances for the respective candidates not only legally, but also in practice.

Apart from this, several similar amendments were adopted and steps were taken to amplify the democratic elements of the elections.

QUESTION: What are the problems and tasks which Hungary faces in the sphere of economic reform and how do these changes affect the process of democratization; how much more freedom do the workers enjoy today?

ANSWER: To us, the economic reform is a means of expanding socialist planned economy and of making it more efficient. As such, it is the greatest social-political undertaking we have assumed over the past years. The reform naturally affects economic life primarily, but like all great social ventures it penetrates and influences our political and cultural relations and human relationships as well.

Enterprise independence promotes initiative among the executives and their staffs alike; the more precise determination and rational shaping of incentives spurs on public activity; and a more active participation in public affairs trains people for greater responsibility.

The sole but extremely important fact that decision-making takes place at a level where its conditions are given has expanded factory democracy, furthered the activity of volunteer bodies functioning in the enterprises, and has given the individual a greater voice in the affairs of the factory.

Without inferring a mechanical relation between economy and politics, we can say that the beneficial impact of the reform can be felt in society as a whole. The continued development of state life, of administration and of socialist democracy in general coincides with the expansion of the reform's effect.

QUESTION: How do problems of work of the intellectuals, questions of freedom of expression, innovations and new style in literature and the arts, and the right of discussion and controversy become a part of the intellectual life; how does the leading role of the Party operate in practice? And then: what about censorship?

ANSWER: The greater part of our intellectuals were educated by socialism, but the earlier generations of the intelligentsia have also taken the path of socialism. We consider the intellectuals a part of the people, a stratum which reacts creatively to the new problems posed by life. Because of their bond with socialism, with the people,

they accept the Party's leadership and consider it their mission to serve the people.

We ensure the creative intellectuals the opportunity for exploration. We believe that it is good for socialism if the intellectuals express their opinion, because by doing so they enrich our knowledge with new viewpoints which would otherwise remain undisclosed to us. The expression of views is the only correct way to a *rapprochement* of ideas. But we do not make a secret of the fact that we do not offer institutional forums for the expression of views hostile to the people's interest.

We do not believe in uniformity or administrative interference in the creative work of the arts either. We believe that socialist content can be expressed in diverse ways, and this can be manifest in differences in style too. We want creative workers to accept the political platform of a socialist national unity and to promote the all-round building of a socialist society.

The Party's cultural policy ensures the hegemony of Marxism in cultural and artistic life, but it does not aim at absolutism in this sphere.

There is no censorship in our country.

QUESTION: Youth are the future of socialism. Much is heard in the capitalist world about the "lost generation", their indiscipline, aberrations, extremism and despair. How do you look at your own youth?

ANSWER: In our country, the youth of today grew up without having to experience capitalism. That's a good thing, because they did not have to go through the misery and struggle suffered by their fathers' generation. But it also has its disadvantages, mainly because our youth have no direct experience of the world against which the peoples in other parts of the globe are still compelled to struggle. Due to this fact, a few of the youth can develop illusions with regard to present-day capitalism.

But we can say that the decisive majority of the youth identifies itself with socialism. They are more cultured and better educated than former generations. They live under better conditions and appreciate the achievements.

We are also aware of the problems stemming from the character-

istics of their age-group. We know young people are more restless; they are prodded by the desire for knowledge and experience and are more impatient when it comes to harmful phenomena. They reject practices which offend their sense of justice. This is natural, of course, and under the relations of socialism it strengthens the forces of progress.

We do not have a "lost generation". Our youth—even if at times by way of some contradictions—are organically integrated into the society of working people. We have no insurmountable problems of the generation gap. The world can learn a great lesson from the fact that the restless youth in the capitalist countries are battling the Establishment, while our restless youth fight, in alliance with us, for a still better socialist practice. Our youth is the trustee of socialism.

Finally, I would use this opportunity to convey through your paper my greetings and best wishes to our comrades in India, to all progressive people in India, to all the people of India.

I wish you further success on the road of development to the benefit of the working people and of the welfare of India.

*Magyarország*, 6 December 1970.



**REPORT  
OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
TO THE 10TH CONGRESS  
OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST  
WORKERS' PARTY**

*November 1970*

Honoured Congress, Dear Comrades,

Our Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, having faithfully followed the directives of the 9th Congress, and having striven to implement its resolutions, has arrived at the threshold of the 10th Congress strengthened both politically and organizationally. In the four years that have passed, our working class, our people have steadily advanced towards their goal under the Party's guidance and have achieved substantial results in all spheres of building socialism.

We have prepared for this Congress as prescribed by the Party Rules and in accordance with the Party's policy. The Central Committee put the documents of the Congress at the disposal of the party organizations in due time and then sought the opinion of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, the Central Council of Trade Unions, the National Council of Co-operatives, the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the National Council of Hungarian Women, the Central Committee of the KISZ (Young Communist League), and finally it published them in the press for the information of the general public.

All branch organizations, more than 90 per cent of the party membership, took an active part in preparing the Congress. Thirty per cent of those attending membership meetings participated in the discussions and the delegates to the 10th Congress were elected at party conferences according to proportional representation.

The Central Committee greatly appreciates the broad and high-level debate which took place in party organizations, in mass organizations, in mass movements and in general throughout the country on the basis of Congress documents. All important issues

of party life, of domestic policy and of building socialism were raised in this debate. The majority of the comments and observations which were registered have already been made use of by the Central Committee; the other proposals will be put at the disposal of the Drafting Committee of the Congress with the suggestion that they be taken into consideration in drafting the resolutions. Other valuable experiences gained during the discussions in preparation for the Congress will be utilized in everyday party work.

The most important fact that became unequivocally clear during the preparatory discussions for the Congress was that our party membership is united and that there is full understanding and an identity of views between our Party and our people in the judgement of fundamental issues. The party membership and public opinion approve the Party's policy and consider the work accomplished as successful; they expect the Congress to confirm the main line of the Party, they expect of the Party the consistent implementation of the correct policy and the improvement of practical work.

The Central Committee drafted a preliminary report on its activities, on the principal data of party work, on the development of the country and the situation of society; a fortnight ago this report was sent to Congress delegates, and yesterday it was published in the Party's central daily paper. Taking into account the detailed data of the preliminary report, the Central Committee's report to Congress seeks to direct attention to the most important and most topical questions of principle and policy.

The preparatory period has come to a close: the 10th Congress of the Party has begun its work. Our Party members and our working people now expect that the comrade delegates, the Congress should successfully complete this work. Congress will have to judge the work which has been accomplished, it will have to analyse the present situation of our society; it will have to set the tasks of the Party and the direction of the country's further development. It will have to ensure that, by further rallying the forces of our people and building and relying upon the results attained so far, the work aimed at the complete building of a socialist society will be pursued on a higher level.

I  
THE SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT  
OF OUR SOCIETY.  
THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS.  
THE WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE

Comrades,

Now that our Congress has to review the entire activity of our Party, we must, above all, examine the objective processes which have taken place in our society. It is best to start out from Lenin's teaching which is always valid for communists: "Marxism demands," Lenin said, "an extremely precise and objectively very definable analysis of the interrelation of classes and of the concrete peculiarities of its historical moment."

As a result of the work of building socialism in the four years which have passed, the class structure of our society, its production and property relations have further developed. In all main branches of the national economy, in industry, in agriculture, in transport and in trade, socialist production relations have been further strengthened. The new agrarian law, enacted on the strength of the resolution of the 9th Congress and in full agreement with the National Congress of Co-operative Farms, has created the legal basis and the practical possibility for the land utilized by the co-operatives to become, at an adequate purchasing price, the property of co-operative farms. This has also consolidated socialist property in the countryside, and great headway has been made in strengthening the socialist nature of our society.

Socialist ownership of the means of production now dominates throughout our national economy; socialist production relations are based on firm foundations. This is also reflected by the fact that 98 per cent of the national income is produced by the socialist sector. To be more specific: 69 per cent of the total national income is derived from the state sector, 25 per cent from the co-operative sector and 4 per cent from other socialist sectors; the share of the private sector amounts to a mere 2 per cent.

With the victory of the socialist revolution, the new class funda-

mentals of our system have taken shape and have been firmly established in our society. Half of the population, that is, five million people, take part in production as active, independent wage-earners. Seventy-two per cent of them are workers and employees and 25 per cent are members of co-operatives. The proportion of private producers, independent artisans, small tradesmen and the self-employed amounts to 3 per cent.

The large-scale development which took place since the liberation, and which has transformed our country from one with a moderately developed agriculture to an industrial nation with an advanced agriculture, has also brought about a regrouping and profound change in the position of the working classes. The large-scale social migration between town and countryside, the mass influx of people from agriculture into industry slowed down in recent years. With the development of industry, with the rise in the level of agricultural production, and with the branches of the service industry coming to the fore, there will naturally be a certain amount of movement in the future too, a transmigration within our society and within classes, and even between some strata of the population. The proportion of workers and employees will continue to increase, but this will no longer fundamentally influence the position of the classes and strata engaged in work.

The leading class in our society is the working class. During the quarter century of history of our liberated country, the working class demonstrated the greatest steadfastness and readiness to sacrifice. Numerically it has also become the largest class: during the past five years it has increased in size by 8 per cent, and 2,600,000 workers are now employed in the national economy. The greatest part of the national income is produced by the workers. The working class influences all strata of those who work in a decisive manner: its labour, its attitude, its discipline and its viewpoint have an impact on the whole society; the further growth of its role is in the interest of our entire people.

The Party proclaims, with full conviction, that the fundamental condition for the completion of the building of socialism is the firm and increased assertion of the leading role of the working class. It is quite clear that it would be an empty formality, and



would have nothing at all to do with the leading role of the working class, if the leaders of the country began to wear workers' caps and overcoats, almost as uniforms, as was the case in our country at the end of the forties and in the early fifties. Nevertheless, there are still some who hold the mistaken belief that the leading role of the working class is effective only there where the workers are present physically and constitute a majority. The political representation and majority of the working class has to prevail, and it does prevail everywhere where it has decisive significance, as for instance in the Central Committee, the government and in the National Assembly. But this is inconceivable and unrealizable, say, in the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, in the leading bodies of the universities, in the leadership of the Writers' Union and other similar places. In many places the presence of the workers is indispensable; the essence, however, does not lie in numerical proportion.

In our country, the leading role of the working class is realized through the class organizations, the revolutionary Party and trade unions of the working class, and furthermore, within state power, which is the power of the working class. The leading role of the working class is asserted by the several hundred thousand workers who, simultaneously with the achievement of power and since then, have attained positions of leadership in the country. It prevails through the socialist democracy of our system, which ensures the workers the right and possibility of a direct voice in deciding questions of common interest. Lastly, the leading role of the working class is demonstrated by the entire activity of our society, which, with the building of a socialist society, is realizing the revolutionary goal of the working class.

The great social significance and leading role of the working class are shown in the exemplary attitude and devotion of their most conscious members on the work front, in the results of socialist emulation. It is also demonstrated in the growing socialist brigade movement which came into being on the splendid initiative of the working class, a movement which already has as many as one hundred thousand brigades with more than a million members.

We can state that power in our country is in good hands; the working class has not only assumed a leading role, but is also discharging its leading role in our society worthily and with a sense of responsibility. The working class has stood the test so far and will be ready, in the future too, always to defend and increase the achievements of socialism and to solve the tasks of the work of construction.

The other large class of our society, the peasantry which has taken the road to socialism, has also made considerable progress. With the extensive help of the working class and with devoted and industrious work, our peasantry especially in the past years consolidated the co-operative farms and developed them into large-scale socialist farms. The achievements of science are ever more extensively applied in Hungarian agriculture: technology as well as skilled industrial and agricultural workers and agrarian intellectuals play an increasingly important role in agriculture. All this has radically changed the situation in the villages.

The strengthening of the co-operative farms and the higher levels of large-scale production and collective work have raised the income of the peasantry and improved their living conditions. It is a great achievement of our policy and of our system that, in accordance with the resolution of the 9th Congress, the incomes of the workers and the co-operative peasants have been levelled up, on the average and on a national scale, while at the same time there has been a parallel rise in the living standards of the working class.

With the establishment of co-operatives in our country, with the carrying into effect of socialist large-scale farming and with the intellectual and material development of the peasants, socialism has won the day in the villages too and the Leninist idea of co-operatives has triumphed. As a result of all this our Congress can assert that there is a greater identity of interests between the working class and the co-operative peasantry on the basic questions of building socialism and that the worker-peasant alliance, the principal political foundation of our people's state, has been further consolidated.

The intelligentsia has an increasing role, is growing in proportion

and has more weight and responsibility in our society. The Party and the government pay considerable attention to the development of science, technology and culture. We rely with full confidence on the men and women of science, culture and the arts, because only by advancing together can we achieve our principal aims, the building of socialism and communism.

Our intelligentsia are also well aware that their creative activity can freely and truly develop under a socialist system, and only under such a system can they be sure that the useful and fine results of their work will serve the prosperity and advancement of the people and not the selfish narrow interests of capitalist exploiters. It is the opinion of the Central Committee that our intelligentsia have identified themselves with the aims of socialism and are sharing in socialist construction in a creditable manner. The Party and the country can count on the Hungarian intellectuals. Everything has to be done to ensure that this should be even more the case in the future.

The number and proportion of the petty bourgeoisie, of small tradesmen and craftsmen and of other representatives of the private sector are small in our society. Even the petty bourgeoisie are progressing with us toward the achievement of our great social goals. They have adjusted themselves to the new social system, they accept the aim of building a socialist society and in their majority are working honestly to serve the common interests usefully, especially in services and supplies. Our society appreciates this.

With the victory of the socialist revolution, the exploiting classes have disappeared from our country and so have the irreconcilable contradictions between the social classes. The fundamental interests of the working classes coincide, and the process of the reduction and gradual elimination of differences between these classes has also begun. Our society is united and is developing harmoniously.

At the same time, we must bear in mind that even under our conditions contradictions may arise between the long-range perspectives of development and the day-to-day interests of the population, between the interests of the workers and peasants, between the interests of society and the interests of groups and of individ-

uals. The differences in interests appear in the distribution of the national income; in price, wage and market relations; in the determination of the faster or slower levelling off of the differences between town and countryside, and in some other questions.

Contradictions can be overcome, they can be solved in the course of work. We have ensured uninterrupted development, in conformity with the general interests and goals of socialism, by coordinating the different interests. This development can continue to be ensured if the leading bodies which are primarily responsible for fundamental interests, and which exercise an influence over the distribution of national income, consistently keep a sharp eye on the particular interests of the various working classes and pay attention to the daily needs of the working people. This can be secured, furthermore, if individual workers, peasants, intellectuals and other working people do not overlook the common destiny of the working classes and the general long-range requirements of a developing society, even while considering their day-to-day needs. What is important is that the solutions should strengthen the power of our people's state and advance the approach towards our socialist goals, while the fundamental and common interests of the various working classes are borne in mind.

If we take a good look at the condition of our society and the direction of its development, it can be stated that in the past four years in accordance with the 9th Congress' resolutions the foundations of socialism have grown stronger and the socialist characteristics of our society have been considerably consolidated. We have advanced, but we must not stop there. Today, the continued tempo of development demands, above all, the further consolidation of the socialist relations of production, increased class-consciousness and unity of the working classes. That, in turn, demands that the socialist characteristics of our society be further strengthened.



## II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE LIFE  
AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Comrades,

Our state is a people's democracy which is the embodiment of workers' power and which fulfils its historical role indispensable for the working class in directing economic and cultural life and in organizing the building of socialism. The proper and organized activity of our state has an invaluable role and significance in the successes so far attained and in the history-shaping work of our people.

The strength of the socialist state lies in the fact that its main political base is the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, that in its activities it can rely on the wide support of the population, of the millions of working people. The state of the working class, the socialist achievements of the working people, the independence of the Hungarian People's Republic, her territorial inviolability and her internal order are faithfully defended by our armed forces, the people's army, the border guards, the forces of public order and security bodies. The Central Committee and the government consider home defence and the defence of our society as the cause of our whole people, they provide and will continue to provide the necessary personal and material conditions for this.

The functions of the state change in the course of development. Under socialist conditions, the oppressive role of the state gradually diminishes while its political, economic and cultural activities gradually increase.

Today our state is already involving the various organizations, the forces of society and individual citizens in solving many tasks. In addition to the armed forces, the workers' guard, the voluntary police and members of the civil defence are helping in the defence of our country and of its ruling power. The trade unions are already responsible for most of the social insurance, for sick pay, hospitalization and labour safety. Large masses of workers take

part in state activities as council activists, as people's lay judges and as people's inspectors.

It is our conviction that the state has an important role to play in the period of building socialism. We cannot accept views which question the role of the socialist state, underestimate its importance and, by weakening state power, virtually jeopardize the achievements of the people. Our domestic tasks and international conditions demand that the socialist state be strengthened, that its role as economic and cultural organizer be increased and that the work of state administration be improved and enhanced. At the same time efforts must be made to draw in ever larger numbers of the population to take an active part in public life, in the work of state bodies and councils and in the work of other state organizations. The further development of state life, of socialist democracy is a task which, if successfully solved, will give added impetus to our continued progress.

Our plan aimed at the further development of socialist democracy is based on firm foundations, as in our country power has been consolidated, our Party and the working class have twenty-five years' experience in building the state, and the political situation in our country makes it not only necessary but also possible to realize our plans.

Further development of state affairs and of socialist democracy presupposes the further consolidation of the workers' power and the socialist state and the enhancement of its strength and efficiency. The essence of the further development of the life of our state, of socialist democracy, is the simultaneous strengthening of central power and of the autonomy of local bodies.

We hold the modernization of legislative and governmental work to be important. Our National Assembly is the main embodiment of the people's sovereignty, the principal legislative body in our country. If we want to accelerate the progress of our society, to develop the socialist character of our system, it is necessary to enhance the legislative activities of the National Assembly and to augment its role in the constitutional control over governmental work.

The advancement of the building of socialism requires of the

communists active in the state apparatus and of every working man and woman a more consistent enforcement of our policy, a more efficient representation of the interests of the working class, the exact implementation of the decrees of the government, correct methods of guidance, efficient public administration and a highly effective transaction of affairs. The improvement of state administration, the precise definition of spheres of authority and efficient personal responsibility in transacting affairs are, at the same time, the most effective means of fighting bureaucracy. This struggle is our constant and elementary duty; our development would be retarded if we neglected it.

In improving state administration and developing the transaction of affairs we can count upon the civil servants who have a key role in implementing our endeavours. The civil servant is a representative of the state and serves the public. His attitude and his relations to citizens greatly influences their opinions, their views about state power—and this is where the transaction of affairs becomes politics.

Now the central task in developing state life is to enhance the sphere of authority and work of local and higher councils. We are convinced that it is an important step forward in the building of socialism and in easing the life of people that the councils, which administer the bulk of affairs, have more independence and greater responsibility.

The Central Committee considers it necessary that, simultaneously with the development of state administration and of its competence, the self-governing character of the councils and their role in representing the people be enhanced. This does not contradict the principle and practice of our state organization which is based on democratic centralism. On the contrary: this is the way to ensure that only such affairs remain within the competence of the central bodies which are important and vital from the point of view of overall social processes, while affairs which can be solved locally should be settled by local bodies.

It is important that the ministries and other central and state bodies should, at the earliest possible moment, transfer authority on certain specific measures to the Budapest Municipal Council

and to the county councils. It is also necessary that, simultaneously, the Budapest Municipal Council should transfer its jurisdiction to make decision on affairs which can be acted on better locally to the district councils, and the county councils to the town and village councils; in this way they can help bring about the prerequisites for the assertion of autonomy, responsibility and self-government.

The self-governing character of the councils presupposes and requires close contacts with the population and the masses, and a many-sided control of their activities. Control over council administration is exercised by the government, the higher council bodies, the council members, the electors and the masses.

There are people who think that the further decentralization in guidance and the growth in local council independence endanger the stability of people's power. Our Central Committee is convinced that the further development of state affairs and of socialist democracy, including augmenting the independence of the councils, is a correct class policy which strengthens our state and the power of the working people.

As for state life, it is an unchanging requirement of socialist democracy that legality should fully prevail in our country. It is an indispensable element of socialist legality, on the one hand, that no one should infringe on our constitutional legal order with impunity, and, on the other hand, that all law-abiding citizens, irrespective of origin, occupation and world outlook, should enjoy full protection. These two requirements of socialist legality prevail now and will in the future too. Our Party and our government consider this a fundamental duty.

We attribute great importance to the new electoral law and new rules of procedure which will further develop our electoral system to express even more appropriately the people's will. The general, equal and secret ballot is, in our country, the achievement of our people's democratic system. The improvement of our electoral system is an important element in the further development of socialist democracy. The essence of this is that, through the extension of nomination rights and the possibilities of choice, citizens should be able to send to the National Assembly and to



the councils the persons whom they consider best suited for the job.

One of the new provisions of the electoral law is that, in the future, members of the Budapest Municipal Council and of the county councils will not be elected directly by the electors, but—through indirect election—by the local councils. In this way the county councils directing the work of village councils will consist, in fact, of the representatives of the local councils.

The 9th Congress pointed out that it was time to modify our Constitution. It has taken quite a long time to work this out but now the work is in a fairly advanced stage and can be completed in the near future.

The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic, which was promulgated in 1949, is a great historic achievement of our people. The Constitution passed more than two decades ago declared that the Hungarian People's Republic is the state of the working people. It summed up the results of our struggles and work which had been accomplished up till then, and outlined the direction of our country's development.

In the past twenty years radical changes have taken place in the political, economic and cultural life of our country. Despite the achievements of historical significance, it still is not necessary to work out a new constitution. But we do consider it necessary and propose that the National Assembly should modify and further develop the fundamental law of the Hungarian People's Republic in accordance with our present situation. The modified Constitution should reflect the changes of the past two decades. It should incorporate the changes that have occurred in state life, in the activities of the National Assembly, the government and the councils and, in general, in the work of state institutions. It should define more exactly the rights and duties of citizens in the present phase of socialist construction.

When dealing with questions connected with the modification of the Constitution, the problem arose of the country's official name, coat of arms and state flag, and this obviously may arise later in wider circles. The name "Hungarian People's Republic" fully expresses the greatest result of the struggle of our working

class and of our people, that is, that they have succeeded in creating their greatest historic achievement so far—the people's state.

In its main characteristics, in its property and class relations, our state, our social system is already socialist; however, the building of socialist society has not yet been completed. It is the opinion of our Party that the time has not yet come to proclaim our country a socialist republic. We are of the opinion that it is better to get on with the work and be a little late in re-naming than to hurry to give a new name and to lag behind with socialist construction. At present, too, the name of the Hungarian People's Republic unmistakably means and proclaims, everywhere and to everybody, the power, the state, the homeland of our working people, a new socialist world in construction.

### III

#### THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTY ACTIVITY

Comrades,

Our Party, as the Marxist-Leninist, communist vanguard of the Hungarian working class, is the ideological-political guide of our society; it directs and organizes socialist construction and, through this, serves the interests of the entire Hungarian people. It is a ruling party whose policies have a decisive impact on the whole life of the country and society.

The Party is able correctly to fulfil its historic mission only because it is guided in its activity by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party advocates the creative application of Marxism-Leninism. It follows Lenin's precept: "...our teaching is not a dogma but a guide to action", in another place he expresses the same thing, but in different words: "...what is most important, which constitutes the very gist, the leading soul of Marxism—is a complete analysis of the concrete situation".

Our Party bases its position on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on the revolutionary experiences of the Hungarian and international working class, and its decisions on the concrete

examination of the given situation. In the last fifteen years our Party was confronted by three major tasks: to defend and consolidate the people's power by smashing the forces of the counter-revolution; to carry out the socialist transformation of agriculture; and finally to cope with the complicated problems of improving the system of economic management. Our Party was able to solve these great tasks satisfactorily above all because it has definitely rejected both revisionist and dogmatic methods of approach and has followed the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The most important organizational principle in the operation of our Party is democratic centralism which Lenin worked out with scientific accuracy for the communist movement. The basic Leninist principles for the organization and function of a new-type revolutionary party of the working class have been proved in history and are valid to this day. The principle of democratic centralism is complemented by the principle of collective leadership and personal responsibility. On the basis of our own experience we can assert with full conviction that, whenever these principles are violated, Marxism-Leninism cannot fully prevail, policy is distorted, the Party's relations with the masses weakens, and it loses its ability to act; conversely, when they are closely observed, the strength of the Party greatly increases.

In our practice we urge the democratic preparation of decisions, the thorough and free discussion of problems, that various opinions should be taken into consideration and heeded, just as the resolutions adopted should be binding and carried out exactly and in unity. Without party democracy it is impossible to create true ideological and political unity, it is impossible to develop the high degree of consciousness which is rooted in inner conviction. Without centralism, without the subordination of the lower to the higher organizations, the Party is not an organized force, it loses the character and force of a vanguard, and it degenerates into a number of impotent debating societies incapable of united action.

In its organizational structure and in its internal life our Party faithfully follows the long-established Leninist principles of the revolutionary party of the working class. We are able to report

that during the period under review the Party showed sound ideological, political and organizational development and is progressing in indissoluble unity.

Four years ago the Party had 19,000 local branches and around 585,000 members and candidate members. Now we have 21,000 branch organizations and 662,000 members—77,000 more than four years ago, an increase of 13 per cent. On the basis of the resolution of the 9th Congress, the system of candidate membership in our Party was correct.

The size and composition of the party membership on the whole has developed satisfactorily. The increase in membership has been in harmony with the growth of the attractive force of communist ideals and of the political influence of the Party. The working-class character of our Party is inherent in the composition of the membership. Seventy per cent of the membership were workers by original occupation; 38 per cent of the membership are engaged in manual labour at present. As a result of the shifts in the stratification of society, the proportion of manual workers dropped by 4.5 per cent within the whole membership. The average age of party members has slightly increased and is at present 44 years. Forty-eight per cent of the new members admitted in the period reported on are manual workers with a satisfactory proportion of women among them; the various age-groups are also well represented: 84 per cent of the new members are under 40.

Three generations of revolutionaries—the veterans, the middle-aged and the younger generation—are living, working and fighting side by side. It is noteworthy that over half of the present party members have joined the Party since 1956; they have come close to the Party and became party members in the course of the struggle waged since then. The new members of the Party are generally people who are outstanding in work, they come from amongst the activists in social and mass organizations, and this has to be so in the future too. A campaign-like approach in admitting new members should be avoided in the future too. Special attention should be paid to strengthening the working-class character of the Party in the future too, and to the admission of industrial workers, manual workers, women and young people.



The size of the Party's membership is not unimportant from the point of view of its organizational strength. The Party's potency and real effectiveness, however, in addition to the proper political line, lies in the unity of its membership. The Central Committee is able to report to the Congress that during the last four years the ideological, political and organizational unity of our Party has continued to grow.

We do not consider the unity of our Party as a thing which is given forever. The unity of our Party is firm in the essential political, economic and ideological problems. But in practical work, in every new question, this unity has to be forever recreated. The Party will continue to work on strengthening its unity: nobody from within or without will be permitted by the Party to disrupt or destroy this. Voluntarily accepted party discipline in its Leninist sense is compulsory for everyone regardless of position or rank.

The main strength of the Party lies in the truth of its ideals and in the support it gets from the masses. The forthcoming tasks of socialist building impose greater demands on the Party's mass-political, agitational and propaganda work. It is the duty of every branch and every member of the Party to represent the policy of the Party and to publicize its aims. The agitational and propaganda media of the Party, the press, the radio, television and the party papers and periodicals, all serve this task.

The central daily paper of the Party, *Népszabadság* (People's Freedom), has a circulation of 755,000 copies and its 19 county dailies a total of 780,000. *Társadalmi Szemle* (Social Review), the theoretical monthly of the Party, is published in 36,000 copies, and its organizational periodical, *Pártélet* (Party Life), is issued monthly in 95,000 copies.

Our Party rejects all manifestations of underestimating the masses and all manipulation of public opinion. At the same time, it regards it as tremendously important to keep the general public well informed and to propagate the ideals of socialism. The mass media in the hands of the Party and the people's state have to serve these noble aims in the future even more and better than before.

During the period of preparation for the Congress, the most

topical questions of party work were thoroughly discussed throughout the Party. Party members, while generally recognizing the achievements, in many places criticized, and with good reason, the fact that party policy was not carried out in certain issues or areas or was carried out inconsistently or erroneously. The adequate implementation of party policy can be ensured only if the Central Committee, the intermediary bodies of the party leadership and the local branches interpret and co-ordinate the tasks identically, all working together and for the same goals. It was evident from the discussions at meetings preceding the Congress that there has to be a greater consistency than ever before in policy and a uniformity in implementation; the strengthening of party control and the improvement of branch activity are now highly important for the advancement of party work.

In the work of the Central Committee and its executive organization—the Political Committee, the Secretariat, the apparatus of the Central Committee—and in part in the activities of the party committees and party organizations as well, stress in the recent period was put on an analysis of various questions, on the working out of party resolutions and, to a lesser extent than required, on controlling the execution of the resolutions.

The improvement of control is indispensable and urgent throughout the Party, so that practice fully corresponds with principled decisions, and that party policy fully prevails in the entire sphere of economic and cultural activity, and in social policy. More effective control is necessary for the better and speedier utilization of experience, the constant improvement of practical work, and the continuous development of the ideological and political work of the Party.

The local branches of the Party have a particularly important role in the realization of party resolutions and in the strengthening of the Party's contacts with the masses. Millions of the working people judge the Party's policy to no small degree on the basis of experience at their immediate place of work, on how the party policy is implemented locally, on the activity of the local branches and on the behaviour of the communists.

Under the conditions of the economic reform a part of the party

bodies and party branches have not yet found a new, more suitable form for their work. Certain state and economic leaders underestimate the importance of political work and of the role of the local party organizations. While the independence and authority of economic management has been strengthened, there was no simultaneous satisfactory growth in many places in the influence of the party organizations on the factors which fundamentally determine the factories' activities. They were unable to assert the Party's policy sufficiently, they were unable to act with sufficient resolution against faults and shortcomings.

It is the proud responsibility of the Party and the communists to be in the vanguard of struggle and work, to set an example. This entails a high degree of discipline, selflessness, loyalty to principles, resolution, spontaneous activity and initiative of the communists. In the future the Party will require to a greater degree, and will even demand, that every member take an open and completely unwavering stand for the Party's policy and the resolutions of the Party, fighting and working for their realization.

From the standpoint of the Party's life and work the stipulations of the Party Rules have a determining role. The Central Committee has submitted to the party membership for discussion, and is now submitting to Congress for decision, proposals regarding revision of the Party Rules.

The Party Rules suitably reflect the fact that our Party is a Communist Party, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, a part of the international communist and working-class movement, which is led in its activities by Marxist-Leninist theory and the idea of proletarian internationalism. In its structure and method of work it meets the requirements set for the revolutionary vanguard. Therefore the fundamental principles of the Party Rules do not require changes. For this reason we recommend to the Congress only such modifications as do not touch on basic principles, but which are made necessary by changing circumstances and will increase the effectiveness of party work.

We have put the detailed proposals for revision of the Party Rules, and the reasons for them, into the hands of the delegates in writing. Among them are the three additional amendments

which the Central Committee decided on at its last meeting on 12 November after taking into consideration the opinion of the party membership. In the report we will touch upon only a few questions concerning them:

—We propose that the age limit for the admission of new members be reduced from 21 to 18 years. The majority of the party membership agrees with this; those who debated the need to lower the age limit were also motivated by concern for the Party. The purpose of this amendment is to make it possible for young people participating in production, young people fulfilling their duty in national defence, students in institutes of higher learning and in general the young, politically mature citizens who otherwise enjoy full civil rights to join the Party.

—The party membership has received with approval the proposal that we should decide on all questions in the Party by a simple majority. The healthy, free atmosphere prevailing within the Party does not make it necessary for us to continue to maintain the procedure of requiring a two-thirds majority vote.

—The members agree that the leadership of the branch organizations should be elected every four years, a longer period than before, because this provides opportunity for members to gain experience and ensures the continuity of leadership; at the same time annual reports given to membership meetings stimulate the party organizations to do better work and broaden the rights of the membership.

—The amendment which provides for the protection in our Party of the freedom to criticize has met with the unanimous approval of the party membership. We propose that the following formulation, "the competent party organ is required to institute proceedings against those who stifle criticism", be included in the Party Rules. The purpose of the proposal is to protect more resolutely and comprehensively than up till now the right of criticism within the Party and in public life.

—We propose revising the contributions due from party members with low incomes and raising them for those with high incomes. According to the proposal which introduces a new category, party members with higher earnings will now pay monthly dues of 400 forints.



In the interests of consistent interpretation and procedure the Central Committee has taken steps within its own sphere of authority that when determining dues, only the earnings deriving from the legally prescribed hours of work should be taken into consideration in the future.

In discussing the Party Rules we are discussing the most important laws of our internal party life. The Central Committee is confident that the delegates will understand its motives, and Congress will accept the proposals regarding the revision of the Party Rules.

The mission of our Party is to serve the aspirations of the working class, its revolutionary aims and the cause of the people. As the ideological and political leader of our society, as the organizer of the masses, our Party has fulfilled also its mission since the 9th Congress, and with its work it has earned the confidence and support of our working class, our people and our international class brothers. Our Party must continue to work in the future in such a way that its ideological, political and organizational unity, its cohesion with the masses will continue to strengthen. It is in this manner that our Party will be able to retain and increase the confidence it has earned in more than five decades of revolutionary struggle, with the heroic struggles of generations of the communist movement, with so much sacrifice and devoted work in the service of the Hungarian people; the confidence which it enjoys today to a greater extent than ever, and which is the main and inexhaustible source of its strength for the present and the future.

#### IV

#### THE PARTY'S POLICY OF ALLIANCES. ACTIVITY IN THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MASS MOVEMENTS

Honoured Congress,

The power of the working class is strong and unshakable in our country, the domestic political situation is firm in the Hungarian People's Republic.

During the last four years, too, our people have given frequent evidence of their political maturity and patriotism and they are successfully carrying on their work of building socialism. This calm and balanced political situation within the country is one of the greatest results of the struggle of our Party. This is highly appreciated by our people because they know that it has been achieved by overcoming tremendous difficulties. This is an achievement which even our friends outside our borders know and appreciate and which, in their own way, even those opposed to us are forced to acknowledge.

That we are able to say all this is largely due to the style of leadership of our Party, its relations to the masses and its policy of alliances. Our Party has always regarded its leading role as one of service to the people, and that its policy is put into effect with the support of the broadest masses.

Our Party is fulfilling its mission under well-defined circumstances. It is the irreversible result of historic struggle that one political party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is active in the Hungarian People's Republic. Our scientific theory—Marxism-Leninism—presupposes a variety of forms in the realization of socialism, and accordingly one or more political parties may be active in the political régimes of different countries, depending on their historical development and special characteristics. From the point of view of political leadership this is an important circumstance which the Party must always take into account. The one-party system which has developed in our country facilitates the work of the Party in many ways, and helps politically to rally all the creative forces of society. It is, however, important to understand that the rallying of all these forces does not occur automatically: it is a constant task which requires the increasing attention of the Party for its realization.

In its internal political activity the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party relies on the one hand directly on the masses, and on the other hand on the mass organizations and movements, on the institutions of our people's democratic state, and in local work on the councils.

The Party's leading ideological and political role is effective

in our society. The Party implements its ideological and political stand through communists active in various areas and through resolutions binding on them. The Party respects the independence and the sphere of authority of the institutions of the state and society and on its own part strives to promote their proper functioning. On the basis of the theoretical and political platform of the Party, the bodies of state and economic management and the leading bodies of the social organizations independently elaborate the necessary specific measures and the methods of their implementation, they make their own decisions, and are responsible to those who commissioned them, to their membership, for carrying them out according to their legal obligations and their own rules.

Whenever possible, the Central Committee and the other leading bodies of the Party already involve the social organizations, people in state, economic and cultural bodies, scientists, specialists and broad sections of the working people who are directly involved, even when they first begin to investigate a problem and work out the methods for its solution. Decisions which are prepared in this way are well-grounded scientifically; they are based on the conditions and potentialities which exist in our country and on the opinion of the people. This method of applying a style of party guidance and control is an important element in the democracy of our socialist system. In this way it can be ensured that the position and resolutions of the Party are accepted by those responsible for their implementation and also by the masses.

The Party strives to rally all the creative forces of society in the work of construction so that every institution, every group and collective and all working people will take their own place in sharing the common tasks and duties. Millions of purposeful ideas and actions must blend into one in the mighty stream of building socialism.

In its activity our Party relies on all the social and mass organizations and mass movements of the country. The largest mass organization of the country and the broadest class organization of the working class are the trade unions.

At present the Hungarian trade unions have over 3,400,000 members; 92 per cent of all those living on wages and salaries are

organized workers. Unions have an important role in the relations between the Party and the masses, the life of the country and in the building of socialism. They carry on considerable international activity as well.

The assumption of power by the working class and the triumph of socialist society have created new circumstances and new responsibilities for the trade unions. It has become their basic task, which they fulfil satisfactorily, to safeguard the political power of the working class and the common interests of the people, and to support the building of a socialist society. This is one of the strengths of our system.

Trade union activity, however, must not, and does not, consist of this alone. Although the socialist state guarantees the rights of the working people and there are laws and collective agreements to protect these rights, the experiences of our Party indicate that this in itself is still not enough. It is people who carry out the laws and the provisions and agreements which determine the working and living conditions of the working people and for this reason there may be occasional infringements of the law and conflicts of interests. Under socialist social conditions, it is also necessary that the trade unions protect the rights and represent the daily interests of working collectives and of individuals.

In this way a double task is imposed on the trade unions of a working class which has assumed power: that of protecting the interests of the whole society, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of protecting the members of the trade union, the individual workers.

In the last four years the political importance of the trade unions has grown and their authority has increased. With the reform of economic management and the accompanying decentralization in the scope of government organization, the significance of the work of the trade union committee in the factories, enterprises and institutions has increased and workshop democracy has broadened. The trade unions fulfil their duties in the protection of the working people's interests and at the same time their decisions are in accordance with the present demands of our social development and the interests of the country.



In order to perform the common tasks well, the organizations of the Party maintain good relations with the trade unions at every level. Work relations between government and economic management and the trade unions have been established and are being developed.

Recently regular talks between the leaders of the government and of the Central Council of Trade Unions have been instituted. In the framework of these discussions it has been possible to coordinate centrally the views formulated in regard to economic policy, living standards and other important problems. The rise in the sphere of authority of the trade unions has furthered the more exact adherence locally to laws and regulations and has provided great opportunities for the more rational utilization of the funds available to the enterprises—such as the wages, social welfare and cultural funds—and for drawing larger masses of the working people into making decisions on such matters.

Improved trade union activity trains people to understand more clearly the close connections between rights and duties. Elaborating and concluding collective agreements, and controlling their enforcement, entails much work for the trade unions. This activity is appreciated by the working people, but also evokes critical comments which deserve careful attention. The criticism is that in the local distribution of incomes the collective agreements do not sufficiently promote differentiation according to actual work performed; that they do not sufficiently protect the old guard in the enterprises who constitute such an important stratum of the workers.

The trade unions do a great deal to ensure that the remarks and proposals made by the working people regarding management be applied in practice. They are active and successful in the organization of the labour emulation and the socialist brigade movements. Assurance of the rights guaranteed to the trade unions has to serve as fully as possible the general interests of the building of socialism and the personal interests of the working people. The Party and the communists who are struggling simultaneously for the final revolutionary goals and the daily interests of the working class have accordingly, on the one hand, to rely in their work on the

trade unions and, on the other hand, to seek to strengthen them further.

In our society the co-operative movement plays an important role both economically and politically. Our Party recognizes co-operative property as socialist property of a similar character to state-owned property. Over two million people have joined the producers', the sales and the consumers' co-operatives which form an organic part of our social and economic system. One-third of all active earners in our country are employed by co-operatives.

Co-operative activity is successful in the fields of agriculture, industry, the services and trade. Co-operatives have a 73 per cent share in the production value of agriculture, 13 per cent in building industry and 5 to 6 per cent in industry, and they handle over 30 per cent of all retail trade.

This movement which embodies great masses is not only an indispensable economic association, but is at the same time an important social grouping as far as our domestic policy is concerned. The function of the co-operatives makes possible the fuller harmonization of social, co-operative and individual interests and, at the same time, promotes the observation of socialist principles at work in the distribution of incomes and in the fulfilment of obligations to the state.

In the areas where co-operatives function, there socialist democracy is realized; the political and cultural development of individuals and the formation of socialist communities are facilitated. They increase the sense of collective responsibility for socialist property and for augmenting the indivisible co-operative wealth which is socialist property.

The trends in living and working conditions, the living standard and political development of the citizens in the co-operative movement are an important factor in our social progress, and their advancement is in the interest of the whole society. That is why the 9th Congress of our Party decided that the co-operative farms should establish regional and national federations and associations promoting their aims. These have been formed and are increasing their useful activity.

In its political activity and in socialist construction our Party

counts with and relies on the co-operative movement. Its co-operative policy is directed at strengthening and developing the socialist features of the co-operatives. The aim is to bring out even more the socialist aspects of their economy and internal life, to express even more the harmony of social, group and individual interests.

The women's movement in our society is a significant force. The Central Committee pays special attention to the position of women because of the great social importance of this question and its effect on the general course of socialist development. We are able to report that we have carried out the relevant resolutions of the 9th Congress. This year the Central Committee has passed a special resolution further to improve the social position of women, a resolution which comprises a whole set of measures, the implementation of which is expected to result in favourable changes in the coming few years.

Women who fill a significant role in the life of our society and comprise 41 per cent of the active earners in our country are working successfully in every sphere of life. The great significance of the part they play in the family is obvious. The women's movement has done a great deal to encourage women, who in the past were neglected in public life, to take part actively in social life and in economic life. The most conscious women fought in the front lines for the victory of the socialist revolution and today with their work they are promoting the building of the socialist society. They are thus serving very effectively the general cause of progress and also the social advancement of women.

The party resolution has also called for a certain reorganization in the women's movement. Now 32,000 specially appointed responsible officials in the party organizations are engaged in a study of the position of women and their social problems. Women's committees with a total membership of 160,000 have been set up in the people's front committees, in the trade unions and co-operatives. After the reorganization, the Party will directly guide those concerned with the social problems of women, and twice as many women comrades will be regularly active in the women's movement than before. All this will enable our entire society—which counts on women in the building of socialism—to deal more intensively

and more successfully with the social problems of women and seek to improve their position and to solve their problems.

Our Party, our state and our social organizations are regularly and in many ways concerned with the life and problems of youth. The moral and political situation of Hungarian youth is basically determined by the developing social conditions of our country. The vast majority of young people know and follow the socialist goals and support the policy of the Party. They work and study earnestly and as true patriots fulfil their national defence obligations. The magnetic power which socialism has for our young people, and the fact that our youth are better educated today than were the earlier generations, are important achievements of our system.

As the youth organization of the Party and the unified political mass organization of young people, the KISZ (Young Communist League) has been performing its tasks under the guidance of the Party. It has successfully mobilized youth to carry out the tasks connected with laying the foundations and the complete building of a socialist society. About 26,000 branch organizations of the KISZ have over 800,000 members, which is about 40 per cent of all young people between the ages of 14 and 26.

The demands of society and also of youth have increased in regard to the KISZ. A basic condition for the further development of the KISZ is that there is greater stress on and more priority given to the political and communist character of the organization. It will be able to carry out its mission on an ever higher level if it pays more attention to the specific position of various age-groups and strata of youth, to their varied experiences and different demands, and especially to the fact that part of our young people are still studying whereas another part are already active participants in productive work and social life.

The KISZ should strive to rear our youth in a patriotic and internationalist spirit to become faithful citizens of our socialist homeland. It should rally young people to build socialism and to take the initiative in organizing the work, education, the cultural and sports life of young people, and to improve their material and social situation.



The leading role of the Party is adequately being realized in the guidance of the KISZ. The party organizations need to pay considerable attention to this in the future too, they have to help this association of young people to solve its problem. It is one of the major tasks of party leadership on every level to support the efforts of the KISZ in their own area and to share actively in the ideological and political education of the whole youth.

In the education of young people special attention should be paid to the fact that the reserves of the Party come from the KISZ. That is where most of the future members of the Party are being trained. The young people have to be equipped with the science of Marxism-Leninism, they have to be shaped into well-disciplined and reliable people who are ready for any sacrifice for the sake of the community and the people and for the cause of the socialist homeland. The best young people have to be trained to become communists and members of the Party. We have to bear in mind that the youth are the promise and the future of the Party, of the people and of the socialist homeland.

The policy of alliances is the cornerstone of the domestic policy pursued by the Party. The policy of alliances which fundamentally advances co-operation between the working classes has tremendous force; together with correct Marxist guidance it is a decisive factor in the advancement of our society.

In our policy of alliances we proclaim and fulfil the alliance, solidarity and unity of the classes. The entire people, all working classes and strata of our society and every Hungarian citizen have a stake in the building of socialism. Only socialist society can ensure the fullest social and human freedom, a better life and higher living standards. Socialism is the goal of our political alliances and of our growing socialist national unity. The basic foundation of the alliances is the conscious recognition of our common interests, of true patriotism and the aim to work together for a flourishing country and for the welfare of all.

The Party's policy of alliances is realized within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front movement. The Patriotic People's Front is, on the one hand, a political grouping in which our country's most important social and mass organizations are rallied and

work together with the participation and under the leadership of the Party and, on the other hand, it is the broadest mass movement within which all the classes and strata of society co-operate for the building of socialism.

Close on 4,000 Patriotic People's Front committees are working with about 120,000 members and there are several hundred thousand activists throughout the country. The Patriotic People's Front rallies workers, peasants, intellectuals, petty bourgeois, people of various views, communists and non-party people, all those who shoulder the common task, the building of a socialist Hungary. Working people of German, South Slav, Slovak, Rumanian and other nationalities of our country also participate in the Patriotic People's Front movement. As equal members of our society and side by side with the Hungarian people they are building the common socialist homeland.

The Patriotic People's Front movement embraces believers and non-believers, state employees and representatives of the churches. Our state ensures the freedom of worship and the functioning of the churches. Our society appreciates the fact that churches of all established denominations have recognized and adhere to the Constitution and laws of the Hungarian People's Republic and accept the aspirations and socialist objectives of our people. Joint participation in the People's Front movement is a good example of mutual respect and good co-operation among people of different world outlook for the achievement of common objectives which serve the well-being of the people and the good of our homeland.

The Patriotic People's Front is of great help to the Party and of good service to our common cause; we believe that the movement can further increase its activity in the life of society. The Patriotic People's Front movement has done much so far and can do still more for the consolidation of the most all-embracing socialist national unity, for the rallying of the country's creative forces. It is of great political significance, and this is bound to grow with the increased independence of the local councils, that the People's Front, while concerned with national problems, is also dealing intensively with the many-sided questions of town and community development most directly affecting the population; and by doing

so it is strengthening the indispensable mass base and democracy of the local self-governing bodies.

Our Party has always advocated and organized the unity of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of communists and non-party people, the rallying of all the creative forces of the nation. This policy has had and continues to have great significance in our historical struggle. The unity of our society is being steered in common socialist work. Our Party will continue its policy of alliances in the conviction that this policy serves the interests of the working class and the working people and that our socialist national unity will continually grow stronger and bring us closer to our great social goal, the building of a socialist Hungary.

## V

### THE RESULTS OF OUR ECONOMIC WORK OF CONSTRUCTION. THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIALIST, NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC PLANNING

Comrades,

A specially important part is played in the present stage of socialist construction by our Party's economic policy which furthers the development of the productive forces, the increase of labour productivity, the improvement of the population's living conditions and the achievement of our socialist objectives.

Socialist economic planning is a major element of our economic policy and practice. This is the only method for the planned development of the productive forces and the basis for the construction of a socialist economic system. Only by establishing the political power of the working class, the nationalization of the means of production and the introduction of a planned, socialist economy were our people able, during the short twenty-five years since liberation, to build their new homeland on the ruins, eliminating the backwardness of centuries, to industrialize the country and create a socialist agriculture.

During the early sixties a new situation arose in the social development of our country, within our national economy and the building of socialism. With the socialist reorganization of agriculture, socialist production and property relations triumphed in all major fields of the economy. At the same time the economy began to transcend the possibilities of extensive development, and the transition to a stage of intensive development became necessary. The level of economic development we had achieved made it possible, and our objectives made it urgent, to take at least initial steps to join the international scientific-technical revolution in order to expand our productive forces and raise the efficiency of economic work.

Our Party had to face the new problems of the new situation and chart the road of continued advancement. Thorough analyses had to be made and methods elaborated for the solution of these problems, relying on domestic experiences and those of other socialist countries and on the results of socialist economics and other branches of science.

On a higher level of economic management it is imperative that economic considerations predominate in all decisions affecting the economy. Those who act on a political plane must consider the economic effects of their decisions, those who decide on economic measures have to weigh political considerations. The assertion of the economic approach, however, cannot be allowed to cast doubt on the basic Marxist principle that political considerations are of primary importance.

Lenin's teachings also warn us that socialism cannot be built at a single onslaught, relying exclusively on the Party's authority, proletarian power and the enthusiasm of class-conscious workers. One must build on the influence of the Party, the strength of workers' power, the socialist enthusiasm of the workers; these forces must always be augmented, but apart from this, it is necessary that the working people also have material incentives in the building of socialism.

The thorough analyses and the elaboration of countless ways of solving problems took several years, and the decisions were finally embodied in the reform of the system of economic management.



The basic principles of the economic reform were approved by the 9th Congress, and they were introduced on 1 January 1968. Its essence is the implementation of planned socialist economy through economic regulators, the independent management of the factories, and through the economic incentive of working collectives and of individual workers.

As they learned about the basic principles of the economic reform, practically our entire party membership and the great majority of public opinion approved of them. But the welcome and approval was by no means unanimous. Some sincere friends, at home and abroad, were concerned whether the innovations would stand the test. Right-wing revisionist circles were hoping that they would undermine our system; sectarians and dogmatists forecast the same. Our enemies—with the aim of creating confusion—spoke about a first step in the direction of a capitalist market-economy. What do the facts prove?

The Central Committee is in a position to report to Congress that the economic reform was introduced smoothly, its basic principles have stood the test, the new system of economic management is operating effectively. Socialist relations of production have become further consolidated during the three years of the reform; planned socialist economy rose to a higher level and production has been better planned. The reform more than ever before ensures the equal and proper assertion of the people's interests, group interests and personal interests.

Security in management was strengthened and the sense of responsibility of managers grew. More efficient management contributed to a better harmony between production and needs. All this made possible a greater increase in sales and national income than in production. The balance of the national economy is more stable, foreign trade has developed and we have met our international contractual obligations.

With still more than a month to the deadline we can already report to Congress that we have successfully fulfilled the Third Five Year Plan. National income will have risen by 39–40 per cent—to a greater extent than planned. The production of industry will have increased by 33–35 per cent and agricultural output by

16–17 per cent in five years—compared to the previous five years. Communications and the network of railways and roads have improved, transportation has been modernized. We have also fulfilled the other targets of the plan.

We can notice an encouraging change and growth commensurate with our plans in foreign trade. This is of special importance because of our country's limited resources. Our country's economic ties have been extended with the Soviet Union, the CMEA countries, the socialist countries, the countries of the Third World and, in line with our economic and political interests, with the capitalist countries as well.

The overfulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan has added significance because it was during this period that the new system of economic management was introduced and the working hours of two million people were reduced. At the same time we must also realize that some factors influenced the development of our economy during the Third Five Year Plan unfavourably. Only 55–60 per cent of the rise in industrial production came from increased productivity; the technical level of production did not advance sufficiently. Investment activity was uneven showing no improvement in efficiency; there were laxities in labour force management and work discipline.

Animal husbandry did not develop satisfactorily during the Third Five Year Plan. In crop farming, however, we succeeded in making progress compared to 1961–65; the average national wheat yield during the last five years rose 35 per cent and reached a 25 quintal\* per hectare\*\* level. Over the same period the average yield of maize went up by 23 per cent and reached 32 quintals per hectare on a national average. These achievements show the superiority of large-scale socialist farming.

The comprehensive balance of economic activity shows that we have during the last five years covered a complicated but successful stage on the road of advancement. The situation of the national economy is more balanced, its standard rose and the tendencies

\* 1 quintal = 2 cwt.

\*\* 1 hectare = 2.471 acres.

promoting progress have strengthened. The present year is a convincing proof of the stability, sound foundations and enduring capacity of our economy. This year, because of the bad weather, we have had to cope with almost 8,000 million forints damage and losses in output due to the floods and the heavy costs of flood control, and have had to overcome considerable losses in crop farming. There have been and are difficulties, but we succeeded in ensuring by effective government measures, the steadfastness of our working people and the strength of our economy, the continuity of production and supplies, the fulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan and an appropriate transition to the start of the Fourth Five Year Plan. The progress during the four years and the solution of difficult tasks can be attributed to the fact that the Central Committee has followed the principles of economic policy approved by the 9th Congress and carried out the decisions of the Congress in the sphere of the national economy.

The new, Fourth Five Year Plan was also drafted in strict adherence to the Party's economic policy. The directives of the new five-year plan were approved by the Central Committee. The plan was drafted by the government and was made law by Parliament at the end of September. The Fourth Five Year Plan could be drafted and finalized during the year because our economic policy will not change with the new five-year plan, because the helpful co-operation of our most important partners, primarily the Soviet Union, enabled us to conclude the international negotiations indispensable for meeting the raw material and power requirements of the plan and which mutually advance our economic ties, and we have been able to sign the necessary agreements.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that the major targets of the Fourth Five Year Plan are correct; the national income will rise by 30–32 per cent between 1971–75, the ratio of accumulation will be 23–25 per cent, and of consumption 75–77 per cent; there will be an increase of 32–34 per cent in industrial production, 75–80 per cent of which should be reached by raising labour productivity; agricultural production will go up by 15–16 per cent. The other major indices of the plan are also in line with the Party's economic policy and are realistic.

In the Fourth Five Year Plan we are concentrating our attention and energy on a few major tasks: the modernization of the national economy's energy structure; the development of the aluminium and chemical industries; the extensive utilization of the achievements of chemistry; the manufacture of road vehicles and means of transport; the spreading of modern building methods and structures; the reconstruction of the clothing industry; the raising of stock-breeding and meat output; the modernization of transportation throughout the national economy, the application of computer techniques and the manufacture of computers.

Intensive participation in the international division of labour is an important precondition of our economic advances. In our age, owing to the development of science and technique, not only products but also productive forces and production processes are crossing national frontiers. We must continue to strengthen our international economic ties primarily with the Soviet Union, the CMEA countries, the other socialist countries and the developing countries. We are also developing our economic relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of the principle of mutual advantages.

The development of economic co-operation between socialist countries increases the possibilities of raising the forms of co-operation to a higher level; this is of special importance from a political and economic point of view. The socialist countries can achieve the kind of economic integration which ensures great economic advantages and time-saving for all participants. The Hungarian People's Republic whole-heartedly supports the work of CMEA which is aimed at a many-sided implementation of socialist economic integration among our countries, based upon independent national economies.

Economic activities and socialism are serving man. The building of socialism must go side by side with a systematic rise in the workers' living standards. Our Party shapes its policy on living standards, incomes, prices and social allowances accordingly.

Parallel with our development and economic advances there has been a proportionate rise in the living standards of our people and an improvement in living conditions during recent years. In the



last five years the real income of workers rose by about 30 per cent on a national average and per capita real wages went up by 17 per cent. The income level of the co-operative peasantry reached, on a national average, that of the working class. We have expanded social insurance, developed the system of family allowances and introduced child-care allowances. The 44-hour working week has been introduced generally in industry and the building industry; altogether approximately two million workers benefit from the shorter working week. Three hundred and twenty thousand flats were built between 1966-70, more than in any previous five-year plan; in round figures one million people moved into new flats.

The new, Fourth Five Year Plan calls for a 25-27 per cent rise in per capita real income and 16-18 per cent per capita rise in real wages. The plan includes the construction of 400,000 new flats, the building of hospitals, holiday resorts, schools and cultural establishments. Our new five-year plan has a number of features destined to improve the living conditions of the people. With the continued reduction of working hours, the change-over to the 44-hour working week will be extended to other spheres of the national economy too.

As far as the policy on living standards is concerned, the most important of the measures is the implementation of the principle of the socialist wage system and the development of social services. In other words, we will strive for a greater differentiation in individual earnings, depending on the social usefulness of the work and on output; at the same time the gap in family incomes has to be narrowed. The Central Committee and the government are aware that the position of some working strata obviously calls for new wage-policy measures and they are studying the situation. In the course of the Fourth Five Year Plan, beside the planned increase in real wages, such planned measures as the raising of minimum wages, of pensions granted under earlier corrections, and family allowances will substantially contribute to the rise in the workers' living standards.

The Party, during the past four years too, has followed the principle that, as socialism is being built, the living standards of the working people should also be systematically raised; this will

continue in the future. At the same time, it must also be re-emphasized that we cannot make irresponsible promises, for national income which has not been produced cannot be distributed, and even from the national income which is produced only the part allotted to consumption can be distributed. The second principle which has been followed for many years, and which in the interest of the workers cannot be changed, is that the income and earning of the population cannot be increased in a greater degree than the commodity supplies in consumer goods, which are purchasable on the market.

The Central Committee is convinced that with the improvement of economic work, with purposeful and truly devoted efforts, the Fourth Five Year Plan targets for raising the national income can be surpassed and the increase in living standards can be greater than planned.

There are several problems in our national economy which still burden the country as a heritage of the capitalist past. We also are aware of the remnants of the difficulties which resulted from the mistakes committed in the initial phases of building socialism. The material and moral destruction of the 1956 counter-revolution has also left its traces. Mistakes have also occurred in economic activities in the period which has passed since then.

There are people who wish to blame the socialist system or—more recently—the reform of economic management for the unsolved or not as yet correctly solved problems of our economic life. This attitude, this way of judging issues, is, at the least, rooted in a faulty knowledge of interrelations, and at the worst it is hostile calumny.

Socialism has advanced the country and the people in all respects, including materially. As far as the reform is concerned, the Central Committee has always stressed that it is only a means to better and more efficient economic work, a means which in itself cannot solve or fulfil our tasks, but helps to solve and fulfil them quicker and more efficiently—and this is no small thing. Now, based on the experiences of three years, the Central Committee is fully justified in asserting that although we are only about to learn how to use this means and, what is more, we have to improve it

quite substantially, it is nonetheless an efficient means in helping our Party and our people in solving economic tasks, and realizing our socialist aspirations.

It is true that the reform of economic management, the new method worked out and introduced, has the characteristic of pointing more sharply than ever before to the problems which have long since existed in our national economy. If we now make mistakes in our economic work, whether on a national or local scale, this will show up immediately and often in a very disagreeable manner; but we consider this not a fault of the reform, but rather an advantage, an aid in our work.

The realization of the aims of the reform is in many cases impeded by the shortcomings in our work. In the coming period we shall have to take more determined measures to eliminate mistakes, to improve and develop the work of economic construction. We shall have to rely on the important results achieved so far in the implementation of our economic policy and economic activity. The comprehensive and steady promotion of economic activity and the significant enhancement of economic efficiency require many-sided and persevering efforts.

The executive bodies of the Central Committee, which have accomplished and are still accomplishing good work in elaborating the principles of economic policy and of the reform, must strengthen party control, for this has so far been relegated into the background. Starting from actual cases, they must systematically check whether the accepted principles are being properly applied in practice. On the basis of experience, measures must be taken against those who distort economic policy, and if the instructions and decrees do not prove to be adequate enough, then they must be improved.

The middle party organizations and the leadership of party branches will have to proceed in a similar manner. They will have to check, from every important aspect, the economic work of party members active in the leading bodies of factories, enterprises and co-operatives. When necessary, they must modify their decisions or, if their own instructions have proved faulty, these must be modified. If they are unable, within their own competence, to

correct wrong practices which are contrary to the Party's economic policy and to state decrees, they should ask the help of higher party bodies.

The ministries have done and are still doing an important and efficient job in elaborating the state decrees which correspond to the principles of economic policy and the reform; they will control, systematically and on the basis of individual cases, the practice of factories and enterprises, a control which has been somewhat neglected so far; they will see whether these factories and enterprises are accomplishing their everyday economic work on the basis and in the spirit of corresponding state decrees. If they experience the reverse, they will have to take steps based on their authority; if people are to blame, they will be called to account; if decrees and higher instructions are at fault, they must be corrected within the ministries' own competence and without delay; if the matter exceeds their competence, they must report to the Council of Ministers.

One must do away with the phenomenon that some state and ministerial bodies hesitate and wait, as if time had come to a standstill, and delay taking measures to solve problems which have been known to them for a long time. One must stop making a fetish of economic indices, correct in themselves, and one must not passively wait for results even in cases where it is obvious that new measures are needed.

In the sphere of activity of state, industrial and commercial enterprises, *ad hoc* partnerships, pseudo-co-operatives and private persons have appeared in large numbers and wide areas and are acquiring substantial incomes. The ministries and other higher authorities must safeguard the integrity of socialist public property and the rights and sources of state income. Using their full powers they must do this more effectively than before, throughout the national economy.

Suitable supervision is needed to see that the state monopoly in foreign trade—including also the activities of enterprises authorized to engage in independent foreign trade—does not suffer damage. The urgent task now is not a campaign to enlarge and extend the independent foreign trade rights of the enterprises, but rather to



analyse the experiences gained so far and make proper use of the conclusions drawn.

The decentralization of management and the greater independence of enterprises have produced important results, not least of all, that the leaders of enterprises, institutions, industrial and agricultural co-operatives in their overwhelming majority have properly understood their tasks, have correctly used their extended sphere of influence, have relied on the collectives of workers and, having achieved good results, have developed their factories and enterprises.

We continue to approve of the greater independence of enterprises, the increase of their own material funds and means and of initiative on their part which furthers public interests. We also approve of the principle of group interests, we recognize that workers' collectives are entitled to higher incomes in cases where surplus gains are produced in harmony with the interests of society as a whole, through the better organization of work, the improvement of productivity and the reduction of production costs.

There are, however, economic leaders, even enterprises, which, regardless of public interest, resort to cheap methods and manage their companies by various manipulations at the expense of the national economy or the customers. We strongly condemn the acquisition of incomes based on speculation and the counterposing of enterprise interests to social interests.

The ministries and the supervisory authorities must check up on the enterprises against which complaints are raised by other enterprises co-operating with them or by the population. This check should not be limited to the formal observance of rules, but should be extended to the essentials of management in the enterprises in question. Where activities harmful to the community are found, the authorities must intervene in defence of public interests and, on the basis of their legal authority, take measures against such leaders and enterprises.

The Central Committee holds that the price policy is correct and that, with some further improvements, it must also be enforced in the future. The interests of the national economy and the public demand the retention of the well-known three categories of fixed,

controlled maximum-minimum and free prices. However, in the so-called free price category, in order to protect the users and consumers of goods, it is necessary to improve price calculation, to regulate the amount and ratio of profits more effectively by the application of state norms and systematic supervision of the practice of price calculation by the authorities.

While emphasizing the correctness of the price policy, the Central Committee supports all measures designed to hinder the acquisition of high incomes which are socially unjustified and the unlawful making of profits. The Central Committee condemns any price change the sole basis and purpose of which is mere profiteering. In the case of obvious economic abuses, such as greed, profiteering and cheating, the procedure is very simple: one has to apply economic sanctions; and in cases of infringement of the law, legal proceedings have to be initiated.

An efficient manpower economy is one of the basic prerequisites for the implementation of our national economic plans. The interests of the national economy require a certain regrouping of manpower. The movement of the labour force in the past three years has been about 20–25 per cent of the working population. Surveys have shown that 60–70 per cent of this is reasonably justified, while the remaining 30–40 per cent is unhealthy. The high proportion of manpower movement, unmotivated by the interests of the national economy, is equally harmful from the material point of view, as from that of work discipline. Everything has to be done to change this abnormal situation.

—Central planning bodies must influence manpower mobility: on the one hand they must support all that is justified from the economic point of view; on the other they must take measures to prevent undesirable spontaneous processes.

—The interests of the best workers in the enterprises and of workers and employees of longer standing must be safeguarded; these workers must be granted full material and moral recognition.

—Over and above automatic economic factors, the regulation of wages is necessary. So, among other things, appropriate rules must be worked out for limiting the rise in wages which a working person who leaves one state enterprise for another may receive

at the new place; and these wages must not exceed those of an older worker doing an identical job. Rules will have to be worked out to determine to what extent higher wages can be paid by co-operatives and private firms as compared to those at state enterprises.

—Those who violate the law and try to entice workers from one job to another must be called to account.

In order to protect the interests of the national economy and honest workers, work discipline must be improved. In many places work discipline has slackened, partly as a result of the unsatisfactory organization of production, partly due to weak points in our wage policy which are of our own doing.

Managers will have first and foremost to organize work on a higher level and ensure technical and technological discipline. The minimum the workers expect from their managers is that they guarantee proper working conditions. Without this, no manager has the moral right to expect better work from the working men and women who rightly protest when, owing to the lack of material, parts and means of transport, they remain idle from time to time while at other times they have to rush and work excessive overtime.

However, every working person is duty-bound not only to demand compliance with the rights stipulated in the collective agreement, but to fulfil his own duties under the collective agreement as well. A few words must also be said about those who act as if they were doing a special favour simply by appearing at their place of work, spending some time there and drawing their pay. In such cases, matters should be put right by kind words and admonition, but if this does not help, then by disciplinary measures.

In our national economy we must strive for a better use of all tools and forces of production. In the economy of our country, creating an equilibrium on the investment market, ensuring the budgetary balance and improving the international balance of payments still require unchanging and constant attention.

During the fulfilment of the national economic plan, the first and fundamental requirement, valid for all spheres of activity, is the change-over to an intensive manner of development and

increased efficiency. In order to raise the efficiency of industrial production, the development of a modern structure of production and goods must be continued. The achievements of science and technology must be widely applied in production; this is an urgent and constant task. The same can be said about the increase in labour productivity, the raising of the professional knowledge of the workers and the strengthening of work discipline.

The Party's economic policy is fundamentally correct: it has stood the test of life. The overwhelming majority of state leaders and economic managers, and also the millions of working men and women, work honestly and enthusiastically. It is obvious that the country and socialism are being successfully built, and that the living conditions of the working population are improving from period to period. We have economic plans which are realistic, efficient, and which correspond to our socialist aims. We have entered the phase of our economic development where progress from the ranks of moderately developed industrial countries to those of the industrially advanced countries can be set as a realistic goal. We must do everything in our power to implement our plans, one after the other. Conditions also exist in the economic sphere for continuing the building of socialism on a higher level and more successfully in the years to come.

## VI

### THE IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY. OUR CENTRAL POLICY. STRENGTHENING OF SOCIALIST AWARENESS

Comrades,

During the period covered by the report, the influence of Marxism-Leninism, the ideological unity of our society has been strengthened and extended. The scientific ideology of the working class is playing an increasingly determining role in public education and mass organizational training; it is gaining ground in science, in the arts, in everyday life, in the awareness of the masses.



The standard of the social sciences has risen and their scholars are giving ever greater assistance in solving the problems which arise in the course of the development of socialist society. Marxist-Leninist propaganda is more extensive and varied, the number of tutors has increased as have their qualifications. In our country, during the 1969–70 school year, 790,000 students attended party courses, 630,000 trade union courses, 550,000 KISZ courses and 80,000 public courses, that is more than two million people received regular Marxist-Leninist education.

The interaction of theory and practice constitutes a constant source of development of our ideology, the basis of which was laid down by Marx and Engels and was further developed by Lenin. Practice proves and enriches theory. Marxist-Leninist theory is formed and developed by the practice and experiences of communist and workers' parties. Summarizing practical experiences and the further development of theory is the duty of every party. This is led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has the greatest militant experience in the international working-class movement. Assistance of great significance was rendered to the whole international communist movement when, at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and subsequently, a stand was taken against subjectivism and dogmatism and for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party, relying on the irrefutable truths of Marxism-Leninism, protects our ideology and world outlook against reactionary, bourgeois views and rejects any kind of right or left-wing distortion. It rejects both revisionism, which in the end leads to the betrayal of the working class, and pseudo-revolutionary "left-wing" adventurism. It equally rejects subjectivism, as well as dogmatism, thinking in inflexible patterns which kills the spirit of Marxism.

The representatives of right-wing bourgeois and revisionist views glorify the way of life in the developed capitalist countries; they belittle the results of the building of our socialist society and vastly exaggerate various negative phenomena which attend our social life. Such views do not exist here to a great extent and for the most part are in a transposed form but they appear in certain branches of science and do influence our public opinion.

Though not representing a significant force, there undoubtedly do exist sectarian, dogmatic and other pseudo-revolutionary views and tendencies. They deny the revolutionary content and aim of our party line and of our socialist constructive work. Singing the same tune as other bourgeois propagandists, they label the Hungarian People's Republic and other socialist countries not to their liking as bureaucratic, technocratic and manipulated societies. Our efforts to increase the standards of living and the apparent results are said to be a development of bourgeois habits and a deviation from the road of socialism.

The pseudo-radical line, which misinterprets and distorts the meaning of Marxism-Leninism, and the resultant political adventurism have acquired official status in one or two countries of the world socialist system; in the capitalist world, denying the leading role of the working class, and in many cases even fighting against the communist parties, and enjoying, therefore, the tolerance of the capitalist authorities—this appears in the form of groups calling themselves "the real" or "new left wing", "Maoists" or openly Trotskyites.

In the fight for principles our Party rejects neutrality, the striving for unprincipled compromise and appeasement in politics because we are of the opinion that Marxism-Leninism means commitment. It is impossible to agree with principles and then in the meantime reject practice; you cannot proclaim unity and incite disunity; you cannot approve a certain viewpoint and at the same time agree with the person who represents the opposite view; the interests of the international working class and of the peoples fighting for their liberation on the one hand and international imperialism on the other cannot be reduced to a common denominator.

Our Party will continue to do everything in its power to strengthen the position and hegemony of Marxism-Leninism. The Central Committee considers that first of all it must itself improve and develop theoretical and ideological activity.

In the course of the past fifteen years, our Party, utilizing the international experiences of the fraternal parties and our own at home, has solved quite a number of practical problems which have theoretical significance as well. For instance, the adaptation,

among other things, of the Leninist principle of co-operatives to our conditions, the clarification of relations to the different strata of the peasants; after the socialist transformation of agriculture, the application of land rent, the socialist interpretation and definition of property relations; the elaboration of the reform of economic management; the questions of further development of state life and socialist democracy. At the same time, the appropriate generalization in principle of the experiences of our Party's activity and ideological research work does not keep pace with the practical application of theory.

In ideological work a number of questions of principle are to be analysed and worked out in the coming years: the present-day trends in the stratification of society and in social awareness, the theoretical questions of socialist democracy; the scientific foundation of developing public administration; the social-human aspects of the scientific-technical revolution in socialism; the economic, sociological and cultural aspects of changes in the way of life; the scientific criticism of the bourgeois theory of convergence and other questions.

Ideological work is to be further developed by taking into consideration all factors which affect it. Socialist society is in a dynamic movement and a large number of its elements are of a transitional character. The tasks of the propagation of our ideology flows from this situation; at the same time we must pay special attention to the given state of awareness and public thinking. Our theory and propaganda must give the answers to current questions, new or old, but still open. Arising from the given situation the teaching, promulgation and propagation of Marxism-Leninism, of our ideology are carried on in a struggle against the various kinds of hostile and false views.

The development of scientific life is an important question in the forefront of the Party's work and in the development of our country.

In our age the significance and role of the sciences, both of the social and natural sciences, has greatly increased; the practical application of scientific results and the direct role of science in production has been speeded up. Automation, chemical processing,

the uncovering of immense sources of power to serve mankind are indicative of this development.

Socialism and science are interdependent and are allies. Compared with capitalism, our system by its nature is incomparably more suited to promote scientific and technical development and to utilize their results in the interests of society as a whole. Our programme, the complete building of a socialist society, the general development of the country and the further increase of the people's living standards demand the development of the sciences and the better and more rapid practical utilization of scientific findings.

This was the starting-point of the Central Committee when it elaborated the guidelines for a science policy for our Party. The principles which were elucidated in this policy and which have since been gradually realized have had a stimulating effect on the development of all branches of science. These are the standpoints in principle on the correct relationship between politics and science, the system of directing research, freedom of research which is based on the responsibility towards socialism, the stand against monopolizing science and for international scientific co-operation, and other important questions.

The Central Committee pays special attention to a greater development of our science and technique during the period of the Fourth Five Year Plan, and to the speedier application of their findings. It is the position of our Party that we must increasingly join the internationally developing stream of the scientific and technical revolution. In this we are greatly assisted by the growing scientific co-operation with the Soviet Union and the countries of CMEA but at the same time we must also activate our own forces. Therefore we will spend in the coming five years about 2.8 per cent of our national income on scientific research and development, which is an acceptable proportion by international standards too.

The tasks facing the country and the rapid development of science and technique call for the greater training of people and a constant expansion of knowledge on a social scale. Therefore the further perfection of public education and culture is a basic problem of our further socialist development. It is necessary that in the near future our Party should again put on the agenda and review



the whole system of public education. It should examine the questions of modern education, of the relationship between education and social demands, the problems of the overburdening of teachers and pupils and, together with the government, it should take the necessary measures for the further development of the educational system.

We expect of our educational system that it should educate specialists for our country who are conscious of their responsibility, are well trained, cultured, have a firm world outlook and socialist morality. In our country the educational institutions are open to all young people who are diligent and talented without distinction. Within this, our Party considers it an ideological-political question that at all levels of education the children of manual workers should receive adequate additional assistance.

In our country socialist tendencies have gained further ground in cultural life in the recent period; cultural and artistic life has grown and been enriched, the culture of our people has been enhanced. Fundamentally, the cultural policy of our Party is proving effectual; it is successfully helping in the development of the arts and through this in the realization of our great social aims. Needless to say, development goes with exploring new avenues and this often takes place in the midst of contradictions and polemic. At the same time the development is obvious. In the last few years our musical culture has rightly won recognition, and in foreign countries too; our film and theatre art has developed, a number of plays with a socialist message have been written; our poetry is also prolific; and we have been enriched by many new works of fine art.

True to our present policy, we do not intend to interfere by administrative measures in artistic work, in the search for style. We consider taste as the personal affair of the artist so long as it does not offend the interests and ideas of socialism and public morals. We ensure the atmosphere indispensable for creative work. At the same time we do not allow anybody to contest the competence of the Party or of the socialist state in the field of culture.

Continuing to accept every humanist value, we reject the dogmatic view of art, as well as the negative tendencies of dissociation

from social questions or of the false generalization of errors. We are of the opinion that everybody has the right to create according to his own taste and world outlook. The workers' state, however, has the right to select works according to their social and artistic value. In evaluating works of art the starting-point is the ideological and artistic force with which they serve the cause of socialism and progress. The state can be a patron of the arts using the money of the community only if the works of art serve the interests of socialist society. We expect our artists to use the possibilities provided by socialism in favour of the people, to help them understand and actively shape our richer, and at the same time, more complicated world. We will continue to support art which takes a partisan stand on the vital questions concerning our people and mankind, and which is socialist, realist, and committed to public life.

In our cultural and artistic life we must further strengthen the tendencies which are aimed at political and ideological unity. We must increase the communist and socialist forces in public life. We must meet the demands of public opinion, of party members and non-party people, concerned about socialism who consider it unacceptable that state means should be used to propagate works and views which are alien to the principles of socialism and our way of life. Petty-bourgeois views and norms of taste are revived at times, and gain ground to an unacceptable degree. By the better utilization of our cultural institutions, the press, the radio and the television, we must propagate in a more forceful way the values of socialist culture and strive better to arouse interest in real values and for the elimination of works harmful to socialism and of cultural trash.

Public education constitutes an indispensable factor in developing individuality, in strengthening socialist democracy and in raising the standard of production processes. The importance of this will increase especially with the growth of leisure time. The resources of both state and enterprise have to be increasingly allocated to adult education and culture.

An important element of our socialist construction and our social life is the assertion of a socialist way of thinking, of socialist

public opinion and of moral norms. With the rise in the level of culture, with the development of our system of education and training, socialist morals have improved as have the relationships between the individual and the collective, and the social sense of responsibility and commitment to society. This is shown by the steadfastness of the party membership in all fields of socialist construction, in the excellent results of the workers and hundreds of thousands of activists of the Party, councils, mass organizations and mass movements who take part in the socialist emulation movement and in devoted voluntary work for the good of the country.

Socialist democracy which provides and extends the basis of civil rights, and the reform of socialist economic management which better expresses the interests of the community, have made more obvious than before the relationship between work done and the interests of the whole society. This has developed the sense of justice among the masses and has brought home in a better way the fact that, in socialism, work is the basis for prosperity and real individual prosperity can only be achieved in harmony with community interests. At the same time, in the period of the transition of our society, the remnants of bourgeois morality are partially reproduced and even temporarily take on a new lease of life. Recently, as a subordinate accompanying phenomenon of our development, individualism, egotism and greediness have increased.

The determining factor of the morals of our society is the millions who accept the ideals and aims of and work consciously for the building of socialism, and who live on their honestly earned incomes; it is not the few who—alongside the working millions and before all eyes—live much better than the average, on high incomes which are not based on genuine achievement. Such cases, such people are more conspicuous, because their number has increased and their voices have become louder with the general development of the economy.

Socialism is for man; our aim is that people should live better, in a more cultured way, and that their life should improve. We reject all kinds of hypocritical modesty and asceticism. But we shall not resign ourselves to the reverse symptoms and the spread

of the spirit of greediness which conflicts with the idea of socialism and the moral conception of our society.

It is our Party's standpoint that esteem for the active supporters of socialism, for work performed in a socialist manner, and respect for the attitude of commitment to the cause of socialism should be increased in all spheres of life. Citizens who represent the interests of the working class, the working people, who work devotedly and shoulder responsibilities and sacrifices, should not in a single area of life be relegated to the background behind those who only utilize the fruits of socialism. Public spirit must be strengthened so that the positive forces of society, the adherents of socialism set the keynote and do not tolerate anti-social attitudes, cynicism, a lack of discipline and damage to the community.

The consistent assertion of the Party's cultural policy in all fields is indispensable in the effective solution of the tasks which will arise in the building of socialism. Conditions are sound for the effective propagation of our scientific world outlook, Marxism-Leninism, for the deepening, extension and generalization of socialist consciousness and public morals. Every organization and member of the Party and every adherent of socialism must devotedly and tirelessly work on this splendid and important task.

## VII

### THE INTERNATIONAL PRECONDITIONS OF OUR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. OUR PARTY STANDS FOR THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT

Comrades,

Our Party is united in its appraisal of our international activities and the foreign policy of our government, and this policy enjoys the full support of the Hungarian people.

The principal aim of our international activity is to ensure the external conditions for our people to build socialism and, within



the limits of our resources, to protect and strengthen the positions of social progress, national independence and peace in the international arena.

The fundamental, irreconcilable contradiction in the world is that between labour and capital, which, with the birth of the first socialist country, stepped out of a national framework and has now become the world-wide struggle between two social systems, socialism and capitalism. It is an objective phenomenon that the world socialist system has become the mainstay of the forces of progress, independence and peace, while imperialism has become the base and centre of reaction, oppression and counter-revolution. The international situation is determined by the struggle between these forces.

During the past four years which are under review, the forces of progress have forged ahead. The imperialists attack locally; they may achieve temporary successes, but this does not alter the historic fact that the world socialist system has emerged and is firmly established, that the colonial empires have disintegrated and that imperialism has to contend with continual internal and external conflicts and is in a constant state of political crisis.

The aggressive nature of international imperialism has not changed; it is the source of continual conflicts and for this reason the international situation is as complex as ever. As a result of its aggression, new storm centres may arise, such as now in Guinea. Mankind still lives in the midst of cares and ordeals, but the main trend of world development, despite every effort of imperialism, is determined more and more by the forces of socialism, progress and national independence.

The world socialist system is the decisive factor for social progress, and is the mainstay of all revolutionary and liberation struggles. Its existence influences the policy of the imperialists and indeed the internal relations of the capitalist countries and their relations to each other. The example of the socialist countries illustrates the superiority of the new social order in practice and demonstrates to the world the socialist future of mankind as a realistic perspective. The principal objective of imperialism is the elimination of the socialist world. Since it finds this impossible,

it is compelled to adapt itself to the real relations of forces. From time to time it alters its tactics, resorting at times to crude violence and at others to the cunning policy of "softening up" disguised as something peaceful.

The main strength of the socialist world is the Soviet Union, which, by carrying the Great October Socialist Revolution to victory, was the first to break the chains of imperialism choking the whole world and opened the way towards freedom and socialism for all the peoples. The Soviet Union and her Communist Party have singular merits in the building of socialism and communism. They also have the richest experiences in the struggle against imperialism. The Soviet Union's internationalism is exemplary and her experiences have tremendous international significance.

In the fire of the Second World War the Soviet Union, by making untold sacrifices, smashed the main forces of fascism and thereby saved mankind from the threatening spectre of a new Dark Age. After the Second World War, she broke the atomic monopoly of the United States producing her own nuclear weapons; she spared mankind from nuclear blackmail by the imperialists, from the sinister shadow of a new, modern barbarism. The role of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet people, their responsibility and assumption of sacrifices for the vital interests of all mankind, are greater than those of anyone else. With her own tremendous and invincible power, the Soviet Union is today the main curb and deterrent to the aggressive forces of international imperialism.

Relations to the Soviet Union were always a dividing line in politics, in the distinction between the forces of progress and reaction. In our movement, proper and principled relations to the Soviet Union are the touchstone of internationalism. Our Party repudiates all forms of anti-Sovietism, because the slightest compromise with anti-Sovietism destroys the forces of progress and socialism and plays into the hands of the class enemy, imperialism. The Soviet Union is our liberator, ally, true friend and our best supporter in every field of life. Our relations with the Soviet Union are sincere and unwavering, based on stable principled internationalist foundations and they are in complete harmony with our national interests. In the period under review our Party, govern-

ment, country and people have strengthened, expanded and developed the political, economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and will continue to do so in the future.

We whole-heartedly wish ever new successes to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Comrade Brezhnev, and to the great Soviet people. We assure them that our Party and our people will always foster and promote our alliance in struggle, Soviet-Hungarian friendship.

The Hungarian People's Republic has developing and expanding political, diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with all the socialist countries.

She is closely allied with every member state of the Warsaw Treaty organization which defends peace and socialism; she has fulfilled and will continue to fulfil in the future all the obligations ensuing from her membership. Our country is linked through developing economic relations with the member countries of CMEA and supports every step which is suitable for expanding the co-operation between the member states and to raise them to a higher level.

We are striving for co-operation and for the expansion of co-operation with all the socialist countries, even with those which are divided from us by difference in views. In this connection, we can report to Congress that despite the serious ideological and political differences on many questions which continue to exist, our inter-state relations with the People's Republic of China have recently improved to some extent.

Significant fields of the world-wide struggle between progress and reaction are Asia, Africa and Latin America. The anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples in these areas and the disruption of the colonial empires have greatly contributed to the changes in the balance of power at the expense of imperialism, and the political map of the world has been favourably amended. The decisive factor in the development of relations between the socialist and the developing countries is that to curb and force back imperialism and to further progress is of mutual interest. This community of interest leads to extensive relations which are furthered by the fact that several of these states, as far as their internal systems are

concerned, have chosen a non-capitalist path of development and have adopted socialism as their goal.

Our Party and government are guided by these successful efforts to develop co-operation with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. At the time of the 9th Congress we had diplomatic relations with 40 countries in these areas; today we have relations with 57 of them. We consider the colonial and former colonial peoples struggling against imperialism to be our allies; we are in solidarity with their national liberation movements and we do our utmost to support their fight.

At the present time the essence of what is going on in the capitalist world is that the capitalist system is unable to solve irreconcilable internal contradictions; crisis has become permanent and there is increasing involvement in the international conflicts which it has launched. The struggle of the working class against the monopolies intensifies and the working masses are not struggling for their economic demands alone, but also for the realization of their political aims. The working class and progressive forces of the capitalist countries are supporting the struggle of the socialist countries and all revolutionary forces; we are linked together by internationalist solidarity.

With regard to state relations with the capitalist countries, our Party, government and people steadfastly strive for peaceful co-existence between countries of differing social systems. This policy is built on the recognition that the objective foundation for peaceful co-existence exists in our age; a world war can be avoided and socialism has no need for war in order to be victorious. Our belief in the superiority of our system is also reflected in this policy. The policy of peaceful co-existence is one of the most significant, fundamental principles of the foreign policy of the world socialist system.

In the period under review, in accordance with the line of our foreign policy, our political, economic and cultural relations with several capitalist countries have expanded on the basis of equality, mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and on the basis of mutual advantages. We have concluded scientific co-operation, long-term trade and other international agreements with Austria, Italy, France, the



Federal Republic of Germany and other countries. The development of these relations corresponds to the interests of peace, the interests of the countries concerned and of our country.

The standpoint of our Party and government on the basic international issues of our age is absolutely clear-cut, determined by the fact that we are a socialist country, an ally of the Soviet Union and a member of the Warsaw Treaty. Our Party and government strive that our foreign policy should be absolutely clear, unambiguous and consistent at all times. In our opinion it is in the interests of our people and of the international forces of progress, and perhaps even of future capitalist partners, if our position is clear; and it is advantageous, if both friend and foe know where to place the Hungarian People's Republic and if everyone can reckon that our position is a stable one, based on foundations of principle.

Our standpoint on European issues is also clear. As a member of the Warsaw Treaty, we were co-authors of the Budapest Appeal. In this Appeal we called on the peoples of Europe and the governments of all the European countries to establish a collective security system which would stabilize and protect the peace of this continent. To this end, it is necessary that all the European countries recognize the realities, existing frontiers, the existence of the German Democratic Republic and the special status of West Berlin.

In general, the Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty countries was favourably received. As a result of the diplomatic initiative of the governments of the socialist countries which issued the Appeal, including our country, and of Finland and other countries, the situation for convening an all-European security conference is maturing. In our opinion it should be convened in the near future, and our government is ready to do its utmost to bring the meeting about and ensure its success.

It is a specific problem of European security that the ending of the Second World War has not been fixed in a peace treaty, and that in place of the defeated fascist Hitlerite Germany, two German states have come into existence. The first German worker-peasant state has been set up, the German Democratic Republic, which is our friend and ally. The German Democratic Republic is an important factor in the peace of Europe, and following the outstand-

ing results achieved in the building of socialism, her international prestige is justifiably and continuously increasing. The relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic are fraternal, they are based on firm internationalist principles and political foundations. We are jointly fighting for socialism, progress and European security.

We are experiencing an approach to the realities, which can contribute to the normalization of European relations, in the policy of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. As a favourable move for Europe, we welcomed the agreement between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, and in a similar way, the agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, which was initialled just recently. Much depends on the solution of the still open and most current questions. The Federal Republic of Germany still has to ratify the agreements with the Soviet Union and Poland and has to agree on known, specific issues with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Last but not least, the Federal Republic of Germany has to find suitable ways of peaceful co-existence based on international law with the independent and sovereign German Democratic Republic.

If the Brandt-Scheel government, resisting the reactionary and chauvinist forces of their own country, will have the necessary political resoluteness to continue their initiative towards normalizing relations, which accurately correspond to the vital interests of the population of West Germany, then there will be no obstacle in the path towards a full settlement of inter-state relations with the socialist countries. In principle the Hungarian People's Republic has always been in favour of normalizing inter-state relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, and is so today too. Over the past years we have established wide-ranging economic relations based on mutual advantage; recently we have concluded a long-term trade agreement, and official commercial representations operate in both our countries.

As soon as the situation matures, we are ready further to develop our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, including ultimately the regulation of diplomatic relations. This is linked

with the intention of the Hungarian People's Republic to continue to take her share in the efforts to bring about peace and security in Europe, both through bilateral and multilateral contacts.

For many years the world has been preoccupied and outraged by the US war in Vietnam, an open aggression which tramples underfoot the elementary standards of international law. A new factor in the constantly repeated provocations is the recent predatory attacks by the American air force against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This war is, at the same time, convincing confirmation of the hopelessness of imperialist policies; even the series of atrocities and war crimes committed over many years by the aggressors have been unable to break the heroic resistance of the Vietnam people. The US administration tries to conceal the purpose of its aggressive policy—and the blind alley it is now in—with changes in tactics and then again with misleading so-called “peace initiatives”. It continues to sabotage genuine talks in Paris; what is more, instead of seeking a way out, it has extended its aggression to the whole of Indochina.

In order to bring about a just peace in Indochina, the US administration must withdraw its interventionist troops and its satellites from Vietnam. They must leave Laos and Cambodia. In the interests of the American people, interference in the internal affairs of these countries must also be stopped, and the right of each and every people in Indochina to solve their own problems must be respected. The proposals aimed at a political settlement put forward by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, recognized diplomatically by our government in the summer of 1969, also point in this direction. We are in solidarity in every field with the people of Vietnam, with the peoples of Indochina and their freedom struggle, and we are convinced that their just cause will be victorious.

Aggression also poisons the situation in the Middle East. Here, the purpose of the United States is to hamper the progress of the Arab world to re-establish, by the means of old-style and neo-colonialism, the positions of international capital in this area of the world. Israel unleashed the 1967 war of aggression as a tool and

in the interests of international imperialism. The Hungarian people are in solidarity with the Arab peoples struggling for their freedom and assist them in fighting off the aggressor.

In our opinion, the existence of the State of Israel and her people is first and foremost threatened by the imperialism of her own government and the nationalism stirred up in the country. This aggressive policy must be refuted by everyone, irrespective of national affiliation and whether one resides in Israel or anywhere else in the world. The communist movement and the socialist countries which oppose Israel's war of aggression, resolutely condemn anti-semitism, this grossest form of nationalism of the peoples. We also condemn Zionism as a reactionary, anti-communist movement which serves international imperialism. Both Zionism and anti-semitism are reactionary trends, both have always been weapons in the hands of the oppressors against the working classes and against the freedom struggles of the oppressed nations.

At present, Israeli troops still continue to usurp the territories seized by way of aggression. The normalization of the situation in the Middle East can only ensue if the troops are withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and if peace is made on the basis of an agreement respecting and recognizing the territorial integrity and the independence of every state in the Middle East. We support the 1967 resolution of the Security Council and consider a political settlement necessary and legitimate; and we hold that it is fully justified that the Palestinian refugees should not want to be deprived of their home and country but wish to live and work in the land of their ancestors, under peaceful and secure circumstances, and in conditions of full equal rights.

Imperialist aggression must be repelled everywhere and imperialism must be compelled to embark upon peaceful co-existence, for it will never accept it voluntarily. To achieve this, the socialist countries are taking a stand together with all other progressive forces against the aggressive forces to prevent a new, thermonuclear world war. Only the victory of the principle of peaceful co-existence and its practical realization can save mankind from a new self-annihilating world war. To this end, the socialist countries,



the anti-imperialist peoples and all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world have to present a united front against imperialism.

The international communist and working-class movement, which has been undergoing a successful period of development the past years, exerts a decisive impact upon the future of the peoples and upon the shaping of international events. Even the differences of opinion on principles and policies which have emerged in the movement cannot prevent the fulfilment of its historic mission. In the past years our movement has taken great strides forward on the path toward consolidating unity, and the joint struggle against imperialism has gained in momentum.

The world communist movement, while working on the strengthening of unity, has primarily started out from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and from the fact that imperialism, the common enemy, equally threatens all the peoples and all the oppressed. When analysing the divergencies of opinion, one must consider the substantial differences in the position, circumstances and tasks of the individual parties, differences which complicate the struggle which is being waged for unity. The way to re-establish unity is through a firm, principled policy, consistent struggle against deviations, comradely sincerity and a readiness to unite our forces.

Proletarian internationalism is of special importance in consolidating the unity of the international communist movement. Proletarian internationalism came into existence a century ago, in the struggle against the attacks of international capital, and it has strengthened and hardened ever since, resisting every attempt aimed at wresting this weapon out of the hands of the working class. Today, when the communist movement extends to the whole world, when socialism has become a world system and fraternal parties work under the most differing conditions, loyalty to proletarian internationalism is more important than ever. The idea of proletarian internationalism requires the devotion of all fraternal parties to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the surmounting of national egotism, isolation and the various forms of nationalism, and it demands unselfish solidarity.

Our Party and government proceeded from the principles of

internationalism when, together with other socialist countries, they went to the aid of the progressive forces of fraternal, allied and socialist Czechoslovakia. In those days fraught with danger, we were guided by the desire to support the working people of Czechoslovakia in defending socialist achievements and power.

We had no selfish ends, in the course of the events we had and still have the one and only wish that the issues of party and society in Czechoslovakia should be solved in a socialist manner. We are sincerely pleased that the Czechoslovak comrades have resolutely taken matters in hand and are settling their problems, and that their party and government are again present in the international army of socialism as highly valued fighters with equal rights. We sincerely wish the fraternal Czechoslovak party, the Central Committee led by Comrade Husák and the peoples of the fraternal Czechoslovak Socialist Republic full success in building a socialist homeland.

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has carried out its international activities and strengthened its internationalist ties on the basis of the resolutions of the 9th Congress and in keeping with the standpoint jointly worked out at the international deliberations of the fraternal parties.

In the period under review the representatives of our Party participated in various international conferences of the communist movement; we have had bilateral negotiations with 54 fraternal parties. We have endeavoured to develop contacts with anti-imperialist parties, organizations and movements, within the limits of our Party's strength, and contacts have been established with a number of socialist parties too. In addition, our Party was given the honourable assignment of acting as hosts to the Consultative Meeting of 1968 in Budapest, and took part in the preparations for the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969.

The 1969 Moscow Conference was an event of outstanding importance for our international movement in the period under review; it was of great service to the aspirations for unity of the fraternal parties, the improvement of their relations and the elaboration of a joint platform on which to fight against imperialism.

Our Party is in full agreement with the stands taken at that Conference and is campaigning for their implementation.

We strive for internationalist unity with every fraternal party and for unity of action with all progressive forces in the face of the imperialist foe.

It is the opinion of our Party that the joint, widely ranging exchange of views of the communist and workers' parties, the summing up of the international experiences of our movement and the working out of common stands on principle are indispensable. At present, when the communist movement has no international organization, widely ranging, regular international meetings serve as an appropriate framework. Therefore, our Party has always been in favour of convening meetings of communist and workers' parties and will also support this in the future.

The Central Committee has judged the international activity of our Party and the foreign policy of our government during the past four years as successful. Through a principled internationalist policy, our Party continues to do its best to ensure for our people the international conditions required for the building of socialism and to take an honourable share in the world-wide struggle for progress.

To this end we wish to continue to strengthen our close, fraternal and internationalist contacts with the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and of CMEA, the world socialist system and the fraternal parties; we are in solidarity with our class brothers struggling in the capitalist countries; we support the national liberation movements and improve our co-operation with the independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; we strive for the realization of peaceful co-existence, normalized relations and mutually favourable contacts with capitalist countries, and we safeguard peace—the most important condition for our constructive work.

Comrades,

I have come to the end of the Central Committee's report. In the past four years our Party has carried out significant and successful work, meeting the tasks which derive from being the ideological and political leader of society. It is due to the devoted and diligent work

of our working class, of our working people and to the co-operation between communists and non-party people that, fulfilling the resolutions of the 9th Congress, we were able to take a further step along the path towards building a socialist society.

Now we have to appraise the results achieved so far and we have to look to the future.

The domestic and international conditions for our socialist construction work are given. Our Party, true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in unity with the working class and working people and in co-operation with our international class brothers, has solved great tasks in the past and is able to solve even greater ones in the future.

In the opinion of the Central Committee, all the conditions exist for our work to be continued on a higher level than up till now. Supported by the results achieved during the past four years, we have to strengthen further the leading role of our Party, to consolidate the power of the working class; we have to develop our state life and widen socialist democracy, to strengthen the positions of Marxism-Leninism, socialist public opinion and public morality, we have to fulfil our national economic plans, the Fourth Five Year Plan, and further raise the living standards of our people. This is demanded by the aim of our Party, by the interest of our working class, our people and nation; and at the same time, this is the most important contribution we can make to the struggle of our international class brothers.

The Central Committee requests Congress to discuss and approve the report and the proposals put forward for the revision of the Party Rules. The Central Committee recommends that Congress strengthen the main lines which our Party has followed so far and declare in a resolution that in the coming four years the social programme of our Party and our people should be to continue the complete building of socialism on a higher level.

The Central Committee is deeply convinced that the 10th Congress of our Party—in accordance with its mission—will successfully carry out the work which is confidently expected of it by our entire Party and working people: to mark out the road which leads forward!



Long live the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and its 10th Congress!

Long live our working class, our people and country, the Hungarian People's Republic!

Long live proletarian internationalism, communism and peace!

*Minutes of the 10th Congress of the HSWP.*  
Kossuth Publishers, 1971.

**CLOSING SPEECH  
TO THE 10TH CONGRESS OF THE  
HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY**

*November 1970*

Honoured Congress, Comrades,

The four-day debate and the 56 contributions made in the course of it demonstrated complete unity on the main issues. There was not one contribution which differed on any essential question from party policy. Therefore, my first words to the comrades who spoke in the discussion, to the congress delegates is to thank them, on behalf of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, for their completely unanimous support.

In addition to the delegates to our Party's 10th Congress, all the delegations from our fraternal parties addressed the Congress. We are grateful that they accepted our invitation and sent representatives and we are grateful that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, in general, all the fraternal parties who took part at our Congress honoured our Party—perhaps even more than was merited—by the composition of their delegations and with their speeches.

I cannot mention each speech from the fraternal party delegations. On behalf of our Central Committee, we express our sincere thanks for putting such stress, both in a general and in an international sense, on the 10th Congress of our Party. The internationalist standpoint taken by the fraternal parties, as far as the efforts of our Party are concerned, is a support of vital importance to our struggle which we can under no circumstances do without.

The contributions of the congress delegates and the debate were on a high level and worthy of the mission of the Congress. One of the contributors to the debate remarked after his speech that it was difficult for him to make a start, for this was the first time he had faced such a forum. I told him that the second time would not be easy either. This is so because a person who appreciates and knows, in the good sense of the word, the kind of forum he is addressing, who knows that every word he utters here will

have an impact, cannot help feeling a sense of responsibility. In my opinion, the reason that the comrades in general wrote out their contributions is mainly because of this sense of responsibility, a fact which can only be welcomed. But another circumstance played a role in this too. In our opinion, the political preparation for the Congress was more thorough and better than that for previous Congresses. This time it was even more apparent that, although the delegates made their own contributions, they did not solely interpret their own standpoint. The congress delegates know and feel that each one of them—even statistically—represents one thousand communists and speaks on their behalf.

In one of the intervals I had the opportunity to talk to outstanding representatives of our scientists and artists. Two of them—one a party member and the other non-party—cutting across each other's words explained that they wanted to ask for the floor, but did not, because what they wanted to say had already been said, word for word; I only mentioned this as an illustration, as an example of the high level of the general debate at the Congress, and of the fact that every speaker felt responsibility and spoke in a prepared and suitable manner about the question on the agenda.

The contributions expressed the political development which, as the result of our everyday work, is one of the characteristic features of our party members and activists, politically active workers, and one can even say, of our whole people. The people's horizons have expanded, the understanding and unity of our Party and the general public have strengthened.

In connection with some of the speeches it was said that the delegates knew how to speak well. I think they not only know how to speak well, but—whether we like it or not—they teach us economics. I recognized one or two of the speakers from of old, and I know they have not only learned how to speak, but to count, to reckon with reality and life. This was adequately reflected in the debate.

The discussion touched on all the important questions of the two reports concerning the struggle and activity of the Party. Therefore I feel, and the comrades will understand this, that it is not possible to refer to all aspects of the discussion. Permit me,

then, not to answer and not to refer separately to the various remarks since they were all so unanimous and clear-cut.

The response to the Congress, in our judgement, is good and realistic. The response was just like the Congress itself. This is naturally also due to the fact that through the press, radio, television and with the help of those who work there, the congress hall was extended beyond its confines. With a very slight time-lag, the exchange of opinions during these days not only took place in this hall, but in the entire country. And there were discussions as we know from the response, along the same lines and on the same questions throughout the entire country; the broad masses of people discussed, just as we did here at the Congress. This is a very good thing.

Congress also heard the addresses of the fraternal parties which showed the internationalist position from which the various parties evaluate our Party. Our Congress has met with a broad response in the fraternal socialist countries and in all countries where our fraternal parties could ensure publicity for it.

Our political opponents and our enemies also followed the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party with attention. Our deliberations surprised them. Their guesses were all over the place. Finally, they reached almost the same conclusion as our camp; our own party membership and people, the fraternal parties and the fraternal peoples building socialism. Adversaries and foes alike consider the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party as the consistent continuation of the path our Party has followed so far. It may be useful for them to know this from the point of view of their practical work.

Agreement with the report of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission is very widespread. It is quite obvious from the speeches at the Congress that the 56 comrades who took the floor not only expressed their own opinion, but the views of the Congress as well.

But the agreement is still broader; it has met with the accord of our entire party membership, public opinion, our allies, the working class and of our people. With the concurrence of all those who consider, in a good and noble sense, the cause of the Party and social-



ism as their own. And as I have already stated, the basic position and the main line of our Congress meet with the approval of the great majority of communist and workers' parties and the fraternal peoples building socialism. This agreement and solidarity—both domestic and international—is a great source of strength for the future work and struggle of our Party.

After this, permit me to reiterate—this time factually—what emerged in the course of the preparatory work for the Congress as the opinion and demand of our party membership and working people, what we only proposed on Monday in the report of the Central Committee and what has been affirmed now: the Party will continue its political line even more consistently and will implement it more firmly. This approval is a new source of great strength for our Party, an encouragement, appreciation and at the same time a compelling demand from those whom we wish to serve according to the best of our conscience, and on whose behalf our Party often speaks, takes a stand and issues statements. We have to regard this as the demand of our working class, working people and of all the positive forces of our society, as the obligatory task of our Party. This united stand at the same time provides us with new opportunities to accomplish even more consistently and more thoroughly what our Party has to accomplish.

I should like to touch briefly upon a few specific questions which have arisen in the debate. Several people spoke about coal mining. It is just four years since the unquestionably correct programme to transform the energy structure of the national economy was one of the important themes of the 9th Congress; this set as its aim the reduction of coal consumption and the increase in the use of oil and gas.

We set about realizing this economically unquestionably correct objective and we achieved good results. At the same time, this process was not smooth, because the energy requirements increased with unbelievable speed—perhaps to an even greater extent than calculated—while the expansion of energy sources did not keep pace with the emerging needs.

It must be stated that not only in our calculations, but also in our propaganda, a small error occurred. The 9th Congress stressed

the need to reduce gradually the production of low-calorie coal which was being mined at great cost, but to continue mining coal of high calorific value. We also took care of our miners who could no longer be employed in the mines, taking into consideration their great merits in rebuilding the country and in the socialist revolution. We made sure that they found jobs in other areas of work. All of this, however, gave the appearance of the general scaling down of coal mining. This was a mistaken interpretation. Internal, local changes will also have to be made in the future in order to increase the mining of good coal at lower cost, at the expense of lower-calorie coal at higher costs. But even though the proportion of coal within the total sources of energy will decline, Hungarian coal mining, in the face of the increasing energy requirements of the national economy, will remain at about the present level.

Several speakers brought up the question of the Hungarian textile industry, linking it with the position and earnings of women. As far as the textile industry is concerned, anyone familiar with the new, Fourth Five Year Plan for the development of the national economy is aware that the Hungarian textile industry has a great future. We are planning large-scale reconstruction of the industry and this will be put through. This reconstruction will extend not only to the modernization of the means of production, but also to the improvement in the situation of the textile workers. The Hungarian textile industry will be a strong, healthy and rapidly growing branch of our national economy, and it is necessary that the situation of the people working in this industry should correspond to this.

The present state of the co-operative farm peasantry and this year's difficulties also came up in the debate. I am thinking now not only of the co-operative farms damaged by the floods. It is well known that owing to the adverse weather conditions there were serious losses in crops. Co-operative farms where the main source of income is crop growing suffered a perceptible loss in income.

Agriculture needs more than good planning, the conscientious work of man and the necessary material resources; for the time being, and I believe for a long time to come, it will depend to a

large extent on national conditions, among other things on the weather. This holds good for crop growing in particular but indirectly for animal husbandry as well. Our peasant brothers are accustomed to the fact that in agriculture there are good and bad years. Who would have thought in the eighth month of this year that by the tenth month we would be crying for rain. That is how capricious the weather has been. And it will always be like that. For the time being we are unable to do anything about this with human resources. By the way, the national average yield in wheat is about 12 quintals per *hold*.<sup>\*</sup> Not long ago this was celebrated as a national record. But in the meantime our agriculture has developed, we had a good year, then an even better one and the last year was really magnificent from this point of view. Now that we have fallen back a degree we are embittered by an average which five or six years ago was celebrated as a national record.

Let me note here that those co-operative farm members who, in their exasperation at the transitory difficulties, would try to solve the problem by changing the management, are mistaken. If their managers are working well and decently, they should keep them and continue to work with them.

And as far as the difficulties and the way to overcome them are concerned: first of all our agriculture based on socialist foundations is full of vigour and has changed into a branch of the national economy which is also able to endure difficulties. It was precisely during more than one drought or flood that we found that were it not for the collective force in agriculture, and I may add the power of the workers' state, the results would have been disastrous. As things are, however, we can overcome the unforeseen obstacles.

In their awareness and self-confidence, the peasantry are also different from what they were even ten years ago. The Congress also heard that in the eastern counties which were most severely affected by the floods, as soon as the waters receded and the people were able to pull themselves together, they carried out the necessary agricultural work in full measure, according to plan and in-

<sup>\*</sup> 1 *hold* = 1.42 acres.

deed even overfulfilled plans. This is the principal and best remedy for every kind of trouble.

The peasantry have greatly developed in awareness—and I may say in their collective and socialist awareness. This is proved, for example, by the fact that about two thousand agricultural co-operatives gave direct assistance to the co-operatives affected by the floods, according to their means, to a total value of 140 million forints. I believe that people who know the minds of human beings, especially of the peasants—and there are also writers here who say they do—are able to appreciate fully what this means in terms of awareness. This all proves that the working class are correct when they decide and resolve to reckon on the peasant class as a fraternal class, to form an alliance with them, and advance together with them on the road to the building of socialism.

There are perhaps people who had doubts about the decision of the 9th Congress to increase the income of the peasantry, by the common efforts of the working class and the peasantry and the united strength of our people, to the level of that of the working class, nationally and on the average. That, comrades, was a historic step. Not a single working man must grudge this; on the contrary, we should be proud of it. We will enjoy the fruits of this in the future by the solution of all our serious problems.

With regard to this year's difficulties: the working class has never let the peasantry down. They are today also supported by their state, Party and government. We have frequently criticized the building industry, and I think we will continue to criticize it for a long time. Still, if one looked at the flood-stricken area, even if only on television, after the water had receded, and now one looks at the beautiful, modern lines of houses, worthy of man, which have been built since, one sees proof that what our Party, government and working class said and promised to those in distress has been fulfilled—and in a very short time at that. The Central Committee and the government took the necessary steps and appealed to the co-operative peasants to mobilize their own forces, but what they could not do themselves they would be assisted with. We shall not allow any co-operative to fail merely because they have difficulties at the moment.



Many speakers dealt with the social position of women. They spoke about really current and burning issues, for example, that it is still difficult for women to attain leading positions, that the principle of "equal wages for equal work" has not yet been successfully implemented everywhere; and there are difficulties with regard to nursery and kindergarten places. This is all true and it is good that it was mentioned here at the Congress.

The Central Committee, as was stated in the report, laid down the principles and the Council of Ministers approved comprehensive resolutions on all these questions. Long years of consistent work are needed for their complete fulfilment, because these are not things which can be solved in a week by one resolution. It concerns a great question of social justice, which could not be solved over thousands of years. It is no wonder that socialism also needs a little time for this. But the situation will improve as the signs already indicate.

Let me mention, for example, the place and role of women in public life. Only a short time has elapsed since the party resolution, and there have not been so many events that a considerable change could already be noted. But certainly there was one event, precisely within the Party, and this in general will serve as an example. During the preparations for the Congress, following on the political and moral weight of the Central Committee resolution, the number of women elected to the newly formed party committees increased by 33 per cent, by one-third compared to the former situation. More than 19,000—about 21 per cent—of the 90,000 members of the party branch leaderships are women. If we really follow this example and implement the Central Committee and government resolutions concerning women in other fields and in all other respects, then the social problems of women will be more tangibly solved year by year.

However, there are questions which cannot be solved by Central Committee or government resolutions and not even by a congress resolution. It cannot be prescribed by resolution, for example, whom people should respect and how they should show this. But when everywhere, and also here in the debate at the Congress, the speakers have stated that 41 per cent of all the active workers taking

part in production are women—and in addition everybody knows what awaits this 41 per cent of active earners in the household and in raising a family—then all of us who consider ourselves communists, or enlightened people, have to say that, although no resolution can be passed concerning this, working women have to be respected!

This has another aspect which, though perhaps not so obviously important, concerns behaviour—one might say etiquette. How many times do we see that backward people—I will not say men, because why should we accuse ourselves unnecessarily—interpret equality as the man forgetting to greet the woman first in a proper manner, although hundred-year-old manuals of etiquette prescribe: if a man meets a woman he should greet her first; or if there is no empty seat on the tram, he should offer her a seat. All this may seem to be trivial, but it is extremely important: we shall not explain equality and our struggle should not be confined to the fact that we have given equality to women and therefore they can work just like men and we do not greet them, in the way we do not greet each other sometimes. After all, the laws of nature cannot be changed by anybody, and when it comes to carrying weighty things in the physical sense of the word, women will always be weaker, they have to be helped and they always have to be respected when they take on great burdens.

Such a fundamental position will help us to advance a bit faster in some specific questions, such as the implementation of the principle of equal pay for equal work, and in others.

I am very happy that important male executives of large industrial enterprises spoke seriously about this question at the Congress, since not only the central bodies have the ways and means to do something in their hands, but local ones as well. If not a 23-member government or a 100-member Central Committee, but ten thousand, a hundred thousand responsible executives will seriously tackle these questions, then they will find right on the spot unutilized possibilities, reserves and resources to improve the situation. This, comrades, is already a party resolution, unlike the question of etiquette, which I on my part also recommend for serious consideration.

While on the question I should like to say a few words with respect to mothers. The 9th Congress passed a decision in principle regarding the introduction of a child-care allowance for mothers. This was done. We still need many other things: crèches, nurseries, and the like to realize the intention of complementing properly the original, and it seems successful, idea of child-care allowances.

I would like to express here my deep conviction that material resources are needed to increase families and to bring up children. We materialists realize that it is extremely difficult to exist and to bring up children on sighs alone. But I dare to say, comrades, that we must change the quite widespread—though not dominant—outlook too: that if someone is weighing up, according to his or her own conscience, the choice of buying a TV set or a car, rather than having children, that is his or her business. There are no compulsory laws on this matter, but if this degenerates to the point of speaking disparagingly about expectant mothers because they do not look after their own well-being, then we communists must oppose this. Those who live according to the normal laws of society, the noble traits of human nature, cannot be scoffed at; this cannot be condoned. Of course, there is such a thing as vanity too; there are women who think that giving birth to a child will spoil their figures. This may be so, but they will be more beautiful in a human and general sense.

Those who like to calculate should do so, if necessary and if they have the time for it. But the decision as to whether to have a child or not cannot be simply a matter of calculation. One must always reckon with the cost of a pair of socks, a baby carriage and diapers, but the existence of the future generation cannot be a matter of simple calculation. We realize how difficult it is to ensure a young couple even one room to start their independent life. Then, once they have got it, they continue to live there for a long time saying that if they get another room they will have a baby, too. Those present here who were born before liberation must realize that if people had so calculated at that time, very few of us would be here now.

Many demands were brought up in the discussion—such as raising the pay of textile workers, teachers and others, and similar

problems. Demands can be handled in many ways. Let me mention, for instance, the question of provisions. The comrades certainly remember times when food supplies were very poor throughout the whole year, but were improved on important occasions—such as on Liberation Day, Party Congresses, and Christmas, and so forth.

We—as you may have noticed—have turned aside from this path. We do not pretend that supplies are first-rate throughout the year, but we have at least solved the problem that they are not better on national holidays, and during the time of the Congress, than at other times. But I dare to assert that today the average level is as good as it used to be on holidays in the past. Let me add: we must not forget that at the time of this incorrect practice we were in another stage of development.

I could enumerate what we need at length: where we require most investments, increases in pay, and the faster the better. But I believe it to be a good practice that the Party Congress is not a day for re-stocking the shops, for distributing investments, and for raising salaries.

The Party Congress should deal with the problem of satisfying material requirements when it has a general political, social reason and significance. When it is a question of a normal and systematic improvement of living standards—for example, increasing the pay of certain strata—it is not for the Party Congress to make decisions.

Four years have passed since the 9th Congress. I do not want to list all the measures we have taken since then to improve living standards. We did not have to wait until the 10th Congress: many questions were in the meantime solved by the Central Committee, the government and our enterprises. This was the proper, the sound, the normal road for developing living standards.

It also follows that if there is no decision at the Congress now we shall not have to wait with these questions until the 11th Congress, because the Central Committee and the government have never hesitated for a minute, they have always granted according to the possibilities and needs.

Comrades,

We have mentioned this year's plan in the report; we outlined



the anticipated results of the fulfilment of the Third Five Year Plan. But anyone who has anything to do with even the smallest household budget knows very well what the country's leadership had to do, how fast it had to act in order to ensure production, supplies, the conditions of normal life, and we can say that it did ensure them successfully and thoroughly. And even there where the floodwaters were gushing, the people had warm meals in the evening.

I would therefore ask the honoured Congress to accept the standpoint put forward in the report of the Central Committee; allow the competent authorities the opportunity and time to work out this year's balance accurately. The reason, comrades, is that what is anticipated does not figure in the same way on both sides of the balance sheet. If we, for example, had envisaged an increase of 40 per cent in the national income in the Fourth Five Year Plan in place of the 30–32 per cent which could realistically be planned, this would have been wishful thinking. But as soon as Parliament passes the bill, the envisaged plan becomes law, and since in our country there is law and order, every law has to be carried out. Should we, nevertheless, begin to distribute what we do not yet possess, this would undermine the living standard of the working people—the textile workers, the metal workers, the teachers, and the rest. A responsible leadership cannot take this course.

Many speakers dealt with questions that may be listed under the main title of public morals. In the report, too, the relationship between political consciousness and material incentives received proper emphasis. Both are necessary. The building of socialism requires the strengthening of socialist awareness, the spirit of selflessness and readiness to make sacrifices; moreover, the spirit of enthusiasm, and also that incentives should exert an influence in the same direction. And inasmuch as this is a question of public morals, it is our opinion that it is difficult for socialism to be built by even one man as a secondary job, but a whole people certainly cannot regard as a secondary job the complete building of socialism, it is their main job. Fortunately this is the way we do it and this is how we are building it.

At the party conference in Csepel, one contributor to the debate, speaking of work morals, said, work was once a compulsion, that

is under the capitalist system, then it became an honour and now for some people it is a favour. In our society it is work which is the basis of all rights. Socialism is a society of labour in which people who are able to work must do so in order to enjoy rights. This is not only the opinion of every conscious supporter of socialism, but also of every decent person. In our country work must also be a matter of honour. And if there should be some who do not accept this, then, just as in the past work was a compulsion for some social classes, now it shall be a compulsion for certain people. We shall prove to them that they cannot live without work, and live well at that, at the expense of the working people.

Comrades,

The report was unable to detail every field of party activity. From the point of view of party work, activity carried on in the different mass organizations, in the state and social organizations everything without distinction is of equal importance. This is also valid for non-communists. We respect and credit the work of everyone who carries on useful social activity, no matter in what field.

I should like to address the communist leaders, the heads of the party branches as well as the leaders of the district party committees. This year I paid a visit to the Eighth District (of Budapest). In the meeting room of the Executive Committee, where we were talking, there was a portrait of Lenin. Time passed and afterwards I told the comrades that something was missing from that wall: a clock. At the Central Committee we have a portrait of Lenin and a clock on the wall. This expresses a lot. If we look at them, Lenin and the clock together tell us what to do and in what direction, in what spirit and when. The clock, besides, tells us that time passes, we should also make haste as much as we can.

Here at the Congress, it was a pleasure to hear that almost all comrades emphasized—and if it was not expressly said it was implied in their contributions—that they themselves and the collective they were representing were ready to work for the realization of the resolutions of the 10th Congress. Every day hundreds of telegrams and letters of greeting arrived at the Congress from workers, peasants, intellectuals, from all strata of society. These letters informed us of the readiness to work for the realization of the resolu-

tions of the 10th Congress. This also is a manifestation of trust and of the workers' honest outlook: we have not only to agree, but we must also do what has to be done.

Our Party already put down its programme in writing at the time when the two workers' parties united. This programme—of which much has already been realized—states that the aim of our Party is the building of a socialist society. We have a Marxist-Leninist policy which we must continue to follow. We have a sound policy of alliances, which we must continue to apply so that communists and non-party people should be able to rally even closer. The Party works in close contact with the masses, it must work in even closer cohesion with them in the future. We are working with the people, for the people, that is why we must work to implement the resolutions of the 10th Congress. Our Party has always struggled in internationalist unity with the communist and workers' parties—in the future we must co-operate with the fraternal peoples building socialism in an even more united way.

Comrades,

The discussion at the Congress has proved that we are of the same opinion on all the main questions and this is most important for our future work. I ask you, comrades, to accept my reply and to authorize the newly elected Central Committee to make use of the advice of the comrades who have taken the floor as well as of the strength, the unity of outlook, the working and fighting ability, the truly Marxist-Leninist way of thinking and the communist consciousness and internationalism which have characterized the 10th Congress of our Party. I am convinced that the Central Committee will utilize all this for the good of our common cause.

I thank you for your attention.

*Minutes of the 10th Congress of the HSWP.*  
Kossuth Publishers, 1971.

## ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS OF THE UPI CORRESPONDENT, R. C. LONGWORTH

March 1971

QUESTION: What role can the smaller nations—of both East and West Europe—play in the growing European *rapprochement*, independent of the super powers? How dependent are these questions on better Soviet-American relations? How much can the smaller nations do to create the conditions for detente?

ANSWER: Many people assume that to speak about a foreign policy role “independent of the super powers” sounds extremely pleasant, not to say flattering, to the small nations. I believe a more precise formulation is needed really to approach the substance of the problem; we have to examine the actual situation in today's world.

In our times, modern civilization has brought countries and peoples so closely together that the entire world is slowly changing into one big community. States and peoples, both big and small, are living more and more in mutual interdependence and share a common destiny. The Second World War was a dramatic illustration of this, but the development of the international situation since then serves as a further proof.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States of America play a decisive role in the development of the international situation; and similarly the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. Besides the political and military alliances—taking only Europe into consideration—there exist such great economic blocs as CMEA, the Common Market and EFTA. The majority of the European states pursue a foreign policy within these international groupings or via bilateral relations. If we take this view of the world, of Europe, then we come closer to reality. I believe it is unrealistic to conduct a foreign policy disregarding or, let us say, “independent” of factors determining the real state of affairs and international relations, and actually such a policy cannot be pursued.

Speaking specifically, I would say that each small nation of Eastern and Western Europe now too has its own responsibilities



and possibilities for independent foreign political activity to contribute to lessening tension in accordance with its circumstances.

The Hungarian People's Republic is in alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; she is a member of the Warsaw Treaty organization and of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The major problems of the international situation, in our judgement, are to eliminate dangerous hotbeds of war, to solve disputed issues by way of negotiations, the safeguarding of peace and the peaceful co-existence of countries with differing social systems. We want to promote the unity of all progressive and peace-loving forces to solve these major problems. The Hungarian People's Republic is striving together with her allies to achieve these aims, as a member state of the Warsaw Treaty, and within the UN, as well as by all independent foreign policy measures taken in the sphere of bilateral relations; and she will continue to do this.

**QUESTION:** What direct benefits would Hungary gain, apart from a general improvement in the East-West atmosphere, from a European security conference? When do you think the conference should be held? What should be on the agenda? Do you feel that a settlement of the German and Berlin problems must precede a conference? Why do you feel a European security conference should precede any attempt at a mutual East-West troop withdrawal in Europe? What are the objections to the Western proposal for bilateral meetings first? What compromise do you envisage to reconcile these two points of view?

**ANSWER:** The European security conference—in itself—would not yield any special benefits for Hungary. Still, we would heartily welcome the conference and we are working for it, because we consider it as a first step toward setting up a system of collective security in Europe. Setting up of a firm security system would, of course, have great political, economic and cultural benefits for all the peoples of Europe, including Hungary and her people. Moreover, I am convinced that the mere holding of the conference would improve the general climate on our continent, stimulate economic relations and intensify various kinds of co-operation involving mutual benefits.

When Hungary together with the other Warsaw Treaty member states proposed the holding of a security conference to the governments and peoples of Europe, her point of departure was that the situation was ripe for convening it, and the need for its organization was urgent because of the unsolved problems of our continent.

Now some people raise the problem of West Berlin, at another time other issues, saying, as long as these are not solved the security conference cannot be convened. We believe, however, that it is just the other way around. The very reason why so far it was not possible to solve the often indeed complex European problems was the fact that the situation on our continent is uncertain and there is still no genuine peace and security. We need the security conference precisely so as to create a climate and situation for the mutually acceptable solution of all disputed European problems.

It is not difficult to answer the actual questions relating to the security conference. On our part, there is no objection to bilateral meetings, for we, member states of the Warsaw Treaty, continually hold such meetings. But we feel that in addition multilateral talks should also be started in line with the reasonable proposal put forward by the Finnish government. We are ready, if need be tomorrow, to instruct our accredited representatives in Helsinki to begin such talks. The agenda of the conference is the least of the disputed problems. The countries belonging to the Warsaw Treaty have stated that besides the two points proposed—European security and problems of mutually favourable relations between countries—they are ready to consider and support the placing of other questions on the agenda.

I think that the all-European security conference could be convened for even the second half of this year without anyone being compelled to agree to any kind of compromise. To convene the conference, there must, of course, be a common desire to hold it, and the realization that neither side can set preliminary conditions of any nature and that each European nation has an equal interest in the conference. The consolidation of peace in Europe, the establishment of collective security is not the concern of one continent only; this is one of the major problems of the general world situation to be settled in the interest of all the peoples. Considering

that it is war which is the alternative to this issue, I have no doubt that the security conference will meet and a system of European collective security will be established sooner or later as there is no other acceptable way out of the present situation for the peoples.

QUESTION: In your answer you mentioned, the Warsaw Treaty countries are ready to consider the placing of other questions on the agenda of the European security conference. Could the Berlin problem and the mutual withdrawal of troops be considered as such points? Should these issues be discussed separately, or, let us say, at parallel discussions held at the same time?

ANSWER: All problems which the participants agree upon might be placed on the agenda. It seems that the two specifically mentioned subjects cannot be handled identically. The problem of troop withdrawal is interconnected with the present status of Europe. Since the aim of the planned conference is to promote, in fact, to establish the foundation of a collective security system in Europe, it might seem feasible at a certain stage of the discussions that, in the context of general security, the question of troops should come on the agenda.

As far as the West Berlin problem is concerned, the situation is—in my opinion—somewhat different. Every European country is interested to see that progress should be made and this issue be settled expediently. In regard to Berlin, however, as you know the Four Powers have separate responsibilities and rights laid down in various international agreements. Furthermore, on the basis of being directly interested, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have an additional role and task. Thus, I rather think, it would be logical not to burden the agenda of the European security conference until the problem of Berlin has reached a certain stage. Whatever could and should be done at this phase must be kept on the agenda primarily by the Four Powers and the two German states respectively.

QUESTION: What is your opinion of the purpose, limits and prospects of West Germany's *Ostpolitik*? Chancellor Brandt has achieved a considerable improvement by the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland. In connection with this, how can the Berlin situation be brought nearer to solution? What steps could

or should be taken either by the German Democratic Republic or in the Four Power talks? What steps should be taken by the Western side?

ANSWER: Concerning the question about the aims of the new Eastern policy of the Brandt-Scheel government, I believe that the most competent answer can be supplied by Bonn. I can say, as far as the perspectives of this policy are concerned, that the Federal Republic of Germany can move ahead only if she takes account of European realities. You may also know that the Hungarian government welcomed the agreements of the Soviet Union and of Poland with the Federal Republic, because they are equally beneficial to each of the contracting parties, and to the tranquillity and peace of our continent. However, we also bear in mind that ratification of the agreements is still to come.

The question of West Berlin is a separate political problem, and the Four Powers and in addition the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have a decisive role solving it. Their joint efforts may lead to normalization of the city's status. This is being promoted by a number of initiatives taken by the German Democratic Republic, the latest one being the letter sent by Prime Minister Willy Stoph to Klaus Schütz, Mayor of West Berlin. The government of the German Democratic Republic went so far as to suggest the starting of talks on settling relations between West Berlin and the German Democratic Republic, including visits of West Berliners to the German Democratic Republic. It is now up to the West Berlin Senate to give a positive answer, and for the Federal Republic of Germany to help to ease the tension in West Berlin. The United States and the other Western powers would be acting correctly on this issue, and in general as well, if they were to help and not impede the Federal Republic of Germany in the full acceptance of European realities.

QUESTION: Do you foresee full Hungarian-West German diplomatic relations soon? What difference will this make to Hungary's relations with Western Europe?

ANSWER: If the government of the Federal Republic of Germany consistently moves ahead on the path of reality, then the possibilities for normalizing relations with the socialist countries will im-



prove. In principle, our country has at all times been and is at present also in favour of normalizing relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

Over the years, mutually advantageous and broad economic relations have developed between the two countries. And if the situation is ripe, we will be ready to expand relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, including finally the normalization of diplomatic relations. Our relations with Western Europe are not contingent on our ties with the Federal Republic of Germany; the general policy of the Hungarian People's Republic is to improve and develop relations with all countries of Western Europe.

**QUESTION:** How do you view Hungarian-American relations at this time? What could be done to make these relations better? What is your opinion of various American efforts to improve relations with Eastern Europe as a whole, especially as expressed in President Nixon's visits to Rumania and Yugoslavia? Would you welcome a visit to Hungary by President Nixon at this time?

**ANSWER:** Our countries are separated by vast distances, immensely different conditions and the divergence in our social systems. For this reason, looking at the matter realistically, it is scarcely conceivable that the United States and Hungary could suddenly become partners of first rank. However, it would be both realistic and necessary for our countries to normalize relations with each other and, by taking advantage of the given possibilities, to expand relations on the basis of the principle of mutual benefits. Our governments have already made statements in principle, giving expression to the desire to normalize our relations. We have been conducting talks for a long time on various issues pending; but progress in these talks has been exceedingly slow. Our readiness remains unchanged. Things would be substantially promoted if the US government would cancel the obsolete measures which hinder economic relations between Hungary and the US.

Relations between two countries are, however, dependent on general politics also. We condemn the US war of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. We likewise condemn the US policy of backing the Israeli government and other anti-progressive stands taken in supporting reactionary forces.

Of course, all this has a harmful influence on the development of Hungarian-US bilateral relations. Perhaps it is unnecessary to say that we would welcome every favourable change, that we would be happy to see our relations become really friendly as soon as possible, because this would be in accord with the desire and genuine interest of both peoples.

The visits of President Nixon to Rumania and Yugoslavia had their own significance, as was stated by the negotiating parties. Public opinion in our country reacted to these visits with mixed feelings. Some people—and they were not few—viewed these visits as discrimination among the socialist countries, as an attempt to disrupt our co-operation. Neither the situation nor the conditions—in my opinion—have ripened on either side for a visit to Hungary by President Nixon.

**QUESTION:** President Nixon had asked special guarantees from Congress to facilitate investments in Rumania and Yugoslavia. Would you welcome similar guarantees regarding private American capital in respect of Hungarian investments?

**ANSWER:** As I have mentioned, there is a question which is more important and substantial for us at the moment. In the United States there is a measure in force which contains, as far as economic relations are concerned, discriminations against the Hungarian People's Republic and other socialist countries. In our view, whether economic relations between the United States and Hungary are to be shifted from the present position depends primarily on this.

From this point of departure the presidential initiative mentioned by you is not relevant for us at the moment. Regarding the substance of the case: if we can move away from the stagnation which has gone on in practice for decades, then—following from our general principles—we are ready to examine any forthcoming initiative and to answer it in due course.

**QUESTION:** Under discrimination do you understand the lack of the most-favoured-nation principle or the embargo list?

**ANSWER:** Both.

**QUESTION:** Do you think that the initiative of the President in regard to Rumania and Yugoslavia is a new initiative to discrim-

inate and divide—as you mentioned in your answer dealing with the President's visit?

ANSWER: In this form the question is neither relevant nor important for us. I think it is up to those concerned in the Socialist Republic of Rumania and in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to decide whether or not they regard this initiative as positive. We will consider everything when it becomes timely, including this aspect of the question.

QUESTION: Does the problem of Cardinal Mindszenty still hinder the development of American-Hungarian relations? What solution would you consider to be best?

ANSWER: In my opinion Hungarian-US relations are disturbed to a certain extent by the Mindszenty question. I must remark, however, it carries quite a different weight today than it did, say, ten years ago, or even earlier. Times have passed by Mindszenty and his problem.

It must also be taken into consideration how this problem came about. Well, it originated at the time from the personal decision of Mindszenty and the position adopted by the government of the United States. This is how the situation arose that Mindszenty is resident in the Budapest Embassy of the United States. This situation disturbs to a certain degree every party concerned: the government of the United States in the first place, the Vatican too, and the Hungarian People's Republic too. I note, however, that we are the ones least disturbed. In spite of this we concede that every question, if possible, should be resolved reasonably. We are prepared to consider, in this case too, all such initiatives as may lead to a solution. Since this situation was not created by us, I think, the initiative must not be expected to come from our side either.

QUESTION: It seems the war in Vietnam is in the stage of de-escalation. How can the war be ended? How do you see the future of Vietnam?

ANSWER: A year ago, the main propaganda slogan of the US government was "de-escalation", that is, a reduction and abatement of the Vietnam war. The facts, however, run counter to this catchword; at that time the war was going on in South Vietnam;

subsequently American armed operations were extended to Cambodia, then to Laos, and now the news indicates preparations for direct military provocations and attack against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This dangerous sequence and trend of events can be called anything but de-escalation of the war; in fact exactly the opposite has taken place. In the statement he made last week, President Nixon himself was also compelled to talk about armed action in Indochina.

This expansion of the war to the subcontinent of Asia means new ordeals for the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, while it is diametrically opposed to the genuine interests of the American people and involves new, serious international complications and the danger of a general expansion of the war.

The only way to end the war is to make use of the political contacts still at the disposal of the Paris talks, to agree and work out realistic and possible methods of settlement, on the basis of relevant proposals made by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

By expanding the South Vietnam war the US government has not solved any of its own problems, but has merely shifted them to other countries and added to them. There is only one solution: the war must be ended! The American troops must be withdrawn from Vietnamese territory, from Cambodia and from Laos. Sooner or later, this is bound to take place; and if the US were to do this voluntarily and as soon as possible its prestige would also benefit.

Hungary professes solidarity with the people of Vietnam and the peoples of Indochina. The whole course of the war demonstrates that no one can vanquish a people fighting for their country's freedom and independence, a people who are prepared to make all sacrifices and who have the support of all honest mankind. You asked about the future of Vietnam. I am sure that the Vietnamese people will be victorious; they will win the right to determine their own destiny, to live and develop in freedom.

QUESTION: What solution do you see to the Middle East problem, particularly the long-term problem of rival Israeli-Palestinian claims to the same territory, which will remain an issue even if



Israel withdraws to her pre-1967 borders? Does this problem leave any room for compromise and, if not, what is the best way to keep the peace in the area?

ANSWER: One of the "rivals" in question, Israel, is an aggressor. And she refuses to give up the territory she got by way of aggression; on the other side are the Arab countries, who were attacked and are fighting for their national rights and who do not want to give up parts of their homeland of which they have been robbed. These two things—it is clear—are not identical.

The November 1967 resolution of the Security Council says clearly no territory obtained through aggression can be kept. The United Arab Republic has done a lot to promote a political solution of the crisis. She suspended fighting and gave a positive answer to the UN initiatives, to Jarring's questions; she showed readiness to conclude a peace treaty and to accept the guarantees of the Four Great Powers. In contrast, Israel rejected this, stubbornly insists on her unjustified demands and, by her short-sighted policy, hampers solution of the crisis. It is common knowledge that behind Israel's stubborn aggressiveness stands the anti-Arab policy of the US government and the aid it gives to Israel.

The Middle East crisis is charged with serious danger, and solution cannot be delayed for long. From the beginning, the Hungarian People's Republic condemned Israeli aggression and has supported the Arab cause. We consider a political solution and a just settlement both possible and necessary; this would ensure the legitimate rights and would be in accordance with vital interests of all peoples living in this region, including the Palestinian refugees driven from their homeland.

The sole possibility today for restoring and keeping peace in the Middle East is the implementation of the resolution of the Security Council.

QUESTION: I recently visited the Middle East. The question there arises that should Israel conform in all respects to the Security Council decision and return all territories which she acquired as a consequence of the war, there would still remain an even more complex problem: both the Palestinians and the Israelis are contenders for identical territory which essentially is Israeli state

territory. Do you see any solution which would be just for both parties? If not, is there any possible means whatsoever whereby peace could be preserved in this region?

ANSWER: I should like to remind you of our official position inasmuch as we consider in principle negotiations to be in the first place the way to solve international issues. This, in fact, reflects our conviction that even in the case of the most complicated problems, just solutions acceptable for both sides can be explored and found. This pertains to many of the complexities of the Middle East too. I feel these questions should be placed in a certain sequence.

The tense, complex and dangerous situation in the Middle East is caused by various factors. The most topical and burning ones are a consequence of the 1967 war. There are problems of earlier origin also including those of the Palestinian refugees mentioned by you. From a pragmatic point of view it is reasonable to think that the problems emanating from the 1967 war should find solution now. To sum up this means: implementation of the Security Council resolution.

I stress this, because I maintain that with the implementation of the resolution a new situation will arise. And this new situation will provide a far more favourable climate for the solution of those problems which are of an earlier origin. The problem of the Palestinian refugees also belongs among these.

QUESTION: Does Hungary recognize the right of Israel to exist as a state?

ANSWER: We hold—and this position we have reiterated publicly on more than one occasion—that the rights of the peoples living in this region, including the right to the formation of states, must be respected; this is relevant for both the Arab people and Israel.

QUESTION: Does not Hungary's increased trade with the West slacken her economic ties with the CMEA nations? How does this trade fit in with Hungarian statements favouring closer CMEA integration and co-operation? What do you understand by improved co-operation between the CMEA states? To what degree does increased East-West trade promote better political relations?

ANSWER: Hungary's economy is in the stage of dynamic development. Due to the country's specific conditions, almost 40 per cent

of the national income is realized by foreign trade—this involves broadening of international economic relations. We plan in the years ahead to increase simultaneously the country's foreign trade with the CMEA countries, the developing countries and the developed Western capitalist countries. Consequently it is easy to understand that in our country the different foreign trade relations do not cut across but supplement each other.

Up to now, the economy of the Hungarian People's Republic owes a good deal to co-operation within CMEA, based on the principle of mutual advantage and assistance, and her future plans are built on the continued expansion of this. Economic co-operation among our countries has gone beyond simply increasing foreign trade; it includes co-ordination of our economic plans; and in fact, co-operation in the field of production is also on the increase. We support the developing socialist integration among the CMEA countries, based on independent national economies and on the principle of their interests. Integration adds to our potentials, the efficiency of our resources, speeds up our economic development and serves, equally and well, the interests of all participants.

As I have indicated, Hungary wishes to step up her participation in East-West trade. These relations are mutually beneficial to the economy of the participants. There are many factors which can promote the extension of inter-state relations among countries with differing social systems and make the principle of peaceful co-existence effective, but nothing better than trade and economic relations. Because they give the participants an interest, in the strict sense of the word, in adhering to international legal norms and in maintaining peace.

**QUESTION:** What possibilities do you see for the furtherance of systematic commercial relations between the CMEA and the EEC as organizations—independent of the bilateral relations of the individual countries?

**ANSWER:** As far as trade relations between the countries of the two economic groupings are concerned, these are bilateral relations, which were and are being established and have materialized as such. I presume they will continue to last for the time being.

There are no systematic contacts between the two economic

groupings as yet. It must be taken into consideration, however, that the CMEA and the Common Market bodies already play a certain—stimulating or restrictive—role in their relations. Both organizations represent a reality—and obviously will remain so—therefore I find it reasonable that some sort of contacts be established between the two organizations and most likely this is going to come about.

**QUESTION:** What is your opinion on the recent events in Poland? Is Hungary giving economic aid, either by herself or in co-operation with other CMEA members, to help Poland? Do you feel the events in Poland have affected the politics of the Polish government and party?

**ANSWER:** The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party—which is the only body competent to assess the Polish events and to uncover the causes of internal tension—have within a few months taken practical measures which solved complex problems and have begun to tackle long-range tasks.

I am impressed with the way the new leadership has reinforced and strengthened the ties between the party and masses, and displayed social foresight and good practical sense by emphasizing the formulation of the proper economic concepts.

Our Party, the Hungarian people follow with keen interest and solidarity the life of fraternal Poland and desire the manifold expansion of the traditional friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

Our Polish friends are, first and foremost, mobilizing their own resources for a proper solution of the various problems. But it is evident that the principle and practice of mutual assistance is at all times present and being implemented in the bilateral relations of the socialist countries, just as in our system of alliance which is embodied in the Warsaw Treaty and in CMEA.

**QUESTION:** Reforms—both economic and social—are obvious to anyone who visits Hungary often. How does the progress of these reforms develop? Would you be so kind as to underline the perspectives of those reforms? What political, economic and social institutions are ideal for Hungary? What impediments should be taken into account in the realization of the ideal situation? Is there



a particular "Hungarian road to socialism" or a "Hungarian policy" that, because of Hungary's position, differs from that of the other socialist nations? If so, could you describe it?

ANSWER: In line with the general trend of socialist development, our country is at present in the process of developing state life and socialist democracy. In the course of this process, we amended the election law, gave the councils more independence, are stepping up the role of the trade unions in public affairs, strengthening workshop democracy and the participation of the working masses in public matters.

The most significant economic reform is the new system of economic management introduced three years ago, which implements socialist planning by means of economic regulators and through greater independence for factory management. The aim was to increase economic efficiency. The experiences since the introduction have been good, the reform has met expectations. The tempo of economic development is satisfactory, management became more flexible and shows quicker response to actual requirements.

The driving force for the introduction of different methods, elaborated and applied to solve political, economic and cultural problems, was not a mania for innovation, but rather the desire to answer questions which cropped up in the course of building socialism and are awaiting answer and solution. Marxist-Leninist theory, the facts of present-day reality and our socialist objectives guide us in working out solutions. The great majority of our people support these endeavours. We believe they are indispensable. And the domestic and international situation is favourable for their achievement.

You ask whether there is a special "Hungarian road" to socialism. I don't think so. Still, since this question is raised at times, and not simply in connection with Hungary, I would like to make some remarks.

There is no doubt that if we view the practice of socialism in Hungary we come across a series of features which cannot be found in the same form in the practice of any other socialist country. In my opinion, this is but natural and is actually valid for every single socialist country. What is the explanation?

There are general laws of building socialism, which have international validity. Troubles occur, the achievements of socialism are endangered and obstacles stand in the way of continued development of society wherever these laws are disregarded or violated. At the same time, socialism is built within national frameworks, in sovereign and independent countries. Should the leading party of a socialist country disregard the endowments of their country and the national traits of their people, the socialist achievements would also be endangered and the future of socialist development would become uncertain.

While building socialism the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party endeavours to comprehend the major laws of international and general validity on the one hand and the country's endowments, the people's historic traditions and national traits on the other, as an indivisible unity, and aims to give them equal consideration. From this follows in practice what you call the "Hungarian policy". The recently held 10th Party Congress and the reaction to this convincingly proved that the overwhelming majority of the communist and workers' parties consider, as we do, this Hungarian policy to be a Marxist-Leninist one and not some sort of a "particular road".

You ask what I consider to be the ideal social order for Hungary? To me, this question was posed by life decades ago, and my answer was then, and still is: I consider the socialist system of society the ideal system. Socialism is in the interest of the working people; it is the guarantee of our national aspirations, it will create the world-wide genuine friendship of the peoples and a lasting peace for mankind.

QUESTION: Most nations, including my own, seem to have a "youth problem" today. Is this true also in Hungary? If so, is this mostly a social problem—manifested in apathy, alienation from the older generation and from authority, in dissident behaviour and protest or a criminal problem, or both? What causes this behaviour, in your opinion? What can be done by governments to alleviate it?

ANSWER: Particular characteristics: explorative spirit, lack of experience, impatience, immoderation and the like typify young

people all over the world. Alongside these common features, however, the social problems of youth diverge from each other radically in the different countries, depending on the existing social order. Youth living in the socialist countries have joys and cares which differ from those of youth in the capitalist world. The decisive majority of our country's youth is aware of and accepts the socialist goals, approves of society's aims, studies and works honestly, and is militantly anti-imperialist.

It is true that some youth in our country—though few in number—are “radicals” and susceptible to “leftist” petty-bourgeois trends. There are also some youth whose style of living is egotistic, alien to socialist public thinking, and there are some who are not much concerned with, or are indifferent to, politics and public affairs. The youth representing such negative views and attitudes make up a considerable minority compared to the masses of young people; but it would be hard to find a young person in our country who would prefer capitalism to socialism.

The youth movements in the capitalist countries reflect something different. They reflect the fact that the youth are discontent with their lot, rebel against the capitalist system and its inhumanity. This is typical of the youth movements in the leading capitalist countries, should it be in the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany or Japan. The revolts of the masses of young people in those countries often take on indistinct anarchist forms yet they must be looked upon as social problems, because essentially that is what they are. All manipulations, all views which try to allege that the problems of youth in capitalist society are problems of the “generation gap”, want in fact to divert attention from the class aspects, from the real social, political and welfare problems of the young people.

QUESTION: In your answer regarding youth you said that the revolt of Western youth is more of a social problem than a problem of crime. Does the same apply to youth creating problems in Hungary as well?

ANSWER: Yes, it does. We approach the problems of youth as great and important social problems. Leading bodies concerned—including the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist

Workers' Party and the Hungarian government—have recently adopted and publicized a number of resolutions in relation to youth. For those who are acquainted with the resolutions mentioned it is clear that these documents treat the problems related to young people in all aspects as social problems.

QUESTION: Finally, a personal question. You have been the leader of the Hungarian party for fourteen years now. What do you see as your greatest accomplishments? What are your greatest disappointments? And what are your personal plans for the future?

ANSWER: Everyone who recalls conditions fourteen years ago and takes a look at the Hungarian People's Republic of today knows that a radical change has taken place due to the unity, struggle and work of tens and hundreds of thousands and of millions; great achievements were brought to birth. The most important to me is that I have had a share in this process and the knowledge that my personal efforts were not in vain, and have contributed somewhat to the results accomplished.

Of course anyone can suffer disappointments. As for me, I was never spoiled by life, and it always compelled me to think realistically, and so I was able to endure inevitable disappointments fairly well. I never had any special plans for myself and I don't have any now. Long, long ago I became wedded to an ideal and, by and large, have done all that service to this ideal calls for or permits me to do.

Finally, I should like to add a point to what I have said. In all events there must be some role attributed to the personality, of course. But in so far as the political line of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is concerned, it must be assessed as a policy which is deeply rooted among the masses of our country, established on firm, lasting foundations and not as a policy of one single person or of, say, five or fifteen people.

*Magyarország*, 21 March 1971.



**CONTRIBUTION TO THE 24TH CONGRESS  
OF THE CPSU**  
*April 1971*

Comrades, Friends,

In the name of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian people, who are building socialism, our delegation, from the bottom of our hearts, greet the delegates to this Congress and through your persons the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and our ally, our true friend, the great Soviet people who are building communism.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a milestone on the historic path of the Soviet people, and is at the same time an event of outstanding importance in the life of the socialist countries, in the world communist movement and in international life as a whole. Our Party, our working class, the Hungarian people followed with great and increasing interest the important events in the preparation for this Congress by the fraternal Soviet people. We are certain that the 24th Congress of the CPSU will do its work successfully, live up to its historic mission, and lend new strength, new impetus to the progress of the Soviet Union and to the international struggle of the forces of progress.

Here at the Congress, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has given an account of the tremendous achievements of the work done in the past five years; and in the directives of the new, Ninth Five Year Plan has placed before the Soviet people inspiring aims for the immediate future. The report by Comrade Brezhnev, which contained a wealth of facts, has demonstrated convincingly that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is leading the people along the Leninist road, which has brilliantly stood up to all the tests of history. United with the party, the Soviet people advance in firm unity, build and enrich their own lives through devoted work, and continue to augment and render ever more powerful the strength of the first worker-peasant state of the world, the Land of the Soviets.

International—and within it Hungarian—public opinion is aware

of the huge work of construction taking place in the Soviet Union, the incontestable facts of dynamic progress. We salute the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in full agreement. Our Party, our people are inspired by the outstanding achievements of your work and by the forward-looking and uplifting plans which give new impetus to the building of communism. The realization of these plans will make it possible for the Soviet people, who accept such great sacrifices for the sake of the world, to enjoy increasingly the fruits of their labour and to help the progress of mankind with even greater strength. We congratulate you cordially on the tremendous results which you have achieved and wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Leninist Central Committee and the fraternal Soviet people further great successes.

In his profound analysis, Comrade Brezhnev threw light on the principal questions of the present international situation. The aggression of imperialism in Indochina and in the Middle East endangers the peace of the peoples of the world. At the same time, the socialist countries grow stronger, and the momentum of class struggle increases in the advanced capitalist countries. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America turn against the neo-colonialist policies with growing determination.

The main characteristic of the international situation is that the forces of socialism, of progress, of national independence, of peace are growing all over the world and are advancing irresistibly. The hopes of the peoples for the preservation of world peace and for a brighter future are today more realistic than ever before; that this is so is due first of all to the fact that those who fight for a better world could rely on the firm, growing and invincible strength of the Soviet Union.

The international communist movement is a factor in world politics, and a considerable step forward in strengthening unity was made at the 1969 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. The influence of the ideas of socialism, of communism, and the strength of their militant detachments, grow all over the world. True, our movement is not entirely united at present; nationalist, revisionist and other anti-Marxist views have made an appearance in our ranks and are causing damage. Partic-

ularly serious damage has been caused by the splitting activities of the Chinese leadership, which—as is common knowledge—have resolutely been condemned by our Party from the very outset.

The idea of communism is also being attacked by the conscious defenders of the capitalist system and by the representatives of the most diverse, muddled, petty-bourgeois trends. But the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin are invincible. Our ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has always maintained its purity, been strengthened and increased its influence in the uncompromising struggle against hostile views, against opportunism, and this will continue to be so.

Great strength is lent to those who fight for the purity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, for the unity of the world communist movement, by the fact that this struggle is being led by the most faithful defender of Lenin's heritage, by our fraternal party which has the greatest revolutionary experience, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Hungarian communists, Hungarian workers are engaged in the great task of building a socialist society.

Our Party has recently held its 10th Congress; trade union congresses are taking place, and we are preparing for parliamentary and council elections. There is plenty to do; we do not live entirely without worries, but the account we gave to the Congress has also shown that we are on the right road. Steadfastly defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism, our Party has rooted out both rightist revisionist and "leftist" sectarian-dogmatic trends. Established on the proper political foundations, the work done has brought significant achievements in the entire field of economic and cultural construction, and the standard of living of the workers has increased steadily in the course of socialist construction.

We consider it the principal achievement of the past decade that our Party, our working class, our people are united in the idea of socialism, and that in our country workers' power, the people's democratic state, the social system are firm and unshakable. For this reason, our progress has been unbroken for some time and we may now work at the further development of socialist democracy, at the enhancement of the efficiency of economic work, at

the extension of public education and of culture, at the complete building of a socialist society.

We see the main guarantee of national independence, peace and a socialist future for our people in the mutual trust, fraternal friendship and co-operation which unites the Hungarian People's Republic, the Soviet Union and the other allied countries. In our international and foreign policy we follow a line which is based on firm principles. For us the ideas of socialist patriotism and of proletarian internationalism are inseparable. Our Party and our country strive for unity and co-operation with every socialist country, every communist and workers' party, with all progressive forces. But while we defend unity—setting out from the general interest of socialism and peace—we oppose most resolutely all anti-communist and anti-Soviet trends, all rightist and "leftist" varieties of opportunism, wherever they come from.

The foreign policy activities of the Hungarian People's Republic serve the state and national interests of the Hungarian people building socialism. It is our conviction that the fundamental interests of all peoples of the socialist countries are common and that they coincide with the fundamental interests of the international working class.

In our foreign policy we strive honestly for peaceful co-existence and the establishment and extension of mutually beneficial economic relations with the capitalist states. This is one thing. Another is the mandatory acceptance on their behalf that for us politics is not a commercial affair and is not an object for buying and selling. We are committed ideologically and politically. Everybody knows on whose side we stand: we fight together with the Soviet Union, with the countries of the Warsaw Treaty, with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with the socialist countries and with all progressive, anti-imperialist forces, and will continue on this road in the future too.

The 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strengthens our conviction that the forthcoming years will bring great new achievements for the Soviet people, new successes for the great community of the peoples building socialism, promising a more beautiful and peaceful future for mankind. Whatever



international reaction hopes, says or does, the world advances: the star of the Soviet Union rises higher and higher; socialism is already being built in many countries on three continents; the peoples, the nations of the globe wish to live in freedom and in peace, and so they will.

Comrades, Dear Soviet Friends,

This Congress convincingly demonstrates to everybody, to friend and foe, the strong determination of the communists of the Soviet Union, of her working class and of her peoples to advance further on the road of the immortal Lenin, of communism and of peace. I wish our Soviet brothers much success and complete victory in the solution of these historic tasks, in the realization of the objectives of the Congress.

Long live the Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party!

Long live Hungarian-Soviet friendship!

Long live communism and peace!

*The 24th Congress of the CPSU.*  
Kossuth Publishers, 1971.

## CONTRIBUTION AT A MEETING OF ACTIVIST JOURNALISTS

*November 1971*

Comrades,

In a few days one year will have passed since the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The first year of the current five-year plan (1971-75) is also nearing its end. Meetings to survey how much and in what way the resolutions of the Congress and the targets of the five-year plan have been implemented are now being held in various spheres of activity in connection with these anniversaries.

Today's meeting of the representatives of the press is in fact one in this series. It will be necessary here not only to touch on the experiences of a single year but to cover wider perspectives, since a consultation of this nature and of such breadth has perhaps never been held by the Party before. By this I wish to emphasize the special importance of this consultation. Let me add straight away that I am very glad to be able to be present at this consultation, and let me greet, on my own behalf as well, all those taking part in this conference as well as those you represent.

I am in agreement with the opening speech and with the fundamentals of the contributions which have so far been made. What has been said touches on almost the entire field of press work, and I may add, on all essential questions of our social life. With your permission, I would also like to speak about a few questions which have been mentioned here and perhaps also a few which have not.

It is useful, and will certainly assist the work of such a consultation, if when surveying the problems of a given special area we glance at the domestic and international conditions in which we work and in which journalists also work.

I would like to mention questions of foreign policy only in respect of the well-known, most topical, specific questions: the questions of Vietnam, the Middle East and Europe. Although this does not, of course, cover the entire world situation, these are

nevertheless the focal points and say a lot of the world situation itself. If we survey these three questions, it becomes obvious that the fundamental process which first and foremost characterizes international life is the advance of the forces of progress in a complicated and difficult struggle.

In Vietnam the aggressors, the armed forces and satellites of the United States, fight against the Vietnamese people, against the peoples of Indochina directly, but at the same time, through various transpositions, this is where the progressive forces of the world and world imperialism clash. The war of Vietnam has not yet ended, it is nevertheless demonstrable that imperialism has suffered a defeat on the battle-field, and the desire of the Indochinese people to determine their own destiny themselves will be fulfilled as a result of further struggle.

The situation in the Middle East is another point of impact where imperialism and the progressive forces clash. Here the advance of aggression has been stopped. For almost four years the struggle has been deadlocked. It has not been possible to drive aggression back, but it has been checked in this area too.

The third point of issue mentioned is Europe and the European question. Here, after a static struggle of many years, the deadlock has been overcome, the forces of progress have taken the initiative and are advancing in this area.

There are a great many topical and specific questions concerning the European situation: the recognition of the German Democratic Republic in international law, West Berlin, the Soviet-FRG treaty, the Polish-FRG treaty, the European security conference. But in fact everybody knows that the real issue of the struggle is that the Second World War should be legally terminated in Europe too.

It now appears that the vital interest of the forces of progress, of all the peoples of Europe, can be achieved, i.e. that through various complicated treaty systems there should finally exist formally and legally regulated conditions in Europe, and that the peoples of Europe should be able to put the Second World War behind them in this sense too.

Looking at these three focal points it can be asserted that the

world-wide struggle and the trend of world development show convincingly that the forces of progress are advancing in bitter and difficult struggle.

I will also mention among the international questions President Nixon's announced journey to Peking and to Moscow, and in this context the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization. The intentions which lead and take the President of the United States to Peking and to Moscow are more or less known to everybody here, where politics are dealt with professionally. It is also superfluous to analyse here why the vote in the United Nations Organization turned out as it did and whether the government of the United States was really very surprised by the majority vote for the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China.

All these events are almost symbolic manifestation that the imperialists are forced to reckon with the real situation. The world situation has developed in such a way that they have to go to Peking and to Moscow and they have to take note that the struggle which they fought over twenty-two years in the United Nations Organization to keep out the progressive forces of China has been lost.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is present in international life and is active in the field of the international movement, while the Hungarian People's Republic is active in the sphere of foreign policy; both fight together with their allies and will have to do so in future as well. Both our Party and the Hungarian People's Republic are factors in international politics and play a larger role there than corresponds to their actual numerical strength, and this can be demonstrated. In the international communist movement, for instance, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party received the task of organizing the preparations for the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Hungarian People's Republic at present plays a substantial role in the European question, and even in the problems of Vietnam and the Middle East. This, of course, means extra work for the Party and for the government, but we must do this without fail, because this is what we are commanded to do by our ideology,



our policy, and it is a kind of moral debt which we owe the progressive forces of the world. It is our honourable duty to tackle our international tasks up to the limits of our possibilities.

We always have to consider why such a role devolves at present on the Hungarian party and on the Hungarian People's Republic.

This is primarily—and one could perhaps say, exclusively—due to the world-wide response to our domestic achievements. I do not like to use the expression “world-wide”, but in this case it seems inevitable.

International public opinion also examines the Hungarian situation as we examine it here today, but looks at it in another way as well. International public opinion makes a comparison between the situation of the Party and the country at the end of 1956 and their present situation. Unfortunately, the country at that time also created “world-wide” interest. This is why the achievements which we have realized since then also create world-wide interest. I do not think that I exaggerate when I am saying that the Party, the working class, the Hungarian people have succeeded in radically changing the situation as compared with the conditions of 1956. In this international evaluation, the road which we have covered in fifteen years, the struggle which we have fought, the way in which we have fought this struggle and the results of it certainly play a role. The decisive thing is, of course, the outcome. The fundamental question which was in the centre of the struggle, the question of power, has been resolved in the Hungarian People's Republic. In 1956 the power of the working class was in extreme jeopardy in Hungary, and we have succeeded in defending and in stabilizing this power.

Another big question was perhaps the most difficult task of the socialist revolution: the socialist transformation of agriculture. We have solved this and in a way which is appreciated positively by everybody. The third big task has been the radical improvement of the standard of living of the working people. Day-to-day complaints—justified complaints—do, of course, exist, and I would like to touch on them later, but in a long-term comparison radical change and considerable progress has been achieved in this field

too. I consider that the fourth great achievement is that socialist ideas have struck root in Hungary. We again have to compare two situations. It is sufficient if we recall the situation of 1956 when belief in socialism was shaken to its foundations, and compare it with the situation today. One of the things which characterize the situation is, in my opinion, that in Hungary even the enemies of socialism—because there are such people too—the opponents of the system and those who are indifferent towards socialist society have also taken note that in our country there is a socialist system and a socialist society is being built.

At the same time, the attraction of socialist ideas and socialist public thinking have also increased powerfully in our country.

It is worth taking a look at the decisive factors of the road which we have covered. With your permission I will not survey these in the order of importance but in logical sequence. I hope that nobody will misunderstand why I follow this sequence. The first factor is the renewal of the Party and the assertion of its leading role. If the Party had not been able to mark out the road and the methods and to mobilize for the solution of the tasks, then this progress could not have taken place. The second factor is the reorganization and renewal of the workers' state and its organized strength. Socialist progress could not have been made without this either. The third decisive factor is the internationalist solidarity and assistance which we have enjoyed. The fourth decisive factor—and this is not in order of importance but a logical sequence—has been the support by the masses. These have been the decisive factors of progress.

I am mentioning the achievements of this period and the decisive factors which have made these achievements attainable, because they have to be kept in mind in the course of everyday work too. As you know, we do not speak of them in the official statements of the Party day and night, week after week, month after month, year after year; but when it is necessary, when the question under discussion can only be clearly understood through them, they must be referred to: in order to keep them in mind, and also in order to know what we have to guard against, and what we have to strengthen, develop and deepen continuously.

Taking this into consideration too, one of the essential statements made by Comrade Óvári in his opening speech on the fundamental conditions of our work is correct, namely that in the Hungarian People's Republic the political situation is firm, our society, our economy, our culture rest on firm socialist foundations. This is the most decisive and determinant circumstance of the conditions of our work. In Hungary, the socialist trend is in a state of continuous and dynamic development, in the perspective of decades, of course.

The organized work of society is going in the right direction, in accordance with the directives laid down by the 10th Congress and in the interest and for the sake of the objectives which were defined by that Congress. This is also shown by the fact that the first year's targets of the five-year plan have been met.

It is necessary to emphasize here—and this is already a question of the press, of daily politics as well—what the Party stresses in every official manifestation: in this development one cannot stop. In no sense and on no fundamental question can we say that we have achieved what we wanted and we no longer have to work. In all basic areas we are urged on by progress, the more so, since if we stop, we are left behind.

The 10th Congress also pointed out that the building of socialism and socialist development take place in Hungary and elsewhere in the midst of contradictions, they are a dialectical process, as all processes in life are dialectical. These are not irreconcilable from a class point of view, they are antagonistic contradictions.

Evolution always consists of the clash of existing contradictions, the struggle of contradictions and, of course, the dissolution of contradictions. Dialectical evolution demands the development of theory, of methods and of practical work alike. And it demands this of everybody. Of the Party, of the state and, of course, of the press as well.

Our society is united concerning the objectives of socialist construction, the majority accept the socialist goals and are united ideologically too. But ideological unity is far from being as extensive in our society as political unity is.

The socialist public spirit, socialist public thinking too are be-

coming stronger in Hungary. This is well demonstrated by the voluntary forces in society.

When I speak of voluntary forces, then—and I ask you to understand this correctly—I mention the party members in the first place, because the members of the revolutionary party of the working class are those people who voluntarily accept the greatest obligations and the greatest burdens in our society. But I would also include here, for instance, the several hundred thousand non-party activists in the Patriotic People's Front movement, who precede others in accepting voluntarily the biggest obligations in the solution of the fundamental questions of society.

And it would be possible to enumerate at length the officials of the trade unions and of the KISZ (Young Communist League), and the activists of other mass organizations and movements, and one could perhaps end the list with the workers' militia and the active participants in the socialist brigade movement. And if we add this up, we arrive at a very considerable figure, well over a million. They work actively and consciously, they are self-sacrificing, they lead in propagating socialist ideas and in the building of a socialist society. This is what is fundamental and decisive. At the same time, it was correctly stressed here that, simultaneously with this phenomenon, selfishness, extortion and other similar phenomena also exist in our society—and I would like to add straight away that they are spreading.

It is possible for both trends to be alive and develop in their own way, and for socialist thinking on the one hand and egotism and selfishness on the other to become stronger simultaneously.

Comrade Földes formulated very exactly a great many of the topical economic questions. There are quite a few problems in this field. But the evidence of our great achievements and enterprising role includes the courage of the Party, of the government and of our society to tackle the solution of economic questions in a new way. This implies the elaboration and the introduction of the reform too, but not only this. The elaboration and introduction of the reform has only brought a new and more efficient system of management. But we continue to have to solve the same economic questions with the assistance of a new and better system of



management, as we would have had to solve without the reform. I am emphasizing this, because from the point of view of socialist development, the most important economic task of society is to work more efficiently.

The question of investments may be mentioned in this connection, a question I do not want to deal with here, since Comrade Fock spoke of it in detail at the meeting of economic activists. We have run ahead somewhat with investments, we have gone beyond our possibilities. Perhaps the whole country is guilty of this, beginning with the Central Committee, and continuing through the government to the smallest village builder. Because there is a socialist obsession in all of us: we want to build, we want progress, we want new things, and this means investments.

Exceeding the investment plans did not occur at the expense of the standard of living. On the contrary, our worries are augmented a little by the fact that the increase of the standard of living has also consistently surpassed, from plan to plan, the amount planned. Not so the production side—and this is what has caused this situation.

Now a timely and more resolute regulation of investments is necessary. This is the task now. To this I should add: in the economy and in the realm of economic activity the—to a certain extent disturbing—factor is present that the three levels of interest recognized by us, i.e. the national interest, group interest and individual interest, clash; this is not properly regulated. It will perhaps never be possible to regulate this exactly and perfectly, but I am of the opinion that the different interests can be reconciled better than they are at present, and we will do this. I repeat that all three are types of interests accepted and recognized by us. We deny none, it is our conviction that this triple interest and its suitable harmonization is able to carry socialist progress forward.

This is connected with investments insofar as—as you know very well—at present a given portion of investments are decided directly in the plants, in the enterprises, and people are not always able to rise above their own direct enterprise or branch interest. This too is inevitable. The ministries can and from time to time must be blamed because every ministry considers its own

investment as the most important. But let us admit frankly, if somebody works in a certain field and does not say that that field is the most important in the world, we draw certain conclusions from that too. We will not see a ministry, and I hope no minister either, who will say his ministry is not important, it should be cut down and another branch should be supported in preference.

We see similarly contradictory and conflicting elements in the field of public education and culture; I believe that it is not necessary to speak here in detail of these either. The socialist elements become stronger in public education and in the domain of culture too, while at the same time these are not the only elements which assert themselves.

Neutral, and in addition retrograde, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements too are present in cultural life. These may be encountered in print, on the screen, on the radio too. You know this better than we do. This field has its contradictions too; the socialist elements are in the process of becoming stronger, at the same time other elements are present too and there is a continual conflict.

I am reminded of the theme of the last meeting of the Central Committee: there are bureaucratic elements and difficulties in public administration also. This has historic reasons. Everybody knows how the administration of the new people's democratic state was born after liberation, and one does not have to explain at length why we continue to have bureaucratic difficulties. But let us add: if we don't watch out, we shall reproduce bureaucracy ourselves as well.

Attention has to be paid to the spreading of a certain stereotyped thinking in politics too; I do not mean here the press alone. When the forces of socialism had been restored and successes began to appear, it was often said that the correct policy of the Party had assisted in this process. This is both a good thing and true. But we have been saying this for eight or ten years and some people misinterpret it. They believe that our policy is perfect in all its details, it is all right once and for all, and with this everything has been solved. But the fact is that nothing is ever solved in this sense once and for all.

It is not self-satisfied stereotypes that our Party and the active forces of society need but continuous control of our own work. Therefore this new kind of stereotyped thinking has to be avoided whatever happens.

In our society there is a kind of slackening and laxity. We can experience this in respect of work discipline, problems of attitude and youth matters. There is a kind of lost time which it should be possible to save for socialist progress.

The crudest manifestations of laxity are parasitism and extortion. And there is a new kind of arrogance in possessions, which I only mention so that at least the press should not spread it.

People strive to acquire something, often for no reason. In the end it turns out that they want to keep up with the Joneses; one does not want to be left behind the other, or the wife of one behind the wife of the other. At least we should not spread this spirit. Recently a still-life in a pawnshop was shown on the newsreel. It was very interesting in itself, though I did not exactly understand its message. A lady deposited a furcoat worth 30,000 forints because she wanted to buy one worth 50,000 forints. Such things do happen, and this must also be considered. Incidentally, we have already grown out of the stage where we only saw the social phenomena which we liked. We must also see what we dislike, because otherwise we cannot work systematically and honestly.

There is a certain kind of bitterness concerning these phenomena in our public opinion, dissatisfaction with the state of affairs. This dissatisfaction is not particularly widespread, it does not threaten to upset anything, but we have to see it as a real factor. I am thinking primarily of the positive dissatisfaction, of those readers and viewers who often hear the complaints, who see the objectionable and objected to symptoms in the economy, in culture or in society, and who also notice that improvement does not follow very quickly after mistakes and irregularities are shown up. Therefore the people are being strengthened in the belief that we are not able or do not wish—or that someone is not able or does not wish—to change these things.

This dissatisfaction and bitterness in the good sense is the driving force of socialist progress. We ourselves are included among

the dissatisfied and the embittered, and this will help in changing the situation and in improving it where it has to be improved.

The justified dissatisfaction is also accompanied by a pseudo-radicalism, by a petty-bourgeois anarchistic standpoint. There are people who in a demagogic way accuse the Party and the country of degeneration. This view does not exist on a mass scale either, and does not threaten to upset the political equilibrium of the country.

Here you have had a little bunch of our problems, which I have spoken about, and partly repeated, because if we wish to outline the situation we cannot omit them from the picture.

How should we look at these problems? It is my conviction that in the course of development we will solve these questions through struggle and work. We will solve them with the united strength of the Party, the state and the masses, because in the struggle against the mistakes and in the fulfilment of new tasks we can rely on firm foundations and on no small achievements. We will solve them through the tremendous power of our socialist system.

We must not be overcome by self-satisfaction, even to a small extent, but we must not be overcome by defeatism either when faced with visible negative symptoms and tasks which have to be solved. When I am saying that we will solve our problems through the power of our Party, our state, our system, our people, it goes without saying that I am including the power of the Hungarian press in this.

What we have to do can be outlined exactly. We are continuing the trend of our foreign and domestic policies unchanged. The effective and adequate support of the press is necessary for both. As far as questions of foreign policy are concerned, this exists to the full, but on questions of domestic policy a little backwardness is noticeable which must be made good. The alliance between communists and non-party people, the people's front movement, the unity of the Party and the masses, in general the line of domestic policy which our Party has worked out and is asserting, should be strengthened and kept in evidence more often and in connection with more questions, and explained from various aspects.



In reality the people's front policy, the policy of alliances, the good understanding in co-operation between non-party people and communists counts for much more than it is talked about. This is also valid in the press field, the people's front policy is necessary there too.

We also continue consistently to implement our economic policy and our cultural policy. As a result of this we will put the resolutions of the 10th Congress into practice and will also fulfil the new five-year plan. One must not prophesy of course, and one does not dare to do so, but it has certainly been characteristic of recent years that congress resolutions were not left on paper but were put into practice. I am convinced that this will also apply to the basic resolutions of the 10th Congress.

In every case we have fulfilled our five-year plans—not without periodic problems—and I am certain that our present five-year plan will also be fulfilled and we will even more than fulfil it. We have to watch out now not to overfulfil plans disproportionately in certain fields, because part of the problems have their root in the disproportionate overfulfilment of previous plans in certain fields.

I shall now deal with the press. This is not a simple question. Comrade Boldizsár has demanded higher social esteem for the gentlemen of the press. But for that matter I had intended to speak of the press in general. This conference is a meeting of the activists of the press, those taking part are journalists. By this everybody means the area which is now represented. The daily press, the periodicals, radio, television, the newsreels. And I would even extend this list, because in a certain sense I include here the *Microscope Theatre*\* and the *Gaiety Theatre*.\* Both are establishments which discuss day-to-day politics.

The press has elemental strength. The strength and magic of the printed word—but today we may add to this the radio, television and other similar institutions—is much greater than we would ourselves believe.

\* *The Microscope Theatre and the Gaiety Theatre are two Budapest cabaret theatres which in their programmes deal with the topical events of the country's political, social and economic life, usually in a satirical genre.*

I would like to prove this by mentioning one small thing. Some time at the beginning of 1958 I met a man on the banks of the Ipoly river. That was a politically tense period, you may remember. In many places in the country—this also was connected with the state of politics and of society—people “saw nightmares”. In Szabolcs County, for instance, Jehova's witnesses “saw” the Iron Bride who according to them signified that the end of the world was approaching.

My man also told me: “I saw the vision.” He added: “It was shocking.” I did not know all at once what vision he had seen. Then he explained by gestures what he had seen: he had seen television. This exploded at the time into people's lives. But all the other mass media have a similar effect too. The press is very powerful.

Everybody who has for the first time seen in print what he had earlier written down with pen or had said knows that.

Your profession has a magic force. This is also expressed by the atmosphere of the editorial offices. This profession has an attraction for those who are outside it too.

Of course, this profession also has its negative side. Not long, two or three months, after the liberation I was already the Party Secretary for Budapest, and I called on those comrades with whom I had worked together underground at the editorial offices of a paper. Fate had willed that they should become editors. I asked them how they liked their new profession. One of them said: “You made a better choice. True, you too work from morning till night, you certainly do a lot of good things and certainly make mistakes too. The difference is that your mistakes aren't seen, but ours are printed in several hundreds of thousands of copies; they are in the hands of everybody next day and we can't even retract them!” This too is part of the profession.

I would like to explain the relationship between politics and the press through a comparison. If we think of those fighting for socialism figuratively as of an army, then this is just as unimaginable without the press as a division would be completely incapable of fighting without signal units.

The same purification, reorganization and rejuvenation has taken

place in the press as has occurred in all the principal institutions and domains of Hungarian society: in the Party, in the mass organizations, and so forth. In my opinion this reorganization went parallel with and no worse than in other fields of social life. It is possible that this also belongs to the profession; since the press is a political institution, political questions must be clarified rapidly this way or that; it is not possible to leave questions unclarified, because then the work does not advance, the press does not function.

In my opinion, the press has risen to a higher level in every respect in these ten to fifteen years; it is more political, discusses politics better, is better written and the reporting has improved tremendously.

The comrades who spoke before me have mentioned many times that the task of the press is to reflect reality. I would like to reverse this: the press itself is the mirror of the social reality of the country.

Our press reflects the achievements and the shortcomings of our Party, our state, our labouring classes, our society. It develops together with the other social factors; it is being carried forward by and large by the same virtues; and its work is hindered and its progress slowed down by the same shortcomings. This is necessarily so. Therefore, if we wish to improve the situation, if we want to develop the work further, if we interpret the directive of the 10th Congress that building socialism must be continued on a higher level, for the realm of the press too, then we must join hands to strengthen the press, we must together whittle down its shortcomings and further its progress together and in unison.

To return to the historic picture, it is my opinion that the Hungarian press has contributed to the solution of the great tasks and has had its part in the results of historic importance which the Party and the country have achieved in the past fifteen years. I am deeply convinced of this. The Hungarian press is a notable force in our society, and just as it has been a factor in the past and in today's life, it will also play its role in the future.

Of course, we must not boast, but one cannot help comparing the Hungarian press to the international press. Although I do not go a lot to capitalist countries, I very often meet comrades and

non-comrades living in Italy, Austria, France and other Western countries. In general their view is that our mass media are not worse than theirs in the West.

We often compare the Hungarian press to the press of the socialist countries too. Responsible people of the press of those countries have already told us in the form of official and non-official statements and in the course of conversations how they evaluate the Hungarian press. On the basis of this I dare to state that our press is not worse than that of other socialist countries with similar facilities. In some socialist countries methods are being introduced which have struck root in Hungary and have proved successful and which they have seen here.

I would, of course, add to this what I am in the habit of saying of the general achievements of the Party: this is not due to the fact that we are perhaps cleverer than our journalist comrades working in the neighbouring countries. This is connected with the difficult situation which we had to face after 1956. This situation compelled us to search for ways and means which have later been proved to be serviceable and satisfactory.

As far as the tasks are concerned: what has been started here must not end today. I would like to touch first on the tasks of the guiding bodies. By this I mean, of course, the agitation and propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Party, further the Budapest Party Committee, the county party committees, the party organizations at various levels, the appropriate state authorities, and all those whose official task it is to guide the press and to mark out its assignments, but who do not themselves work in the press. Their most important task is steady and direct contact with the press.

The guiding bodies must keep the journalists regularly and adequately informed. They must not issue tasks, but they must inform. I would like to illustrate this through an example. It is a well-known practice of the Central Committee that at almost every meeting a few prominent representatives of the press are present, so that they can follow the procedures and be informed as fully as possible about those questions which are dealt with by the leading organ of the Party. This system is complemented by



the rule that the head of the central daily paper of the Party takes part at the meetings of the Political Committee. The aim is that the contact with the newspaper should be close, the press should be familiar with the problems and should make suitable use of this information in their work. Similar contact such as this is needed between the press and the Party and state bodies everywhere where press questions are being dealt with in some way or other.

Making use of this contact, the leading bodies must also gather information from the press. The press could offer very rich, lively and indispensable information every day.

One can demand from those who guide the press—and in my view this is very important—that they should regularly evaluate the work of the press. I would like to illustrate through an example what I mean by regular evaluation. It has been a rule in Hungary since 1956 that no party body is permitted to instruct any court of law what sentence to pass in any court case. A certain guidance is necessary for the sake of socialist legality, but the method of this guidance is that certain sentences are analysed and criticized afterwards, and conclusions are drawn.

The press may also, of course, be talked to in advance and it is inevitable from time to time that suitable topics should be proposed. But since it is not infants who work in the press, I consider the regular and continuous evaluation of the work done much more important than the handing out of tasks. If I may say so, expressed approval and unequivocal, clear criticism is needed. This can ensure simultaneously independent and responsible editorial work and the indispensable guiding and supervisory work which the bodies guiding the press must exercise. This is why I consider useful the regular, recurrent editorial conferences as they are called which the party and state bodies must maintain continuously and systematically. At these there is opportunity to ask and to discuss problems and to ensure normal conditions for work.

As far as the immediate work of editing, the work of the editor-in-chief or the editorial committee, is concerned, the proposing of topics is already justified on their part.

It is one of the first tasks of the editor-in-chief to determine the

central theme which provides the paper with its backbone and principal topic. If there is some confusion here and this is omitted, then immediately lots of mistakes occur in the work of the paper, of television, the radio, in the editorial offices.

As far as the central topic is concerned—allow me to put it in this way—those topics are decisive which are put on the order of the day by the Party Congress, by the Central Committee, by the government, by the National Assembly in the course of their regular work.

The press must, of course, keep up with events. This profession demands liveliness and mobility, because a paper must be published every morning, and it is possible that the Central Committee will only meet next month. It is necessary to be lively and to react to events in good time.

The next factor determining press topics is what occupies the public mind. I shall not detail this any further. The good determination of topics occurs in general when the questions which occupy the central guiding bodies and the guiding bodies of a given area meet with what the masses demand. All this must somehow be synchronized. If it is not, there is trouble, and one has to help in achieving that synchronization. If the masses do not show sufficient interest in what is occupying the leadership, then help is needed: the topics put on the agenda by the leadership must be publicized. If on the other hand the leadership does not pay sufficient attention to what occupies the masses, then the leadership must be helped and pressed to come to grips with these questions.

Newspapers in Hungary represent various organizations and movements. When I visit the editorial offices of the central newspaper of the Party, I tell them half seriously, half jokingly: I have come to represent the shareholders. And this goes for the other papers too. The supporting institution has rights, and not least the right to shape the profile of the paper in accordance and conformity with the mass movement, the mass organization. This is how the particular profile of each paper may be shaped.

Finally, it is the duty of the comrades heading the editorial offices to ensure the proper atmosphere for work. The condition for this is that people have to be judged by their work. There should

be debates in the editorial offices, but only debates of a principled nature and content; debates which have a political objective are justified, but not personal intrigues.

As far as journalists are concerned, in order to meet the requirements, they certainly need socialist ideological education and a firm world outlook. This must be acquired, strengthened and developed.

Why is it a justified requirement that the workers of the press should have education in socialist ideology and world outlook? Because people who wish to serve socialism must, irrespective of their party affiliation and due to the very nature of the task, in order to understand what they serve, learn to think dialectically; they must acquire a grounding in Marxism-Leninism. I am not thinking here primarily of seminars, but of ideological readiness in general, which is needed for political judgement. Because the press is politics. It is not possible to do this work without Marxist education, just as commitment and correctly understood partisanship is essential so that the press should stand for the new and fight for it.

Professional skill is also a requirement, and knowledge of the language too. It is necessary to be able to write in Hungarian! When professional skill is mentioned, many people think that the first and indispensable condition of journalism is a good pen—as it is figuratively called—even if most journalists write on the typewriter nowadays. In my view this is not so. One is justified in comparing this to the arts. The painter or the sculptor does not need a good hand in the first place. If he has got it, it does no harm. If he sees something and has something to say, then it is useful to have a good pen, a good hand, and to be able to express himself well. But if he does not see, or—as I may put it in another way—he has no point of view, no opinion, if he does not find anything to say to his readers, then if he has a good pen, so much the worse! Because then he will write excellently of nothing, and this too is harmful, detrimental to journalism.

By the demand “write and speak in Hungarian” I do mean, write grammatically, but not only in that sense. I also mean by it that one has to write and to speak in a way which Hungarian

people understand. Here too I can compare journalism to the arts. What is a work worth if it has insight, if it has something to say, but its style is such that it will only be understood in the next century, and even then by only forty people. In journalism such work is unusable. Here an idea is needed, something to say, the skill to write, but it is also necessary that the article should be understood by Hungarian readers and that they should be able to follow it. If this is not so, all the effort and work are lost.

It has been mentioned here that the demand that an article should be equally intelligible for the scholar and for the shepherd is unattainable. This, of course, would be ideal, and one always has to strive for it. It may be observed that the greater the scholar is, the more easily is he understood by the non-professionals, by the simple people, when he speaks to them. He has, of course, something to say for his colleagues too, but this is another thing. I believe that this is so in the field of journalism as well.

Respect for their profession and a sense of responsibility is indispensable for journalists too. It is a justified requirement that society should respect the journalists. I am thinking here of the party and state functionaries as well as the ordinary workers.

But society is only able to respect them if they themselves respect their profession and take it seriously, if they prepare seriously for their work and if they do their job honestly. It is only in this case that social respect is due.

As far as the improvement and further development of journalism is concerned, I always consider the analysis of experience and the evaluation of practice to be most important. It is from these that the conclusions and tasks follow. Karl Marx did not enter the library of the British Museum for the first time, deciding that he would go there now, would go there for thirty-seven years and would create Marxism. Lenin did not begin his ideological and theoretical activity either by deciding to develop Marxism further. The improvement of work in the press should not be done in an abstract way either; five wise men should not sit down in an editorial office and start to speculate on what new thing they could invent. Very little of this would be useful. It is much better to follow life and practice, to analyse and examine them, and then draw



conclusions, formulate new ideas, elaborate the tasks or the methodology, and improve work in this way.

Those who are familiar with the sphere of production—my apologies to all the authorities concerned—know full well that if a new idea arises in the plant, in the majority of cases this is a drawback. It is much better if it arises at the trust, and even better in the ministry, because then a gigantic struggle can be saved. The press must help what is new, socialist and visibly good to assert itself and to be victorious over the old, the conservative and over bureaucratic difficulties.

The next question is how to avoid clichés. Recently, through some compromise, the new “work of art” has come to birth, which is neither positive nor negative, but both together. Whatever is involved, one hears: on the one hand—on the other hand. We see this in the newsreels and everywhere. A new, beautiful building is introduced, but attention is also drawn inevitably to the rubbish heap which was left there. A new project is seldom shown without such and similar observations. This does not, of course, mean that a rubbish heap should never be shown or that mistakes should not be disclosed. But I speak against our articles being written “on the one hand—on the other hand”. The journalist should either support something, but then he should support it and not retract in the second half of the article what he built up in the first. The article, and this includes radio or television reports, should be written either for or against something.

A long time ago, as a young communist I experienced how at the beginning of the thirties the Republic of Councils of 1919 was explained in the Party. They said that the Republic of Councils was victorious in Hungary as the second socialist state in the world, but afterwards they explained at length how many mistakes had been made. It was a mistake to unite the Party (with the Social Democrats), it was a mistake not to distribute the land, and so on. We asked the historians of the Party to answer the question: was it right that the Republic of Councils was victorious or was it wrong? What mistakes were made in the agrarian question in 1919 can be analysed at an agricultural college. But if we speak in front of the people, we have to show that as Hungarians and as workers

they can be proud of the Republic of Councils and need not be ashamed of it.

It is not possible to raise such questions in any other way. Therefore let us not introduce this new cliché; let us stop it, let us not formulate “on the one hand—on the other hand”. If something is good, let it be good, if it is bad, let us say openly that we will fight against it.

By a class standpoint, by partisanship, I mean that we must represent the standpoint of the working class. This is not against the peasants and it is not against the intellectuals, because we can correctly and clearly represent the interests of the peasants and of the intellectuals too from the standpoint of the working class. But what I am thinking of now is that we stand for the working masses, for the masses of workers. We must always be of their standpoint and on their side, in our sentiments and in our thoughts too. This must be the starting-point of all our actions and of all our writings.

It is worth speaking of the question of the standard of living too. To start with the most delicate side of it: the annual price rise of consumer goods is as much as the Statistical Office reports, i.e. approximately 2 per cent. Exactly this, neither more nor less. This is essential, because we can deal with these social questions politically only through statistics. The question cannot be approached in any other way. The statistics are scientifically founded and true; they have to be accepted. At the same time one must know, and it may be and must be added sometimes, that the individual consumers do not consume according to national statistics. If the individual consumer bought all the things that the entire country buys, then we would arrive at a statistical average. But he does not buy all that, only a fraction of it. It may happen therefore that in his case, for instance, the price increase has not been 2.3 per cent in that year, but maybe more, and that must be recognized if we wish to understand each other. I cannot abandon the truth of statistics, because it is not possible to deal with social questions in any other way than scientifically, and statistics are the only objective measure. If we deal with this question, we must say the whole truth, which in this case is twofold.

We must side with the masses in such questions too as, e.g., the motor-car. I suppose that many journalists have their own cars.

At 1 September there were 244,000 private cars in Hungary. This does not count for few in our circumstances, and in a certain sense it is a social question too. I recommend to you, comrades, without any further details, always to represent the position taken by Ilf and Petrov, and in your sentiments always to be on the side of the pedestrians!

At the end of the twenties, when motor-car traffic was not yet so big and only the first pedestrians were being knocked down, Ilf and Petrov said: keep it in mind that the pedestrians built human civilization, even the roads, and even the motor-car. Consequently we are emotionally on the side of the pedestrians.

We represent the standpoint of the working masses in the question of fashion too, for example. We have made tremendous progress in this field too. The progress has, of course, been mixed, because if we sometimes take our visitors from abroad to Váci utca, they are lost in wonder, and the women are even envious. But then let them try to go into a shop, not only to peep in, and then it turns out that money is needed too, and no small amount! Let us write sometimes something about these shops too, but let us not for the world believe that Váci utca is the shopping centre of the masses.

In one of our illustrated magazines there was an article about three years ago on: "What should Kate take with her when she goes to the High Tatras?" This magazine has approximately 200,000 readers. On the basis of the statistical norm I am able to say that only an infinitesimal minority of readers have to worry about whether Kate should go to the Tatra mountains, and what to take with her if she does. I took the trouble to read the article: eight or nine expensive pieces of clothing were recommended, which it is not so simple to buy. Such a paper is being read by fathers of large families, and maybe by working women living in difficult circumstances too, or by other simple people who lead a difficult life, and they certainly get a strange picture of the paper, of the Party, and of the system.

There are extreme cases too, especially in raising housing ques-

tions. Journalists sometimes discover a relative of the muse of a composer who lived 150 years ago, and write that this cousin six times removed of the alleged muse lives in a bad flat. They also discover the grandchild of a second cousin of Lajos Kossuth, and his situation too as far as housing is concerned is unsatisfactory. It is not possible to allocate housing on this basis. If a flat is due to somebody, he or she gets it, even if his or her great-grandmother did not inspire anybody.

I should like to raise a further question: the question of the ethics and behaviour of journalists. The capitalist newspaperman hunting for sensations is aggressive and impertinent. Let the socialist journalist not be like that. But I believe that if somebody falls asleep on his job, he will not get along in our press either, at least not as a reporter. A certain kind of resourcefulness is necessary, and if this is not accompanied by vulgarity, it is nothing to be ashamed of. But if the conduct and behaviour of the journalist is vulgar and insulting, he does damage to the press. On the other hand, if the journalist behaves in a civilized way and creates a good impression, and the subject of the report understands straight away that the journalist follows his vocation, then a normal relationship is established, and the respect for journalists increases.

Speaking of ethics, let me mention that it is necessary to fight corruption and parasitism. And in this the press has an important role. Without going into details, I only wish to say: only that paper has credit with the readers which is free from what it fights against!

All of us are interested in going forward, in all meanings of this term. This includes esteem for the profession, which I myself hold rather high and believe should be raised further. You can bear witness yourselves, comrades, that the word of the press is being valued and respected today. I should like those working in the press to live and work in the highest possible moral and financial esteem.

The Central Committee and—on such rare occasions one may say this too—the Party, the Hungarian people building socialism and our people's democratic state count to an increasing extent on the Hungarian press in the solution of the tasks which face our people.



It is not with anticipated trust, but with a trust based on experience that the Central Committee regards the press, radio and television, and counts on them. In the name of the Central Committee and on my own behalf I wish success to all workers of the socialist Hungarian press.

*Magyar Sajtó*, 1971, No. 12.

## SPEECH AT THE HUNGARIAN-RUMANIAN FRIENDSHIP RALLY IN BUCHAREST

*February 1972*

Honoured Rally, Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, Comrades, Friends,

We have come to Bucharest, to the capital of a neighbouring socialist country, with the intention of serving a good cause, in order to strengthen Hungarian-Rumanian friendship and co-operation. We are truly thankful for the hospitable and comradely reception we have been given. Our delegation conveys to you—to the Rumanian Communist Party, to the government of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, and through you to the entire working people—the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the Hungarian communists, of the Hungarian people building socialism.

Comrades,

We, the members of the Hungarian party and government delegation, can speak with satisfaction of the very useful and successful discussions on our bilateral relations and on the international questions of common interest which we have conducted in a frank atmosphere with our Rumanian comrades, the leaders of your party and your state. The principal event of our meeting has taken place. The prime ministers of our countries have signed the new treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania.

The signing of this very important document, its coming into force and our discussions have given a new impetus to the development of our relations. The results of our meeting make it possible to go further along the path of co-operation. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, true to the letter and spirit of the treaty of friendship, will on their behalf continue, in the future too, to do everything for the many-sided development of relations between our countries and to draw closer the bonds of friendship between our peoples.

Comrades,

Comrade Ceausescu has spoken of the important results which the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Rumania have achieved in socialist construction under the leadership of the Rumanian Communist Party. In Rumania, the industrialization of the country, the increase in industrial production and the introduction of modern technology are taking place at a rapid rate; crop yields are on the increase in agriculture too, public education is developing, cultural life is being enriched and the standard of living of the working people is rising.

The outside appearance of the towns and villages has changed, the life of people has become richer. We have been able to experience this today directly in the Machine Tool and Aggregate Works of Bucharest and at the Titan housing settlement. All this proclaims the superiority of socialist society, the creativeness of the people liberated from the oppression of the capitalists and landlords. In the name of the Hungarian communists, of our working people I heartily congratulate you on your successes and wish you further successful work in the building of your socialist homeland.

The 10th Congress of our Party met in the autumn of 1970 and marked out further tasks in the building of socialism. In the general elections held last spring, our people with imposing unanimity expressed through their vote their agreement with the programme of building socialism, with the objectives of our new, Fourth Five Year Plan.

We consider it our duty to develop further the policy of alliances of our Party, the broadening of socialist democracy and the active participation of the working masses in formulating this policy. We are increasing the role of the Patriotic People's Front, we are strengthening the power of the people, the socialist state. We have increased the independence and powers of the councils, we have taken measures to clip the excesses of bureaucracy.

Through the development of economic leadership, the increase in the independence of enterprises and through the widespread application of economic regulators we have strengthened planned socialist economy. By giving incentives to initiative we have made production more efficient and have improved supplies. The increase

in our industrial production is today already entirely due to better productivity.

Lively creative work is characteristic of our scientific and cultural life. In our artistic life it is a fundamental requirement to strengthen the links between the arts and literature and the masses, to enable them to serve the great work of the people, the building of socialism, even more effectively.

Our Party and our government do not lose sight for a moment of the fact that the most important aim of our work is the constant raising of the standard of living of the workers. Our five year plan foresees a 32 per cent rise in the national income, a 27 per cent increase in per capita real income, and the raising of pensions; and we will build approximately 400,000 new homes.

Our Party considers it its duty to further strengthen socialist popular-national unity. Within this it is our important endeavour that the workers of German, Slovak, Yugoslav and Rumanian nationality living in our country should find their place in our socialist system as citizens with equal rights, who maintain their own culture and language. Only the socialist system ensures definitively the happy life and hopeful future of nations and nationalities.

Our successes in the building of our socialist homeland are not to be underestimated. Although there are still shortcomings and unsolved tasks, the achievements are great. We confidently face the future. The most important thing is that the Hungarian People's Republic rests on firm foundations. After so many tribulations, the Hungarian people now advance confidently on the road to socialism. Our friends can be sure and our enemies must take note that there is no force that could drive our people from this course.

Comrades,

Our new treaty of friendship which has now been signed expresses the alliance of the two countries and peoples who advance together and on a common road, on the road of socialism.

We can value our unity and friendship today the more if we remember that historically not so very long ago, under the oppressive capitalist social system, the rulers of Hungary and Rumania fomented hate between our peoples and spread the poison of



nationalism, chauvinism and irredentism. It is the great merit of the communists, of the best sons of our peoples, that in that dark period, under conditions of illegality and defying persecution, they proclaimed the natural alliance and collaboration of the Hungarian and the Rumanian workers, of the oppressed millions against the common enemy. The Rumanian communist and workers' movement, in which communists of Rumanian, Hungarian, German and other nationalities fought together for a better future, with united will and firm belief, and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, offered a good example of fraternal co-operation. Similarly, in the communist movement of our country, in the period of the Horthy-fascist dictatorship which lasted a quarter century, the internationalists of Hungarian and Rumanian, of Yugoslav, Slovak, Czech, Ukrainian and other nationalities fought together under the most difficult illegal conditions. The common struggle against the landowners and the capitalist oppressors and exploiters is the glorious tradition of our revolutionary parties and is the source of today's friendship between our peoples.

However, a radical change in the destiny of our peoples and in our relations has only been brought about by the liberation. The Soviet Union in destroying Hitler-fascism has opened up before our peoples the road to social and national liberation. The Hungarian people think with never ceasing gratitude of the glorious Soviet Army, of all those who have brought freedom to us. We shall always remember that in the struggles to liberate our country many heroic sons of the Rumanian people also sacrificed their lives.

In the period following the war, when our peoples took the road to socialism, new relations between our countries took shape, strengthened and have become increasingly fruitful. Relations which are to the benefit of the peoples of both countries and which are useful for the building of socialism have been established between our parties, between our state and social bodies.

It gives us great satisfaction that notable successes have been achieved in the economic co-operation of our countries. In recent years our trade relations have developed especially well. Various forms of co-operation in industrial production have proved useful. We are convinced that our further bilateral efforts, as well as the im-

plementation of the complex programme of socialist integration—which we worked out together and adopted at the 24th Session of CMEA—will help to extend our economic co-operation still further. Improvements have also been registered in our cultural co-operation. The same can be said of passenger traffic, tourism and of local frontier traffic. The latter are especially important from the point of view of developing relations and friendship between our working people; they contribute to the final removal of the barriers which were erected between our peoples in the past.

Speaking of friendship and co-operation between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania, I wish to emphasize that this corresponds to the interests of the peoples of both countries; this also mutually assists the work of construction at home and corresponds to the general interests of socialism.

That the peoples of the socialist countries can devote their attention to the building of the new society, that they can oppose successfully the political, economic and ideological pressure of hostile class forces and powers, and the aggressive, subversive attempts of the imperialists, is due primarily to our unity and co-operation. The knowledge that our achievements and peace are guarded by the powerful strength of the socialist countries, the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet Union, fills us with a sense of security.

Comrades,

Like every socialist country and people, the Hungarian people, our Party and the Hungarian People's Republic devote great attention to international questions. In our international work we consider it our main duty to contribute to consolidating the unity of the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement and to ensuring peaceful international conditions. We support the liberation movements, expand the relations between our country and the developing countries and intensify co-operation with the capitalist countries which is based on the principles of peaceful co-existence.

Our Party and our government decide independently about our international aims. Through our foreign policy we serve the interests of our people, and take into consideration at the same time the general aims of socialism and progress. The cornerstone of

our foreign policy is our alliance with the Soviet Union. The unity of the socialist countries and the cause of progress demand that we co-ordinate our ideas on important international questions, and this we do.

The community of the socialist countries has a great and increasing role in solving the tasks facing socialism and the forces of progress, in the world-wide struggle against imperialism for social progress and peace. The countries of the world socialist system possess huge economic and military potential, and their position is continually strengthening. A series of peoples, hundreds of millions of human beings see an example for their own progress in the socialist countries. The existence and power of the socialist countries determine the developments in the world to an ever increasing extent. This is why we consider essential the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist community and endeavour to contribute to this to the limits of our capacity.

Imperialism continues to be strong and dangerous, it threatens every people, but it is well-known that it threatens the peoples of the socialist countries first and foremost. This compels us never to forget the struggle against imperialism.

We communists are the friends of peace, and we are convinced that the danger of a new world war can be averted and peace can be defended if we fight consistently against every imperialist aggression and threat. The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence is gaining ground and becoming victorious in the relations between states of different social systems. But in the present situation, the aggressive intentions of imperialism compel the socialist countries to be alert and ready. This is why the Hungarian People's Republic considers the strengthening and development of the defensive force of the Warsaw Treaty important.

In our foreign political activity we always endeavour to take a stand which is principled, clear, unequivocal and consistent. We oppose every theory which beclouds and confuses the principal lines of force in international politics. On basic questions of foreign policy we also deprecate neglect of the class aspect, the grouping of states according to their size, irrespective of their social system. It is completely clear, for instance, that in the United States it

is the imperialist monopoly capitalists who rule and there is a capitalist system, while the Soviet Union is the first worker-peasant state in the world, in which communist society is being built. Consequently the two countries—although they are similar in size—do not conduct identical but very different policies in accordance with their class character.

The defence of the cause of socialism, of progress, of national independence and of peace, as well as the interests of the peoples, demand ideological clarity from us.

We consider it the basic norm of international life that, in relations between states, equality of rights should rule irrespective of the size of the countries concerned. And in politics we also group countries irrespective of their size, according to their political system, and differentiate among them on the basis of whether a socialist, capitalist or—to use a commonly applied term—a developing country is concerned. This viewpoint enables us to see the front-lines clearly, it facilitates the ideological and political struggle and furthers the fight of all peoples against imperialism, which threatens the existence of mankind.

Comrades,

Among the current questions of foreign policy, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Rumania, the socialist countries attach extraordinary importance to European security. To the limits of our capabilities we endeavour to contribute to the consolidation of European peace, to the development of better conditions for co-operation among the states of Europe.

Today we are already able to assert that the relations between the states of Europe have livened up, and important progress has been made towards the convening of a European security conference. The European socialist countries co-ordinate and unite their efforts in this field too. This aim was well served by the 1966 Bucharest declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty and by the 1969 Budapest Appeal, as well as by the declaration adopted in Prague a month ago.

It is primarily due to the concerted activities of the socialist countries that the understanding is growing in the western part of Europe too, that lasting peace and mutually beneficial co-operation



are unimaginable on our continent without the final winding up of the Second World War.

Among those most directly concerned, the present government of the Federal Republic of Germany is also recognizing European realities to an increasing extent and has set as its objective the normalization of relations with the socialist countries. Consequently, the present European situation can fill us with confidence, and we hope that the conference on European security and co-operation may start its work this year.

Comrades,

The government of the United States, which heads the forces of international imperialism, while everywhere supporting reactionary forces, the forces which threaten the freedom of the peoples and peace, would like to make the world believe through various steps and through a powerful propaganda machine that its intentions are peaceful. But the fact that the United States continues to carry on her genocidal war in Vietnam, in Laos and in Cambodia is a striking denial of her nice words, and shocks the whole of progressive, international public opinion. The United States tramples under foot the most elementary rights of the Indochinese states and peoples, sends hundreds of airplanes over the peaceful cities and villages of Vietnam, causing death and destruction.

The Hungarian People's Republic stands firmly on the side of the Vietnamese people. Our party and government delegation returned from a friendly visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam a fortnight ago; there they experienced directly the matchless valour and steadfastness of the Vietnamese people, and expressed the fraternal solidarity of the Hungarian people. We have been condemning from the very beginning American aggression and the manoeuvres which are sabotaging a political settlement, and we are firmly convinced that the Vietnamese problem can be settled only on the basis of the proposals put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The government of the United States must stop every kind of military activity in Vietnam; it must fix the dead-line for the

complete withdrawal of their troops, military advisers and other military personnel, of armaments and war material and those of other foreign countries, and must liquidate their military bases in South Vietnam, in Indochina. The United States must stop supporting the puppet régime of Saigon and must not interfere in the domestic affairs of South Vietnam. She must in actual fact respect the right of self-determination of the South Vietnamese people, in accordance with the stipulations concerning Vietnam of the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

In the opinion of the Hungarian People's Republic, the Middle East became a dangerous storm centre because of the war started by Israel in 1967, and has remained so up to this day. We are in solidarity with the anti-imperialist Arab forces and consider that the only just solution of the question is for the aggressor to withdraw from all the territories it has occupied. Our Party and our government resolutely condemn the collusion between America and Israel, the aim of which is to render a political settlement impossible. In the ranks of the socialist countries, we too assist the Arab people in their struggle for their legitimate rights, for their just aims, for the carrying out of the 1967 resolution of the Security Council.

At the time of the conflict on the Hindustan subcontinent, Hungary condemned the bloody terror of the former Pakistani military government, and from the beginning sympathized with the East Bengali people fighting for their lives and liberty; we granted diplomatic recognition to their state—Bangladesh—as soon as it was established. Nevertheless, we wish for a normal relationship, based on the principles of peaceful co-existence, with Pakistan as well.

Comrades,

International political events confirm the conclusions of the 1969 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. That conference served to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement, and the goal of united action against imperialism. It can be established that the overwhelming majority of communist and workers' parties are prepared to carry on activities for the sake of unity.

On the basis of the resolutions of the Moscow Conference, and following them, our Party too works for the unity of the world communist movement, to bring about united action on the part of communist parties and all anti-imperialist forces. Our Party conducts a struggle against opportunism, against right and left-wing deviations, against nationalism, against all tendencies which destroy our unity and bring grist to the mill of imperialism. We defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the principle of proletarian internationalism, and follow the ideas of socialism, of communism. The world communist movement armed with scientific, Marxist-Leninist theory, the world socialist system are the hope of peoples and individuals longing for social progress, national independence and peace.

Honoured Rally, Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu, Comrades, Friends,

In conclusion I would like to stress once more the opinion of our delegation: we are convinced that our meeting, our comradely discussions and the new Hungarian-Rumanian treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance well serve our relations, our co-operation, our friendship and the cause of socialism and of peace.

The Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania are two neighbouring socialist countries. Our peoples want socialism and peace, our fundamental interests are common. All the conditions exist for the development of many-sided co-operation between our parties, our countries. We must, of course, still do a lot to this end. Our Central Committee and our government will work devotedly and untiringly to strengthen our friendship and co-operation.

On behalf of the Hungarian delegation I would like to thank once more the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, the State Council and Government of the Rumanian Socialist Republic and the population of Bucharest for the friendly reception and the attention which our delegation has experienced at all times.

On behalf of the Hungarian communists, of the Hungarian working people, I want to wish you once again, from the bottom

of my heart, further great successes in the building of socialist Rumania.

Long live the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Rumania!

Let the internationalist unity and co-operation between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Rumanian Communist Party grow stronger!

Long live socialism and peace!

*Népszabadság*, 26 February 1972.



**SPEECH AT THE APRIL 1972  
SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

*April 1972*

Honoured National Assembly, Members of Parliament, Comrades,

We are all aware that we are participants in an event of extraordinary importance: our supreme legislative body, the National Assembly, is today debating the amendment of the basic law of our state: the Constitution. The Bill concerning the amendments has been prepared and submitted by the committee appointed by the National Assembly, and has been explained and accounted for from many aspects by the chairman of the committee, Comrade Gyula Kállai, in his report. I want to speak, with reference to his report and on the basis of the stand taken by our Party, of the Constitution and of a few questions which are closely connected.

The Constitution is the law of laws, the foundation of the state, the basis of the legal superstructure of society. The amendment bill before the National Assembly well expresses the historical continuity of the Hungarian state and society which is over a thousand years old, their revolutionary changes and the unshakable and indissoluble unity of socialism and Hungarian statehood which has been realized by today. The Bill which has been submitted, if it is made law by the National Assembly, will be the Constitution of the independent, sovereign and socialist Hungarian state, the Hungarian People's Republic, the summary and inviolable law of all the historic achievements of the Hungarian people who have entered on the road to socialism and have become a nation.

Now as our National Assembly debates the Constitution, we remember the struggles of many generations and great historic personalities, King Stephen and Mátyás Hunyadi (Matthias Corvinus), Rákóczi, Kossuth and Széchenyi, Dózsa, Petőfi, Táncsics, and others. We remember with respect the guardians and reformers of our nation, of our national language and culture: the outstanding leaders, martyrs and simple militants of the people's revolutions and of the revolutionary workers' movement. Speaking of the past, we think first of all of the working Hungarian people, who

through the centuries, with their toil, sweat and blood maintained, kept alive and carried forward our country, our state on the path of progress. For overcoming the immeasurable difficulties of our history, and thus enabling us to get this far, eternal glory and the gratitude of the living are due for ever to the generations which preceded us, the known and unknown sons and daughters of the people who lived with honour. Their integrity, their example inspires and binds us.

Speaking of the historic past, we must also remember that the rulers of the old Hungary often liked to refer to "the thousand-year-old constitution of the nation". But the truth is that neither the nation nor the country had a written, clear and unequivocal constitution for a thousand years. Single laws existed which significantly and for a long time influenced the life and development of the country, but a true constitution had never been evolved. The majority of the Hungarians living and constituting a state in the region of the Danube and the Tisza, the people who maintained the country, were excluded from legal rights for a thousand years; the laws were always made by the oppressors and exploiters for the protection of their own power.

The eleventh-century statute books of the founder of the state, King Stephen, which were progressive in their own day, and which served to protect the young feudal state then being organized together with its institutions, protected the interests of the feudal ruling class which was emerging at that time. The Golden Bull, enacted in the thirteenth century, summarized and ensured the rights and privileges of the nobility and of the freeholders. The infamous Tripartitum framed by Werbőczy in the sixteenth century, the summary of Hungarian feudal law, already served with brutal frankness to bind the peasant serfs to the soil and to exploit and oppress the people for centuries.

The last big settlement of the public law of the old bygone world was in the last century, after the defeat of the 1848-49 War of Independence; it was the "Compromise" which was instituted in 1867 but never codified. This settlement, which was the accord of the Hungarian ruling classes with the Habsburg dynasty, with the Austrian ruling classes, meant the ambiguous conclusion of the

Hungarian bourgeois revolution; it meant the abandonment of national independence, for the sake of protecting their class rule, and maintaining the oppression of the workers and peasants. Then the rulers of the country, betraying the ideas and goals of the fight for freedom, thereby ensured, within the framework of the state of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the rule of the landowning and capitalist classes over the workers of Hungarian and other nationalities for a further half century. It was to their shame that the Hungarian ruling and exploiting classes were unable to give the country a genuine basic law, a constitution, so that the labouring classes, the people lived for over a thousand years deprived of their rights; and it was to their shame also that they often betrayed the whole Hungarian nation, the country for a mess of pottage.

Honoured National Assembly,

Our history so took shape that, following the Hungarian Republic of Councils of 1919, it was only in 1949 that the great idea of millions—which Petöfi formulated—the unity of the homeland and legal rights, could be realized for the working Hungarian people. The adoption of Law XX:1949, the Constitution, was an achievement of historic importance. It sanctioned the power of the working class, of the people, and enacted as the programme of the nation the construction of a society free from exploitation of man by man, the building of socialism.

In order to have a constitution, and a constitution of this type, the Hungarian people had to free themselves of the vicious and reactionary Horthy régime which ruled for over a quarter century, of the capitalists and the landowners, and of the foreign oppressors who occupied the country in the Second World War, the Hitlerite-fascist army of occupation.

Our country was liberated from the foreign oppressors by the glorious Red Army of the Soviet Union, and the people liberated themselves from their own oppressors. The Constitution appreciates the liberation in accordance with its historic importance and expresses the never ceasing gratitude of our people towards the liberating Soviet Union.

The liberated people took their fate in their own hands, under the leadership of the communists, of the working class, achieved

power and created their state, the Hungarian People's Republic. The 1949 Constitution summarized the achievements realized till then through our struggle and work, determined the structure of the new state, its basic institutions, the rights and duties of the citizens, and declared: the Hungarian People's Republic is the state of the working people. The historic experience of nearly a quarter century has proved that the 1949 Constitution answered its purpose.

More than twenty years have passed since the adoption of our constitution; they have been a history of the creative work and self-sacrificing struggle of the working people and of the rise of the nation, although some stages of the road were extremely difficult, nor was the period since 1949 free of commotions. The adherents of socialism stood their ground in growing numbers, the work and struggle of our Party, our working class and of our people have brought powerful progress and great, truly historic achievements. The power of the working class, of the people, the Hungarian People's Republic is today more stable than ever before. We have laid the foundations of a socialist society, socialist production relations have been victorious throughout the entire economy and our people are working today for the complete building of a socialist society.

As a result of planned socialist economy, of the economic work of construction, the stock of the means of production has been doubled in industry in the last ten years alone; the socialist industry of our country today produces nine times as much as capitalist industry produced in 1938. Socialist agriculture produces today, with 40 per cent less labour force, 43 per cent more than capitalist agriculture produced in 1938. The bread supply of the country has been solved and, as far as the most decisive crops are concerned, the results of agriculture can justly stand comparison with the yields of capitalist agriculture.

The cultural revolution has turned our people into an enlightened, educated people. It has opened up the possibilities of learning, of education to the working masses who until then had been artificially shut out of culture; it has opened up for them the ennobling values of literature, the theatre, music and the screen, has stimulated the progress of the sciences and the arts, has opened the road for



the richly radiating talent of our creative artists and scientists. Socialist public thinking and the link between the individual and the community have been strengthened. Socialist trends play a leading role in our cultural and artistic life and assist successfully in the realization of our great social goals and a human life rich in content.

With the advance of socialism, the standard of living and the way of living of the Hungarian people, their security and well-being have improved in a way which makes them almost incomparable to the conditions before liberation. Penury on a massive scale, starvation, the Hungary of "three million beggars" are but a bad memory. It is characteristic of conditions today that throughout the country there is a washing machine in 50 households out of every 100, a refrigerator in 39 and a television set in 58. In 1949 the number of kindergartens and the places in them was insignificant; ten years ago 337 children out of 1,000 could be placed in kindergartens; today even more, 600, or 60 per cent of the age-group concerned, are assured of a place in a kindergarten. We know that this too is not enough, but it is a very nice achievement.

The results of the socialist work of construction do not simply express the superiority of industry, of the co-operative farms and state farms and of large-scale production, but also the diligence, talent and devotion of the Hungarian working class, the co-operative peasantry, the scientists, creative artists and professional people who are consciously building socialism, and their deep sense of responsibility towards our cause and our entire people. We may speak proudly of the achievements, and from time to time we must do so, because they testify to and extol the creative ability of the liberated people building their own future and the steadfastness of the working millions; and they are at the same time a guarantee that, however great the tasks that still face us, we will solve them too.

A path similar to the progress of the Hungarian people building socialism could not be and could not have been covered by the old Hungary. The results we have achieved in twenty-seven years stand comparison to the rate of growth of any capitalist country. And if we add to this that this does not involve the truth of the

figures only, but what above all is behind the figures, how we lived earlier—however many years we look back—and how we live today, we again declare with full conviction: as for every people, socialism is for the Hungarian people too the only and safe road to social progress, to the prosperity of the nation.

The Hungarian people, who have entered on the road to socialism and are advancing along this road, have already caught up with and overtaken the conditions existing in the most advanced capitalist countries in respect of the rights of the workers, health care, social security, culture and many other respects. We will catch up with them and overtake them in those fields of technological norms in which we are still lagging. But here technical progress must take place and is taking place in another way, in a socialist way. We do not build a dehumanized, barren mechanical age, which blots out the individual and leads to moral bankruptcy. We do not compete with them in the supply of narcotics to the youth and in the tolerance of a gangsterism armed with modern technology. In this and similar respects we do not wish to, and will by no means, "catch up with them". We wish to, and will, develop science and technology for the benefit of the human person, with the maintenance of the humane characteristics of human life and the real achievements of culture and civilization. Thus we advance on our road.

It is in this sense that we plan the modernization of the economy of our country, and to raise it to a higher level. It is a significant fact in the competition between the social systems that the semi-feudal Hungary, with a backward industry which the people inherited, has—as a result of socialist development over hardly more than a quarter century—entered the ranks of the economically medium developed countries. An important statement for the future made at the 10th Congress of the Party was that, within the foreseeable future, our country will enter the ranks of the advanced industrial countries. It is our deep conviction that the conditions for this exist, that this aim is realistic and that we will achieve it through the power of our socialist system.

Honoured National Assembly,

The socialist development of our country is the result of twenty years of hard work and steadfast struggle; this struggle took place

in politics, in the economy, in culture, in all spheres of social life, in the whole country, in every community, often even within the family. In our circumstances this was inevitable and necessary, because here the transition from capitalism to socialism took place in the midst of sharp clashes between the classes. In the course of this the privileged landlord and capitalist classes ceased to exist, regroupments affecting masses of people took place within society, and the working class and the peasantry, which have fashioned and are the foundation of the new order, also developed considerably and became transformed in the process.

In the struggle for the new Hungary, the working class—capable of taking a grand, long-range view of things—was justified in acquiring the rank of the leading class in society. In the struggles fought against the class enemy they won the support first of all of their principal and natural ally, the peasantry, and, in addition, of the best members of the professional classes and of all strata engaged in work. The struggle for power tested individuals too and shaped them politically. There are people who stood up for the true cause already at the beginning of the revolutionary transformation and stuck by it from beginning to end. There are others who turned against it in the course of the struggle and failed. And there are a great many who in this same struggle, recognizing the truth, became comrades instead of opponents, and with whom we now work and fight together for our common aims.

By conquering the remnants of the prejudices fomented by the capitalist ruling classes, and armed with the experience of the great clashes between the classes, the Hungarian worker, the peasant and the intellectual, finding each other in a recognized community of interest, are active together today in the building of socialism; communists and non-party people, believers and non-believers work in common for the good of the country. Only in the conditions of working-class power, in the people's republic, on the basis of the programme of socialism, and through the assertion of the Leninist policy of alliances, has it been possible for the citizens of our homeland to find each other in this way. One of the greatest achievements of our revolution is the socialist national unity comprising all fundamental classes and strata of our society;

everything must be done to strengthen this unity still further in the future.

Socialist national unity is a reality. Today the socially active millions gathered in the vanguard of the working class, the Party, in the mass organizations and mass movements, and in the Patriotic People's Front, the great majority of the adult population of the country profess with one will and prove in joint action: the Hungarian People's Republic is our true homeland; socialism is the programme and future of the Hungarian people.

Looking over the road covered since the enactment of the Constitution in 1949, we find that we have achieved the objectives which we set ourselves so far: we have laid the foundations of socialism and have achieved important results on the road of building socialism. Our programme is clear. Our most important goals are declared by the Constitution itself. Our immediate tasks have been formulated by the 10th Congress of the Party, by the election programme of the Patriotic People's Front and by the Fourth Five Year Plan enacted by the National Assembly.

The wheel of history has made a great turn: Hungary has ceased for ever to be a country of parasitic lords, of exploiters; the capitalists, the imperialists have lost the country and never again will a single inch of Hungarian soil belong to them. Our class enemies will never forget this, but our people are aware of it too. It is moral command for every son of the socialist homeland to defend the power and achievements of the people in all circumstances and every way. The homeland must be served with the mind and the heart, with word and deed alike; we must continue to develop, to strengthen and to make flourish the Hungarian People's Republic, which is dearer to us than anything else, because it ensures the peace, the socialist present and future of our people.

When we sum all this up, we are fully justified in saying: our Party, our working class, our people have not struggled in vain; the sacrifices have not been in vain, the work and the struggle have been worth while. Everybody who in the past quarter century took part in the struggles and in the building of socialism may be proud of it. He has devoted his youth, his faith, his strength to a good cause. He deserves the respect of everybody, because he has ful-



filled his duty to the Hungarian people and to the homeland faithfully.

Honoured National Assembly, Comrades,

In the course of preparing to amend the Constitution a great many questions have necessarily arisen, and the proposals submitted by the committee themselves also recommend a number of essential amendments. By the nature of the thing, each of these is very important and a matter of principle; they demand careful consideration and decision by the National Assembly. Out of the questions which have arisen in the course of the preparatory work, and which are among the proposals submitted, I wish to deal with only a few. I shall take them one by one.

The opinion of the Central Committee of our Party too is that, in spite of the very considerable progress which has taken place since 1949, it is not necessary to draft a new constitution; but it is necessary to modify the text of the existing Constitution, the basic tenets of which are fully correct, in accordance with the changes which have taken place in the meantime.

The amendments submitted are appropriate; they refer to the changes which have taken place in the life of the state, in the activities of the National Assembly, of the government, of the councils, of the institutions of the state in general; they define more exactly the rights and duties of citizens at the present stage of building socialism. The modifications are in their entirety suitable so that the National Assembly can approve the new, uniform text of the Constitution.

The 10th Congress of our Party also examined whether the name of our state should be changed, and decided that the time had not yet come for our country to be declared a socialist republic in name too. Setting out from the principle that the Constitution must essentially and in principle set down the achievements which have already been attained and is not the declaration of a programme, it is right if this principle is also displayed in the official name of our state. The name "Hungarian People's Republic" expresses well the greatest achievement of the struggle of our working class, of our people. The name of the Hungarian People's Republic means and proclaims unmistakably everywhere and to everybody

the power of our working people, their state, their homeland and the new socialist world which is being built.

Seeing, however, that in its main characteristics, in respect of the property and class relations, our social system is already socialist, it is right that the new text should state in a less declarative way: the Hungarian People's Republic is a *socialist* state.

In our era the working class is the most revolutionary class of society, which can realize their own liberation and historic objectives only by liberating at the same time every other oppressed class and stratum, and by opening up the road to general progress for the whole of society. This is what has happened in Hungary too. In our country there are today already only allied, fraternal labouring classes. The Constitution deals with the relationship of the labouring classes to each other in a way which corresponds to the actual situation and to the theoretical and political importance of the question, and lays down correctly that the leading class of society is the working class.

The working class of our country have accepted responsibility for the fate of the nation. It is the first time in the course of our history that power is possessed by a class which does not use that power to ensure a privileged position for themselves but demand and accept a responsibility commensurate with their rights.

In the past quarter century our working class have solved tasks of historic importance: they have gained power; they have expropriated the expropriators; they have organized and are developing socialist industry; they have taken the land from the landlords and given it to the peasants, and then assisted them in the socialist transformation of agriculture; they have broken the cultural monopoly of the old exploiting classes; their theory, ideology and morals affect the entire society; they lead and show an example in the building of socialism.

In everyday speech we often and correctly use the expression "the power of the working class, of the people". This expresses too that the power of the working class serves the interests of the entire people, and they exercise power as the leading class of society in alliance with the peasantry united in co-operatives, with the intellectuals and the other working strata of society. Our Party approves

that this is also clearly formulated in the new text of our Constitution.

The amended text of the draft constitution declares: the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class is the leading force of society. The working class' political organization of the highest order is the Party, which leads as a vanguard, and through which this class solves its governmental duties and realizes its historic goals. Our Party has always considered it its duty to express simultaneously the historic goals of the working class and to represent the day-to-day interests of the workers. The proposal of the preparatory committee that the new text of our fundamental law should record the leading role of the Party is a great honour for our entire Party, for every communist.

Our Party has always stressed that it does not consider its leading role in society, its governmental tasks as some sort of "reign", but as a service, honest and faithful service, to the people. We interpret the relevant formulations of the Constitution primarily as an increased responsibility for the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, for every member of the Party, to the whole of society. Hungarian communists will endeavour to deserve this confidence in future too, to serve the people faithfully and to lead the way as true patriots in making the Hungarian People's Republic prosper.

An important characteristic of our Constitution is the equality of citizens. Our state, the Hungarian People's Republic, ensures equal rights and prescribes identical obligations to all its citizens from political rights to social security.

One of the greatest achievements of our political struggle and work of construction over more than a quarter century is that our Constitution on the one hand widens the range of rights, and on the other extends numerous existing rights to the broadest sections of society.

The amended text of our Constitution includes respect for human rights; the exercise of rights in harmony with the interests of society; the indivisibility of rights from duties; the ensuring of participation in public affairs. It extends to the whole of society and makes the right of assembly a civil right serving the interests of socialist society; the right to recreation, to the protection of life,

limb and health, to social insurance and to education is also extended to the whole of society.

In harmony with our socialist endeavours, the Constitution emphasizes more than before the importance of certain civil rights; the right to work, the protection of the institution of marriage and of the family, the protection and socialist education of youth and the obligations connected with them are given greater emphasis.

Concluding my remarks on the individual propositions, I would like to stress: the Central Committee of our Party maintains that if the proposals of the preparatory committee are adopted, the new text of the Constitution will express in every respect the achievements attained so far by the work and struggle of our people, will express their goals and will strengthen still further the foundations of our people's democratic state.

Honoured National Assembly, Comrades,

Our Constitution will be sanctioned today through the resolution of the National Assembly. In the new recommended text, the Constitution summarizes more exactly than before, and ensures through the full force of the law and the state, the historic achievements of the Hungarian people who have taken the road to the building of socialism; it confirms the lofty principles which regulate the life of the Hungarian People's Republic, of our society, and serves our further socialist progress.

From the moment of enactment, it will be the sacred duty of every organized force of our society, of every Hungarian citizen to observe and make others observe the letter and principles of the amended Constitution to the full. The enforcement and effectiveness of the principles of the Constitution is for us a lawful duty not only in the legal sense of the word. It is that too, but beyond that it demands of all of us that we defend and enhance the achievements of our people, which are laid down in the Constitution, by deeds, by our work done at home and by our international activity alike; and that we serve even more effectively the earliest possible attainment of our long-term socialist goal.

The discussion of our Constitution today does not demand and its scope does not permit that we should here and now enumerate



our tasks in domestic and foreign policy and every internal question of our building of socialism; therefore I also wish only to touch on them in my speech.

Our socialist progress and the future of the nation are influenced by the combined effect of many factors. Our endeavours in domestic policy are centred today on the further development of state life, of socialist democracy. The amendment of the Constitution itself is an important act in this process. The full effectiveness of the principles of the Constitution depends not least on the extent to which we succeed in drawing the masses, even more than up till now, into the management of public affairs. We know full well that this does not either happen on its own or from one day to the next. It depends on us and therefore we must work in such a way that socialist democracy, thinking and acting together, should be an even stronger driving force in our progress than has been the case up till now.

Our socialist progress is unimaginable without advanced science and technology, without an industry, agriculture and services of a high standard, without the constant improvement of material circumstances. But socialist progress is much more than this. The ceaseless enhancement of spiritual efforts and making culture a common treasure are indispensable parts of the building of socialism. We must never forget the ceaseless spreading of a socialist way of thinking and socialist morals, the many-sided unfolding and enrichment of human life, and that children should be brought up in well-balanced, happy, large families, in a socialist spirit and should be well prepared for the role that they are to fill in society.

We build the kind of new world which realizes the dreams of the best sons of our nation, a new world in which the homeland is indeed a loving parent to all its citizens, in short, a society which is socialist, which is at the same time Hungarian and is an equal member of the fraternal community of progressive peoples.

We are at a stage in the building of socialism when our further progress depends in a decisive way of the successful solution of the economic tasks. We have all the necessary conditions for the continuation of the work of construction at our disposal: in our country the power of the people is stable, our economy is develop-

ing in a healthy way and we can and do make use of the benefits offered by socialist economic planning. In recent years our system of economic guidance has been developed further and we have a realistic national economic plan.

Our economy has great vitality and it is our task to develop it in a planned and many-sided way. We must increase the productivity and rentability of labour in industry and in agriculture alike, we must develop the technical basis of production and raise its technological level. We must lift the standard of leadership; in formulating our requirements we must set out from the realities and not from our desires; we must improve our investment policy and balance the budget, and through all this we will further enhance the strength of our economy, the good reputation of our work and the respect for our workers.

The aim of our constructive work is that the standard of living of the people should rise, that their living conditions should improve in accordance with the standard of living policy of our Party and in harmony with the results of our work.

The systematic raising of the standard of living of our people may be justly included among our great historic achievements. At the same time we know also that there are still strata of the population and families who live in difficult material circumstances and whose lot it is our duty to improve step by step. This is why the 10th Congress of our Party resolved—what, incidentally, our five-year plan also includes—that certain social benefits should increase to a greater extent than wages, so that the differences of income between families should be reduced in this way. Said in another way: we want a greater differentiation in wages depending on the work done and a further levelling up of family incomes.

In our circumstances this means that everybody should receive goods produced in relation to his work. Those who work more should receive more, and those who are missing from work should not queue up on pay-day either. This is our justice, the justice of the working people.

The key to our economic and cultural progress, to the further improvement of our living conditions is in our own hands. The

10th Congress of our Party gave a clear and realistic programme which our people endorsed last spring through their vote at the elections, and which they have actively supported since. The resolutions are being carried out in the political, economic and cultural fields, in all important areas of social life. Seeing that the Party will soon arrive at the half-way mark between two congresses, the Central Committee will in the near future survey where we stand in the execution of the congress resolutions; and where we are lagging behind or new tasks are seen, the necessary measures will be taken.

For the raising of the standard of work, still we have reserves at our disposal in all spheres of life. We know that the implementation of our plans does not always go without hitches; it is well known that there are negative symptoms too. In our society, which is a society of socialism in construction, conservative views still exercise an influence and from time to time in certain places they are even being reproduced. One can experience leisureliness, irresponsibility, incompetence and indulgence towards negligence and the negligent. The organized forces of society, the great majority who feel and shoulder responsibility, must come forward everywhere, and resolutely, against these adverse symptoms.

The main driving force of progress is the working man himself, and our main trust is in the steadfastness, the conscious discipline and the sense of responsibility of our working class, of our working people.

We witness day after day the mass manifestations of human steadfastness, of duties fulfilled with self-respect, but at the same time without ostentation. The increasing host of the activists working selflessly for the sake of society, the rebirth and progress of the socialist brigade movement, the gradual spreading of the socialist way of thinking are obvious evidence of the maturity of our society, of the enhanced responsibility felt for the affairs of the community, for the fate of the homeland.

It is certain that our battle-hardened working class, our people, who have lived, worked and fought sometimes in very difficult circumstances and were nevertheless able to change the face of the country radically in twenty-five years, will solve those new

tasks too, tasks which derive from today's higher level of development, from the further building of socialism.

Honoured National Assembly,

We must fight for progress not only within our boundaries but in the arena of international politics as well. We will ensure the international conditions for the realization of our plans in future too. For this sake we will on the one hand strengthen our socialist homeland, because domestic progress is the primary source of all foreign political activity and international influence, and on the other we will broaden and deepen the fraternal relations linking us with the world socialist system, and first of all with our devoted friend and reliable ally, the Soviet Union.

We declare our goals openly: in the Hungarian people, the peoples of the world may see an active militant and reliable ally in the struggle against imperialism, for the liquidation of all forms of capitalist, colonial exploitation and for the prevention of war. At the same time we have been urging and continue to urge peaceful co-existence between the countries with differing social systems. The Hungarian People's Republic wants regular, normal and mutually beneficial relations with the capitalist countries too.

Thus the letter of the Constitution becomes a living reality when according to the Bill it declares: the Hungarian People's Republic, as part of the world socialist system, develops and strengthens friendship with the socialist countries, and in the interest of peace and human progress wishes to co-operate with all peoples and countries of the world. The security of our principles is provided by our actual deeds and the stands taken, through which we want to promote the solution of the burning problems of the international situation, as far as we can, in the interests of the peoples, socialism and peace.

In Europe we work together with the other member countries of the Warsaw Treaty, to bring about a security system built on the acceptance of mutual obligations.

Events will be influenced in this direction by the adoption of the agreements between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the coming into force of the



quadripartite agreement on West Berlin and the agreement between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Hungarian People's Republic is interested in the ratification of these agreements, because they strengthen the relations between European states, and the perspectives for cooperation, peace and security. The ratification of the agreements is in the interest of all European states without exception, not least the Federal Republic of Germany.

We consider the conference of governments an important stage on the road to a European security system, and the conditions are ripening for the convening of this conference. The adherents of the conference enjoy the many-sided support of the social forces of our continent. The opponents of security, and thus of the conference, are being gradually isolated and are exposing themselves.

On the European front-line of the international class struggle, our Party and our government—representing the national interests of our people—are fighting on the side of those who want to turn the continent, at present divided by military blocs and fraught with relics of the cold war, into a continent of security and cooperation, in accordance with the interests of every European country. The general situation offers opportunities to the countries of our continent to close a tragic chapter of the European past, a period in the history of the continent which led to bloody wars and caused the peoples so much suffering.

We are laid by our principled, internationalist policy in our stand against the aggression of imperialism in Indochina and in the Middle East.

We help the just struggle of the heroic people of Vietnam in every way we can, because only respect for the freedom and independence of their country, the granting of the right of self-determination to the peoples of Laos and Cambodia and the discontinuation of American intervention can bring an actual solution to the problems of the area and serve at the same time the general interests of peace and security. The proposals of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam are directed to this aim; they are just, they provide a realistic foundation for the termination of the war and deservedly

enjoy the far-reaching support of the progressive countries, including our own.

The offensive of the Vietnamese patriots, which is developing during these very days, brings further success to the liberating forces of the people and causes heavy losses to the American aggressors and their Saigon satellites. The victories won so far by the Indochinese people's war are also proof that no extension of its military adventure can help American imperialism to extricate itself from the dead-end in Vietnam.

The Vietnamese people, the peoples of Indochina have attacked nobody: they do not threaten the security of anybody, but fight on the soil of their homeland for their freedom and independence against invaders and mercenaries. The Hungarian People's Republic, our society resolutely condemn the aggressive actions of the American imperialists and the outrageous resumption of terror bombing; and we resolutely demand: the United States should stop prevaricating, should stop sabotaging the lasting, just and peaceful solution of the Indochinese question through negotiations, a resolution which respects the inalienable rights of the peoples of the area. Our Vietnamese brothers may count in future too on the selfless support of the entire progressive mankind, of the socialist countries, including our people. We believe and proclaim: the heroism and immeasurable sacrifices of the Vietnamese people, of the peoples of Indochina, are not in vain; whatever the aggressor does, the day of victory for their just cause is approaching.

In the Middle East we are in solidarity with the Arab states fighting consistently against the Israeli aggressors and their imperialist supporters. It is our decided view that only a political settlement—ensuring the independence and sovereignty of the Arab countries and the national existence and development of every state in the area—can meet the interests of peace and security. We are convinced that in the last resort the forces of imperialism and aggression will fail in the Middle East too.

We are proud that in the arena of international politics the Hungarian people and the Hungarian People's Republic are resolutely fighting, in the ranks of the progressive forces of the world, for the true cause of safeguarding the future of mankind,

for socialism and peace. We will continue our international activities in future too in the spirit of our Constitution, meeting our international obligations to the full in the knowledge that, in spite of all the efforts of international reaction, the world advances in the direction of social progress, that the cause of the peoples fighting for their freedom will be victorious, and that the most ardent desire of whole mankind, a lasting and stable peace, will be achieved.

Honoured National Assembly, Members of Parliament, Comrades,

Our people are confronted with the great and inspiring aims of building socialism, our present is encouraging and our future full of hopes. Our goals serve the progress of the working class, of the people, of the entire nation; every citizen of our country, who lives and works honestly, may look towards the future with confidence.

In the Hungarian People's Republic, in that state and for that system which find harmony between the interests of the individual and of society, which serve the happiness of the entire people, it is worth living, planning, working, struggling; and it is worth accepting responsibility in the day-to-day matters of life, for the lot of the narrower community, the family and colleagues, and for the wider community, for the fate of the homeland and of mankind.

In the words of the poet, it is not sufficient to wish for our great social aims, for socialism, for communism, for the happiness of our people, for the progress of our nation; we must also act for them. In our society, which is building socialism, everybody is weighed according to how much he gives to the community. The homeland demands devoted work and steadfastness in the struggle from everybody and promises general progress. If our entire people work in the awareness of this, all that we endeavour, which is comprehensively expressed in the draft constitution in front of us, will be fulfilled. We are convinced that this Constitution is a bridge which leads from the thousand-year-old past, fraught with tribulations, through the present, to the more beautiful and happier future.

Honoured National Assembly, Comrades,

The Bill in front of us is good, and recognition is due to all those who—as befits the task—have worked with care on the amendments to the Constitution; thanks and recognition are due to the committee appointed by the National Assembly, who have completed this great work.

It is well-known and I repeat it now: our Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, has always stood guard over the observation of the Constitution, has acted in the unconditional observation of its letter and spirit; we will do so in future too. The aim of the amendments to the Constitution, the main questions of principle are known and supported by our broader public opinion too.

In the mark of these thoughts, I accept the Bill concerning the amendments to the Constitution, and in the name of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party recommend its adoption to the honoured National Assembly.

*Népszabadság*, 20 April 1972.



## REPLY TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

May 1972

Comrades, Friends,

From Comrade Biszku's announcement it has become clear to everybody, including me, that this is an official occasion, a dinner organized by the Central Committee, at which other guests take part too on a people's front basis, so to say. Comrades mentioned to me earlier that they planned such a dinner. I had only one request: if they considered it correct, they should go ahead, but there should be no pressure on anybody to take part.

Now somehow the atmosphere is such that I can allow myself to say something simply and informally as one can in the company of friends. Propriety also demands that I should say something, although it is not so simple to speak on such an occasion. I should like to say first that my circumstances were such that in the family where I was brought up it was not customary to celebrate wedding anniversaries, birthdays, or namedays. That was the way I grew up. It was only in the last ten to twenty years that I first met with the custom that it was proper to celebrate such occasions officially and unofficially. I should like to remark that it is right if the great events of family life are celebrated. But I had no part in this. I was not accustomed to it, it is only nowadays that I am getting used to it. I am saying this so that you should understand that I feel ill at ease at this anniversary and on such occasions; it disturbs me, I am embarrassed. But even considering this—and I ask you to consider it—I should like to say a few words.

I am thankful to all those present for having done me the honour of coming here today so we can spend an hour or two together.

The celebration of birthdays as a family matter is the right thing to do and it is also a tradition with our people. I regret that I had no part of it at the age when one grows up physically and spiritually. I feel this lack, but I can no longer do anything about it.

It is another thing when such a family occasion, as let us say a birthday, becomes a public and political affair. The way I see it, I understand and consider it right, too, that in certain cases, to the

limit which good taste permits, a political and public affair is made out of a purely personal matter, say a birthday. I approve of this and understand it on two conditions: if it is within the limits of good taste, and if it is not me who is concerned. Then I approve of it very much. But if I am concerned, then I confirm what I have already said, that I feel ill at ease, I am embarrassed—I am simply not accustomed to this.

Now there is a number here in front of me on the table: according to the various documents I am sixty years old, so this must be a fact. Even in the calculations of this most modern of eras this counts for an age when it is said that one should already have collected some sort of worldly wisdom. If wisdom collected through a busy life is concerned, this is better expressed in the letter from the Central Committee than in what I am able to say. Nevertheless, I want to make one or two personal comments.

What is a man's path through life like? I believe that if one does not think merely of a vegetative life but of a human life in the beautiful sense of the word, then the first thing is to understand that one must not get along in life and fight for one's place in it as an individual but one must recognize that one cannot be happy as a human being on one's own but only together with others.

The letter from the Central Committee mentions the course of my life and some merits. I should like to remark that only certain things can be attributed to the merits of an individual. Let us say—and I consider this some sort of merit—if somebody recognizes at the right stage of his life that he is not a leopard or a tiger, or a beaver, consequently if he wants to live, he has to live in an honourable way, together with the working people, and if he wants to live better, he has to live better together with them. I consider myself lucky that at the critical stage of life, at the age of seventeen, eighteen or nineteen, I understood that a man cannot be either a human being or happy on his own. Perhaps this recognition is a merit that may be attributed to the individual: one can choose what road to take.

Another merit which may be attributed to the individual is endeavour. The endeavour to get to know an ideal and then live accordingly. I consider myself fortunate that I encountered the

ideas of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism. I became acquainted with these ideas and they got hold of me. And —perhaps you will not misunderstand me, this is not boasting on my behalf—at the critical stage of my life, and not by my own effort, I understood that if I wanted to be a human being, happy and free, a man free in his soul, I could not be it on my own. I can only achieve this with the working class, together with my fellow workers, and only if I endeavour to learn these ideas and way of thinking which I had come across, to the best of my ability, and the more I live up to them. This may be the merit of the individual. Everything else, I wish to stress, depends on other things and not on the resolution of the individual.

Neither as an individual nor as a social being can man lead a human life without ideas, without an ideal. There are people who live without ideas and ideals, but that is not a human life. At least not in my opinion. I am a Marxist and am an avowed communist, but I can understand also if somebody is not a Marxist and not a communist, provided that he has some sort of overall human ideal which guides him in his actions, and which somehow makes him serve the community.

Neither can the individual nor in my opinion can society live without an ideal. A society which has no good guiding ideology is condemned to destruction. I am digressing here a bit, but I should like to stress that our working class, our peasantry, our intellectuals, and I dare to say our people have made socialist ideas their own. I shall not go into detail here as to what extent, or to what degree, this is not decisive; but as a whole one can say that they have made them their own, and since they have ideas and an ideal, they have a future and will succeed.

I know of other countries which are wealthier than we in a material sense, they are more prosperous; their social system nevertheless has no future because they have no concept which will carry them forward. I consider it fortunate for a man to have ideas and to be able to work for them.

On one's birthday, and especially if this family holiday is turned into politics, one is inevitably forced to draw a balance: one has to stop for a second and to think of what one has done so far and

how one wants to look ahead. As far as this balance is concerned, I shall say frankly that I am glad that I have become a worker, a social worker, a communist, and that there are certain achievements too.

As I have told you, looked at from the individual aspect, life has not pampered me. I was brought up and lived in difficult circumstances, later I came up against the old world and faced all its consequences. Those who are present know that my personal path was not entirely simple and smooth after liberation either. But if I am to draw a balance I am glad to be able to tell you that in the whole of my conscious life I have lived and acted in accordance with my convictions. If something did not accord with my convictions, I did not do it, and took all the consequences.

Where have all these attributes come from? Nobody brings them with him when he is born, he does not get them in the cradle either, nor can he get them in the family. I can assert as a witness: a man can obtain the attributes which may be useful for society, or which may be made useful for society, only from the Party if he is a party member, from the working class if he is a worker, and from the people. This is not his own acquisition. In my case the Party, the working-class movement, the working masses have formed the man. I have a good enough memory and I know what I was when I joined the movement, and what is here and now of public use or may be used by the community I have received exclusively from the movement, from our working class and from our people. And if there have been some kind of achievements in my life, of which we are speaking here today, then—in my opinion—this is how it has to be taken.

The next thing I should like to mention is that one does not work by oneself. There are still private craftsmen, and maybe they work on their own, but in social work a man does not work alone. And if you say that I have worked successfully—I do not want to evaluate or dispute this either at present—then I would like to say that I have never worked alone. I have been in the working-class movement, in the progressive movements of our people since the age of seventeen, and for this I am grateful to those who took trouble with me then and have led me here. If you are saying that I have



worked successfully, then I remember straight away the Political Committee, the Central Committee, our government, our Presidium, the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. These results could only have been brought about by the collective work of these bodies directed towards an agreed aim. I cannot differentiate between my own individual work and the work of the others. And there are, of course, those co-workers who are not often mentioned on such occasions, the so-called administrative and technical colleagues. One cannot exist without them either. They are needed too for the organization of our entire work.

It has also been mentioned that a certain background is also needed. The way I usually put it is that a very patient partner in life, blessed with very good nerves, and a satisfactory home background, is also needed for one to be able to exist and to work. I consider myself fortunate in this respect too. I was greeted today by the narrower circle of my co-workers too, and they told me that they thank me for my humaneness. Well, one is humane in one's office, but not always at home. Because one must loosen up somewhere. In one word, the strength of political colleagues, of the collective, of our allies, our friends, our administrative colleagues, and the background at home—these are all necessary for successful work.

And now I should come to a certain experience and wisdom gathered in life. Well, I have, of course, discovered in the course of my life and my social work a few wisdoms, which I do not want to enumerate here, but I will nevertheless mention one or two, because we are together in a company where it seems worth speaking of them. People of different ages are present here, quite young people, and some who are even older than I am. You all know how people are about age. For the ten-year-old the one of twenty seems old, to the twenty-year-old the one who is thirty, to the thirty-year-old the forty, to the forty the fifty, to the fifty the sixty-year-old, and so on to the very limit of human existence. In other words, always the one who is ten years older appears old, whatever one's age is, and everybody knows this. Nevertheless, one discovers some truths. Lots of things have to be learnt. I too have discovered a few things which may perhaps be called wisdom, but

I should like to stress that there is not a single invention among them which is my own innovation or my own discovery. All these were already discovered before me, without exception, by many people, but everybody has to rediscover them in order to be able to make use of these worldly wisdoms.

I should like to say a few words about our scientific world outlook about Marxism-Leninism, about the world of the ideas of socialism and communism.

As a small child I lived in the country, then I moved to the city, became an industrial worker, a communist. There is a wisdom which one hears already at the age of five from the older people, who say that common sense is a very important thing. I believe that this is true. As I have said, an idea, an ideal is needed by which one is guided, because otherwise one cannot advance in a direction which is useful to society. Somebody may profess Christianity or some other idea as his ideal. I am biased: I consider Marxism-Leninism the best ideology. So an idea is needed. And after that common sense and a sense of reality is wanted. I do not want to make any allusions, but if we fix our eyes only on the final goal and disregard the given situation and the possibilities, the extent to which what we want is understood—then one can only do damage to the final goal. An idea is needed, and a sense of reality is needed to know what can be realized of the idea *now* in such a way that we should get nearer the final goal. I may perhaps be permitted to disclose, since there are older people here too, that in many ways life is a compromise. Nothing happens in the way it is first imagined. I used to dream in the old world too of liberation, of socialism, of communism, and it was of course doubtful whether I would live to see the day of liberation, but I never doubted that the day would come when some intelligent regulations would be issued by the government and socialism would be achieved. This was a quarter century ago, and it has turned out that it does not go entirely like this. So life does force compromises on us in a certain sense, but in the good sense of the word. Not compromises which draw us back are needed, but decisions which take the real situation into consideration and which carry us forward towards our ideals and goals.

Our Marxist-Leninist ideology is a scientific system of ideas which guides the life of society. But this must not go against common sense. Our theory must be more than simple common sense, as it is understood in everyday life, but it cannot go against common sense, because if it does, then—in my view—that is no longer Marxism-Leninism, no longer communist doctrine, and something has gone wrong. We have a philosophical system which is called dialectical materialism, according to which social life and nature too have their dialectics. Everybody knows that dialectics is more than logic. But one of my worldly wisdoms is—if I may say so—that I have discovered that the dialectics cannot go against logic, that it must be logical too, because if it is not logical it cannot be dialectical either.

I could mention several things of this kind which I have perceived, and of these I will mention one more. It is my profound conviction that Marxism-Leninism as a science and communism as an idea are the humanism of our era. Consequently they mean humanity and humaneness, and their aim is to make the life of the working man better. I am in the habit of saying that the relationship between Marxism-Leninism, socialism, communism and the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian people is not that we have an excellent theory and we are going to test it out on, say, ten million guinea-pigs. And if the theory is good, it must succeed. I think that this is the other way round: Marxism-Leninism, the whole idea of communism, is *for the sake* of a better life for ten million Hungarians. Because if it would not be for this, and something were not in order in this respect, we would not be doing our job well. I am very happy that this recognition is gaining strength in Hungary, and that people representing the Marxist-Leninist ideology are increasingly imbued with a sense of reality, with humanism, with a respect for and appreciation of non-communists, and with the recognition that it is only together that we can go forward.

The other side of this coin is that in the thoughts of the non-communists too the recognition is growing that, whatever their ideology or conviction, socialism is the road along which our working class, our peasantry, our intelligentsia, our people can prosper. It is in this way that we can prosper, that we can work together in

a good spirit for our common cause, argue about what has to be argued, and go ahead.

In our days it is inevitable that we should argue. It is already a settled problem in Hungary that there is a people's democratic system which implements the power of the working class and that socialism is the goal. I dare to say that this has been decided once and for all. We may acknowledge this with calm conviction, because the domestic and international conditions are such that this process cannot be reversed.

But there is a big question, and this is: how to go forward, at what pace should the revolution be advanced? This is debatable both in the realm of ideas and in practice.

As far as the system of thought is concerned, we may say, let us get together and vote, is there a god or isn't there? Since according to some there is, and according to others there is not. But we are not doing it this way. We take into consideration and respect the feelings of everybody. We entrust the solution of the question to the passing of time, to scientific lectures and periodicals. We may still work calmly for this, and find the ways and means for believers and non-believers to work together for the common socialist goal.

As far as the pace of the revolution is concerned, it is an important question how much to consume today and how much to invest for the future. And this is not a simple question, because for even the same person the matter appears like this in one moment and in another way the next. If somebody looks at it entirely subjectively, he wants to get the maximum today, and if he looks at it as a patriot, a communist, or a socially responsible person, then he understands that he cannot consume everything today but something must be invested into the future too. Because we have to build a socialist country here, it is here that a socialist nation has to live, well and comfortably, and this presents demands on the generation living today. We have to fight out the battle against ourselves on the question what should be distributed today, and what squeezed out for tomorrow, for the day after tomorrow, for the future.

I mention all this just as an example—and will not go on with it—in order to prove that the majority of human wisdom is such that it does not have to be discovered, it has already been dis-



covered, it has only got to be discovered for ourselves and taken into account in our actions.

This is how I live and work. In the letter from the Central Committee the last fifteen years have also been mentioned, which were, of course, a decisive period in our development, and during which I have, of course, been actively present too. It is a special pleasure to me that one gets immersed in the things to the extent that it is very difficult for me to say what I have done and what was not done by me but was done by us together.

In 1956 a grave, critical situation arose, the scientific name for which is counter-revolution. We are aware that this is the scientific definition of what occurred in 1956. But another name exists too which we may all accept: it was a national tragedy. A tragedy for the Party, for the working class, for the people, and for many individuals. The way had been lost, and that led to tragedy. And if we have now overcome this—this much we may say with assurance—it is a very great thing.

I have been working as an organized communist since 1931, and prior to that too I had already taken part in the working-class movement for a year or two. I have been working since then too, because it is the rule that one has to work. Still I feel that if one were able to say nothing but that in 1956, at a critical period, and in the couple of years that followed one was able to help, to be useful, then one may already say that one has not lived in vain.

Now we have a family celebration, haven't we, since—because I am concerned—I cannot call this birthday a political holiday. On such occasions one does, of course, think of what one has to do, how to continue. Nobody can get out of his own skin, but I believe that the most important thing is that the political process should continue, and everybody should help in what he can. Everybody without exception. The results achieved include the work of the Central Committee with its one hundred members, of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front with its two hundred members, the work of five million Hungarian citizens. What we have achieved is the result of the work of actively working society. This process must continue whatever happens. Everybody is obliged to assist in this as much as he can. And this includes me, of course.

Birthday reveries are possible, but as far as I am concerned, I asked this morning too for the post, to see what else was happening. In the calendar this is a working day, and whatever we arrange, life does not stop but continues on its path.

This is how one philosophizes and muses. As an individual there was much I had to renounce in private life in these forty years. I also had to suffer one thing or another. Before liberation I suffered physically, and what happened afterwards was a problem for the spirit, nothing else mattered. It is a problem for the spirit, when the question is put, as it was in my case, whether one is an honest man or not. This is problem for the spirit. What matters here is not whether somebody is imprisoned for a week or for five years; the decisive thing is not this, but that the question may have arisen at all that one is not an honourable man even if one was honourable all one's life.

I am only mentioning this, so you should understand that, taking all this into account, I consider myself a fortunate man and am happy in the sense that I lived in accordance with my convictions in all circumstances and was able to work and fight for a cause in which I always deeply felt engaged as a man. This was dictated both by my mind and by my heart.

Situations occur when one has to do something that few people understand at the given moment, and it has to be done nevertheless in the hope that it will be understood later. I feel happy in the sense too that I have been able to live and see the day when lots of people, hundreds of thousands and millions understand what we had to do in one situation or another, and which was at that time understood by very few. I am glad that this did not happen through violence, through pressure, but by arguing and convincing.

I wish to the Central Committee and to myself too that we should continue work in this spirit, and should not spare trouble and patience when they are necessary to convince people, because the road which appears shortest is not always the shortest. Sometimes it is necessary to stop, to argue, to listen patiently to the other party too. This too is wisdom, if you like, that we must not only keep repeating our own tune, but must listen to others too, and afterwards think of what they said and why. Opinions must be brought

together, and out of this must come the conclusion of what we all have to do.

I apologize for this philosophizing, but having found myself in this situation, I wanted to express a few thoughts, something of my inner feelings, in this circle of friends. We often argue and philosophize together, and generally with good results. In conclusion I wish to express my sincere and profound gratitude to the esteemed Central Committee, the government, the Presidium and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front for this thoughtfulness, for this complimentary ceremony, which you have conferred me on the occasion of my sixtieth birthday. I am grateful to all of you for the distinction as well as for this party.

I believe that we more or less know each other. Today is a day on the calendar, tomorrow will be the twenty-sixth, then the twenty-seventh, life will go on, and there will always be work to do. I shall no longer change. Last week I was what I am today, and next week and afterwards I shall continue to be what I was. If I am permitted to interpret your words, dear comrades—and by this I do not only mean the members of the Central Committee but all those present—that nothing will change of our common resolution which has led us so far, and which has brought us together at this table too, and that we shall continue to work tirelessly for the same goal, in the same spirit, then I can say that I have had a happy birthday.

Thank you, comrades, and I propose that all of us, party members, our non-party friends who are present, our allies, raise our glasses together to our Central Committee, our Party, our working class, our peasantry, our intellectuals, the Hungarian people and to their happiness; and I am raising my glass also to your own good health.