

JÁNOS KÁDÁR

Socialism and Democracy in Hungary

Speeches, Articles, Interviews
1957-1982

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FOREWORD

This volume presents the development of Hungary over the past quarter of a century, the present situation and the problems of today. It was compiled from speeches and articles by János Kádár and from the documents of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the party of communists which leads the country, and from colourful illustrative material.

János Kádár, First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), is a politician with a world-wide reputation. He was born in Fiume (now Rijeka in Yugoslavia), in 1912. Before the Liberation in 1945, he was a mechanic, who improved his education by self-teaching. He was an active participant in the illegal communist movement from the beginning of the thirties and has been a member of the Party of Communists in Hungary since 1931. He has always retained his revolutionary dedication and his belief in a happy socialist future of the people. He took part in the reorganization of the underground Communist Party from 1940. From 1941 he held various leading positions in the party, and was secretary from the beginning of 1943. After the Liberation he held various high party and state posts; among others he was Deputy General Secretary of the Central Leadership between 1946 and 1948, Minister of the Interior from 1948 to 1950. He was arrested on trumped-up charges in the spring of 1951. After his rehabilitation in 1954 he became the First Secretary of the Party Committee in the XIIIth District of Budapest. He was elected a national leader of the party in July 1956. He played a big role in defeating the counter-revolution in 1956. He has been leading the country from his position of responsibility since 1956; he was also Prime Minister for a time.

He makes speeches regularly in the National Assembly, at Party Congresses and other official forums and friendly gatherings where he speaks openly and responsibly on the situation in the country, on the problems and on what has to be done. His speeches and articles have been published as a regular series in Hungary, and some volumes have also been translated into various foreign languages. This collection entitled "Socialism and Democracy in Hungary" is based on material from the selected works of János Kádár, published by the Kossuth Publishing House in Budapest between 1959 and 1981.

Since János Kádár speaks comprehensively on various aspects of a multifarious reality, he touches upon a number of themes in each speech and in his consecutive appearances he often continues and elaborates ideas previously broached, the main body of the present volume has been compiled from abridged texts and excerpts from his speeches. Three complete works, in which there have been insignificant editorial changes, precede the abridged texts. These works in themselves give a rich and complete theoretical, political summary of the subject defined in the title of this volume.

The speeches, excerpts from speeches and articles which follow are grouped in four main chapters. The first chapter gives a picture of workers' power in Hungary. It deals with the consolidation period after the counter-revolution in 1956, the restoration and defence of people's power, the further development of the socialist state, the evolution of socialist democracy and the policy on information. The second chapter deals with the leading role and style of work of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The third chapter gives a detailed description of the alliance policy of the party towards the various classes and strata of Hungarian society, the framework of which is the Patriotic People's Front movement and its present substance the emerging and developing socialist national unity. Finally, the fourth chapter is a summary of the economic, social and cultural life of socialist Hungary; it cannot attempt to be complete, but contains reflections above all on the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the reform of economic management, the achievements of the cul-

tural revolution and the development of socialist awareness. The next big section of the volume is a selection of documents from the resolutions and statements of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Our sources here have been the publications of the Kossuth Publishing House prepared between 1964 and 1983 by the Institute of Party History of the HSWP. The documents which make up this mosaic picture are closely linked with the speeches. In part they complement them, in part support them.

In various parts of the world people have more or less sketchy information about Hungary; therefore we found it necessary to present her life and progress through data, pictures and short explanatory notes. The summary entitled "Background" and list of names which follow the documents serve this purpose. Our sources have been official publications and books published in the Hungarian People's Republic.

"Socialism and Democracy in Hungary" was compiled by a group in the Kossuth Publishing House of Budapest assisted by the advice of experts. It has been published in several languages by Corvina Publishers. We hope that this work will assist the reader in acquiring a better understanding of socialist Hungary.

Budapest, 1983

THE PUBLISHER

SOME EXPERIENCES IN THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM
IN HUNGARY

JANUARY 1977

Events in the history of Hungary in the most recent period, such as the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils in 1919, the rule of the fascist Horthy regime between the two world wars, the second victory of workers' power in 1948 after the Liberation and the counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956 followed by its defeat are evidence that the class struggle in Hungary has taken the most extreme forms on more than one occasion and therefore furnishes us with clear and unforgettable experiences.

The road of our party, of our working class has not been easy. Success and failure alternated with each other during the long struggle. Facts prove that our party has been able to draw the necessary conclusions from its struggles, and our working class, our people have emerged strengthened from the trials of history. Referring to the present, the 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held in the spring of 1975 was fully justified in stating: our domestic political situation has been balanced for twenty years, our development unbroken and dynamic, our people follow our party, workers' power is strong and the positions of socialism are firm. The building of a developed socialist society is being carried on successfully in the Hungarian People's Republic.

The Congress approved the party's new manifesto which marked out the main tasks in the building of a developed socialist society to be resolved in the next 15-20 years, emphasizing that by taking this path we are getting nearer to our final goal, the creation of a classless communist society. The party's main political line, forged in historic struggles, the major fundamental principles of our policy and the most significant elements of our practical

work were reaffirmed by the Congress and further developed to meet new demands. The article which follows attempts to enumerate a few of these.

Ever since its foundation in November 1918, our party, the revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class, has worked as a patriotic and internationalist party and has always remained faithful to these principles under all circumstances. Now, during the building of a socialist society our party considers it a primary duty to take into account simultaneously both the national characteristics, the conditions of our country and the main laws of the building of socialism which are common internationally.

In the Hungarian People's Republic where our people live freely enjoying national independence and sovereignty, where the exploitation of man has ceased to exist and where a developed socialist society is under construction, socialist patriotism has become an important moral law of social life. Our party and our working class, as the leading force in our society and expressing the national interest, inherit and follow all the progressive historical traditions of our country and are the trustees of all the genuine values of our national past. Our party considers it a duty to cherish respect for progressive traditions among the people and youth of Hungary. Today and in the future the real interests of our people and our nation are embodied in socialism. In building socialism, active patriotism is a force which generates great momentum in our work; that our people regard the creation of a developed socialist society their national programme, is a great source of strength for us.

Our party is convinced that patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism and that these two magnificent ideas are the two sides of dedication to socialism. Under present conditions we consider the following to be the fundamental criteria for proletarian internationalism: the co-ordination of national and international interests; efforts to achieve unity, mutual support for one another and comradely co-operation; working out a collective standpoint and activity on major political questions on the basis of the independence, equality and voluntary

co-operation of fraternal parties. The most recent experiences of the international communist movement and the most recent conference of European communist and workers' parties in Berlin have also demonstrated the exceptional importance of regular bilateral and multilateral exchanges of views and the further development, through joint effort, of Marxist-Leninist theory, which constitutes the basis of our movement, of our ideological co-operation and the generalization of experiences.

We regard it as a significant element of proletarian internationalism that fraternal parties study, take into consideration and in their work correctly apply the experiences of the international communist and workers' movement and at the same time, by disclosing the experiences they themselves have gained in their struggle and activity, enrich the theoretical treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism.

For the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, apart from our own experiences, those of the struggles of the international workers' movement and the lessons learned by our fraternal parties have always been of decisive significance. Our party has learned and is learning from all communist parties, from all revolutionary forces. The rich theoretical and practical store of experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin, the pioneering development of the world's first socialist country are of special significance for us. The revolutionary forces of the world have always relied on the lasting lessons learned on the historic path taken by the Soviet Union, which is now celebrating 60 years of Soviet Power. This will be so in the future, too.

To take over experiences from others does not mean to copy them mechanically and does not mean the erosion of sovereignty. Each party must answer to itself whether it takes the experience of others into account and how this is applied. Our party takes great care to apply the general teachings of Marxism-Leninism creatively and in the way which is most compatible with the historical, political, economic and other attributes of our country. This is the expression of the fact that the party of the Hungarian communists, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is at the same time both a patriotic and internationalist party.

It is a fundamental tenet of Marxism-Leninism that the party of the working class has a decisive role in leading the socialist revolution. The party is the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the highest-level political organization of the working class, which represents and fulfils the interests of the whole working class, the people as a whole.

In this activity the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is led by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and works according to Leninist norms. It is the recognized leading force in Hungarian society; its place and role is enshrined in our constitution and today it directs the building of a socialist society.

It is our own experiences which have convinced us how important is the proper interpretation of this leading role. There have been mechanical interpretations of this leading role, which have held that the party must solve everything directly, that a leading role can only be assured where the party takes the implementation of practical tasks directly upon itself. At the opposite extreme, there have also been concepts which confine the role of the party simply to the activity of providing theoretical guidance.

Today, drawing on the lessons of the past, the leading role of the party is seen as meaning that the party initiates and determines the main directions of constructive work, convinces those outside the party, the workers of our country, that these are appropriate, mobilizes them to implement them and supervises the process of implementation. Party bodies pass resolutions which are obligatory only for the party and party members. Communists working in state and economic fields and in the mass organizations are answerable to the party for implementing them. Our party regards its leading role not as a privilege but as a service to the people as a duty to determine what has to be done at the appropriate time, taking into account the interests of the entire people, and to see to it that communists head that work.

As a result of our historical development, a one-party system has evolved in Hungary. The political unity of the working class has become a reality. Giving expression to the efforts of the working class to achieve unity, a party was established as a result

of the unification of the Hungarian Communist and Social Democratic parties which today bears the name Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and expresses the interests of the united working class. The establishment of this party in Hungary almost thirty years ago was a precondition for the founding of workers' power and the start of socialist construction.

In our view the one-party or multi-party system is not a question of principle in the building of socialism. Socialism can be constructed, and there are numerous examples, under a multi-party system, too. The decisive factor is the fighting unity and political alliance of the progressive forces dedicated to socialism.

A very important inference follows from the fact that different classes still exist in our society and that our party is a governing party in a one-party system. The party must see to it that the different interests which exist in society are taken into consideration and co-ordinated. As a result of social and political development in Hungary the former exploiting classes have ceased to exist and by now there are only fraternal working classes and strata, whose fundamental interests coincide. Nevertheless, various group and individual interests are also present in addition to the interests of society as a whole. The party recognizes these and considers it a duty to safeguard them on the basis of the overriding interests of society as a whole. The social and mass organizations and movements, and above all the trade unions, co-operatives and youth organizations, play an important role in giving expression to group and individual interests. The regular exchanges of views at various levels between the party and government on the one hand and representatives of these organizations on the other, contribute to the survey and co-ordination of various interests. This has been a natural and well-tried practice of our party for a long time.

A Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party is a living, lively, developing organism, which must also adjust its aims and its organizational life to the requirements of the times. In order that it can fulfil its tasks, today, too, the principle of democratic centralism strictly prevails in the party's structure and activity. Today the vanguard nature of the party no longer means what

it used to in the initial period of the communist movement, particularly in the conditions of illegality, when the party was working within narrow limits, and was partly a party of professional revolutionaries, was in fact not a mass party, but a party of cadres. Today the vanguard nature of the party means that on the one hand it concentrates the most progressive forces working in every field of socialist construction, representing all classes of our society, and on the other hand it guides social development.

Ever new generations of communists are joining the ranks of the party, and ever new tasks emerge in the building of socialism, so that the party must develop its style of work to the level appropriate to the requirements of the day, so that party members raise their Marxist-Leninist competence and that relations with the masses are constantly strengthened. The issue of new membership cards in our party last year, envisaged as strengthening the theoretical, political and operational unity of the party, served this purpose as did the resolution recently passed by the Central Committee on the Marxist-Leninist training of the membership and the improvement of the party's propaganda activity.

Our party, as the vanguard of the working class, is widening its mass basis by struggling for the interests of the broad masses of workers and is thus becoming more and more a party of the whole working people. The manifesto of our party states: as the differences between social classes and strata diminish the party becomes the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the entire people.

The leading role of the party is indispensable, but the force which shapes history is the people themselves; a socialist society can only come about as the creation of the entire people. The party, if only because of its numbers, cannot build a socialist society by itself. The new society is being built for the entire people, and communists and those outside the party, the people, the history-shaping masses must all bring it into being together under the leadership of the party. The party, the communists want to and are able to prosper only together with the people since their life's aim and meaning is service to the people. The result of the party's work in leading the building of socialism

therefore depends on the extent to which it is able to line up the masses of non-party members behind it. There is no victory for our alliance without the masses. For this reason, the policy of alliance, the constant strengthening of relations with the masses, is not a tactical question for the party, but a fundamental question of political principle.

The policy of alliance is a class policy; first and foremost it is a policy of the alliance of classes, the most important basis of which is the constant strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. The policy of alliance represents the joining of forces of three-quarters of a million Hungarian communists and millions of non-party workers. In the experience of our party the basis of good relations with the masses is mutual confidence which the party must earn time and again. It is a gratifying feeling that the 11th Congress of the party could state: "In Hungary today the close relationship between the party and the masses, their cohesion and mutual confidence mean more than anything else. Our people are aware that they can rely on our party hardened in battle, and our party knows that it can surely rely on our people, on the living, ever increasing strength of a socialist, national joining of forces in solving every task."

We have learnt that one must look for allies and rely on the masses not only in difficult situations but also when things are going well. Ever since its foundation, our party has been following a policy of alliance; it achieved success when its relationship with the masses was strong and it met with failure when this relationship weakened either as a result of petty-mindedness towards our allies or because of a lack of principled policy.

The alliance policy is first of all political co-operation on the basis of common interests and aims. It is a significant feature of the alliance policy that the party, as the vanguard, must show the way, must be in the forefront, but it is indispensable to convince the masses, to win their support and to see that the masses, our allies, are able to follow the party. During an earlier period of our development, it did happen that the party wanted to advance too fast and ran too far ahead. Therefore later we had to adjust to realities and we looked for the appropriate ways and

means to do this. This happened in the socialist reorganization of agriculture, which we carried out after several earlier and not sufficiently well-founded attempts, in the years 1958-1961 through the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance and by taking into account the intentions and interests of the masses of the peasantry and by strictly adhering to the principle of voluntariness.

We have to convince our allies daily of the correctness of our long-term aims and thereby we have to widen the sphere of those who agree with our cause and our ideas. We can say without exaggeration that our entire people agree with our political aims. But determining the rate of development of socialist revolution is always a political question demanding great attention. Our allies have been convinced by the correctness of our policies and our practice to date, and in our experience, this alliance becomes closer precisely if we correctly determine the further aims and rate of social progress in harmony with our allies, in joint debates and exchanges of view based on firm political principles.

This co-operation takes place between people of different ideologies. The party does not give up its Marxist-Leninist view for the sake of political co-operation. Political co-operation with allies, principled debate clarifying views and standpoints and clarification of problems in an open way, taking into account common interests and a constructive exchange of views, all presuppose and complement one another. It was a patient but at the same time principled policy which has convinced the leaders of the churches of the necessity to co-operate. In addition to the fact that the programme of socialism expresses the basic interests of religious believers, too, it is the basis of the normalized relations between State and Church in Hungary. The favourable conditions for social co-operation with the leaders of the Hungarian Churches in the recent period have come about within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front movement, which adopts the programme of building a socialist society.

The party follows a policy of socialist national unity. This is the widest form of expression of the policy of alliance. Its objective

and subjective basis is the fact that antagonistic conflicts within society have ceased to exist; there are only friendly working classes and strata, and the programme of building socialism had become a national programme. Such an extension of the policy of alliance shows the extent of our progress. Socialist national unity rests on the most fundamental common interests, on the common aspiration for socialism, progress, peace and national advancement, and on the joint achievement of aims. This was clearly expressed during the recent 6th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front which took a stand in support of the main guidelines of the party's 11th Congress, the programme which set the goal of building a developed socialist society.

Power is the fundamental question in every revolution. Power is a means of achieving social and economic aims. The nature of power is determined first and foremost by which class possesses that power, the interests of which classes and strata it represents and what kind of aims it sets and realizes. The course of history has furnished us with numerous versions of the forms of exercising and seizing power. How and under what circumstances a class comes to power and what form of power it exercises always depends on the specific circumstances. This applies to the working class, too.

The building of socialism in Hungary is not possible without working-class power. Power in the hands of the working class is a means of realizing their historical aims—the establishment, defence and building of socialism. In Hungary workers' power took the form of the Republic of Councils in 1919 and a people's democracy in 1947–48. As far as form was concerned the power which came to existence between 1947 and 1948 differed significantly from the forms of both the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia in 1917 and that of the Republic of Councils in Hungary in 1919.

Each of the socialist countries which exist today reached socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. In former tsarist Russia, the working class seized power with force of arms and defended that power for years in civil war, in armed struggle against outside intervention. To carry through socialist transform-

ation in the Soviet Union, industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture was only possible in the early periods of development through the suppression of resistance from the exploiting capitalist and land-owning classes. As the working class gathered strength and their power was consolidated, the revolution advanced and the situation changed. It was on that basis that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was able to declare that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union had fulfilled its historic mission and had become a universal people's state, the state of the entire people; but at the same time the leading role of the working class continues even in the period of building communism.

The situation was different when the working class came to power in the people's democracies. The existence, development and the victory in the Second World War of the Soviet Union had created a new situation. In the European socialist countries the working class came to power by relatively peaceful means and were able to pursue a wider policy of alliance right from the outset. In Vietnam, China and Cuba, on the other hand, the working class again came to power in a more acute struggle.

In Hungary the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1919 and in 1947–48 was historically inevitable. Both in 1919 and in 1947–48 the Hungarian working class came to power in a relatively peaceful manner but in both cases they had to wage a hard struggle to defend the power acquired. In the backward society of the time, burdened by the relics of feudalism, the class conflicts were extraordinarily acute in form. The first Republic of Councils had to be defended every day against outside armed intervention and it was only outside superiority which was able to defeat it. In the decades which followed 1945, too, even if to a decreasing extent in its trend, the threat of hostile attack was present all the time; moreover, as is known, and for reasons which are known, an open counter-revolutionary uprising erupted in 1956 and had to be defeated by force of arms.

Our party is convinced that the power of the working class, the socialist state is needed today and will be needed for a long time to come in the Hungarian People's Republic so that the

internal and external conditions for socialist construction can be safeguarded. Just as the tenet of the earlier period, that the class struggle becomes more and more acute as socialism is built, was false, so it would be just as mistaken to believe that the permanent relaxation of the class struggle is the only realistic possibility which can be imagined. This always depends on the correlation of domestic and international forces. It is never the aim of communists to make the class struggle more acute; nevertheless they have to take such a possibility into account, to be ready for such an eventuality, and it is their duty to ensure the defence of the revolution. And although internationally détente, peaceful competition between social systems and the ideological struggle have come to the forefront, the fact that imperialism has not given up its subversive political activity and its attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries must also be taken into consideration.

The functions of the socialist state are being unceasingly widened and modified in substance. As the positions of socialism strengthen and the exploiting classes cease to exist, the activity of the class enemy shrinks to a minimum and therefore the oppressive function of the state diminishes. Today in Hungary the main function of the state is the organization and guidance of economic and cultural organizing-educational work.

The essence of socialist power and the socialist state is democracy. It is a widely known Marxist view that what determines the democratic nature of a system fundamentally and at all times is who holds political and economic power; who is in command of the state apparatus and the means of production; what kind of rights and genuine opportunities this power ensures to which class and on what questions they have a say in the affairs of state and society; and whether the workers have genuine opportunities to take decision and supervise what goes on. Since the socialist state embodies workers' power and serves the interests of the working class as a whole, this power is more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy is a people's democracy in the true sense of the word, it is the most democratic

of all the systems, which have been created by mankind in the course of history.

With the expansion of our state, socialist democracy is deepening and becoming more widespread. Building on the significant achievements of recent years we see further opportunities to expand democracy in general and in three areas of outstanding importance in social life in particular: the local councils, the factories and the co-operatives.

In the conditions of today we attach exceptional significance to the development of workplace democracy. Workplace democracy is a fundamental part of socialist democracy; it provides for the workers to have a genuine say in enterprise management, in local and public affairs and in decisions concerning them; it heightens the development of the creative nature of work; it is an important means of influencing the socialist relationship between leaders and their subordinates; and it increases both the sense of responsibility and the activities of the workers.

We also want to serve the development of democracy by improving the work of state bodies. The party puts great emphasis on the need to perfect how state administration is organized, for clearly defined spheres of authority and good administrative work carried out with a personal sense of responsibility strengthen the general public feeling of democracy and at the same time constitute the most effective struggle against bureaucracy.

History has already justified the foresight of our classic thinkers Marx, Engels and Lenin, who stated firmly that beyond an identity on essentials, the transition from capitalism to socialism will take diverse and versatile forms. The Paris Commune in 1871, the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917 and each of the people's democracies created after the Second World War, all from the very outset had specific characteristics stemming from the situation, possibilities and demands of the time. The existing socialist states themselves change and develop. It can be presumed that there will be ever new forms brought about by socialist revolution in the future. The forms of power, of state and government and the institutions of democracy can all change. These specific forms cannot be foreseen or predicted

today. It is obvious, however, that a qualitative change in social relations takes place when capitalism is necessarily replaced by the socialist system in a given country.

In Hungary a form of working-class power which corresponds to our in many respects specific conditions has come into being and has stood the test of practice. It is obvious that other solutions are possible under different conditions. Our road forward is clear. The 11th Congress of the party was able to state: "In the course of the further development of our society, as the differences between the classes diminish and with the creation of a developed socialist society, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is gradually transformed into the socialist state of the entire people, the leading force of which remains the working class. In a developed socialist society the elements of communist social self-management come into existence and develop."

After gaining power the most important task of the working class is to make an immediate start in laying the economic foundations for the new society and then later to build these up. The fate of socialism is decided by the successfulness of its work in economic construction. On this factor depends whether socialism can overcome the waning capitalist system and provide better and fuller living conditions for the people than the previous society. This largely depends on how well work is organized and how effective it is, and on the planned development of the economy. The 11th Congress of our party also strongly emphasized that there is no area of our social life which does not depend on the achievements of production, of constructive work.

The basis of socialist economic constructive work is the public ownership of the major means of production which provides the opportunity for a planned economy and for rational management of the wealth of our country, for development of the means of production and production relations in a planned fashion, and for a steady rise in the living standards of the population. There are various forms of planned economy. We are applying that form of socialist planned economy in which the major processes of the economy are determined and regulated by the central state bodies but at the same time the enterprises enjoy a significant degree of

independence. A decisive role is played in the management of economic life by the long-term, five-year and annual national economic plans of which the plans of the enterprises, the local councils and the co-operatives are complementary parts. After the successful fulfilment of the Fourth Five-Year Plan we have just embarked confidently on fulfilling the Fifth Five-Year Plan which incorporates the tasks of the coming years and which will take us far along the road to creating a developed socialist society.

Impressive figures indicate the development of our economy. A qualitative change has taken place in comparison with the picture before the Liberation. In viewing the figures we have to take into consideration that the Hungarian People's Republic is a country with a territory of just 93,000 square km (35,500 square miles), with 10.5 million inhabitants and with little raw material and energy resources. The stock of the national economy's means of production has been renewed and has grown many times over and is today three times as big as that of the last year of peace before the war. Hungary used to be a backward country and during the thirty years since the Liberation has been transformed from an agrarian-industrial country into one possessing a developed industry and large-scale agriculture, which is going to join the group of developed industrial countries in the near future. In comparison with 1938 industrial production has increased ten times and that of agriculture, operating on a smaller area and with half the labour, more than one and a half times, while the national income has grown almost five times. With the economic transformations the face of society has completely changed. Today the majority of the population work in industry and the largest, most numerous class in our country is the working class. The living conditions of the population are in harmony with our level of economic development. We have full employment, all members of society are covered by national insurance and free medical care is the civic right of every citizen. Although the housing situation is still difficult, the rate at which new homes are built puts us among the foremost countries in Europe. In the last fifteen years we have built a million homes.

Amidst the crises which for years have repeatedly shaken the

capitalist world, the superiority of socialist planned economic management has again been demonstrated. Even in this difficult situation we have been able to ensure the unbroken development of our economy and we have further increased the standard of living of our people even if to a more modest degree, which the workers rightfully view as a sign of the soundness and stability of our system. We cannot yet say that the most difficult tasks are behind us. We can and will eliminate the unfavourable effects of the changes which have taken place in the world economy and which we will have to cope with for a long time to come; we will do this first and foremost by improving our constructive work at home, by increasing efficiency, by strengthening the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, by developing socialist economic integration still more strongly and extensively and by widening relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of mutual advantage. We have every reason to be confident because workers' power and the economy are developing dynamically and because we can build on the economic co-operation between the socialist countries. By creating the technical and economic basis for a developed socialist society, our country will become an economically developed country in the next 15-20 years.

For the socialist state organizing and guiding cultural-educational work is a long-term task. The development of socialist consciousness and the education of the workers are not only one of the main reserves for economic development, but are at the same time a fundamental precondition for the development of the individual and for his or her activity in public life. All-round support for the education of citizens and the elimination of educational differences are an important aim of our socialist system.

Marxist-Leninist ideology and ideological education play a determining role in the entire life of our society. Our party pays great attention to giving the dissemination of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism a place commensurate with their significance in the entire activity of the party. We keep in mind that a thorough knowledge and the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory, together with the latest results in the social

sciences, are the main source of the party's ability to lead the work of socialist construction successfully and at the same time a guarantee for this. The interest in the ideas of scientific socialism is reflected in the fact that during the recent period in our country more than 2,200,000 people on average have taken part in Marxist-Leninist education annually and that number has studied our ideology. The spread of Marxist-Leninist ideas changes the ideological state of the entire society and, beyond political unity, strengthens the ideological unity of society.

Socialism and science are natural allies. Our state places great emphasis on seeing that public education, specialized training and science develop in harmony with the increase in social demands. It is a great achievement of our socialist system that eight years of general-school education is widespread and compulsory and that the majority of young people who finish school can go on to further studies. It is our realistic aim to make secondary-school education standard for the generation which is growing up and to see that social conditions no longer play a significant role in shaping their careers. In the field of secondary education, we are first of all raising the level of skilled workers' training. Already 25,000 young intellectual specialists leave our universities and higher schools of education annually today, and they not only have a diploma but also a guaranteed livelihood. We allocate 3% of our national income to scientific research and development which stands up to international comparison.

Our state supports the free development of socialist culture, literature and the arts. There is wide scope for creative freedom and experiment. Our achievements in cultural and educational life are widely known. It was a tremendous historic deed of our people's state that the educational monopoly of the privileged classes has been ended. Today more people have higher-education diplomas than the numbers who held secondary-school diplomas before the Liberation. The number of books printed is eight times as high, that is, more than 70 million volumes are printed annually. The number of people going to the theatre, concerts and the cinema, as well as to museums, has multiplied. Our culture, education and science have been responsible for

works of considerable value not few of which are accessible to all: the Hungarian National Assembly has just approved a Law on Access to Culture which guarantees educational opportunities to the widest strata of the population.

Socialist culture embraces all the true values of human culture. Works by the classical writers of world literature are published in many thousands of copies in our country. We could mention, for example, that more copies of the works of French classical writers are printed in Hungary than in France. There are many other examples to prove that the dissemination and exchange of valuable cultural works, as supported by the Helsinki Conference, is living practice in Hungary. Indeed we are aware that there are further opportunities to widen international co-operation and we are prepared to study them. Humanist works serving the ideals of progress, the former and present values of the universal culture of mankind always find support in Hungary. At the same time we do not confuse the exchange of intellectual works with the dissemination of hostile propaganda, which we block. To do so is not only the right, but the duty of a state which is dedicated to fulfilling the finest of human ideals.

The manifesto adopted at the 11th Congress of our party states: The development of social consciousness, the change in the way of thinking of the people, of their moral outlook and the enrichment of their education, are an inseparable part of the socialist development of our society. We must see to it that the slogan of the socialist brigades and outstanding workers, the attitude of "work, study and live the socialist way" becomes the general social norm. To realize this is an important task in the cultural, educational, organizational activity of the party and the socialist state.

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In the spring of 1975 the 11th Congress of our party assessed the experiences of constructive work, set out the tasks ahead of us and established that the building of socialism is proceeding successfully and that the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the general laws of the building of socialism predominate in a way

which is in keeping with our national circumstances and endowments. We encounter new problems in the course of our work; we have been and are searching for the answers to these. It is our party's view that it is responsible to our own people for its activity, but in a wider sense it is also responsible to the international working-class movement. We would like to serve the cause of our people and of international progress by all the steps we take, by all our deeds. Our party has been pursuing an unbroken political line for twenty years. We consider it our most important task to retain and further develop, creatively, this main balanced line which rejects all right and left-wing distortions. This demands both the explanation and justification of our fundamental principles and our theories time and again, and their further development by finding appropriate solutions to the new problems encountered in the work of construction.

In its manifesto the 11th Congress of our party has set the establishment of a developed socialist society as the long-term aim, a task which will spread over several decades. By laying and consolidating the foundations of the new society our country has entered the era of socialism. Socialism today is developing on a foundation which is entirely its own. While travelling the road to creating a developed socialist society the outlines of the final aim of the historic mission of the working class, of communists, that of communism, are already taking shape.

*(Béke és Szocializmus [Peace and Socialism], No. 1, 1977.
A szocializmusért, a békéért [For socialism, for peace], pp. 462-477.)*

SPEECH AT THE FESTIVE SESSION OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE ON THE OCCASION OF THE 60th
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PARTY
OF COMMUNISTS IN HUNGARY

NOVEMBER 1978

Over sixty strenuous years our party and the Hungarian working class have fought many victorious battles, but our historic road has not been free from failures and mistakes. Nevertheless, reviewing the journey as a whole we can rightly and proudly say that the struggle of the party has been successful, the balance a positive one; with the support of the working class, the working masses and our people, our party has achieved results of historic significance. On this anniversary we must speak of a few of the main experiences of the past sixty years since these are not only the main sources of our lasting results and historical achievements, but they are also guidelines for the activity of our party today and in the future, too.

Our party can attribute its achievements and success first of all to its adherence to scientific socialism, the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the fact that in practice it strives to apply these teachings creatively. The theoretical basis and scientific method of our ideology and political thinking is Marxism-Leninism. The fundamental changes of the last sixty years and the present world situation, and within those the history of the Hungarian party and the socialist reality of our country today, in a word, practice itself has proved the unshakable truth, the unprecedented power of the ideas introduced for the first time in the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848; and at the same time they have verified the tremendous significance of the fact that Lenin broke with the opportunism which had gained ground in the Second International, defended and in general further developed the teachings of Marx and Engels and applied them to the period of imperialism and the proletarian revolution.

On the basis of our experiences we hold that the theory of Marxism-Leninism is an indispensable weapon in the revolutionary struggle of the working class. It is common knowledge that Marxist-Leninist theory is not a dogma, but a guide to action, to the specific analysis of a specific situation. The founders of scientific socialism did not leave a blueprint which is applicable to all situations, but they disclosed the laws of social progress and the scientific method of leading the class struggle. Possessing the scientifically elaborated principles and methods every revolutionary party of every period must decide for itself what solutions are the most applicable to a given place and situation.

Every phase in the history of our party from its foundation to the present day testifies that the strength of the party stems first and foremost from the creative application of the principles of scientific socialism, from the elaboration and implementation of a policy based on these principles. In 1918-19 this resulted in winning the masses, in their revolutionary development, in the establishment of working-class power, in the victory of the socialist revolution and in the proclamation of the Hungarian Republic of Councils. It helped our party in the struggle against a counter-revolutionary regime which lasted over a quarter of a century.

It was with the help of Marxist-Leninist theory that our party led the struggle for power during the years of the Second World War and after the Liberation, and it was through this that the working class came to power for the second time in 1948 and that a start was made on laying the foundations of a socialist society in our country.

After the armed defeat of the counter-revolutionary uprising which erupted in the autumn of 1956 it was the application of our scientific theory that made it possible to overcome the deep political crisis and to continue the building of socialism. With the help of that theory, the party had enough strength to examine in a truly Marxist way, critically and self-critically, the causes of the tragic situation of the time and the lessons to be drawn, to work out a policy and the things to be done to meet the specific situation. Appropriately, the party broke with both dogmatic

sectarian distortion and revisionist treason; it reorganized the membership and regained the confidence of the masses through its open, principled policy. All this made it possible to consolidate rapidly, to stabilize working-class power, continue the vigorous building of socialism and to lay the foundations of socialism; thus the struggle in our country was decided in favour of socialism.

In its theoretical and practical work the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has considered and does consider it an obligation to take into account at all times and at the same time the general laws of Marxism-Leninism, the experiences of our working class and our people, the circumstances of our country and our national characteristics. We try to learn from fraternal parties and we attach exceptionally great significance to the experiences of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin. We hold that today when communist parties work out their policies independently, the importance of knowing and understanding each other's struggles and activities better is increasing, since in our era the totality of the experiences of the communist and workers' parties is the main source of the development of our theory and practice.

We can often hear bourgeois catch-phrases—they are not new—and such “innovative” arguments which speak of Marxism or at least of Leninism as “old-fashioned”, and we can also witness how far the Maoist line has moved away from the principles of scientific socialism. Our position is clear. Today, just as there is no Marxism without the teachings of Marx and Engels, there is none without the teachings of Lenin, either. For us Marxism-Leninism is a science, which expands the social laws of the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism; a science which itself is developing, which keeps abreast of reality; therefore its timeliness is revealed more and more in the great world processes of our era which are going on all over the globe.

Decades of historical experiences prove that in their struggle against capitalist exploitation, in the acute struggle for power and under the conditions of socialism, the working class can

fulfil their social mission only if their struggle is led by an organized revolutionary vanguard which both represents their daily interests and never loses sight of their historic aims.

Ever under the conditions of socialism, when power is in their possession, the predominance of the leading role of the party, of the working class will primarily depend on a policy based on firm Marxist-Leninist principles. Just as the leading role of the party is strengthened by a correct policy, by setting an appropriate pace in the development of the socialist revolution, so it is decreased by a sectarian pseudo-radical policy which leaves the daily interests of the masses out of consideration, demands sacrifices for purposes which they do not understand and tries to substitute the issuing of orders for patient day-to-day educational and organizational work and setting a good example. The leading role of the party, its influence among the masses is similarly weakened and progress is threatened by the revisionist opportunist view which, reflecting the mood of the more backward and more conservative masses and using the lack of understanding by the masses as an excuse, loses sight of long-term aims, gives up the efforts to convince and mobilize the workers and falls under the influence of the masses.

Beyond the creative application of theory, the leading role of the party is decisively influenced by the extent to which it is capable of implementing its policies in practice. Whether the leading role of the party prevails or not, therefore, depends first and foremost not on how many members the party has, nationally or in the various workplaces, but on how and to what extent the policy of the party is carried out in a given workplace and in the country.

There are both negative and positive experiences in this field in our recent history. As far as membership was concerned, the party was at its biggest in the beginning of the fifties, when there were around 900,000 members; but political distortions and the breakdown of party unity not only weakened its leading role, but the party itself became paralysed. In contrast, in the spring of 1957 the reorganized party had significantly fewer members, about 240,000, yet it solved its tasks successfully, because it set

proper and realistic political aims, used good methods, was united and was able to win over the greater majority of the people. Since the reorganization our party has developed in a healthy way as far as the membership is concerned; it has been supplemented continuously from the ranks of the younger generations and this is a great asset for our cause.

In addition to the revolutionary theory, principled policy and winning over of the masses it is essential that the party adhere to definite organizational principles if it is to fulfil its leading role. When at the beginning of the century Lenin started his struggle to establish a new type of revolutionary party of the working class, he stated that this party must not be an organization which was defenceless against the arbitrary will of the leaders of certain factions, an organization torn in parts, nor could it be a petty-bourgeois, anarchic debating club incapable of united action. He considered democratic centralism to be the determining organizational principle, and he fought for this to predominate from first to last.

The practice of communist parties has justified the correctness of the principle of democratic centralism in even the most difficult situations. We have created the ideological, political and organizational unity of our Marxist-Leninist party through the consistent application of this principle. The essence of democratic centralism is the widest possible free debate in the process of decision-making and total unity and discipline in the implementation of decisions adopted. The predominance of democratic centralism has liberated the creative energies of communists, opened up wide scope for responsible initiative, sheltered the party from major mistakes and made it possible to give Marxist answers to new questions; it has strengthened the party's unity and ability to act in solving problems.

In November 1956, our party established the indispensable preconditions for successful work by restoring the Leninist norms of party life and the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership and individual responsibility in implementing policy, both in the Central Committee and in all other bodies and organizations of the party. The favourable effects of this

showed themselves immediately in the debate on the resolution of the Central Committee in December 1956, and it was the same in the debates on the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the reform of the economic mechanism and the manifesto of the party, as well as in the implementation of these highly significant decisions. Adhering to the Leninist norms of party life and seeing that they are adhered to will be an indispensable precondition for fruitful work by the party in the future as well.

It is the historic mission of the party to lead society to communism, to create a common home for the workers, in which people can live in peace, prosperity and freedom. In attaining this magnificent aim, the party and its membership undertake to do the greater part of the work and do not ask for nor receive privileges for doing so. It is in this sense that the role of the party is unselfish service to the people. At the same time the party must be more far-sighted than the masses, and must work so that the working classes recognize their real interests and undertake the tremendous task of transforming society. It is in this sense that we talk of the leading role of the party as the most class-conscious vanguard of the working class, of the working people. In the present phase of our development, as stated in our manifesto, our party gradually changes from being the vanguard of the working class to being the vanguard of the entire working people.

The experiences of our struggle for socialism convincingly prove the fundamental Marxist thesis according to which conquest of political power is a question of utmost importance for the class struggle. The Hungarian working class, too, were only able to put an end to capitalist exploitation and could only start to build a new world when they were in possession of power. The specific form of the political power of the working class has always evolved in accordance with the given historical situation. In 1919 the Hungarian Republic of Councils was a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the people's democratic state which emerged after the Liberation, the Hungarian People's Republic, fulfils the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

According to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the

practical experiences of the revolutionary movement, the working class can seize power with the support of their allies through peaceful or non-peaceful means. The Hungarian working class, both in 1919 and in 1948, conquered the heights of power without armed struggle, in a relatively peaceful manner. In both cases the historical conditions were such that the bourgeoisie proved to be too weak to oppose the political action of the working class.

In whatever manner the conquest of power takes place, it is always a decisive battle in the class struggle and the bourgeoisie are never reconciled to the loss of their political power without a fight. In August 1919, the Hungarian bourgeoisie, betraying country and nation, invited external armed forces into the country to regain their power. And even after 1948 they seized the first favourable opportunity, fomenting and exploiting the deep political crisis which emerged in the country, in order to try and win back their power by triggering an armed counter-revolutionary uprising.

That attempt met with failure, because in 1956 the Hungarian working class was more experienced than 37 years before, and also to no small degree because in the meantime the international balance of power had changed fundamentally in our favour: the Hungarian working class could rely on the solidarity and support of the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the progressive forces of the world in the defence of their achievements and international imperialism was not given the opportunity to meddle in the domestic affairs of our country.

As far as their intentions are concerned, the working class want to achieve all their aims, including the conquest and retention of power, through political means and by political methods, if possible. Where there was armed struggle and civil war, it was always provoked by the reactionary bourgeoisie, prepared to employ any means, including armed opposition, to prevent progress. History bears witness to this.

Political power is of a class character in every country. The spokesmen of capitalism accuse the working class in power of violence. The accusation is made by those who are profoundly silent about the fact that the essence of the state under the capi-

talist system, in all its varieties, is the dictatorship of big capital against the suppressed classes, and securing the exploitation of the workers.

The power of the working class, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, wherever it has come into being, Hungary included, has established the power of the predominant majority of the people. The working class includes the working masses in the exercise of power and they create democracy of such a wide scope as was unknown to the people in their earlier history. As early as 1919, in the period of the Civil War and the battle against the foreign interventionists, Lenin emphasized in his greetings to the Hungarian workers that: "the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, and remove the basis for all exploitation of man by man."*

During the operation of the dictatorship of the proletariat the suppressive role of the state gradually decreases and is replaced by the increasing organizational role of the state in the field of building the socialist economy and culture. In the Hungarian People's Republic, as in general in the socialist countries, the main trend of development in social and state life is towards democratization, towards the ever fuller evolution of socialist democracy. The experiences of our party justify the universally valid teachings of Marxism-Leninism that during the building of socialism the socialist state itself develops and that in this process the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is transformed into an all-people's state in which the working class retains the leading role. The achievement of our final aim, the building of a communist society, will provide the conditions for the state to wither away.

* Greetings to the Hungarian Workers. V. I. Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 29. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 388.

By now there are socialist countries on three continents. Socialism has become a world system. The victory of the socialist revolution in former tsarist Russia, the founding, existence, example and experiences of the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, has strongly affected peoples who are struggling for their social and national liberation. Nevertheless it is evident that, apart from the fundamental similarities in each and every socialist country today, the socialist revolution triumphed differently, in various ways and forms at different times. This is a natural phenomenon because of the different national traditions and circumstances, the different domestic balance of forces in the individual countries and the changed factors of the international situation.

It is a fundamental tenet of Marxist-Leninist theory that various roads lead to the victory of the socialist revolution, and the more peoples choose the road of socialism, the more diverse these forms will be. Lenin expressed this as early as 1916: "All nations will arrive at socialism—this is inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformations in the different aspects of social life. There is nothing more primitive from the viewpoint of theory, or more ridiculous from that of practice, than to paint, 'in name of historical materialism', *this* aspect of the future in a monotonous grey."* Lenin's brilliant insight based on the reality of life is reaffirmed by the experiences of the class struggle in Hungary and by the particularities of the victory of our revolution and socialist development; and the examples of victorious socialist revolutions have substantiated it in every case.

It is a characteristic of the building of socialism that in some socialist countries one party, in others several parties operate. In our experience under a socialist regime the one-party or multi-party system is not a question of principle but a practical political

* A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism. V. I. Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 23. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1964, pp. 69-70.

question to be decided on the basis of the traditions and social conditions of the given country. In principle it is possible, in practice it is probable that in the future, when even more peoples will embark on the road of socialist development, the number of socialist countries, where several parties operate because of historical traditions or for some other reasons, will increase.

Our road has been different. In Hungary, with the exception of brief periods, civil rights had been largely absent, but class conflicts were extremely acute. It is under such historical conditions that our present situation has emerged, the essence of which is the power of the working class; and one of its characteristics is that one party is operating under our political system. In Hungary, the land-owning and capitalist classes have ceased to exist; there are only working classes in our society, and we are not going to organize bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties to represent classes which no longer exist, either for the sake of our capitalist critics or for the sake of the theories of possible new roads of socialist development.

Our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, came into being through the union of two parties, the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, with the acceptance of the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism. The Hungarian working class, our people highly value the historic creation of communists and left-wing social democrats, the unification in 1948 of the two workers' parties. It is the undying merit of the adherents of working-class unity that, in spite of the crude sectarian mistakes of the period which followed the unification and the injustices done, they defended the united party against the attacks of the revisionists and the class enemy, even during the stormiest events of the protracted political crisis which lasted from summer 1953 to spring 1957. By those efforts they contributed decisively to the establishment of working-class power in 1948, to its defence in 1956 and to ensuring the conditions for socialist development to this day.

Our experiences, like the general experiences of the class struggle internationally, suggest that where two or more workers' parties exist which exercise significant influence on the masses,

their merger can strengthen to a great extent the unity of the working class and can multiply their political strength. This is a possibility; but what is indispensable is that in the interest of the successful defence of the day-to-day interests of the working class and the achievement of their historical aims, the workers' parties of given countries find suitable and effective forms of co-operation and unity of action in the struggle against capital.

In the debate which is going on between the social systems on democracy and human rights, the defenders of the capitalist order prefer to present the questions of a political system as if a multi-party system and democracy were the characteristics of the capitalist system and the one-party system and dictatorship were the characteristics of the socialist system. This is a fundamentally false and artificial allegation both theoretically and when confronted with reality. Everyone knows that today there are countries among both the socialist and developing countries as well as among the capitalist countries in which one or several political parties are operating and this fact in itself does not determine the democratic or non-democratic character of a given system.

The Hungarian communists who have fought underground for a quarter of a century defying the prisons of the fascist regime and martial law, do not in any way underestimate the significance of bourgeois democratic civil rights, but in the debate between the different systems one must talk of the quintessence of the matter.

In the capitalist countries where actual power is in the hands of big capital, where the workers are exploited and they are guaranteed no legal right of say on matters which ensure the basic conditions for human existence such as whether they obtain work or not, the system will not be democratic no matter how many political parties operate. In contrast, in the socialist countries, where the exploitation of man by man has ceased to exist, where the people have become the master of their own fate, where the interests of the citizens are protected by the state itself, where the workers have a direct say in deciding matters which ensure the basic conditions of life, the political system is of a superior order and more democratic even if there is only one party.

Our political system is capable of protecting the interests of the working classes and strata, and indeed those of the individual workers, in everyday practice, and of ensuring that their rights defined in the Constitution and our laws do prove effectual. To this end, our party pursues a policy of alliance, which has established a class alliance between the working classes, the workers and the peasantry, and collaboration with the intelligentsia and the petty-bourgeois strata, unity between party members and non-party people, between materialists and religious believers; this has been done within the framework of the Patriotic People's Front movement, under the leadership of the working class, with the aim of building a socialist society. The fact that the trade unions, the youth organizations, the National Council of Women and women's committees, together with a number of other mass organizations, mass movements and other representative bodies work effectively, independently and in keeping with their social role, guarantees that our political system works well.

Speaking of the experiences of our historical past, we can state with a clear conscience that from the moment of its foundation up to this day, our party has been a patriotic and international party and will continue to be so in the future.

It was the class-conscious workers, the communists, and particularly the revolutionary party of the working class, which the land-owning and capitalist class had the effrontery to accuse of lack of patriotism; yet they were a class which was the faithful servant of the Habsburgs, and were later the first and the last satellite of the Hitler fascists; in both the First and Second World Wars they led millions of our people to the slaughter-house on behalf of foreign interests; in both wars they took the country, the nation to the abyss of utter destruction and they were guided solely and at all times by their selfish class interests.

In contrast, our party and the Hungarian working class fought against imperialist wars; at the time of the Hungarian Republic of Councils they conducted a revolutionary defensive patriotic war; during the years of the Second World War, as a persecuted party, joining forces with other patriots, they fought against fascism and for an independent, free and democratic Hungary.

In the period following the Liberation, as a governing party they shouldered the responsibility for the fate of the nation. And today, too, our most important aim is to serve the independence, freedom, peace and happier socialist future of our people and the prosperity of our homeland.

As the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard of the working class, our party has always actively championed the principle of proletarian internationalism, and has proved its loyalty to this by its deeds. Our party is in solidarity with the communist and workers' parties of the world, with the Soviet Union, with the member states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, with all nations building socialism, with the peoples struggling for their freedom, with the progressive forces of the world. Those of our comrades, who in the years of the Civil War in Russia took up arms for the victory of the revolution, who fought in the international brigades for the republic in Spain, who joined the units of armed anti-fascist resistance, were fighting far from their country, yet at the same time for their country, for our people and for the freedom of the peoples.

Our party has always resolutely rejected and rejects today both bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. The party follows the principles of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and educates our people and our youth in this spirit. In our view, these two concepts are inseparable from each other. Symbolically speaking, it is for this reason that we are equally faithful to the red-white-green flag of our nation and the red banner of the international workers' movement. That we cherish and unceasingly strengthen our friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union, with the countries and peoples of socialism and progress, and with the communist and workers' parties of the world protects the peace of our people, and ensures their socialist future. Loyalty to the ideals of socialist patriotism and internationalism and the cause of friendship among peoples is the most faithful service to the national interests of the Hungarian people.

After looking back on our historical course and assessing a few of the major experiences of our struggles, we must speak of the present position of our party and the current questions of our

daily work. Our party, which at present has about 790,000 members, is ideologically, politically and organizationally united, its relationship with the masses is close, it works as one with the working class and its policy enjoys the support of the people.

The long and difficult struggles of sixty years have been characterized by the limitless readiness for sacrifice of the class-conscious workers, peasants and intellectuals who supported the struggle of the party. The course of the struggle against the barbaric fascist class enemy is marked by the graves of victims and martyrs. If we think of the present position of the party, of the free life worthy of man of our people today, of the development of the country, we are bound to say that the struggle had sense, the sacrifices were not in vain; we have great achievements. The party does have its own responsibility and plays an irreplaceable, decisive part in defining the appropriate direction and aims, and in organizing and directing the struggle. But when we speak of achievements, then we speak of the performances, the results of the class-conscious work of the forces shaping history, the masses, our working class and our people.

In our country, the biggest and most important result of the struggle has been the establishment of working-class power, the creation of a workers' state, the Hungarian People's Republic. Even today protecting the power of the working class and safeguarding the legal order of our country are our most important tasks. By doing so we defend our achievements and guarantee the basic conditions for our future development. It is due to working-class power, to the people's state that we have been able to lay the foundations for a socialist social order; that we have been able to make great strides in economic and cultural construction and in raising the standard of living; and that the Hungarian people can today build a developed socialist society and can look to the future with confidence.

Over the past twenty years our development has been unbroken. We have defended and consolidated working-class power, we have carried out the socialist reorganization of agriculture, we have further developed our system of economic management, which puts into effect a planned socialist economy, and we have

widened and deepened socialist democracy, one of the major essential features of our society.

As a result of resolute work, the national income in 1977 was four and a half times which it was in 1950. Industrial production grew eightfold, agricultural production doubled, real wages per wage-earner went up two and a half times, and per capita real income more than three times. During the first 15-year housing programme completed at the end of 1975, one million and fifty thousand homes were built, and every third family moved to a new home.

In keeping with the development of our society, ideological education has expanded in Hungary; the influence of our ideology, Marxism-Leninism, has increased, socialist public thinking has strengthened and the norms of socialist morals and a socialist way of life have gained ground. This manifests itself in the development of the socialist work competitions, Communist Saturdays and the socialist brigade movement, as well as in the voluntary and ever-widening community work of the population to solve local problems and to beautify and protect the environment. As a result of the development and extension of science, education, specialized training and access to culture the Hungarian people have become better educated, more enlightened, they have a wider horizon and display a greater interest in things than at any time during our history...

...The Central Committee always strives to assess the situation realistically and thus to deal with what has to be done but without losing sight of our long-term aims. We are aware that proper solutions to the tasks ahead in economic and cultural construction will not be easy; they make higher demands on the bodies responsible for guidance, first and foremost, but to no lesser degree on every worker; nevertheless we are confident, our aims are both inspiring and at the same time attainable because we have a firm foundation to rely on. We will solve our tasks and reach our goals through a better mobilization of our own resources, through the collaboration of the party and the masses, through the further consolidation of our socialist national unity,

through even better utilization of the opportunities to co-operate with the fraternal socialist countries.

During the sixty years which have elapsed since the establishment of the party, the situation in both the world and our country has changed fundamentally. The prophetic words of Lenin are about to be fulfilled, the world is moving from capitalism towards socialism. Socialism has become a world system, the monopoly of power by capitalism has ceased to exist and the shameful colonial system has fallen to pieces and only a few of its vestiges can be found. The socialist countries, the international communist and workers' movement, the national liberation movements are exerting an increasingly decisive influence on the way the world situation is evolving, while scientific socialism is becoming the most widespread trend in mankind's way of thinking.

On the basis of the resolutions of the Party Congress and the stand taken by the National Assembly, our party and government pursue an active international foreign policy which corresponds with our socialist principles and the interests of our country and our people. In their international activity, our party, our government, our mass organizations and mass movements and our institutions take a stand for social progress, national independence and peace.

We advocate our policy openly and consistently. Our people approve of and support our foreign political aspirations, give weight to them and add to them by demonstrating their unity and by successfully solving the tasks of domestic construction. In the field of foreign policy we act as an ally of the Soviet Union, of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty; we strive to strengthen further our collaboration with the socialist countries and our solidarity with the peoples struggling for their freedom, with the developing countries. On the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, we strive for well-ordered relations with the developed capitalist countries and for the establishment and development of mutually advantageous, fruitful economic and cultural relations.

Our aim in the international communist movement is to en-

hance unity and co-operation on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles. In the interest of this we strive to have comradely relationships with all our fraternal parties. As well as bilateral relations we support multilateral meetings and exchanges of view between communist and workers' parties, because these help in making a principled assessment of the situation and promote activity which is conducive to our aims and is in the interest of peace and progress and which pulls in the same direction. Accordingly, our party took an active part in the preparation and organization of the recent, 1976 meeting of European communist and workers' parties in Berlin and is playing its part solving the common tasks which were defined at that meeting. Our fraternal parties know that the domestic and international activities of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party have always been guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism and we can assure them that this will continue to be so in the future.

The Central Committee of our party and our government have continuously and at all times taken a timely and unambiguous stand on current international issues. This is common knowledge. We consider peace to be the most important question of mankind. The Hungarian people, too, need peace, first and foremost so that they can continue their socialist work of construction and can enjoy the fruits of this. Our party and our state, the Hungarian People's Republic, do everything they can so that the trend of détente should conquer new fields in international relations, that disputed international questions should be solved through negotiations and that peace should be lasting and secure. We are prepared to co-operate with everyone who strives for the same goals.

In keeping with our peace efforts, our representatives took part in the conference of European and North American states held in Helsinki, a meeting of historic significance. We have taken part in the follow-up Belgrade conference and we are making preparations for the Madrid meeting. Our country has contributed to the elaboration of the Helsinki recommendations, has accepted them and is ready to work for their unified implementation.

The consolidation of peace and carrying forward the process of détente today demands first and foremost the relaxation of military tension and a halt to the arms race. Our country has an interest, as has the whole world, in the successful conclusion of the Soviet-American talks and an early agreement, based on the principle of equal security, on the limitation of strategic arms; we are interested in seeing that the SALT-II agreement, as it is known, is reached. We have an interest in the progress of the Vienna talks, concerned with troop and arms reductions in Central Europe...

...The international situation is still complicated today, but historically speaking it is a new feature that imperialism is no longer the sole master of the world and can no longer do whatever it wants at every whim. The peace-loving forces are enormous and invincible. Our party and the Hungarian people are confident that the universal interests of mankind and common sense will prevail and the efforts of those struggling for détente will meet with success; we believe it will be possible to block the road to a new world war once and for all, so that we can look ahead to a more peaceful era after these stormy centuries.

It is with these thoughts that we remember that great event, the foundation of the Marxist-Leninist party of the Hungarian working class sixty years ago.

Looking back on the road we have travelled, we first of all remember with veneration those of our comrades who gave their lives for their ideals, for the cause of socialism, for the freedom and happy future of our people.

It is with honour that we greet our veteran comrades, who fought so much and even today give irreplaceable assistance to our party through their revolutionary experience. We greet our comrades who became the members of our party after the Liberation, who took part with self-sacrificing work in clearing up the ruins, in starting the new life, in the reconstruction of the country, in establishing people's power and who today work in the building of socialism. We greet the young members of our party on whom depends, to a large degree, the future of our party together with that of our people.

We remember those fellow fighters in various periods of our history, who were not members of the party but who understood our aspirations and contributed to the success of our struggle. We greet all those non-party friends of ours, our esteemed allies, with whom we are closely bound by common work, by love of the socialist homeland and by service to the welfare of our people.

On this anniversary, we send special greetings to our fraternal parties, the communist and workers' parties of the world, to those of our comrades to whom we are bound by the common ideals of socialism, communism, proletarian internationalism and by the common struggle in the international arena.

Today the activity of our party is determined by the policy which derives from the resolutions of the 11th Congress and the manifesto pointing to the future. Our path is clear. On this anniversary our Central Committee can, on behalf of the entire membership of the party, express their firm determination to our people not to spare their renewed efforts in the future, either. The party will continue to struggle with full commitment for the welfare of our working class, our people, our nation and for the creation of peaceful and socialist world.

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység* [Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 81-87.)

REPLY BY JÁNOS KÁDÁR AT THE CEREMONY IN HONOUR
OF HIS 70th BIRTHDAY

*"What we have achieved is due to a national
consensus and a socialist joining of forces"*

26 MAY 1982

Dear Comrades,

I highly appreciate the greetings and letter from the Central Committee and the high decoration from the Presidential Council and I am grateful for this meeting.

My relationship with time is quite complicated. I have learned that one must manage time, but I have never counted the years. Either I did not have the time to do so, because I was preoccupied with work, or I would have had time, but I had no inclination to do so. Now when it is said that, well, he is 70 years old, sometimes I look back to find out whether they are speaking to me, but there can be no doubt about it, there is even an "official document" to that effect. I myself am amazed that I have lived to see my 70th year with all what everyone, without exception, in my generation had to go through.

I am grateful for the words of praise which have been said about my work. Here, too, I would like to add that I have never worked alone, but always with others. And if my work is now praised, let me say thanks to all those who have helped and are helping in this work.

In terms of political conviction and ideology, I have been a communist from an early age. But communism, and it is important to know this, is not a blueprint, which moulds people after the same pattern. According to their nature communists also are different people, just as are those who are meeting here today. Yet irrespective of ideology, party affiliation or profession, there is one common characteristic feature: we all look beyond our own personal affairs in our lives. In our different spheres we have all been guided by a common care, dedication and will to

act for the welfare of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the working Hungarian people, and for the fate of the country, the welfare of the nation.

This meeting also testifies that this work and struggle make sense. Of course there is a sea of problems, and not small ones, but we have achieved many a fine result.

Beyond material gains, the greatest treasure is the unity, the joining of forces, which has united people of different party affiliations and different ideologies, the decent forces of society in the service of our people. This national public consensus, this socialist agreement of opinion which is related to the care, strengthening and further enrichment and consolidation of the basic institutions of our socialist society is our greatest achievement.

The strength of our socialist society in which all decent people have found their place has grown enormously. We have a place in the world, we have friends and allies. Let us have principled firmness in our policy and let us have this democratic feature in our policy—the effort to reach public consensus on all questions. Let us have this openness and avoid outworn clichés and we need have no fear of the future. What we have achieved is due to this policy, to this public consensus. This is what we have to cherish above all.

Mankind have the means to create a beautiful and happy world. But they are also capable of annihilating themselves. We now live at a turning-point in history which will continue for some time to come. It is my conviction that the world is going in the direction of progress, since all decent people who desire a normal and peaceful life are our allies.

If someone works in the sort of position which I do, it is very difficult for him to measure the result of his work. Unlike the sculptor who, when he has completed his statue, can say, I have done it, or the worker, who can count what he had done during the day by his output, the results of our work have to be measured by socialist national unity and by national public consensus.

The longer one lives, the more highly useful experience one is able to accumulate. Old age has this in its favour. But unfortu-

nately old age also means that the ability to put this experience to good use diminishes with time. Therefore do not be afraid to place young men where young men are needed. This does not exclude the utilization of accumulated experience. I am seventy years old. At such an age people no longer change ideologies. In keeping with my conviction and ideology I would like to continue to serve the cause which I have served all my life: the prosperity of the Hungarian people.

(Népszabadság, 27 May 1982.)

**I. WORKERS' POWER—
SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY**

THE DEFENCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF WORKERS'
POWER

*Speech at a mass meeting of the working people of
Budapest on Heroes' Square*

1 MAY 1957

(EXCERPTS)

...We all still remember the dark and bloody days of the counter-revolutionary onslaught. [A counter-revolutionary revolt broke out in Hungary on 23 October 1956. For further information on this topic see page 315 in the section of this volume entitled "Documents".] Counter-revolutionary terror reigned in the streets of Budapest, communists and progressives were being massacred wholesale. The militants of the party, leaders of co-operatives, chairmen of local councils, the champions of socialism were being gaoled by the thousands and preparations were being made for their slaughter. Once again the capitalists, the big land-owners, the bankers, princes and counts led by Mindszenty appeared in the political arena. They appeared in Parliament, where they established 28 counter-revolutionary parties in two days, and they appeared in the villages and the factories with the slogan "everything must be given back".

Just as the Entente was behind Horthy's murderous gang in 1919, so were the sinister forces of imperialism mustering behind the dark forces of the counter-revolution in October 1956, with money, weapons and an extensive propaganda machine.

Face to face with raging counter-revolution, we communists had to decide: should we continue to tolerate the slaughter of the best of the people, the burial of the People's Republic, the robbery of our national independence and the transformation of our country into a hotbed of war, or should we confront treason with every conceivable force and smash the counter-revolution.

We communists made our decision. We decided to call to battle all the supporters of the socialist revolution and of our

native land who were willing to confront the counter-revolution. At the same time we again requested assistance from the most unselfish and truest friend of the Hungarian people, the Soviet Union. The Soviet government and the Soviet people granted the assistance requested in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Thus the Hungarian people, with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union, defended the cause of socialism in Hungary...

...Looking back on this heroic struggle it is clear that in October 1956, socialist Hungary fought a life and death struggle with the old Hungary of the gentry and that socialist Hungary emerged victorious from this fight. But it is also clear that this struggle was at the same time a clash between the imperialism of the big capitalists bent on the subjugation of peoples and nations and proletarian internationalism standing guard over the liberty and peace of peoples, and it was proletarian internationalism, the forces of social progress and peace, which triumphed. Therefore this May Day of 1957 is of international significance...

...What achievements can we speak of?

First of all we can speak of power, of the state of law and order. We may and do have many critics. We have enemies, too, who look for faults in everything. Such people like to revile us as uneducated, rigid, incompetent people, ruthless terrorists, Stalinists, using every conceivable term of abuse in their vocabulary. But not even our greatest enemies, our most malevolent critics can say that we serve the interests of the capitalists and the land-owners. That is the crux of the matter. The worst thing for the enemies of our people in the past six months' development of the Hungarian People's Republic and therefore the main positive and most important achievement for our people was the fact that workers' power was and is strong and the possibility of restoring capitalism has ceased to exist.

The lawful constitutional order of our People's Republic is ensured. We have restored the constitutional bodies of people's power and state administration. We have organized the armed forces of the People's Republic: the people's army, the border guards, the police and within these the armed forces of state security units first and foremost. We have removed the traitors

from key positions. We have enlisted and do enlist the most class-conscious workers, miners and peasants in safeguarding power by force of arms—we have organized the workers' militia. The establishment of the workers' militia is a proof that the party and the government lead the country with a far-reaching trust in and reliance on the masses. And on the other hand the enthusiasm with which masses of workers enroll in the units of the workers' militia signals the fact that the Hungarian workers are ready to defend their own power even with arms ...

(Szilárd népi hatalom: független Magyarország
[Firm people's power: independent Hungary], pp. 71-74.)

*Report to the National Assembly on the activities of the
Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government
over the past six months*

MAY 1957

(EXCERPTS)

In such a situation this is how history posed the question for Hungarian communists at the beginning of November: as a remedy for the mistakes made in the practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat should we liquidate the power of the working class? As a remedy for the mistakes made in economic policy should we demolish the socialist national economy? Should we eliminate the sectarian mistakes made in cultural policy by taking away from the people what the cultural revolution had provided for them? Should we rid ourselves of the trivial shortcomings in Soviet-Hungarian relations, which had not affected the socialist quintessence of that relationship and had not curtailed our independence, by turning against the Soviet Union, by breaking with proletarian internationalism and by taking the country into the camp of imperialism?

Communists and Marxists could only answer those vital questions with a resolute no.

The Hungarian people did not want capitalism again; the peasant did not want to return his land, the worker his factory; the people did not want to lose their political, economic and cultural gains which they had achieved with the sweat of toil and tenacious struggle.

Communists, if they wanted to remain worthy of the name, had only one task: to save Hungarian people's democracy, because this was what the interests of the Hungarian people and the interests of the international working class demanded.

In the first days of November, the members of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government broke with the Imre Nagy government which had become the stooge of counter-revolution, was incapable of action and was disintegrating. It was under such circumstances that the present Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government was formed and established. This government decided to request the armed assistance of the Soviet Union to smash the counter-revolution and to restore order. To do this, the fraternal assistance of the Soviet Union was an imperative necessity.

What was the goal? To smash the counter-revolution, to create order in the country and to reorganize the forces of the socialist revolution. For we knew for certain that the basic masses of the Hungarian working class, the working peasantry and, similarly, the larger and better part of the intelligentsia were supporters of the socialist revolution.

This has been borne out by the achievements of the past six months.

The government started their work by reorganizing the forces of the socialist revolution, depending upon the masses, by enlightening decent, but misled people of goodwill, and by returning to the correct path. It is understandable, however, that under conditions of armed and political struggle against the forces of the counter-revolution, the dictatorship side of the dictatorship of the proletariat received greater emphasis. It was not us who used force first; the challenge, the provocation, the attack was not from our side. The counter-revolution attacked with arms. Therefore the government had to be tough, since they had to

defend the best sons and interests of the working class, the working peasantry and of socialism against the white terror which we have been so bitterly familiar with during the history of the Hungarian proletariat. We were defending the results of twelve years of magnificent effort, of toil and sweat, the basis of our further advancement.

Yet nobody can say that we have not been patient in the extreme. After the formation of our government, we have repeatedly called on those who were fighting to end the hopeless struggle, to lay down their arms. Not all listened to our words. We were compelled to wipe them out by force of arms. When the counter-revolutionaries realized that they had failed in the armed struggle, they continued fighting by political means. The purpose, the aim remained the same. They wanted to overthrow the government. It was to this end that they established and sent into battle the Central Workers' Council and various "revolutionary committees". We wanted to give time for people of goodwill who had taken part in these bodies to return to the proper path. Therefore on 12 November the government passed a resolution which only stipulated that the "revolutionary committees" and other newly formed social bodies with similar names should operate everywhere as political consultative bodies, should assist in work, but should not aspire to lead instead of the responsible leaders. For example they had no right to hire or fire workers. However, these committees did not carry out the resolution of our government, moreover they created a new central counter-revolutionary guiding organization called the "Central Executive Committee of Revolutionary Committees". Thus we had no choice but to abolish the "revolutionary committees" and other similarly named bodies of counter-revolutionary activity through our government decree of 8 December.

Similarly we had to conduct a prolonged political struggle with the Central Workers' Council and with regional workers' councils. There were decent, good people in these councils, too, but still, the main thing was that these workers' councils were made to serve the purposes of the counter-revolution. Our government showed patience towards them, too. We repeatedly

talked to the members of the Central Workers' Council, we tried to explain how mistaken was their path, and whom they were helping and serving by their behaviour. These discussions, however, produced no results. The situation—again through no fault of ours—became so acute that in the end the Central Workers' Council was acting quite clearly in accordance with the instructions of Western radio stations and Radio Free Europe.

We had to dissolve the Central Workers' Council and the regional workers' councils...

...We know from the admissions in the Western press that they expected massive retribution to follow the defeat of the armed counter-revolution. It did not. But we would not have fulfilled our duty towards our class and people if our patience towards counter-revolutionary experiments had been endless. All along our government stuck to the position announced in their first declaration that we did not and do not call anybody to task for having taken part in a march or a demonstration, unless they had committed counter-revolutionary acts of a more serious nature ...

...The government also set in motion the reorganization of the armed forces of the Hungarian People's Republic: the people's army, the police and the special security units. Answering the appeal of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, large numbers of the faithful sons of our people enlisted in the special security units of both the army and the police, and then acted firmly against the counter-revolutionary gangs and broke them up. I wish to announce here that, on the recommendation of the government, the Presidential Council has passed a resolution recognizing the merits of the special security units and expressing gratitude on behalf of our people to the heroic and self-sacrificing security units, and that the government have issued a decree establishing a memorial medal "For Workers' and Peasants' Power".

Faithful to the principle of relying on the active support of the working masses in the struggle, the government thought it necessary that, in addition to the armed forces of the people's state, weapons should be put in the hands of well-tried fighters of the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the best of the working class, and so set up the workers' militia...

The grave lessons of the counter-revolution teach us that the enemies of people's power have not yet been reconciled to their defeat and still represent a significant force. As a consequence, it is necessary that the leaders of the party and of the country, and just as much the working masses themselves, especially the class-conscious working-class masses, pay constant attention to increasing the strength of the workers' and peasants' state, the strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We have to strengthen and exercise this dictatorship of the proletariat, this power of the workers and peasants, in accordance with Leninist teachings. This means that we have to develop the dictatorial and democratic sides of our state power simultaneously.

Therefore we have striven and will continue to strive on the one hand to defend and strengthen with all our might the institutions and bodies of our people's democratic state and on the other hand to develop democracy in our public life with all the power of our state and with the support of the working masses. As we have already said in our government statement in January, it is our resolute intention to develop the democracy of state leadership further; we want to see the effective participation of the workers in directing our economic and cultural life and "to have the democratic essence of our people's state prevail as fully as possible".

For us one of the most important lessons of October is that the party, the working class, the working people are able to solve all problems which emerge in the course of building socialism as long as they hold to the purity of Marxism-Leninism in the face of all distortions and disfigurements and as long as the working class allied with the working peasantry holds power firmly in their hands. In firm possession of power the working class and the working people are able to attain all set goals, but without it they can only live as prisoners of the bourgeoisie; therefore power is the most important matter in the life and well-being of the people.

The first and indispensable precondition for the strength of the people's democratic state and the firm power of the working class is the existence and leadership of a revolutionary workers' party; a party which is capable of working out the teachings of Marxism-Leninism correctly and using Marxism-Leninism as a guiding principle in applying these teachings to the given situation of the day; a party which enjoys the confidence of the working-class masses and of large sections of the working people; a party which relies on the masses and demands their active support and is able to develop it.

In my opinion our party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is developing in a healthy direction, and the party is already fulfilling this role. If we hold to this healthy direction in development, which today is primarily due to the fact that the party was reorganized in the struggle against the counter-revolution, in the future it will be even more able to play its historic role adequately.

A precondition for the sound development of our People's Republic is that the political unity and leading role of the working class are guaranteed in our public life.

The confusion of people of goodwill who lost their way politically before or during the October events was due in no small measure to those mendacious distortions of the revisionists according to which, in direct contradiction to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, the pronouncements on the leading role of the party and the working class were outmoded. There are also bourgeois views according to which today, in the nuclear age as they call it, the leading class of society is the intelligentsia, or as others proclaim, the youth. According to the explicit teachings of Marxism-Leninism, although the intelligentsia are a very important stratum of society they are not a class and therefore cannot be a leading class. The youth are even less of a class. In the proper place and on a suitable occasion we still have to expose these false views with necessary thoroughness. Only the day-to-day political aspect of this question belongs here.

Recent events have given us all a practical education on what

the loss of a healthy class concept and what the bourgeois concepts of "being above classes" and nationalism mean.

It led to tragedy for the people and perhaps above all for the intelligentsia and the youth that in place of the party and the working class the intelligentsia and the youth wanted to take over the leadership of the nation.

Simultaneously with retaining and strengthening their own unity, the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat today sets for the party and the whole working class the task of deepening and consolidating the worker-peasant alliance—the most important political basis of our state—under the leadership of the working class.

Conditions are particularly favourable today for the deepening and consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance. In our country the worker-peasant alliance started to emerge as a significant force at the time of the Second World War and was greatly strengthened during the years following the Liberation. At that time the most important substantial part and the basis of this alliance was the struggle for democratic achievements, for the elimination of the remnants of feudalism and for the land reform, under the leadership of the working class. In the eyes of the peasant masses, the achievement of the appointed aims and the defence of distributed land strengthened the prestige of working-class leadership. Thus this alliance developed further in the period of the common struggle to build a socialist society.

In the course of the struggle, however, the worker-peasant alliance weakened where the development of the co-operative movement was concerned and as a result of the mistakes which occurred in the implementation of compulsory deliveries.

After October there are new and favourable conditions in this field. Our peasantry are aware that by defeating the counter-revolution, the party and the working class again helped to defend the land. But the construction of a socialist society is a common goal, which goes beyond this. Our peasantry is aware that to convince and to be convinced has now become the practice in the socialist transformation of the countryside and the application of any administrative measures has ceased. It is our

conviction that this method will not hinder the socialist development of the countryside but will enhance it.

This goal requires government support for the existing socialist units in the countryside, the state farms, the machine stations and the co-operative farms, and in addition the various simpler production associations which, happily, today are on the increase.

As a result of a number of important measures, our privately farming peasantry experience that the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government—being faithful to the policy of worker-peasant alliance and in full accord with the interests of the national economy—wants to help the development of production on their farms. Such a development of production on the other hand requires that the peasant who farms privately should allocate a part of his significantly increased income to the development of his farm.

In our state a strong worker-peasant alliance is the political basis on which a national union of all strata who agree with the goals of building of socialism can come about. We strive to muster the intellectual workers behind the fundamental masses of workers and peasants, and moreover all the progressive elements of the urban petty-bourgeoisie as well. Lenin teaches that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat among other things is to muster all the social forces capable of progress in the course of the development of socialism. It is in the spirit of this Leninist teaching that we want to revive and elevate the Patriotic People's Front movement to be a genuine active element in our political life.

Let the Patriotic People's Front movement, under the leadership of the party, rally all progressive forces: all those who actively want to serve the prosperity of our people, want to defend and strengthen the independence and peace of our country.

Let the Patriotic People's Front movement embrace all spheres of life and let it help the work of the party and government by bravely exploring various constructive views and concepts, by taking the initiative and by encouraging local initiative.

I must also speak frankly on the question of multi-party government. The operation of several political parties is not an

inevitable feature, not a condition for the building of socialism, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We know of a number of countries building socialism which do not have several parties. On the other hand there are countries building socialism, China and Poland among them, where other parties as well as the Communist Party take part in governing and help in the building of socialism.

Here, in Hungary, the various allied parties could probably have provided useful assistance in our construction work even after 1948. We believe that we did not make use of these opportunities properly. But now, almost ten years later, history cannot be turned back.

Moreover, in examining the question of coalition parties, we can in no way disregard the negative experiences of October, of which I have spoken in detail in the first half of my report. I have explained in detail the fact that the parties re-established during the October days, did not stand for socialism, but avowedly and specifically stood for bourgeois restoration. Under such conditions, in our political circumstances the realization of a multi-party system as a system of government is not opportune. As with all other questions, this matter is also subordinate to the basic interests of the Hungarian people and these interests in no way call for party struggles, party conflicts, theoretical confusion and the tearing to shreds of the national unity, which is so earnestly desired by all decent people.

It is self-evident that this fundamental stand of principle concerning a coalition does not exclude but, on the contrary, presupposes and demands that not just communists take part in public affairs.

(Szilárd népi hatalom: független Magyarország
[Firm people's power: independent Hungary], pp. 97-112.)

*Report of the Council of Ministers to the National
Assembly on the work of the government over the past
eight months*

JANUARY 1958

(ABRIDGED)

I gave an account of the work of the government to the National Assembly eight months ago. The essence of my report at the time was that we had managed to defend people's power in our country and the state and independence of the Hungarian People's Republic against the forces of the counter-revolutionary uprising. Now, when I give account of another eight months of the government's activity I can say that in comparison with the situation last May, the state and social bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic have been further strengthened. This consolidation has come about as a result of a consistent struggle against the stubborn enemies of the people's democratic regime. At its last session, the National Assembly heard and approved the reports of the Chief Public Prosecutor and the Chairman of the Supreme Court. This relieves me of the duty of dealing with these questions in detail in my report. It is the government's view that after overcoming initial difficulties, the police, the public prosecutor's office and the courts have in essence carried out and continue to carry out the duties prescribed for them by the defence of the interests of the people, the Constitution and the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the recent period, the task of the police and the judicial authorities of our state has been to initiate proceedings against those who have violated the law and at the same time to continue uncovering the crimes of those who turned against the Hungarian people, the Hungarian People's Republic in the period of the counter-revolutionary uprising and taking those who had committed them to task. We can state that the judiciary of our state have followed the principle and main line confirmed by the National Assembly, which clearly lay down that those who were confused had to be forgiven, but at the same time, those guilty of

crimes had to suffer the full rigour of the law. In keeping with this principle, the bodies which administer justice have not started proceedings against those who simply took part in the various events of the counter-revolutionary uprising, but they have called to account those who were the inciters, initiators, leaders and organizers and those who committed murder and other grave crimes during the events.

As a result of the work of the police and the judiciary—results which in no small measure derived from the direct support of the population at large—the government was able to end summary justice at the beginning of November.

The government can now report that law and order and legality is fully guaranteed in our country. Legality, as is known, has two sides. One is that the citizens should adhere to the laws of the state, that is, if the citizen does not adhere to the law, he will be called to account; the other is that the state bodies and official functionaries carrying out the law should also respect the law...

...Legality in Hungary—in addition to the fact that nobody is sentenced for something he has not done—also guarantees that the defendant, at his own decision, may plead guilty or not guilty to the charges brought against him. It is a principle of law in force in the practice of our courts that a defendant's plea of guilty in itself is not enough to convict the defendant. The government considers it an important task to continue to maintain a vigilant watch over the responsible state bodies to guarantee law and order and legality by every means possible in the future, too... The exemplary, self-sacrificing service of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the rapidly reorganized border guards has made a considerable contribution to consolidating the legal order of our state, and to smashing the foreign contacts of the pockets of counter-revolutionaries who have been forced into illegality; as a result the defence of the borders of the Hungarian People's Republic is ensured in accordance with the requirements of a normal situation.

It is an achievement highly significant for the life of our state and people that by the second half of 1957 the fundamental tasks

of reorganizing our people's army were completed and normal, customary peace-time activity has started. One sign was that in the autumn, the new recruits were conscripted as usual; their training was started and they have recently taken their military oath of allegiance. Tribute for this must be given to the leaders of our army, to the reorganized officers' corps, the non-commissioned officers and the rank-and-file soldiers. We want the new recruits who have just taken their oath to become well-trained and faithful soldiers of their native land.

Over the past eight months the work of the state administrative bodies, the ministries and supreme authorities and of the local council machinery and state economic bodies has improved considerably. It should be mentioned here that these bodies carry out their tasks with a staff which is considerably smaller than before. The number of workers not directly involved in production decreased by almost 66,000 in 1957. Moreover the staff of the central state administrative bodies decreased by about 16,000. As a result of this reduction in staff the ratio of those directly involved in production has considerably improved in comparison with workers who are not directly engaged in productive work.

I want to speak of the government's activity in the field of legislation and law-making. Last year, safeguarding order in the country, eliminating a number of unresolved questions and the continuous processing of government affairs demanded a large number of measures. Nevertheless, perhaps as a result of a certain improvement in the style of leadership, the number of government resolutions last year was considerably lower—about 45% of the previous figure—both as far as the total and as monthly figures are concerned. I think that this is right and proper and nobody will demand the substitution of government decrees for independent local work and initiative. I would like to refer to a few of the laws and decrees with the force of law introduced by the government, as well as to some decrees which were passed on the government's own authority.

The law on the "general rules of proceedings in state administration" has settled the rights and duties of the administrative bodies and of citizens, thereby considerably improving procedure

and making legality complete in the field of state administration. The government decree on the creation of a Council for Science and Higher Education and the new council itself are expected to guarantee the unified direction of scientific research and training which is carried out at different locations. We have created the National Council for the Protection of Children and Young People by government decree; this body will co-ordinate state and social measures serving this aim, and in addition it is attempting to resolve a particularly painful matter, the problem of abandoned children.

The law on people's control and the decree regulating the filling of important and confidential posts serve to consolidate our state order still further and will make it easier to overcome economic abuses. The law on people's control was discussed by the National Assembly a month ago, therefore I only want to say that if it is implemented well as a result of the combined work of the government and the masses, it will not only establish effective control but will also increase the political strength of our system and society. As far as important and confidential positions are concerned we ordered that appointments to these posts must be linked with a certificate of good character. We believe that it is a right and also a duty of the people's state to see that only irreproachable citizens fill important and confidential positions. Let us keep elements who are hostile to the people and also persons who have committed economic and other crimes well away from this sphere.

The law-decree on factory councils is of great significance. As a result of the bad experiences with the workers' councils we have had to cope with various difficulties on this issue and to some extent we will have to combat these in the future, too.

Those of our comrades who work in various social and economic jobs are not right in being averse, even today, to the creation of any new body which to any extent whatever resembles the workers' councils. The factory councils, which will work under the direction of the trade unions organizationally and directly, and under the direction of the party organization ideologically and politically, will further develop democracy in factory life.

But they are also suitable for developing trade union work in the right direction and last but not least, they increase the social activity of the factory workers.

Finally I would mention in the list of our legislative work the law-decree introducing compulsory social security for the members of co-operative farms. We believe that settling this question was a human obligation towards the elderly, towards old peasants who have become disabled in agricultural work and at the same time it is a useful measure in developing the co-operative movement...

(Szilárd népi hatalom—független Magyarország
[Firm people's power—independent Hungary],
pp. 328-335.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST STATE, THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

*Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP to the 8th
Congress of the party*

NOVEMBER 1962

(EXCERPT)

...The analysis of the class relations of our society and the questions of the class struggle show that the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat has still not been concluded in our country. Our people's state is a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat; it will retain this character in the period of building a socialist society. Nevertheless, certain features which point to the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developing into an all-people's state are becoming more marked in our country.

The democracy of the socialist system is expanding in the Hungarian People's Republic day by day. Today full equality of citizens prevails. There is no disadvantageous or advantageous differentiation because of class position or former class position as far as rights and duties are concerned. All citizens have the right to vote and are eligible to stand for election. Democracy, cohesion with the people is becoming more pronounced in the activity of the National Assembly and the local councils and in that of all central and local bodies of state power.

We must strengthen the democratic features of our state and increase the independence of the elected council bodies. We will constantly look for ways to involve ever broader strata of the population in state affairs, in the administration of public affairs. We have increased and will continue to increase the role played by social bodies and mass organizations in state affairs. Responsibilities formerly undertaken by state bodies have been shifted to the jurisdiction of social bodies. The work of our state power and administrative bodies must be further improved by strengthening their democratic features, overcoming bureaucratic

characteristics, improving supervision and raising expertise and competence and by still greater reliance upon the direct assistance of the working masses.

New Parliamentary and local council elections are due shortly. We must make use of this opportunity, too, to establish still closer ties between our bodies of state power and the people, so that those bodies become more suitable for carrying out their great and important tasks. We can go to the voters during the elections with a policy which has stood the test of time and with a clear-cut programme. True to the traditions of our people's system the party will discuss the larger and smaller questions of the development of our country with hundreds of thousands of working people during the Parliamentary and local council elections. We are certain that the people of our country will, with their votes, endorse the policy of the party and government, and, what is even more important, will support its implementation in the future with all their might and will build our socialist homeland with their deeds and creative work.

(Tovább a lenini úton [Further ahead on the Leninist path], pp. 80-94.)

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

FEBRUARY 1965

(EXCERPT)

The basis for the enhanced international prestige of the country is above all our domestic political development, our stable socialist order and the results which our people have achieved in recent years in economic and cultural construction.

The life of our society is guided by the revolutionary party of the working class, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, while the Patriotic People's Front rallies communists and people outside the party. Thus a united political front has come into existence, which regards the complete construction of a socialist

society at home and the service of peace and progress abroad as its programme.

Our social order is a socialist democracy of citizens, of millions of workers with equal political rights and obligations. Let us involve ever larger masses in working out what has to be done, in implementing jointly framed decisions and in the everyday exercise of power. Our system calls for the political and social activity of the working millions and their active participation in public affairs. This requires daily efforts to enlighten and convince the masses.

We must look on our socialist state and social order and its individual institutions not as a rigid system but as a living, developing one, constantly advancing on the road of deepening and expanding democracy. There is a need to make the internal life and work of all the organized forces of our society, of both the party and the People's Front, and of the mass organizations and the bodies of state and people's power from the National Assembly to the local councils, even more vigorous and their atmosphere even freer and more democratic.

The leadership of all the social organizations, the leaders of the elected state bodies and that of people's power must make a thorough study of how their members, how those belonging to them could be mobilized even better and drawn more into working out what has to be done by improving working methods, by further democratizing the inner life of the organization or body concerned. It is worth examining the possibility of having not only the lists of the various bodies voted on by secret ballot in elections for the leaderships of these organizations, but also of having these bodies themselves vote by secret ballot in their own elections, and of seeing that the nomination of several persons becomes the practice.

When we underline the necessity for further democratization, we have to emphasize at the same time that we cannot allow anarchy; our system must also be imbued with socialist state discipline. Now that socialist legality and a free atmosphere prevail here, there are some who only think of their rights, as if they had never heard of the obligations which go hand in hand

with the rights and are inseparable from them. It is widely said and with satisfaction how good it is that our socialism is humane. But there are some, who misunderstand and abuse this. Relying on the strength of public opinion we must put an end to these abuses and must make even those who find it difficult to comprehend that only those who honour their obligations as well have rights.

Everybody must respect our laws. We tolerate no action from any quarter against our constitutional socialist social system. Dutybound and without hesitation, our state has struck at those, who attacked our system, when the situation demanded it. A general amnesty and general clemency was proclaimed, when the situation permitted it. This follows from the socialist and humane nature of our system and it was right to have done so. Even at the time of the announcement of the general amnesty, we cautioned against anybody misinterpreting it. Since that time our authorities have uncovered a few minor conspiratorial groups who have committed anti-state acts. We have initiated legal procedures against them and the guilty have received what they deserved according to the law from the courts. Recently I read an article published in a Western paper, which philosophized that probably these people would also be amnestied on the 20th anniversary of the Liberation. I believe it is the right thing to say that I doubt it. For those, who respond to the magnanimity of our state, to the general amnesty, by subversion, espionage and similar matters, there is no amnesty and is hardly likely to be any.

Our socialist social order is the most just and genuinely humane of systems. It is the system of the working people, the society of work, where every individual who makes a living from his or her own honest work, has rights and a livelihood. But the system is of the entire people and for the people. Our laws defend all citizens. He who respects the laws of our socialist state is inviolable but we strike at everyone who turns against the interest of our people ...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus [Patriotism and internationalism], pp. 78-80.)

Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP to the 10th Congress of the party

NOVEMBER 1970

(EXCERPT)

... It is our conviction that the state has an important role in the period of building socialism. We do not accept views which question the role of the socialist state, underestimate its significance and, by weakening state power, in point of fact jeopardize the achievements of the people. Both our domestic tasks and international conditions demand that the socialist state be strengthened, that its role as an economic organizer and cultural educator be increased and that the work of state administration be improved and its standards raised. At the same time efforts must be made to draw in ever larger numbers of the population to take 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 is stable, our party and the working class have twenty-five years' experience in building the state, and the political situation makes it not only necessary but also possible to realize our plans.

The further development of state affairs and of socialist democracy presupposes the further consolidation of workers' power and the socialist state and the enhancement of their 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 expanding the autonomy of local bodies.

(A szocialista Magyarorszáért [For a socialist Hungary], p. 319.)

*Answers to the questions of the correspondent of
"New Age", the central newspaper of the Communist
Party of India*

NOVEMBER 1970

(EXCEPT)

Question: The enemies of socialism for their own purposes present the experience of socialism in very dark colours. We know that during the period of building socialism there were mistakes and even injustices which bourgeois propaganda claim to be inherent parts of the socialist system. Why did these aberrations, these violations of democracy and civil rights occur in a number of countries?

Answer: The socialist revolution overthrows the rule of the exploiters, makes the mines, factories and banks public property and gives the land to the working peasants. It is understandable that the industrialists, land-owners 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 occurred and events took place which violated democratic rights and socialist law. These events, however, occurred not because of the nature of the system but, on the contrary, because of political and personal errors which conflict with the quintessence 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 has seized power had no appropriate experience in government, played a role in the errors and distortions under discussion. Nor can we disregard the fact that the young working-class power had to carry on the work of construction while at the same time waging a ceaseless struggle against the subversion of the then still powerful class enemy within the country and the assaults and threats of international imperialism.

In Hungary, the situation was aggravated still further by the

fact that at the time the prevailing "left-wing" mistakes were utilized by various right-wing trends, by the real class enemy and by international imperialism, in order to launch a general attack against the socialist system and to unleash 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 might venture to attack it.

Question: The ideal of socialism for us means a form of democracy superior to bourgeois democracy. What according to your view makes it superior, and how, for example, do the advanced socialist and capitalist countries of Europe compare in this respect?

Answer: Capitalism has given 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, ensures rights of varying degrees to the population. These rights are, however, limited and in point of fact illusory from the point of view of the masses. Mostly 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 cancel out the fact that the decisive majority of the voters are exploited.

In contrast, socialism does away with the basis of exploitation, capitalist private property, and makes socialist public property the basis of society instead. Political rights therefore are as broad as possible and are 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 manifested in the extension of democracy to economic life. The working people are entitled to owners' rights, to have their say on the main aims of production. So political democracy is not limited to the election of representatives but ensures wide popular control over these representatives, and there are a number of forums through which this can be done.

Question: If happiness is a part of democracy, where are people happier?

Answer: Even the best bourgeois democracy conceals the 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 have roofs over their head; its aim is to rid humanity of hunger, misery and humiliation once and for all.

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 their well-being 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 interest with those of the community and of the whole of society.

The man of a socialist society lives freely, but in a responsible manner, befitting a class-conscious man. We can talk about responsibility only if there is the opportunity to have a say in and decide on matters. There is a close relationship between responsibility and discipline. Discipline in a democratic sense does not exclude but presupposes free debate, the open clash of opinions and criticism. These are unconditional prerequisites for proper decision-making and for collective action to implement decisions.

(A szocialista Magyarországért [For a socialist Hungary], pp. 300-304.)

*Toast at the central staff
and unit commander training school of the
workers' militia*

FEBRUARY 1971

(EXCERPT)

It is a particular feature of the workers' militia that this institution is firstly voluntary, secondly socialist and thirdly democratic. I would particularly emphasize the democratic nature of the workers' militia.

In the present phase of our socialist development, the further development of socialist democracy is a central question. Among the social institutions of the Hungarian People's Republic, of people's democracy in Hungary, the workers' militia embodies a developed, higher form of democracy. The workers' militia is an armed body. The member of the workers' militia carries out his duty with arms in hand. That weapon is an instrument of the state. The task which you fulfil, the defence of power, is in the first

place the task of the state. But our socialist development has made it possible that certain tasks which earlier seemed exclusive to the state, to be carried through with the instruments of the state, can already be tackled on a partly social basis through the workers' militia.

The purpose of this course is to develop the workers' militia and its activity, and to raise the standard of its work. This can be achieved if we do not forget the fundamental characteristics of the workers' militia, i.e. its voluntary and socialist nature, and its democratic features—in the sense I mentioned earlier. Moreover, these features must be strengthened.

I would like to speak about the basis of the workers' militia. The workers' militia is built on the close relationship between the party, the working class and the people and on the mutual confidence existing between them; that is the basis on which it was established. Whoever wants to develop the workers' militia and its activity—which is the purpose of the present and similar courses—can only do so if he strengthens the relationship, the unity, the concord and mutual confidence between the party, the working class and the people.

The purpose and function of the workers' militia is the protection and consolidation of workers' power. He who wants to strengthen, to develop the workers' militia can at no time and in no place divorce this aspiration from the purpose of this institution. This, of course, does not depend on how often we say the word, but whether explicitly or implicitly it is there in every lesson, in every task from the beginning to the end. In every element, every minute of this development can be discerned the awareness that the function of the workers' militia is the unceasing protection and further consolidation of workers' power. ...

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 392-393.)*

APRIL 1972

(EXCERPTS)

...Reviewing the road covered since the enactment of the Constitution in 1949, we can state that we have achieved our objectives 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 square inch of Hungarian soil be theirs. Our class enemies will never forget this, but our people are aware of it, too. It is a moral command for all sons of the socialist homeland to protect the power and achievements of the people in all circumstances and every way. We must serve our native land with mind and heart, by 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 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 and are worth while. Everybody who in the past quarter of a century took part in the struggles for 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 everybody's respect because he has faithfully fulfilled his duty to the Hungarian people and to his native land.

During the preparations to amend the Constitution a great

many questions have necessarily arisen, and the proposals submitted by the committees themselves also recommend a number of essential amendments to the text. By the nature of the matter, each of these is very important and a question of principle; they demand careful consideration and decision by the National Assembly. I wish to deal with only a few of the questions which have arisen during the preparatory work, and which are among the proposals submitted. 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 entirely 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 local councils and of the institutions of the state in general; they define more precisely the rights and duties of citizens in the present phase of building socialism. In their entirety the modifications are suitable, so that the National Assembly can approve the new, unified 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 premise that the Constitution must essentially and in principle record the achievements which have already been attained and is not a manifesto, it is proper if this principle is also asserted 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.

However, since the main characteristic features of our social system, the property and class relations, are already socialist, it is

right that the new text should state in a less declarative, yet unambiguous manner: 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 simultaneously liberating 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 today there are already only allied, fraternal working classes. The Constitution deals with the relationship of the working classes to each other in accordance with the actual situation and with 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 undertaken the 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 undertake a responsibility commensurate with their rights.

In the past quarter of a 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 whole of society; they lead and show an example in the building of socialism.

In every speech we often and correctly use the expression "the power of the working class, of the people". This also expresses the fact that the power of the working class serves the interests of the entire people, and that they exercise power as the leading class of society in alliance with the peasantry united in the co-operatives, with the intellectuals and the other working strata of society. Our party approves of the fact 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 party is the political organization of the highest order of the working class, which leads as a vanguard, and through which this class solves its governmental duties and realizes its historic objectives. 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, an honest and faithful service, to the people. We interpret the relevant formulations of the Constitution primarily as increasing the responsibility of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, of every member of the party, to the whole of society. Hungarian communists will endeavour to deserve this confidence in the future, too, and serve the people faithfully and lead the way as true patriots in making the Hungarian People's Republic prosper.

The equality of citizens is an important feature of our Constitution. Our state, the Hungarian People's Republic, ensures equal rights and prescribes identical obligations for 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 of a century is that our Constitution on the one hand expands 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 and duties; the ensuring of participation in public affairs. It extends as civil rights to the whole of society: the right of assembly as serving the interests of a socialist society; the right to recreation; to the protection of life, limb and health; to social insurance and to education.

In harmony with our socialist endeavours, the Constitution

underlines the importance of certain civil rights more than before; thus it gives stronger emphasis to the right to work, to the protection of the institution of marriage and of the family, to the protection and socialist education of youth and to the obligations which these entail.

Concluding my remarks on the individual items, 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 in every respect express 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.

Our Constitution will be sanctioned today by the resolution of the National Assembly. In the new recommended text, the Constitution summarizes more precisely 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 in our society, of every Hungarian citizen to observe and make others observe the letter and principles of the amended Constitution to the full. For us the enforcement and effectiveness of the principles of the Constitution is a lawful duty not only in the legal sense of the word. It is that, too, but beyond that it requires all of us to defend and enhance our people's achievements, which are laid down in the Constitution, by deeds, by our work at home and by our international activity alike; and to 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 home and foreign policy and every question of our domestic socialist construction; therefore I also wish just to touch on them in my speech.

Our socialist development 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 effectiveness of the principles of the Constitution to the full depends not least on the extent to which we succeed in drawing the masses, even more than we have done up till now, into the management of public affairs. We know full well that this does not happen by itself or from one day to the next. It depends on us, 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 regular improvement of material circumstances. But socialist progress is much more than that. The ceaseless enrichment of spiritual values and making culture a common treasure are indispensable elements of the building of socialism. We must never forget the need for the ceaseless dissemination of the 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 they are to fill in society.

We build the kind of new world which realizes the dreams of the best of us; one 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 on the successful solution of economic tasks. We have at our disposal all the necessary conditions for continuing the work of construction: in our country the power of the people is stable, our economy is developing in a healthy way and we can and do make use of the benefits of socialist economic planning. In recent years our system

of economic management has 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 raise the standard of leadership; in formulating our demands we must set out from the realities and not from our desires; we must improve our investment policy and the balance of the budget, and through all this we must further increase the strength of our economy, the good reputation of our work and respect for our workers.

The aim of our constructive work is to raise the standard of living of the people and to improve their living conditions regularly, in accordance with the standard of living policy of our party and in harmony with the results of our work.

The systematic rise in the standard of living of our people may be justly included among our great historic achievements. At the same time we also know 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 gradually. This is why the 10th Congress of our party decided—something which, incidentally, also figures in our five-year plan—that certain social benefits should grow to a greater extent than wages, so that the differences in incomes between families should be reduced this way. Putting it another way: we want a greater differentiation in wages depending on the work done and a further levelling up in family incomes.

In our circumstances this means that everybody's share of the goods produced should be in proportion 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 development, 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

in the elections, and which they have been actively supporting since. The resolutions are being carried out in the political, economic and cultural fields, in all important areas of social life. As 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 identified, the necessary measures will be taken.

We still have reserves at our disposal in all spheres of life for raising the standard of work. We know that the implementation of our plans does not always go without a hitch; it is common knowledge that there are negative symptoms, too. In our society, which is a society of socialism under construction, outmoded views still have an influence and from time to time in certain places they are even being reproduced. One can experience indolence, irresponsibility, incompetence and leniency towards negligence and the negligent. The organized forces of society, the great majority who feel and shoulder responsibility, must come forward resolutely everywhere, to combat these adverse symptoms.

The main driving force of progress is the working man himself, and our main trust is in the steadfastness, the class-conscious discipline and the sense of responsibility of our working class, of our working people. Day after day we witness the mass manifestations of human steadfastness, of duties fulfilled with self-respect, but at the same time without ostentation. The increasing host of 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 yet able to change the face of the country radically in twenty-seven years, will solve those new tasks, too, tasks which derive from today's higher level of development, from the further building of socialism.

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 the future, too. To this end 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 to the world socialist system, and first of all to our faithful friend and reliable ally, the Soviet Union.

We declare our goals openly: the peoples of the world may see in the Hungarian people active fighters and reliable allies 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 and remain adherents and active proponents of peaceful coexistence between countries with differing social systems. The Hungarian People's Republic wants normal, settled and mutually advantageous relations with the capitalist countries, too.

Thus the letter of the Constitution becomes 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 for our principles is provided by the actual deeds and the stands taken, through which we wish to promote the solution of the burning problems of the international situation, to the extent we are able, in the interest of the peoples, socialism and peace.

In Europe, together with the other member states of the Warsaw Treaty, we are trying to bring about a security system built on the acceptance of mutual obligations...

...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 causes 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 the whole of mankind, a lasting and stable peace, will be achieved.

Our people face the great and inspiring aims of building socialism, our present is encouraging and our future full of hopes. Our goals serve the advancement of the working class, of the people, of the entire nation; every citizen of our country, who lives and works honestly, may look to the future with confidence.

It is worth while to live, plan, work and struggle in the Hungarian People's Republic, in the state and for the system which finds harmony between the interests of the individual and of society, which serves the well-being of the entire people; 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 our native land and of mankind.

In the words of Mihály Váci the poet, it is not enough just to want our great social aims, socialism, communism, the well-being of our people, the advancement of our nation; we must also act to achieve them. In our society, which is building socialism, everybody is weighed according to how much he or she 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 we strive for, all that 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.

The Bill in front of us is a good one, and tribute is due to all those who have worked with the care befitting the task on the amendments to the Constitution; thanks and tribute are due to the committee appointed by the National Assembly, who have completed this great work.

It is widely 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 observance of its letter and spirit; we will do so in the 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.

I accept the Bill on the amendments to the Constitution, in the spirit of these ideas, and in the name of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party recommend it for approval to the honoured National Assembly.

(*A szocialista Magyarorszáért*
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 524-534.)

Interview in the "Helsingin Sanomat"

SEPTEMBER 1973

(EXCERPT)

...Question: The development of socialist democracy is being widely debated in Hungary. In this respect you yourself have spoken of the need to increase the decentralization of decision-making and not only in the economic field, but in other spheres of society, too. What are your present views on this subject?

Answer: Socialist society gives all classes and strata of workers a material interest in taking an active part in the work of construction. But this in itself is not enough.

Socialism demands the conscientious, active social work of hundreds of thousands and millions of working people in production, and not only in production, but in every sphere of community life. It is my conviction that here in Hungary the development of socialist democracy is the main way to the further political strengthening of the socialist system. In other words, an even more active inclusion of the working masses in social activity and decisions.

Our party and government work for the development of socialist democracy with a great sense of responsibility. In line with this we have recently amended the Constitution, the electoral law and the scope of local council authority, thus increasing the sphere of activity of our citizens, the local population and the local authorities. A number of legal measures guarantee democracy in the factories, co-operatives, places of residence and schools...

(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace], pp. 67-68.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

NOVEMBER 1974

(EXCERPT)

...In the documents we establish very important demands of principles, including new matters to strengthen workplace democracy. The Political Committee has adopted a special programme according to which, on the basis of a joint letter and instructions from the Central Committee, the National Council of Trade Unions and the Council of Ministers, a number of possible versions for the further development of workplace democracy must be experimented with and tried out in practice in certain large enterprises. We have to wait for the experiences which derive from practice, because the results of theoretical studies to date have not yet been sufficient to enable the Central Committee to reach more significant decisions. We are talking about an important matter and we should not experiment by introducing it throughout the whole country at the same time, because this could easily cause confusion and then we would be no further in developing workplace democracy, and might even do harm to the idea. This is why what features in the proposals is only that the party organizations should have the right and duty to comment on the plans of the enterprises. They had no such

right and duty up till now. Then there is the proposal to have workers' delegates on such important leading bodies as the board of directors and the control committee of an enterprise. As far as the other area of workplace democracy is concerned, we only indicate what we want. We use the concept of a "workers' meeting" instead of the concept of a "production conference". The two are, of course, not the same. We indicate that a certain body of workers' delegates must be set up in the larger enterprises. For the time being we do not recommend the general introduction of this measure, we need practical experiences in this field. According to our ideas such institutions will be established in the coming months in an appropriate number of enterprises and it seems that at least a year or two's experience is needed before they are introduced throughout the country.

*Speech at the election mass meeting
of the People's Front in Budapest*

MAY 1980

(EXCERPT)

In elections, in every country—irrespective of the social structure—people also vote on the political order. This is also how it will be here. In addition to the mandate given to the representatives and the council members that mandate is at the same time a vote for our political institutions and system, too.

The candidates have been selected during the course of a thoroughly democratic process. Of course there are arguments on election systems and their differences. We speak little of the fact that here the word "democracy" should be understood in its old, original sense, because democracy in the language of the ancient Greeks meant the rule of the people. We have the rule of the people and it was in this spirit that the people have selected their delegates. The nominations have been made by those taking part in the nomination meetings upon the recommendations of the Patriotic People's Front. More than 2,200,000 people, a large

proportion of all the voters, took part in these meetings and more than 200,000 people voiced their opinions and then decided whom they would nominate as candidates for the National Assembly and the local councils.

There have not been very many multiple nominations among the candidates for the National Assembly. They have been more frequent in the case of local council candidates. It would appear that this has happened because of public opinion which is perhaps as yet mistaken. When there is more than one candidate, the one who is not elected thinks of himself as a "defeated" man. Yet in my view every person whom the nomination meeting considered worthy of a responsible position should be respected, regardless of where he came on the list of candidates. But perhaps there are relatively few multiple nominations because in this course of the preparations, at the nomination meetings, those taking part in all probability weighed with care and thoroughness whom they would honour with their confidence.

What is the quintessence of our social order? I think it is what initiated a new world for us: the power of the working class, of the people. We reaffirm this, too, at the elections. We take a stand for the socialist social order.

In their pronouncements the responsible leading bodies of our party and of the Hungarian People's Republic have always refrained from presenting our existing institutions, and thus our political situation, as examples of absolute perfection. Nor do we say of our political and social institutions that they have completed the entire course of their development. We know that we have to improve them further in the spirit of socialist democracy. This is how we view the economic foundations of our country and our cultural institutions which mean so much to us and which we constantly have to develop. But when we speak of the weaknesses in our work, of the aspects and features of our institutions which have yet to be improved, then—and in my view this is the political gist of the matter—we speak of our own system and of our own institutions. I am confident that on election day, on 8 June, our people will further strengthen their own system by their vote.

There are always arguments between the spokesmen of socialism and capitalism concerning the two systems. Which one is the better? Well, who can truly compare them? I think among the Hungarians living today—to put it delicately—the middle aged and the older generation can differentiate between the two systems, because they have already lived under a capitalist social order, too. They can and will differentiate, I think, on 8 June, too...

...In times gone by when somebody was walking along the street it was possible to determine precisely what his occupation was, what his social standing and financial situation was. The working man could be recognized from afar. So could the clerks: although most of them suffered deprivation at home, according to social custom, they had to put on a collar and a tie if they went out on the street. The wealthy man was not recognized because it was not his habit to appear in such areas.

When we say that we have a socialist social order, we can state: we have buried the capitalist past finally and for good. The old world passed away. Today it is not possible to determine what a person's occupation is by the way he is dressed. Even less can one talk from the children what their parents' occupation is. This is one of the achievements of our system.

Our social system is one of workers' power, people's power; and even if from time to time we look upon some of its institutions with a critical eye, even then it must be understood that the liberated people, the working class had no experience in governing, in the management of economic work, because others were the managers earlier. The tuition fee had to be paid, but the working class have learned how to govern the country, how to manage economic work, how to build culture, how to deal with education, health and many other things.

In those days the people of the old world who had been deprived of power, watched the working class with malicious glee and said: "These people know nothing, how are they going to lead the country." And although the country was in ruins at the time, our people showed that they were able to avail themselves of power and they did establish a socialist system.

On the most important factor of policy, power, our party and the Patriotic People's Front have an election programme. Even if we have not written this word by word into our appeal, our programme is to continue strengthening the power of the working class, of the people and our socialist system. We ask the voters to reaffirm this power by their votes on 8 June for the country and the world to see.

The National Assembly, which is to be elected as our supreme legislative body, takes decisions on our constitutional order, creates our laws and determines the legal framework in which Hungarian citizens live. The day-to-day life of the people depends in many respects on the local councils as well. The numerous seemingly small affairs which are dealt with by the councils largely determine the general feeling of the people, their mood and perhaps even their relationship to the system. Because sometimes the system is cursed even on account of a faulty tap.

We have to elect representatives who are committed, who, putting through the programme of the Patriotic People's Front, truly serve our people and socialism.

Committed people are of several sorts: among them there are party members and non-party people; they are workers, cooperative farmers, agricultural and transport workers, teachers, health and other employees, artists, scientists, literary men and women. Socialism has its supporters even among church people of the most diverse denominations. Yet all have obligations of different sorts. In our state and social bodies there is an appropriate number of party members and non-party people. The large majority of candidates for the National Assembly and the local councils are non-party people as is the majority of the population. In our system everybody can be faithful to his own ideology, can pursue any profession. But he who undertakes to serve the Hungarian people who are building socialism, in the capacity of a National Assembly or council member must be committed. By and large I know the candidates and I can say that they are committed and they can be voted for with confidence. At the moment I am not campaigning for myself, but must say this too in my own constituency.

The election is in a way a rendering of account. It is natural that the party, the Patriotic People's Front and all of their candidates owe it to the people to present such an account.

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység* [Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 232–235.)

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

SEPTEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

The state is an important element in the political system of our society which has been dealt with a lot and with scientific thoroughness by Marxist-Leninist theory. It has been established that the state is the product of class societies which will wither away under specific conditions. But in the present phase of socialist development in Hungary there are no antagonistic, irreconcilable class conflicts, there are no exploiting classes. The repressive function of the state—in the realm of domestic politics—has faded and is on the verge of disappearing. But the organizational function of the state in the most important areas of economic and cultural construction is on the increase and in our view will continue to increase and strengthen throughout the entire period of socialist construction. This is how we perceive the role of the state which at the same time defends the liberty, sovereignty and national independence of our country, and which is very necessary in the present world situation.

Mass organizations, mass movements are indispensable in our political system. Our party members take part in their work at every level. These organizations are independent and they operate in keeping with their purpose. For example the trade unions, as has very rightly been mentioned by Comrade Herczeg in the contribution he made yesterday, work independently and carry out their—under our conditions—manifold tasks. They are fundamental buttresses of people's power and they help in the cre-

ation of material goods. On the other hand they protect and represent the day-to-day interests of their membership. These are not empty words, but represent a genuine demand and requirement.

Our system of management in economic life—and not only there—is decentralized and ensures great independence for the various economic organizations, enterprises and companies. That not only increases the independence and responsibility of state and economic leaders, but also that of the party organizations, trade unions and Communist Youth Union (KISZ) organizations which work in that field. For as well as a good manager, who is thinking first of all of increasing productivity and of the profitability of the concern, there is a need for establishments through which the correctness of a policy can be supervised and which make the protection and representation of the elementary daily interests of the workers possible. This is how our political system operates and we want to continue to advance on this same road.

Are there any shortcomings in the operation of our political institutions? I think there are and this was ascertained by the Party Congress. The party, the trade unions, the youth organization are no exceptions. What kind of shortcomings are these? The mistakes of practice, the shortcomings in implementing decisions, but there are other kinds of mistakes, too. Ailments stemming from the consolidated situation can also be detected in the work of the party organizations, the mass organizations and mass movements. We have lost sight of certain experiences and we have to a small extent overorganized ourselves and our society, too. One can go to a meeting, whether it is a party, a trade union or a KISZ meeting, almost only scientifically prepared. One has to read so many papers and statistical data that one becomes dizzy. I always call to mind what a difficult situation a young Hungarian citizen can be in, for instance a girl, who is a party member, a member of the trade union, a member of KISZ, and perhaps is an activist in the People's Front, too. I wonder how many times she has it explained to her, and un-

fortunately in the same words, what the situation is and what is to be done?

Here and there increasing bureaucracy is also a factor which makes things more difficult. This, it seems, is not a characteristic of the capitalist system only, but unfortunately to some extent it is produced in the socialist system, too. It is like when deposits and scales are formed in the track of a living flow of water. Therefore let us always keep a wire-brush at hand and clear away these deposits...

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység* [Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 258–259.)

*Speech at the conference of commanders
in the Ministry of the Interior*

NOVEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

...Of course our socialist system has enemies, too. There is a class struggle going on in the world. We have said of our own conditions even before the 12th Congress that in Hungary the period of great class clashes has ended. The result is well known, but this does not in any way mean that we can leave out of consideration the acute class struggle which is taking place on an international scale, and which also has an effect on Hungary.

Here there is no organized class enemy, but here and there locally there are problems, there are hostile or opposition elements and smaller groups. They receive no support from worker and peasant strata, nor do they have links with them. As far as our tasks are concerned there is a need for both a more active policy and for vigilance.

We have to develop socialist democracy in order that people have a greater and greater say in public affairs. But it is we ourselves who will develop socialist democracy and we need no outside advisers and are not going to make use of their help. And to those,

who are attempting hostile acts, we say: we will give as good as we get.

There is need for vigilance, political thinking and level-headed behaviour in the Ministry of the Interior and its bodies, too. We have no reason to be worried, but where it is necessary to act, there we have to act resolutely and to use the means which are required by the case, by the situation. We have said more than once, and I repeat it now: we do not seek conflict; we do not provoke them but if we are provoked, then we will not avoid them, we will give an appropriate reply.

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység [Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 279.)

Speech at the 24th Congress of the Trade Unions

DECEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

...Western propaganda has been saying from the outset that there is a "communist dictatorship" in Hungary, that the state "has too great a power" and the trade unions have been "nationalized". These propaganda organs are actively "concerned" over the living and working conditions of workers, over human rights, and they are very much preoccupied by the fate of the Hungarian people. But what is it all about in reality? Before the Liberation, the counter-revolutionary regime cruelly oppressed everyone who raised his voice on behalf of his human rights; then the same regime forced the country into the fascist war which was against the national interests of the Hungarian people. Those who did not care about the social situation of the workers then, nor about the real absence of human rights, nor the fate of the Hungarian people, should have no headaches today over how the Hungarian worker lives, whether the trade unions have rights or not. The imperialists, even if recently they have phrased it differently, are

in actual fact preoccupied with how to turn back the wheel of historical development.

But since we live on the same planet, and the different social systems must coexist, the imperialists must recognize: in Hungary the working class have established their own power in the form of a people's democratic system. This is the first and irrevocable achievement of the Hungarian people. There will never again be a regime of land-owners and capitalists in Hungary. The means of production are going to remain in public ownership and nobody will ever again be able to re-establish the exploitation of man by man.

Of no less importance is the great achievement of socialist national unity and this is our main political strength. When we say that our domestic political situation is stable, that a socialist national joining of forces has come into being and is becoming stronger, we mean that the party and the masses, including people who earlier had different party affiliation and a different ideology, are working together under the guidance of the party, and for the good of the people, on the construction of a developed socialist society and for the prosperity of our country and nation. We will let no one upset this unity and concord and we will work with all our might to strengthen it still further in the future.

The socialist national joining of forces is headed by the revolutionary party of the working class and the working class themselves. The consolidation and enrichment of this joining of forces is our most important task. We can win over the masses only with an open policy and convincing arguments.

We have abundant historical experience and let us not forget it was not easy to acquire this. We have seen many kinds of battles and it is worth remembering well that the enemy, no matter how hard he tries, cannot harm us as much as if we ourselves make mistakes.

We keep the analysis and evaluation of the situation in the country permanently on the agenda; we face up to the problems which emerge in a given phase of development, and do not sweep them under the carpet, because they will not resolve themselves. We search for ways and means of solving matters, how we can

work better to achieve even better results in political work, in the field of economic construction and in the solution of social and cultural problems.

It is not the dictatorship of the few which predominates here; we have a people's democracy in the best sense of the word. It is a unique feature of our social system that during our progress, our state has gradually been transformed into an all-people's state. In the future, too, we will travel the road of developing socialist democracy. In what manner and by what means socialist democracy develops further in every field in Hungary—in the work of the party, in the activity of the state, in the life of the society, in the trade unions—will be decided not by the enemies of socialism, but by ourselves. And how and in what manner the Hungarian trade unions are going to develop the ways, means and possibilities of workplace democracy, that is going to be decided, worked out and solved by the Hungarian trade unions and not by others...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység [Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 296–298.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

MARCH 1981

(EXCERPT)

From our great historical lessons, and in the final analysis also from the present Polish situation—which has arisen because of deviation from the correct principles, practice and reality—I have drawn the conclusion that our system is superior to the capitalist system. It is a strong and sound system, which has stood up to many storms and trials, although it has a few particular features which I do not like. For example, good ideas have difficulties in breaking through, and the decision-making process is slow. Yet I believe that these are not incurable diseases. They can be remedied and we are trying to do so. Another thing is that there are no

safety valves to let off steam as they have under capitalism. Essentially each bourgeois political party represents the same system; nevertheless, if the people get disillusioned with one of them, then they choose the other and they calm down, and the tensions subside at least temporarily. Moreover, the bourgeois system has other means and opportunities for manipulation.

In contrast, our socialist democracy is the institutional system of genuine democracy. I would list here the independent, specific, genuine operation of our mass organizations, mass movements and other communities and a decision-making process which is formed on prior consultation and on listening to what the interested parties have to say. If these operate appropriately and in keeping with their purpose, then things are going well. Let us say frankly that there is still much to improve in this field. If it so happens that in an election something is said against the list of nominees drawn up previously, it often turns out that the person mentioned this way is better than the person recommended by the body which has done the preparation. We must not fear such matters or be reluctant about them. Socialist democracy, if it functions well, helps the creative processes and gives secure freedom to views and opinions, and scope to collective experience in society.

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység [Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 349–359.)

POLICY ON INFORMATION

Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP to the 9th Congress of the party

NOVEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...In Marxist propaganda, we must concentrate attention on the major questions of our age, on the requirements of socialist construction. There is a burning need to strengthen the Marxist approach to economics, to improve economic propaganda and to understand the interrelationship between economic and ideological work. It is no less important to give education with convincing vigour on the major questions of our age, the problems of the international situation and of the international communist movement. It is the task of the coming years to improve and perfect the curriculum and subject-matter of party education and to be bold in both employing new ways and developing methods of education.

Recently we achieved results by applying old and new forms of propaganda. Agitation is more lively, more convincing and mobilizes people better; the methods used are more varied and through them the word of the party reaches almost the whole of society. The reintroduction of the system of open party days has proved to be correct. On each occasion, in each cycle of party days the leaders and activists in party and state, economic and social life can speak to several hundreds of thousands of people using the most effective means of agitation, the power of word of mouth. Keeping the party membership well informed is an indispensable precondition for fruitful work by the party organizations and the demand of the party membership to receive quicker and more comprehensive information than hitherto is justified.

The work of the press, radio and television has also developed between the two congresses. The circulation of daily papers has

increased by more than a quarter of a million. Four weekly papers appear in more than 400,000 copies, and six other weeklies in more than 100,000. There are more than 5 million subscribers to the papers and journals, almost a million more than at the time of the 8th Congress. And we must say that the only limitation on a further increase in circulation is the shortage of paper. The number of radio subscribers has tripled in four years and increased to one million...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism], pp. 302-303.)

Speech to the festive session of the Central Committee on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the party

NOVEMBER 1968

(EXCERPT)

...The press, radio and television are important media of communication which can and do help in the propagation of our ideology, the popularization of our socialist goals and the shaping of public opinion. At the same time they are also instruments of power, which have their rational and necessary limits. We do not and did not have censorship in our country, but the law prohibits and punishes the 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 do not forget and others should not forget either that one of the bloody battles for power in Hungary in the autumn of 1956 was fought at the very building of the Radio and for its possession...

(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 113-114.)

Speech at a meeting of activist journalists

NOVEMBER 1971

(ABRIDGED)

The press has elemental strength. The strength and magic of the printed word—and today we may add to this the radio, television and other similar institutions—is much greater than we ourselves would think...

...Your profession has a magic force. This is also expressed by the atmosphere of the editorial offices. This profession has an attraction for outsiders, too.

Of course, this profession also has its negative side. Not long after the Liberation, two or three months after, I was already party secretary for Budapest, and at the editorial offices of a paper I called on those comrades with whom I had worked together in the underground. 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 also work from morning till night, you certainly do a lot of good things and certainly make many mistakes, too. But the difference is that your mistakes are not seen, but ours are printed in several hundreds of thousands of copies; they are in the hands of everybody the next day and we can't even retract them!" This, too, is part of the profession.

I would like to throw light on the relationship between politics and the press through a comparison. If we think of those fighting for socialism—let's say figuratively—as an army, then this is just as unimaginable without the press as a division would be completely incapable of fighting without a signals unit.

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; the press is a political institution, where political questions must

be clarified rapidly one way or another; 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 during these ten to fifteen years; it is more political, discusses politics better, is better written and the reporting has improved tremendously.

The comrades who have spoken have mentioned many times that the task of the press is to reflect reality. I would like to reverse this: the press itself is a mirror of the social reality of the country.

Our press reflects the achievements and the shortcomings of our party, our state, our working classes, our society. It develops together with the other factors in society; by and large it is being carried forward by the same virtues, and its work is hindered and its development slowed down by the same shortcomings. This is necessarily and inevitably so. Therefore, if we wish to improve the situation, if we want to develop the work still further, if we apply the directive of the 10th Congress, that building socialism must be continued on a higher level, to the sphere of the press, too, then we must join hands to strengthen the press, we must whittle down its shortcomings together 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 share 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 significant force in our society, and just as it has been in the past and is today a factor in life, so it will play its role in the future, too.

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 who live 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 can compare the Hungarian press to the press of the

socialist countries, too. Responsible people from the press of those countries have already told us in official and unofficial statements and during conversations how they assess 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 endowments. 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 usually say of the general achievements of the party: this is not due to the fact that we are perhaps brighter 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 proved to be serviceable and appropriate.

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, then 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 tasks, but who do not themselves work in the press. Their most important task is to maintain constant and direct contact with the press.

The guiding bodies must keep the journalists regularly and adequately informed. They must not dole out tasks, but they must inform. I would like to illustrate this by 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, to be able to follow the processes and be informed as fully as possible on those questions which preoccupy the leading body of the party. This system is complemented by the rule that the head of the central daily paper of the party takes part in the meetings of the Political Committee. The aim is to have close contact with the newspaper; the press should be familiar with the problems and should make suitable use of this information

in their work. Such and similar contacts are needed between the press and the party and state bodies everywhere where press matters are being dealt with in some way or another.

The leading bodies, making use of this contact, must also seek information from the press. For the press can 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 what I mean by regular evaluation by an example. It has been a rule in Hungary since 1956 that no party body is permitted to instruct any court of law as to what sentence to pass in any particular court case. A certain guidance is necessary for the very sake of socialist legality, but the method of this guidance is that certain sentences are analysed and criticized in retrospect, and conclusions are drawn.

The press may also, of course, be talked to in advance and this is inevitable from time to time: suitable topics may also be proposed. But since it is not children who work in the press, I consider the regular and continuous evaluation of the work done much more important than the handing out of work in advance. If I may say so, expressed approval and unequivocal, clear criticism are needed on those occasions. This can simultaneously ensure 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 so useful the regular, recurrent editorial conferences as they are called; the party and state bodies must maintain them continuously and systematically. At these there is the opportunity to ask, to discuss and to review problems and to ensure normal conditions for work.

As far as the immediate work of editing, of the editor-in-chief of the editorial committee is concerned, the designation of topics is already justified on their part.

It is one of the very 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, of the radio, of the editorial offices.

As far as the central topic is concerned—allow me to put it this way—the determining topics are those which are put on the agenda 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 interests public opinion. I shall not go into any further detail on this. Generally the good determination of topics occurs when the questions which occupy the central guiding bodies and the guiding bodies in a given field coincide with what the masses demand. All this must somehow be synchronized. If it is not, there is trouble, and one has to facilitate the attainment of 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 is preoccupying 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 sometimes seriously, sometimes 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 a proper workplace atmosphere. 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 and with political objectives that are justified, not personal intrigues.

As far as journalist comrades 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...

...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, 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 fellow-scholars, too, but that 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 demand that society should respect the journalists. I am thinking here of the party and state functionaries as well as of 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 and honourably. It is only in this case that social respect is due.

As far as the improvement and development of journalism are concerned, I always consider the analysis of experience and the evaluation of practice to be most important. It is from these that conclusions are drawn and tasks then follow on. Karl Marx did not enter the library of the British Museum in London for the first time with the idea that well, now he would go there, would go there for thirty-seven years and would create Marxism. Lenin did not begin his ideological and theoretical activity either by deciding that now he would 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 that would be useful. It is much better to follow, analyse and study life and practice, 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 a plant, in the majority of cases that is a drawback. It is much better if it arises at the trust level, 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 assert itself and to be victorious over the old, the conservative and 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 inevitably attention is also drawn to the rubbish heap which was left behind. 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 out against our articles being written in an “on the one hand—on the other hand” fashion. The journalist should either support something, and then he should support it and not retract in the second half of the article what he had built up in the first. The article, and this includes radio or television reports, should be written either for or against something...

...I should like to raise one further question: the question of the ethics and behaviour of journalists. The capitalist newspaperman hunting for sensations is aggressive and impertinent. Do not let the socialist journalist 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 boorish and insulting, he does harm to the press. On the other hand, if the journalist's behaviour is decent and he gives a good impression, the person interviewed immedi-

ately understands that the journalist follows his vocation, and a normal relationship is readily established, and the respect for journalists increases.

Speaking of the ethics of journalists, let me mention that it is necessary to fight corruption and parasitism. And here the press has an important role. Without going into details, I just wish to say: only that press is credible which is free from what it fights against!

All of us in all the meanings of the term have an interest in making progress. 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 would like to see those working in the press receive the highest possible moral and financial recognition in their life and work.

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 487-495.)*

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

APRIL 1978

(EXCERPT)

...Let us pay very great attention to providing the best possible information for the people, for the wide masses. Let us make better use of the opportunities to inform people by word of mouth. Do not let our information work be limited to presenting what we have to say and our reasons, and then rushing off. Let the people have an opportunity to put their points of view, to ask questions, and if they do ask questions, let them receive answers. Special attention must be paid to giving information to the party membership by word of mouth. This, properly speaking, is informing the people at large. The party membership should always be well informed themselves to be able to inform people who are not members of the party adequately and with

self-assurance and accuracy. This system of information should always be in operation. Similarly, the feedback of questions should also be ensured. Special attention must be paid to informing intellectuals, particularly those active in the field of humanities. Regular political work must be carried out in the universities, in the higher schools of education, among the writers, artists and intellectuals of similar professions. Occasionally communist activists' meetings must be called, on other occasions political consultations should be organized. It is not necessary to do this every week; it can be done, say, every three months, but it should be a regular thing. Participants should have an opportunity to speak on political and economic subjects, to put questions and to receive answers. Intellectuals show a lively interest in every matter on which they have no precise knowledge and do not know the score. Therefore greater attention has to be paid to information given by word of mouth and—I am not ashamed to use this expression—to political agitation...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 31.)

II. THE LEADING ROLE AND STYLE OF WORK OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

*Report of the Central Committee to the National
Conference of the HSWP on the political situation and on
the tasks of the party*

JUNE 1957*

(EXCERPTS)

There are favourable and unfavourable factors in the party's present position, as far as our further work is concerned. The forces of the counter-revolution have been shattered, but they have not been completely wiped out. The bourgeois living at home, their lackeys and the forces of international imperialist reaction have suffered a defeat, but they have not given up their aims, and as far as international imperialism is concerned, it also has its own forces. In our country the cause of the socialist revolution has triumphed, the enemy is in retreat, the people, the working class and the party are advancing. These are the favourable features of the situation. But this victory must be secured because among the unfavourable features of our situation is the fact that significant forces of the enemy still exist and the imperialists are committing provocations and launching attacks. ...At present, here at home the counter-revolutionaries are regrouping their ranks, organizing their forces, and they are fighting against our system with the methods they employed in earlier years. These include spreading rumours, seeking for cracks in the party's unity; they are beginning to classify the party's functionaries again: who belongs to which wing, who relies on whom... Their subversive activities, of course, comprise preparations for various kinds of sabotage, including economic sabotage, and provocations and other machinations. Imperialism is also carrying on intelligence and subversive activities in our country and is placing Hungary under diplomatic and propaganda pressure. It should suffice to allude to the so-called Committee of Five of the United Nations, the noise raised around its

* The National Conference of the HSWP was the first major party meeting organized after the counter-revolutionary uprising in October 1956.

report, and so on. The imperialists have espoused the traitors, support and provide them with money, put organizations and radio stations at their disposal, and they are endeavouring to give them a voice in the U.N. and other forums. So there are also this type of unfavourable factors in our present position. The state has become stronger, but it is not yet strong enough. As a result of the shock caused by the counter-revolutionary attack, the insurrection, there is a certain laxness in the forces of the state, even in the armed forces, and we have not yet eliminated this laxness. Discipline, state discipline taken in the broader sense—thus labour and tax-paying discipline, and so on—is not yet firm enough. We still have to work a great deal in order to achieve proper order in every sphere.

In a certain sense the foregoing can also be said of the party. We can say with assurance that the party is united and active. But at the same time the shock has not passed over the party without leaving a trace, and a certain elementary order and discipline in party life still leave much to be desired. At the same time—and I recommend this to the attention of the Party Conference as a very important question—complacency is making its appearance in the party, and among the masses loyal to the socialist revolution, too. At present this is the foremost danger, because this complacency brings with it a dulling of vigilance towards the enemy, and a decline in the efforts to win the support of the masses. The fact that fundamentally order has been restored in the state, that our own forces are coming to the fore, gives rise to an illusion in the ranks of the party membership and our party functionaries and even among the non-party masses who sympathize with us, as if the counter-revolutionary attack had not taken place just seven or eight months ago, but seven or eight years ago. So the main demand on us now is to overcome this complacency.

It must also be mentioned that there is a tendency to forget the mistakes of the past. And this applies to both the mistakes of the party in general, and also one by one to the mistakes of individual comrades. Comrades, these things must be thought over carefully. In the past few months signs of a certain internal

discussion have also appeared among the comrades: discord which did not appear because of principles, which did not mean the criticism of certain persons on the basis of principles, but which could simply be called bickering and arguing...

Forgetfulness over the mistakes of the past is encouraged by our present particular situation. The situation today, comrades, is such that people who think superficially—whatever mistakes they may have made—can easily say that they have been right all along. What am I thinking of here? Let us say that there are comrades who earlier were up to their necks in certain dogmatic or sectarian mistakes. If these comrades think superficially, they may say without any further ado: "See, we were right, because we have always said that this Imre Nagy group would ruin the party." This, by itself, is true, but they forget all about their own mistakes, and that is not good. Then again, other comrades who were a little, or perhaps very much, responsible for revisionism, for compromising with the class enemy—although not guilty of it—may also say things like this: "See, we have told you where the old, dogmatic, sectarian leadership would land the party and the country!" In other words, our position provides an opportunity for unscrupulous people to forget and deny their former mistakes. Individual people may do this—although naturally not even they should be left to retain these views, they must be criticized in a comradely manner and brought to a more sober frame of mind—but the party cannot do this! And I believe that at present it is the duty of the party membership, and even more of the functionaries, to keep those terrible days in their memory and not to forget what the party and the people lived through between 23 October and 4 November!

Let them not forget the lessons which stem from revisionism, from compromise and from class betrayal, nor those mistakes which arise from a sectarian policy and from losing contact with the masses. Of course, comrades, in these unprincipled arguments which manifest themselves in personal intrigue, there is also a bit of the attitude, that we share in the results and the glory. We recommend to the party membership that they should rejoice at the results, but not forget that we have achieved them

not only through our own strength but with the help of the international proletariat. To share in the glory is premature. I do not know whether one, two or three years from now it will be seemly or proper for us communists to be sharing in the glory among ourselves, but at present—I repeat—it is still far too early for this...

(Szilárd népi hatalom—független Magyarország
[Firm people's power—independent Hungary],
pp. 178-180.)

*Report of the Central Committee to the 7th Congress of the
HSWP on the political situation and on the tasks of the party*

NOVEMBER 1959

(EXCERPT)

...It is a fundamental teaching of Marxism-Leninism that without the party, without the leadership of the party, the working class cannot attain and cannot retain political power; socialist society cannot be built without the leadership of the party.

The revisionists try to minimize the significance of the leading role of the party in the daily life of the countries building socialism. The Hungarian experience obviously and convincingly proves that after accession to power the leading role of the party does not diminish, but on the contrary, increases. This is entirely obvious, particularly if we consider that after coming to power, the party has to lead the class struggle, to govern the country, to take the responsibility for ensuring the people's well-being, and to direct the whole complicated process of socialist construction. Lenin referred to the complexity of building socialism and to the diverse tasks of the working class when he taught:

“Without a party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the

mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully.”*

It is no secret that, during the days when the counter-revolutionary uprising gained ground, the forces loyal to socialism, though numerically far greater, were not able to take an effective stand against the counter-revolutionary forces which represented a minority. The decisive reason for this situation was the fact that, owing to various earlier mistakes and internal treason, which became evident during the days of the counter-revolution, the party could not properly play its leading role.

The first and indispensable prerequisite for the effective counter-attack on the part of the revolutionary forces was the reorganization of the party, the leading force of the working class. We reorganized the party in the course of the struggle waged against the counter-revolution and basically concluded this work successfully by 1 May 1957.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is guided by the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, its theoretical basis and communist policy are not new. What is new in the situation is that, following a series of deviations and errors, the Central Committee has led the party back to the correct Leninist path. The party has also introduced new elements in its working style which today unite it with the broadest masses of workers.

The past is a source of strength for the party. The party continues to rely upon the magnificent revolutionary experiences of forty years. At the same time, during the period of the reorganization of the party, while retaining the good revolutionary traditions, it was also necessary to free the party of everything which in recent years has sullied the unblemished nature of its banner, in particular of the personality cult and of the shame of revisionist treachery.

We learned, though at our own expense, that the class enemy can only seriously endanger the power of the people if the leadership of the party continuously and for a long time commits

* “Left-Wing” Communism—an Infantile Disorder. V. I. Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 31. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1966, pp. 44-45.

errors of the kind which harm its ties with the masses and spread confusion in the ranks of the membership and the masses; and if the class enemy succeeds, even if only temporarily, in lining up a section of the honest workers on its side; if the class enemy succeeds in camouflaging itself at the beginning of its intervention; if the class enemy is able to get a foothold in the revolutionary party of the working class itself and to use this as a base for its attack; if the class enemy succeeds in paralysing the ability of the party to take action, and in making it unfit for leadership.

Today our party, having learnt from experience and having been tempered in battle, is strong, united, plays its role as the vanguard, and supported by the confidence of the people, is successfully leading the momentous work of building socialism.

The vanguard character of our party and its preparedness for leadership are assured if it functions as a well-organized force whose entire membership is cemented by unity of will and action. The foundation of party unity is, above all, the ideological and political unity of the party membership. The ideological foundation of our party is Marxism-Leninism, which is an invincible ideal, a living, developing science, and has been the weapon of the working class for more than a hundred years. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have materialized in the Soviet Union and are victorious in a series of countries, including our own.

In order to safeguard the ideological foundation of party unity, the party has waged a fight on two fronts during the past three years—namely against revisionism and against dogmatism—for the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The ideological weapons of the working class are impaired by the dogmatic and revisionist tendencies within the party. Of these, revisionism is the main danger both in Hungary and internationally. Modern revisionism revives the still undefeated old bourgeois ideas and plays into the hands of, and relies upon, international imperialism and internal reaction. It is especially dangerous because it parades before the masses in the colours of Marxism-Leninism.

The social basis of revisionism is constituted by the still existing bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements. Revisionism

falsifies the basic tenets of Marxism, denies the leading role of the party, the role of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the significance of the socialist camp. Revisionism is closely linked with bourgeois nationalism and in politics it leads inevitably to the betrayal of the interests of the working class.

Revisionism is an international phenomenon which is attempting to undermine the position of communists within the ranks of the working class in different countries. In reality revisionism is nothing other than a falsification of Marxism by the bourgeoisie. It is doomed to failure in its most modern form, too, just as all the attacks on Marxism over the past one hundred years have all suffered defeat. This is clearly exemplified by the whole dishonourable career of the Hungarian revisionist group. A considerable section of this group traversed the inevitable road of revisionism to the end, from falsification of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, through organizing factions within the party, to passing over into the enemy camp and to treason.

Today the Central Committee and the decisive masses of the party membership are free from revisionist views. The dark shadow cast by the revisionists upon the party is the disgrace of those traitors and not of the party and the masses supporting it.

Dogmatism also falsifies and distorts the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Although it does not originate from the bourgeoisie, but grows in the soil of the working-class movement, dogmatism can cause tremendous damage to the cause of the party, the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The personality cult developed around Mátyás Rákosi and the ensuing dogmatism and sectarian policy caused grave damage to the party during the past few years. In the course of the struggle waged against the counter-revolution, the party had to rid itself of the mistakes of the past as well. Fully aware of our responsibility we can report to the Congress that the Central Committee is free, and the decisive masses of the membership have also been freed from the harmful views of dogmatism and sectarianism. The Central Committee has restored the Leninist rules of party life, democratic centralism and collective leadership throughout the party; it has rehabilitated and restored the honour of all

those who were unjustly accused by Rákosi and the group supporting him...

The Leninist rules of party life, the principles of democratic centralism now prevail in our party. Accordingly, there is unity, discipline, a free atmosphere, and the freedom to criticize is also ensured. Decisions are preceded by many-sided examination and thorough debate. Hence the decisions of our party organizations are generally better, and there is a greater unity in implementing them.

It is a very good thing that the work in our party is directed, from branch executive to the Central Committee, by communist collectives, which were forged in the defence of the Marxist-Leninist line of the party and in the struggle against the counter-revolution. This became evident at the party meetings held to elect new executives before the Congress, and in the local, regional party conferences. Seventy per cent of the members of the party executives and of the party committees were confirmed in the posts they held by secret ballot. About 22% of the former executives were replaced because of age, state of health or because, and these were the majority, they had moved to other jobs. About 8% were replaced by the party membership, after proper criticism, because they were unable to live up to the demands of leadership.

It is to be welcomed that the party's style of work has developed a lot during the past three years. This communist style of work is characterized by a policy based on principles, confidence and frankness towards the masses, by its verve and practical approach.

It is worth pointing out that the party's full-time apparatus is 40% smaller than before. The party has complemented this smaller apparatus healthily by increasing considerably the number of voluntary permanent activists around the party leadership and committees. The party leadership and party committees can now rely in their work on a permanent group of activists four to five times as large as the party apparatus.

The continued development of the inner life of the party and of party work demands a struggle against erroneous views which

still exist, and a higher theoretical, political and professional level. Every organization of the party must pay far greater attention to the economic tasks and the problems of cultural development than before.

Cadre work must be further improved. It is a good thing that guiding of people in their day-to-day work and cadre work are done together and are not separated from each other. Proposals on cadres are worked out by those party bodies which guide the work in the field concerned, who are therefore in the best position to know the people working there. The decisive thing in cadre work, in our experience, is to judge people primarily on the basis of their work and their behaviour and not on the data in various records. The entire person must be considered, his or her good qualities and possible shortcomings must both be weighed. The most important thing is to do away once and for all with secretiveness and mystification and one-sided judgements in cadre work. The state of affairs where one day a man is praised to the skies for his good qualities and the next day the same person is, because of some mistake, rejected forever must at all costs be avoided.

A key question in the improvement of party work today is to see that there is far greater consistency in the implementation of party decisions and to improve the supervision of this implementation. The workers say that they approve of the fundamental resolutions of the party, but at the same time they often feel that local bodies do not always carry them out properly. Functionaries and members of our party must realize that the accurate implementation of party decisions is a political issue of great importance, because it affects the relationship between the party and the masses. We must not forget that we must never allow discrepancies between the words and deeds of the party; this is a key factor in increasing the mass influence of our party.

The party has indirect and direct links with the masses. Both kinds of contacts have their particular importance and place; both must function effectively.

The party has indirect links with the people through the mass

organizations and mass movements. The mass organizations and mass movements have their own particular functions. Their additional task is to transmit the message of the party to the masses and to transmit the opinions and questions of the masses to the party. The unhealthy growth in the number of party members in the past was accompanied by underestimating the mass organizations as political transmission channels to a certain degree. This, of course, led to an underestimation of party work in the mass organizations and to disregarding the independence of the mass organizations. During the past three years the party has succeeded in effecting a radical change in this fundamentally erroneous concept and the ensuing improper practices. Today the mass organizations and mass movements, operating under the ideological and political guidance of the party, and at the same time working independently, fulfil the specific role which arises from their character; on the whole they also carry out their role of linking the party and the masses well...

The party also maintains direct contacts with the masses. These contacts take many different forms, such as the press, the radio, meetings, open party meetings, the everyday work of the party groups in residential areas, as well as the constant work of enlightenment which is the duty of every communist, and the personal contacts between communists and people outside the party.

It is of exceptional importance for the favourable development of the direct mass contacts of the party that the party should establish a relationship with non-party people which is correct in principle and in practice. The party, as is known, shows confidence and appreciation towards non-party people. It speaks frankly, directly and openly to the broadest masses of people outside the party about achievements and difficulties alike. Over three years, it was this very openness and frankness which created a great moral capital of mutual confidence between the party and the non-party masses. To a decisive extent the success of the party depends on the further strengthening of this mutual confidence.

Complacency, which is reappearing here and there in our ranks,

is an obstacle to the further strengthening of the healthy relations established with people outside the party. There are comrades who have forgotten the teachings of Lenin that the party must fight to win the confidence and the support of the masses day by day, time and again. It is regrettable that we should find, even if only sporadically, that some party members do not understand the position of the Central Committee with regard to non-party people and therefore do not act properly.

In some places there is a certain lack of comprehension and a reluctance to accept the position taken by our 1957 Party Conference, according to which any public office, except party posts, may be filled by people outside the party. There are comrades, afflicted by outmoded views, who do not understand that communists cannot do everything by themselves. In view of the great importance of this question allow me to quote what Lenin said on this matter: "One of the biggest and most dangerous mistakes made by communists... is the idea that a revolution can be made by revolutionaries alone. On the contrary, to be successful, all serious revolutionary work requires that the idea that revolutionaries are capable of playing the part only of the vanguard of the truly virile and advanced class must be understood and translated into action. A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction."*

We have to condemn the impatience shown here and there towards non-party people. No one can expect everybody to become a communist overnight, to rise at once to the level of the vanguard. The construction of a socialist society, on the other hand, is the cause of the entire people, it can be accomplished only as the creation of the entire people. It is the task of the party to lead the non-communists in this great work with persuasion

* On the Significance of Militant Materialism. V. I. Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 33. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1966, p. 227.

and patience, and to put those who have abilities, knowledge and talent into posts in which they can do the most for society.

Even greater patience is necessary in dealing with the day-to-day problems of people. There are no statistics on the host of problems, matters of public or personal interest, with which people turn daily to our party organizations. In 1958, almost 20,000 letters were sent directly to the Central Committee, and over 30,000 to *Népszabadság*.^{*} In these letters various people turned to us for advice or assistance. Obviously, the party and the party organizations cannot deal with everything, but all requests and wishes which people who are for the most part outside the party present to us in words or in writing must, above all, be looked upon as signs of confidence in the party.

Let us take a relentless stand against bureaucracy and soulless attitudes, let us pay the most detailed attention in dealing with the affairs, problems, complaints and requests of the people. The party organizations must take these matters seriously and put people on the right track. They should pass on problems to the competent bodies and follow up their settlement.

It is through the mass organizations, mass movements and direct contacts with the masses that the millions of threads which link the party with the people are spun and strengthened. Mutual confidence and lively contact between the party and the people is a matter without which the party can neither live nor operate.

Our party is a patriotic and internationalist party. Our socialist revolution can develop only together and in unison with the international communist movement. The Central Committee is pleased to report to the Congress that our relations with all our fraternal parties, communist and workers' parties throughout the world, are cordial and friendly and are developing on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

We consider it our task to learn from our own people and learn from the experiences of the international communist movement. If we constantly learn from our own experiences and from our people, we cannot lose sight of our domestic conditions

^{*} The central daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the HSWP.

and national characteristics, which have evolved in the course of history. If we were to ignore them it would be impossible to build a socialist society in our country. If we were to overlook the experiences of the international communist movement and forget the major international requirements for the building of socialism, we would shut ourselves behind the walls of national limitations. In this case it would also be impossible to build a socialist society in our country and to defend the socialist achievements of our people.

Our Central Committee is of the opinion that in the struggles of the past three years we have correctly interpreted and applied the international experiences of the class struggle, the main international laws of the building of socialism, taking into consideration our domestic conditions and national characteristics.

(A szocializmus teljes győzelméért
[For the complete victory of socialism],
pp. 128-144.)

Speech at the Budapest Party Conference

OCTOBER 1962

(EXCERPT)

Are there any debates in our party, among us communists? Yes, there are. During the past six years the Central Committee has stimulated, encouraged and prompted the entire party membership, when any problem of the revolutionary movement arises in any party organization, to follow a sequence of procedure under which there is a many-sided examination of each and every question; there is free expression for all opinions in connection with all problems, and the standpoint of the party and party organizations is evolved after an extensive and thorough discussion on all questions. We are convinced that this—i.e. the creative discussion itself—is not a formal matter, but the indispensable condition for party unity based on ideological and prin-

ciplend foundations. This is the real strength of the matter, because those people who can freely express their opinion, approval or doubts, and listen to convincing counter-arguments during the discussion, will leave a meeting in the knowledge that they have to carry out decisions they have made themselves. This is the mainspring of the tremendous and multiple strength of our party.

The Central Committee of the party is now following a method which is well known to you and the public throughout the country, namely that when the party takes a stand on matters affecting millions of people—and the Central Committee's resolutions are as a rule of such a character—we are not satisfied with a thorough and searching examination and discussion of what has to be done by just the communists themselves. On all possible occasions we are involving the broadest sections of non-party workers who have an interest in the implementation of the resolution in the preliminary discussions. In what does the strength of this method lie? It does away with the need for argument afterwards. It is equally true during the period of capitalist dictatorship and of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat that when the party goes into battle, it can rely on as many people and as many forces on each issue as it succeeds in convincing of the justness and correctness of the cause or the stand taken. We should never mislead ourselves or the party in this respect. Explaining, answering questions and convincing those who are unsure is indispensable!

Not least among the factors on which the general unity of the party depends is the extent to which its Central Committee is firm and cohesive. Things often occur which our half a million members do not know about, because it is simply physically impossible for them to know about them, because of the nature of the matter. On such occasions the Central Committee must take a stand. It is the task of the Party Congress to evaluate the Central Committee and its work and if necessary, to criticize it.

(Tovább a lenini úton
[Further ahead on the Leninist path],
pp. 58-59.)

*Report of the Central Committee of the
HSWP to the 8th Congress of the party*

NOVEMBER 1962

(EXCERPTS)

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, is the vanguard of the working class. The party is not an end in itself; it represents and serves the ideals and aspirations of the working class whose immediate and long-term aims are both identical with the interests of the entire working people. For more than forty years, ever since its foundation, the party has considered service to the working class and the working people its one and only task. The ties between the party and the masses today are close, the party works at the head of the people, with the people and for the people and leads them in the struggle for the complete building of socialism.

As socialist construction advances, the role of the party increases, because the economic and cultural tasks are growing in number and complexity, and the political struggles assume an ever more ideological character as well. The socialist unity of our society, the co-operation of the entire people, their moral and political unity in building socialism can only be brought about under the leadership of the working class and their revolutionary party.

The paramount question is the correctness of the general party line. It is the conviction of the Central Committee that in the activities of our party, the victorious ideas of Marxism-Leninism and communist policy have prevailed. The Leninist norms of party life, democratic centralism and collective leadership are in force in our party life.

The institutionalized anomalies of the personality cult were eradicated in the very first days of the reorganization of the party: from the outset we kept the Rákosi clique away from the party and the country's political life.

It has been since then that the Leninist principle of collective leadership has again been in force to the full in the major leading

bodies of our party. In the past six years on all questions which had to be decided by the Central Committee or the government, it was the Central Committee or the government which made the decision and not the Political Committee or a more exclusive cabinet; what had to be decided by the Political Committee was decided by the Political Committee and not by the Secretariat; and what had to be decided by the Secretariat was decided by the Secretariat and not by one individual. The principle of collective leadership prevails in all our party bodies; this does not exclude but presupposes the personal responsibility of all those who fill party posts. And the Leninist norms of party life also prevail in solving differences of opinion inside the party.

The source of our party's successful work is that it has maintained the purity of Marxist-Leninist ideas in the two-front struggle against dogmatism and revisionism. Revisionism and sectarian dogmatism have suffered an irrevocable historical defeat in the Hungarian communist movement. For our party the struggle on two fronts is not a tactical slogan, but a constant task which follows from the essence of Marxism-Leninism. In the present period, too, we must keep vigilant watch for any signs of revisionism, dogmatism and the spirit of conciliation towards them, and we must overcome them. We must keep in mind that these trends themselves adapt to the changed situation and do not appear in the same "pure" form as five or six years ago.

The dogmatic-sectarian approach and outlook today hamper and impede progress mainly because they are at a loss to comprehend the needs of the socialist development of society, and because they call us to take account of slogans which were once timely, but have since become obsolete. This outlook is opposed to our party's policy of alliance, and instead of promoting the growth of a homogeneous socialist peasant class, proclaims the "class struggle" in the co-operative farms between former poor peasants, former middle peasants and former kulaks. The danger of this outlook and approach is further increased by the fact that it is linked to the bad vestiges of the personality cult and is also correlated to the pseudo-revolutionary, anti-Marxist evaluation of the international situation.

Revisionism has not surrendered either; just as six years ago it resorted to falsifying the 20th Congress [of the CPSU], so now it is trying to justify itself by distorting the ideas of the 22nd Congress [of the CPSU]. The revisionists are falsifying our policy of alliance in an opportunist way. They stand for an alliance without ideological struggle, they deny the vanguard role of the working class and its party in the alliance, and reject the aim of the alliance—the complete building of socialism. They are attempting to reconcile Marxism with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies.

Even so, guarding the purity of Marxism-Leninism, its creative application and correct policies could only lead to great victories because our party became welded together in the struggle and was united. Unity is not a formal question. Unity does not preclude but presupposes the many-sided discussion of questions and the opportunity to voice diverse opinions in debate. The unity of our party means that the party adopts resolutions after thorough and exhaustive debate, which are then binding on all, and in the implementation of which strict discipline and unity of action must prevail.

It did happen during the past six years that the divergence of opinions finally led to a break. In the case of four former Central Committee members the controversy took on such a form and character that finally it came to a rupture between them and the Central Committee. In none of the cases did the Central Committee initiate what happened. But when disagreement on principle occurred, and those who held this false approach and attitude came to oppose the main line and organizational order of the party—due to a right-wing or "left-wing" deviation or perhaps to personal vanity—the Central Committee did not hesitate but acted in the interest of the party and the people. There is no person to whom the party can make concessions on points of principle. Our Marxist-Leninist ideas, the policy and unity of the party are more important to us than anything else. ...

...The essence of the party's activity is to proclaim the ideas of socialism, to organize and mobilize the masses to solve the tasks involved in building socialism. Putting party policy into

practice depends on the persons who are entrusted with doing the job and directing the work of others. That is why the training and correct selection of cadres is of such great significance. The situation in this field is sound. Secrecy has been eliminated and the party organizations are continually assessing people more comprehensively and without prejudice and stereotyping.

While keeping on record and continuing to hold merit earned in the past in high esteem, the aptitude for certain job has now been given emphasis in cadre work. In addition to ideological and political training, we must always take care in cadre work to try to protect everybody from the pitfalls which tempt even decent people, after working well for long periods; the lure of personal popularity, conceit and bullying. The best preventive in this respect, too, is the healthy working style which has evolved in the party during the past few years.

Nowadays party decisions are prepared in discussions based on the intensive study of reality; the party organs consult the communists, working people outside the party and experts. In party work general political principles are applied ever more in the concrete knowledge of concerns and problems; slogans which have nothing to do with reality and the use of appeals which are limited to generalities are shunned.

The essential feature of the party's style of work continues to be the need for all members and party functionaries to maintain a close and live contact with the working masses. This is an irreplaceable prerequisite for effective party work. Firmness of principle must go hand in hand with humanism and attentiveness towards the day-to-day problems of people in the behaviour of communists. We must demand that leading communists are modest, self-sacrificing and unselfish in service to the community.

The autonomy of elected bodies inside the party has been developed, but needs to be further strengthened. This is the best safeguard against work becoming bureaucratic. In the past few years the Central Committee itself has considerably reduced the number and the length of the resolutions passed. In its work the Central Committee counts to a great extent on the independent, responsible work of the intermediary party bodies, such as the

Budapest Party Committee and the county party committees. This autonomy is more or less in force in the work of all party bodies.

A healthy sign in the development of party life is the activity of voluntary committees, party workers and activists, many of them people outside the party, who are working with the leading bodies at all levels.

We have created a healthy atmosphere in party life. People are outspoken, they argue and criticize freely. It is all the more conspicuous and reprehensible that there are still communist leaders in various posts, mainly in the field of state and economic administration, who employ working methods which are alien to the spirit of party policy and the party's style of work. Such people are overbearing, order others about unnecessarily, stifle criticism and sometimes take revenge for it. An unremitting struggle must be waged against such symptoms inside the party and in all other fields of public activity; let us stimulate discussion and safeguard the freedom to criticize.

The work of all party organizations is assisted by the direct support of public opinion, of the working people. Each year tens of thousands of letters and verbal reports on matters of public interest reach party and state agencies, editorial offices and the radio. These letters, sometimes arising out of a personal grievance, but very often without any direct interest being involved, contain observations on shortcomings noticed in the work of our institutions or abuses of power by certain leaders.

It is the elementary duty of our party organizations and public institutions to examine such reports and comments with the utmost care and to remedy the mistakes which do in fact exist. Our party must see to it that the working people who criticize the mistakes verbally or in writing are given complete protection; the most vigorous and immediate action must be taken against those who suppress criticism. The spirit of "stabbing in the back", slander and intrigue has to be eradicated. In future our party and state agencies must not start proceedings against anyone without good cause, for instance, just on the basis of anonymous letters and reports.

In line with the healthy working style which has evolved in the party the Central Committee in practice follows the method of passing no party resolutions which are binding on state institutions, mass organizations, cultural organizations or other autonomous leading bodies. In these fields the party asserts its leading role ideologically and politically by making its resolutions binding on party members working in these agencies; they have to work for the implementation of party resolutions by winning conviction and arguing their case. This guarantees the party's role of ideological and political guidance and the united and disciplined stand of party members in implementing party resolutions, together with the autonomy of state bodies, mass organizations, cultural and other agencies and movements.

(Tovább a lenini úton
[Further ahead on the Leninist path],
pp. 113-128)

Report to the 9th Congress of the HSWP

NOVEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

Our party is the leading party in the country. It works out and directs foreign and domestic policy, national defence and the defence of the internal order of our country. It leads the struggle of the working class and of the working people for the construction of a socialist society. The great achievements which have been shaping society during the past ten years—the defeat of the counter-revolution, the consolidation of workers' power, the re-establishment of legal order, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the significant development of the forces of production and the strengthening of national unity—have all been realized under the leadership of the party. This has earned the party the confidence and appreciation of the masses.

All this is undeniable fact. Yet in party life one can hear views

about the weakening of the party's leading role. The debates on this question stem partly from differing interpretations of the leading role of the party. There are some, who interpret the leading role as meaning that the party bodies must take decisions even on the smallest details and that the role of the state and social bodies is only to implement them. This is an erroneous view. This concept of the leading role of the party would lead to the withering of the independence and responsibility of state and mass organizations.

Others identify the leading role with the use of force and the instruments of power. This, particularly in the present phase of the building of socialism, contradicts the basic Leninist principles of party leadership. Not a few party members identify the leading role of the party with the role and authority of individual party organizations. Others see as a precondition of the party to play a leading role that all leading positions should be filled by party members. The leading role of the party prevails everywhere, where its policy is implemented. At some times and in some places the resolutions of the party are not realized consistently enough; what is more, they are sometimes distorted. Where it is not the policy of the party which is being realized, there we cannot speak of the leading role of the party. In this sense and locally it has happened that the leading role of the party has not prevailed and not just on one or two occasions. But it is a mistake to generalize from a few exceptional cases. Local problems can and must be resolved. But this must not be mistaken for the basic question that in the country it is the party which leads, and that its policy is being implemented.

Recently we have heard views in the international news which throw doubt on the necessity of the principle of centralism in a revolutionary party of the working class. Elsewhere the function of the party is being interpreted as some sort of inexplicable activity of theoretical guidance. This is not to mention the distortion where, under the title of the "cultural revolution", school-children are led to storm party bodies and party organizations with the purpose of, so to speak, "purifying" them.

Recognizing the necessity and soundness of the exchanges of

view between parties, and respecting the independent views of individual parties, we would like to emphasize the position of our own party in relation to views pertaining to the leading role of the party. The historical experiences of the Hungarian working class and of the working people testify that the consistent struggle against capitalism and for the building of socialism can only be conducted successfully under the leadership of a communist party built up and operating on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

The experiences of our party, gained in difficult struggles, verify that the forces which want, so to speak, to strengthen the power and leadership of the working class by relying on some force other than or in opposition to the organizations of the party, in reality endanger workers' power and the building of socialism.

The working people, the working class need the party and its leading and organizational activity throughout the whole period of socialist construction. All views which limit the leading role of the party deprive the working class, the working people of their guiding force. The lessons of our struggle, which has been difficult and has many times demanded considerable sacrifices, has taught us, Hungarian communists, that it is our sacred duty to ensure that the Leninist principles concerning the leading role and inner life of the party are consistently in force.

The Central Committee is convinced that one of the most important tasks of the coming year, and the key question in the acceleration of our progress, is the prevalence and further development of the leading role of the party. The complete construction of our socialist society poses ever more complex tasks in the work of economic and cultural construction, in the ideological sphere and in the development of socialist social relations and socialist democracy.

It was in May 1966 that our Central Committee adopted the reform of the system of economic management which in itself justified the further development of the leading role of the party. To survey and analyse scientifically the complicated processes involved, to reveal and resolve the contradictions and to continue

to lead the development towards socialism, become possible only under the even more efficient leadership of the party. The great tasks of the future demand the development of the leading role of the party and the improvement of the methods and forms of party leadership and organizational work in harmony with the development of society.

In general, the party is responsible to the working class, to our entire people for socialist construction and for the state of our society. This, however, cannot mean that the party must take decisions on every question of detail. It is a specific demand of our further development that the role and responsibility of state bodies and mass organizations increase where practical decisions and their implementation are concerned.

The main tasks of political, economic and cultural life are worked out by the leading bodies of the party in consultation with the party membership. The party must expose the contradictions in social and economic life and work out ways to solve them. The party must turn its attention to strengthening scientific analysis, theoretical and political guidance and supervision. The party must deal with the main tasks at all levels.

Supervising how things are implemented must be given a vigorous role at all levels in the work of the party. This is a most resolute demand of our party membership. The most important duty of all party members in whatever field or position they may be working is to struggle with full commitment to see that the policy of the party is accepted and implemented. Communists should take a stand in all forums for the policy of the party and in defence of the socialist system. It is a right and duty of the party to criticize all those bodies which and individuals who do not work in the spirit of the party's policy and in line with the building of socialism. This is the more necessary because in certain places and on certain occasions, even party members show inhibitions and uncertainty and a reluctance to take a resolute stand for the party's policy.

The role and responsibility of party bodies and party organizations must be increased in selecting and educating leading cadres. This will receive special emphasis under the new system of econo-

mic management. The goals of the party can become reality only if leaders who are party members or outside the party understand the party's policy and are able to implement its work in leading positions.

The increase in the leading role of the party makes it necessary to develop the party guidance of state and government work further. The present practice slows down decisions and administration and often blurs responsibility. For this reason, the parallel structure, the interweaving in organizational structure and the overlap in work have to be eliminated at both the higher and lower levels of party and state bodies. The personal responsibility of the leaders of state bodies for the work of the area guided by them has to be increased.

An appropriate division of labour is needed to co-ordinate and determine the tasks of party and economic bodies in the work of economic construction if there is to be more fruitful work and the application and increase of responsibility. Parallel with the increase in the independence of economic bodies and enterprises, the role and responsibility of local party organizations in ensuring that local decisions are in harmony with the party's economic policy and in the selection of cadres will also grow. Party organizations should support the implementation of economic policy primarily by political means.

The mass organizations and mass movements of the workers are important elements in the effectiveness of the leading role of the party; they are active participants in shaping the party's policy, the realization of its goals and the strengthening of the relationship between the party and the masses. At the same time they are the organizational framework for rallying the people, the nation, in which the working masses carry on many-sided activities in the building of socialism. Our party has established the principles of party guidance in mass organizations and movements in accordance with Leninist principles. This party guidance is realized through theoretical, political means, and we respect organizational independence. If party resolutions are not binding for the mass organizations, but only for the communists

working in them, this may result in more spontaneous and efficient work.

The party mobilizes the strength inherent in the mass organizations and movements in the interest of our people and of socialism by the help of the communists working in them. Communists working in the mass organizations should always be aware of this honourable duty and responsibility. They are responsible for implementing the party's policy in their sphere of activity, as a result of their work of convincing others, and for conveying and representing the experiences gained among workers to the party bodies. This is an organic part of party work and an activity of equal value with other party activities.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 296-301.

*Speech at a meeting of activists called by the
Party Committee of Fejér County*

AUGUST 1967

(EXCERPT)

...Nowadays the question is often raised: how is the leading role of the party, of the working class effective? In studying this question we have to answer the following: is the leading role and the ideology of the party effective in our country, does the historical aim of the working class, socialism predominate or not?

There can be only one answer to this question: the leading role of the party is effective where the policy of the party is effective. The leading role of the working class is effective where the historical goal of the working class, socialism, is being built. In a given institution the effectiveness of the party's leading role does not depend first and foremost on how many members the local party organization has. This is also very important, but is not a question of primary importance. The critical moments of history them-

selves have taught us that the strength of the party cannot be calculated by simple arithmetic. The strength of the party can be expressed in numbers, too, but it is much more important to determine the extent of the theoretical maturity of the party, its political unity, its ability to act and its mass influence, because these express strength more accurately and better than numbers.

For example on 24 August 1956, the party represented an enormous force numerically: nationally the membership was more than 910,000. In contrast, at the end of December 1956 the number of party members had, let us say, reached 200,000 or thereabouts. This organized force of smaller number, however, was able to intervene in the flow of events, to bring about change, to mobilize, win over and lead the masses into battle much more effectively.

Forgive me for handling this question in such a simplified manner but often we make mistakes precisely because we mystify matters to a certain extent.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 452-453.)

*Speech to the festive session of the
Central Committee on the 50th
anniversary of the founding of the party*

NOVEMBER 1968

(EXCERPT)

It has always been a task of our party to stand for 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 there are still differences in the situation of the workers, the co-operative peasants, the intelligentsia and the petty-bourgeoisie and various

strata of society, 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 unbroken process and great achievements of socialist construction. I think we must and have the right to speak of the results of our work, just 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 from. But they are not satisfactory when compared with our potentialities, and even less so in comparison with our people's growing and rightful demands, our lofty ultimate goals.

There is a justified demand for the elimination of bureaucratic excesses, for instance, for a more flexible administration, for the further improvement of the economic and cultural situation of the working people and for the speedier solution of their social welfare problems. In the wake of the development of socialist consciousness 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 their nature warrants it, their punishment too. All this, naturally, presses not just for making subjective decisions, but for the creation of objective conditions as well.

It is an obligation stemming from the party's leading role to recognize the main questions of our society's development in good time, to take them up and to work out suitable solutions in line with the new situation. In the wake of our party's initiative, our society is at present keeping 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 the living conditions of the working people. Each of these questions which affect all of society requires separate attention: their solution demands appropriate efforts and each one has to be dealt with properly.

In his day Lenin called attention to the fact that among the

questions there is always a key question, and upon its solution depends the solution of countless others and at a given time the entire development.

Such key questions in our country during the past ten years were the defence and consolidation of the threatened power of the working class and later 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...

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary],
pp. 114-116.)*

Speech at a meeting of party activists in Nyíregyháza

MARCH 1974

(EXCERPT)

Our party is a party tempered in struggle, experienced in work, strong and united. We interpret this unity at every level like this: if during the discussion in a body there are different views and approaches, we do not consider this a drawback before a decision is taken. Indeed it is useful, because there is an opportunity to study the issue from several angles and presumably an objective and good decision will be taken after a diverse and productive debate. In taking decisions we must strive to shape them not authoritatively by yelling and banging the table, but by reasoning and convincing, in unison if possible.

Then comes the third phase of the work, implementation, when eventually everything is decided. We cannot allow different approaches to issues during implementation; here total party discipline and unity must prevail. That is the only way we can work successfully. We may argue before we reach a decision, if

necessary we can put the issue on the agenda again, even several times, but once we have reached a decision, it can only be implemented in unity...

*(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 131-132.)*

Speech at the Budapest Party Conference

MARCH 1975

(EXCERPT)

We expect the Party Congress* to confirm our Marxist-Leninist principles and the main line of our policy. But let us stop here for a moment. Is the expression "main line" correct? Why don't we say that the "policy" is unchanged?

Actually we could say the latter, too, because both are correct. By the main line, of course, we mean that we are going to continue with our domestic and foreign policy, our economic policy, our cultural and social policy and our policy on living standards. We ask the Congress to confirm the main line of the policy because we would like to emphasize—and anyone who thinks back to the previous congresses can bear witness to this—that our party has been pursuing a straight, unbroken political line for eighteen years now, yet this policy is not the same as it was eighteen years ago. Among other things, it is the task of the Party Congress to pose and answer the new questions in our development. Our policy therefore has to be such that we maintain its main line, reaffirm and consolidate all those elements which need consolidating and strengthening, and develop all those elements which need developing. This is why we emphasize that we hold to the main line of our policy. This is why I think that, along with me, every member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

* The Budapest Party Conference was held before the 11th Congress of the HSWP convened.

expects the Congress, when answering the new questions of development, to reaffirm: let us adhere to our Marxist-Leninist principles, our communist policy, let us continue the main political line of the party. This is supplemented by the resolute demand and desire of the party membership, of the working class, of the working Hungarian people, that the party's policy not only be continued but be enforced consistently everywhere and at all times.

We expect the Congress to pass resolutions which will further strengthen the socialist features of our society as well as our entire party, which will call to battle all Hungarian adherents of socialism and will mobilize them to overcome the negative aspects which are still detectable in social life.

The guiding principles for the Congress which the party has submitted for debate are of a positive and optimistic tone, and relatively little is said in the document in question of negative aspects and shortcomings. Of course this is not by accident. We believe that the party membership, the communists fighting and struggling for common aims, the decent Hungarian workers who, following the party's policy, work and build socialism together with the communists, should feel and see the results of their work during the period of the Congress. When we draw up the balance of the past four and half years, we can affirm unequivocally and clearly that we have been working successfully to implement the decisions of the 10th Congress. This however does not mean that the party or the party membership should be silent on negative phenomena, should be silent on the shortcomings of their own work and of the tasks yet to be resolved. These should be aired properly in everyday party work as well as at the Congress. But in the terms of the real situation, the fundamental thing nevertheless is that we have been working successfully on implementing the decisions of the 10th Congress.

When the Central Committee put on its agenda in November 1972 the question of where we stood as regards the implementing of the decisions of the 10th Party Congress, it gave an appropriate example of how we have to study and analyse our work critically and with self-criticism. Without organizing an "Ash Wednesday"

we have exercised criticism and self-criticism and we have made adjustments where adjustments were needed. You may recall that the leading role of the working class and the situation of workers in large-scale socialist concerns, both came up as subjects where adjustment was needed. We have established that within our general economic activity greater care must be given to our dealings with the position of 50 large enterprises and with the problems of women. The latter was not dictated by politeness, but by the fact that the problems of women belong to the fundamental questions of the socialist revolution and at the same time of our society. Youth, the problems of population growth and other questions were also on the agenda. Therefore that session of the Central Committee was a thorough and conscientious examination of how the decisions of the 10th Congress were being implemented, and suitable stands were taken as a result of which a number of positive changes have taken place. I mention this because what has been done by the Central Committee at its level, must be done continuously during their work by the Budapest Party Committee, the district committees, the local organizations and every communist. I can say with appreciation that at the December party meetings when leading comrades gave account of their work, this is what was done in a communist manner, realistically and honestly by the majority of the party organizations...

(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 240-242.)

Report to the 11th Congress of the HSWP

MARCH 1975

(EXCERPT)

As we have reported, party unity stood the test of practice in the period between the two congresses. However, the unity of the party is not guaranteed once and for all. Because demands are

going up all the time, as new questions and tasks are clarified, party unity must be raised to a higher level by principled debates, by defence of the party's position, by unceasing struggle against mistaken views, and must be made even more stable and unshakable. The Central Committee and the 24,000 basic party organizations and every member of the party must pull together in the same direction at all times.

Democratic centralism as the basic Leninist principle of the structure and operation of the party has been further strengthened in the activity of our party over the past four years. The development of democratic centralism is reflected by the enforcement of collective leadership and personal responsibility at one and the same time and to a greater degree at all levels of party activity.

Nevertheless we cannot be satisfied with the situation. It does happen that in some places the principle of centralism is violated and binding party resolutions are not always enforced. Experience indicates that it is particularly important to pay greater attention to the uniform interpretation and consistent presentation of party resolutions in everyday work. It is impermissible to have arbitrary and subjective interpretations of certain resolutions and decisions in the party, as has happened more than once even where leading members in responsible positions are concerned.

The Leninist principle of democratic centralism is no less violated by those who do not adhere to party democracy. There are cases where the rights of party members are not respected, where their views and proposals are not asked for or are disregarded. Frequently party members do not receive replies to their justified questions, or no action is taken following their proposals. It is also a fact that a section of the members themselves do not exercise these rights appropriately; they are not active enough in shaping and implementing policy. These shortcomings must be eliminated. We must continue to ensure Leninist norms and collective leadership in party life. The principles of democratic centralism must prevail to the full in every field of party work and in every organization of the party.

The 10th Congress has paid special attention to the improvement of the work of the basic party organizations. The standard

and success of party work is to a large extent determined by how the work goes in the first line of implementation, in the basic organizations. With the introduction of annual reports at party meetings the role of the members in guiding the basic organizations and in supervising the work of the committees has increased. It is indispensable that the leading bodies of the party continue to provide effective and systematic assistance to the committees of the basic organizations.

On the whole the leaders working in various spheres carry out their duties satisfactorily. A significant part of them are suitable for the work of directing in the future, too. But socialist development raises increasing demands, particularly on communist leaders. Before someone becomes a communist or undertakes a public office or a party post, he has to weigh his decision carefully. But if he has already made that decision, he has to do what he had undertaken. Being a communist, to be a party functionary, or hold a public office does not mean to have a comfortable position, but first and foremost it entails duty, work, struggle, the unselfish service of the ideals of communism, of the working class, of the people.

We have to make the selection and training of communists more purposeful. Those who are talented, those taking an interest in public affairs, those working in various social organs, those enjoying public esteem and workers who are outstanding in their work must be put in leading positions. Women and young people experienced in public life must be taken into consideration appropriately when promotions are made. Justified changes of personnel serve the interest of both the community and the individual, because they contribute in helping everybody to work in the posts most suited to their capabilities, education and talents, for socialism, for the cause of the working people.

The right policy, the appropriate selection of cadres, the organization and execution of work are the preconditions for fruitful work. The 10th Congress called attention emphatically to the fact that the implementation of party resolutions demands party supervision during the whole process of the work indeed. The experiences of the past four years reaffirm that without

supervisory work the party could not have carried out its mission, it could not have ensured the appropriate effectiveness of its leading role.

Party supervision must embrace the whole of social activity, it must extend to all areas of economic, state, scientific and cultural life. The purpose of party supervision is not simply to uncover mistakes and to punish those responsible; that is an aim, too, but the essence of party supervision is to enhance the implementation of resolutions, to draw up appropriate proposals, to improve implementation and to generalize good experiences.

The party's policy is judged by millions of workers, above all on the basis of their direct experience concerning how it is realized in their place of work and in their own surroundings. The membership of the party and public opinion demand not only that the party's main political line be continued but just as explicitly that it be implemented and enforced consistently everywhere and at all times.

We must prepare communists and the party organizations for the growing demands which are posed for communists, party organizations and basic party organizations, by the construction of a developed socialist society. We propose to the 11th Congress that membership cards be exchanged: we would prepare for this during 1975 and could complete the exchange just over a year. There would be opportunities to conduct personal conversations with party members on the policy of the party, on its organizational system, and on members' personal questions; in all probability this would result in strengthening the theoretical and political unity and the unity of action of the party.

Concluding speech at the 11th Congress of the HSWP

MARCH 1975

(EXCERPT)

It is an old communist saying that the best policy is the principled policy. This we can supplement by saying—and this is the practice of our party, too—that the best policy is an open and principled policy. All of our experiences bear out that there is no grave problem or concern which we could not take to the party membership, to the working class, to the people with confidence; because if people are spoken to as adults, they appreciate and value it. But the leader who does not do this is told that he should speak out on what the problem is, what should be done and that he should not avoid the subject. People considered the problems presented in the resolution of December 1974 without panic; they now assess the situation realistically and they are looking forward with confidence. They know that if we rely on our two major sources of strength—our own domestic potentialities, which we are still far from using to the full, and the potentials inherent in the fraternal co-operation between the socialist countries—all tasks can be solved and the continued unbroken economic development of the country can be ensured, including increasing production and the standard of living and cultural development.

The political lesson therefore is that the realistic assessment of the actual situation must be spoken of openly and seriously with the people and then there will be a fitting response. We have still not even been able to sum up how many thousands and thousands of acts, proposals and initiatives, all aimed at helping, followed the December 1974 resolution of the Central Committee, which frankly presented the situation to the working masses. Of course, the person who works in a workshop knows the problems of that workshop first and foremost and he can see the general interlinking aspects of the question less clearly. This follows from the nature of things. But from many small matters is made up the entirety. What millions of people in the workshops, on the fields, in designing studios, in thousands and thousands of

places add as a result of thousands and thousands of initiatives to what we have done so far, that can solve —and it will solve—our problems.

(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 310-311.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

APRIL 1978

(EXCERPT)

Nowadays we rarely refer to the resolution in which our party announced the struggle on two fronts, although to a certain extent it is timely. When the party announced the struggle on two fronts in effect in December 1956, and then again in a document at the Party Conference in 1957, if I recall correctly the situation was the following: first of all the Marxist-Leninist base, frankly speaking, was rather narrow. I have to say this to illustrate the situation, even if this might be a slight exaggeration. At the same time, the base of the dogmatic, sectarian factions was considerable and perhaps that of the revisionist, opportunist and other factions even bigger. Today, the situation is different, therefore the question of the struggle on two fronts comes up differently. Today the Marxist-Leninist base is wide and extensive, our ideas are predominant and determinative, although dogmatic and revisionist remnants still exist. I do not suggest that we announce the struggle on two fronts anew, but at least sensitivity in both directions must be retained. One should not always be sensitive to just one thing. Let us be sensitive in the face of dogmatic, sectarian views and similarly in the face of revisionist, opportunist, right-wing and other harmful views and manifestations. This is a requirement which the Central Committee and all of its members, and indeed everybody in public life, must keep in mind.

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity,
pp. 37-38.]

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

SEPTEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

...First I should like to speak about the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. It is common knowledge that our Constitution lays down: the leading force of our society is the Marxist-Leninist party of the Hungarian working class. We consider leadership as giving theoretical-political direction, the function of which is to organize and mobilize the masses for the work of construction. This is what we mean by leadership and we add the fact that the role of the party as laid down in the Constitution, too, is for us an infinitely honourable but at the same time also a very difficult and responsible service. It is not ruling but honest service of the cause of the people. This is the essence of the party's leading role.

Our most important method of work is to convince and not to instruct. In exceptional historical situations the revolutionary forces of a people must be prepared to defend the cause of progress by force. But this applies to the rare moments of history. In the period of constructive work when there is consolidation something else is needed. We avow—and we avowed at the time of our struggle against the capitalist system, against the power of capital—that we are as many as the people we are able to convince with human words of our truth and of the necessary things to be done.

We will be led by this principle in the future, too.

The strength of our party lies in this policy and in these methods. What we pledged at that time is now experienced in practice, by the entire people of the country. We only pass resolutions which are obligatory solely for the members of the party and of the Communist Youth Union, since the latter is the youth organization of the party. When we speak of the fundamental, major questions of the country in the leading bodies of the party, or we discuss any other subject, we always take into consideration and respect the independence and responsibil-

ity of state bodies as well as that of all social bodies and movements. We have striven for this and we will continue to strive for this.

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 257.)

III. THE POLICY OF ALLIANCE

In essence:
“the joining of all the nation’s creative forces and
the creation of unity”

WORKER-PEASANT ALLIANCE—SOCIALIST
NATIONAL UNITY

*Report of the Central Committee
to the National Conference of the HSWP on the political
situation and on the tasks of the party*

JUNE 1957

(EXCERPT)

...I would like briefly, looking back into the past, to deal in principle with the worker-peasant alliance. In our country, ever since the formation of the party, this alliance has existed at all times as a significant political force. The immediate aim of this alliance, its framework and to whom and to what strata of the population it extends, varies, because this always depends on the situation.

In 1919, the working class fighting against the village bourgeoisie, the kulaks, in alliance with the poor peasantry, established a dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the Horthy regime, the party's struggle had other immediate aims, and the task was to realize a more broadly interpreted worker-peasant alliance. At the time of the Horthy regime the immediate aim of the worker-peasant alliance was the realization of democratic demands, not the realization of working-class power. For this reason the worker-peasant alliance embraced a large part of the peasantry; in the Second World War period our endeavour was that the working class should also be in alliance with the village bourgeoisie, the kulaks, alongside the poor and the middle peasantry, for example in the struggle against the German invaders, and on the question of fundamental democratic reforms. After the Liberation, in 1945, as we know, the party's policy was aimed at a worker-peasant alliance which rallied the poor and middle peasantry and neutralized the kulaks. Let us just recall the aims of our land reform, when we designated the lower

limit of expropriation at 200 *hold*.* This meant that we did not want to wage struggle for the land reform against the kulaks, but in alliance with the poor and middle peasantry, while neutralizing the kulaks. This was the situation when we carried out the land reform. Afterwards, you may recall, we were able to advance together with the middle peasantry, and the kulaks were neutralized; in fact, to a certain extent they stood by us, when it was merely a question of nationalizing the key industries or the three largest factories and the mining industry. Later, when our efforts became fully socialist in character, that is, when the goals were the nationalization of agriculture, then this class alliance naturally also changed in scope, and the party's principal base was the poor peasantry, while at the same time the party strove to form an alliance with the middle peasantry and fought against the kulaks. For here already the realization of a socialist society was on the agenda, which the kulaks—as a bourgeois class—naturally did not agree with, but fought against. Here I am only raising the theoretical side of the question, because this is what we must see, and not to what extent we succeeded in carrying it out. At present, the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance means that the working class, in alliance with the poor peasant and the middle sections of the peasantry, and particularly with the co-operative farm peasantry, is fighting to build a socialist society. Thus, a struggle of principle must be waged against those incorrect, revisionist views on the question of the alliance which were introduced in recent years by the Imre Nagy group. They lost sight of the class approach to the worker-peasant alliance, and this manifested itself in the well-known mistakes.

Let us see how this alliance developed. I think the worker-peasant alliance grew stronger between 1945 and 1949 during the struggle to carry through the land reform and establish a socialist industry; it was strengthened in the period when these achievements had to be defended, for example in 1946 when the land which had been distributed had to be defended, right up to the time of the seizure of power. Afterwards a tendency to slacken

* 1 *hold*, or cadastral yoke, equals 0.57 hectare.

appeared in this alliance, too, and for two reasons. On the one hand it was because of the incorrect methods employed in working for the socialist transformation of the village (I am thinking here of coercion, pressure and similar methods); and on the other hand it was because of the mistakes in the system of produce collection. That is not because we introduced a system of produce collection, but because of the mistakes in that system. For the price system and the enforcement of the produce collection system in general were such that eventually they became untenable and caused a serious weakening of the worker-peasant alliance. Certain mistakes which appeared in the realm of violations against the rule of law also played a part in this.

And finally how does the situation stand at present? The worker-peasant alliance has actually grown stronger as a consequence of the October counter-revolutionary uprising; moreover there are very favourable conditions for a further increase in strength in the immediate future. Those mistakes which had existed earlier—coercive methods in the co-operative farm movement, the mistakes in the produce collection system, the violations of legality—have been eliminated and have ceased; and those factors which emerged in the common defence of fundamental achievements during the counter-revolutionary attack, have begun to have an effect. It is also an important factor that in the countryside the counter-revolutionary attack showed itself in a way that in some respects could be recognized more readily by the masses, than in the towns or in Budapest. In Budapest, the fact that figures like Losonczy appeared on the scene confused wide sections of the masses, and was an obstacle to recognizing that it was a question of a counter-revolutionary attack. In the villages, the counter-revolution made its appearance from the outset in a cruder and less disguised manner; because surely when the former chief magistrate of the rural district shows up, or the former gendarme dons the cock-feathered hat which he has hidden for twelve years, every peasant understands that it is not a question of some kind of a reform of socialism, but of the reappearance of the old Horthyite feudal-capitalist world.

The peasantry see and appreciate the measures taken by the

party in part to correct the mistakes and even more to safeguard fundamental achievements, and the great majority approve of these measures. For this reason they have drawn closer to the working class led by the party than in the period prior to the counter-revolutionary uprising. If we wish to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat—and this is now the central aim and task of the party—then an indispensable part of this is the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance. It is also part of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat that the worker-peasant alliance should prevail in another respect; that is that although power is in the hands of the working class, it rests on the worker-peasant alliance and the working class draws upon the best forces of the peasantry in exercising power. This is a very important point. This means that although we have a dictatorship of the proletariat, the most progressive and best representatives of the peasantry must be drawn into the bodies of state power, state administration and other bodies of our People's Republic. This is partly the case even now, for among the local councillors, members of the National Assembly and in other spheres, for example among the army officers, the best elements of the peasantry are present in no small numbers. But we must continue striving to include the best forces of the working peasantry in the exercise of power...

(Szilárd népi hatalom—független Magyarország
[Firm people's power—independent Hungary],
pp. 181–184.

*Speech at the ceremonial opening of the academic year
at the Party School*

SEPTEMBER 1957

(EXCERPT)

...I have already emphasized the importance of the worker-peasant alliance. We must pay a lot of attention to this subject. In the question of the worker-peasant alliance there are factors making for this alliance from both sides—and this constitutes its basis—and there are factors in which contradictions are inherent, which are points of conflict between the working class and the peasantry. Let us review these factors under our present conditions. The worker-peasant alliance is strengthened by those socialist and democratic achievements which the peasantry have attained to date under the leadership of the party and the working class. Last autumn, during October, November and December, the worker-peasant alliance became stronger, because the achievements which we had fought for in the past, together and under the leadership of the working class, were threatened, and we have now defended them together. The land reform was such an achievement, as were the elimination of exorbitant bank rates and many other socialist achievements, for example the co-operative farms.

There are other factors, however, which constitute a conflict between the working class and the peasantry. Such as, for example, the price of grain, the price of bread, and so on. If we look at this question in a very primitive way, it is in the interest of the workers that the price of grain and bread should be as low as possible, while it is the interest of the peasantry on the other hand that they should be as high as possible. But there are bigger problems, too. It is in the interest of the working class that socialism should advance rapidly in the countryside, that is, that collectivization should accelerate. In the ranks of the peasantry, however, it is in the personal interest of many that development in this field should not be rapid since they are able to become stronger materially and economically in their present

positions. Therefore, at the moment their personal interests are contrary to the general interests of the working class. In the final analysis, however, if we don't look at just the momentary direct interests, then the interests of the working class and of the peasantry coincide even on this question.

Our ideas have thrown light on conflicts of this kind between the two basic labouring classes very many times and it has been proved that these conflicts are not irreconcilable, that they can be resolved and later can become a driving force for progress. Let us look once again at the question of the price of grain. It is also in the interest of the peasantry, not their supposed, but their real interest, that the price of grain should not be higher than what would make an increase in the standard of living of the working class possible. Because if the price of grain rises to an extent which cuts down the standard of living of the working class, the worker-peasant alliance will be weakened, so will the worker-peasant state, and the fundamental achievements without which our peasantry cannot and do not want to live will be endangered. Such are the land reform, the liquidation of feudalism, the elimination of exorbitant bank rates and protection from outside competition. If you, comrades, have talks with the peasants, it becomes clear that the labouring peasantry totally reject the old world and under no circumstances do they want its return. But neither do they very much want to move ahead, at least a part of the peasantry don't. They would like us to stop where we are because the present situation is extremely favourable for them. We can state with confidence that even a section of the class enemy, still living in the country, a section of the kulaks, do not want the return of the old feudal-capitalist world, because there were factors at that time, which upset them, too. Of course, the opinion of the kulaks can be totally disregarded by us, but at the time of great historical turning-points this can be a political-tactical question. We must speak to the labouring peasantry on all these questions, the price of grain, among them, too. Let us present the problems to the peasantry analysing them thoroughly, speaking of them openly and frankly, and putting forward the truth about them—this is always under-

standable, since the truth of Marxism-Leninism is always clear—and in this way let us eliminate our conflicts and transform them into a driving force for progress.

Let us explain that we do not want to use administrative methods to make socialism succeed and it is not even possible to do so, but we cannot stand still and socialism must be built in the countryside, too, at all costs. We must make it understood that there is no social system which puts an end to all the negative forces of capitalism, while at the same time retaining *in perpetuo* the features favourable to the commodity-producing peasantry.

It is not enough just to assert that we are in favour of the worker-peasant alliance. The leadership of the party and the local party organizations must do a great deal more. The contradictions appearing between the interest of the workers and the peasants must not only be analysed but also resolved by proper and effective measures. And if we can make the peasantry understand all this, then we can create a positive force by dispersing these contradictions. This is entirely possible; we have a principled basis on which to do so, and Marxism-Leninism provides that means...

(Szilárd népi hatalom—független Magyarország
[Firm people's power—independent Hungary],
pp. 265–267.)

*Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP to the
8th Congress of the party*

NOVEMBER 1962

(EXCERPT)

A most important prerequisite for the successful work of our party is the Marxist analysis of class relations and the correct evaluation of the problems of the policy of alliance and the class struggle.

Our party's policy of alliance means the alliance of classes.

Lenin professed that the party, as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, must establish and realize the alliance of all labouring classes and ensure their joint participation in the struggle both in the period of the struggle for power and during the building of socialism.

In their policy of alliance, the working class are guided by the ultimate goal of communism and by those tasks the solution of which in the given situation bring us closer to the ultimate communist goal. The task in the present stage of development is the completion of socialism. In furthering this aim, the working class ally themselves with all labouring classes and strata.

In settling the problems of the policy of alliance, our party takes into consideration the great changes which have taken place in the structure of society, and the fact that the political, ideological and moral progress of all labouring classes and strata is accelerating. All this enables us to strengthen and widen the alliance of the labouring classes and develop it into a socialist national unity. The construction of socialist society, the achievement of communist society which our party is struggling for, is not a narrow party objective, and not even that of one class only, the working class, but is becoming more and more the objective of the entire nation. This goal must be achieved by the united efforts of all the classes of our society.

The socialist working class are the most mature and most advanced in the common effort and struggle. Their leading role prevails in the entire policy and activity of the party. The socialist national unity which is constantly developing, is based on the alliance of the working class and the peasantry; and the content and foundation of this have become uniformly socialist. But this alliance does not develop automatically. There are and will for a long time be differences between the working class and the peasantry, which stem from the different levels of development in the forces of production, the socialist relations of production and socialist consciousness.

These contradictions can and must be solved on the basis of socialism by further improving the achievements of socialism, jointly, and in unity, keeping in mind the interests of all labouring

classes and strata. In the co-operative sector socialist management is not on such a safe footing as in state industry, but its consolidation in this field, too, is in the interest of the entire people. This is why we must assist and support the co-operative peasantry in strengthening their co-operatives in order that they may become advanced socialist farms and that a unified socialist peasant class may emerge.

We in turn expect the peasantry first of all to contribute to the development of the national economy and to better supply the whole population by making better use of existing potentials and increasing agricultural production. Now that the fundamental interests are common, the prerequisites are there for the various classes and strata to work in line with these common interests, imbued with responsibility, a sense of duty and unselfishness towards society as a whole.

Formerly, in the alliance with the peasantry we also had to consider the internal class stratification of the peasantry. The "Leninist threefold slogan" is well known in our party. Lenin stated during the period of the struggle for the consolidation of proletarian power: "The task at the present moment is to come to an agreement with the middle peasant while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant..."* It would be a serious mistake to turn this revolutionary slogan into a dogma and apply it in a stereotyped manner now, after the economic basis for the class stratification in the countryside has been liquidated. This would lead to the destruction of the co-operative farms.

After the socialist reorganization in the countryside the objective is to liquidate the remnants of the earlier class differences within the peasantry and to establish a unified class of co-operative peasants. For this reason the socialist principle must be in force within the co-operatives, too, according to which the members should be judged and benefit from the results of the collective work, not according to their former class position, but on the

* The Valuable Admissions of Pitirim Sorokin, Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 28. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965, p. 191.

basis of their participation in the common work and their performance and merits on the job.

The closest co-operation of our working class and peasantry with the intelligentsia is another important part of the policy of alliance. The intelligentsia must be in constant and live contact with the other workers in our socialist society who rightfully look upon the intelligentsia as their own. The essence of our policy towards the intellectuals is to continue to ensure that they have all the necessary conditions for their creative work, to speed up the socialist development of this work and to help them in mastering Marxism-Leninism.

In the present stage of our social development, when remnants of the urban petty bourgeoisie still exist, it is necessary for the socialist labouring classes to maintain a relationship of alliance with these strata as well.

It is on the basis of the policy of socialist national unity that we must unite all those who are working for the cause of socialism and peace. We must rally communists and people outside the party, the politically active supporters of the system and those who are still vacillating and indifferent, supporters of the materialistic ideology and religious believers alike. The building of a socialist society is the cause of the entire nation. This is the future of the nation, and Hungarian national prosperity will flourish in a way we have not known before in the society of socialism.

The Patriotic People's Front movement, this lively, active and significant factor in our public life, is one of the guarantees for the speedy and vigorous development of socialist national unity. The Patriotic People's Front movement has some constitutional functions as well. However, more important is the social task of serving as the framework for the alliance of the labouring classes and advocating the idea of socialist national unity.

The alliance of the labouring classes is also developing in the struggles of the period of building socialism. The policy of alliance and the class struggle are two complementary aspects of our party's policy. It is common knowledge that our party does not strive to sharpen the class struggle. It is better for our people if the intensity of the class struggle is diminished, if the forms it

takes are less acute. However, this does not depend exclusively on us but also on our class enemies and international imperialism. Experience proves that the class enemy can be isolated and annihilated not by unprincipled concessions, but only through consistent principled policies and the bold advocacy and purposeful realization of our ideals.

The policy of socialist national unity does not mean that the class struggle is over in our country. This policy expresses the fact that our positions have become stronger, new tasks have come to the fore, and the forms and means of the class struggle have changed.

Stable people's power continues to remain the first condition of our socialist development. We will continue to take a firm stand against all reactionary political forces which oppose our system; we will staunchly safeguard our legal state and social order. We will defend the independence of our country, the sovereignty of our state and the socialist achievements of our people in the face of the threats of imperialism. Our policy of alliance and our stand in the class struggle facilitate the consolidation and development of our socialist system, the more effective isolation of the enemies of the regime, the winning over of the elements which are still vacillating, and the general strengthening of the positions of socialism.

In the wake of the decisive successes of the political struggle, capitalism must now be defeated in other areas, including those where the resistance of the remnants of the old world is at its strongest and most persistent. Socialism will establish its final and complete superiority over capitalism by establishing higher productivity of labour and a greater abundance of goods. The socialist transformation of consciousness, however, cannot be separated from the solution of this task.

The content of socialist unity is the alliance of all classes and strata of socialist society. The mutual confidence and co-operation between communists and workers outside the party in building a socialist society are important political elements of national unity.

In 1922 Lenin in his article "On the Significance of Militant

Materialism" wrote: "A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid being isolated from the mass of the people it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward. Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most diverse spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful communist construction."*

Our party has been advocating and applying this Leninist teaching in the struggles of the past few years, and practice has again proved it to be correct. Our achievements are due, not least of all, to the fact that our party united and co-operated with people outside the party in all spheres of socialist construction.

Our party has on many occasions stated as a standpoint of principle that in our country people who are not party members may fill any leading post, except party functions. Our demand on people outside the party is that they should be faithful to the cause of socialism, to the Hungarian People's Republic and should work sincerely in the building of socialism, and possess the necessary competence and knowledge.

The problems of socialist construction have become ever more complicated and complex, hence the demands for competence, expertise and general knowledge are becoming ever more indispensable in filling leading posts. The great majority of ordinary workers and peasants, who were given various leading assignments after the Liberation and in the initial period of socialist construction, did an excellent job. For years they sacrificed their leisure time to acquire the necessary specialized knowledge and further qualifications while doing their extremely difficult and responsible work.

What is the situation now? If it is true—and it is true—that in the present stage of our development the advance and consolidation of the socialist order depends to a great extent on whether we ensure proper leadership in economic and cultural affairs, then it is also true that competence and expertise must be consid-

* On the Significance of Militant Materialism. Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 33. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1966, p. 227.

ered a prerequisite when filling all leading posts. It is not that we demand expert knowledge instead of loyalty to the cause of socialism, but rather that alongside the first requirement of loyalty, of unreserved devotion to the cause of socialism, there is increasing emphasis on the other requirement which is also indispensable, insistence on competence and necessary knowledge. This is the gist of the matter.

It is our conviction that this policy helps the cause of the working class and socialism, and promotes the assignment to various leading posts of competent executives who are loyal to our system and serve the interests of the working people properly. The direct participation of workers and peasants in the leadership does not decrease with this. Even today there are hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, young people of working-class and peasant origin, who, during the period since the Liberation, have acquired the high degree of competence required for leadership, in most cases secondary-school and university education.

In our judgement it is good, sound and in line with the interests of socialism if, in the process of solving questions of personnel, it becomes clear that as well as party members ever more people outside the party are meeting the political and technical requirements on which the filling of public functions must rest. This can only promote the union of communists and non-party people and the development of socialist national unity. In this sphere, too, the party cautions against the application of any kind of blueprint, against insistence on some kind of mechanical ratio.

Proper handling of social origin is another important question related to the evolution of socialist national unity. The Central Committee's Guiding Principles for the Party Congress include the precept that "there is no longer any need to categorize our student youth according to their social origin". This precept did not meet with the approval and understanding of certain comrades. The Central Committee recommends that the Congress should reaffirm and approve this precept. Our proposal stems

from the change in class relations and from the strength of our people's democratic system and the tasks before it.

The classification of the student youth according to social origin was correct and just in the early stage of our development. We had to make up for a historical time-lag so that the sons of the working class and peasantry, who had been deprived of educational opportunities for generations, could enroll in the higher education institutions in suitable numbers. This was the communist standpoint and it advanced and benefited the cause of the people. In the present situation, however, the maintenance of this restriction does not help, but on the contrary harms the building of socialism. The young people who are going to apply for admission to secondary school or university next year were born after the Liberation, under our system. It would be unjust to restrict the educational opportunities of these young people because of the class position of their parents before they were born. We must also consider that these youngsters will live their future in a socialist society.

The unchanging requirement is to admit such young people to the universities and colleges as have a correct attitude, a progressive outlook and who are excellent students. But there should not be a single stratum of Hungarian youth, no matter how small, who suffer discrimination because of the former class position of their parents and are thus excluded from the opportunity of a university or college education.

We must see to it that among the youth admitted to the universities in the future there should be more, not less, students of working-class and peasant origin than so far. This depends solely on whether or not our society extends the help necessary for learning to these youngsters. There is no doubt that our society will render them this assistance. Assistance should be given in the first place to children whose parents are today working in the mines, factories and fields. This must also be taken into consideration when dealing with students and in allocating grants as well.

In essence we have been carrying on this policy for six years with increasing consistence. During these six years, our policy of alliance, our unconditional confidence towards the working

masses, the appreciation of people outside the party, our respect for people, and the fact that our party is not waging a class struggle against schoolchildren, have frequently been touched upon.

This is a communist policy based on firm principles, which has resulted in the strengthening of the position of the working class and socialism in our country during recent years. Workers' power has become stronger; the pace of socialist construction has accelerated; laying the foundations of socialism has been completed; the leading role of the party has increased; and so has the appreciation of communists throughout the country and among the entire people. Our party will continue to apply this communist policy which is firm in principle and uncompromising on the question of class, but which at the same time is humane and takes life and circumstances into consideration.

(Tovább a lenini úton
[Further ahead on the Leninist path],
pp. 86-92.)

Concluding speech at the 9th Congress of the HSWP

DECEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...The resolutions of the Congress have demonstrated that our party continues, further develops and strengthens the policy of alliance, or in the terms commonly used, the people's front policy. I repeat what I have said in my report. This alliance is led by the working class. Meanwhile, of course, mistakes have occurred. The Central Committee warned comrades to be aware of a mechanical, statistical approach. Yet it did happen that on the pretext of "protecting" the leading role of the working class, people outside the party were not allowed to take up appropriate posts. It has also happened that there has been a better communist candidate for a given post than the candidate who was not in the

party, nevertheless on the basis of some statistical approach, it was decided to appoint a person outside the party to the post so that the party centre could see that the policy is understood and being implemented. The one caused just as much a harm as the other.

Comrade Cservenka said it at the beginning of the Congress that in Pest County, for example, if the truth were told, there were non-party people holding council posts only here and there, as show-pieces. But reality consists of more than that. I could name areas of public life, where communist public functionaries or leaders are quite rare. Just as the first situation is not good, neither is the latter. We must make adjustments both in the first case and in the second.

The requirements decided upon at the 8th Congress must be better satisfied than up till now. In deciding about filling a certain post, the point of departure should not be a statistical norm; all possible nominees should instead be assessed as to whether they are willing to participate in the work of construction, are faithful sons of their native land, are cut out to do the job; do they have the appropriate expertise, are they able to give leadership under our conditions. Education and professional expertise must be a requirement for party members, too, because in Hungary a revolution can no longer serve the true cause well without it. Similarly, an honest approach to the native land of their people, to the common goals of our people and to the construction of a socialist society must be a requirement for people outside the party, too. He does not have to be a party member, but this is an elementary norm which can and must be demanded from everyone.

How then will the relationship between party members and non-party people develop? To put it very simply: it must not be a disadvantage not to be in the party. I should immediately add that, of course, it must not mean an advantage either. It must not be an advantage if someone is a party member, nor must he be at a disadvantage as has happened here and there.

Since the party is the leading force in society, it is natural that party members, communists, play the main role in public life.

This is the mission, the pride and at the same time the burden of communists. To some extent it is a monopoly in our society, but this monopoly can be broken by anyone. If a person outside the party dedicates as much strength and energy, enthusiasm and forcefulness to the realization of our socialist aspirations as a party member, I can reassure him or her that he or she will not in any way earn less respect, and he or she will be there in the highest offices, in the highest posts.

In political life it is necessary and inevitable for communists to have a majority in the leading bodies of state power. As far as rights are concerned, however, party members and non-party people, now and in the future, too, have to be completely equal and must receive completely similar treatment.

We are not afraid if in some places party members are in the minority, if in one or another body, people outside the party, working with full dedication for socialist aims, constitute the majority. Incidentally, such situations do exist. In local bodies of state power and state administration, the communists have been in an absolute minority for years as far as their numbers are concerned, yet the party's policy and leading role is effective. This is how it should be because this society is being built for the entire people; therefore it is natural that communists cannot build it by themselves.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 318-320.)

ON THE INTELLIGENTSIA

Report to the 9th Congress of the HSWP

NOVEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...Those ordinary people and the petty bourgeoisie who work as craftsmen and retailers are esteemed members of our society. While not ceasing to struggle against the spirit and existing cases of parasitism, everybody must understand that there is a need for the socially useful work of a certain number of independent small craftsmen and retailers; and since this satisfies a social demand, there will continue to be a need for it.

The practical experiences of recent years have justified our policy towards the members of the former ruling classes. All of those who have put the past behind them and work honestly are able to find their place in a society building socialism.

...Parallel with the increase in the role of science, technology and culture, the number and social significance of the intelligentsia also increase. The Hungarian intelligentsia works together with the workers, with the peasants, with the people for the common goal of socialism. A large number of the politically most progressive intellectuals work and struggle for our aims as members of the party. The overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia agree with the policy of the party and the government, with the practice of socialism in Hungary and prove this by their work. The results of their work constitute part of the new creative achievements of the people, their higher level of expertise, their culture, their education. Over the past few years, the Hungarian intelligentsia has enriched the international prestige of our country by outstanding works of science, technology, art and literature. But the party must take it into account that certain groups of the intelligentsia react sensitively to difficulties encountered and to the influence of bourgeois ideology and policy. Therefore untiring

efforts must be made to disseminate in their ranks Marxist-Leninist theory, to introduce and strengthen community spirit and that of revolutionary steadfastness and perseverance.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 256-257.)

Concluding speech at the 9th Congress of the HSWP

DECEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...What we expect of artists and writers is not a public declaration of adherence, not some sort of statement, but works of art and artistic creations. Whatever kind of artist he may be, he should avow his agreement with the people and with socialism primarily by his creative work.

Year by year the number of writers and artists, who stand by the people's homeland and socialism and who help in their own way with a responsibility befitting public life, is on the increase, gaining new and young recruits as well as old ones who have seen so much together with us. We belong to the same family, party workers, "party bureaucrats", if you like, and writers, artists, the tainted and the untainted, we are all the same family. We have reached this point together and we will go on together, and in an ever better atmosphere, with an ever better consensus.

We do not demand conformism from anyone, not even from communists. They are not conformists either. We say that the individual should develop and should give what he is capable of to society...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
p. 329.)

*Conversation with Giuseppe Boffa,
special correspondent of "l'Unità",
the central daily paper of the Communist Party of Italy*

NOVEMBER 1969

(EXCERPT)

Question: After the crisis of 1956 you sought the widest possible support in the country for the 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 regard this slogan as still valid today?

Answer: I have already spoken of the fact that our party attaches particular importance to a broad-mass understanding and support for the party's policy; the party should lead the masses, not by command, but by persuasion, and should join forces with them to fight and work 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.

At the end of 1956 we had to start the struggle to win the support of the masses after grave mistakes and serious defeat, under conditions of incitement to nationalism, anarchy and ideological confusion. On top of this attempts were made to turn the people against us communists by inciting base emotions and by spiritual and moral terror, a fact which Comrade Togliatti pointed out so excellently at the time in his article on *Irodalmi Újság*.^{*} Even in that grave situation, when dogmatism and then revisionist betrayal destroyed the party's relations 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 unshakeable faith in the masses, the masses of workers, peasants and intellectuals. Above all our

^{*} Literary weekly, which has also published articles sharply critical of socialism before and during the counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956.

aim was to restore and consolidate confidence in the party, loyalty to our system, faith in socialism, internationalism, fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

In such a situation, of course, the first task was to put the communists and the supporters of socialism back on their feet and to rally them. But we laid just as much emphasis on separating those who were misled—and they were not few in number—from the real enemies of socialism and leading them back to the right path. The policy rested on Marxist-Leninist principles; it was sincere, it was communist, and therefore humanist. We propagated our policy tirelessly, we worked to win the masses, but we at no time made concessions on principle to anti-socialist views, to nationalism, to anti-Soviet attitudes. We worked for the unity of our working class, to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and for a wide-scale national joining of forces—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 in your question, and which, in a certain sense, has 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 in a free exchange of views between communists and people outside the party at one of the sessions of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

I consider this slogan appropriate and valid for today, too. We lay great emphasis on our party's guiding role in the life and activities of society and strive to make this good in a fitting manner. At the same time we stress that socialist society is being built not only for the communists, but for every worker, for the people. It is quite clear that communists cannot complete the building of socialism on their own; this can only come into being as the joint creation of the entire people. Therefore we, in the Hungarian People's Republic, are consistently striving to involve all honest people, and all the creative forces of the people, of the nation in the building of a socialist society, thus making completion of the construction of a socialist society a national

cause. We are endeavouring to prompt people outside the party to esteem communists on the basis of the work they do for the good of society and to respond to their call. At the same time we proclaim that, irrespective of party affiliation, ideology, 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 not only with the worker and peasant masses, but the creative intelligentsia as well. 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 to do their creative work. This meets with their sense of vocation, with their sense of responsibility, and results in sparkling, lively, 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 for the present and the future of the country. Many things are necessary for evolving this sense of responsibility; sincere confidence is just as necessary as penetrating debate on divergent opinions. But it is our conviction that if we succeed in establishing this—and we are succeeding to an ever greater degree—then this will constitute a much more effective defence of the interests of our people engaged in the building of socialism than any kind of petty patronage and administrative measure in this sphere. The struggle and work needed to bring about this co-operation has not been easy; it has not been created overnight, nor is the process yet complete. But it has already borne fruit and we are convinced that this seemingly longer road is in reality the shorter and more effective.

Speaking specifically about 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 are not yet one with us ideologically, or are perhaps even remote from us communists, to a more devoted involvement in the work of socialist construction. This is not intended to be some sort of compromise, or unprincipled "entice-

ment". Naturally, it is not indifferent 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 individuals, is a process: and on the other hand it is interrelated with the material construction of socialist society and with the everyday work carried on by the individual.

It is the duty of our party, of 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 in both. Replying to your question, therefore, I am once again ready to repeat what was first stated quite a few years ago: under our socialist conditions, anyone who is not engaged in conspiracy or destructive activities against the system, is taking part in socialist construction. In other words, he who is not against us, is with us!

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary],
pp. 177-181.)*

In memoriam—Péter Veres

FEBRUARY 1972

(EXCERPTS)

...I have been a constant reader of Péter Veres, the writer, but I do not consider myself competent to appraise him as a writer or to make appropriate judgement of his literary significance; this is the task of others, of the critics and literary historians. First and foremost I met him, the man, on the roads of public life, of socialism, therefore I can speak of him from that aspect. Before the Second World War I met him in person in the Magdolna Street headquarters of the Iron Workers' Union in 1936.

Illegal communists, left-wing social democrats, radical populist writers and politicians, such as Péter Veres, Ferenc Erdei,

József Darvas and others, were meeting at this get-together. This was a gathering to remember because the representatives of the working class and of their most faithful ally, the peasantry, were meeting each other after a long time. Péter Veres represented both in his person and in his works the poorest proletarian layer of the Hungarian peasantry, the agricultural labourers.

I think it is very timely to recall the memory of Péter Veres and to utilize the rich spiritual heritage he has left us in public life. We live, work and struggle in a stage of socialist construction, where the qualities of ideological commitment, character and behaviour and socialist humanism are becoming all the more important. There is a need for large numbers of people, who feel the cause of the community to be their own problem, who know the working people, who listen to their words and the essence of whose life is the demands and responsibilities of service...

...The life of Péter Veres well exemplifies the true humanist and democrat. It is not possible to serve an abstract "people". It is not possible to love the people in general, and not to esteem individual people at all. Only the public figure and writer who is in a human contact with the people, who loves the people and trusts them can truly serve the people, the national and social progress. Péter Veres's personality, even his famous white peasant shirt and boots, were the natural expression of a human and class community. He wore these clothes as the soldier wears his uniform. For him it was not a populist posture. His whole life's work was built on a close and lively contact with the community.

Perhaps the most significant feature of his personality was the desire to serve, the inner command to serve; he considered service to the cause of the people his major goal. Péter Veres held debatable, erroneous views, too. We communists argued with him a lot and even if not in all cases, for the most part rightly so. Not once there was friction between us. Because of his mistakes, he was many times subjected to justified and at times exaggerated criticism. Yet all along he was our friend, our comrade in arms. We were tied together by the desire to serve the labouring people honestly. Péter Veres had the ability to subordinate his own truth,

and in this or that instance it was truth that was not accepted, real or perceived, to the interests of common action, of the cause. The noble discipline of service to the people was an innate feature of his character.

With Péter Veres it was not simply that the strength of his personal character automatically guided the path of his life in the right direction; there is no such phenomenon. Man and his character are shaped and evolve in contact with the outside world, tempered in social struggles. It was hardly by chance that after the tragic upheaval of the mid-fifties, during the last fifteen years an ever more frank, ever more comradely, friendly relationship emerged between the communist movement and Péter Veres. This was so although the party was not sparing in criticizing the "populist" writers, when of necessity this question came on the agenda. Péter Veres liked clear and frank talk. If he did not agree with us on one or another question, he was not the kind of man who would not be convinced by facts and would not see what bound us together inseparably.

In the course of time there were serious differences of views and clashes between Péter Veres and the Communist Party on three major issues. In two of those he was mistaken, in one of them he was right. One of the sources of dispute was those views of Péter Veres, which were burdened with the illusions and nostalgia of the smallholders and petty commodity producers. The source of the second, in which Péter Veres was right from the very beginning in opposition to the official position of the time, were those distortions which caused such great harm at the end of the forties and in the first half of the fifties. The third great argument concerned the way and means of correcting these mistakes.

It is common knowledge that these distortions were eliminated by the communist movement by the historical resolution of the Central Committee in December 1956, without making concessions of principle to anyone. Today the successful consolidation of our socialist system is a reality not doubted by anyone. Workers' power is firm, Leninist norms prevail in the party, socialist legality is ensured in public life. As for agriculture, at the appropriate time we achieved a turning-point in laying the foundation

for the socialist development in the countryside. By today collective farming is in reality proving its vitality and the possibilities for dynamic development.

These were facts and for Péter Veres, who respected facts, they made an honest rapprochement with the communists easier. Seeing the correctness and the results of the party's policy, which were ever more developing, witnessing the prosperity of his class, of his people and how his native land was flourishing, he turned away completely from the concept of the petty commodity-producing peasantry and became an active proponent of collective large-scale farming; he became not only an honorary adviser of the socialist system but also a significant supporter of it.

It was in such a context that Péter Veres's strength of character and activity in public life exerted an influence in the right direction. He remained young to the day of his death, because he always lived in the reality of his age, in the present, for the present and the future. There have been few in our public life who involved themselves so passionately in discussing the real-life issues of our society, whether the discussion was on questions of the public ideals of socialism, a socialist attitude to work, democracy in public life, modern education or national self-esteem.

Péter Veres was a true, faithful son of the Hungarian people, one of the nation's great men. Remembering him, we communists think of our best ally. Our working class, our labouring peasantry, our people know: Péter Veres belonged to us...

(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary],
pp. 506-507, 509-511.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

APRIL 1978

(EXCERPT)

...In speaking about the development of the recent period I would like to mention two questions. It is a great asset for the party that we have managed to win over the Hungarian intelligentsia for the building of a socialist society. It is one of the important factors in our influence on the masses. I am emphasizing its significance because the role of the intelligentsia is going to increase according to both scientific forecasts and the experience of practice. The intelligentsia is going to have an ever greater influence in shaping society, public opinion and the public mood. This is what is actually happening and we must take it into account. We must make great efforts further to improve our political work in the ranks of the intelligentsia and to strengthen further the commitment of the intelligentsia towards the construction of a socialist society.

In this connection, special and constant attention must be paid to replenishing the intelligentsia. We must carry on specific, organized, systematic and persevering work among university youth. If the youth who today are studying in our universities and colleges and who are preoccupied with the questions of our society are not offered proper orientation, if they do not receive appropriate answers to the questions in the forefront of their mind, then when they enter into adult life, they will increase our problems. On the other hand, if we influence them in the right direction, then they become a factor in Hungarian society which is a positive force...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 22.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

MARCH 1981

(EXCERPT)

...What is also involved in the stability of our domestic political situation, of course—and here I am thinking of a longer process—is that the alliance of the basic labouring classes and sections is functioning and makes itself felt as a lively force. Nowadays the worker-peasant alliance, in comparison with how we used to speak about it, is on a higher level, because it is now developing well and healthily on socialist soil, on the basis of our socialist progress. The intelligentsia is an ally of the working class and of the co-operative peasantry, in both politics and work. The constituent elements of our policy of alliance have also proved to be enduring, just as has our policy as a whole and within that our economic policy, under conditions in which the economy of the country has been exposed to significant burdens. We have stood the test and our country has earned recognition from every direction in this respect. Therefore we must consistently continue our policy, including our policy of alliance, in all major spheres. The 12th Party Congress which provided important theoretical and political guidance for our work has reaffirmed its approval.

I was greatly and very deeply impressed by the recent Congress of the Patriotic People's Front, the work of which I took part in on the first day. All the sections of our society were represented among the delegates. Workers, co-operative peasants, intellectuals, employees, small craftsmen, people of the utmost variety in their professions and occupations, party members and large numbers of people outside the party, including representatives of the Churches. The Congress received wide publicity, extensive press coverage; everyone was able to follow the conference. Therefore I will now only mention an important personal experience which is related to the speech I made there. When one speaks at such an important forum, it is understandable that one concentrates on what one has to say and is not watching one's surroundings, but nevertheless, one is in contact, of course, with

one's audience. The Congress, reflecting the position and will of Hungarian public opinion, reacted with impressive force in unity and most resolutely to the pledge that we will safeguard and defend our historical achievements from everyone and will enrich them through joint work. This says a great deal politically..

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity,
pp. 341–342.]

ON TRADE UNIONS

*Speech at the 10th plenary session
of the National Council of Trade Unions*

JANUARY 1957

(ABRIDGED)

When we started the struggle to defeat the counter-revolution with arms, around the end of that battle we had more and more frequent clashes with organizations and groups, which although they were workers' institutions in name, none the less undoubtedly served the counter-revolution in their aspirations and goals. That is the only way I can describe the so-called Budapest Central Workers' Council. I cannot say that every member of this former Central Workers' Council was a traitor to the working class. But you know just as well as I do that the workings and actions of this organization as a whole served the purposes of the counter-revolution.

During those first days, the demand of the counter-revolution was to have neither party nor trade union organizations in the factories.

The counter-revolution wanted to strike a blow at the party organizations and the trade unions, not to mention the fact that they wanted to overthrow the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

In the debates of those days I said: as long as there is a working class, they will have a party, too. There was one in the Horthy era, and after the Liberation, too, and there will be one in the future also, as long as socialist society is not built to the full. My opinion is the same concerning the trade unions. ...

I would like to say a few words about the relationship between the party and trade unions. This is related to that slogan calling for an "independent trade union".

During conversations I have several times had the occasion to say that personally I am fully content with the formula used

by Lenin concerning the relationship between the trade union and the party. If someone knows a better one, we will study it. According to the Leninist view, independence is a political notion and in this sense the trade unions cannot be independent either of the revolutionary party of the working class, or of the other fighting working-class bodies.

There is, however, another very important concept which is autonomy. And as far as I am concerned, this is the only thing that I can recommend. It is intelligible and clear to everyone: the trade unions should be the autonomous organizations of the working class.

Why, for example, are the party and the trade unions not independent of each other under our conditions? Because without a doubt they have a common theoretical basis, a basis of principle. Comrade Gáspár has stated in his report that the trade unions operate on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. I believe that there is no point in arguing with that in the leading body of the Hungarian trade unions. The trade unions stand on the theoretical basis of socialism, they stand behind workers' power. These common theoretical features and goals prove that the party and the trade unions cannot be politically independent of each other.

As far as autonomy is concerned, in the past a harmful practice took shape in the relationship between the party and the trade unions. This practice was harmful to the party, was harmful to the trade unions and as a consequence to the entire working class. The proper practice is that the party should be the ideological, theoretical and political leader of the working class, and in this sense it should influence the trade unions, too. But it is self-evident—precisely because of the common theoretical point of departure—that the trade unions should manage their own affairs autonomously. If this is not the case, then harm will result to the party, too, because the party's authority is not enhanced if it interferes by word of command in the everyday affairs, in the everyday questions of the trade unions.

By autonomy I also mean that it is not expedient for the various party bodies to pass resolutions binding on the trade union

bodies on topics which belong to the competence of the latter. The party may and should pass resolutions on questions which are also dealt with by the trade unions and the party should establish its own position. But that position is binding only for party members. When party members take a stand for that position in a trade union body their weapon should be conviction and principles. We must prove that this is the decision which is the right one. It is not permissible instead of giving reasons to say that this and that must be done because that was the decision of a party body.

In our view it is also a question of autonomy that the trade union executives can only have authority if the workers trust them. If somewhere attempts are made to force an executive committee on the membership, the composition of which was worked out beforehand in an office, there will be no confidence in it and the membership will not follow that trade union. That is our view. Historical experience has taught us that we should not make the same mistake again.

It was a fundamental mistake in recent years that attempts were made in one or another trade union to ensure party leadership by a mere numerical majority of party members. This is not a feasible method. It is conceivable that in a given trade union organization or body, there are only three party members out of ten, but through their authority, that is, not through their numerical superiority but through the thoroughness of their Marxist knowledge and their power of conviction, they are able to lead that establishment.

Of course the ratio will not be the same everywhere. It is possible that the proportion of people who are not in the party will be higher in the lowest-level trade union bodies, smaller at the intermediate level and smaller still at the leadership level. This is not so because of statistical norms, but because of necessity those who enjoy the confidence of the masses, who have the greater experience in political matters, in theory and in trade union work, will become leaders.

This is the very reason why we are not afraid if the masses elect the trade union executives.

The trade unions must be built healthily, in such a way that the members should become convinced of the autonomy of the trade union in everyday practice. According to the Leninist principle the trade union movement is a revolutionary school for the working masses, therefore this autonomy must be very well protected. The trade union will not be a school if one can only become a trade union member when one knows all the theses of Marxism-Leninism and then all the decisions of the party in all their details. I hope that healthy proportions in accord with Leninist principles will be re-established and that the number of party members will be significantly lower than the number of working people joining the trade unions.

For this reason, too, it is very important that the trade union should be a great school of the working class.

I must also speak of serving the interests of the workers properly; this is the first task of the trade unions. The trade unions must serve to protect the daily interests of the working class, but also the fundamental general interests of the workig class. It is of primary interest to the working class that the construction of a socialist society in Hungary should be carried on at an appropriate rate and should be completed, in order that Hungary should become a socialist country free of any kind of capitalistic exploitation. It is the task of the trade unions to serve this fundamental goal and it is in their interest. Their other task is to serve the day-to-day interests of the workers...

It is the easiest thing in the world to compile demands. Very little trade union expertise is necessary to compile an enormous list of demands. To realize, to fulfil these demands is a little more difficult. There is, for example, the question of strikes...

There is the partial srike—a struggle to satisfy daily demands. Here, too, it does make a difference against whom this struggle is being waged. If, for example, I am working in a factory and the owner is a capitalist, then the dispute is about how big a part of the profit should be his, and how much of it we are able to wrest from him for wages for the working class. This is a simple, clear and comprehensible question. But one must always know from whom and for what one is making demands, whose is the factory

and what type it is. If this is a factory of the working class, a factory belonging to workers' power, then the situation is already different, then the income goes from one pocket to the other.

Then there is the general strike. If this takes place in the capitalist countries, it is called a political strike, a struggle for power. If such a thing takes place under the dictatorship of the proletariat, even then its content is the same; it is a political struggle, a struggle for power, but then it is against the power of the working class. This is why I say that declaring the right to strike is not useful.

Of course, it is possible to argue in general, whether it is useful to declare the right to strike at all in a state building socialism. But here and now, to sanctify the strike incited and provoked by the counter-revolution and carried out by misled workers, would in no way be an appropriate policy because it is clear that the strike, irrespective of what the participants wanted, was backing the counter-revolutionary attack against the Hungarian People's Republic.

In the material sense this strike was not to the advantage of the workers. We are talking about 9,500-10,000 millions of forints paid out without production. Today this money would be very much in demand for a realistic increase in the wages of technical and intellectual workers, of teachers and workers in other categories. Therefore that policy was only to the advantage of the counter-revolution and once again it was the working class which had to pay for this strike in terms of the economy. And now, such a declaration of principle, whether we want it to or not, would sanctify this unwarranted strike which was against the interests of the workers. This is the truth about the right to strike...

(Szilárd népi hatalom—független Magyarország
[Firm people's power—independent Hungary],
pp. 15-20.)

Report of the Central Committee
of the HSWP to the 9th Congress of the party*

NOVEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...Our most important mass organizations are the trade unions, which embrace the working class and the predominant majority of those living on wages and salaries. It has become necessary to regulate and extend the scope of their authority and at the same time to increase their responsibility. The responsibility and role of the trade unions in making, implementing and supervising decisions pertaining to the material, social and cultural conditions of the workers is on the increase. They take part in resolving the cultural situation of the workers. They take part in resolving the contradictions and conflicts which are encountered between the state administrative bodies, the economy and the trade unions in the course of the work carried out for common objectives. The involvement of the workers in the entire activity and management of the enterprises must be ensured through the help of the trade unions to make them feel responsible for the successful work of the enterprise. Representing the workers, they have a role to play in the assessment, confirmation or dismissal of the factory managers...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
p. 301.)

Speech at the 24th Congress of the Trade Unions

DECEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

...The trade unions in Hungary have traditionally been strong organizations. Their foundations were laid at the time of the Monarchy and under the old social conditions. They were real

comrades in arms of the revolutionary party of the working class. We communists have always relied on the trade unions, both in protecting the daily interests of the working class, and in the struggle for the historic goals of the working class, that is, in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution. Today, too, we are counting on them in the development of our new socialist conditions. Even in the framework of our socialist social order, the trade unions still fulfil a very important, indispensable function.

For almost a quarter of a century the policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party with respect to the trade unions has also been unambiguous. It has relied and will continue to rely on the trade unions both in the historical struggle and in everyday construction work, because the party's policy is built first and foremost on the working class, on the support of the masses.

Many representatives of the trade unions are members of the leading bodies of the party—the Central Committee, the Political Committee—and co-operation with other organizations of the party, too, is close. They are present in our most important body of state power, the National Assembly. They participate, and this is not just a formality, in the sessions of the party's committee on economic policy and of the Council of Ministers as well as in other important meetings. This system has been functioning effectively for decades and it must continue to do so.

A decent factory manager, of course, keeps in mind the interests of the workers, but nevertheless his primary concern is to fulfil the production plan. A trade union chief steward who does his job well does everything to see that the factory fulfils its plan, but he deals first and foremost with the conditions of the workers. The proper approach and practice then emerges from co-operation between them, which is particularly important because of the characteristics of our system of economic management. This is so because in Hungary a significant part of investment funds are at the disposal of the enterprises; it is they who decide how those funds should be used. Within the given guidelines they are

autonomous in their management of wages, and it is the enterprises who decide on the distribution of funds which can be allocated for social, cultural and sports purposes. This means that in our enterprises the responsibility of the party and of the trade union organization is heavy and they have great opportunity for autonomous action. It also means that the trade unions can have an appropriate say in the affairs of the country and the enterprises, and this indeed is necessary.

For this very reason, the party is working well with the trade unions and regards them as colleagues and comrades in arms, and not only today; they will rely on them in the future, too, in both national and local matters. In our opinion, the trade unions must work autonomously, that is the only way in which they can be a strong support for our great and common socialist cause. Naturally and properly the leading role of the party is effective in their work. The way this is done is that party members work in the trade unions, too, and it is their task to gain validity for the party's policy through argument. Both the party and the trade unions were born of the working class. We work together in the People's Front, too, and we are working together for the benefit of the masses. We are closely linked and we work in a good spirit in realizing our common aims.

Under the socialist system, and so in our country, too, the trade unions have a dual function. One is to strengthen workers' power and realize the programme of socialist construction, the other is to protect and represent the interests of organized workers. The fulfilment of this dual function is an intelligent and splendid task. Our trade unions, in close agreement with the party and all other active social forces, vigorously fight for peace. They put their international activity at the service of this purpose; this offers good, useful and further opportunities and is duly recognized not only at home, but also abroad. The acting General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions spoke here and he paid tribute to the fact that the World Federation of Trade Unions has elected a Hungarian president. This is also

a certain kind of recognition of the practice and work of the Hungarian trade unions. Cherish this appreciation in the future, too, and continue to nurture your international prestige.

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység*
[Policy of alliance—national unity],
pp. 302-304.)

ON YOUTH

Address to the 4th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front

APRIL 1968

(EXCERPT)

...My friends! Just a few words on the question of youth, a question to which everybody for whom the future of the people, the country, is important, has always attached great significance. We Marxists do not divide society according to age-groups, and we recognize no irreconcilable conflict between the old and the young. Every age-group has its own characteristics and problems, which society must help to solve by suitable measures and institutions, as is being done in our country in line with our possibilities. For a good personal approach to the question, I for my part always recommend that everyone should acknowledge the fact that age is a changing condition; it does not depend on individual decision, and youth and old age in themselves are neither merits nor sins. We judge people, irrespective of their age, on the basis of their work and behaviour.

The people's front movement can do much to prompt our society always to deal with the question of youth in an appropriate manner, to improve educational work and to enable our young people to prepare in the best possible way to solve the great tasks ahead of 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 which 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

deficiencies and obstacles which prevent problems from being solved. This impatience in itself is no fault; it is natural inasmuch as it appears as a driving force which spurs young people to creative activities which serve our socialist aims.

Almost all of our social organizations deal with the question of youth, but apart from the Communist Youth Union (KISZ) it is perhaps the Patriotic People's Front which can do the most, along with the teachers and parents, in the field of dealing with young people on an individual basis and of drawing them into work in public life. 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 for illusions, but for 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 to come, and we should talk to the young people accordingly.

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

(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary],
pp. 49-50.)

FEBRUARY 1970

The Central Committee deals regularly with youth, and with important problems concerning youth, whether it be a question of the training of specialists within science policy, of socialist labour emulation or of our cultural policy. And this is indeed natural, because the youth constitutes a considerable proportion of Hungarian society; therefore it is impossible to speak of a single socio-political issue which would not affect them either directly or indirectly. All this notwithstanding it is still extremely important that the situation of youth and the work of the Communist Youth Union (KISZ) have been put on the agenda of the Central Committee as an independent item.

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

There is a need for this assistance, too. 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 needed to expand cultural and sports opportunities for youth.

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

As far as the youth are concerned, their political and moral conditions, their situation is closely linked with the political, moral condition and situation of society. The youth are fitted for and suitably present in every sphere of the life and activities of the Hungarian people engaged in the building of socialism. Boys and girls—enormous numbers 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 honest labour performed out of simple duty, to setting very splendid examples. In socialist labour emulation, in the socialist brigade movement—and this is borne out by statistics—the youth are participating splendidly, in keeping with the ratio of their numbers, if not to a greater extent. In my opinion this is the correct point of departure and yardstick for a 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 adults like? The simplest reply is that they are different. Therefore, when it is a question of what young people are like we have to differentiate. Otherwise we would be beating the empty air and spouting slogans.

It is also very important how we judge the social aspirations of youth. The actions of the youth living in the capitalist world, in the societies 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 the combined effect of their behaviour is aimed at rejecting capitalist ideology and policy and 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 a part of youth link the disavowal of capitalism with the approval of the socialist system and with engaging in the struggle for it.

What are the aspirations of the youth in the socialist countries? Their efforts are determined fundamentally by the fact that in contrast to the youth of the capitalist countries they do not disavow but are in favour of the system, the ideology and the policy of socialism. 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 better solutions to

certain matters. I would understand this to mean that in many specific questions they demand better socialist practice.

If this general approach is acceptable—and I am convinced it is—we have in essence defined 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, an even more effective and better explanation of our party's policy and resolute efforts to implement that policy in practice better. Naturally these principles apply not only to youth policy; this is the aim of every deliberation and activity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

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

Live, living anxieties have appeared, and still do appear, for example, during studies and at the beginning of a career. It is the duty of the party and society—particularly of educational policy—to deal with these by taking into consideration the justified observations of youth and by eliminating the causes. I don't think anyone misunderstands me. I am not suggesting that we should urge young people to engage in actions which are wrong. In fact, the young people who object to mistakes and oppose them will also look at things differently if 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. However, if we look ahead, youth will have to satisfy greater needs and demands than at present, and we have to prepare them for this.

One question Comrade Aczél mentioned in his address was: what kind of a goal must we set ideologically in the education of youth? We can put it this way, too: what kind of demands do we pose for them. If we take into consideration the kind of tasks

awaiting the youth of the Hungarian people engaged in socialist construction, our demanding attitude is justified.

An interlinked, dual task awaits our youth. We constantly talk about the one, but 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 arise in the lifetime of the present young generation. Apart from this, they must in the meantime—together with the youth of other countries—also help in promoting the world-wide victory of the socialist social system.

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 after; in fact that is when they will be in the prime of life. We have to prepare them for the tasks of those times. We have to come forward setting clear-cut ideological requirements before them, in their own interests. Of course, not on pain of paying a penalty, but we must see to it through educational work, agitation and good organization that the youth master the fundamental truths of Marxism-Leninism, that they learn to reason using the scientific method of our theory and accept and profess the policy which stems from our ideology.

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 young people will be like that, is not worth pondering over 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 obligation, and in particular its obligation towards youth.

That young people should master the Marxist-Leninist world outlook is not only in the interest of society, but of young people themselves 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 a part of the people, although an ever diminishing part, say: "I have done my work properly and I don't care about anything else." This is not as it should be even today, but in a few decades it will be an utterly unacceptable and socially absurd view and attitude.

Then I would mention the characteristics of youth which stem from their age. In the period of becoming an adult the young person himself is reflectively seeking orientation in the affairs of the world and endeavours to evolve a stable world outlook for himself. During the discussion it came up that to a certain extent there is less egoism and selfishness among young people, than among the adult generation. This is quite natural! This is the time of life when everyone seeks ideals, ideas and progressive views, and wants to live according to them. This is where we have to meet youth, it is here that the interests and the demands of youth link up with the party's obligation. This is the meeting-point which we must consciously acknowledge and make use of, to be able to fulfil our obligation to the future.

I would like to say a few words which touch upon the question of morals, of moral education. I do not suggest that we formulate positive moral commandments; but that we should propagate and proclaim the ideas of socialist morality better, with greater vigour and more resolution than we have done up to now, that I indeed do suggest! The moral standards of our youth should begin with the young person being a patriot and an internationalist; he should study, work and meet his national defence obligations. These are the 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 into the cities, the large-scale involvement of women in production, have shaken the earlier economic foundations of marriage, the foundations which fifty or thirty years ago determined matters and were still 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 actual situation. And this must not be forgotten either when we criticize youth, or this or that aspect of their morals.

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

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

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

KISZ is fundamentally and primarily a political mass organization. I deliberately emphasize its political character. The activities of KISZ are extremely diverse: they embrace many things from Marxist-Leninist seminars to dances: building work, acting as patrons of projects, socialist brigade work, exemplary study and a good many other socially important tasks. Thus the spectrum is wide and the scope of their activities is broad. But somehow in all these the principle must assert itself that this is the party's youth federation, and this is primarily a political mass organization! Naturally I do not take this to mean that every dance should be opened by a brief political introduction, because

that is absurd. But in my opinion if 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 simply 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 it is not possible to separate the responsibilities of KISZ from one another: 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 assignment only, on its own. Then before long it turns out that the Marxist seminar in itself cannot 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 KISZ competed with anybody at all as to who can best provide amusement; why, I know of organizations much better at providing amusement than KISZ, for example, the catering industry, which has recently got into the swing of things and already knows how to provide entertainment.

KISZ functionaries meditate a great deal about how they can give romantic tasks to young people. Certainly not by meditating. It is not possible to create a romantic setting by thinking up 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 a resolution, he certainly would not make history. But if he does his regular work it will certainly become a part of history! If KISZ decided to be romantic, then it would not be so, or if it were, then it would be the kind of romanticism which is like the tourist trade "cowboy romantics" of the Hortobágy puszta. But if it understands its everyday tasks well and performs them properly, then it can offer youth revolutionary romanticism.

There are some matters which cannot be solved in a direct manner, only indirectly. When we say that KISZ is an organiza-

tion of the Hungarian youth, an organization of the party, a political organization of the party, a political mass organization, then somewhere this also embraces the fact that it must work in a manner which will be attractive and acceptable to youth. It must work in a way which will captivate youth and catch their imagination.

One of the tasks of KISZ is to train reserves, to educate communists for the party. A number of people at this discussion mentioned the statistics on party admissions in this respect. They said that the ratio of party members among young people was low, and that this was related to the 21-year age limitation. Ever since the existence of KISZ, young people have argued a great deal about what the minimum age limit for party membership should be. Some of them ask us to make it possible for young people to join the party from the age of 18. Some others, 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 ratio of party members among young experts is low. I associate myself with those who have spoken before me: in dealing with the problems of youth during the preparations for Congress, we must keep this question on the agenda and change the present practice.

The question also came up: should KISZ be unified or consist of stratified organizations. I am for a unified organization among other things for this reason: why should we disrupt the organization now when we have no particular reason to do so. Let there be a unified Hungarian Communist Youth Union, but with exceptionally differentiated work among the various strata. We should not demand differentiation in 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. It is the leadership in the counties and towns, and particularly in the centre, who need to differentiate. I cannot recommend an organizational solution now. Care should be taken, and this is rather difficult,

that the departments at the centre, in formulating their general instructions, should screen them in such a manner that they do not require every KISZ branch to do everything equally, because then they will be unable to specialize in their work. The differentiation in work, therefore, must be solved in guidance, in leadership.

A number of speakers mentioned the age of KISZ functionaries, saying that there were too few young youth leaders. Personally I am in favour of the more mature, more experienced youth leader. I do not mean by this that he should be 90 years old, with a venerable beard. I consider it quite sound and normal if the age of the youth leaders at national and county levels is between 30 and 40. I see nothing wrong in that. If we look around a bit, we can see that ever since civilized society has existed the young people have been dealt with by highly experienced, mature people who have a good knowledge of and a love for youth. And this is my personal opinion, too. And nobody should feel angry over this, not even the young people, because it is an experience of long standing 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, research workers and agricultural specialists should see a future which offers promotion ahead of them. Unfortunately this is not always the case. For example we have trained hundreds of women agronomists who have graduated from universities, but only a fraction of them are able to find employment in the profession, because outmoded views and ways of thinking—which may be found even in our communist consciousness—obstruct and hamper the placing of young women in co-operative or state farms as agronomists. I am in favour of having fresh, new forces involved 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.

I would like to conclude by saying that I very much appreciate the work of the meeting and the discussion. If we carry this matter further in the Central Committee, in the Council of Mi-

nisters, in the Ministry of Education, in the Ministry of Labour and in the ideological field, and deal with the tasks 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 something of greater value than anything else: the future, a socialist youth.

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 226-235.)*

Speech at the 10th Congress of KISZ

MAY 1981

(EXCERPTS)

...The moral and political state of our youth is satisfactory. The predominant majority of those in the young age-groups are studying and working. They participate in the socialist work competitions, in the brigade movement and in the voluntary construction camps. The system of patronage* has been mentioned here, which provides very important assistance in the building of socialism. I will mention Paks, although there are many other examples of their excellent undertakings. Comrade Pastukhov has spoken of the fact that our youth have earned respect for the name Hungarian in Ust-Ilimsk and in the construction of the Orenburg gas pipeline. In fact, some experiences suggest that Hungarians try harder abroad, and they care more for the honour of the nation, than here, at home. Hungarian workers work in many places around the world and in general their work is praised. How good it would be if we could do the same everywhere at home!

* The Communist Youth Union (KISZ) "adopts" certain large construction projects of national importance, its constituent organizations and members undertaking to assist in accomplishing the work according to plan.

The young fulfil their obligations in national defence, too. And this is very important, because the defence potential of our country and of the socialist countries must be maintained at the appropriate level. We cannot allow the capitalists to acquire a superiority and to force their will on mankind. The peoples know what they can expect from capitalism and from imperialism. We must and we do everything we can for a national defence of a high standard. We must bring up young people in such a spirit. The stronger our defence capabilities are, the more we can frustrate the ambitious hopes and adventurist actions of all kinds of imperialism. This also serves and protects peace.

All in all, I am in favour of modest phraseology. The general situation, the material, moral and political state of our youth could still be better, but let it never be worse.

Among the tasks of KISZ I put theoretical, political education, the dissemination of the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism and the implementation of the party's policy in first place. At one time there was a great debate in the party, too, as to when is the party strong and what role does the size of the membership play in this. In our view, the strength of the party shows itself in a given area—although this is not totally divorced from the size of the membership—where party policy prevails. In a certain sense, this applies to the work among youth, too, in other words, KISZ, through its good work, can enhance the appropriate effectiveness of the party's policy on all issues and everywhere. A stand must be taken for our principles, our system, our ideals in the interests of this...

...The family, the school, society, in which of course, I include the party and KISZ, play a great role in theoretical and moral education. When man comes into the world, he is no more than a creature of nature. To become a man, to learn human norms of behaviour, the influences of society are necessary. The first who shapes and teaches him is the parent. The second is the teacher, the third is KISZ, the party, adult society, the older generation. People must be educated to possess socialist awareness, patriotism and internationalism, to appreciate work, to be exacting politically and morally, and to be courageous. In this sense youth

should be "idealistic" and should fight for the clear predominance of ideals. Later they will realize that this is a difficult thing, one has to struggle for it.

The power of example is considerable in education. Because if someone does not live and act as he professes then his work is not credible. It is an exceptionally important method of education to give youth tasks to do and to trust them. If a young man has ambition this can be built upon, because he is capable of more than the generation which went before him. Even at the very outset his basic education, his knowledge and specific expertise is greater...:

*(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity],
pp. 364-366.)*

ON WOMEN

Report to the 9th Congress of the HSWP

NOVEMBER 1966

(EXCERPT)

...Equality of women is the law in our country and their role in society is constantly increasing. Since 1949 the number of people working in the national economy grew by more than 900,000 altogether. During the same period, the ratio of women among those employed went up from 30% to 39%. The increase in numbers came mostly from women taking up employment who had earlier been housewives. It is a welcome development that in contrast with the past, the number and proportion of working women who are qualified, skilled workers, teachers, lecturers, nurses and doctors is on the increase. The party must continue to work with perseverance to make the equality of women all the more genuine and to see that it is really and fully predominant in society. Partly for this reason, further measures are necessary which support and protect women as mothers and as members of the family who take a greater burden in the household...

*(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
p. 256.)*

Speech at a meeting in the Budapest Hosiery Mill

OCTOBER 1968

(EXCERPT)

...Eighty per cent of the workers in this factory are women. Naturally, the women have had the lion's share in the results achieved here. One of the major questions of socialist society, the

genuinely free society of labour, is the full 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 for prosperity with men. However, the road to realizing this is still long. Unfortunately there are prejudices that women should be kept in a subordinate social status not only in the minds of men, 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 to achieve equal pay for equal work. We have achieved power, we have laid the foundations of a socialist society, but we have not yet fully implemented this principle. 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, many women comrades—who are grateful for the free Saturday—express their pleasure by saying: “there is 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 by expanding the network of laundries and dressmakers' shops, and by other similar measures. However, motherhood, for example, raises entirely different, and much more serious, problems. The Party Congress also dealt with this, and afterwards the government adopted the measure on child care allowance. Since the decree went into force, approximately 70,000 women have availed themselves of the allowance. The rate of population growth has now improved somewhat. But this means that again more places will be needed in kindergartens and schools, which demand further material resources...

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 86-87.)*

MARCH 1975

(EXCERPT)

The activity and role of women in public life have further increased over the past ten years. Accordingly, they have been elected in larger numbers to party, social, state and other posts. The ratio of women has increased within the party membership; nationally it has reached 26.5%. The party must see to it that this healthy trend continues...

...Over the past four years the bodies and organizations of the party have done successful work to improve the social position of women. They should continue to consider it their constant task to implement the resolution dealing with the situation, the political and professional development and the increase in the social activity of women. They should support the initiatives of the National Council of Hungarian Women and of the local women's councils. They should regularly ask the communist leaders of state and economic bodies to give account of how the resulting tasks are implemented. The party organizations should recommend more women with leadership capabilities to posts of responsibility and they should bravely confront prejudices. The further improvement of the position of women is in the interest of society as a whole...

*(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 386 and 290.)*

MARCH 1975

(EXCERPT)

...From among the most important social questions I would like to mention two, which have received emphasis in line with their significance in the Congress debate. One of these is the position of women in our society. Even here, in the congressional hall, it was possible to feel that the social situation of women has significantly improved in recent years. The party must do everything to improve their situation further. A basic precondition for this is to develop the protection of mothers, children and families by further measures, to ease further the burden of household work. We must continue to pay great attention to the vocational training of women and to make the principle of equal pay for equal work prevail completely. Another important task is to ensure that more women get into leading positions in the party, in the mass organizations and to state, economic and cultural posts in all areas where this is possible and can be realized. I dare to say so resolutely that more women should get to leading positions, because unfortunately in this field we do not have to be afraid of overfulfilment for the time being. True, what we have done in improving the situation of women over the past four years is not small. But this work must be continued vigorously and resolutely. We must not be satisfied with the results so far. As far as I am concerned, I would join with the speaker who said: he was not speaking on the question of women, because the United Nations Organization has passed a resolution on women's year, but because it is a basic question of our society and, I would add, of our socialist revolution. It is a long-standing Marxist tenet: the progressive nature of a society can be reliably measured by the situation of women in it. Since socialist society is the most progressive society, this must manifest itself appropriately in the social position of women...

*(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 306-307.)*

Speech at a meeting of party activists in Baranya County

MAY 1966

(EXCERPT)

...It is common knowledge that an agreement has been reached between the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican, which is of quite great significance; its special interest is that it is the first time that the Vatican has conducted talks with a so-called communist country and concluded an interstate agreement. In general, the Vatican likes to play for time. If you recall, at one time it fought against the bourgeoisie as well and only made its peace with the capitalist system when it had already been firmly established for 70-80 years. It seems that in the Vatican the conclusion has been reached that the socialist countries are lasting institutions which they will have to recognize anyway with the passing of time. Therefore an agreement has been reached, which does not change our principled policy at all. According to this policy even before now in Hungary it was not permissible to put anyone at a disadvantage or to discriminate against them because of their religious convictions and the same will apply in the future. We consider it useful and reasonable if both people of a materialistic outlook and believers join in the building of socialism. We believe that socialism is not being built specially for materialists and then later specially for believers, but that it is the society of the working people and it is being built for everyone. And if this is so, then everybody should take part in its construction. We have to come to an agreement with believers first on the building of socialism. For everybody knows, let us say that a two-room flat with all modern conveniences is larger than a one-room flat with all the conveniences, irrespective of whether a believer or an atheist lives in it, and it is better to live in a two-room flat with all mod. con. than in a

one-room flat without them. This is clear. But if we first tried to reach agreement with the faithful on whether there is a God or not, this would result in a very long debate and it would be a great mistake if the construction of socialism were at a standstill in the meantime.

We have learnt from our teachers, from our classic writers, from everybody who correctly represented our position that a class struggle must be waged and that we must argue with people on the class question. We are not establishing a new Church: we represent a much progressive ideal than the teachings of the Church.

We are striving for the creation of national unity in the interests of the complete construction of a socialist society which makes it possible, theoretically and practically, that everybody from communists to believers who is ready to serve the great cause of building socialism by deed, concentrate his or her efforts on the common goal...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 192-193.)

Speech at a meeting of party activists in Nyíregyháza

MARCH 1974

(EXCERPT)

...As for people of different ideologies and the question of believers and non-believers, we generally do not speak often or much about this. There is a reason for this. We are Marxist-Leninist, and the Churches represent their own beliefs. We do not baptize, we do not conduct confessions and we cannot give absolution for an afterlife; we do not deal with such things at all. We wish to enhance the cause of socialist construction. At one time we clashed with Mindszenty, not because he was a Roman Catholic and the Archbishop of Esztergom, but because he was pro-Habsburg and a reactionary and he took a stand against the development of people's democracy and against nationalization.

As for the ideological differences which exist between believers and non-believers, our view is that only reasoning can triumph on questions of ideology. In the political struggle, however, it is entirely unmaterial to us, who is and who is not a believer, or who belongs to which Church. If he joins us, he is our ally, if he opposes us, we cannot be indulgent. We respect the religious sensitivity of the believer; we do not violate it, there is no need for that. At the same time we profess our own ideology; we disseminate it, and we do not allow it to be reviled or attacked.

Today in Hungary we can have a good understanding with the faithful, with the Churches and with the leaders of the Churches concerning our common affairs, the fundamental goals of socialist construction. This is as it should be.

The well-ordered relationship between the State and the Churches has not come about by itself, but as a result of persevering work. I think it is clear to everyone that both the believer and the non-believer need a flat and it is natural that our housing programme must be a common affair. In a more developed new world, in a socialist society, everybody will be an "inhabitant" and he who wants to be a participant in the happier future, should take his share in construction, too, and I would add that the majority of the people do their share—and with good will.

It is common knowledge that talks between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Vatican have been going on for several years. We have settled many things in the relations between the State and the Catholic Church. Most recently the Vatican took a decision to the effect that, as far as canonical law is concerned, it regards the seat of the Archbishop of Esztergom vacant. This caused a great storm in Western press circles. Reactionary elements became very angry with the pope. They spread rumours that Pope Paul VI had made such a decision under pressure from the Hungarian communist government. I think that those who state that Pope Paul VI deprived Mindszenty of his post as Archbishop of Esztergom under our pressure overestimate what we can do and underestimate the Vatican. This is really about something else altogether. The Catholic Church is also looking for its place in the modern world.

You probably recall the second Vatican Council initiated by Pope John XXIII the theme of which was that the Catholic Church can no longer exist in today's world if its outlook is medieval. And, so to speak, they made a tactful move distancing themselves from the capitalist system, too. Up until the Second Council, the everyday policy of the Roman Catholic Church was that capitalism was a resourceful system whereas communism brings devastation, and a curse upon it. The Church is beginning to see that it can no longer continue in this way.

I, as a materialist, hold the view that if the Church is clever, then it will modernize genuinely. Things in Hungary are developing well from this point of view, too. Before the last elections, the Church called on the people, even from the pulpit, to go and vote for the candidates of the People's Front. This is no mean progress.

When I speak to priests who are clear-sighted, who think realistically, who undertake the building of socialism with conviction and who are progressive, I tell them that for us materialists you are the most dangerous opponents. It is easy for us to fight against reactionary priests, because we say that they are pro-Habsburg, they are reactionaries, who want to restore capitalism, because in reality that is what they want. But how should we attack you, since you also say that you, too, want socialism? And that really is how it is, that someone who does care about the future of the Church can come to only one conclusion: the most sensible thing to do is somehow to adjust the activity of the Church to the new society. But this is a problem for the Church.

Our task is to see an even stronger social agreement between workers, peasants, intellectuals and other workers, communists and non-party people, believers and non-believers, in undertaking socialist goals and in carrying our creative work further. This is our firm, principled view; this is what we have followed so far, and we must and want to continue this policy of alliance in the future, too...

(*A szocializmusért, a békéért*
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 120-122.)

JUNE 1977

(ABRIDGED)

The correspondent of *Osservatore Romano*, the organ of the Vatican:

How do you assess the relationship between the Hungarian State and Church, and can further development in these relations be expected following this visit?

János Kádár:

I think you know my outlook, so you will accept my opinion as objective: the Roman Catholic Church is a significant moral factor. The Vatican is one of the smallest states in the world with regard to area and population—one which has no armed forces but does have political weight. I considered it only proper for me to visit Pope Paul VI once I came to Rome. I can say that I have gained extremely good impressions during the few hours I spent in the Vatican. I thought it was permissible and right for me to express my thanks for the efforts of the pope and the Vatican for the cause of peace, for peaceful coexistence, for détente and particularly for the Helsinki agreement. I asked that the Belgrade Conference should be prepared for in the same spirit. I had in mind the well-known fact that more people listen to the pope and to the Vatican than the number of Vatican citizens.

In Pope Paul VI's assessment of our meeting today, it was a significant event in our relationship: it completed the process of settling relations between the Catholic Church and the Hungarian State, and this is to be welcomed. Personally I am convinced that the socialist Hungarian State, the Hungarian People's Republic, will last for a great many generations and that the Churches will also exist for generations.

We consider it our duty—and it is also in our interests—to have the relationship between the State and the Church settled. No instrument has been invented yet which could register who is a true believer and who is not. The exact number of believers in

Hungary cannot be determined. But certainly there are religious believers there. A sharp confrontation between State and Church would confront them with insoluble problems of conscience. I can state that this dilemma does not exist in Hungary.

True, we have worked for many years with the representatives of the Vatican to settle the relations between the State and the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary. But believers in our country have no problems of conscience. We do not interfere with the free exercise of religion and the life of the Churches. Everyone does as he deems fit: if he wants to, he goes to Mass or to a religious service on Sunday; he will have no conflict with the State.

The Hungarian spokesmen of the Roman Catholic Church have officially declared that they will observe the constitutional law of the Hungarian People's Republic and that they will support the plans of the Hungarian people for construction from their own resources. We ask nothing more from the people of the Church.

I thanked the representatives of the pope and, of course, the pope himself for their efforts to settle our relations. We spoke with mutual satisfaction of our present relationship. Of course, sometimes difficult problems come up at the negotiations, the talks last for a long time and it takes time to reach agreement. But I was glad to be able to say that both sides have been carrying out scrupulously what we had reached agreement on. We were both able to register with satisfaction that our intentions met and the Vatican and the government of the Hungarian People's Republic were both going to strive to continue this favourable process in the future. Let us listen to each other, let us take into consideration and respect the other side's interests.

A lasting settlement has been reached in the relationship between the Church and the State in Hungary.

You will probably understand that from the point of view of the State serious questions are often at stake. I myself understand that sometimes things are not that simple from the Church's side either. But we must look further ahead and we must take general interests into consideration. I have left the Vatican convinced that this is the road we are travelling.

The correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*:

What is the situation of the other Churches in Hungary?

János Kádár:

What I have said about the settled state of the relations between State and Church applies to all the Churches operating in Hungary.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the Liberation, our relations with one another have been settled. The basic principle is the same: the Churches respect the fundamental law of the State, and the State respects the autonomy of the Churches and guarantees freedom of religion.

In Hungary we settled our relations with the Protestant Churches earlier. I am not competent to pass judgement on church personalities. Cardinal Mindszenty played a big role in making the relationship between the Hungarian State and the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary complicated and difficult. Probably this was why our relationship with the Catholic Church was the last to be settled. But about two years ago our relationship was normalized, and this is very important and a good thing for us.

There are no particular disputes with any of the Churches. Of course, problems can always arise and some certainly do arise. Such things occur between partners even in the best of families. Tolerance is the most effective recipe in this respect as well. To settle matters one must understand the other side, too. I am very confident that just as we have none at present, we will have no serious conflicts with any of the Churches in Hungary in the future, either.

The correspondent of *La Nazione* of Florence and *Il Resto del Carlino* of Bologna:

Do the socialist countries co-ordinate their policies on church affairs?

János Kádár:

I would not say that there is co-ordination, but they do exchange their experiences from time to time since it is an important social matter which is at stake. The socialist countries generally display an interest in the experiences of Hungary, and we are glad to

make these available to them. But each country handles affairs pertaining to the Churches—just as with other problems—on its own as it sees fit.

(*A szocializmusért, a békéért*
[For socialism, for peace],
pp. 534–536.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

APRIL 1978

(EXCERPT)

...In Hungary, the relationship between the State and the Churches is well-ordered. In another respect, translating this into the language of politics, this is a political alliance of people with different ideologies for the purpose of building socialism. This is a great achievement on the part of our party and our country. It deserves special emphasis, because the results of the party's activity along these lines started to bring fruit many years ago. We managed to settle several important questions with the Roman Catholic Church at the time of the 11th Congress and I can say that this was on a principled basis. This is not the peace and co-operation of ideologies, but—as expressed in the draft resolution—we respect the religious feelings of people, their freedom of conscience and the autonomy of the Churches with the exception of filling certain posts which are subject to agreement. At the same time, the Churches, the faithful respect the Constitution, the laws and fulfil their duties as citizens. The political framework of this co-operation is first and foremost the People's Front and the direct contacts between the State and the Churches. Of course it is political work which is going on within this framework; it is useful and good political work which is being done through the Office of Church Affairs and locally through the party organizations. We must devote appropriate attention to that in the future, too.

Through long negotiations and patient work, we have reached

the point where the citizen who is a believer can at the same time be in favour of progress, social development and the cause of socialism and a proponent of his Church, too, and this need not cause a breach within him. This is no small thing.

The relationship between the State and the Churches is an important social and political question. I say this not just to rejoice over it although we can rejoice over the settlement of this issue, but to avoid any kind of misunderstanding in this respect. The materialistic world outlook of our party has not changed at all; neither has our task to continue to promote the spread of scientific ideology in party and state education, as well as in all other possible fields. Special attention must be paid to training our youth in the spirit of a scientific materialistic ideology...

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység*
[Policy of alliance—national unity],
pp. 22–23.)

Press conference in the Hôtel Crillon in Paris

NOVEMBER 1978

(EXCERPT)

The correspondent of *Témoignage Chrétien*:

What are the relations between Church and State like in Hungary?

János Kádár:

Perhaps it is not so well known that historically the Catholic Church was strong and influential in Hungary. It embraced about 65% of the population. But there were strong Protestant (Calvinist and Lutheran) Churches as well. That is how it was historically, but nobody knows any longer precisely what is the influence of the Churches today, because—parallel with democratic progress—all state, school or other questionnaires on which anyone has to record his religious affiliations have been abolished. From that aspect, too, citizens are completely equal: there is no discrimination among them.

After the Second World War we ourselves had to face the great historical task which the French Revolution solved in 1789: to separate State and Church. This did not go without any hitches, but it did take place. In Hungary, under the earlier laws, the Church was in an exceptional political and legal position. We communists said: we should not be worse than the bourgeois revolutionaries of their day and we should also settle this question. Then followed substantive talks with all the Churches which lasted for many years. This work produced results. In Hungary the relationship between the State and the Churches is well-ordered. As far as the Catholic Church was concerned we continued negotiations with the Vatican for 14 years and last year on the occasion of my visit to Pope Paul VI, so to speak, the Vatican also gave its blessing for the normalized relationship between the Catholic Church and the Hungarian State.

We have also normalized the relations of the State with the Free Churches as they are known, which was also illustrated last year by the visit to Hungary of a Baptist preacher known all over the world.

What is the basis of the well-ordered relations between the State and the Churches? On the one hand, the State respects the autonomy of the Churches; it does not interfere in the questions of religious life. On the other hand, an agreement has been reached that the Churches are prepared to support the programme of popular socialist construction through their own resources. As you probably know, we have a one-party system, but this is not a simple way of governing, either. Our work is assisted by the People's Front movement, which has local bodies and also a leading national body. Representatives of the Churches also take part in the national leadership of that movement, the Catholic Archbishop of Esztergom among them. Our well-ordered relations are illustrated, for example, by the fact that at a recent congress of the Patriotic People's Front, where the subject of discussion was the essentials of the People's Front programme and the construction of a socialist society in Hungary, the head of the Hungarian Catholic Church was among those who spoke.

We consider the well-ordered relations between the State and

the Churches to be a great achievement. The shift from the capitalist road to the socialist path took place amidst struggle, and around the end of the forties, the new workers' state found itself confronted by the Church, which was insisting on the retention of old feudal institutions as, for example, the system of large landed estates. What took place within the faithful? If a believer fought for his secular well-being, he would have liked to support the socialist revolution, but if he fought for his happiness in an afterlife, at least this is how I imagine it, then he would have liked to go along with his church. He could not cut himself into two. Well, by now, we have resolved the great question of conscience for the Hungarian citizen who is a believer and this is very important. Today the believer can live in peace with a clear conscience because both State and Church recommend him to support the work of socialist construction. If his conscience so demands let him lead a religious life...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity],
pp. 74–75.)

Speech at the 7th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front

MARCH 1981

(EXCERPT)

In Hungary, the relationship between State and Church is well-ordered. This is known even by those who do not sympathize with our system. This is a genuinely well-ordered relationship which means on the one hand, that the representatives of the Churches have taken the oath to the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic and adhere to it. They undertake the goals of the people's work, the construction of a socialist society, for the better future of the nation, and they assist in their implementation by word and deed. On the other hand, the State respects freedom of conscience and the autonomous activity of the

Churches. This is how it is today and how it will be in the future, because this is also an important factor in our socialist national unity. Our goal continues to be to join close forces with those who consciously profess socialist national unity and act in its spirit. I trust that this Congress is going to strengthen this unity further and will give new impetus to the work of the Patriotic People's Front movement...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 320.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

MARCH 1981

(EXCERPT)

...And here allow me to make a further remark concerning the reaction to the People's Front Congress. According to some opinions, the Churches played too great a role at that meeting. In my view the person who holds that view does not fully understand the essence and significance of the question. The loyal behaviour of the Churches, or to put it differently, the fact that they have undertaken a positive role in public life is of great significance and is among our achievements which must be retained. The fact that the relationship between State and Church in Hungary is normalized and normalized on a principled basis, normalized on the platform of the socialist construction work and goals of the people, can hardly be estimated in terms of what it means in practice and how it assists our policy here at home and abroad. In accordance with our principled policy, our State ensures the autonomous activity of the Churches, the freedom of conscience for all its citizens, including the free exercise of religion. The relationship between the State and the Churches is two-sided and can be subscribed to by both sides. The principled normalization of the question involves this as well...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], p. 342.)

IV. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN HUNGARY

*Interview given to "Népszabadság" on the questions of
the co-operative movement*

APRIL 1959

Question: How do you evaluate the progress which our co-operative movement has made this year?

Answer: The great advancement of the co-operative movement which has taken place in the last three months is—besides the defence and consolidation of people's power—the most significant and most important social event in our country in the past few years.

The fact that this year the number of peasants enrolled in the agricultural co-operatives has gone up by 354,000 and the arable land in the co-operatives by almost 2 million *hold** is an event which affects not only the life of the peasantry favourably but also that of the entire Hungarian people and their socialist development as well. This is quite obvious. It is a well-known fact that for the last ten years we have had the contradictory situation that whereas industry, transport and commerce was of a socialist character—disregarding the small percentage of the petty-capitalist concerns—the predominant part of agriculture was not. This duality in the national economy is a brake on development. Now that, as a result of the great advance in the co-operative movement, almost half the arable land in the country has been turned into holdings which are socialist in character, this duality has been cut down significantly. This is why we are justified in calling the most recent development in the co-operative movement a great and favourable event of social significance.

Question: What have been the major characteristics of the development of the co-operatives over the past ten months?

* 1 *hold*, or cadastral yoke, equals 1.42 acres.

Answer: One of the important characteristics of the development has been that during recent months the middle peasants have also joined the co-operatives in large numbers and they possess great experience in farming in general and in animal husbandry in particular. Undoubtedly this is a great gain for both the individual co-operatives and the co-operative movement as a whole. If these middle peasants take over the experiences in co-operative farming gained by the pioneers of the co-operative movement quickly and in the meantime put to use the knowledge of farming they have already acquired, they can make a real contribution to the growth of production for the benefit of themselves, their families, their co-operatives and the country.

Another characteristic of the present development of the movement is that in a number of villages the overwhelming majority of the peasants embarked on the socialist road at the same time, often creating a single agricultural co-operative out of the village by doing so. In this way 1,300 new co-operative villages have been established in our country this year. This is a very sensible way to develop and the results achieved in this field are welcome. A great advantage of this development pattern is that it makes unnecessary the partition of land, which usually causes such bitter and endless arguments between peasants and in which, as the saying goes, not even God could make a judgement which satisfied both sides. A further great advantage of the co-operative villages is that they can plan for and utilize local conditions much better; it is possible to envisage clearly the prospects for the development of the entire village and all joint projects can be placed in their appropriate and permanent site.

A further characteristic of the development of the co-operative movement this year has been that in certain counties—Győr-Sopron, Szolnok, Veszprém and Fejér counties—the development took a great leap forward, while in comparison the peasantry of other counties took just one step forward at a time. In my opinion, since we are talking about a living movement, the conditions for which become ripe in different ways and at different times in different places, this is natural and proper. It is obvious that later on the development will be different not only in respect

of the various parts of the country and the counties but even within individual counties and districts. The Central Committee of our party does not do everything on the same pattern, but takes into account that life is complicated and conditions are different; they refrain and will continue to refrain from stereotypes.

Question: What is your view of the rate of development in the co-operative movement this year?

Answer: The progress was promoted by the decision of the party's Central Committee last December. At that time the Central Committee was of the view that as far as the co-operative movement was concerned, the political and economic situation in Hungary was such that it did not allow for a sudden development, but did allow for a significant step forward in this respect in 1959.

There are a few people now, who have been pondering for weeks whether the progress made was a "step" or a "leap". In Győr-Sopron County and one or two other counties the progress was undoubtedly by leaps and bounds, but on a national scale, just as undoubtedly, this is not a leap but a step forward, even if it is a great and significant step.

As far as I am concerned, I am quite ready to confess that this step forward in the co-operative movement has been somewhat faster and somewhat larger, on a nation-wide scale, too, than I would have thought in the first days of December. But haven't a few similar cases emerged over the past two and a half years? The steadfast adherents of socialism knew even in the first days of November 1956 that we were going to isolate the reactionary counter-revolutionary forces and that defeat was waiting for them; but we did not think that we could do this so fast, basically by the spring of 1957. We were also steadfastly confident that we would reconstruct our national economy which had been so seriously harmed and undermined by the counter-revolution. But we did not think that this could also be achieved so fast, basically by the second half of 1957. Were these steadfast adherents of socialism not confident that they were going to win in the national elections in November 1958 and that reaction will be defeated? Yes, they were confident. But nobody could have expected a victory of such proportions and such a defeat for the reactionary

forces as was manifested by the fact that 98% of the voters cast their votes and the People's Front list reaped a 99% victory. So it is only in this sense and to this extent that we can speak of "surprises" in the great and rapid development of the co-operative movement in 1959.

In my view, the rate of growth of the co-operative movement in 1959 has been a good and healthy one, the more so because its main driving force has been the increasing socialist awareness of the Hungarian peasant masses and the great change that has taken place in their sentiments.

Question: What made the results of this year possible?

Answer: All the achievements of socialism are born out of good policy on the part of the party and the government and the behaviour of the working masses who support this policy. This also applies to the results of the co-operative movement.

The Central Committee stands vigilant guard over the pureness of principles and over the correct implementation of the policy of the party and the government. Rescuing people's power and the cause of socialism demanded that through persistent struggle we should overcome the reactionary, anti-popular trend in the field of peasant policy, too; a policy which reached its climax in the days of the 1956 counter-revolution and which, beyond demolishing the co-operatives, was aimed at robbing our people of all of the achievements they had attained since the Liberation. We have also overcome the remnants of right-wing opportunism, which emerged as a result of the violent enemy attack and the delusions of the revisionists and which would have made the socialist transformation of the countryside impossible. We have overcome sectarian practices, too: distrust of the peasant masses and the half-heartedness which went parallel with it. The correct party and government decisions were the results of the firm theoretical and political stand of the Central Committee. The government decrees and other measures protecting and strengthening the co-operatives were passed on the basis of this policy. So were government measures which gave strong support to the interests of peasants farming on their own, like the elimination of compulsory produce deliveries, the fixing of better purchase prices, the establishment

of security for production and an end to enforced consolidation of holdings, as well as other measures.

This is how the old co-operatives, which had been formed earlier and which had withstood all the trials of recent years, developed such a lot; they managed their affairs well, they became stronger and richer and thus the basis for the present development. The people of the countryside could see their good example for themselves. Our peasantry were influenced by the establishment of a pension system for co-operative members, and even more, by the fact that the payment of land-rent was made compulsory. The proper handling of the former or present exploiters in the villages, the kulaks, also played a role. Our party, showing complete confidence in the working peasants, left it to them whom among the former exploiters, the kulaks, who they knew better than anybody, they would accept as members of the co-operatives and whom they would not. Experience shows that the working peasants make this judgement with the necessary sense of responsibility.

Not least, the good and persevering informative work done locally in the villages has played a role in the results achieved. This is why the Central Committee has spoken with so much praise of the men, communists and people outside the party, who carried out and directed the informative work in the villages, districts and counties.

The historical experience and the ever widening international outlook of our peasantry have played a decisive role in the results achieved. The Hungarian peasants lived through the counter-revolution and the struggle against it. In 1956 they saw once again at close quarters the former chief magistrates, gendarmerie, fascists and reappearing landlords, all thirsting for revenge, who dropped the mask for a few days; and they also saw that these people were incapable of achieving anything. At the same time they witnessed the combative and self-sacrificing action of Hungarian communists and the solidarity shown to us by helpful, fraternal friends, the Soviet people and the other peoples of the socialist camp. By today it is clear to every Hungarian peasant that the old Hungary of the gentry can never return and that rely-

ing on the unity of the socialist camp, the cause of the Hungarian people is invincible.

I cannot say that the tremendous mass movement, affecting several hundred thousand people, proceeded without a single mistake being made during the organization of the agricultural co-operatives. But I can state that the great development this year could only take place because our peasantry are aware that the corner-stone of the co-operative policy of the party is the voluntary principle and that it ensures that it prevails everywhere and towards everybody. Perhaps the most splendid proof of the unity and at the same time of the voluntary nature of the whole movement is the very welcome phenomenon which has appeared in many places; that is that the members of the co-operatives who are doing their final yearly accounts for the first time are saying that they will only take up credit if it is totally unavoidable, so as not to put the co-operatives in debt. Only people who have chosen the co-operative of their own free will and who already feel the co-operative to be their own would speak like that.

Finally, I believe that the reason for the development, perhaps the major reason, is that during the past two and a half years the working peasantry have become convinced that the present policy of the party is for their good. This policy is built on confidence in the working peasants and this has been reciprocated by confidence on the part of the millions in the villages. This mutual confidence is the basis of the achievements of the co-operative movement to date, and also of further, total victory for it.

Question: What is the most important thing which needs to be done in our co-operative movement?

Answer: At present the most important thing which needs to be done in the co-operative movement is to consolidate the results achieved at the beginning of this year, to strengthen further the existing co-operatives and to lay the foundations for large-scale farming by the co-operatives established during the winter. This is a great task. Therefore the consolidation of the co-operatives must now be considered the task of the whole society, just as the large-scale and numerical development of the movement became such a task in common in recent months. At the same time this

consolidation—and everybody must understand this—is the indispensable precondition for the further development of the entire co-operative movement.

The most important political condition for the consolidation of co-operatives is the establishment of branches of the party and young communist union. This is felt and pressed for even by peasants who are not party members, too. We must realize that the peasants who are embarking on a new life do not yet know enough about how co-operative life operates, and its latent potential and strength, and they are still uncertain on many questions. In addition, there are hostile forces, too, who try to create confusion in the ranks of the co-operative members. This will become impossible if the organized strength of the communists, at one with the membership, is present in each and every co-operative.

The will to work is strong in both the old and the new co-operatives. The peasants in the co-operatives across the country are now embarking on the realization of plans which have come up and been dreamt about a thousand times. As long as the peasants were working individually they just passed by the water which was suitable for irrigation, and the sunny half-sheltered hillsides which were suitable for planting vineyards and orchards. But now, co-operative members want to and can use every opportunity. At the same time they are struggling with many difficulties, particularly in the new and significantly bigger co-operatives. They have to provide seed, fertilizer and machinery for hundreds of acres and common cowsheds and sties for masses of animals. Of course the Central Committee, the government and the working class as a whole give every assistance they can to the greatest extent possible, but this assistance has its limitations and it is vitally important for the co-operatives themselves to mobilize their strength to the full and to use all their potentialities.

There are many tasks which must be solved-locally. But most of them can be solved quickly and fruitfully through the agreement of the membership, through the tremendous unified strength inherent in joint effort under the guidance and with the assistance of the party and local council bodies.

It is now of decisive importance from the point of view of the

entire work of the co-operatives to form good leadership in the new co-operatives and to consolidate it while at the same time directing affairs with humanity and with the necessary expertise. Matters went properly where communists and people outside the party, who are able to speak the language of the people and to maintain order and discipline, were elected as leaders, people who are the most suitable politically and as far as expertise is concerned and enjoy the confidence of the membership. The question of the former poor peasants and middle peasants was properly resolved where the point of departure was not just who had been a poor peasant and who had been a middle peasant, but where they were elected to the leadership because they were also qualified and cut out for solving the tasks.

The experience in most new co-operative farms is that decent, honest, knowledgeable people have been elected to leading positions. Changing them unnecessarily before their work has had a chance to develop should be avoided. Party and state bodies, and above all the communists working in the co-operative farms, together with the whole membership, should support the elected leaders, the chairman, the agronomist, the accountant, the brigade leaders and others. There should be firm leadership, good working discipline, a will to work and unity in the co-operatives. If both the leaders and the members concentrate all their attention and strength on work, then the work will yield rapid and abundant fruit.

Good leadership and internal unity in the co-operatives which have so far been set up are of enormous significance from the point of view of convincing the peasants who are still working individually. Thousands upon thousands of experiences testify that the peasant working individually has already accepted the co-operative way of life as such as his own future, but many times and for long periods he is held back from joining by his anxieties: if he joins, will the leader be a suitable, knowledgeable and humane man, who will not order him about. Of course, his leader will be the one he will elect as such. But I am hardly mistaken when I think that today about half of the peasants still working individually would become co-operative members as early as to-

morrow if they were reassured on this point. It is quite sure that they are watching closely to see whether the new co-operative farm has a good chairman, a good leadership and whether there is order and internal unity in the new co-operatives. We are confident that this will happen and we will see to it, that it does happen and our peasantry will see a healthy solution for themselves in this respect, too.

Question: What characterizes the party's policy in connection with the peasants still working individually?

Answer: The policy of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has always been clear and unambiguous on this question, too. The policy towards the peasants farming individually which we have been carrying out for two and a half years is not going to change one jot.

We regard the worker-peasant alliance as the most significant political basis of our state, this alliance is strong today, and we consider it our constant task to strengthen it unceasingly. The worker-peasant alliance includes both the co-operative and the individually working peasants. The peasant working individually is our ally, our labouring brother and we will continue to work with him in the future.

Of course we have never made a secret of the fact that we are building a socialist society and we do not make a secret of it today; and as a part of this, we are working for the socialist transformation of the villages. We want to put an end to the exploitation of man by man in the villages, too. We want to disseminate knowledge, we want to multiply the machinery, develop modern farming to have the land yield more and to give more than up till now to the entire people, to the country. We want better, more cultured life in the villages, too, so that life for the children, the youngsters, men, women and the elderly alike will be more humane and beautiful.

But that we can realize only together with the peasants in unison. We are well aware that the peasant still working individually can only be led to the socialist road in the future if we esteem and display confidence in him in the present, if we speak the same language as we have done up till now. In the co-opera-

tive movement, we apply the voluntary principle appropriately as well as a sound, well-interpreted step-by-step approach.

This is why we continue to support co-operative groups, technical groups and various associations, because in our opinion in many places these are good preparatory schools for the higher-level co-operatives. The party and the government support the peasants farming individually, too, to enable them to increase their production to the best of their ability in their small peasant farms.

At present it is the spring working season. All country folk know that the weather can be this way or that, but no matter what the weather is like, the crop, particularly a good crop, can come only as a result of good work. Everybody knows our price and sales policy; two and a half years of experience shows that he who produces more and better will fare better. This will, of course, be continued in this manner.

We are confident that the people of the villages, the workers of the state farms and machine and tractor stations, the co-operative farm members and the peasantry farming individually will work diligently, will farm cleverly and that they will achieve better results than last year in both crop cultivation and animal husbandry. This will be to their advantage as well as to that of the country.

(A szocializmus teljes győzelméért
[For the complete victory of socialism],
pp. 56-64; *Népszabadság*, 4 April 1959.)

The socialist reorganization of agriculture in Hungary

JUNE 1961

(EXCERPTS)

...The only consistently revolutionary class is the working class, and for this very reason it is destined to lead all the labouring classes in the struggle for the victory of socialism. The role which the working class and their revolutionary party played in

organizing and providing information, initiative and all-round assistance were indispensable preconditions for uniting the peasantry in the co-operatives and guiding them over to socialism. Left to themselves, the peasantry would have hesitated for years on this question. In December 1958, the Central Committee once again called upon the party, the working class and all progressive elements of our society to promote and organize the co-operative farm movement. The decisive factor in the victory of socialist production relations in agriculture, of course, was that the small and the middle peasants found the strength to break with their small-property-owning past and overcame the old way of life, though often after a period of uncertainty and doubt. But behind it all was the consistent and purposeful leadership of the party and the explanatory and organizational work carried out over the years in the villages by hundreds of thousands of workers in industry, on the state farms and in the machine and tractor stations, teachers and other intellectuals, and communist peasants.

The link between the material and the political prerequisites for the reorganization of agriculture was another much debated issue in 1958. Some believed that the further development of the co-operative farm movement depended in the first place on creating the material-economic conditions in advance; therefore the representatives of this viewpoint advocated only a very slow advance. Others estimated the investment outlay per *hold* needed to cultivate land by large-scale socialist farming methods and, simplifying the issue, suggested that the funds already available for investment be made the criterion of how large an area can be brought under co-operative cultivation. This view made everything depend on state outlay.

One can hardly imagine a co-operative being set up by first building cattle-barns, pigpens and granaries in the middle of a village where all the land is privately cultivated and only then inviting the peasants to join. Could the party go to the working class asking them to put the thousands of millions of forints needed elsewhere into creating the economic foundations of future co-operatives in advance in the hope that once they were there the peasants would join them? Moreover, such a practice

would exclude the peasants from their own revolutionary movement. This, of course, would have retarded and hamstrung initiative from the peasantry and the revolutionary mobilization of their latent creative energies and the economic resources of the countryside. In general, these views tended to overrate the role of the economic prerequisites, and to underrate the role of the political conditions in the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

In contrast with these ideas the party resolutely held the view from the very first day after the counter-revolution that in our circumstances, the political conditions were of prime importance in the socialist reorganization of agriculture. A good political relationship between the party and the peasant masses, in other words between the working class and the peasantry, and their solidarity and close alliance were decisive.

All this, however, does not mean that we regard the economic conditions as secondary and think that everything necessary has been done once the peasants are united in the co-operative farms. Certain material reserves must be allocated in advance on a national scale and every attention paid to the material consolidation of the co-operative farms from the day of their founding. The party has never lost sight of this. For example, in the past three years more than 15,000 million forints have been invested in agriculture.

Setting the proper pace for the reorganization of agriculture is a question of prime importance. Overestimation of the potentialities of small-peasant farming and lack of faith in the leadership of the working class tend to slow down the rate of development, while any administrative compulsion to speed things up would only do harm.

In determining the correct rate of development it was necessary to take into account the mentality of the smallholder and to overcome the pernicious sectarian tendency to regard the wavering of the peasantry as evidence that they were "reactionary" and "hostile". In the past the peasant lived in constant fear of the morrow; all his life he toiled to acquire a plot of land, for experience had taught him that existence depended on it, that the land was his life. His very personality was split: half of him reached

out to socialism, which promised him a decent life, the other half gravitated to capitalism, where he could rise above his fellows and "become rich". Conscious of this, we could not allow ourselves to be impatient with the working peasant. We had to convince him over and over again and to dispel his doubts.

Our Central Committee conducted the campaign to build the co-operatives between December 1958 and February 1961 so as to make use of the two to three winter months each year, when the peasants had more time to discuss things, for mass organizational work. From spring to autumn efforts were concentrated on consolidating the newly-formed or amalgamated co-operative farms and helping them put the work on an effective footing. Experience has shown that this way of organizing the co-operatives by stages was correct.

In the winter of 1958-59 some 343,000 peasants joined the co-operative farms and the area farmed by them rose to 34% of the country's total arable land. In the winter of 1959-60 membership grew by another 380,000 and the proportion of co-operative farm land was 56%. The following winter yet another 340,000 peasants joined, bringing the total area of the co-operative sector to more than 76% of the country's cultivated land. Only 3% of the co-operatives are of the elementary type.

This phased organizational method enabled us to put the newly-established co-operative farms on their feet in their first year...

... It would be naïve to assume that by the very act of joining a co-operative people change completely and that their relationships become socialist overnight. Despite the act of joining they will retain many of the old features for a long time, the negative ones included. The consistent adherents of the co-operative idea want socialism and communism, and the success of the co-operative movement will strengthen their convictions. And this is a very good thing. But those who have wavered will continue to do so, though to a lesser degree. And the speculators will want to continue profiteering, this time within the co-operative. As long as the pernicious habits and hangovers have not all been overcome, the spirit of genuine socialist coexistence will be difficult to establish and to consolidate.

It will also take time for full democracy to be achieved in the co-operative farms, i.e. for all members to acquire sufficient knowledge, experience and grasp of matters to play a competent part in directing the affairs of the co-operative and to assist the leaders they have placed at its head effectively. But this, too, must be done in order to consolidate socialist production relations in agriculture.

Our immediate task is to transform our co-operatives into well-developed, large-scale socialist farms. The large-scale organization of work must be evolved in every co-operative, forms of effective income distribution according to work performed which stimulate good work have to be developed and management improved by managers with appropriate capabilities. More experts should be made available to the co-operatives, labour discipline should be strengthened and full use made of the great advantages of large-scale farming by employing the latest agrotechnical methods. In these ways we have to achieve a rapid growth of agricultural production and yields which quickly and significantly exceed the old levels attained by the small farmer working on his own.

The task of socialist agriculture is to satisfy the growing demands of the population for the main kinds of agricultural produce within the next few years. Indeed we are striving to make them capable of exporting regular and substantial amounts of agricultural produce to both socialist and capitalist countries...

... Now after completing the mass organization of co-operative farms, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party considers it its revolutionary task to strengthen and consolidate the newly-formed co-operatives and by so doing ensure a rapid growth in agricultural output. This is indispensable because on the one hand, objectively, only fast-growing agricultural production can provide the conditions for the further building of socialism and for further raising the standard of living. On the other hand, subjectively, millions of people will only really acknowledge the superiority of socialism over the old social system and will only be fully convinced of the truth of social-

ism when they see for themselves how much better and more cheaply socialist agriculture can provide for the entire nation.

Strong, prosperous co-operative farms and the further development of the state farms—in a word, the complete victory of socialism in the Hungarian countryside—is a task the accomplishment of which will further strengthen our system politically, advance our economy and guarantee further improvement in the standard of living of our people.

The consolidation of socialist production relations in the countryside and an increase in agricultural output will together constitute a new great victory of socialism, which will be one of the most significant events in and an organic part of the completion of socialism in the Hungarian People's Republic.

(A szocializmus teljes győzelméért
[For the complete victory of socialism],
pp. 267-278; *Béke és Szocializmus*,
June 1961; *Népszabadság*, 4 June 1961.)

Speech at the 3rd Congress of Agricultural Co-operatives

DECEMBER 1976

(EXCERPT)

The future of agriculture is a question of primary significance for the whole country, for our people, for the further development of socialist society. Socialist large-scale agriculture is a firm basis for our regime in the countryside. The fact that the annual rate of growth in agriculture during the fifteen years of socialist agriculture has doubled and tripled, has created a broad social, economic and political basis for this. More developed agricultural technology and a greater will to produce have increased the resilience of agriculture against even the unexpected force of nature. If we speak of difficulties openly, we have all the more reason and right to mention also that the country's population today consumes 50% more meat, 70% more eggs, 45% more sugar, 15-20% more vegetables

and fruit than fifteen years ago, i.e. before the reorganization of agriculture. This is to the great credit of the new socialist agriculture. Agriculture therefore has contributed and does contribute to the increase in the standard of living. Meanwhile, in harmony with the party's policy, the material conditions of those employed in agriculture have improved parallel with those of the whole of society and the level of income of workers and of peasants have been practically the same for years.

In harmony with the development of the national economy and with the improvement of production culture, the nature of the work done by the peasants has fundamentally changed. Co-operative workers have come nearer to the working class both in respect of the degree of organization of the work, in the conditions of work and in professional expertise. The penetration of science and technology into agriculture and the introduction of industrial types of production systems are quite spectacular. In Hungarian agriculture between the two world wars only one-tenth of the material outlay went on industrial goods, whereas today this figure is approximately 60%. While this means a bigger task for industry, it makes it clearer what support the working class is giving to the peasantry in the economic field.

Numerous veterans, well-tried fighters and the best present-day representatives of the co-operative movement are present in this room. It is a great thing that we can say that those who took part in the great work of the socialist reorganization of agriculture can now think back with reassurance, feeling how much and in how short a time the Hungarian countryside, once so backward, has advanced together with the Hungarian peasantry who have embarked on the road to socialism. Hungarian communists and their best allies, all those who initiated and carried out the setting up of agricultural co-operatives can now, with their heads held high and with a clear conscience, stand in front of our people because everything that they prophesied for the peasantry has come true: that by gathering jointly in large-scale units they could transform and improve farming and their own lives and that of the villages; that they could aspire to all the achievements of modern technology, science, culture and civilization and create

them for themselves; all these have proved to be true. That agriculture has embarked on the socialist road is our great revolutionary achievement, the great joint historic creation of the Hungarian working class, the working peasantry and the entire people, which future generations can look back upon with pride.

It is common knowledge that, parallel with the development of our country, with the advancement of socialist industrialization, the share of agriculture in the national economy has decreased both in terms of contribution to the national income and the number of those employed. But let me say emphatically at this forum that the significance of agriculture has not decreased but on the contrary, is on the increase. It is true there are more and more modern machinery and chemicals, but agriculture has to feed more people from a smaller area and with less labour, and its tasks are great in the field of exports, too. And here something should be said. Nowadays, in relation to the future of mankind we hear more and more often: it seems that the great strategic factors in the world are going to be nuclear energy, oil and food. At such times one inevitably thinks that no matter how small Hungary is, she does have good natural endowments and potentialities agriculturally.

The question which rightly now comes to the fore is: in what direction should this important branch of the national economy continue development. The 11th Congress of our party has marked out the road. The most important resolution of the 11th Congress was that the party was going to continue the main line of policy, formulated twenty years ago, which has stood the test of reality in practice; and a very important element of this policy is that the party will continue to consider the development of an up-to-date system of agriculture based on large-scale farming, making farming more intensive and strengthening those features which properly reconcile the interest of the members with the interests of the whole of society, to be a fundamental task. We consider the security of production and sales and the operation of an appropriate system of material incentives to be essential. Our aim is that increases in the income of the peasantry should be the same as that of the workers, and that social welfare

benefits should gradually approach those of the workers until they are identical.

As they have done until now our party and government will accord every possible assistance to agriculture, and within what is possible will see to it that various industrial materials and goods are continuously available. Hungarian agriculture and the co-operative farms not only have a heroic past and an encouraging present but a safe future, too.

We will continue to strengthen the socialist character of the co-operative farms. Co-operative ownership is a socialist form of ownership the consolidation and development of which is an important task. By implementing the land law which was drawn up in 1967 we have taken a great step towards establishing the unified socialist ownership and use of land. Today almost half of the land used by the co-operatives is their own property. We will continue to support this patient process which needs so much time.

Strengthening the socialist character of co-operatives is a manifold task. Beyond increasing the proportion of land which is co-operatively owned, it must find expression in the strengthening of enterprise type of farming, in better planning, in better organization of work, in broadening co-operative democracy and control, in enforcing the socialist principles of distribution consistently and in the development of the socialist awareness of the co-operative farm membership. Each of these features is important, nobody can be selective in implementing these principles, we cannot develop one at the cost of the other. We must see to it that they prevail together, because this ensures the strengthening of the positions of socialism in the co-operatives.

The size of the units and the various forms of co-operation have a particularly big role to play in strengthening this socialist character. Those taking part in this congress are well aware of the standpoint of our party, that the size of the agricultural units which have evolved so far are appropriate. Therefore the main task at present is for the farms to assess their potentialities properly, to determine their long-term profile in a way that will utilize their forces most rationally. Instead of farm mergers in the

future, specialization of production should continue prudently, co-operation among farms should gain ground and there should be redoubled efforts to form joint ventures and associations formed between co-operative farms, state farms and food industry concerns.

The various forms of co-operation, the associations, the production systems and agro-industrial unions are of great significance not only as far as economic efficiency is concerned, but also from the political and social point of view. They signify a higher degree of the socialization of labour, they can enhance the development of property relations and they can assist in evening out the differences between farms. Development, of course, has its own logical sequence. First the available resources should be economically utilized and a determined level of development reached within the existing framework; then joint ventures should be started on the basis of principles which have been well tried in practice, where such ventures are scientifically and economically well-founded and where greater results can be expected.

The development of agricultural production in this direction means the beginning of a new phase in the development of socialist agriculture. However, we can successfully advance along this road only if we continue to adhere strictly to the basic principles of our well-tested co-operative policy, to the voluntary principle, to the principles of proceeding step by step, of autonomy, democracy and material incentives.

(A szocializmusért, a békéért
[For socialism—for peace], pp. 455–458.)

THE REFORM OF ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

FEBRUARY 1965

(EXCERPT)

As is well known, apart from the mergers of industrial firms, we have not made fundamental changes in our economic organization and economic management machinery in recent years, partly because they have been working satisfactorily, partly because we have been striving—correctly—for stability. Now, however, there are more and more indications, which point to the need to subject our system of economic management to scrupulous examination and to work out the necessary ideas for its rational improvement. Highly centralized economic management is slow and cumbersome. Partly because of this it follows that at present a portion of the goods produced from expensive raw materials with a significant labour input do not live up to the demands of the domestic and international markets well enough and stay in the warehouses. The modernity of our goods is particularly important when under the conditions of peaceful coexistence the competition between the two social systems, which at the same time is a commercial competition, is developing more and more. We must take goods which are up-to-date and competitive quality and price-wise, to the international market, because otherwise we will get the worst of it. This applies to the Western markets, but I can add that the times are over when everybody within the socialist world would accept inferior or unusable goods from us, just as we do not accept such goods from others. Today material incentives encourage the overfulfilment of quantitative plans rather than economic production and improvement in the quality of goods. In fact, unfortunately, the bonus and reward system often works against the demands for quality.

Our system of economic management and planning must be

further developed to increase both the effectiveness of central management and the autonomy of the enterprises. Of course, hasty decisions or adventurist experimentation have no place in this. After thorough examination and preparation our competent authorities will put this question on the agenda in about a year and will determine what has to be done.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 64–65.)

Conversation with Preston Grover, the correspondent of AP

JUNE 1965

(EXCERPT)

...P.G.: Coming to the situation in Hungary, there is a recognizable tendency to concentrate less on central planning and in contrast, to give greater autonomy to the various enterprises either on a territorial or some other basis. To what extent has this tendency developed in Hungary and as far as its scale is concerned, can it be compared with similar tendencies in Rumania or Czechoslovakia?

J.K.: In 1957, when we reconstructed our economic life, we paid attention to changing those restrictions which were not useful. At that time we introduced certain methods, among them, for example, giving permission to a few major large enterprises to carry out independent foreign trading activity. We have made other similar changes in relation to former practices. Later we again took a few measures which enhanced the autonomous economic activity of the enterprises. I am not able to make a precise comparison with the economic management of, say, Czechoslovakia or the GDR or other countries. Work is now under way here in our country and when it is completed we intend to take further measures. The point of departure is our wish to carry out further changes in the highly centralized system, in the interests of greater

autonomy for individual economic units, and we want to ensure a greater role for certain inner economic regulators at the cost of administration. This is the essence of the matter. In this connection you write, in the press, things such as that we are getting near to capitalist methods. This is not so. The fact is simply that certain fundamental processes have been completed during the past twenty years. The reconstruction of economic life after the devastation of the war and laying the foundations of a socialist economy have been completed. Overcoming a certain historical backwardness and the fairly rapid development of industry was a further phase. These processes have by and large been completed, or rather the latter has reached a certain level. Now, inevitably a deeper examination and the elaboration of methods of economic management which will ensure our further development have come to the fore. The period has ended, which in a certain sense was inevitable, when, for example, we had to industrialize on the basis of "cost what it may". From an agricultural country we have changed into an industrial country. Now more economical management is on the agenda. This, by the way, is partly linked with your first question; that is why we display a greater degree of interest towards our Western relations at present. It is because we think that it would be a mistake on the part of the socialist countries if they wanted to establish some sort of self-sufficiency one by one. In this new phase of our development, a more efficient international division of labour comes to the fore both in the economic relations between the socialist countries themselves and in respect of the socialist countries and world trade. In my judgement the point is simply that it would not be sensible to tie down investment resources to develop the production of goods which can be acquired safely and constantly from international trade, on the basis of mutual advantages as I mentioned earlier...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus,
[Patriotism and internationalism], pp. 97-99.)

Speech at the session of the Central Committee

NOVEMBER 1967

(EXCERPT)

We are in the last stage of the preparations for the reform. The control checks verify that the measures to be taken at this stage are in accordance with the earlier Central Committee decisions of principle* and with the general aims of the reform. I agree with them, accept them and I propose that we support them.

As far as the party's struggle is concerned, it has been said several times that we are at present dealing with one of the three great tasks of the recent decades. Both the struggle for power and the socialist reorganization of agriculture had their social timeliness and inevitability and so does this reform. The difference between the three is that the timing of the struggle for power was not determined by the Central Committee. But it was the Central Committee which determined the timing of the socialist reorganization of agriculture and when to start it. Recalling that, even in retrospect I can say that the timing was well chosen. It was well chosen from the historical point of view, too; the reorganization was not successful earlier, for reasons which are well known; if on the other hand the Central Committee had missed that particular time, it would only have been possible to carry out the reorganization later and in a more difficult way. I mention this because I think that this reform does have its timeliness and inevitability now and it seems to me that even the timing is laid down for us. There are some who say that it should have been put through earlier. I believe that we were not capable of putting it through before, but we must do so now. If it is not put through now, it will have to be put through in a few years' time, but in more difficult circumstances.

We have dedicated nearly three years of work to the preparations for the reform because in fact we started to debate, if not the reform itself, at least the questions and those methods of solv-

* See p. 377 in the section headed "Documents".

ing them which in the end became the basis of our reform, as early as the Central Committee session in December 1964. It was a long, three-year job and a big one, and I would like to say here and now: those comrades who have been directing this work in the Central Committee apparatus, in the cabinet and in the government apparatus, and all those comrades, those everyday managers and economists, who have been involved in the work and have taken an active part in it, have worked well and fruitfully. I am convinced of this. I would like to add, and it follows from what has been said, that in my view, our Central Committee has handled and led the working out of the reform with the necessary responsibility and the necessary thoroughness. And I am deeply convinced that this will be verified by the results.

I have already spoken of the timing of the reform and I have said that the reform of economic management which we are going to introduce as of 1 January is an unavoidable necessity. As far as the essential basic features of the reform are concerned, I believe that they apply to the most essential and most timely questions of the socialist national economy. First of all, there is the question of profitable production. We have to be candid in emphasizing this because this does not contradict socialism; on the contrary, to produce and make a surplus is a demand and requirement of socialism. Indeed, I would extend this further to other spheres: we need profitable sales, both on the domestic and the international markets. Of course in this field, too, I am thinking of a profit which is achieved in keeping with the norms of the socialist national economy. Those parts of the reform which concern the decentralization of distribution and management are also very significant. In summarizing, I dare to say that the reform is a Marxist reform, a socialist reform.

We must emphasize this, and we should not get lost in the details to such an extent that a significant section of our public opinion, unable to grasp the details, should fail to receive a decisive answer to this main question. This is a Marxist, socialist reform of economic management. It has socialist goals, it aims at the development of socialist production, an increase in consumption, a regular increase in the standard of living of the workers

and finally at promoting the completion of building a socialist society. In fact that is now our party's programme.

In my view, it is also necessary and proper that we introduce the reform in a controlled manner. I think we have surrounded this reform with all the guarantees which we were bound to take and which were possible to the limit which still makes it a genuine reform. It became apparent from the debate that prices based on value cannot be instituted and introduced all at once, their implementation can only be the result of a process. In certain areas this is a programme for a decade. Nevertheless it is an extremely important thing that we have made a start in this direction and have started on this work. It is necessary and proper to do things by degrees both in this sense and also in the sense that in certain partial measures (for example on capitalist imports) we are very consciously applying brakes which can be reduced later and perhaps even eliminated. This controlled introduction is important and a good thing.

Ever since the Central Committee started debating this issue, the question of the preparations has always come up (and it is a good thing that it did come up) in the sense that we should have reserves which the government as the main executive should have at its command at the time the reform is introduced. We need reserves in the raw materials necessary for production, in the goods necessary for consumption and then reserves in forints, and a certain amount of foreign exchange currency reserves are also necessary. We do have some reserves in all these, but for preparations to be ideal, if such a thing was at all possible, we would need rather more. More would be better, yet I say that we have ensured the reserves which were possible and we can say that in all kinds of respects these reserves are at present larger than they were in other years at the start of a new plan. I would add here that were we to introduce the reform three or more years from now, I believe that we would have less reserves than now, since the unhealthy tendencies would continue and we would eat up even those reserves which we have today. So what I can say of the reserves is that, even though they are not large, we do have

the minimum for safety which is necessary for the introduction of the reform.

It is one of the good features of the reform that we have striven to inform and win over the leading people, the economic leaders of the state, the local councils, the executives of the party bodies and trade unions and leaders working in other fields as well. I dare to say that, as the Central Committee has always strongly emphasized, mutual confidence has prevailed in this matter, too. One of the important and significant features of the introduction of the reform is that the relationship of the Central Committee and the government with the two or three hundred thousand executives is such that we work with them on the basis of mutual trust. This is an extremely important thing. Because we have carried on and will continue to carry on the work of providing general information, too: we are convincing millions of workers and peasants and hundreds of thousands of intellectuals about the essence of the reform and are asking for their support.

But the nature of economic management is such that, aside from the two to three hundred thousand executives, the working millions will not be able to exert a direct influence on it. And this does not depend on them. But we can and must say that the workers in the factories should be watching to see that this and that is done in the spirit of the reform, that they should comment on and take a stand against aspirations which run counter to it and so on. But the workers working at the machines, the peasants working in the fields or the mass of professional and office workers engaged in simpler jobs, because of their very positions, cannot be involved operationally in the actual realization of the reform, in its implementation and in the arrangements. That depends on these two to three hundred thousand executives. I am glad that our relationship with them is based on mutual confidence and it is built on such a basis, which in this case is indispensable. For people cannot get to know, accept and follow all the constituent parts of the reform; they know certain elements of it, and they accept the rest on the basis of confidence. They say on the basis of several years' experience: "This party has not double-crossed us, neither has the government, so we will trust

them." This confidence is now our greatest moral, political capital in introducing the reform, because the millions do not have enough factual knowledge to replace this confidence and neither will they have even at a much later date.

One of the extremely important, decisive conditions for the successful introduction of the reform is the fact that we have unity. I can say this with reference to the Central Committee, to the government, to the leadership of our major social organizations. We are united in general, that is on other major issues of policy as well, as on the questions of the basic principles of the reform. A good two years ago, when we were talking about the reform, there were views which differed quite significantly even on the basic questions; not only among economists, but also among those present here. We have followed a good road, befitting the party, because we debated, clarified and settled the basic questions in a comradely debate on principles and not in personal dispute. This unity will ensure, as the party membership expects and demands from us on all great questions, to speak one language, to take stand for the same thing in unity.

Comrade ministers who spoke (to avoid any worries on our part) reassured us, one after another, that there will be mistakes, too. And indeed in a certain sense, the reform does have a critical period. That is the first half a year or year of the start. But I believe that this period will not be as critical in atmosphere as some people imagine. There will not be a fundamental and abrupt change in the basic trends of our economic life from production all the way to consumption. And if we display the kind of unity which has evolved during the preparations and which can now be called total in respect of the basic principles, if we speak the same language and act for the same objectives, then we will overcome the anomalies which may appear and the real effects of the reform will assert themselves. And the more we advance, the more this will strengthen year by year. For that matter I am bold enough to say that in the first year we will already achieve the result of slowing down the negative tendencies which still exist today in our economic life to a significant degree. This is why I say that we are introducing the reform at the right time, after

good preparations which correspond to our conditions, and under good circumstances.

The introduction of the reform will be enhanced by what determines the fate of all great social issues under our conditions, namely that it is the party which has to be at the head of this movement, it is the party which has to lead and direct this process. By the party I mean both the Central Committee, the party organizations and the party membership. But as a second precondition. I must add immediately that we have to employ a method of party leadership which our party has already worked out and introduced with good results in practice, namely that there is a proper distribution of responsibilities at the higher, medium and lower levels, between the party leadership, state leadership and the leadership of social bodies (that is the trade unions, KISZ and other mass organizations).

In this question, too, we continue to mean by party leadership that the party will not undertake all authority and responsibility but that this leadership will be asserted through the logical and proper division of authority and responsibility. Yes, the autonomous but at the same time co-ordinated activity of the party organizations, followed by the state executives, the local councils, the trade unions, the mass organizations and finally the managers of enterprises and co-operatives—this multi-level healthy system of management which has emerged in Hungary must function in the process of implementing the reform, too.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 500-505.)

SEPTEMBER 1979

(EXCERPT)

..Socialist construction is going ahead successfully in the economic, cultural and all other fields. Now great emphasis is being put on economic work since development in all other fields depends on it. It provides the material base for cultural and social development and for all other activities. Economic work is more difficult now than it was a few years ago. From the standpoint of the state, we are clearly able to identify the reason for this, namely the price explosion on the world markets which took place in 1973-74. This is the decisive reason why we are working under more difficult conditions. Had the price explosion not taken place, our international balance of trade would probably be in equilibrium and we would not now have to export 20% more goods than in 1973 for the same amount of imports.

There are, of course, other reasons for the difficulties: the shortcomings in our own work and a certain inherited backwardness, which we have not been able to eliminate totally even over a period of 35 years. But it is in vain to curse the old bourgeois-landlord class for having left such an inheritance to our people. It is in vain to lash out at later mistakes or even at the present world economic situation; that is not enough for salvation. We will be able to forge ahead if we consider the present international economic conditions to be lasting elements, if we confront the shortcomings detectible in our own work and if we eliminate them.

We are unable to free ourselves of the effects of the world economy, because our economy is an open one. To produce and develop we must import goods from the socialist countries, from the developing states and from the developed capitalist states, too, because that is the only way we can live, work and develop. Of course one has to pay for imports, that is why there is a need for exports.

Producer prices and in a certain sense consumer prices are

related to this question. The Hungarian national economy must strive to bring producer prices in harmony with world market prices as far as possible, otherwise we will be unable to make realistic economic calculations. It is common knowledge that to achieve this, the rearrangement of producer prices is on the agenda. Unfortunately it is inevitable that the changes will affect consumer prices, too. Of course, in addition, there is a need for better work and for savings. There is a need for more rational management, above all of materials, energy, labour, money and time, too. Savings must be made in everything. If somebody asks, who has to make savings, we can answer that the producing enterprises, institutions, the administration and families, all have to learn to manage matters rationally.

The question then follows: how long do we have to produce more efficiently, to adjust prices, to economize, to pay close attention to investments and so on. I can only say: as long as the historical period of socialist development lasts. When we speak of value-based prices, efficiency and other similar notions, the capitalists say, well, look, although they are socialists, now they are on the rack, they are using the methods of capitalist management. Again, there is a misunderstanding here. In socialist society, too, there is money, there is commodity production, the market has its own laws in socialist society, too. We deal with this question applying the laws of socialist economy as a point of departure and we do so in a socialist manner. Our society is superior to capitalism, therefore in our system we have to work even more efficiently than in the capitalist system, because here we serve the good of the people and not that of the exploiting classes. We have to economize in material, energy and everything else even better if we honestly want to live up to our obligations towards the working class and the people.

We talk a lot about our economic difficulties but don't let us forget that many things have been built in our country since the 11th Party Congress. In 1976-77 and '78 twenty major investment projects were put into production. These were mostly extensions, although in some places the extension is bigger than the original factory and its capacity and technology is superior, too. In gener-

al these are the most rational investments. For example, the fertilizer plant at Pét, the thermal power station on the Danube, the cement factory at Hejőcsaba, the metallurgical works in Ózd and a very important new section of the light metal manufacturing works in Székesfehérvár have started production. The Miskolc meat-processing complex, the Zalaegerszeg cold-storage plant, the Kiskunhalas knitware works, the medium-wave radio transmitter at Solt among others have started operation. This year ten new major investment projects will be completed, among them the new PVC factory of the Borsod Chemical Complex and the sugar factory in the Hajdúság region. The meat-processing complex in Gyula, the technical college in Győr and the Semmelweis Medical University will be extended. Comrade Méhes has spoken in detail of how Budapest has been developed and enriched by many new projects.

What are our economic tasks? The words are familiar. Greater efficiency, a more up-to-date commodity structure, better quality, more rational management of labour. One of the achievements of our system is full employment. This is going to continue during the entire historical period of socialism and under communism, too. At the same time the rational redistribution of the labour force is inevitable. The appropriate distribution of the labour force is demanded by the extension and development of profitable production and by the decrease and eventual phasing out of non-profitable activities. We communists have to take a stand on behalf of this, undertaking even more difficult tasks, because this constitutes honest service to the interests of the people, the workers and finally the people involved. If the economy of the country is not in order, if it is not stable, this in the end threatens the livelihood of families, too.

The burdens, of course, will be uneven. Where there is extension and development, the party secretary can undertake the tasks calmly and with his waistcoat unbuttoned. But where cutting down, limitation and unheard-of efforts are necessary to turn uneconomical production into profitable production, where, for example, reductions must be made and people have to go somewhere else, there the party organization, the party secretary will

have a more difficult task. But that also must be undertaken. Our tasks are not so general that we have to do the same thing everywhere; on the contrary, differentiated work is necessary. There are some questions, which have to be handled by only a few tens of thousands of people...

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység*
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 146–149.)

Interview with the West German ARD Television System

SEPTEMBER 1979

(EXCERPT)

...*Question:* Every country has its own national traditions. Is there a Hungarian road to socialism which links up with these national traditions and if there is such a thing, to what extent does it differ from the road of other countries?

Answer: I agree with you. Every country has its own national traditions, every country has its own conditions. Socialism, as a social system, does have certain internationally common features as long as it genuinely deserves the name "socialist". We in our own work take into account the historical experiences and the common international features. At the same time it is our conviction that all countries must at all costs take into account their historical traditions, the special circumstances of the country, or in a nutshell, the national characteristics.

In our experience, the conditions in the socialist countries are not precisely known in the West. The building of socialism shows certain characteristics in every country, including Hungary. Socialism cannot be built to a blueprint or, so to speak, by copying. We are shaping our policies in a realistic way, keeping in mind our socialist goals and we try to advance on the basis of our own national endowments. This is what in the language of politics we call socialist patriotism and internationalism.

We have unique solutions to a whole series of basic questions

which arise out of our conditions. But as I have said we are not copying others, neither do we recommend our methods of solution to others, since these stem in part from our Hungarian characteristics.

Question: Does it produce tension within the treaty system that the national elements are emphasized in the policies of individual countries? In raising this question one thinks of your neighbour, Rumania.

Answer: I cannot go into an analysis of certain questions, since to do so is not suited to an interview. But I would like to answer you in general.

Every nation, every country has its own interests, so does Hungary. But speaking of alliance systems, one must know that any given country has entered them on the basis of its own national interests. Thus it represents its national interests at a higher level and more effectively, within and through the alliance system. This in point of fact applies to all alliance systems.

Hungary is a member of such alliance systems, the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA, the members of which without exception are socialist countries. It is part of the essence of these alliances that, alongside the particular national interests, common interests play a determining role. Co-ordination of interests is a process which cannot be overlooked. National interests must be co-ordinated in order that the comprehensive common interests of the community, of the alliance system should gain proper expression.

The principles of the socialist countries are identical, the goals of socialism are common and basic interests coincide. At the same time clashes of interests may emerge occasionally, perhaps in a case like the kind you are thinking of. But we are co-ordinating these clashes of interests continuously, properly and appropriately in the normal course of our work, and we always find a common solution. We are confident that this will be so, whichever country we are talking about.

(*Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység*
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 134–136.)

MARCH 1980

(EXCERPTS)

THE TASKS OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

It was established long ago that the development of society is essentially determined by two factors: political power and the economic base. It follows that at present, in our circumstances, when the political power of the working class and its allies is stable, the solution of all social issues, such as the raising of living standards, the development of culture, our defence capabilities and, in general, the successful construction of a developed socialist society, depends upon the results of economic work. On the other hand, the solution of economic tasks can only be brought about as a result of purposeful efforts by the whole of society. Besides the efforts of those employed in the economy in this respect an important role is played by the common efforts undertaken by people working in the field of science, education, health, state administration and all other walks of life. In the period under review, the Central Committee dealt with economic tasks accordingly. We have followed the economic policy approved by the 11th Congress and made efforts to fulfil the Fifth Five-Year Plan in appreciably more adverse and complex circumstances than had been expected.

We are in a position to report to the Congress that in the period under review the common efforts of the party and the people have brought about great achievements in economic construction. The forces of production have developed and the material and technical basis of our society has been strengthened. National wealth has grown and living conditions have improved. Provided the plan targets for the current year are fulfilled, during the five years the national income will have risen by 21-22%, industrial output by 24-25% and housing construction by 13-14%, while the volume

of agricultural production will have increased by 15-16% as compared with the previous five-year period.

The productivity of labour is growing at a faster rate than the efficiency of production. Initial results have been achieved in making hitherto uneconomical production profitable, or in terminating it. In the last five-year period, about 80 investment projects, each exceeding 500 million forints, were made and these allowed production to expand and facilitated the transformation of the production structure. Transport and haulage have improved. Hungary's participation in the international division of labour has increased.

Yet we must report that despite all the efforts made and essentially because of the more adverse than expected conditions, the results of our economic development will lag behind the targets envisaged in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. The growth rates for the national income, and consequently of living standards, are slower than planned. The present-day situation is more complex, whereas economic work requires greater efforts and organization than previously. The drastic and lasting changes which have taken place in the international economic arena since 1973-74, an adverse change in the terms of trade on the world markets and the discriminatory measures taken by some capitalist countries have unfavourably affected Hungary's national economy. It is a proof of the strength and viability of our socialist economy that we were in a position to withstand the gravest external economic effects of the last thirty years.

We must also note that the adverse changes in the external economic conditions have shown up the weak spots in our economy and the shortcomings in our work more clearly. Although we realized that the adverse changes in the market had to be combated by a change in the product structure and selective industrial development, economic management in practice has been unable to adjust well enough, fast enough and flexibly enough to the changed conditions. The switch-over to intensive methods of economic management, the improvement in the efficiency of production and the streamlining of production and the product structure lag behind the rates required by the circumstances and made

possible by the present-day technical and technological level of the national economy.

After the 11th Congress, the leading bodies of the party paid constant attention to the major economic trends and adopted a number of expedient measures to improve economic management. Among the most important and comprehensive of the stands taken by the party's Central Committee was the October 1977 resolution concerning the production structure and foreign economic relations, which laid down long-range guidelines for economic development in accordance with the new circumstances. The December 1978 resolution defined the course to be followed in economic policy and management in order to restore the internal and external balance. The party worked out an adequate programme of action. Numerous well-founded governmental measures were taken on the basis of party resolutions.

The past year can be considered successful inasmuch as the process of adjustment to international market conditions, and the development of favourable tendencies, has accelerated. As a result, 1979 has seen an improvement in the balance of the national economy. This year and in the years to come this is the course which will have to be followed consistently.

In the years to come, we should continue to reckon with difficult external economic conditions. We cannot achieve independence from the world economy, but our enhanced efforts can significantly reduce its unfavourable impact.

The Central Committee proposes to the Congress that the chief economic objective in the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan should be an improvement in the balance of the national economy and a consolidation of living conditions, achieved at a slower development rate by bringing forth the qualitative factors of economic progress and increasing the international competitiveness of production. Now, for the time being, we can realistically set ourselves this objective. A very important task to be faced in the coming years is to improve our foreign trade balance and our balance of payments, to establish an equilibrium between commodity stocks and purchasing power, labour force and jobs, allocations for investments and construction capacity, by consistently

fulfilling the guidelines of our economic policy. It is to these objectives that the growth rates of industrial output and the internal utilization and distribution of the national income should be subordinated. A more rapid increase in industrial production be allowed only if significant results are achieved in updating the product structure and in improving the efficiency of production and realization, thus creating more favourable terms in foreign trade...

...Our economic progress is basically influenced by the raw materials and energy situation. Further measures should be taken in industry, agriculture, transport, services, in all fields of the national economy to achieve economy in the use of raw materials and energy. Greater efforts should be made to exploit our own energy resources and coal reserves and use them economically.

In recent years, the basis of industrial production has undergone substantial modernization, and the technological level has improved as well as the professional expertise of the workers. Industry and the construction industry produce 61% of the national income. The picture is not a homogeneous one at present, but it is encouraging to perceive and to know that there are already an increasing number of industrial enterprises which operate and produce in keeping with the requirements of the period and measure up to international comparison. We have to develop industrial production in a more differentiated manner than so far, keeping our own production capabilities in mind. First of all there has to be an increase in the ratio of products which require less material and energy, so as to enable us to economize on imports and achieve a greater net income for the national economy. Every industrial enterprise should shape its product pattern in the knowledge that only efficient work and up-to-date, high-quality and competitive products are really valued on both the domestic and the world markets. This is the only type of production which has a future.

Agriculture is highly important to the development of our entire society. Food production is increasing in importance the world over. Without boasting, we can proudly say that we have accomplished a historic achievement in that Hungarian agricul-

ture is now based upon socialist foundations and is advancing dynamically. At present the country has 131 state farms with 143,000 workers and 1,350 co-operative farms with 618,000 workers. Agriculture today produces 61% more, on an area which is 7% smaller and with 48% less manpower than it did in the years before socialist reorganization. When speaking about progress, it is sufficient to mention that in the Fifth Five-Year Plan period, the aggregate figure for maize and cereal production amounted to approximately 1,200 kg. per capita, while per capita meat production was 190 kg. dead weight. This is a very good result even by world standards.

We can achieve even better results if we exploit the opportunities inherent in our country's national resources and in large-scale farming, while relying upon the devoted work of those active in agriculture and the food industry.

We are continuing our well-tried agrarian policy. Based on the state and co-operative farms, and making full use of the potential in household plots and part-time farms, we are advancing the whole of food production in a co-ordinated way. The potentials of industrialized production systems and new forms of economic co-operation have to be fully utilized. Increasing efficiency, improving quality and complying with the population's demands to the full, while stepping up economical exports, are the principal tasks for agriculture, too. They entail protecting the bases of production, above all arable land, and utilizing them rationally. Reconstruction, the modernization of the material and technological basis, better co-ordinated development of agricultural and food production, storage and processing have to be continued. Agriculture has been provided with adequate up-to-date machinery and equipment, and agricultural manpower has rich experiences in applying technology, chemical agents and the achievements of science.

If we are to accomplish the tasks facing us in building the economy successfully, we must achieve an optimal mobilization and utilization of the reserves to be found in every production unit, in the economy and in every sphere of social activity. Our intellectual and material resources should be handled in a rational and

thrifty way. Thrift is a requirement of intelligent and rational economizing, it must permeate all our activity and it must become an organic element in the economy and the general rule in our life.

The material resources for investment will continue to be considerable in the coming five-year plan period; nevertheless, the growth rate will slow down. This is one of the factors which necessitate the operation of economically workable machines and equipment in shifts—a practice which has already been introduced in a number of enterprises. But the fact that capacity in the engineering industry is on average being utilized for hardly more than a single daily shift makes one stop and think. Nor can we rest content with a situation in which the quantity of material and energy used per production unit is still far too high. There are major possibilities for improving the level of factory and work organization and co-operation between different factories.

Increasing reliance upon the power inherent in science is of particular importance at the present stage of our development. Speedier and broader-scale application of the achievements of research can only be attained through good co-operation between the research institutes and the economic and production units. Mutual interest in the application of research achievements has to be increased. More attention has to be devoted to taking over foreign know-how which can be put to good use in this country, and also to adapting it and developing it further at home. These activities should be accorded a suitable place and adequate recognition by research workers and experts involved in technical development. Scientific and technological achievements have to be put to practical use more rapidly than they are now.

We must economize better on manpower, our most important resource, and on the knowledge and diligence of our people in production and in every other field of life. There has recently been a rational regrouping of manpower in a number of enterprises. Manpower requirements have decreased, and there are fewer unmotivated changes in place of work. There is a considerable surplus of jobs over manpower and this anomaly has to be ended. We cannot go on having superfluous manpower in some places

and a shortage of people in other important areas of the national economy.

Full employment is a major achievement of our system. It will continue to be so in the future, too. However, the present requirements of the economy are for more effective employment of manpower, better organization of work and strengthening of discipline. Alongside the transformation of production and product patterns and the reduction in uneconomical production, we must see to it that there should be a planned regrouping of manpower, and that entails the retraining and further training of workers. These tasks have to be accomplished consistently and with great circumspection. Here the party and social bodies should give far-reaching assistance.

Our economic development and the natural endowments of our country both demand that we should take an increasing part in the international division of labour. Our economic and foreign trade relations are already widespread and extend to about 150 countries. Our exports now account for 50% of our national income.

Multilateral co-operation with the socialist countries is of outstanding importance to our economic development. The socialist countries have accounted for more than 50% of Hungary's foreign trade turnover in recent years. Almost one-third of our foreign trade is with the Soviet Union and almost a quarter with the other socialist countries.

We have been endeavouring further to strengthen and expand economic, scientific and technological co-operation with the Soviet Union, which is playing a very important role in our progress. It is vital that, on the basis of long-term agreements, we are able to export large quantities of commodities to the immense Soviet market; this helps to make domestic production secure and economical. We continue to acquire a significant proportion of our energy and raw materials, and of the machinery, equipment and technology needed for our technical development from the Soviet Union. Many of our large-scale investment projects, such as the nuclear power station at Paks, are being built using Soviet plans and technology.

Last year we celebrated the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). We can state with satisfaction that co-operation within the framework of CMEA has made a big contribution to the economic development of member states, including our own country. It is in our country's fundamental interest to develop and improve CMEA activity further. The Hungarian People's Republic will continue to take an initiating role in the joint work and in the realization of long-term target programmes.

We will continue working for the further development of our country's economic relations with the capitalist countries on a basis of mutual advantages and equality. In addition to traditional foreign trade, we also wish to advance co-operation, which should include production and marketing. This accords with the interests of our people and our policy aimed at the practical application of peaceful coexistence.

The developing countries are playing a steadily increasing role in the world economy and we are advancing our co-operation with them in keeping with our domestic endeavours and in harmony with the specific features of each country. We want to expand our turnover and our economic co-operation with them significantly. We are assisting the former colonies in developing their forces of production and in establishing their economic independence through economic co-operation that is mutually advantageous.

The success of our work in building the economy depends greatly on our ability to adjust both our production and foreign trade to the rapid changes in the foreign economic situation. The mutual interest of the foreign trade and producer enterprises must be reinforced. More efficient participation in the international division of labour means that foreign trade has very arduous tasks in keeping and expanding markets. We must adhere strictly to the obligations we undertake, to demands for quality and to delivery dates, so that our enterprises are considered, in these respect, too, reliable partners in all countries with which we maintain economic and trade contacts.

Our economic development requires that we adjust our econ-

omic management system better to changing conditions. Our system of economic management, the fundamental principles of which were worked out almost fifteen years ago, takes into consideration both the general objective laws of building socialism and the specific features of our country. A socialist planned economy which is based upon public ownership and is bound up with the autonomy of enterprises and co-operatives and which equally asserts group interest and the material interest of the individuals, greatly promotes the implementation of economic policy. However, the functioning of our system of economic management leaves something to be desired from certain points of view. Management, national economic planning and the system of organization do not adjust flexibly enough to changing conditions and sometimes there is a delay in making the necessary decisions.

Governing bodies must be made to function more effectively and their responsibility in solving the basic problems of economic policy, in working out and co-ordinating plans and bringing about the conditions for their implementation must be clearly defined. Central economic management should be made more flexible and efficient, and should direct the main economic processes through a consistent procedure, with appropriate co-ordination of economic decisions and with the necessary efficiency in operation. The work of decision-makers must be improved, the number of transpositions in management should be reduced and the spheres of activity and responsibility of each and every body should be better defined.

Our management system guarantees the autonomy of enterprises and co-operatives; the link between material interest and better performance is a feature of its operation. Successful accomplishment of our economic assignments this year and in the years to come will rely decisively on the autonomous work of enterprises and co-operatives, on their spirit of initiative, on the success of their economy and on the improvement of their organization.

The era of building socialism has its own strict economic laws, which cannot be disregarded. The essence of our management system is a socialist planned economy, which takes into account

that commodity, monetary and market relations are organic parts of economic life. We are dealing with production efficiency, with profitable economy and with material interest in conformity with the objective laws of a socialist economy.

The price system plays an important role in regulating economic processes. Prices must adequately reflect socially necessary and justified input. This is an indispensable requirement for clear-sightedness in the economic sphere, for making good economic decisions and for the satisfactory regulation of production and consumption. The economy of production can be judged on the basis of realistic producer prices which express world market value judgements. Only profitability based on such prices can give the economic units the correct stimulus to increase efficiency, to advance technology and to improve quality. We took this into consideration when we introduced a comprehensive adjustment of producer prices at the beginning of this year.

As far as consumer prices are concerned, we have a rule that the prices of fundamental goods and services are fixed centrally, in harmony with decisions determining trends in living standards. However, the price system can only fulfil its economic role if there is an organic link between producer and consumer prices. The two cannot be kept separate from each other for any great length of time. This is an important requirement if consumption and the consumption pattern are to develop in harmony with our economic possibilities.

We use economic regulators, which are an indispensable means of guidance and are based on the economic laws of building socialism and the tasks we are facing. Lately, these regulators have become stricter for each and every enterprise. There is no lasting exemption for any economic unit from the fulfilment of demands. The enterprises and co-operatives must fare in proportion with the work they accomplish. In future, even greater emphasis has to be placed on the requirement that the economic regulators and the system of incentives should assist the more rapid development of enterprises and co-operatives which operate efficiently, and that they should better promote the mobilization of reserves and a profitable economy. However, regulators are not all-powerful

in themselves, we should not rely entirely upon their automatic functioning.

Economic managers shoulder particularly heavy burdens in solving the tasks. The overwhelming majority of them are standing up to this and meeting the increased requirements. The solving of economic tasks on a higher level depends on them to a very great extent. When judging economic managers, greater emphasis must be placed on qualities, such as their responsiveness to innovations, and their ability to take responsibility and to organize implementation and control on a high level. It must be particularly stressed that the competence of the immediate directors of production—the foremen—must be extended and they should be accorded greater material and moral recognition, in keeping with their work and responsibility. Greater social recognition should also be given to those managers, who care for people, take the initiative, are disciplined, use the national resources entrusted to them efficiently, who adequately fulfil their production obligations and demand order and discipline from others, too.

Our next assignment in building the economy, and in the other spheres of social activity as well, is to do our utmost to fulfil the 1980 national economic plan and to create a firm foundation for the start of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 182–191.)

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

SEPTEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

... We have been in a new phase of economic construction for quite a few years now. At the present level of socialist development the possibilities for extensive development have been exhausted; in future there are possibilities for intensive development only. The rate of growth must be subordinated to this fact. Earlier, we have

often taken pride in the fast rate of growth of our socialist economy. It is a fact that in the initial stage it is always easier to advance a little faster than later, after reaching a certain level. Let us just think of athletes. The runner who runs the 100 metres in less than 11 seconds will have to struggle very hard for every additional improvement of a tenth of a second. It is the same in economic work. Today it is more difficult to increase profits by 1% than it was at one time to increase them by 10%. A new situation has emerged in the world economy. An enormous price explosion took place in 1973–74, which has had an unfavourable effect on us. But there are some general problems, too, such as various monetary difficulties, discrimination and the recession in the capitalist world.

The value of our exports today accounts for up to 50% of our national income. We are unable to change world economic conditions. We have to live, work, advance and manage under conditions which arise from the present situation. In the last eighteen months we have had to manage our affairs under stricter conditions than before. Certain results of this are already visible. Our main task was to improve the equilibrium of the national economy and first of all that of our international balance of payments. We have done hard work and we have managed to achieve a certain improvement in the most difficult, most important area, in the country's balance of payments. Our foreign trade with the capitalist world was almost in balance this year, our exports covered more than 90% of our imports. This is a significant step forward in comparison with earlier years and this work must be continued.

Significant trends towards improvement are appearing in other questions of equilibrium which are no less important. The workers in industry, agriculture and transport performed their work according to the plan. The enterprises fulfilled their tasks with less labour, with about 100,000 less people; therefore the tensions in the labour situation have eased a little. Energy consumption has been better during the past eighteen months than before. Earlier, the country's energy consumption went up by about 6% annually, but for the past eighteen months energy consumption

has not increased partly because of the decrease in the growth rate, partly because of a more economical management of energy.

Speaking of our economic situation, it is worth mentioning how we conduct our meetings nowadays. The Central Committee, the executive bodies, the county party committees, the Council of Ministers and the Economic Committee hold sessions from time to time from which the person who goes in with black hair, comes out with grey, because for the most part he hears about troubles, problems, enterprises and branches of the economy which lag behind. To some extent this is the same in our public meetings. The press, radio and television, with good intentions, even add many more troubles and problems.

We are aware that the development of our enterprises is uneven. There are some excellent, outstanding ones, others are up to the mark and fulfil their assignments, and there are weak ones, too. Public opinion is generally preoccupied with the problematic enterprises, but we also have to speak of those which are outstanding, which work efficiently, are advancing in the right direction and achieve good results. Such are the Hungarian Railway Carriage and Machine Works (RÁBA), the Csepel Automobile Works, IKARUS, the Aluminium Trust and several of its factories—from among which yesterday we heard of one of them, the plant in Veszprém—and there is the Chinoir Works, the Chemical Works of Gedeon Richter, Medicor, the Borsod Chemical Complex and the Tisza Chemical Complex. Fertilizer production at the Pét Nitrogen Works and the goods of excellent quality produced by TUNGSRAM are worth mentioning. These enterprises are good examples of how great results can be achieved with the right approach. We wish them to continue this work and that others will follow suit. There are, of course, such enterprises in other branches, too. These examples also show that what we have achieved is no small matter. In per capita terms Hungary is the first in the world in bus production; 80% of this production goes for export and we provide one-fifth of the world's bus exports. We are also first in the world in per capita light bulb production, where 85% of our goods are exported. We occupy second place to Switzerland in international pharmaceutical exports. We are

in sixth or seventh place in the world as far as per capita bauxite-alumina production is concerned. We are among the first twenty countries in the world in the production of plastics, fertilizers, sulphuric acid, cement and steel.

Turning to agriculture, it is not possible to list all the farms where, as a result of a great deal of honest effort, good results have been achieved. I mention Bábolna and the Red Star Co-operative in Nádudvar only because of their size and scale. Workers in Hungarian agriculture, those who cultivate the land and everybody who takes a share in producing the results—scientific researchers, technicians and Hungarian workers—have in a short historical period achieved that today Hungary produces twice as much grain on a significantly smaller area than in the last year of peace before the war. In the field of per capita grain production, looking at the average over several years, we have exceeded the one person—one tonne ratio. Many countries still only consider this as a goal to be reached.

Hungarian agriculture is among the first five countries in the world in the average yield per hectare for wheat and maize. We occupy second or third place in Europe in per capita meat production. And we could go on listing the good results of agriculture. All these are the significant results of socialist farming, of our socialist revolution. These successes have been achieved by socialist large-scale farms, state farms, co-operatives and household plots; in their own way the workers of auxiliary farms and the market gardeners have also made their contribution. Our task is to surpass even these results. To achieve this, we are going to continue to give every possible support, both to the work of socialist large-scale farms and to household plots and auxiliary farms, because all of them are necessary.

In recent years we have achieved significant results in transport, too. Without striving for totality: we have significantly modernized the railways, steam locomotives have been replaced by diesel and electric locomotives, the rails have been improved and a part of the rolling stock has been replaced.

This branch has met the demands of the national economy satisfactorily, which is important because Hungary is a major

transit route and handles a great deal of international traffic. The results in passenger transport also have to be reckoned with. I have heard town-planners from several Western countries speak of the mass transit system in our capital and our country in general with a degree of envy. The progress is indeed significant and here we are speaking not only of the underground (Metro) but also of the railways and the bus network. I do not believe that there can be many countries where, as in our case, practically every inhabited area can be reached by bus. We are confidently expecting the transport workers to carry out the assignment of transporting goods and passengers as they have done up till now.

We have gone forward in the field of the standard of living, too. In 1979 and 1980 we have honestly and frankly said that in this phase we can only promise to protect the level of living standards already achieved and even that requires serious efforts. We have kept to what we promised. In the past eighteen months or more we have maintained the level of real incomes and within the limits of our possibilities we have increased low pensions and improved the situation of families with three or more children and of people in need of aid.

Looking back over several years, over a longer phase, we can state that demand, income and consumption have increased and supplies have developed and are at a satisfactory level. It is a steady resolve of our economic policy to approve pay increases and bonuses only where we can ensure the appropriate amount of goods to balance them. We have to produce the goods to balance what reaches the population in the form of pay and income.

So the country is getting richer. This applies to the increase in the number of homes, privately owned flats, private cars, domestic appliances—it is unnecessary to continue the list of items which testify to this. If we think back, at one time, about a quarter of a century ago, we said: it is our principle that socialist construction must go hand in hand with the regular increase of the standard of living of the workers. We have honourably fulfilled this moral commitment to a regular increase in the standard of living. People today live differently than they did 10 to 20 years ago. Unfortunately this change has also had some unfavourable effects in that

self-interest, selfishness and the desire to acquire things have increased. These are genuine headaches, but we undertake these problems which result from the increase in the standard of living, because we are confident we will overcome them.

*(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 262–268)*

CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION

Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP to the 8th Congress of the party

NOVEMBER 1962

(EXCERPT)

... We have reached a stage in the development of our society in which a more intensive unfolding of socialist culture is one of the major prerequisites for the complete victory of the revolution. In many ways, the progress of socialist society depends on the awareness of the masses, on the standard of their general and professional education, on the number and knowledge of the experts.

Public education plays a determining role in the further development of our cultural revolution. Schools and universities are becoming increasingly important scenes of the revolutionary struggle which is being waged for the complete building of socialism, not only because it is there that the generation of the future is being shaped, but also because the influence of schools and teachers extends far beyond the school itself, to almost every field of social life. Teachers at all levels are most important social factors and the best comrades at arms of the party when it comes to moulding the new man.

Our public education is advancing rapidly. In 1938, only 34,000 pupils finished eight years of schooling; in 1957, the figure rose to 104,000, reaching 140,000 in 1962. The number of secondary-school pupils was 52,000 in 1938, 145,000 in 1959 and has increased by a further 42,000 in the past three years. University and college students numbered 11,700 in 1938 and 38,000 in the 1959-60 academic year; since the 7th Congress of our party their number has increased by a further 22,000. With these results we are now on the same level as the most advanced European capitalist countries—not to speak of a network of evening and correspondence school courses such as is practically unknown in capitalist countries. And we should not forget that we have

achieved these results starting out from the depths of the backwardness of the Horthy regime, and that there were as many as 600,000 illiterates in Hungary at the time of the Liberation.

We have raised the age limit for compulsory education to 16, so that there should be no child in the country who has not completed the eight grades of primary school. At present, almost every second pupil continues his or her studies in secondary school after finishing primary school. It is our aim to raise the number of secondary-school students gradually, year by year, until secondary-school education also becomes universal. An ever increasing section of the new skilled workers take the secondary-school final examination (matriculation certificate). This is in harmony with the growing social and national economic demands, and will pave the way towards the elimination of the essential differences between mental and physical work.

Today, schools are also the home of continued education for adults. Our working people's thirst for knowledge is expressed by the fact that the number of adult students—who are engaged in productive work—is increasing each year. In 1959, 138,000 adults studied and their number increased to more than 218,000 by the 1961-62 school year.

The socialist reorganization of the countryside has given great impetus to the education of the peasantry. Let us take the example of one village. At Felsőszentiván (Bács County) almost every adult is engaged in some sort of study or takes regular part in some form of education. There are more than fifty adults in the village who attend workers' evening classes, almost thirty persons study in agricultural vocational schools and seven are attending universities. The chairman of the local council, the chairmen, party secretaries and brigade leaders of the co-operative farms are all among those studying. During the Horthy regime such a number of cultured men and women and people who were continuing their studies could not have been found in a hundred villages put together!

Assessing the requirements which stem from the progress of society, the 7th Congress set the goal of instituting an educational reform. A broad public discussion on the planned reform took

place with the participation of experts, educationalists and parents. The fundamental aim of the reform—education for work—has been accepted by Hungarian society. We are pleased to see that work, the vital element of our society, has finally been injected into our schools and has become a factor in education. As a result of educational work in the schools, the political and moral attitude of Hungarian youth has undergone a favourable change. Discipline in study has been consolidated, political interest has grown and so has the esteem for physical labour. Our young people are honest, industrious and healthy in their thinking, and loyal to their socialist homeland.

Speedy socialist construction demands that our universities and colleges give the country a growing number of communist experts with an up-to-date training each year. This year a great number of higher-level technical schools have already been set up to accelerate the training of specialists. But much more must be spent on the development of higher education and on improving its material basis. It is our technical universities in particular which are struggling with problems. Some of the ministries concerned and many of our enterprise managers do not seem to understand that the development of the institutions of higher education and the up-to-date training of specialists are among the most important prerequisites for raising production, for technical progress and for increasing productivity. The competent ministries, the factories and social organizations should give every possible assistance, modern instruments and equipment, skilled, experienced specialists; and, last but not least, talented students should be sent to the universities.

The number of university and college students must be increased still further, especially in the higher education institutes which train technical experts and educationalists. There are great possibilities inherent in broadening further the evening and correspondence school courses. Much bolder initiatives must be taken in setting up technical university evening extension courses in collaboration with big plants and factories, like the Csepel evening extension courses run by the Technical University of Budapest.

In addition to this rapid development of public education a whole network of adult education extramural courses has come into being and has developed speedily—especially at the cultural centres and libraries. Our people's eagerness to study has called into existence new educational institutions like the lecture courses in the workers' and co-operative farmers' academies. Interest in lectures on ideology, lectures which add to people's specialized knowledge and extend their familiarity with literature and the arts has grown considerably. Educational lectures in the factories and villages were attended by more than four million people in 1958 and by more than seven million in 1961.

Extramural adult education should promote the dissemination of fundamental knowledge, the fight against petty-bourgeois views, habits and tastes, the deepening of the ideals of socialist patriotism and international solidarity, the strengthening of the new community morals and way of life. It should enhance the development of the national economy, the training of workers and co-operative farmers and spread the latest achievements of the technical and agricultural sciences. Lenin emphasized that, alongside ensuring the material base for socialist industry, the other condition for enhancing the productivity of labour is: "...the raising of the educational and cultural level of the mass of the population. This is now taking place extremely rapidly, a fact which those who are blinded by bourgeois routine are unable to see; they are unable to understand what an urge towards enlightenment and initiative is now developing among the 'lower ranks' of the people thanks to the Soviet form of organization."*

The role of science in the life of society has increased to an extraordinary degree. More and more it becomes a direct productive force and plays a significant role in shaping social awareness and in raising the standards of general knowledge. After the Liberation, and especially during the past six years, scientific research in our country has developed greatly. According to the data for the end of 1961, scientific research work was being carried out

* The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government. V. I. Lenin Collected Works. Vol. 27. Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1965, pp. 257-258.

by 132 independent research institutes, 665 university departments and by 127 other places of research. Material support for research work is gradually increasing. While in 1960 we spent 1,467 million forints on scientific research, this sum has gone up to more than 2,000 million forints in the plan for 1962.

A nation-wide long-term plan for scientific research has been drafted with the participation of more than two thousand scientists and research workers: the principal aim is to promote the better planning and organization of our scientific activities. This requires a more rational use of the annually increasing funds for scientific purposes and a more expedient allocation of them among the various scientific branches and institutes.

In the opinion of our party, the long-term scientific research plan must be better co-ordinated with the long-term development programme of the national economy, and our scientific material and intellectual resources must be concentrated on the solution of the resultant tasks. In the sphere of science, an effective practice of co-operation and division of labour among the socialist countries will also have to be worked out. Sound ratios between basic and applied research will have to be established and their co-ordination ensured. It would be advisable to examine whether the present organization and the present system of guidance and control of research institutes correspond to the requirements of the development of science and the national economy...

...In the past three years we have achieved results in literature and the arts, too; the camp of artists professing the ideals of socialism, fighting for them with conviction and taking on social responsibility has become stronger. There is a flourishing life and creative work in every branch of the arts, in the fine arts, music, literature and the theatre.

Healthy signs of growing interest in public affairs are manifest in Hungarian fiction, in the increasing number of literary reports and newspaper stories. A young generation of artists and writers—both talented and ideologically firm—has come to the fore and is forging ahead. We support the authors, artists and critics who fight for a healthy atmosphere in literary and artistic life and who carry on a courageous and passionate struggle against aspirations

and endeavours alien to socialist art. Our artists and writers serve our people engaged in building socialism with their authentic and partisan representation of our quickly changing life.

Demands on literature, the arts and films have, however, grown at an even greater pace. In recent years, our people have become more exacting, more responsive to things which are good and beautiful. This is shown by the growth in book sales, by the attendance figures for good plays and films, the growing number of visitors to concerts, museums and art exhibitions, and of radio and TV subscribers.

It is the ideological character, the message, the socialist content of every piece of artistic creation, which are the most important for the party and the people. We expect works of art in which the processes of our society are reflected correctly and at a high artistic level, works whose hero is public-spirited man building socialism. Works of art must live up to their noble mission: help the education of socialist man. The artist should seek the form of expression suiting him best.

As far as form is concerned, the party is against settling debates on style by regulations or administrative measures. We put an end, long ago and for good and all, to the practice which restricted creative activities in a subjective way. But the arts cannot confront the course and the laws of social progress. Artists must be aware of the fact that socialism is the ideology of the masses, and he who appeals to the masses must find the way to the thought and sentiments of the working millions.

The party took reality as its point of departure when, in the Guiding Principles, it stated that our literary and artistic life is not yet unified ideologically and in world outlook. There are still groups of diverse ideological outlook today. Besides the art and literature of socialist realism, every other honest, well-meaning artistic activity will be given scope. The statement, however, that socialist ideological unity in our artistic life has not yet evolved and has not been consolidated, does not mean acquiescence or ideological compromise by the party.

We are convinced of the superiority of socialist literature, we therefore do our utmost and will do our utmost to promote the

literature and art of socialist realism. We will help the ideological transformation of creative artists who do not yet profess the socialist world outlook. It is not formal unity that we need. Real unity can be brought about only on a basis of principle, with unflinching persuasive work, in consistent ideological battle against views and concepts opposed to or divergent from Marxism. There is not and there cannot be peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere.

The foremost task of our policy in the arts is to promote the development of a high-standard socialist art of persuasive force, to lead an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideas which survive, and against decadent, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois view which infiltrate from the capitalist world.

Outstanding results have been achieved in the cultural advancement of our people. In our society, however, demands are growing very rapidly. It is the honourable task of scientists and artists, of workers in cultural and public education, in full concord with the people, to make the life of men and women in this country more beautiful, richer and more noble, and to take an active part in their particular sphere in that great work of our people: the completion of the building of a socialist society.

(Tovább a lenini úton
[Further ahead on the Leninist path],
pp. 107-113.)

*Conversation with Henry Shapiro, the Moscow
correspondent of the American news agency UPI*

JULY 1966

(EXCERPT)

...*H. S.*: What are the limitations of the freedom of intellectual and artistic expression?

J. K.: The only limitations which exist are those defined in law. In other words, works of art may not incite against the existing

legal order, they may not nurture hate against other peoples and races and they may not call for war. Such and similar legal limitations do exist but in other respects creative work is free.

H. S.: Is abstract art acceptable?

J. K.: We have no laws or state measures to regulate the style of artistic creation, therefore it is free. This also applies to abstract art. To be precise, I would mention, however, that although works of abstract art are presented in appropriate exhibitions, the significant section of the buyers are institutions or social bodies, and they do not favour abstract works in their purchases. But there is no ban. Individual citizens buy what they like.

H. S.: Yes, this is a matter of taste and the fashion for the abstract will pass like every other fashion.

J. K.: It has already passed, it has only been resurrected. From time to time a wave of it appears.

H. S.: In 1962 Fidel Castro was asked the same question and he answered that it is not abstract art which is our enemy. Do you agree with that answer?

J. K.: Yes, I do agree. We are dealing with the social aspects of art; in itself no style can be called the enemy of society.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
p. 212-213.)

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

APRIL 1972

(EXCERPT)

...The cultural revolution has turned our people into an enlightened, educated people. It has opened up opportunities for learning, for education to the working masses who until then had been artificially shut off from culture; it has opened up the ennobling values of literature, the theatre, music and the screen for them, has stimulated progress in 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 are successful in helping to realize our great social goals and a human life rich in content.

With the advance of socialism, the standard of living and the life-style of the Hungarian people, their security and well-being have improved in a way which makes them almost incomparable to the conditions before the 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 were insignificant; ten years ago 337 children out of 1,000 could be placed in kindergartens; today even more, 600, or 60% of the age-group concerned, are assured of a place in a kindergarten. We know that even this is not enough but it is a very fine achievement.

The results of socialist construction do not simply give expression to the superiority of industry, of the co-operative farms and state farms and of large-scale production, but also to 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 to 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 made by 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 with 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 above all what 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: socialism is for the Hungarian people, as for every people, the only and safe road to social progress, to the prosperity of the nation.

The Hungarian people, who have embarked 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 to the rights of the workers, health care, social security, culture and many other aspects. We will catch up with them and overtake them in those fields of technological norms in which we still lag behind. But here technical progress must come about and is coming about 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 youth and in the tolerance of 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 man, with the maintenance of the humane characteristics of human life and the real achievements of culture and civilization. This is how we advance on our road.

It is in this sense that we plan to modernize the economy of our country and to raise it to a higher level. In the competition between the social systems it is a significant fact that semi-feudal Hungary, with a backward industry which the people inherited, has—as a result of socialist development over hardly more than a quarter of a century—entered the ranks of the countries of medium economic development. At the 10th Congress of the party an important statement for the future was made, namely 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.

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, regrouping which affected masses of people took place within society, and even the working class and the peasantry, which have shaped and are the foundations of the new order, also developed considerably and became transformed in the process.

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 527-529.)*

*Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP
to the 12th Congress of the party*

MARCH 1980

(EXCERPT)

...In the work of strengthening the socialist features of society, the party relies upon the people working in the field of the social sciences, agitation, propaganda, information and culture. Their participation is an important prerequisite for solving the major joint tasks called for in developing the country and in advancing socialist social awareness even more successfully.

Alongside the equally valid common tasks in every sphere, we must also devote special attention to specific tasks in scientific research, public education, culture and artistic life.

The tasks to be solved in the course of development place increasing responsibility upon those engaged in the sciences. The primary gauge of effectiveness in scientific research is the assistance this research can give to practice in the various domains of social life. Science is becoming an increasingly significant force

in production. Those working in science should pay particular attention to the most important tasks of achieving social development and aiding economic and cultural work. They should help provide a creative answer to questions as they arise, by giving objective information about social reality. The assertion of the principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism continues to be a primary task for social science research, for education and for people working in the dissemination of scientific knowledge.

The modernization of the educational system and of education itself is one of our most important programmes. In order to promote this, we have to strengthen central guidance and at the same time rely far more upon responsible and spontaneous activity and initiative and the experiences and opinions from institutions and teachers both as individuals and as a body. At all levels of public education, from primary school right up to university, the fundamental task is still to give a grounding for the general and professional education of the rising generation, to help evolve talent, to shape ideological commitment and to educate people to fulfil their duties and accomplish their work as citizens. It is important both socially and politically to help the children of workers and peasants to study. We should strive to see that conditions gradually balance out on a higher level, so as to strengthen the socialist character of public education.

At the present stage of social development, it is a requirement of primary significance to raise the level of general culture and specialized knowledge on a society-wide scale. Economic progress depends to a large extent on the qualifications and skills of the people working in production. Laying the foundations of culture, stimulating the desire for knowledge, cultivating our language, spreading cultural values and providing incentives for self-education are not just an internal affair of education and culture but an integral part of social progress as well.

Writers and artists have responsible roles which only they can play in raising our level of general culture, and they deserve our respect for this. Our party is aware that it is by no means easy to portray the complicated phenomena of our era artistically. Nevertheless, we do not want our authors and artists simply to be

satisfied with superficial generalizations, but expect them to penetrate to the depths of these phenomena to an even greater extent. When it comes to the vital issues of mankind, we expect them to support the causes of peace and progress in harmony with the aspirations and stand of our people. We do not want them to shift with passing fashions or choose introversion, but to help us in our progress and in creating an intelligent community life by depicting both the past and present, and the joys and cares of a people building socialism, by realistically portraying every human value. Society supports literature and the arts; at the same time, it justly expects our writers and artists to express our socialist endeavours through even more high-standard works of art. We want them to enrich our lives by depicting reality faithfully and artistically.

Greater attention should be paid to the cultural work done by television, the radio and the press, to the musical entertainment of millions of people and to all branches of culture which influence the tastes, outlook and life-style of the people.

Work in ideology and culture means increasing demands upon the guiding work of the party and social bodies. The basic principles of party guidance in ideology and culture are in harmony with the whole of the party's policy and working style, and there is no need to change them. It is absolutely necessary, however, that the principles we have set down be implemented more consistently. Low-standard works and endeavours which infringe upon good taste and the socialist concept of life should not be given scope.

Guidance must ensure that our ideological and cultural activity increasingly promotes socialist advancement. The party supports and stimulates independent creative thought; it trusts the intellectuals working in the ideological and cultural sphere; it counts upon their co-operation in solving the tasks of society and greatly appreciates that the overwhelming majority of them agree from inner conviction with our political aims and methods.

Our party continues to support the freedom of scientific research work and of artistic creation. For this allows the creation of works, in both the sciences and the arts, that probe deeply

into the processes of the past and present and the problems of the individual and the community. Our experience so far has strengthened our confidence that the overwhelming majority of Hungarian intellectuals are highly responsible in making use of the freedom of creation and utilize it to the benefit of our people and for the cause of socialism.

Our people's state guarantees the material means for the functioning and development of scientific, cultural and educational institutions. At the same time, it is our duty to see to it that these material means, which amount to no small sum, be employed for the purpose they were intended for, in a rational, thrifty way and that the assignments are given a logical order of priority. We should put an end to the practice of financing the good, the mediocre and the bad to an equal extent, because this actually hinders the development of culture. It is the duty and responsibility of guidance to be consistent in ensuring that the supreme yardstick for moral and material esteem be performance, just as it should be in all other walks of life.

The main method of guidance in the sphere of culture is to show the direction to be followed in principle, to ensure the conditions for creative work and to support works of value. However, if this guidance is to be effective, increasing efforts must be made to clarify ideological questions, so that a more resolute, principled criticism of non-Marxist views becomes possible. Marxist criticism should unequivocally support high-standard works with a socialist outlook and should promote the spreading of socialist culture and of every other human value on a broad scale. The press, the radio, television, book publishing and in general all scientific and cultural workshops play an important role in selecting and supporting high-level creative work. Co-operation among all Marxist forces and a better selection of cadres should help these important institutions of cultural and scientific life to do their work on a higher level.

The advance of ideological and political educational work by our party, the finding of correct solutions to ideological and cultural tasks and the raising of the political and cultural level of our people are indispensable conditions for further strengthening the socialist features of society...

(EXCERPT)

...Writers, artists, publishers, workers in press, radio and television play an important role in shaping public opinion. I don't want to plunge into the problems of such a sensitive area but I think that both literature and the arts develop in cycles, in accordance with dialectics and the laws of life. Advances are sometimes followed by a standstill. This is in the nature of things. In the field of literature and some fields of art one can experience a withdrawal, a turning inside, even a pessimistic tone. In certain important and sometimes costly fields of art certain artists say that their main aim is self-realization. This costs sometimes several million forints, but this is not really what I want to bring up here. I would rather like to ask the artists, the writers, all who play a part in shaping public opinion, that while they strive for their own self-realization—because it is not possible to create otherwise—they should serve the self-realization of our people, because having freed themselves from the capitalist yoke, our people have developed their creative energies under the socialist system and are indeed realizing themselves.

On many occasions pessimism depends on a mood, and perhaps also on age. But there is also another kind of pessimism. In literature, in the arts there are international trends, which fluctuate and follow one another. The creative talents of the Western world are fully justified in being pessimistic if they think of the future of their own capitalist world. But it is not necessary to adopt this out of fashion, because the problems of the socialist and capitalist systems are two different things. The problems of socialism, although they are sometimes very painful, are sometimes labour pains, at other times infantile disorders, or the diseases of development. The illnesses of the capitalist social system on the other hand are the symptoms of a social order which is ageing and—I am deeply convinced—condemned to extinction.

So I would like to ask our writers and artists to reflect the

reality of our people. I always ask the same thing when I meet a foreign diplomat. He should acquaint himself with the facts of Hungarian reality and he should give genuine information to his government. He should paint the picture of Hungary neither in rosy colours, nor in black, because both are a distortion of reality. Writers and artists should also reflect reality because thus they can best help our efforts and the realization of the socialist plans of our people. In return, on the other hand, I can promise that our practice of guidance remains the same and there is not talk of some sort of hardening line. We have implemented appropriate decentralization in the field of culture, too. Government bodies, of course, proceed according to their duties and responsibilities when they are dealing with the comprehensive and important issues of their fields. I would include here the question of the National Theatre and the Opera House. We do not prescribe either the creative style, nor what should be written or what kind of statue should be made. The execution of artistic tasks is left to the artists. This will continue in this way, because this is right.

Our guiding principle is the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is a good compass, therefore this is what we follow. We compare principles with reality; in other words, we set realistic goals, that is, only ones where the conditions for their realization exist. Our policy line, its character, the policy of alliance, the joining of forces of party members and people outside the party, of people with different ideologies has worked. The party cannot exist without the people and the government also needs the support of the masses. Our aspirations and actions are understood by the people and words which enlighten correctly also shape public thinking. On the part of the people there is a great willingness to act, they want to act for our socialist goals and they demand good leadership and above all to be told what their assignment is...

(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 269–270.)

*Speech at the opening of the cold rolling mill of
the Iron Works in Dunaújváros*

JULY 1965

(EXCERPTS)

...Dunaújváros happens to be 15 years old just at this time. We call it a socialist city. This expression demands illuminating from several angles. Fifteen years ago there was just a small Hungarian village and fields here and now there is an industrial city which, on a Hungarian scale, can be termed significant. In addition to the gigantic Iron Works, many auxiliary plants have been established and one of the major considerations in siting them here was to provide the women of Dunaújváros with a chance to work, with employment, with earning money.

In addition to the Iron Works, there is a significant construction industry in Dunaújváros, a factory producing prefabricated building elements, a woodpulp and paper factory, an underwear factory and a garment factory in addition to other smaller institutions. All this was born of socialism. There has been vast development, too, as far as urban policy is concerned, because a large-scale housing programme has been carried out, a good school system has been built, cultural institutions established and many other things that are necessary for the life of a city. Use all this in good health, the more so since the large state investments were supplemented by the exemplary voluntary work done by the city's inhabitants, thus making a contribution to the establishment of these institutions. Among other things one particular feature of the city is the fact that the average age of the population is 28 years, childbirth and natural population growth is the highest in the country. This is also a feature of the socialist character of the newly established city.

But for a city to merit the name "socialist", it is also necessary that the people living and working there be socialists. A sense of

duty, political awareness, civilized behaviour, education and many other things are necessary. I dare to say that the working people of Dunaújváros and of the Iron Works, that local society here is making great strides along the road which can be called socialist in this sense. The conduct, work, zeal and diligence of the communists living here, of the youth organization, of the activists of the Patriotic People's Front, of the local council workers all attest to this. Decisive evidence of this is that more than five hundred brigades are now competing to win the socialist title and more than a hundred youth brigades are also working in a manner which can show the way and be an example to our entire youth. This socialist awareness was expressed by the fact that this gigantic investment worth almost 2,000 million forints was completed before the deadline, at a cost somewhat lower than planned and that in the meantime, although the factory itself was preoccupied with the construction of the cold rolling mill, the seasonal loss of the hot rolling mill has been made up and all the indications are that the half-year plan will be fulfilled. This revolutionary, communist, socialist spirit and self-awareness must become widespread and general if we are to be able to call Dunaújváros socialist without giving any special explanation...

...Sometimes when I meet and argue with representatives of the capitalist world, I tell them: look here, yours is a wretched, rotten system, condemned to extinction, because it is built on the exploitation of man. Our socialist system is better because the working man here is free and he is not the slave of the owner of the means of production. That is why we—some of us from our childhood—struggle for the destruction of capitalism and will struggle to bury it for good. Our society is still in a transitional stage. At one time, the working man was driven by the whip of capital. Everybody trembled for his job. Now, nobody here has a headache on this account, therefore there are some who go on and work slowly and at their leisure. We must change that. It is a rule of the capitalist system, what is mine, is none of your business. The rule of the socialist system is public property. Not every person has yet recognized this. There are some who interject another stage and say: what was private property before, now

belongs to nobody and he treats it accordingly, instead of protecting it as something on which the well-being and welfare of all of us depends. And there is another problem, I said to one of my debating partners. You are fast, like colts, whereas we are slow, like clay pigeons. The capitalist, if he does not land a contract today, can close his shop tomorrow, so he exerts himself very much. And we are so sure that as long as the world is round, there will be socialism and communism here, that many people are not bothered about being slow. Consolidating our superior society, socialism, we must defeat capitalism on such weak points, too. We also have to be able to take decisions and to act more quickly...

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 103-108

*Speech at the dinner arranged
by the County Party Committee and the Patriotic
People's Front in Salgótarján*

JULY 1965

(EXCERPTS)

...I have met workers, miners, peasants, intellectuals and I can also say, representatives of the petty-bourgeoisie. Very many indications gave me the impression and I reached the conclusion that the last four years in Nógrád County have been four years of significant development for the workers, the miners, the peasants, the intellectuals, the population as a whole. I could give evidence of this by speaking about houses and factories but I would rather speak about people. It is my impression that the people have grown a lot during these four years in political stature, in self-awareness, in the scope of their vision. They have become more self-assured, more purposeful and more united in working for the common goals. At the Coal Mining Trust I heard the manager, the party secretary and the chief engineer speak.

I also met twelve brigade leaders. There were some who spoke fluently, vividly, were able to express themselves diversely. There were some, who were short of words. But whether they spoke one way or another, one had the impression that they have long been acquainted with socialism and they have developed a lot in recent years, their class-consciousness has strengthened, their scope of vision widened, their knowledge expanded and they have penetrated more to the core of problems. It is my opinion that if the need arose, I could vote with confidence for any of the twelve men to be put in a more responsible job than the one they are in now. They know how to lead, they are aware of their own problems as well as the headaches of those whom they lead. They deal with production and social problems and educational problems, too. They made a very good impression on me.

In a certain sense I was even more deeply impressed by the development of the peasants who have embarked on the road of socialism. I believe everybody understands that this is so. The co-operative farm in Szécsény, for example, started on the road to socialism five years ago together with the majority of the peasantry. If we were able to show the members of the co-operative their own way of thinking and how they were five or six years ago, they would be more surprised than anyone at seeing how much they have developed. At that time they were tormented by doubts and anxieties, which we never regarded as odd, because very serious things were involved. And anyone who has studied social questions is aware that it is not by chance that the proletariat, the working class is at the head of social progress. It is because the basic relationship of the working class to the means of production is totally different from that of any other working strata. The proletariat has never possessed the means of production and the large majority has never even dreamt of becoming a big capitalist. Its way of life was also different, many-sided and more complicated. I would like to say here that I have always tried to be frank when speaking with those peasants who have not yet joined the co-operatives. I acknowledged that it is a different question for me whether or not to join the co-operative and it is something quite different for a man who has had land. For us, industrial

workers, the situation was extremely simple. The factory belonged to the capitalists, and we said: let's make it public property. Like that it is simple, but if workers who are themselves owners must vote on making the means of production public property, then the situation is completely different. Only the more so, because they did not acquire that property the easy way. Therefore we never had hard feelings towards the peasants, because we approached things soberly and saw the problems of the time.

At the same time, we were convinced that if they crossed this difficult threshold, they would see the world differently. And by now, we are experiencing this in practice. A new situation has emerged in society and the self-awareness of our working peasant brothers had increased. When they speak of socialism, in many respects they already say the same things as we do, let it be about socialist industry, socialist agriculture or socialist culture. This is a welcome matter and a great thing...

...I attach great significance to not driving people away from socialism by futile expressions. We have heard, for example, that communists are made of some special stuff. It is not true in this way. Communists do indeed have special characteristics and the social value of those who remain communist under all circumstances is to be appreciated. But in other respects they are not made of some special material, because Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels or Lenin, the great figures of communism, when they came to this world, they were none other than crying babies, they were not Marxists, they were not communists; somehow or other they became communists. And we, too, became communists under the influence of an ideal, through the help of other people.

If someone does not indulge in conspiracy or treason, does not collude with the enemy, with imperialism, but is a law-abiding person, he is building socialism and he is with us. Even if he doesn't want to. Even if in his soul he is an enemy of communism. When he goes to his place of work and carries out his assignments, then he is building socialism and not capitalism. There was a time, when it was the reverse. I was a communist under capitalism, but together with others we had to go to work to live. Whether we liked it or not, we were building and strengthening capitalism.

We could also say that everybody who is alive is suspect. That would not carry forward our society. And we could proclaim that we turn to everybody with confidence. This could produce disappointments; yet, what is better: to say that there are half a million trustworthy people in Hungary and the rest are untrustworthy and to try and live like that—time and experience have shown how far we got that way—or to say, let us turn to everybody with confidence and there will be cases where we will be disappointed. There will be five out of a hundred people in whom we will be disappointed, whom it is not worth trusting. This is a smaller loss than if we said that 95 out of a hundred are suspect, we cannot trust them, we must check them day and night, because then out of those there will be very many, who otherwise would sympathize with socialism, and little by little would get closer to us, but if we look on them with suspicion they will not get closer to us. Why should they, on what basis? I could mention very many examples which bear this out; this is a concept which has been verified socially.

It often happens that we turn to people who are very remote from communism and request their professional expertise and tell them to come and help. This in itself makes people enthusiastic and makes them try to satisfy expectations. Believe me, this is so in every field of life. For example, we had to wage a gigantic fight with our comrades, when it came up that people who were not party members should also be able to fill public functions. We had to overcome certain prejudices among those who did not understand the heart of the matter. They wanted to protect the party against careerists. On the contrary, we would expose the party to the danger of being diluted if we said: you can only advance through the party. Because then all the careerists would indeed try to join the party. The field should be open for talented, suitable people who can usefully serve the common cause, and party membership should also be voluntary.

(Hazafiság és internacionalizmus
[Patriotism and internationalism],
pp. 127-133.)

*Speech at the 3rd National Conference of Socialist
Brigade Leaders*

APRIL 1969

(ABRIDGED)

...The socialist national economy needs profitable production and courage on the part of management, a certain readiness to take risks and above all social responsibility.

One of the speakers has talked about those who immediately blame the system for the most minor everyday inconveniences, the smallest mistakes. I agree that we must take a stand against such an approach. But on the other hand the managers responsible, the leaders of the socialist brigades should consider it a matter of honour, a question of honour for the system to see that everything in their own field of activity is such that they can say: this is acceptable in the socialist system.

We like this expression: socialist. We are people of socialist conviction, we speak of socialist industry, socialist agriculture, socialist commerce. In the elementary sense of the word, all this is true. In our country industry, commerce, agriculture are socialist by their essence. But if I look at the details, at the possible and actual mistakes, for the time being I would rather say just "industry", "agriculture", "commerce", until the millions of people start to say, "this is socialist industry, socialist agriculture, socialist commerce, this is what our people need". Let us work then to make work more and more socialist in its details, too.

The lift that works well is just as elementary a requirement in our socialist society as that the customer be greeted in the shop, that factory meals and restaurants be civilized or that our industry should be able to resolve such "complex" tasks as to produce a toothpick of good quality. The newsprint produced by our industry is so thick that one could sleep on it even in snow, yet if we could save half of it, the newspaper would be more elegant and perhaps we could spare a sheet of paper for the bread in every shop.

Allow me to quote a letter, which was written by a woman in

the capital to her husband working in the provinces. "We still have the hole in the wall of your room. The men who are doing the repairs should have come on Monday; they did not come, because they were at a wedding. Tuesday was a holiday; they did come on Wednesday, but it was raining and they said that they cannot work in the rain, we have to wait until it stops. Nevertheless I am confident that by the time you come home, the hole will have disappeared."

I read this letter in a book dealing with the events of the eighties in the past century. Its writer lived in Paris and she was the wife of the world-famous Impressionist painter, Renoir. But these lines could have been written today by many living in Budapest.

It is not true that socialism is unable to solve these problems, because if we go out on the street, if we go to new parts of town, we see gigantic new establishments, modern industrial and agricultural units, lovely shop-windows. Perhaps in this given instance we are unable to do, to solve everything in an ideal way, as we would like, but we should not be reconciled to absurdities.

Communism, for which we are struggling, is the society of abundance where people share in the total goods according to their needs. But we are still in the first phase of communist society, in socialism, and we have not even completed that. Under socialism, everybody's share from the goods produced is in proportion to how much he or she gives to society.

At the moment two incentives are at work simultaneously: the moral and the material. The socialist brigade movement itself is a magnificent example of the great power of moral incentives. Because although it is true that work is rewarded materially as well, not everything done by the socialist brigades can be paid for. The brigades give something to society which has no price, which is invaluable...

...Problems still abound in our society, and we encounter more than a few contradictions, selfishness, hoarding, bureaucracy, protectionism and injustice. The Central Committee of the party, the government, the National Assembly, the trade unions, the Communist Youth Union and other leading bodies of our society and the masses must join forces to solve each social question, to

overcome each contradiction, otherwise these phenomena will infect our public life for a long time. The question comes up: what is more prudent, to be silent, or to speak out, if I see a contradiction. Socialist conviction dictates that if I come to recognize an injustice, a mistaken, bad solution, then I take a stand and fight against it. It may happen that one suffers a disadvantage as a result. Comrades, if we want to go forward, even today we have to take some sort of a risk for socialism, for taking a stand. What does the submissive man want? Does he want his grandson to be submissive? We hope he doesn't want that. Then he has to take a stand and he has to fight. There is no other way out. Unfortunately it is not always enough to solve problems once, because the ills reappear, because there are and for a long time there will be people who are inclined to contradictions, to arbitrariness, to irresponsibility.

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary],
pp. 142-143, 147-148.)*

*Toast at the National Agitation and Propaganda
Conference*

FEBRUARY 1970

(EXCERPT)

...One often hears the question which by now is like an anecdote: what would Lenin do if he were alive today. One thing is certain, that he would not be satisfied with quoting his own articles written fifty years ago. We Hungarian communists cannot settle for that, either. We have to respond to the ever new problems which emerge amidst our particular conditions by the active and creative preservation of our ideals. This is how we have to shape our policies in all areas of social life. This is how we shape the opinions formed about us, first of all by our people, and then by our friends...

*(A szocialista Magyarorszáért
[For a socialist Hungary], pp. 224-225.)*

*Report of the Central Committee of the HSWP
to the 12th Congress of the party*

MARCH 1980

(EXCERPT)

...The ideological activity of the party, the advance of intellectual life, the results achieved in scientific work, public education, culture, literature and the arts have a far-reaching influence on society. The thoughts and deeds of our people are permeated by a growing sense of responsibility, and the overwhelming majority see the present level of our social development realistically. They appreciate our achievements and trust that with joint efforts we can overcome the obstacles standing in the way of development and that we can attain our socialist goals.

A survey of the situation concerning ideology and public thinking demands that we observe the development of our society's conscious and moral state in its evolution, that we see all its current features and critically evaluate the present ideological work of our party.

The overthrow of the capitalist system, the elimination of the remnants of feudalism, the creation of the power of the working class and laying the foundations for a socialist society have resulted in fundamental changes in our people's way of thinking. The conclusion of this historic process was the successful socialist transformation of agriculture, which resulted in further, profound and favourable changes in the thinking, not only of the peasantry but the people as a whole. With this, the economic basis for the many-centuries-old conservative views, way of life and customs ceased to exist. The rapid rise in the political, professional and general educational level of the peasantry is unparalleled in our history. With regard to consciousness, too, the worker-peasant alliance has been able to rely ever since on an increasingly united socialist base.

The economic policy which we have been pursuing for more than twenty years has also had a major effect on the evolution of social consciousness. In addition to moral incentives, this econ-

omic policy has made material interests an important social driving force. Personal interest in the building of socialism has become more perceptible, and it has also become obvious that the individual can only prosper in conjunction with the community. The new system of economic management introduced in 1968 opened up new vistas for initiative and for independent and responsible thinking and action. All this allowed new progress to be made in socialist democracy and public life.

The awareness of our society was also favourably influenced by the fact that our successful construction work at home and our membership of the community of socialist countries changed our country's international position and enhanced the prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic. The horizons of our people have widened; they view the world, including the position of our country, in a more realistic manner. At one time, the nationalism of the ruling classes and their hatred towards other peoples influenced the general way of thinking. This makes it an all the greater achievement that in recent decades socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism have become the guiding ideal for millions in our country.

In examining the present state of public thinking, we have to remember that the grave mistakes of the dogmatic and sectarian political practice which developed in the first half of the 1950s in Hungary compromised socialist ideals, and the ideological damage caused by the counter-revolution and the propaganda of the imperialists confused the thinking of many people. At that time, the party defended the achievements of socialism in open and sharp struggle against the counter-revolution. With strenuous ideological and political work, it cleansed Marxism-Leninism of dogmatic and revisionist distortions, and in doing so significantly assisted the consolidation, which was rapidly achieved.

While noting the welcome fact of the advance in society's general awareness and the political maturity of our people, we also have to see that the keen ideological and political fight which is being waged between the capitalist and socialist systems on an international scale has a certain influence within the country. We also have to take into consideration that at this higher level

of development, where requirements have grown and economic and cultural building work have become more complicated and difficult, certain limited groups in society are showing signs of uncertainty.

There is no sense in denying that despite the spread of Marxism-Leninism to the point of hegemony, there are in this country nationalistic, cosmopolitan, revisionist, ultra-radical and other hostile and destructive views which are occasionally amplified and have some effect. The ideological struggle against alien views which are harmful to the cause of the people has to be stepped up; these views have to be exposed decisively—as has always been done by our party.

The present state of awareness in society is basically determined by the positive changes in the thinking of our people. This is true even if we bear in mind that this process was not and is not devoid of contradictions. Our practical experience has proved the long-standing Marxist truth that the consciousness of society, the thinking of people advances more slowly than the change in living conditions. However, we cannot use this as an excuse for inconsistencies in social practice, for shortcomings in our educational work, or for the fact that we have not yet been able to give satisfactory answers to numerous questions in our ideological work. The intensification of the international ideological class struggle puts increasing demands upon ideological work.

Today the building of socialism means that qualitatively new and more complex tasks have to be solved. This requires the raising of ideological, political and moral standards. Ideological work, propaganda and agitation should keep pace with the growing requirements, should be more responsive to new problems and should keep in step with the major assignments facing us in the economic and cultural work of construction. Attention has to be centred on the ideological and moral issues most important from the point of view of the development of society: to increase the prestige of work, to respect and serve the public interest, to strengthen the community spirit, to consolidate socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and to defeat conservative

views which are ideologically harmful and hostile to the socialist system and socialist principles.

We have to strive to ensure that society as far as its moral character is concerned now becomes the society of work. Everything we possess has been achieved and defended through the arduous struggles of our working class, of the Hungarian people, and has been created with their own hands. Society expects each of us to protect and enhance the socialist property of the community and of the people, and to work devotedly to the best of our ability and strength. Workers who fulfil the obligations they undertake and who live and work honestly should be respected and honoured, and prosper in their place of work.

There is one sure way to achieve personal prosperity and realize individual wishes and plans, and that is to recognize the public interest, to accept it and to promote its success. This is the basic moral norm of a socialist society. All honest and justified human demands and aspirations are summed up and expressed by the public interest, which is formulated and represented by the party in its policy. If this public interest is predominant, the country will advance on the road of development, and the citizen will not be disappointed, either in his work or in his future.

Our ideological work ought to promote the harmonious unity of public and private life in society. While societies based on exploitation compel their members to engage in an inhuman race for money which alienates them from one another from the start, our society is based on common work, common interests, support for one another and the promotion of co-ordinated prosperity. In all fields of social activity there are party members and people who are not members of the party, working and living according to the high ideological and moral requirements of socialism. We should ensure that their example is followed by the broadest possible strata. Individuals contribute to the shaping of larger and smaller communities in their places of work and residence and, at the same time, the community also shapes the attitude of its members and enriches their thinking. The elemental norms of socialist cohabitation and human relations, i.e. respect for one

another's work, helpfulness, mutual regard and courtesy deserve increased attention.

Affection for our socialist homeland and proletarian internationalism are tremendous sources of strength and powerful driving forces in our constructive work. Therefore, in our ideological work we have to continue paying special attention to the intensification of patriotism and internationalism. We must carry out our work in the knowledge that true service to national interests is just as inseparable from internationalism as the promotion of the international cause of progress is inseparable from service to the interests of our country and people.

*(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 196–199.)*

Speech at the session of the National Assembly

SEPTEMBER 1980

(EXCERPT)

...It is important that people feel that without creation, without work there can be no increase in the standard of living. But the reverse is also true: if the construction of the country is going well, then the standard of living will also increase. This is an essential part of our economic and social policy. Our achievements are attributable to our socialist system, to our purposeful policies and first of all to the dedicated work of our working class, our peasantry, our intelligentsia, our entire people.

At present we are at such a stage of economic construction that we can only set the pace for a lower rate of growth. In the Sixth Five-Year Plan period a 3% annual increase in the national income seems to be realistic. With that we wish to achieve an improvement in the equilibrium of the national economy, in which the improvement of the international balance of payments, the balance of purchasing power and consumer supplies and many other things are included. These are the fundamental questions of

the national economy, which determine family living conditions, too.

The economic regulators, determined by the government, as well as producer and consumer prices, play a great role in ensuring efficient and profitable production. Producer prices must be regulated in such a way that they are not divorced from world market prices, and consumer prices must be established in such a way that they reflect costs. Nevertheless, the government must regulate certain processes very carefully, including the prices which influence the standard of living, to enable us to realize the planned increase of the standard of living in harmony with our development and with our possibilities.

In my capacity as a member of the National Assembly for the Thirteenth District [of Budapest] I turn to the Council of Ministers with a request. I suggest a review of pricing in certain areas. There are some industrial branches, where work is being done using domestically produced raw materials almost exclusively. Yet, when it comes to pricing, it seems that the wheels of the calculating machines are extremely well oiled; it is as if the computers got more current, they produce such big sums to figure in the costs column. In explanation it is said that the world market prices are high, but in fact they have very little to do with imported materials. At times the profit calculations are unfounded and that should not be tolerated. Industrial enterprises must not simply calculate the costs but where it is possible they should cut them down. The profit rate cannot be determined irresponsibly either. Enterprises must work on the basis of realistic calculations and with modest profit margins.

I agree with Comrade Lázár and with the other speakers who have stressed: the government must fully and without any reservation support the brave people and communities who come forward to take the initiative. Our achievements are recognized internationally. Even Western commentators say how brave this Hungarian government is when it dares to handle even sensitive economic issues. And then they add that we are using capitalist methods—this is how they “praise” us—although we only say that we have to produce profitably, paying attention to quality,

too. Our system is a socialist one and so are our methods. The decisive thing is that the means of production in Hungary are in public ownership and what we produce is for the people. In our country there is no exploiting class and the international monopolies do not exploit the workers, the people.

Our system is socialist also in the sense that every economic unit in Hungary operates under planned socialist management. When we introduced the new method of economic management more than ten years ago, some just blared forth that there was no compulsory plan broken down to the enterprise level. This is true and the enterprises do indeed have a great deal of autonomy. Half of all investments are decided upon centrally in government bodies, the other half by the enterprises. This is already a great degree of autonomy; nevertheless the enterprises are compelled to work out their own plans. The planned management of the enterprises is part of the national, country-wide socialist planned economy.

It was through these methods that we have achieved our results in our socialist system. We have caught up with centuries of backwardness and Hungary already belongs to the industrially medium-developed countries. Our purpose is what was said at the Party Congress—to work ourselves up to the ranks of the industrially developed countries. This can be achieved in the foreseeable future. If in a socialist society—which covers a long historical period and is a transitional stage in the development of mankind—there is commodity production, then there is a market, there are the laws of the market, and prices exist, too. This is not a question of capitalist or socialist methods, in socialism one must produce profitably, too. If with the capitalists it is a cruel rule that the means of production in their hands and the labour force at their disposal must provide the maximum for them, why cannot we declare under the conditions of socialism that the means of production and the labour force at the disposal of the enterprise managements must produce the utmost for the good of socialism and the people. If we declare and demand this, then we have still not been overtaken by capitalist concepts. And is quality and the good reputation of a trade mark important only

for a capitalist? And can what is actually bad be good under socialist conditions? No, we cannot tolerate this. There is still a lot to make up for, and for us this is a political, moral and economic question.

This brings to mind that a fairly well-known leading Western European capitalist who was talking to our experts made a surprising remark: "We are going to be bankrupt." When he was asked why, the reply was: "Because our workers want to be paid the highest salary found in the most developed industrial country and only to work at the kind of rate which is customary with you." Or one is reminded of the former abscondee's dream, according to which, properly speaking, the really good thing would be if he worked at home but received his pay in the West which he could then spend at home. It would be a good thing if after a time nobody would have any grounds to make such comparisons.

How should we improve the situation? Perhaps it is worth emphasizing that it is not more physical strain, nor blood and sweat which we ask from our workers. We are not saying work more—because a large part of the people work honestly and decently even without this—but we say: work better. We must increase productivity, we need better organization and management, we have to develop the technological level and, of course, we have to make better use of the working hours. These are our main methods.

*(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 262-269.)*

Speech at the 7th Congress of the Patriotic People's Front

MARCH 1981

(EXCERPT)

When I speak of the people I do not like to use the expression that we should work more. Of course, it does not hurt some to remind them of this fact. But speaking of the people in general,

I would rather say that we have to work more efficiently and more rationally. Here the reserves are still very large. In the initial period of laying the foundations of socialism and of building socialism we were preoccupied with ensuring we had what we needed and nobody counted how much it cost. That period is behind us. It continues to be important to have what is necessary at our disposal, but now how much it costs also counts, how much labour, material and energy is needed for it and of what quality it is.

If for no other reason, quality is of great significance because we have to trade with practically the whole world. It is obvious that nobody is going to accept goods of bad quality from us to do us a favour. The capitalist firms sometimes hardly accept even goods of good quality. As socialist construction advances, in the socialist countries, too, a closer look is taken at the cost and quality of the goods offered to them. We ourselves make such demands when negotiating with our partners.

Our society will take care of everybody who needs to be taken care of. The people capable of working will make money and he who has earned his honest wage will be able to buy what he needs. This is a programme and a task for us, which we must and will resolve. The work, the livelihood and social provisions of our society are ensured, our people can live in security and can look into the future with confidence. But the future is shaped by all of us...

*(Szövetségi politika—nemzeti egység
[Policy of alliance—national unity], pp. 322-323.)*

DOCUMENTS

The defence and consolidation of workers' power

Further analysis and systematic collection of data are still necessary to explore precisely and in all their detail the causes and antecedents of the events which started in our country on 23 October 1956. But the cause which triggered them, the major contributing forces and characteristic features of the events are already quite clear.

There were four fundamental causes or contributory factors behind the events. These causes and factors had been exerting their effects simultaneously, linked to and in direct interrelationship with one another well before the outbreak of the events in October and together they led the events towards their tragic dénouement. These causes and contributory factors were the following:

1. The Rákosi-Gerő clique, whose influence predominated in the central leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party and in the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, deviated from the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism from the end of 1948. They introduced into party and state life, as well as in the guidance of economic life, a sectarian and dogmatic policy and methods of leadership which tolerated no dissent, ordered people about and was bureaucratic...

2. That wing of opposition within the party which had been formed in earlier years and had been constantly growing and which chose Imre Nagy and Géza Losonczy as their leaders, also played a grave role in bringing about the outbreak of the October events and their tragic course...

3. The Horthy fascist and Hungarian capitalist-landlord counter-revolution which had significant forces operating illegally

at home, while their major forces rallied and organized in West Germany, were fundamental factors in preparing and triggering off the October events. The goal of the Hungarian counter-revolution was to restore the regime of capitalists and landlords, a goal which had not been relinquished for a moment since the defeat suffered in 1945. On the contrary, they had been organizing continuously and had only been waiting for a favourable opportunity to strike at our people's democratic system and to fulfil their counter-revolutionary aims.

4. Finally, international imperialism, the goals of which, of course, went beyond the Hungarian question, played a decisive and fundamental role in the events in Hungary...

The December 1956 resolution of the Provisional
Central Committee of the HSWP
(5 December 1956)

The establishment of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government* was a patriotic act on the part of the Hungarian communists. History has quickly justified the appropriateness of this act. Simultaneously with the establishment of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Provisional Central Committee was established to guide the reorganization of the party, around which the best among the communists, the working class and the working people rallied. The reorganization of the party was a factor of decisive significance in the defeat of the counter-revolution.

Our people's democratic state fulfils the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As such, it exercises the dictatorship of the predominant majority of the people against the former and present exploiting minority, against the enemies of the people; it carries out tasks of guidance, organization and control in our economic and cultural life and defends the sovereignty of our state and the borders of our country...

* The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, headed by János Kádár, was formed in the beginning of November 1956 to lead the struggle of the revolutionary forces against the counter-revolution.

The strengthening of the people's democratic state and putting down the counter-revolution can in no way be regarded merely as measures of armed force and retribution. It is the theoretical and political struggle, the fight to carry out economic tasks and the defence of legal order by force of arms and retribution which together result in the further consolidation of people's power.

The defence, economic and cultural bodies of state power can only carry out this task if we ensure that the leaders and associates of these bodies are people faithful to the Constitution and the laws of the Hungarian People's Republic, to the regime...

The people's democratic state embodies the power of one class, the working class, but the working class draws in its ally, the peasantry, in the exercise of this power. This is how workers' power became people's power and the state of the people's republic took on a worker-peasant character. This character prevails in the local councils, too, and it was precisely for this reason that the counter-revolutionaries would have liked to destroy these local bodies of people's democracy. The development of the work of the local councils is one of the most important tasks in the further development of the worker-peasant alliance and in the consolidation of people's power.

Resolution of the National Conference
of the HSWP (27-29 June 1957)

"36. To direct and protect the creative activities of our people, there is a need for state power which serves the interests of the workers, is strong, is guided politically and supported by the masses.

The bodies of people's power: the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the local bodies of state power, the councils, have held their own in the struggle waged against the counter-revolution and for consolidation. It has become evident that the system of councils serves the cause of the people well and has won the confidence of the masses. In the present phase of our socialist development, the major characteristic feature of the development of our state is the strengthening of socialist democracy.

This demands more intensive activity and improvement in their work on the part of all bodies of people's power from the National Assembly to the village councils; further increase in the scope of authority and the mass organizational role of the councils; and above all even more active involvement of the working masses who support the cause of socialism in the work of the bodies of people's power and in economic and cultural affairs.

Our party and state bodies together with the masses should struggle for the better protection of public property, and the further strengthening of socialist legality and should fight against all forms of bureaucracy. In these efforts they should rely on the new, developing system of people's control.

A strong people's state embodying the power of the working class is protecting the interests of the people and socialism against all domestic and foreign enemies through the organized force of the workers. The increase or decrease of the political repressive role of the people's state primarily depends on the behaviour of the members of the former exploiting classes and on the way the international situation evolves; however, its economic and cultural organizational role is on the increase all the time and is an indispensable condition of socialist development.

Accordingly, we will continue to strengthen further and develop our people's republic, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its bodies and institutions which serve the building of socialism and protect the power, peace and security of the people."

Resolution of the 7th Congress
of the HSWP on the historical experiences
of the struggle for socialism and on further tasks
(30 November–5 December 1959)

"19. Our state order has further strengthened in recent years. Workers' power is firm and enjoys the confidence and support of the masses; it is defending the achievements of the working people vigilantly. There is law and order in our country. Our state is developing on the basis of socialist legality. The arbitrariness and violations of the law, which accompanied the cult of the

personality, have gravely jeopardized the democracy of our socialist state and caused immeasurable harm to the cause of socialism. After 1956 we restored socialist legality, we brought justice to the victims of the personality cult, we vigilantly protected socialist legality to prevent arbitrary violations of the law from ever occurring again. Our people are aware of and highly appreciate the fact that everybody in our country who does not turn against the people's power can live and work freely, safely and in peace.

Firm people's power—the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat—is an indispensable precondition for the building of socialism. The socialist state protects the interests of the entire working people and it includes all working classes and social strata in the exercise of power. The example of the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, shows that when the building of socialist society is completed and the moral and political unity of socialist society has been shaped, a new phase begins in the development of the socialist state, the dictatorship of the proletariat is transformed into a universal people's state.

In the period of building socialism ahead of us, our people's democratic state is fulfilling the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat while the features characteristic of the universal people's state gradually develop within it.

Changes are taking place in the functions of our state. The defensive function of the state will remain—as long as imperialism exists—its repressive function diminishes and its economic-organizational and cultural-educational activities increase further.

The key question of the further development of our socialist state, of the emergence of the universal people's state is the development of socialist democracy on as wide a scale as possible. We will improve still further the work of the bodies of state power, from the National Assembly to the village councils, which have been elected in accordance with the principle of popular representation. In the legislative process, popular initiative should be supported and conferences should be organized more often with the wide-scale participation of the people. The scope of authority of the local councils and particularly of the lower-level councils should be increased. It is an important prerequisite of the devel-

opment of socialist democracy that ever wider strata of the population should be directly involved in public affairs. The local councils, which are bodies of state power and at the same time the most comprehensive mass organizations of the people, are suited to this purpose.

On questions directly affecting the population the local councils—while adhering to the demands of public interest and of competence—should involve the direct participation of the population in taking their decisions. Battle should be waged against bureaucratic attitudes and administration, which hinder the development of socialist democracy and limit the independent activity of the population. Further improvement in the system of people's control and the participation of lay members in judging in the courts are also timely.

More and more tasks are being transferred from the competence of state bodies directly to the competence of social bodies and mass organizations. It is a sign of the development of socialist democracy that social organizations are taking an increasing part in supporting the activities of state bodies and in controlling state work.

There is no rigid wall separating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the universal people's state. The dictatorship of the proletariat is being transformed into a universal people's state to the extent it has fulfilled its historic mission. In the universal people's state the democratic features of the dictatorship of the proletariat develop further and a new content develops in the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the present phase of our development we are assisting this process by concentrating the strength of society and the state on enhancing the work of economic and cultural construction."

Resolution of the 8th Congress
of the HSWP on the achievements attained
so far in the building of socialism and
on the tasks of the party
(20-24 November 1963)

*The development of the socialist state, the evolution
of socialist democracy*

In the present stage of our development it is the widening of socialist democracy, among other things, which furthers the strengthening of our socialist society. The forms and means which make this possible, which ensure this and motivate the workers to take part in public affairs must be found and made normal practice. This is a key question because in this way the socio-political base of our socialist state can be widened and it is a guarantee of the effective and successful solution of assignments.

In socialist society it is a fundamental political question that the workers should understand and know the goals set by our party and our state and that they should take an active part in their realization. The most important precondition for this is for the party and the state to be able always to recognize, express and enforce the interests of the working masses. All this becomes possible only through the widest possible evolution of socialist democracy.

...Socialist power creates a unique political system, which on the one hand is able to guarantee co-ordinated, conscious and purposeful action and on the other hand to embrace and mobilize society as a whole for the implementation of the appointed goals. In this context the improvement and further development of our entire social system, the repeated clarification of the place and role of political and social organizations, the improvement of their methods of work and in particular their tasks related to the further development of socialist democracy have all become timely questions: partly as matters of the improvement of our own inner organizational life (party, state and trade union democracy), but also in the sense of what has to be done to make socialist democracy a principle, a method which permeates our entire public life and regulates our social coexistence.

In connection with the further development of our state life and socialist democracy, the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers stress:

The forthcoming tasks in the building of socialism require the

further development of state life and socialist democracy to make our state system more efficient in serving to analyse a number of constitutional questions relating to our socialist society and state organization, to strengthen further the legal system and legality and to develop our electoral system. The social and political role, the self-governing nature and the scope of authority and responsibility of the councils in solving local tasks must be increased.

In the present phase of socialist construction, it is necessary to develop the theoretical and political leading role of the party by increasing the participation of mass organizations and the Patriotic People's Front in our social life in such a way that the autonomous authority and responsibility of state bodies should increase at the same time.

The Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are of the opinion that experiences, achievements and shortcomings must be taken into consideration and the conclusions of scientific research and international experience must be put to use in the course of developing state life and socialist democracy.

Statement of the joint session of the Central Committee
of the ²HSWP and the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and
Peasants' Government
(5-6 March 1969)

...In accordance with the socialist character of our state, the government bodies include the various social organizations and ever larger masses of workers in the solution of many tasks. Hundreds of thousands of the population take part in the activities of the state as local councillors and as activists operating under the councils, as lay members in the courts and as supervisors in the people's control organizations. Together with the professional armed forces, tens of thousands of members of the civil defence, the workers' militia and the voluntary police serve the protection of people's power. It is an important task to awaken and strengthen awareness of these features of our state life and at the same time of our public life in general.

The development of state life and socialist democracy is one of the central tasks in completing the building of socialism. The way

it should be solved is that central power should be strengthened, the efficiency of the work of government bodies should be increased and at the same time the autonomy of local bodies, the self-governing activity of the councils should increase and the participation of the population in the work of the local councils and other state organs and bodies should become ever more active. In this way we would strengthen democratic centralism in state life, too.

12. The Congress states that the National Assembly has carried out significant activity in the field of legislation in the recent period. Continuing this activity, the National Assembly must strengthen its role in the political supervision of how the government bodies are functioning and in assisting their work. National Assembly members must pursue the development of their constituency while serving the general interests of the country and they must help the work of the legislative body by relying on their practical experiences and their regular contacts with the voters.

The government must ensure the transfer of decision-making to the competence of the local councils on all questions where the things to be done affect only the population of the given area or settlement and which can be solved better than to date by the council bodies alone.

The work of the councils must be developed in such a way that both their popular representation—self-governing character and their state administrative function should be strengthened. The Congress states that the increase in the autonomy of the councils, the extension of their scope of competence and the increase in their responsibilities and the strengthening of their self-governing character is socialist class policy. This serves the purpose of the further development of our state and our society, and it is an indispensable requirement for the further development of socialist democracy. Socialist democracy will only rise to a higher level together with the strengthening and development of citizens' discipline and sense of responsibility and of socialist public thinking.

Improvement in strengthening the socialist character of public administration is a fundamental task. It is necessary to ensure both the precise implementation of laws and statutes and that the

affairs of the population are dealt with faster and more efficiently. The precise definition of the scope of competence and assignments, as well as the operative collaboration of the various administrative units and workers, and the personal responsibility of administrators are all indispensable in overcoming bureaucracy. Politically and professionally competent office workers who carry out their work in a way worthy of those who hold socialist public office have a particularly important role and responsibility in this. Bureaucracy, unjustified procrastination in taking decisions and in the administrative process, irresponsibility and a lack of a sense of duty towards the client cause great political, moral and often economic damage, they slow down the development of the country and hinder the public activities of the workers. Therefore the struggle against bureaucratic administration, the improvement of public administration and of office work is a continuous task and important duty for all communists and all who hold public office.

Government bodies and above all communist leaders working in them must pay greater attention to carrying out the party's policy more consistently and to implementing government decisions properly. They should not tolerate any excuses and they should intensify their regular work of supervision, including the review of the soundness and effectiveness of their own decisions. It is an indispensable demand in the improvement of public administration that the work of the authorities be supervised regularly by the higher-level government bodies, by the party and social organizations and by the population...

13. The Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic adopted in 1949, which established the achievements of the people's power attained by that time, giving them the force of the fundamental law of the country, and which defined in broad terms the direction of the socialist development of our country, is a fundamental guarantee of our socialist development and it is simultaneously a political weapon. The changes that have taken place during the last twenty years make the appropriate amendment of the fundamental law of our state necessary. In amending the Constitution we had to register the achievements of our social progress and first and foremost that the bases of socialism have

been created and consolidated, that our country has entered a more developed phase of socialist construction and that she is advancing along the road to the full construction of a new society. Accordingly, the amendments to the Constitution must serve to strengthen the socialist character of our country, the unfolding of socialist democracy and the further development of our state. ...

Resolution of the 10th Congress
of the HSWP on the work of the party
and on the tasks ahead
(27 November 1970)

"On the basis of the resolutions of the Central Committee the legislative and supervisory activity of the National Assembly has increased. In addition to the amendments to the Constitution the National Assembly enacted several laws of great significance and regulated important questions of the national economy and of social life.

Calling on the government, the ministers and state secretaries to give account of their work has become more systematic; so have discussions on the implementation of various laws and on the situation of the various branches of the national economy. The supervisory role of the permanent committees of the National Assembly has increased.

The activities of citizens have become livelier and they are following the work of National Assembly and council members with greater attention. This has a favourable effect on the activity of the representatives in Parliament and in their constituencies, as well as on the work of the local councils.

The extension of the opportunities and incentives to nominate several candidates has resulted in positive experiences and worked well during the local council elections. In places it led to increased activity on the part of the population in the election of members to the National Assembly.

All in all, the electoral system has proved to be sound. It has provided appropriate opportunities for citizens to expound their opinions on the policy of the party and the government and to choose those persons whom they deem the most appropriate to represent the interests of their constituencies. ...

The Political Committee ... states that the basic principles of the elections and the electoral system based on the territorial principle and on individual constituencies serve the political power of the working class well; they serve the effectiveness of the leading role of the party, the policy of alliance and socialist national unity and furthermore the constitutional principle according to which the workers in town and country exercise their power through their elected representatives who are answerable to the people. For this reason the amendment of the basic principles of the elections is not justified. The representation of the interests of social organizations and workplace communities can be carried out within the framework of the present electoral system.

In order to extend socialist democracy and enrich the forms and methods used, it is during the nominations in particular—where the individual constituency system based on the territorial principle is to be continued—that, with the development of the methods of political work, care must be taken to see that the representative bodies reflect the composition of the population while at the same time the particular interests of social organizations and workplace communities find better expression.

Double or multiple nominations should be made possible and enhanced in both Parliamentary and local council elections where this is politically justified.

During the regulation of the constituencies it must be ensured that these constituencies are stabilized, while at the same time they should be better adjusted to the public administrative territorial boundaries and to the suburban districts outside the towns as well as the shift in the population ...

The Political Committee considers it justified that the Council of Ministers and other competent authorities should study the possibilities of simplifying points of lesser significance in connection with the electoral process and should take the necessary measures.

Decision of the Political Committee
on implementing the resolution
on the further development of the electoral system
(1 June 1976)

1. Policy on giving information to the party membership and the population has developed in accordance with our political aims.

(a) Imparting information to the party membership and the population became more effective with the implementation of the Political Committee resolutions of 8 June 1965 and 12 November 1968. The characteristics of imparting information have contributed to strengthening the relations between the party and the masses and to shaping public opinion in accordance with our aspirations; they enhance the development of socialist awareness and the extension of socialist democracy.

The population is supplied with regular information on the decisions of the leading party and state bodies. Detailed communiqués are published after sessions of the Central Committee of the HSWP and the Council of Ministers, and the work of the National Assembly and its Committees is to all intents and purposes being conducted in public. Mass information is characterized more and more by a many-sided presentation of events. The substance of information on economic policies has become more diverse and purposeful and its effectiveness has improved. The positive aspirations developing in the economy are given ever greater ground. The organs of information pay great attention to presenting the lives, achievements and problems of production units. Press, radio and television assist in fulfilling assignments in the field of cultural policy with varying degrees of effectiveness. The presentation of the events and questions of international life and particularly those of the communist and workers' movement is being done with greater theoretical assuredness and with an improving ability to react to developments.

(b) During the period under study the policy on information was better incorporated into the system of political work. The party, state and social bodies take demands into better account at all levels and they fulfil their obligations to provide information more fruitfully.

Information by word of mouth has become more continuous and more substantial in the course of developing the system of in-

formation. The rapid spread of television and radio has not decreased the demand for oral information. Millions enrich their political knowledge at party days and consultative forums...

The differentiated development of the various mass media has continued. The general spread of television has gone parallel with the increase in the number of radio listeners. The variety of the press has improved and after temporary limitations, the number of copies and total volume have increased.

The substance and system of the means of information directed abroad has also developed. It is closely linked with information work at home; at the same time it takes into account special tasks and requirements.

The work of the bodies which carry out guidance has become more purposeful, more organized and differentiated. In addition to the competent bodies of the party, the state organs and bodies, the Information Office as well as the mass organizations have played a significant part in improving the guidance of information work. The leaders of the press, radio and television have taken part in this work with a greater degree of autonomy and increased responsibility.

(c) In the past twelve years the demands on information work have continued to increase. Parallel with the strengthening of political awareness and with the development of socialist democracy, the role of political public opinion has increased in our society. It is in our fundamental political interests to see that our public opinion is given timely and precise information about all significant events.

Therefore reliable, quick information presenting the interconnections is the political duty of all bodies, organs and leaders.

The building of a developed socialist society, the increasing role of consciousness, the higher level of economic and economic-political knowledge pose new requirements towards the content and towards all forms of information work. The developing socialist way of life, the increase in the standard of living and the education of the people and the changes in the population presuppose more differentiated work and a more profound analysis of interrelationships and processes.

Détente and the accompanying intensification of the ideological struggle, the new features of interstate relations, the development of the international communist and workers' movement and the related debates, and the necessity of bilateral and multilateral co-ordination of points of views and aspirations assign increased tasks on information work aimed at recipients both at home and abroad. ...

1. The basic principles of the policy on information defined in the 1965 resolution of the Political Committee continue to be valid, but the practice of information work has to be developed.

Information work is not an aim, but a means. Our information work should be credible, reliable, as rapid as our possibilities allow, to the point and unambiguous. Thus it should serve the interests of our system, should shape the awareness and the behaviour of the people. It should assist in exploring interconnections and processes and the understanding, acceptance and implementation of decisions.

To achieve this, the leaders of party and state bodies, mass organizations and the mass media should be more efficient in assisting the understanding and solution of the tasks facing the country. They should pay systematic attention to the way public opinion is developing, making use of the results of scientific research and the signals from the information network. The leading bodies and organs of the party should assist in the correct interpretation of unexpected domestic and foreign political events and in the assessment of extraordinary events by providing opportunities for consultation and by formulating views quickly.

2. To develop the substance of mass information:

(a) Within domestic political information, special attention must continue to be paid to the complex and thorough presentation of economic tasks. Information work should aim more resolutely at promoting initiative, exploring reserves and improving work efficiency. By providing a more diverse presentation of the world economy it should contribute to making our population assess the situation and opportunities of our national economy realistically.

Cultural questions and above all help in implementing the edu-

cational policy assignments should be handled as a priority task. Press, radio and television should undertake a greater role in shaping a more meaningful way of life, should continuously and directly support the raising of the general education standard and a good use of free time.

Mass information provides significant reserves which can help in the extension of socialist democracy. The mass media should regularly provide the public with forums for social, economic and cultural initiative, proposals and announcements of public interest.

(b) Increased interest towards international events and the increasing amount of information available make it necessary to work with more conscious selectivity, with a thorough exploration of the points of view which are unambiguous and clearly understandable.

Great attention must be paid to the systematic and factual presentation of the social and economic processes of the life and work of the socialist countries...

3. The division of labour between the information work within the party, informing the population orally and the activities of the press, radio and television must be further improved.

In answering questions of domestic political life and above all of international life and the international workers' movement, better use has to be made of oral information. For this purpose a more conscious use must be made of party days, party meetings, party activists' meetings, visits by leading people and lectures.

It is necessary to provide the leaders and associates of party bodies and organs with more regular and more thorough information on the resolutions, standpoints and decisions under preparation than has been the case up to now. A wider circle of office holders in the party, the state apparatus and the mass organizations must be informed more rapidly and in accordance with the political demands on the progress and problems of our economic and social life, on the experiences of implementing res-

olutions, on the way our foreign relations are shaping and on the current issues of the international communist and workers' movement. ...

Resolution of the Political Committee
of the Central Committee of the HSWP
on the further development of information work
(6 September 1977)

THE LEADING ROLE AND STYLE OF WORK
OF THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

11. The counter-revolution of 1956 and the fight carried on against it have again demonstrated the undeniable truth of the basic Leninist teaching that the working class, the working people can win only if they are directed by a unified organized vanguard, by a party equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, a party which is welded in unity with the masses and which is leading them. The working class can defeat the bourgeoisie only under the leadership of their revolutionary party; it is under the leadership of the party that they can keep the power they have attained and can build a socialist society free of exploitation.

The working class become defenceless without the party to unify the forces of the working people and lead them in the right direction. Contrary to the false views of the revisionists the significance of the revolutionary party of the working class, of the leading role of the party does not diminish after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the contrary, it increases. In the period of transition to socialism and then to communism, the party has to shoulder the direction of the life of the whole country, of economic and cultural work and the leadership of the complicated task of building a socialist society. ...

13. The party is capable of fulfilling its tasks and of developing in a healthy way only if the principles of democratic centralism and the Leninist rules of party life are in force at every level. This is an indispensable precondition for the unity of the party as well as for its ability to act.

In recent years the Central Committee, the party's guiding bodies at the higher, medium and lower levels have done a great deal to ensure that the Leninist rules of party life and the prin-

ciple of democratic centralism are enforced consistently, and to apply the principle of collective leadership. The theoretical, political and organizational unity of the party presupposes criticism and a spirit of debate. Before taking significant measures and reaching important decisions the Central Committee and the party bodies in general confer with party members and people outside the party who are dealing with that particular question. They encourage communist criticism and principled debate befitting the party's style, which strengthen the unity of the party; at the same time they reject demagoguery, which creates theoretical and political confusion and disrupts the ranks of the party. It is an important precondition for a principled debate which is in a style appropriate to the party that it is not a fight against people, but against mistakes, and that party members making mistakes are educated and led back to the proper path.

The increase in the autonomy of local party bodies and party workers and the decrease in unnecessary patronizing and ordering people around *en masse* are important and new features in the style of work of the party. Healthy self-initiative presupposes adherence to strict centralization, the constant guidance of lower bodies, and their regular supervision and assistance. The autonomy of local bodies should be developed, but deviation from the resolutions and line of the party, and violations of party discipline should not be allowed under the pretext of autonomy.

14. Safeguarding the theoretical, political and organizational unity of the party is a fundamental question of the development of the party, of the building of socialism. The guiding principle of the party's activity is theory. The theoretical and political unity which has come into being on the principled basis of revolutionary theory is the first and indispensable precondition for the party's unity. Marxism-Leninism is an invincible ideal, a living, developing science, which has been the weapon of the working class for more than a hundred years and with the help of which they are moulding the new world, shaping the history of mankind. The ideals of Marxism-Leninism have been fulfilled since the foundation of the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, and then later in a whole series of socialist countries. The proletarian

internationalism of the communist and revolutionary workers' parties, the unity of the socialist world system is based on this theoretical foundation.

*Resolution of the 7th Congress
of the HSWP on the historical experiences
of the struggle for socialism and on the tasks ahead
(30 November–5 December 1959)*

All the victories of the socialist revolution can be attributed first of all to the fact that the Hungarian working class, the working people have a unified internationalist Marxist-Leninist party, which has fulfilled and continues to fulfil its historic mission.

The members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party—workers, peasants, intellectuals—are united by the ideals of communism, by common objectives and will. The party which is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class has won the active support of the predominant majority of the people. The completion of the building of socialism, the emergence of the socialist unity of society and the spread of Marxism-Leninism will result in the vanguard of the working class becoming the party of the entire people.

37. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party gives political objective and direction to the entire activity of the people. The scientific ideology of the party is the theoretical life-blood of building the country, of social transformation and of cultural and scientific development. Its organization is the core of the unity and organization of the socialist society we are building. The party bases its entire activity on the theory of Marxism-Leninism and its policies express the interests of the Hungarian people. Its point of departure is the real situation and it always keeps in mind the ultimate communist objective. The entire work of the party is service to the working class, to the people. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party regards it as its historic mission to lead the Hungarian working class, the entire people—in harmony with the struggle of the international revolutionary workers' movement and the interests of the whole of progressive mankind—to the

complete victory of the socialist revolution and then to communism.

The decisions of the Central Committee are preceded by thorough study and discussion; before taking major party decisions, the Central Committee confers with a wide circle of party members and people who are not party members. The party's activity in leadership is becoming more and more scientific and specific; party resolutions are the embodiment of the principles and measures guiding the practical work of socialist construction. The party guides state, economic and cultural work, but not through decisions which are binding on the state and social organizations. Party decisions are binding only for the communists working in these organizations.

The leading role of the party in the development of our society is of necessity on the increase. Economic and cultural construction work, which is becoming more and more complicated, demands ever better planning, greater awareness and better organization. In the coming period, the party will strive to facilitate the development of the forces of production, to see that socialism triumphs in the thinking and feelings of the people, to strengthen the socialist national unity of the people and to make the victory of socialism complete. The precondition for and means of resolving these tasks are to retain and strengthen the political, theoretical and organizational unity of the party, which has rid itself of the burden of the cult of the personality, and to develop ideological work. We safeguard the Leninist norms of party life, collective leadership, making sure that the principles of democratic centralism are consistently in force; we develop party democracy and strengthen centralism; we nurture the healthy relationship between the party and the masses, built on mutual confidence; and we remain faithful to the Marxist-Leninist principles of the international communist movement...

The life of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is regulated by Leninist norms. Collective leadership is in force. All significant political questions of principle are decided upon by the Central Committee. The principle of collective leadership is in force throughout the whole party, the atmosphere is open, frank and

comradely. The party has put the cult of the personality behind it, it has been reborn, it has regained the confidence and support of the people, it has unmasked revisionist treason and consolidated Marxist-Leninist unity. ...

40. The most important thing in the party's theoretical activity is the creative application of Marxism, the solution of the questions of socialist construction. By applying Leninist ideas, the party provides answers to such complicated problems as the interrelation between the class struggle and the alliance of classes; the struggle against the counter-revolution; socialist consolidation in the period of the building of socialism; the interrelationship between economic and political factors in the socialist reorganization of agriculture; the transformation of social relations in the countryside at the same time as the increase of agricultural production; the role of the middle peasantry and resolving the question of the rich peasantry (kulaks); the ways to establish a unified socialist peasant class. Our experiences justify the theoretical conclusion that in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—provided the policy is correct and the international conditions favourable—even the greater upheavals of the socialist revolution do not necessarily and always result in an intensification of the class struggle and a drop of production.

The party turns against the false thesis of the constant and absolute intensification of the class struggle and calls on even those who earlier did not sympathize with our goals, and were in part opposed to them, to support the building of socialism.

The international prestige and the magnetism of Marxism is constantly on the increase. The advancement of the socialist world system and particularly the development of the Soviet Union is an irrefutable evidence of the truth of Marxist-Leninist theory. Creative Marxist thought is the predominant theoretical trend of our times. The socio-political situation in the country is favourable to the spread of Marxism in Hungary. As a result of the international and domestic events of recent years and of the party's policy, strata and people with a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois way of thinking have drawn closer to the people's democratic system. The party facilitates and accelerates this rap-

prochement, but it argues against those ideas which presume to discover opportunities to retain and justify bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology under the guise of the policy of socialist national unity.

Consistency in principles must go hand in hand with political flexibility. Political alliance and ideological argument constitute a unified whole. There is no peaceful coexistence with anti-Marxist theoretical trends, either in the international ideological arena, or within the country. Ideological struggle must be waged against those trends of present-day bourgeois philosophy, sociology and aesthetics, which have an influence in our country, too, confronting them with the scientific ideas of creative Marxism-Leninism. The major task in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology at home is to overcome the remnants of nationalism.

It is a primary requirement of our further progress that the relative backwardness of ideological work compared to the development of social relations is eliminated and the ideological struggle in all areas of scientific and cultural life is intensified in order to educate man who is living, working, thinking and feeling in a socialist way.

41. The party considers it an important assignment to see that the new rules of relations between people, the moral norms of socialism predominate. Communist morals are opposed to the class morals of the exploiters; they incorporate those major general moral rules of humanity which the masses have formulated over thousands of years, during the struggle against social oppression and moral shortcomings. The moral features characteristic of communists are: the struggle against exploitation; a passionate hate for all forms of oppression and social injustice; dedication to the cause of socialism; love for their socialist native land; unselfish service to people; fraternal solidarity towards the workers of all countries and all peoples; militant internationalism; conscious work done for the good of society; a passionate interest in public affairs; an uncompromising attitude towards abuses against society and individuals, and against selfishness, dishonesty, careerism, abuse of power, conceit and lack of criticism;

moral rectitude, simplicity and modesty in social and private life. Distribution according to the work done is also a moral principle of socialist society. We cannot tolerate pilfering of public property, waste, defrauding the community; we cannot be complacent about anti-social individualism. We must struggle to see that these principles are consistently in force.

Resolution of the 8th Congress
of the HSWP on the achievements attained
in the building of socialism and on the tasks ahead of the party
(20-24 November 1962)

The Central Committee states that democracy within the party is developing in the right direction. The Leninist norms of party life, the principles of democratic centralism are in force in our party. The party membership consider the party's policy as their own; they fulfil their fundamental obligations and make use of their democratic rights. In the development of democratic centralism all the measures so far and future measures serve and will serve to strengthen the leading role of the party.

On the basis of our achievements to date a more resolute stand must be taken against the shortcomings that can be still detected in the practice of democratic centralism and measures must be taken at all levels to implement the basic principles laid down in the Party Rules more effectively.

At the same time the Central Committee—continuing its present practice—considers it necessary and, on the basis of the achievements so far, possible to develop further democracy within the party and the style of work of the party bodies. This on the one hand enhances the further strengthening of consciously undertaken voluntary discipline and on the other hand encourages a wider participation by the party membership in shaping and implementing the party's policy so that the freedom of criticism and expression of opinion is in force to a better extent.

I. The Central Committee considers it necessary to see that the rights and duties laid down in the Party Rules in force are asserted

more consistently in party bodies, at all levels and in the party organizations.

Therefore:

(a) We must see to it that in the framework of party education the membership become more familiar than up till now with the Party Rules in all their specific details as well as in their inherent principles. The party leadership is under an obligation to verify whether an applicant is aware of the major principles of the Party Rules and the rights and duties of party members prior to the party meeting which is to approve his application to join the party.

(b) At branch meetings, party branch committees are obliged to give account of their activity since the previous meeting.

(c) In harmony with the development of the style and methods of work of the branch committees efforts should be made to give party members regular party assignments. Their party work should be evaluated by the party committee or party group, as the need arises, but at regular intervals.

(d) The party committees should see to it that questions dealing with the life and activity of the branch organizations should figure on the agenda of party branch meetings more often than until now.

(e) The Central Committee entrusts the Political Committee with regulating a number of important questions of party life in greater detail than until now, on the basis of practical experience, increasing the scope of the competence of elected bodies and party branch meetings.

Among other things:

- The rights of an elected party organ as a body and the rights and duties of the members of an elected party organ;
- the scope of competence and authority of the branch meeting, the branch committee and the party secretary;
- the tasks, role and activity of party groups;
- the order of obligations of party organizations at the various levels to give an account of their work.

(f) When it is adopting its annual agenda, the Central Committee regularly determines on which questions it will seek the

opinion of party bodies and the party membership (and at times of wider public opinion) in the period devoted to discussion before a decision is taken.

This practice—where justified, in harmony with the activity of the Central Committee—should be applied by party bodies at lower levels.

The forms and means in which views are asked for in advance have to be determined on a case by case basis.

If the need arises—in case the situation within the party demands it—the Central Committee initiates a debate in the ranks of the party membership on questions preoccupying the whole or a significant section of the party membership.

Resolution of the Central Committee
of the HSWP on the situation
of party democracy and on the possibilities of development
(26–28 November 1969)

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, the party of the working people. It is successfully fulfilling its leading role in society; it is united and it has a strong influence on the masses. The Hungarian people accept its policy with confidence, regard and follow this policy as their own and appreciate the unselfish and devoted work done by communists. The party regards its own activity as a service to the people. This places a major responsibility on the party in guiding the building of socialism.

1. A basic requirement for our advance is to continue strengthening the leading role of the party and the mutual trust and relations with the masses. The party counts on the experience, opinions and active assistance of the masses in shaping and implementing its policy. The strengthening of this leading role should be particularly in evidence now through a more expedient and consistent implementation of party resolutions. So the work of the party concentrates on a uniform interpretation of resolutions, on the organization of their implementation and on the mobilization of the masses. Every party body, party organization and

party member should show increased political responsibility in representing and enforcing society-wide interests. All party organizations should step up their initiative in exposing the contradictions accompanying development, in working out the possible ways of solving problems and in overcoming the obstacles in implementing them.

2. If the problems of building socialism are to be solved efficiently, there must be a higher level of ideological, political organizational unity and unity in action in the party, and party policy must be represented more consistently. The unity of the party has to be continuously renewed to adjust to new requirements. This should be done through open debate within the party, the confrontation of different opinions, the criticism of faulty views and the explanation and enforcement of the party's position. Our party will not allow its policy to be distorted either in the direction of dogmatism or of revisionism. Agreement on principles and on assignments has to be followed by united action.

3. The principles of democratic centralism and the Leninist norms of party life are in force in our party. The advance of party democracy is an indispensable condition for well-founded and correct resolutions; party democracy increases the responsibility of party members and helps in the implementation of decisions. It ensures that views are discussed in a comradely atmosphere; it encourages criticism and self-criticism, and so protects and safeguards the party from complacency and mistakes, while strengthening the communist features of the work and attitude of party members. In our party decision-making is the collective job of the party branches and the elected bodies. Decisions are binding upon every party member, and personal responsibility has to be enforced in their implementation. Every official and every party member should support resolutions adopted in a democratic manner, should implement them and do their utmost where they live and work to ensure they are carried out.

The internal life and style of work of the party have to be improved, the movement nature of party work needs to be stepped up. There should be a resolute rejection of formalities, unnecessary parallelism and bureaucratic working methods. Communists

should improve their ideological knowledge and political activity and pay still greater attention to the problems of the masses. They should support new initiatives, help to put them into practice and take a resolute stand against faults and shortcomings. All members of the party should fulfil their obligations in an exemplary manner, make use of their rights and fully adhere to the norms of socialist morals and to party and state discipline. It is more than the right, it is the duty of party members to expound their views, opinions and standpoints in the forums of the party. Party members should receive answers to all their questions and information on the outcome of all proposals. Everyone in the party has identical rights and obligations. The community spirit, communist modesty and readiness for action should be strengthened among party members.

The party branches, acting in accordance with their function, play a decisive role in the implementation of party policy and in strengthening mass contacts. The higher party bodies should give greater and more fundamental assistance to the branch organizations, including the party organizations in residential areas.

4. The tasks before us demand that party supervision give more assistance in implementing policy, that it make a genuine survey of the situation in given fields, reveal the sources of error and elaborate proposals aimed at improving work. Supervision should be more regular and should do more in examining the correctness of decisions, and it should also take the initiative on any amendments necessary. More responsibility should rest on each elected body and organization of the party in revealing and eliminating the obstacles to implementing policy. Our party organizations should use the experiences gained in state and social supervision; efficient work should be better appreciated and, in the case of negligence, those concerned must not escape responsibility.

5. The realization of party policy depends to a considerable extent on the correct implementation of the principles of cadre work. The majority of leaders, working at various levels, are up to the requirements, and live and work according to socialist principles. The selection, preparation and education of replacements have improved.

Demands on leaders have to be raised. Cadre work should be better planned, and leaders should take more responsibility for the selection, preparation, promotion and replacement of cadres. People in leading positions must be up to the political, professional and leadership requirements. Suitability for leadership should be the decisive requirement. The interests of society demand that cadre issues needing urgent solution should be solved without delay. It is our invariable principle and practice that any position except party functions can be held by people outside the party. The standards of evaluation for party members just as for those outside the party, should be the work performed. Young people suitable for leadership should be promoted in a more courageous manner. The democratic features of cadre work have to be strengthened and so must the social supervision of the work and attitude of leading people, and the right of elected bodies and social organs to make decisions and express opinions has to be more consistently enforced to combat existing subjectivism. The work of the personnel departments has to be improved in every field of state life to match up to these requirements.

6. The party's policy of alliance is also expressed in the relationship between the party and the mass organizations and mass movements. The trade unions, the Communist Youth Union, the women's movement, the bodies representing the interests of the co-operatives, the Patriotic People's Front and other mass organizations and mass movements play an important role in the political system of socialism. Their independent operation strengthens the democratic features of our society. Their international work is in harmony with the foreign policy objectives of our country.

The party continues to give guidance to the mass organizations and movements, using principled and political means. Its resolutions are compulsory for communists working in those organizations, whose task is to realize the party's policy through political persuasion and organizational work. It is important that an increasing number of well-prepared party members, who have experience in public life, should work in the mass organizations and that their work should receive greater appreciation. It is the

primary task of the mass organizations to mobilize people to carry through the current political, social and economic tasks better, and to represent the interests of their members in such a variety of ways that every strata of society is reached.

Resolution of the 12th Congress
of the HSWP on the work
of the party and on the tasks ahead
(27 March 1980)

THE POLICY OF ALLIANCE

Worker-peasant alliance—socialist national unity

The policy of a people's front is a unique, historically determined method of building socialism, of allying different classes. It is a joining of forces between the working class and the forces faithful to socialism with those social strata and groups, who do not agree with us in everything but approve the policy of the party and the government on such fundamental questions as: the strengthening of the People's Republic; the building of socialism; the protection of peace; the independence of our country; the raising of the standard of living and other questions. And they are prepared to take part in putting these things into effect.

By virtue of their organization, battle-hardened experience and class-consciousness, the leading, guiding force of the People's Front are the working class, with the HSWP at their head. Our party and the Hungarian working class represent not only their own class interests but also the interests of all workers. The influence, the leading role of the party of the working class within the Patriotic People's Front movement must be continuously strengthened.

The worker-peasant alliance is the social and political basis of the People's Front movement. The worker-peasant alliance is the backbone of the whole People's Front movement. Therefore one of the most important tasks of the People's Front is to nurture and strengthen the worker-peasant alliance by many-sided political organizational and educational work. It is particularly important that the People's Front and its bodies increase the activity of the working peasantry.

The Patriotic People's Front must fill an important role in the ranks of the middle strata, the intellectuals and the petty bour-

geoisie. The social weight of these strata is out of proportion of their numbers; winning them over for people's democracy and for socialism is an important precondition for our progress after the events of the counter-revolution.

The People's Front is not a mass organization, but a broad democratic, social and political mass movement, which, as the embodiment of the people's national unity, links the mass organizations, the social and cultural organizations together; but it should be wider than these organizations in order that its influence should extend further, to the patriotic masses outside these organizations. It should conduct political, educational and enlightening work among these masses and should propagate the policy of the party and the government.

The strengthening of the Patriotic People's Front is an important means of developing the democratism of our people's democratic system. Wide masses can take part in the People's Front; they can take part in dealing with national and local affairs; they can make proposals and observations; and they can exercise criticism over individual improper measures. The framework of the People's Front provides opportunities for exchanges of views; for creative debates and for resolving various contradictions in a proper way; for nurturing relations with the working masses; and for strengthening the moral and political unity of our people.

...The People's Front must play an important role in the preparations for the election of the central and local bodies of our state power and in conducting the elections for the National Assembly and the local councils. These elections take place in the spirit of the People's Front. People's Front committees take a stand on whom they will accept and whom refuse as nominees of the People's Front, on the basis of the nomination meetings in which the population take part.

The People's Front should facilitate close relations between the electorate and members of the National Assembly and local councillors who represent people's front policy. They should report back, hold regular consultations and deal with the everyday problems of the public.

One of the most important tasks of the People's Front is to ensure that the broad working masses take part in solving national and local political, economic, cultural and other questions. The People's Front should become a forum where workers can speak their minds and can put forward their proposals and criticisms on national and local questions. The People's Front and its bodies should support and adopt the realistic, justified and feasible proposals of the workers; and they should take a stand against social demagogy and against unjustified or impracticable demands.

Resolution of the Political Committee
on strengthening the Patriotic People's Front
(21 November 1957)

"The experiences of the international workers' movement reaffirm the teachings of Marxism-Leninism that the working class can only lead the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism to victory at the head of the working people in a broad class alliance. The substance, extent and form of the class alliance change according to the tasks posed by the specific historical situation and the political behaviour of all social classes and strata. A decisive factor in the successes of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was that under its leadership, a lasting alliance of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the urban petty bourgeoisie was established. We defeated the counter-revolution, strengthened workers' power, achieved socialist consolidation and laid the foundations of socialism by relying on the combined strength of the working people.

The worker-peasant alliance became stronger and acquired new substance with the socialist reorganization of agriculture. By today, this alliance has developed into a fraternal joining of forces by two classes, which are socialist in character; beyond the fundamental, political interests this collaboration is made inviolable by the community of interests prevailing in the development of socialist economy and culture. Contradictions in this alliance stem from the different levels of development in the forces of pro-

duction and in socialist production relations as well as social awareness. In the course of the development of socialist society these contradictions gradually diminish. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis of a national unity which embraces all classes and strata of society.

We have eliminated the former exploiting classes. There are no classes or significant social strata whose interests are contrary to those of socialism. The tasks of completing the building of socialism, which are on the agenda at present, are in harmony with the interests of the entire people; they are understandable, attractive and inspiring. The emergence and strengthening of socialist national unity takes place amidst struggle. Even if they are isolated and dispersed, the reactionary forces are active and they are encouraged to conduct anti-popular subversive activity by Western imperialism. There are still remnants of the old society and the ideas of capitalism still have a hold on people's minds.

After laying the foundations of socialism the nature of the class struggle changes, its forms and means are modified. At present, the main areas of the class struggle are the strengthening and development of the socialist economy and the creation of a socialist consciousness. For this reason, organization, persuasion and the ideological struggle come to the forefront of the class struggle. In the struggle the working class can rely on the collaboration of all classes and strata of society and they can work together with them in creating socialist national unity. The political substance of socialist national unity is the struggle for the protection and development of the socialist system; for the complete victory of socialism; for peace; for the protection of national sovereignty; the struggle against international imperialism and against the hostile domestic forces and trends which still exist.

The leading force of socialist national unity is the working class and their revolutionary party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which is the recognized leader of the entire Hungarian people. The basis of the Patriotic People's Front is the collaboration of all the working classes and strata in our society. With

the support of the Patriotic People's Front movement under the leadership of the party, we are mobilizing all the creative forces of the nation for the building of socialism."

Resolution of the 8th Congress
of the HSWP on the achievements attained
in the building of socialism and on the tasks ahead
of the party (20-24 November 1962)

The character, role and tasks of the Patriotic People's Front were determined by the resolution of the Political Committee of the HSWP passed on 2 November 1957... This resolution defined the party's people's front policy unambiguously; this is the basis of the policy of alliance and this was reaffirmed by the 8th Congress. The 9th Congress, by that time on the basis of the requirements for completing the building of socialism, further developed the principles and tasks of the party's people's front policy.

The consistent prevalence and development of the party's people's front policy created a favourable atmosphere for the evolution of the People's Front movement and bodies of the People's Front were established nation-wide. There are 3,500 People's Front committees operating with 130,000 members. The number of activists in the movement is as high as 200,000; 27% of the members of the People's Front committees are party members, 73% are people outside the party.

By and large the place and role of the Patriotic People's Front has been established in the political life of our country, although we have not yet utilized the opportunities inherent in the movement as fully as possible. The *ad hoc* nature of the People's Front movement has been ended and it has become a permanent feature of our political life. The People's Front takes a stand on major political questions as a regular thing; the views of party members and people outside the party on the questions raised by the party or on measures initiated by the party are therefore put out jointly. The highest bodies of the party regularly benefit from the contributions of the People's Front and the larger part of county party committees count on the work of the Patriotic People's Front and

not only in the case of major matters. At the same time the situation is not yet satisfactory, particularly at the medium and lower levels and in the everyday practice of political life, and the performance of the People's Front is not yet satisfactory when it comes to taking the initiative.

As a result of the various stands taken by the party and the activity of communists working in the People's Front, the methods of party guidance in the movement have been worked out and so has the proper relationship between the party and the People's Front. In this respect, however, there is a need to strengthen political methods further, particularly in seeing that the party members and party office holders working in the People's Front movement intensify their activities and to have such communists take part in the People's Front movement as are experienced in mass political work and as understand the party's alliance policy.

The resolutions and the political work conducted in this spirit helped us in overcoming the erroneous and false views relating to the movement once and for all. The position regarding the aims and tasks of the Patriotic People's Front has been clarified. The reactionary illusions which presumed to establish a base of opposition in the People's Front have to all intents and purposes ceased to exist...

The Patriotic People's Front played a significant role in bringing about the consolidation of people's power after the counter-revolution. The People's Front committees achieved outstanding results in the great work of the socialist reorganization of agriculture. The movement has done a great deal to democratize public life; for co-operation between party members and people outside the party on the basis of mutual confidence; to increase the demands of workers—and particularly agricultural workers—for professional expertise; and to consolidate the co-operative farms...

2. The major areas of the People's Front activity have taken shape although there are changes in this sphere and there will be a need for changes in the future, too.

The constitutional tasks of the movement and its role in elec-

tions and in the work of elected National Assembly and local council members have become permanent. The interest in and the responsibility for the work of the local councils on the part of the People's Front committees has become stronger. By-elections, however, have not become what they should in view of their political significance. It has become quite commonplace for this activity to be carried out by the machinery of the councils *ex officio*, so that in practice it is a formality. The role of the People's Front committees in initiating proposals to be discussed at local council sessions is still on an *ad hoc* basis. In many places the initiative and proposals of the People's Front committees do not meet with understanding; on the contrary, at times they are opposed.

The major form of contact with members of the National Assembly is the members' group meeting. It can be considered an achievement that recently members have held more meetings and talks on the basis of the proposals of the People's Front. This activity, however, should be developed, particularly in the new situation which has emerged with the creation of individual constituencies. And this should be done first of all by clearly making the People's Front committee responsible for organizing the activity of the members in their constituencies.

The economic-political activity of the People's Front, or rather the political and social support given to our economic-political aspirations, is aimed primarily at agriculture and the villages, as far as the political work carried out in both the villages and the towns is concerned.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture and laying the foundations of socialism have created greater opportunities for the work of the People's Front movement in the villages. The new situation demanded that the character of this activity should be reshaped and this did not go without a hitch. In the beginning the committees felt that their opportunities had been narrowed as a result of the establishment of large-scale socialist farms. Later on they started to mould their work to support the consolidation of the co-operatives. The People's Front committees carried out large-scale agitation and propaganda work to help in the

introduction of new production methods. They are the organizers and supporters of specialized agricultural propaganda and of the education of skilled agricultural workers. They have made and are making efforts to see that the democratic rights and obligations of co-operative members are in force, and to expand and consolidate democracy within the co-operative farms. They have given much help to members taking part in the various co-operative farm committees, and helped them to get to know their assignments. Together with other social organizations they have taken an active part in creating the household plot committees, in shaping their work and in organizing work competitions and the socialist brigade movement in agriculture.

Despite the numerous good initiatives and results, the way in which the activities of the People's Front in support of the co-operatives and the work involved can be made even more effective, have not yet sufficiently been clarified. The establishment of co-operative associations creates a new situation in this respect. Through these associations it is possible to create a relationship which could not have emerged between the individual co-operatives and the People's Front committees. The co-operative associations can be represented as organizations in the bodies of the People's Front and through the associations, the People's Front movement can reach the co-operative farms more easily.

Apart from agriculture, the most constant activity of the People's Front is the political work in the villages and the work for the development of the rural districts. In this context the movement has made significant efforts to augment the building of homes through social efforts, to improve local transport and to carry out informative work aimed at promoting tourism. ...

The activity of the movement in the field of educational policies extends to practically every area of our socialist education. The contribution of the People's Front movement has in particular become more significant in the following fields: school education, school enrolment and vocational guidance; cultivating the relationship between people attending higher education schools and their birthplace: organizing the education of adult illiterates in the field of extramural education; training skilled labour in agri-

culture and supporting specialized clubs in the co-operative farms. In addition, the People's Front committees carry on activities of a wider scope in the field of the dissemination of knowledge.

The People's Front carried out independent activity in the field of educational policy in organizing specialized agricultural groups and in the dissemination of political knowledge (which extended to local councillors, too) and certain initiatives were taken in providing popular education in the scattered farmsteads.

Recently participation by the People's Front committees in public educational work has developed significantly. Co-operation with other social organizations has strengthened. They take an active part in working out a unified plan for public education and in implementing the work to be done. The selection of assignments and the concentration of the movement's strength has become more purposeful (the reading movement, adult education, vocational guidance, and so on).

The People's Front is trying to work out activity which involves greater political responsibility in the following fields: wide-scale dissemination of political and economic knowledge; scientific propaganda; organizing the social activity of the intelligentsia in the villages both for the sake of their own development and to increase their socio-cultural influence; promoting popular education in the scattered farmsteads and other peripheral areas; deepening and broadening the "know your homeland" movement.

Resolution of the Political Committee
on the situation and tasks
of the Patriotic People's Front (4 July 1967)

On trade unions

"The trade unions are the organizations of the working class in power; they have contributed to winning and strengthening workers' power and to the socialist development of the country. They conduct their activity among waged and salaried workers.

In the struggle against dogmatism and revisionism the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has restored the Leninist principles of party guidance in the trade unions. Through the predominance of these Leninist principles, the strengthening of party guidance and the development of their autonomy the trade unions have become capable of filling their growing role. Their social role has increased since 1957.

Socialist construction can develop successfully only through the conscious participation of the working masses and through the increased evolution of their activity. The trade unions link the party with the working class in the field of production and socialist management. Therefore it is a justified requirement that they should contribute more effectively to mobilizing the workers and to the construction of a socialist society.

The better utilization of the potentialities inherent in the trade union movement justifies the comprehensive definition of the principles of party guidance and the most important practical functions of the trade unions. ...

The role and assignments of the trade unions in strengthening workers' power and in socialist construction are on the increase. Their work continues to have two sides: to organize and educate the workers so as to strengthen the political and economic forces of our society; to ensure the fulfilment of the material, social and cultural demands of the workers and to protect worker's rights guaranteed by law and in the statutes. The two sides cannot be separated from each other; in day-to-day work they must appear together in a unified way, so that the activity of the trade unions expresses the aggregate social and vocational interests of the workers. The relationship between leaders and workers should meet the accepted norms of socialist morals. In the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat the rights and duties of the trade unions are inseparable from each other.

It is indispensable for the party to win over the workers massed in the trade unions to understand, accept and implement party policy in practice.

The party not only leads and teaches the masses but also learns from them. The party regularly assesses the experiences which the

trade unions gain among the ranks of the workers, through the communists working in this field; and this is used in shaping party policy and in checking on its correctness.

The principles of the party guidance of trade unions are:

(a) The trade unions, which conduct their activities autonomously, are guided by the party theoretically, ideologically and politically.

The trade unions cannot do without the guidance of the party; for them it is an indispensable requirement.

(b) The trade unions are the autonomous organizations of the working class, of wage and salary earners; they conduct their day-to-day activity on the basis of their constitutions and the decisions of their elected bodies. The decisions of party organizations are binding on communists working in the trade unions.

The leading bodies of the trade unions—democratically elected at their congresses—determine their aims for a given period, which are in accordance with the interests of society, of the trade or profession and of the membership. The trade unions work to implement these objectives.

Organizationally the trade unions are autonomous. The party does not interfere in the day-to-day life of the trade unions. The party bodies and organizations do put on their agenda tasks which are dealt with by the trade unions; their decisions and the stands taken are binding on the communists working in the trade unions.

In working out the larger and smaller questions of construction work, the trade unions should be more courageous and independent in taking the initiative, and should take part in implementing our political, economic and cultural objectives more effectively.

Communists working in the trade unions are responsible for satisfying the realistic demands of those who voted for them, for implementing the party's policy—by convincing the masses—for utilizing the experiences gained among the masses and for keeping their party organizations informed.

(c) The fulfilment of the increasing assignments of the trade unions in the fields of politics, the safeguarding of interests, economics and culture demands that an ever increasing number of

party members do active work in the trade union organization to which they belong.

In factories and institutions, significant numbers of party members must be entrusted with party work in the trade unions. The work done in the trade unions is an important party activity.

It is by their active participation in political life, in trade union work that party members win the recognition and confidence of the masses and so are elected to various trade union posts.

Getting understanding for the principle of party guidance of trade unions and seeing that it is effective continues to be regarded by the Political Committee as an indispensable task for party organizations and communists working in the trade unions.

Party bodies and organizations should supervise and assist the communists working in the trade unions to put into effect the decisions passed by the higher bodies of the trade unions.

The territorial party bodies should provide more effective support to branch organizations in order to improve party guidance of trade unions. They should make known the tasks ahead of the trade unions and the principles of party guidance, and they should spread the methods which have been proved in practice.

In our socialist social system, the interests of the trade unions and of the dictatorship of the proletariat are identical. The laws and statutes are obligatory for all citizens. The trade unions struggle for observance of the law. The trade unions have important work to do in providing social support for and supervision of the activities of the state administration, the economy and culture, and in strengthening the relationship between state power and the workers while taking a stand against bureaucracy.

With the increasing sphere of competence and autonomy of enterprise and trade union bodies, it is possible that differences of view may emerge, in principle and also in practice, between the economic, state administrative and trade union bodies and at times even between the government and the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions. The differences of view which appear must be resolved in accordance with the interests of the entire people.

Trade unions represent and at the same time protect the rights

and interests of the trade union membership and of individual workers, taking into account the interests of the whole of society. This fact makes the position of the trade unions on many occasions and in many respects contradictory. The trade unions also work on co-ordinating the interests of the whole of society, of organized workers and of individual workers, and on investigating and dispersing emerging contradictions in co-operation with state administrative and economic bodies.

1. The relationship between the higher-level trade union and state administrative bodies must be regulated on the basis of the following principles:

(a) The state administrative and trade union bodies carry on their activities on the basis of the principle of the identity of interests between the working masses and the people's state.

(b) Before taking any measures affecting the living conditions of the working class and of other wage and salary-earners, the government, the ministries and authorities with nationwide competence should seek the opinion of the Central Council of Trade Unions or the sectional trade unions. Before taking any decision relating to the activities of the government, the ministries and the authorities with nationwide competence, the C.C.T.U. and the trade unions should seek the opinion of the government and of the ministries. They should make proposals for the agenda of each other's sessions.

(c) Efforts should be made to bring possible conflicts of views to the surface and co-ordinate them. In the absence of an agreement, the decision of the competent leading bodies of the party should be requested. The differences of view between the trade unions and the state administrative bodies and those between the government and the C.C.T.U. may be given publicity—if they do not result in harmful political consequences.

(d) The C.C.T.U. should raise their voice with the government and the party against those who violate legal measures. If the case justifies it, they should express their protest publicly.

(e) Trade union leaders at the national level should not be members of the bodies of authorities with nationwide compet-

ence. At the same time, permanent consultative relations between these bodies should be developed further.

The above principles must be applied accordingly in the cooperation between the territorial trade union and state administrative bodies.

2. The principles regulating the relationship between enterprise level trade union bodies and economic management are that in the course of the reform of economic management the workers shall get closer to the actual running of affairs. This will be another source of the increase in the activity of working people. All these demands the further development of workplace democracy and of workplace trade union work.

(a) The principles of the one-man responsibility of the managing director and of the collective participation of the workers must be applied together and simultaneously in the management of socialist enterprises. It is the joint task of the trade unions and economic management to organize the workers to fulfil their obligations, to take part in management and to assert their rights.

(b) Taking as a starting-point the basic principle that the decisions and measures of economic, one-man management concerning production, purchases and economic questions in general are guided by the interests of the whole of society, and therefore eventually by the interests of the workers, these decisions and measures are obligatory for the workers under the direction of that management. In certain questions, related to the living and working conditions of the workers, economic managers take decisions on the basis of agreement with the trade unions. The trade unions support such measures and decisions. The trade unions can veto the measures of managers who violate the law, mutual agreements and treatment which runs counter to socialist morals."

Resolution of the Political Committee
on the practical activity
of the trade unions and on the further development
of their party guidance (10 May 1966)

On youth and on women

8. The development of society has thrust the questions of working women and youth more to the forefront. The Congress states that the stand taken by the Central Committee of the HSWP on these questions has correctly illuminated the situation and problems of these large strata in our society and the major things to be done to help solve the problems...

...It is through the concentration of the forces of society, the joint work of party organizations, trade unions, the youth organization and other organizations, and by appropriate measures from the state economic leaders that we must get nearer to the stage where discrimination against women is eliminated everywhere. Congress states that further measures are necessary to see that the principle of equal pay for equal work is consistently in force; to support mothers, families with many children and to help in the raising of children; to increase women's professional standards; to improve their working conditions and also to make household tasks easier.

9. Educating youth, preparing them for life, for the building of socialism and communism and for all those tasks which are awaiting them in the life of our country and in the struggle of the world's progressive forces is a great social task for the adult generation. The education of youth is not automatically resolved by social progress; it will come about only if our party and government, our schools and social organizations and not least the parents work on it systematically and with appropriate care.

Our society is rearing an educated youth who, developing in a socialist spirit, are becoming capable of resolving ever greater tasks. The majority of young working people are aware of our socialist objectives and it is in that spirit that they are rallied in the Communist Youth Union (KISZ). The influence of our socialist ideals, of our aims to build up our country is strong and is on the increase among students as well. All this poses increasing demands on the activities of KISZ. Great attention must be paid to providing diverse assistance to the work of the Pioneer Organization which is carried out in a socialist spirit and to the emotional

education which it provides. The youth organization, however, can live up to these higher demands only if our party and social organizations, as well as our state institutions, give appropriate help to its work.

A greater awareness that the development of youth has an influence on the whole of society should be created. The outstanding communist detachments of young people have a great influence not only on youth but also on adults. The readiness to act and enthusiastic work of young communists create satisfaction, pleasure and increasing confidence among adult workers. The participation of young people in the socialist brigades, their enthusiastic work in other fields of social life have helped to mobilize adult workers to carry out various tasks. Efforts should be made to see that young people take more part in public life and also in solving the tasks on which our entire people are working. They should be given assistance at the beginning of their careers, in their adjustment to workers' communities, in increasing their expertise and expanding their knowledge.

Resolution of the 10th Congress
of the HSWP on the work of the party and
on the tasks ahead (27 November 1970)

To study the problems of the younger generation means to take into account social and international problems and within that to analyse the social situation and role of youth, in a given period—in the present case in the period of building socialism. Therefore young people must be considered on the basis of the situation they occupy in society and their relations to society. It must be taken into account that young people, depending on which social class, stratum, local group or gender they belong to, are confronted by different living conditions and different systems of norms; therefore they have quite different characteristics. The activities of the members of this age-group are determined by their adaptation to society and their preparation for that adaptation. Young people over the age of 14 represent a significant political-social force. It is necessary not only to influence them but

also to listen to their opinions. Youth are not only a reserve to be moulded and shaped, but also active participants in the life of society. The most important yardstick in judging youth, as in adult society, too, is what they do in practice, how they live, study, work, how they fulfil their obligations. It can be stated that the majority of young people study, work and fulfil their obligations honestly; they are receptive to the ideals of socialism and for the most part their thinking is shaped by these ideas. We can rightfully regard it as an important achievement of our socialist system that youth are attracted to socialism, that their education is better than that of earlier generations and that they demand honesty and have a critical approach...

The aim and substance of the party's youth policy is the socialist education of youth, which is taking place under the conditions of the domestic and international class struggle waged for the complete building of socialism. The thinking and behaviour of youth are determined by social reality, by the political, economic and cultural situation of our country, by the way the world-wide struggle between socialism and capitalism evolves, by the educational work of the party, social institutions, the family, the school, the workplace, the army, the youth organization and other organizations.

The Central Committee deems it necessary that the institutions and organizations of society exercise a greater educational influence on the life of youth in the school, in the workplace and in their free time alike. Their educational activity should be better adjusted to the present controversial reality of life, to the developed state and demands of young people. It should be taken into consideration that we are educating them not only for the present, but also for the future, when as can be foreseen, the demands which face man will increase at an even faster rate. For this reason, all state and social institutions and organizations should strive more resolutely to see that the examples shown by adults, the studies pursued and the struggles waged against the difficulties of life should give birth to socialist outlook and characteristics in young people.

Young people should be brought up to become adults who

have socialist aims; whose ideology and morals are determined by an ever deeper knowledge of Marxism-Leninism; who are patriots and internationalists; who regard as moral everything which carries the cause of progress and socialism forward in our country and in other parts of the world; and who regard as immoral everything which hinders the economic, political and spiritual liberation of the peoples.

The need is for educated, well-trained people, who are enthusiastic about and fight for the realization of new scientific, technological and social ideas serving socialism, who unite this struggle with the further development of the material and spiritual values accumulated by mankind.

The complete building of socialism can be carried through successfully only by optimistic and militant people, who do not tolerate indifference, who do not just wait for social problems and cares to be solved but struggle with all their might against indifference, against doing things by halves and against negligence, and who try to be outstanding in every field of life.

The need is for publicly active, public-spirited people who see the sense of life not in the selfish acquisition of things, but who undertake the fate and problems of their class and nation, because they know that it is on the fate of their socialist native land, moreover of the greater community beyond their native land, that their individual lives and happiness depend; therefore they enrich and protect their native land and the socialist community with all their strength.

The need is for young people who love life; who respect their fellow men, their parents and elders; who recognize and are able to enjoy what is beautiful and good in nature, in society, in science, in the arts, in friendship and in love; who consider the meaning of their lives to be to create something lasting.

Both state institutions and social organizations should take it into greater consideration in their educational work that these socialist features only come about in the community, in the experiences gained in the course of work and learning, in the constant struggle against reactionary, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois views and habits. They should strive to educate our youth to be

active and faithful citizens of their socialist homeland. The more class-conscious, the more socially and politically active sectors of young people should be educated as communists and party members primarily in the ranks of the Communist Youth Union. Greater attention should be paid to increasing the class-consciousness of youth, particularly of worker and peasant youth. Greater opportunities should be provided for developing the participation of young people in public life and for increasing their social and political activity and experiences. Youth should be given greater recognition, confidence and understanding, more opportunities to develop their capabilities, to acquire experiences, and at the same time, the moral and political requirements they are faced with should be raised and well-intentioned criticism of the erroneous feature of their thinking and behaviour should be made stronger.

Statement of the Central Committee
of the HSWP on questions
of youth policy (18-19 February 1970)

The communist youth movement has been the party's comrade in arms and the educator of its rising generation for more than half a century. The Hungarian Communist Youth Union (KISZ) was reorganized by young communist workers, peasant youth, students and young intellectuals in the course of the struggle waged for the consolidation of workers' power and for the realization of the policy of the HSWP. Since that time it has been playing an ever more outstanding role in the life of the country and in the social activities of youth; it shoulders an important part of the social responsibility for the entire youth.

KISZ is the unified political mass organization of Hungarian youth. Its basic task is to serve the ideals of socialism. All members of KISZ should hold their own in work, study and the defence of their native land to the best of their knowledge and ability. They should familiarize themselves with the party's policy, should take a stand for it and should take part in its implementation.

The Hungarian Pioneers Organization has an honourable task and responsibility in the education of school-children; they organize the community life of the children and help in school education.

The task of building a developed socialist society demands that KISZ members, with the help of older communists, should through their good example and conviction educate the whole of Hungarian youth to feel responsible for the fate of the country and for their own future, for socialist morals and way of life. An ever growing section of our young generation should become conscious builders of our society, and the best KISZ members should join the party.

Programme statement of the HSWP
(21 March 1975)

The youth organization of the party, the Hungarian Communist Youth Union, takes part effectively in shaping party policy, in seeing that it is understood and in applying it in practice. It prepares ever broader masses of young people for action in the service of our great common goals. Its programmes and actions are closely linked with our main tasks. It represents the interests of Hungarian youth and conveys the opinions and proposals of young people to the party and state bodies.

KISZ has the honourable task of mobilizing its members and the entire Hungarian youth to fulfil their obligations in study and in the work of building socialism, and of educating them to carry out their patriotic and international obligations. It should foster and strengthen the revolutionary spirit. Its members should set an example in study, work and public life. They should fight resolutely against incorrect views and attitudes, and against the difference, which can be found among some young people. They should adjust to the rising demands and keep the characteristics of the various strata and age-groups in mind when improving their style of work. KISZ should strengthen its character as a movement and do away with its bureaucratic features. It should pay great attention to political and organizational activity among

young people who are already at work, including young manual workers. The best of the young communists should be prepared for party membership. The party bodies and organizations should pay greater attention to guiding and assisting the work of KISZ.

The Hungarian Pioneers' Organization is conducting their work successfully. They should continue to take part in the education of children, to organize their communities, assist with teaching in schools and help with the assimilation of young people into the work of the youth organization after they have outgrown the Pioneers' movement.

Resolution of the 12th Congress
of the HSWP on the work
of the party and on the tasks ahead
(27 March 1980)

The women's question is studied by Marxism-Leninism in the context of the general rules of society. The class roots of this question have been explored and it has been demonstrated that ensuring the equality of women is fundamentally linked to the liberation of the working class and the whole of working society.

Ever since its birth, the Hungarian communist movement has attached great theoretical and political significance to the struggle waged for the emancipation and equality of women. The political, social and economic position of women has developed over the past 25 years within the general political and economic development—together with the whole of society.

Immediately after the Liberation, the equality of women was only synonymous with equal political rights. In the course of the development of socialist society and of the national economy, these rights were expanded by the guarantee of the right to work; the development of the cultural revolution coincided with the wide-scale realization of the right to education.

The changes that have occurred in the development of society, the achievement of workers' power, laying the foundations of socialism, the flourishing of the economy have resulted in significant new advances in the life of women, too.

2. Our achievements related to the women's question have been interlinked with the party's struggle for the building of socialism, in which the women's movement has always been a faithful supporter of the party. It has made a lasting contribution to seeing that women recognize their rights on a wide scale and understand the essence of our system better. ...

3. The efforts aimed at the equality of women cannot be regarded as over and done with. In the legal and political sense the equality of women is guaranteed. But making their rights effective is hindered by the fact that the conditions for their full realization are not yet present in every field. The conservative approach which exists in the attitude of society constitutes a significant retarding force. The standard of the general and political education of women and their activity and interest in public life is not yet satisfactory. The social questions concerning women must be given ever greater attention in our economic, cultural and social policy. We have to deal consciously with the double occupation of women, with their old and new problems.

Equality of women should be made more complete by joint social efforts to put an end to their disadvantageous position in every field of life.

4. The further development of our socialist society and appreciation of our work demand that we retain and popularize the great achievements which the party, the Hungarian working class, the working people have accomplished through their joint efforts in changing the political, economic and social situation of women.

It is the mission of the party, the day-to-day task of our party bodies to mobilize the whole of society—in harmony with the developments which are taking place—to ensure the full equality of women in every field of life. Outmoded views, which still hinder the prevalence of equality in many fields and which are present in the thinking of both men and women, must be overcome, so must the contradictions and harmful phenomena which can be detected in practice...

2. Politically the bodies and organizations of the party should ensure equal treatment in cadre work and in every field of public

life. All attitudes and practices which condemn women to disadvantageous discrimination because they fulfil the duties inherent in motherhood must be rejected and ended. Systematic and consistent educational work is necessary for this purpose.

The bodies and leaders of high-level party, state and social organs should lead by giving a good example. They should encourage women to take part in the work of leading bodies, in working out assignments and in taking decisions of substance in greater numbers and more boldly than before. The elected bodies of the party should regularly analyse the social and political position of women, should determine their specific tasks and should ensure the realization of the party's principles concerning the policy on women.

The workplace party branches must keep communists working in the mass organizations and mass movements and in the social organizations regularly informed on the current issues and tasks related to women. Their specific tasks should be determined regularly and from time to time they should be called on to give account of their work. ...

In national economic planning and management the Council of Ministers, individual ministers, authorities with national competence and the executives of public administrative and economic units should take into consideration the following tasks which are awaiting solution:

1. The practical application of the principle "equal pay for equal work" has to be ensured. Discrimination must be ended.

2. Further efforts should be made to solve the question of the employment of women.

3. When it comes to developing services, extending the network of shops, applying more up-to-date forms of selling and determining opening hours the high level of the employment of women and the timing of their shifts should be taken into consideration to a greater extent than so far. The standard of supply should better satisfy the demands of working women than up to now.

4. More rapid development of child-care institutions and particularly of kindergarten places must be ensured through central measures and by utilizing local resources.

5. Observance of social norms must be demanded at the place of work. If need be, supervisory bodies should avail themselves of their rights to take punitive action.

6. The competent state and trade union bodies should review the profitability of three-shift production in textile factories and decrease the number of night shifts if possible.

7. During 1970 the Committee on Economic Policy should review the possibilities of further improving the financial situation of women raising a child on their own and the methods of paying the material assistance given to families with many children, and in making their proposals should recommend their findings to the attention of those in charge of these questions.

In order to ease the economic situation of women and to improve the social provisions for them, the managers of enterprises, co-operatives and local council leaders should be bolder in initiating the utilization of local possibilities and taking specific measures.

Resolution and statement of the Central Committee
of the HSWP on the political, economic
and social situation of women
and on the tasks ahead (18 February 1970)

“Women are guaranteed equality of rights in this country both legally and politically. This is one of the great achievements in our development following the Liberation. However the exercise of these rights is limited by the fact that the necessary conditions in terms of outlook and material means are not provided for them in all fields. There has also been a further improvement in the economic and social position of women in the past four years, in line with the overall progress made. Yet further long and persistent work will be needed before the principle of equality for women can prevail fully in all spheres in which women work and exert themselves socially and politically. ...”

Resolution of the 10th Congress
of the HSWP on the work of the party and
on the tasks ahead (27 November 1970)

Policy on the Churches

Relations between State and Church are normal, they meet the interests of the State, citizens and socialism. The official leadership of the Churches and the majority of the clergy recognize the socialist state system, they consider co-operation with the socialist state possible and necessary and the State guarantees the religious activity of the Churches. The international effect of the normal relationship between the Hungarian State and Church facilitates collaboration between the progressive forces and pushes reactionary church circles into the background.

The stability of our social and political system, the agreement and active participation of the predominant majority of religious workers in the building of socialism, the satisfactory evolution of the relationship between State and Church have made a partial agreement with the Vatican possible. So the Vatican has recognized our socialist state and its right of say in matters affecting both State and Church.

Resolution of the 9th Congress
of the HSWP (28 November–3 December 1966)

6. The settled relationship between the State and the Churches reflects the balanced situation in our society. In the spirit of the Constitution, the State guarantees freedom of conscience and the autonomous functioning of the Churches. The Churches respect the laws of the State and support the work of building the country. The basis of the good relations between the State and the Churches is correct observance of jointly formulated agreements which serve to benefit our people.

7. The satisfactory predominance of our policy of alliance is an indispensable source for the development of our society. By a systematic exchange of ideas and by persuasion, we seek to convince everyone of the need for joint action. Our socialist aims are being realized through the collaboration between the working classes and different strata, between party members and people outside the party, between Marxists and people of other ideo-

logies, between atheists and believers—a collaboration which is constantly broadening in the course of our progress. The unity of our entire people and their readiness to act must be further strengthened in the building of a developed socialist society.

Resolution of the 12th Congress
of the HSWP on the work of the party
and on the tasks ahead (27 March 1980)

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN HUNGARY

The socialist reorganization of agriculture

1. The socialist transformation of our society is only completed with the socialist reorganization of agriculture, for that is the only way we can put an end to the exploitation of man by man in all fields of our national economy; that is the only way we can deprive the forces striving for the restoration of capitalism of their economic base in all spheres; and that is the only way we can prevent the emergence of new forces with similar aims. Consequently the socialist reorganization of agriculture is in the fundamental interests of the whole of society. Every communist, every progressive working person has to take part in this work.

The goal which in the past two years has been setting the course for our agricultural policy—that the socialist transformation of agriculture has to be carried out simultaneously with a constant increase in agricultural production—continues to be regarded by the Central Committee as an appropriate one. In the view of the Central Committee the political and economic situation makes it possible that the agricultural co-operative movement develop quicker than earlier already in 1959. Development has not been even everywhere and neither will this be the case in the future. In certain counties and within counties in certain districts a more intensive development, which exceeds the national rate of development, is already possible.

The conditions for a development by leaps and bounds do not yet exist, but these conditions can be ensured in the foreseeable future. To do this:

(a) The main task is further to increase and deepen confidence in the party's policy and the authority and political influence of

the party among the masses of working peasants, that is, to strengthen and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance.

(b) Let us strengthen the awareness in the working class that the socialist reorganization of agriculture is their own cause and that it is their task to lead the peasantry to the road of socialism.

(c) Through wide-ranging explanatory work we can see that the peasantry understand that it is only large-scale socialist farming which can bring about their liberation from their vulnerability against the forces of nature and create the opportunities for their cultural advancement.

(d) We pay constant attention to the struggle against the class enemy in the villages and against capitalistic tendencies.

(e) We should strengthen the party organizations and raise the standard of party work in the countryside.

(f) We are increasing the use of machinery and fertilizers in the co-operative farms and we should significantly increase their yields, make their operation more economical and accelerate the development of the superiority of large-scale co-operative farming.

2. The size of the tasks demands co-ordinated organized work extending to the whole of society. Therefore:

(a) The struggle for the socialist transformation of agriculture has to be led and directed by the party everywhere. This struggle is the cause of the entire party. Within that, very important tasks are awaiting the party organizations in the countryside. Within a year, every party organization must organize a wide-ranging network of activists—where they already have one, it must be strengthened—from the ranks of co-operative peasants, teachers and agronomists, who enjoy the greatest prestige, are unconditionally faithful to our people's democracy, and agree with and are prepared to fight for the socialist reorganization of agriculture.

(b) To strengthen the party organizations and local councils, and the already existing and newly established co-operative farms in the countryside, five hundred politically strong, well-trained comrades must be sent to the villages—comrades who have great experience in political and organizational work, who for the most part have their roots in the countryside and who know the situ-

ation in the countryside well. Their transfer to the countryside has to be organized in such a way that those concerned should undertake these tasks voluntarily, as a party assignment. At the same time care must be taken that this should not be disadvantageous for them. The transfer of cadres should be organized jointly by the Party and Mass Organization Department of the Central Committee and the county party committees.

(c) Newly established or weak co-operative farms must be reinforced by politically strong, well-trained experts. For this purpose, experienced, talented people capable of leading must be chosen first of all from the well-established, strong co-operative, state and experimental farms. People who have attended the school for co-operative chairmen and brigade leaders and who have been transferred meanwhile to other fields have to be looked up and those capable of filling leading posts should again be directed into co-operative work. This redistribution has to be carried out with the participation of the competent party organizations and care must be taken not to let those concerned suffer any material disadvantage.

(d) In every county, groups of activists consisting of 50 to 100 well-trained communists should be formed alongside the county party committee. The task of these groups is to provide assistance to the local village leaders in the organization of and agitation for the co-operative farms. The Central Committee recommends that in villages where significant development is the aim the individually farming peasants who have authority and who are opinion-makers, should be called together with the assistance of this group and they should be consulted thoroughly on the question of co-operatives. It is desirable to convene the new smallholders of the village separately and to discuss the question of co-operatives with them thoroughly.

(e) Through wide-ranging explanatory work the members of the mass organizations in the villages must be persuaded of the advantages of forming co-operatives. Efforts should be made to persuade all individually farming village council members, members of the leadership of the farmers' co-operatives, members of the Patriotic People's Front committees, of the communist youth

movement, of the executive committees of the women's council to be willing to join or establish co-operative farms as soon as possible. "Village youth co-operatives", formed primarily for the sake of production under the auspices of the Communist Youth Union (KISZ) and the National Association of Co-operatives, must be supported at all costs.

(f) The party organizations and councils in the countryside should organize co-operative development committees consisting of 20 to 40 members. Both co-operative members and individually farming peasants of authority who are farming well and are willing to join the co-operative farms should be included in the development committees. If possible they should include people who have received land recently, small and middle peasants, dwarf holder semi-proletarians; then teachers and representatives of the craftsmen's and other co-operatives functioning in the villages as well.

The committee should work out a development plan for the establishment of a co-operative farm or for the expansion of an existing co-operative. It should carry on systematic agitational-organizational work to implement this plan. After the first favourable results this work should not be stopped, but should be continued until such time as the majority of the individually farming peasants from the outlying fields or the village itself join the co-operative farm or the co-operative group and if possible, until such time as the village becomes a co-operative village.

Patronage for the co-operative farms must be organized with the help of the state farms and industrial enterprises. It is expedient if the party secretary of the co-operative farm is assisted and patronized by the factory party secretary, the chairman by the manager, the accountant of the co-operative farm by the chief accountant, the experts of the co-operative farm by the experts of the state farm. Efforts should be made to make this relationship permanent and continuous.

In addition, individual forms of patronage must be established in the co-operative movement. It is desirable that comrades working in leading posts of the nation, Central Committee members, members of the government, of the National Assembly, of

the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, party members and people outside the party should undertake to be patrons of and support the co-operative farm movement of one or another village.

(h) The state farms, the machine and tractor stations and the forestry concerns should help the co-operative farm movement first of all by demonstrating and providing evidence of the superiority of socialist large-scale farming by exemplary high productivity and large incomes in their own enterprises, secondly by giving specific economic, organizational and political assistance to the co-operative farms. Under the guidance of their communist employees, they should also give assistance in the establishment of new co-operatives by active organizational and agitational work.

3. The Central Committee states that the major route for the socialist transformation of agriculture in our country is the agricultural co-operative. Therefore efforts should be made everywhere to create the conditions for the establishment of agricultural co-operatives, or where these conditions are already present, agricultural co-operatives should be established and the already existing co-operative farms developed as fast and as vigorously as possible...

Communiqué on the resolution
of the session of the Central Committee
of the HSWP (7 December 1958)

The further expansion of co-operative democracy is demanded by the development of our co-operative movement and at the same time is a social source for it. Therefore parallel with the achievement of autonomous enterprise-type management, co-operative democracy must also be strengthened. In addition to the development of well-tried forms, efforts should be made to apply and introduce methods which correspond to the new requirements.

Bearing in mind the changes which have taken place in the size and activity of the co-operatives, the scope of competence

of self-governing bodies must be made to suit the real exercise of democratic rights on the part of the membership to see that the unity of rights and obligations is in force. To this end it is an indispensable task to ensure that members are given regular and appropriate information. The efforts aimed at making the activity of the leading bodies and leaders more effective should be enhanced by a more rational division of authority, too. We should see to it that the membership meetings should become suitable forums for making real decisions on the most fundamental questions of the co-operatives, such as the status of the co-operative, the election of the chairman and the major office-holders, the approval of the basic rules and constitution, the approval of the accounts and plans. It is reasonable to refer certain other questions, in accordance with their importance, to delegate meetings, the leadership, individual leaders, committees and smaller working collectives. The tasks of corporate and one-man management should be separated in accordance with the requirements.

As a result of the increase in the significance of delegate meetings, greater attention must be paid to the election of delegates, and they should give regular account of their activities to those they represent, and it should be ensured that the representatives of employees should also take part in the work of the delegate meetings in a suitable manner. In the social and economic life of the co-operatives, the role of the smaller collectives, such as work-group brigades, branch and territorial units, organizations and other communities of the workers and membership, should be increased. It is reasonable to give them the right to formulate opinions and to take decisions on a determined range of questions. Employees should have the same say as members in deciding questions related to work.

The communists should contribute to making the small collectives into substantive forms of co-operative democracy. They should direct more attention to the particular interests of certain strata of co-operative members (women, young people, functionaries, professionals and physical workers), they should support the prevalence of these interests and the participation of these strata in the corporate bodies of the co-operative in proper numbers.

The constitutions of the co-operatives and other internal rules are the setting which embraces the rights and obligations of the membership. The fuller evolution of the feeling of common ownership and education in proper behaviour make it necessary that the membership know their rights and obligations and exercise and abide by them. This should be enhanced by simplifying the internal rules and by decreasing their number, making them clearer and more understandable. All this can contribute to the creation of a better workplace atmosphere, and creative initiative from the membership and their active participation in the day-to-day life of the co-operatives will be able to prevail better.

4. More efficient operation of the system of supervision in the co-operatives promotes the realization of the economic, social and political tasks of the co-operatives, the legality of their operation and the protection of co-operative property. It is a social and co-operative interest and in the interest of the individual members to improve the standard of supervision in the co-operatives and to improve the terms for the personnel in this work. In order to do this:

— The co-operative bodies carrying out this supervisory activity should be given greater responsibility for the protection of public property, for the prevention of irregularities and for the consistent elimination of detected shortcomings.

— All forms of owner's (corporate) control as well as the common owner's attitude must be strengthened.

— Supervision must be regarded as an organic part of management activity and this should be given expression in the evaluation of the work of the managers.

— The activities of the supervising (control) committees and the internal control work directly assisting the management should be strengthened by a precise definition of their sphere of competence, tasks and order of subordination and by ensuring their further professional education.

5. As a consequence of concentration and the modernization of management, working conditions identical or closely similar to those in state enterprises are emerging more and more in the co-operatives, too. The development of property relations and

management makes it possible and the restratification of workers makes it justified that—parallel with the creation of suitable conditions—the principles of rights and duties relating to the work performed, which are valid for the whole of society, are gradually realized in the co-operatives, too. Several central measures have already been taken in this respect but it is necessary for the co-operatives themselves to assess their own possibilities and to take the necessary measures. (For example, seeing that the principle of distribution according to work performed is consistently in force and ensuring continuous employment.) ...

Guiding principles from the Political Committee
for communists taking part in the Congress
of Agricultural Co-operatives (29 June 1976)

*The reform of economic management and the development
of the national economy*

Critical analysis of the system of economic management makes it obvious that our problems are not “very simple”, rather they are diverse and complex. Since we are talking about problems of an economic nature, related to one another, within a consolidated economic system, no partial measures or “tidying-up” so to speak can provide a solution. There is need for a comprehensive reform, for a co-ordinated series of measures.

In working out a programme of reform, resulting from the critical analysis, it is correct to start out from the following organically linked guiding principles:

1. The scientific foundations of the planning of the national economy should be improved, particularly in planning for such variables of economic development as technological development, the changes in the demands of the population and those of foreign buyers, as well as the economic consequences of these changes.

— The fundamental task of national economic planning is to plan the main objectives of economic development and the main proportions of economic growth which will provide an optimal balance, as well as ensuring the co-ordinated application of the

methods which will serve to see that they are implemented. The practice of working out right at the start of planning work various alternatives in the plan for every plan period, in order to implement a given concept, should be introduced to enable the party and the government to choose the possibility which is most favourable in every respect, or to combine these possibilities in a reasonable way.

— The backbone of planning work should be the medium-term (five-year) plans and in addition, the long-term (10 to 20-year) plans should be given a greater role. Medium-term planning should be more thorough and continuous; economic guidance and government measures should be built on this to a greater extent. The annual national economic plan should be used, more than till now, to implement the five-year plan, as a way of solving changes which arise in the course of progress, and problems of equilibrium, taking care not to conflict with the objectives of the medium-term plans...

2. The improvement of economic efficiency demands the extension of the autonomy, the sphere of competence and the responsibility of state enterprises, in order to utilize the forces and means of production to the optimum. This can be done if the state bodies guide the implementation of national economic plans not by breaking down the various figures in the plan, that is not by prescribing certain plan figures administratively, but primarily by economic means; administrative instructions should be given only when these other means are ineffective...

— Enterprises should prepare their annual plan for several years as their own working programme. They should be responsible for the whole process of the complex cycle of production in the enterprise. The goal of their activity should be a double one:

(a) To satisfy as best as possible the demands of their partners for quantity, quality and choice and in time.

(b) To do all this as profitably as possible.

To realize these two goals, they should take autonomous decisions concerning their production programme, and the most purposeful use, and in part selection, of the means at their disposal. The basis of the production programme of the enterprises

should be provided by the orders of their main customers, and beyond that the market demands which can be expected should be assessed by the enterprises and they should prepare to satisfy those demands by taking certain risks...

3. A price system based on uniform principles must be created which will better use price ratios and profitability to influence producers and consumers in their economic decisions than up till now; this will enhance rational savings in the components of production, the adjustment of production to requirements (market demands), the spread of more up-to-date products and the creation of a more economical consumption structure...

4. The material incentive system of the enterprises must be built on the consistent and full application of the principle of autonomous economic accountancy. It should be a guiding principle that the enterprises, within the framework of central state guidance, should have satisfactory autonomy and incentives both in respect of the use of enterprise funds and paying wages. The enterprises working more economically and more profitably should be able to give more to their employees and allocate more to create enterprise funds than the enterprises which do not function so well...

5. In order to improve the effectiveness of investments significantly, first of all a proper balance should be established in every period between the supply and demand for investment goods; this can be done by creating reserves of materials and technological capacity during planning, for cases of overfulfilment which stem from accelerated implementation, and for other tasks. Secondly, there should be a more rational distribution than at present of the authority to make decisions and concerning investments among the central bodies, the enterprises and the banks, and investment bureaucracy should be significantly decreased...

7. Just as in other fields, the main direction of the reform in agriculture should be the development of autonomous enterprise (co-operative) management and simultaneously the establishment of a more efficient and more differentiated guidance by economic means. Administrative type of interference should be further narrowed down and then eliminated...

8. The trend of development in the activities of the local councils in the economic field should be a significant increase in their financial autonomy; in their activities they should make good, both state economic policy and the direct interests and aspirations of the population of their district. Enterprise management considerations or sectional interests should not dominate the work of the councils...

9. In the management of socialist state enterprises the principles of the one-man responsibility and leadership of managers, and of the collective participation of the workers, should be enforced together and interlinked. These two principles must be not as two mutually exclusive but under our socialist conditions as two mutually complementary principles...

Initial guiding principles
for the reform of the system of economic management
from the Central Committee
of the HSWP (18-20 November 1965)

The fact that the external conditions for our economic development have become disadvantageous to us, has not impaired our achievements so far; but it has brought to surface lasting difficulties in our economy, in particular that the export capacity of industry and agriculture is not proportionate to the possibilities and significantly lags behind demands. These circumstances do not change our fundamental economic political principles, but they give greater emphasis to making good the economic policy announced in the resolutions of the 11th Congress and in the Manifesto. This applies not only to economic goals, but also to the demand that the work of economic guidance should adjust better to increasing demands. That is how we can overcome economic difficulties and how we can continue to ensure unbroken development.

The point of departure in enforcing our economic development policy should be as follows.

— The main task of our economic construction work is to lay the material foundations for achieving the aims of our social po-

policy, objectives which lie ahead of us in the course of building a developed socialist society.

— We realize our economic development aims first of all in close co-operation with the CMEA countries.

— The satisfaction of social and individual demands at an increasingly high level—in harmony with our economic possibilities and the socialist nature of our society—and the improvement of the living conditions of the population are the fundamental objectives and at the same time indispensable driving force of our economic development. We should avoid the wasteful tying down of our resources by creating a socialist way of life and a consumption structure which is socially reasonable. This demands that we should consistently strengthen the socialist features of socio-economic development in consumption, too, and that we should work out the principles and methods in this field which can be more applied in the longer run.

— Our economic development in the coming decades should be more dynamic as it has been previously. The rate of growth has to be in harmony with economic possibilities and must be accompanied by an appropriate external and internal equilibrium. Enforcing this requirement will determine the rate of growth as well.

— A lastingly dynamic and balanced economic growth can be achieved only by an intensive increase in efficiency. In the coming period, the main source of the increase in efficiency can be the utilization of reserves, which corresponds to the domestic conditions of the production structure and international conditions and the better use of the production equipment at our disposal and of the labour force.

— Scientific research and technological development and the better utilization of the possibilities inherent in them will be even more a determining factor for our future economic development, particularly as far as the increase of our competitiveness in the world market is concerned. This demands the selective development of these activities, which has to be realized in harmony with the production structure and foreign economic policy.

— Our more active participation in the international division of labour, the development of co-operation with both socialist and

non-socialist countries, is an indispensable precondition for an increase in the efficiency of our economy. Foreign economic activity has to play an increasing role in ensuring a growth rate and equilibrium corresponding to our social-political aims, in the development of the production structure.

— The changed conditions of economic growth confront the economic management system with the demand that they ensure, more consistently than up till now, the recognition of proper ratios in development, the conditions of incentives and motivation, the necessary resources and the more effective structure necessary for their implementation. We must achieve a concentrated use of investments and labour, seeing that only efficient development goals are realized, and simultaneously that activities which do not utilize resources economically are curtailed and eliminated. The efforts to change the production structure and the increasing interest in foreign economic activity demand greater flexibility and greater initiative from both the producing and marketing economic units. All this can be realized only with a more sensible system of motivation and a differentiation in income for both enterprises and individuals which depends on performance. It is particularly important to develop the system of prices and subsidies in a direction which helps in the solution of our structural tasks better.

— Strengthening the unity of politics and economics remains an important requirement. By virtue of the size and character of the necessary changes, the development of the production structure and the practical realization of our foreign economic policy inevitably affect the established interests of communities and individuals, and the enforcement of national economic interests in opposition to these may create social tensions at times. The need to solve these in every field of social life only justifies the more intensive political preparatory work and the active support to be given to the implementation of these policies.

Resolution of the Central Committee
of the HSWP on the guiding principles
of our long-term foreign economic policy
and on the development of the production
structure (20 October 1977)

In substance the cultural revolution is a struggle waged for the establishment of socialist culture. Socialist culture is created by the working masses themselves, under the guidance of the party, relying on the organized force of the people's democratic state and its cultural institutions.

The aims of the cultural revolution are:

(a) To definitely put an end to the educational privileges and advantages of the former ruling classes. To boost the education and knowledge of the whole working people and to raise their cultural level. By making the achievements of culture a public treasure to ensure the multifarious emergence and further development of the cultural creative power of the people in our socialist society.

(b) The whole of public education, all the arts and all the cultural institutions must be made to serve this struggle, which is being waged by the working class for the cause of socialism.

(c) To see that the ideology of Marxism-Leninism triumphs in the minds and thinking of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. To shape the socialist class-consciousness of the people, their new morals, characteristics and behaviour and by doing so to facilitate the emergence of a unified socialist nation.

(d) To shape the new socialist intelligentsia of the working class, of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To this end we must continue the ideological remoulding of intellectuals, who had a formal bourgeois education, but who are faithful to people's power. Placing well-trained workers and peasants into intellectual positions and to ensure their appropriate professional training to enable them to fulfil their tasks at a high level. Special care must be taken to establish the socialist ideology of the rising young intelligentsia who are mostly of worker and peasant origin and to shape a firm, communist behaviour in them. These three strata must constitute a socialist intelligentsia which is in the service of worker-peasant power and which is forged in unity by a common Marxist-Leninist ideology.

(e) By cultural means we must help to diminish and finally to

eliminate the significant differences between intellectual and manual work and between the towns and the villages.

The goals of socialist educational policy are not ends in themselves; rather they constitute an organic and inseparable part of the overall task, which is signified by the construction of socialism. The cultural revolution is a part of the socialist transformation. Therefore the role of socialist culture is to help in solving the tasks of socialist construction by its creative force, by means of science and the arts.

The cultural revolution is not an instinctive and not an automatic process. The seizure of power, the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat only created the possibility of a cultural revolution; but the working masses can only turn this opportunity into reality under the guidance of the party and with the help of the cultural organizational activity of the state. The bourgeoisie, which was defeated in economic and political life, concentrates its forces on the cultural front to a significant degree, using the advantages and position it retains in education to launch attacks against the developing socialist order. In culture, socialism gains ground more slowly than in the economy and politics; therefore socialist culture can develop only in a class struggle led with perseverance and a sense of purpose, and by an ever more effective dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology which will overcome and push aside bourgeois views.

The cultural revolution is a struggle to eliminate the backwardness inherited from capitalism and against bourgeois ideals and reactionary bourgeois culture which still make their influence felt today. In this struggle we should rely on the democratic and socialist traditions of national and international culture in the period before the socialist revolution.

The developing cultural revolution has achieved great results in our country.

The general-school network which provides a uniform basic education has been established, we have nationalized church schools and we have made religious education optional. It is characteristic of the development of lower-level education which affects the widest strata of the people that while in 1938, 33,500

children completed schooling which corresponds to the eight classes of today, this number already reached 100,000 in 1957. The increase was mostly in favour of children in the countryside. The number of teachers teaching in primary schools has doubled from a figure of 26,000. In 1938 there were 52,000 secondary-school students, whereas by 1955 this number had tripled. Secondary education became free. In addition to increasing the number of secondary schools, we have organized a wide network of secondary schools which provide vocational training. More than 400 schools at the lower and medium level are at the disposal of the ethnic minorities in the country. Since 1945, 20,000 adult workers have completed the general-school syllabus and 52,000 the various secondary-school syllabi through evening and correspondence courses.

In 1937-38 there were 16 universities and schools of higher education with 37 faculties, whereas in 1957-58 there were 29 universities and schools of higher education with 47 faculties. In 1938 there were 11,700 students in the universities and schools of higher education, while in 1957-58 this number was 32,900. The ratio of students of worker and peasant origin has grown from 35% to over 50%. The predominant majority of students at universities and schools of higher education receive scholarships. The average sum expended on scholarships is 100 million forints annually in all. During the past ten years more than 69,000 people have completed their studies at the daytime, evening and correspondence courses of the universities. In addition, nearly 10,000 teachers obtained specialized diplomas in the courses of the teachers training colleges. The scientific standard in our whole education system has been raised.

In book publishing progressive works have gradually come to the fore and so have the achievements of Soviet culture which had been kept from our people almost completely in the past. The development of our book publishing and of our network of libraries signal that our people have become a "nation of book readers". In 1938, 8,152 books were published in 17,300,000 copies, whereas the corresponding figures for 1955 were 17,506 and 44,800,000 respectively. There has been an enormous increase

in publishing works of Hungarian classical literature. Works by our classical writers were published in the following numbers between 1945 and 1957: the poems of Petőfi in 680,000 copies, the novels of Mikszáth in 1,407,000 copies, the writings of Ady in 214,000, the works of Móricz in 1,985,000 and the poems of Attila József in 232,000 copies. The publishing of scientific works and the masterpieces of world literature has grown severalfold. In this respect the publishing and spread of the classics of Marxism-Leninism must be emphasized. The library network has expanded significantly, particularly in factories and villages; there were only 200 village libraries in 1938 and there were 3,580 in 1955.

The network of cinemas has widened considerably in 1938: there were 410 cinemas in the country, in 1957 there were 4,152, an increase of more than tenfold. There is a cinema in 81% of the villages. The number of cinema-goers was 18.5 million in 1938 and 133 million in 1957. The increase is particularly high among workers and even greater among the peasants; the number of cinema-goers in the villages grew from 4 million to 63 million.

There were 2.5-3 million theatre-goers in 1938 and 7 million in 1957. The number of opera-goers increased from 400,000 to 1,200,000, the numbers in the audiences in provincial theatres grew from 800,000 to 2,300,000. The number of radio subscribers in 1938 was 319,000; in 1957 it was 1,774,000 (785,000 of them in the countryside).

The number of cultural centres was negligible before the Liberation. In 1957, however, there were 4,627 enterprise and territorial cultural centres in operation, 1,891 among them in the villages. A very wide network has been set up and there are diverse forms of educational work in the cities, enterprises and villages.

These figures give evidence not simply of great numerical increases, but of qualitative changes in the substance, spread and influence of education for which there have been no precedents in our history. In their interrelationships they have shown that we have broken and eliminated the educational monopoly of the former ruling classes and we have energetically developed the cultural provisions for our people; we have increased the standard of

their general education, professional knowledge and expertise. The cultural differences between the cities and the countryside have decreased. Our culture is becoming more and more socialist in its contents. Our education and the various sciences are beginning to be imbued with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, with dialectical and historical materialism. Our social sciences have attained lasting achievements, particularly in the exploration and Marxist analysis of the past; the natural sciences have come closer to practice. Recent trends in research have been complemented by new ones; new scientific institutes have been built primarily for the purpose of industrial research. The reorganized Hungarian Academy of Sciences has become the centre of our scientific life.

The various bourgeois tendencies (art for art's sake and formalism) have for the most part been forced out of our literary and artistic life; at the same time progressive traditions have been widely introduced. The first fruits of socialist realism have appeared in creative work. Together with the socialist realist achievements in the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the West, these have given expression to the realistic aspirations of artists who have not yet reached socialist ideology.

All this is factual refutation of the lies put out by counter-revolutionary propaganda which attempted to minimize and indeed to deny these highly significant achievements in every field of culture. The party has proved by deeds and works of creative art that the only feasible road for our educational policy is the socialist road; only this will lead to the cultural prosperity of the working masses, to the Hungarian people becoming a socialist nation and to the prospects of achieving cultural results of an even higher order than so far.

Guiding principles of the educational policy of the HSWP (25 July 1958)

During the past quarter of a century, we have attained historic achievements in the fulfilment of a Leninist cultural revolution. We have come closer to the aim of millions acquiring what has

been valuable in more than two thousand years' development of human thinking and culture.

The educational situation of our people during the past fifteen years, in co-ordination with the social, political and economic transformation of the country, has fundamentally changed.

The level of schooling has increased significantly. In 1960, 75% and in 1970, 90% of the 15-20-year age-group completed the eight-year syllabus of the general (primary) schools within the period of compulsory education (6 to 16 years old). We have provided a widening range of opportunities for learning for those who had not completed general school, and we are further increasing the level of interest and favourable terms for those taking part in evening classes and correspondence education.

In addition to the fundamental role of organized school education, the work of those involved in popular education has played a significant role in raising the educational level. Further learning, regular education has become an integral part of the way of life in wide sections of society. Twenty-five per cent of the population are regular readers; the libraries have 2,300,000 readers on their lists. There are more than 8,000,000 visitors to the museums. Amateur art movements have 200,000 participants. The scope of the search for knowledge and the popular scientific movement are growing; the activities of the various specialized groups and clubs have livened up in recent years...

Despite the considerable development, the level of education and schooling lags behind the present demands and the possibilities of socialist construction work. Partly because of the shortcomings of our work in public education, many people are still left out of the mainstream of cultural life, or do not even attempt to acquire genuine cultural values.

It is desirable and necessary that extramural, active, voluntary, independent and organized education under the auspices and with the support of various institutions, social organizations and movements becomes more effective, of a higher standard and wider in scope and that it serves to make the growing amount of free time useful and rich in content.

1. The building of socialism demands ever increasing produc-

tion, a higher standard of living and a communal way of life. The further building of socialist society demands workers who are professionally well-trained, who measure up to the requirements of production, culture and work ethics, who carry out their work purposefully, consciously and more productively and who think in terms of the community. The shaping of socialist man is an indispensable requirement for the development of society and the demand of ever larger masses.

General culture, building on the achievements of the educational system—above all on those of the general school—should convey the progressive, intellectual values of the past and present of our people and of mankind and the cultural works of socialist ideology to the masses and should enhance patriotic and internationalist education.

General culture must contribute to the intensification of active participation in public life; it must help to create the intellectual preconditions necessary for the further broadening of socialist democracy.

General culture cannot be narrowed down to the dissemination and transmission of knowledge; there are other important tasks too—helping to shape a socialist way of life—forms of activity and behaviour; the mental and intellectual identification with socialist ideals; the development of a community spirit; the will to act and the increase of activity in public life.

Socialist general culture must enhance the creation of a social atmosphere in which the satisfaction of the demands of an intelligent way of living and work performed for communal objectives constitute social values and should receive the highest recognition, where the acquisition and use of consumer goods is reasonable and follows actual needs.

It is an important task of our policy on general culture to contribute to lessening educational and cultural inequalities and beyond that social differences, and to accelerate the ever fuller development of the individual.

Work concerning general culture also has the important task of seeing to it that the adult population live and think on a cul-

tural level corresponding to the present-day and future development of socialism, and that culture becomes something which is enjoyed on a mass scale.

Resolution of the Central Committee
of the HSWP on the tasks of developing
general culture (19-20 March 1973)

BACKGROUND

WHAT DO YOU NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC?

A country, the present-day life of a people, their social and economic aspirations, their entire present can really only be understood if we take a look at their past, if we see the development which has taken place during their history. The achievements, the successes and also the problems of the Hungarian People's Republic, which is building socialism, can only be understood if we review briefly the road which this Central European country of 93,000 square kilometres and 10,700,000 inhabitants has travelled over the last hundred years.

POPULATION (1 January, thousands)

1930	8685
1941	9316
1950	9293
1960	9961
1970	10322
1980	10710
1983	10700

In the spring of 1848, "the spring of peoples", feudal Hungary, which was at that time under the rule of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty, was also the scene of a bourgeois democratic revolution which was later followed by a national war of independence. This failed and was followed by cruel repercussions. The Habsburg

Empire did everything to eliminate every trace of Hungarian independence. But social and bourgeois development could not be impeded. As a result of the domestic situation and external conditions, in 1867 the dynasty reached an agreement with the big land-owning class and the emerging capitalist class. On the basis of that agreement known as the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was established. In fact two autonomous states were founded which were bound together by a common ruler and common affairs (military matters, foreign and related financial affairs). Among the given historical possibilities this was a realistic compromise which speeded up the country's economic and social progress.

After 1867, adjusting to the markets of the dualist Monarchy, industry started to develop; new factories, industrial establishments and railways were built. The sudden growth in agricultural production was able to provide the manufacturing industry with raw materials in abundance. During the half a century following the Compromise the agrarian country of Hungary became an agricultural-industrial country, which lessened her backwardness compared to the Western countries to a certain degree.

Economic development—and the resulting social changes—did not solve the problems of the Monarchy or of Hungary. By the beginning of the twentieth century the political struggles had become more acute and the labour movement had emerged and strengthened. The dissatisfaction of the workers who scraped along on very low wages and of the several million landless peasants was coupled with the nationalist movements of the non-Hungarian population.

Hungary took part in the First World War as a part of the Monarchy. A society burdened by huge estates originating in feudalism, by outdated forms of production and the complicated structure of a dualist state, could hardly cope with the added burden of a long-drawn-out war. The constantly worsening economic situation and the increasing poverty of the workers precipitated a war crisis which developed into a revolutionary crisis under the impact also of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

National councils were set up one after the other in the Mon-

archy, which by the autumn of 1918 was united only in name. The forces supporting a bourgeois democratic transformation were brought to power in October by the so-called "Aster Revolution" in Budapest. Soldiers returned home from the front in great masses, public administration became paralysed, the old system collapsed, and the emperor was forced to resign.

Hungary, becoming an independent republic, inherited an extremely difficult situation. Production was wrecked by the war economy, a shortage of raw materials, economic blockade and the loss of territories which were handed over to the neighbouring countries. Nor was the bourgeois democratic programme able to solve the pressing social problems.

The Hungarian Communist Party, established in November 1918, offered a radical left-wing programme to resolve the situation. On 21 March 1919 the Communist Party assumed power in agreement with the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, and the Hungarian Republic of Councils was proclaimed.

The Hungarian working class achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat by peaceful means by relying on the working people, the majority of the nation.

The Republic of Councils bravely undertook a dual struggle against domestic counter-revolution and the Entente. The new people's power was established with great speed and the socialist transformation of society was begun with dynamic energy. The factories, mines, banks were taken into public ownership and the land belonging to the big land-owners was expropriated. The schools were nationalized, public education extended and the best representatives of the progressive intelligentsia were invited to take up the leading positions in cultural life. Meanwhile the new republic was forced into a permanent state of armed defence: counter-revolution was organized at home and in addition outside intervention constituted a deadly danger. The Hungarian Red Army was formed and in May and June 1919 completed a number of successful military operations. But increasing internal problems and the Entente's overwhelming power forced the Council Government to resign on 1 August 1919, after 133 days in power.

The defeat of the Republic of Councils was followed by the

period of White Terror. The Entente Powers saw the key to the problem in the counter-revolutionary army. Its leader, Miklós Horthy, was elected regent of the country. In the beginning Horthy and his circle governed by open terror, then in an atmosphere of covert and systematic terror the country was consolidated politically and economically.

Horthy looked for his social backing to the class of land-owners and the populous stratum of bureaucrats; he tried to win over the land-owning peasantry and allowed the Social Democratic Party to function within limits. The communists and the communist movement were outlawed and persecuted.

Between the two wars certain branches of industry in Hungary, like the textile industry, bauxite-mining and aluminium-metallurgy, continued to develop. Manual labour still played an important part in agriculture and progress here was more modest. The danger of unemployment hung over the industrial workers, and the several million strong agrarian proletariat and poor peasantry had to struggle for their daily bread.

The world economic crisis of 1929-33 had a destructive effect on Hungary, too. Dissatisfaction grew throughout practically every class of society. The government tried to suppress dissatisfaction by introducing dictatorial measures and fascist methods: efforts were made to eliminate the trade unions, the social democratic movement, civil rights and parliamentarism, but this was something the government could not achieve. The illegal communist movement was persecuted mercilessly and a number of trials were begun against members which ended in very harsh sentences. In the second part of the thirties there was a definite shift to the right on the Hungarian political scene. Preparations for war were put in hand in order to regain the territories lost in 1918. Horthy did manage to regain certain territories but this meant total commitment to Nazi Germany. In the summer of 1941 Hungary joined Germany's war against the Soviet Union, in which 40,000 dead and 70,000 wounded and prisoners were lost by 1943. After this sobering blow there was no way back. In March 1944 Nazi Germany invaded Hungary and with their

Hungarian supporters made the country the scene of desperate fighting.

For the Hungarian people 23 September 1944, when the first Soviet soldiers reached Hungary, was the beginning of the realization of the dreams held by their progressive revolutionary predecessors. During the last months of the Second World War, Soviet troops and Hungarian anti-fascists fought battles involving great bloodshed on Hungarian territory until the country was cleared of the last German soldier. Since then 4 April 1945 has been celebrated as Hungary's Day of Liberation. This was followed by the triumph of workers' power, amidst difficult social struggles; the building of socialism was started and—despite all the setbacks and mistakes—has continued and is continuing ever more successfully.

In the spring of 1945 reconstruction of the country from the destruction of the Second World War began at full speed under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party. The damage caused by the war was tremendous. Forty per cent of the country's national wealth had been destroyed. The withdrawing Germans blew up bridges, destroyed 40% of the railroad network and took 70% of the railway rolling stock out of the country. The 30% which remained in the country was all destroyed. The figures below give a detailed picture of the war damage.

Legislation was enacted to distribute the land, under which about 600,000 former landless farm-hands and agricultural labourers became small-holders. The mines, the banks and the manufacturing industries were nationalized. The key positions of the economy were taken over by the government, which made central direction possible. In agriculture state farms were organized and the working farmers established the first co-operatives; the economy was able to develop on a new basis.

Fundamental changes took place in the country's life. The working-class forces were united through the merger of the Social Democratic Party and the Hungarian Communist Party; the Hungarian Working People's Party was established and in alliance with the poor peasantry and other progressive forces of society established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The social-

WAR DAMAGE

	Value in million pengő, 1938 rate	Percentage of the total damage
Agriculture	3,682.3	16.8
Mining and metallurgy	65.4	0.3
Manufacturing industry	2,042.4	9.3
Small-scale industry	727.0	3.3
Trade	1,365.4	6.2
Credit institutions	830.0	3.8
Insurance institutions	157.0	0.7
Transport	3,689.3	16.8
Private households	5,247.9	23.9
Dwellings, houses	1,854.0	8.4
Small-scale industrial buildings	212.9	1.0
Health and welfare institutions	156.2	0.7
Cultural damage	407.3	1.9
Other damage	1,513.8	6.9
Total	21,950.9	100.0

ist revolution was victorious but—in addition to justified pride—the rapid political and economic success created false illusions in the leadership of the country. Under these influences unfounded, subjective aspirations emerged and became rooted in economic policy. Forced industrialization, the lag in agricultural development and the political errors which were committed created dissatisfaction and this was utilized by internal and external reaction which carried out a concentrated attack against people's power. On 23 October 1956 a counter-revolution was launched.

With the assistance of the international working class and the Soviet Union, we overcame the attack of the counter-revolution. We have reorganized the Communist Party under the name of Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and restored the Leninist norms of party life. Confidence between the party and the masses strengthened and the acceleration of socialist development in Hungary became possible.

The quarter of a century following the defeat of the counter-revolution brought rapid economic development. By 1980 the



1 2. The Chain Bridge in Budapest at the end of the Second World War and today





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3-4. János Kádár, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, at the 12th Congress of the party

5. *Ad hoc* meeting at a Budapest textile factory during a visit by János Kádár



6



7



6. János Kádár meets Leonid Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, with Gyula Kállai, the then Prime Minister of the Hungarian People's Republic in the background
7. János Kádár greeting Yuri Andropov in November 1982 after he was elected the new General Secretary of the CPSU
8. János Kádár expresses his condolences to the newly elected General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Konstantin Chernenko, following the state funeral of Yuri Andropov



9. At a polling station of a housing estate

10. László Cardinal Lékai, Primate and Archbishop of Esztergom, addressing the 7th Congress of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front movement





◁ 11. The chamber of the Hungarian National Assembly (Parliament)

12. The main workshop of the Kaposvár meat-processing plant, the latest and most up-to-date plant of its kind in Hungary

13-14. A socialist brigade of electricians at the IKARUS Factory have been awarded the distinction of Outstanding Brigade of the Hungarian People's Republic. IKARUS buses known the world over are produced at the Vehicle and Chassis Factory at Székesfehérvár



15. Large-scale sheep breeding mainly for export

16. Peak-hour crowds at an open-air market in Budapest





17. Happy children in a kindergarten

18. "Physical education and sport – a strong, well-trained and happy youth!"



19. Students at work in a voluntary work camp organized for young people during the summer months



20. Choreographer Iván Markó dancing in a performance given by the Győr Ballet Company

21. Exhibition of Creative Youth



22. The newly built Kisfaludy Theatre in Győr



23. The opening session of the congress of IPRA, the International Peace Research Association, held in Budapest

24. A group of young people from all over the world preparing for entry to the Medical University in Budapest



national income had increased 3.5 times, industrial production 4.5 times and agricultural production had gone up by nearly 75%. The per capita income and the consumption of the population increased nearly threefold. We have achieved outstanding results by the socialist reorganization of agriculture; by reforming economic management; by working out a new economic political strategy and adapting to the changing world economic environment; by evolving and constantly developing socialist democracy. János Kádár was justified in stating at the 12th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: "Overcoming the difficulties which have been greater than could be foreseen we have achieved significant results in all fields of socialist construction. Our people have advanced in building a socialist society and our country, the Hungarian People's Republic, has strengthened; our development is following the direction which leads to our lofty aims."

The state organization of the Hungarian People's Republic

The fundamental law of the Hungarian people, the Constitution, states: "In the Hungarian People's Republic all power belongs to the working people." (Section 2, para 2). The structure and work of the state administration serves this power.

The highest body of state power and representation of the people in Hungary is the National Assembly (Parliament) which most directly expresses the people's sovereignty. It is elected by the population of the whole country every five years to express their will.

In Hungary every citizen over 18 is entitled to vote and to be elected; so in the last general election in 1980, 7.5 million people went to the polls. The results of the election show that the bodies representing the people can rely in their work on the confidence and support of the overwhelming majority of the population. At the last election, of the 352 members of the National Assembly 158 were workers, according to their original occupation, 46 were

peasants and 130 intellectuals; 18 were public employees or of other occupations.

The National Assembly enacts laws, approves the state budget, elects the Presidential Council of the People's Republic and the Council of Ministers.

Between sessions of the National Assembly it is the Presidential Council, as corporate head of state, which carries out jurisdiction and acts as general deputy for the Assembly. This activity is under the control of the National Assembly. The Presidential Council can call parliamentary elections, convene parliament, initiate laws and make them public, and can call a referendum. Its tasks cover the international representation of the state and awarding decorations and prizes. The members of government take their oath of allegiance in front of the President of the Presidential Council.

The Council of Ministers is the direct executive and controlling body of the National Assembly. Its task is to perform the specific, direct duties of governing and the practical direction of organizing state administration. So the Council of Ministers is the highest body involved in the work of organization, aimed at implementing political, economic and cultural tasks; it renders regular account to the National Assembly.

The local bodies of state power and state administration are the Councils. The public is often in direct contact with their work. Of all the state organizations the local councils offer the most opportunities for citizens to take a direct part in making the decisions which affect their own lives. The tasks, jurisdiction, organization and functions of the local councils are governed by law. This stipulates: "The councils are popular representative, self-governing and state administrative bodies of the socialist state which implement people's power and operate on the basis of democratic centralism." All three roles are closely linked and inter-related with the function of the local council system, the widening of socialist democracy and the efforts of the party to see that the state and its local organizations play an outstanding role in the development of social relations.

In our country there are more than 1,500 councils and the number of elected councillors is more than 61,000.

*The leading force of our socialist society is
the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party*

The leading force in Hungarian political and social life is the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which as the heir of the revolutionary working-class movement and the communist movement, was reorganized during the days of the 1956 counter-revolution. This reorganization ran parallel with the defence and consolidation of people's power. It was not only a matter of organization; decisive steps were taken to establish a new style of work for the party and to restore Leninist norms. New features in our party's policy and practice were shaped and since then have been further developed and have taken deep root in the party and society.

The party today is successfully playing its leading role. The 12th Party Congress was justified in stating: "The party has confidence in the masses and the masses follow the party. We are justified in calling this a great achievement which has come about through the joint will of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian people. The unity and joint action of our party and people are the main guarantee of the successful construction of socialism in our country."

On 1 January 1981, the membership of the HSWP was 826,268.

According to their occupation, the membership was made up as follows:

active physical workers	28.6%
management directly involved	
in production	7.0%
pensioners, former workers	7.9%
manual workers in co-operatives	6.3%
pensioners, former manual	
workers in co-operatives	1.8%
active intellectual workers	34.3%
pensioners, former intellectual	
workers	6.7%
other categories—taken together	7.4%

Forty-two point three per cent of the party membership joined the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party between 1957 and 1970, 31.7% since 1971. Seventy-six per cent of the members are between 30 and 60 years of age. The proportion of members under 26 is 4.1%. The proportion of women in the party is 28.3%.

The rights and duties of party members, the rules regulating the creation and functioning of party bodies and organizations at various levels and the relationship between them are governed by the Party Rules of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

The basic principle of the organizational set-up of communist parties is democratic centralism, the main feature of which is that all the leading bodies of the party, from the lowest to the highest, are elected from below upwards. The resolutions, decisions and political positions of the highest bodies are binding for all lower party organizations, for all individual party members.

The elected party bodies are obliged to give regular account of their activity from time to time to the organization which elected them, to the party membership and to the higher party organization supervising them.

The minority is obliged to accept the decision of the majority. Everyone is justified in maintaining his or her minority opinion, is free to bring it to the notice of the higher organization but may not conduct open agitation either within or outside the party; the maintenance of a minority position does not exempt anybody from the obligation to carry out the decision of the majority.

The implementation of the principle of democratic centralism increases the strength of the party and is one of the guarantees for realizing its policy. Historical experience proves that the consistent application of democratic centralism enhances the prevalence of the party's leading role, and influences other fields of socialist democracy as well (in factories, co-operatives, etc.).

The highest body of the party is the Congress. Its task is to work out the general line of policy, to define the most important tasks of the given period and to elect the leading bodies of the party, like the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. At the Congress, delegates express the views and opinions of the party membership.

The Central Committee of the HSWP, in harmony with the medium-range plans of the national economy, convenes a congress every five years. The latest congress of the HSWP, the 12th Congress, was held in the spring of 1980.

To carry out the continuous guidance of party activities the Central Committee elects from its members the Political Committee, the Secretariat, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, the members of the Secretariat, and the working committees attached to the Central Committee. It appoints the heads of the departments of the Central Committee and the leaders of the central institutions of the party and the party paper and periodicals.

Between party congresses it is the Central Committee which is the highest governing body of the party. This makes decisions concerning all the important questions of the party's policy. Decisions are taken collectively. The Central Committee directs and controls all bodies and organizations of the party. It represents the party in state and social organizations and in international relations. The central bodies ensure an increasing and widening authority in decision-making for the lower-level bodies.

In the capital and its districts, in the counties, in the towns and in all villages, factories, enterprises, offices, institutions and units of the armed forces where the number of party members is over 200, there are party committees at work to direct the party organizations in the given area.

The smallest organizational unit of the party is the local party branch, which can be established with the approval of the higher party organization at every production, office or residential unit, where there are at least three party members. The HSWP ensures wide-ranging rights for and assigns great responsibility to these branches. The Party Rules state: "It is the right and duty of the party units to carry out the policy of the party in the field of their activities, to control this work in an overall sense and to exercise their rights on matters of personnel as well as to have state and economic leaders give an account of their work".

On 1 January 1980, the number of party branches was 23,933; of them 7,426 were in industry and the construction industry,

3,750 in agriculture, 1,383 in transport, 1,596 in trade and 9,778 in offices, institutions, in residential districts and in other areas.

The major body of the party branch is the meeting of party members which elects a committee to direct party work and to deal with affairs. There are more than 23,000 party branches, with 110,633 committee members. Depending on the number of members in the party branches, party groups are established which regularly assess the work and attitude of the members and the fulfilment of their party assignments.

The biggest mass organization—the trade unions

The trade unions in Hungary carry out their activities harmoniously in representing and protecting the interests of their members and in promoting economic activities. The number of organized workers is over 4.3 million, 96.3% of the people who live on wages and salaries. The proportion of women trade unionists is 45%, and 35% of the membership is under 30. Therefore what Sándor Gáspár, then General Secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, said at the 24th Congress of Trade Unions is significant:

“It has been and remains a basic task and mission of the trade union movement to strengthen workers’ power and to represent and protect the workers’ interest. The trade union movement occupies its proper place which is its historical desert. It shares in power and assists not only in implementing policy but takes part in formulating and shaping it as well.

“...The relationship of the trade unions to the party, the government and workers’ power has been shaped in a long and still unfinished process. It has not always been a matter which is fully settled. We ourselves have experienced historically that even under socialist conditions the role of the trade unions does not evolve and develop automatically on its own. The party, the government and the trade unions together serve the people, the working class and the workers, but according to their own roles. As a consequence of this division of labour the party as a leading

force is in the position to rely on the independently working trade unions. This is how the party is in a position to sum up different opinions and experiences and to take decisions accordingly. For the leading force of society to be in the position to synthesize and to take decisions, it needs to be aware of different opinions, the best of which can be selected. ... So it is not accidental that built into the guidance of our society is the element that in none of the significant questions affecting the living and working conditions of the working class, of the working people and the whole of the development of society can decisions be made without the trade unions.

“So it is not just that the trade unions cannot be independent of the party in formulating and implementing the policy of workers’ power, but that they consider this policy to be their own.”

The role and function of the 19 branch trade unions are therefore double ones. On the one hand they follow the life and working conditions of the workers attentively, taking care to represent and protect their interests directly; to do this they have a wide range of political and legal means at their disposal. On the other hand they take part in the shaping of economic policy and in solving the ever more complicated tasks of economic construction. They take part in the work of planning at the national economic, territorial and enterprise level alike. They take part in the modernization of plant and work organization and in promoting investment policy. They have a determining role in organizing the socialist work competition movement, in which 80–85% of the workers take a very effective part year by year. And the trade unions have played a particularly outstanding part in the success of the more than 1.5 million members of the 150,000 socialist brigades and in popularizing the achievements of the innovation and invention movements.

More than 460,000 elected office-holders work in the trade union councils, committees, workshop committees and trade union groups of the branch organizations in enterprises and institutions. The leading body of the trade union movement at the enterprise level is the board of stewards which is, at the same time, the most comprehensive forum of enterprise democracy. In ac-

cordance with the significance of their work, the trade union office-holders are exercising a widening sphere of authority. In addition to their right to present their views as far as consent, supervision and representation are concerned, which they already enjoyed, since 1967 they were also given the right of veto. They are able to protect the interests of the workers effectively by asserting these rights.

*The united mass organization of youth:
the Hungarian Communist Youth Union*

The Communist Youth Union (KISZ) was established in the spring of 1957 as the youth organization of the party, the voluntary political mass organization of Hungarian youth. The main task of KISZ is to take an active part in the formulation and implementation of policy, to mobilize its membership and the whole of Hungarian youth to carry out their responsibilities in study and socialist construction, and to educate them to fulfil their patriotic and internationalist obligations. It represents youth in state and social organizations, protects the rights ensured to them under laws and regulations, plays a significant role in implementing workplace democracy and educates a new generation for the party. KISZ organizations are honoured with the opportunity to recommend their members who they consider worthy for party membership by virtue of the backing of their collective. In 1980, 93.5% of KISZ members who were admitted to the party counted the KISZ organization as one of their sponsors.

In its programme KISZ annually determines those assignments by which their members can best promote the implementation of major goals. Activity aimed at developing the national economy, bettering management results, improving social efficiency and promoting day-to-day discipline and precise work is of primary importance in our present-day work among the youth as well. KISZ organizations provide specific economic support in a number of areas in the national economy, for example in computer technology, in environmental protection and in improving the

conditions of education. The 673,000 young people, 250,000 of them KISZ members, working in socialist brigades have achieved significant results, and the voluntary summer work camp movement also generates considerable revenue for the national economy. The work camps are annually attended by about 75,000 young people, mostly students, who in addition to their indispensable work in harvesting fruit, building road and other activities, also spend their free time pleasantly.

The central and local organizations of KISZ and KISZ branch organizations themselves contribute to spending free time usefully, to satisfying cultural and sporting demands, through rich and colourful programmes, which take into consideration the interests and initiative of the various strata of youth.

Every young person above the age of 14 who accepts the aims, constitution and resolutions of the Union, and who actively takes part in the work of one of the more than 30,000 KISZ branch organizations may become a member of KISZ.

In 1980, the membership of the youth organization was 875,000, 64% of them workers and 36% students; the decisive majority of them were young people between 14 and 22 years of age.

Just as the party relies on well-deserving KISZ members for its new generation, so the youth organization relies on its younger kindred organization, the Pioneers, which caters for the 6-14-year age-group who are studying in the eight-class general school. The Hungarian Pioneers operate under the guidance of KISZ—entrusted to them by the party—but are organizationally autonomous.

Like that of the HSWP, the organizational structure of KISZ is based on the principles of democratic centralism.

*The broadest mass movement: the Patriotic
People's Front*

The Patriotic People's Front is a socio-political mass movement embracing all the working classes and strata of the Hungarian people. It provides a comprehensive framework for the alliance

policy of the party and for a socialist joining of national forces in which everyone who is a proponent of peace and who contributes to the building of developed socialism in Hungary takes part.

Co-operation leading to the achievement of our political goals is realized between people of different ideologies. One of the prerequisites for this is respect for the world outlook of religious believers; a good basis for this has been provided by the normalization of relations between State and Church after the counter-revolution. "Through long negotiations and patient work we have reached the point where a citizen who is a believer can at the same time be in favour of progress, social development and the cause of socialism and a proponent of his Church, too, and this need not cause a breach within him. This is no small thing," János Kádár said at the session of the Central Committee of the HSWP on 19-20 April 1978.

A political alliance is an alliance of forces and groups of different ideologies, so it follows that people who are not party members can fill any post except party posts.

In co-operation with other social organizations, the Patriotic People's Front takes an active part in the economic, political and cultural life of the country.

There are 4,239 People's Front committees with 107,000 elected members and several hundreds of thousands of activists. Together with other social and mass organizations, the People's Front committees prepare proposals for elaborating a number of important social, political and economic decisions; jointly with the local bodies of state administration—the local councils—they organize reports from councillors and village meetings. They take part in deepening the relationship between school and society. Nowadays they strive to incorporate ever wider circles of the population in their activities. Their committees play a bigger part than before in working out plans for urban and local development, in implementing them, in creating a healthy and civilized environment, in organizing voluntary social work and in creating and realizing the norms of socialist coexistence.

Nominees of the People's Front take part in elections to the National Assembly and the Councils.

The organization of women: the National Council of Hungarian Women

In Hungary, the proportion of women within the population is 51.5%, that is more than half of the population. In 1980, 45% of the active wage-earners were women. The National Council of Hungarian Women carries out informative political work among women. It makes them aware of their rights and obligations, takes part in working out laws, statutes and measures affecting women and families, and follows up their practical implementation. The Council takes an active part in promoting the full and practical realization of the equality of women, as guaranteed by law. In co-operation with the social and mass organizations it follows with attention the development of the social position of women and the effectiveness of their equality, and it takes part in solving social and cultural tasks and the protection of children and the family in the workplace and residential areas.

The activity of the Council of Women is based on voluntary social work. It does not have its own branch organizations; the local and regional women's committees work together with the committees of the Patriotic People's Front or within the trade unions.

Nationally about 32,000 women trustees are at work, helped by 160,000 activists.

A dynamically developing economy

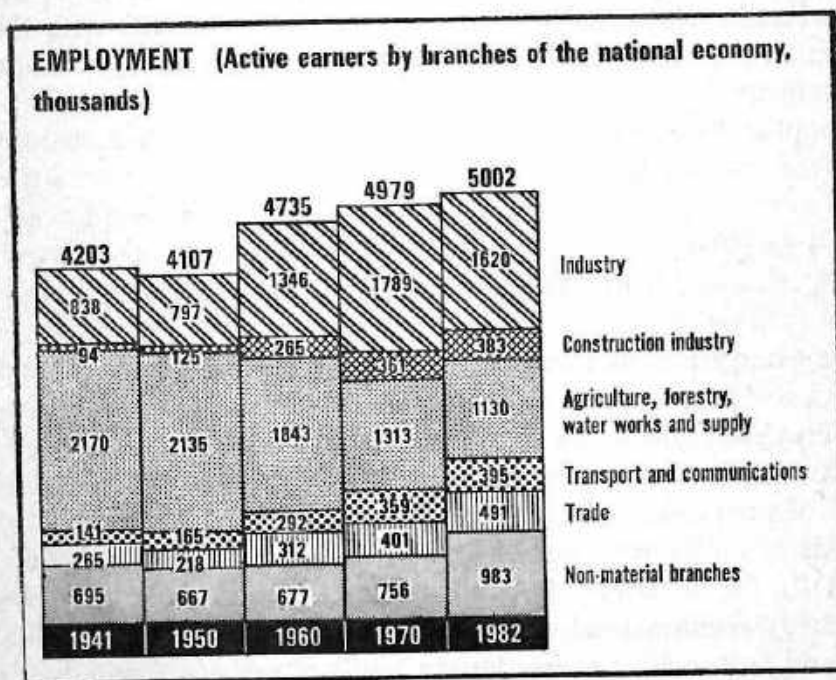
The Hungarian national economy has covered much ground since the Liberation. The achievements we have attained in socialist development can be characterized in a number of ways.

According to comparisons made in the setting of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and the U.N., in terms of national income or per capita gross domestic product (GDP), the economic development level of our country can be termed "medium development" when compared with both socialist and non-socialist countries. In terms of our economic devel-

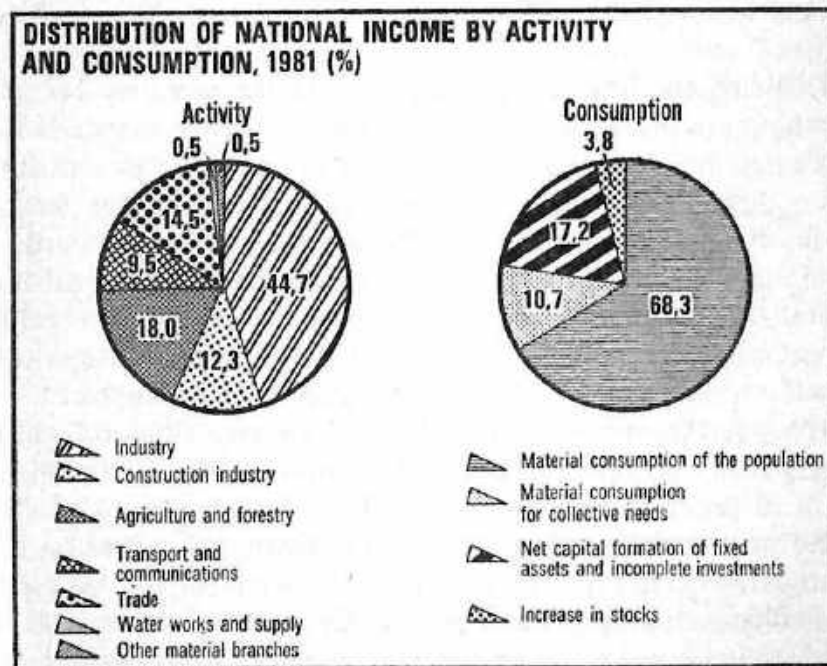
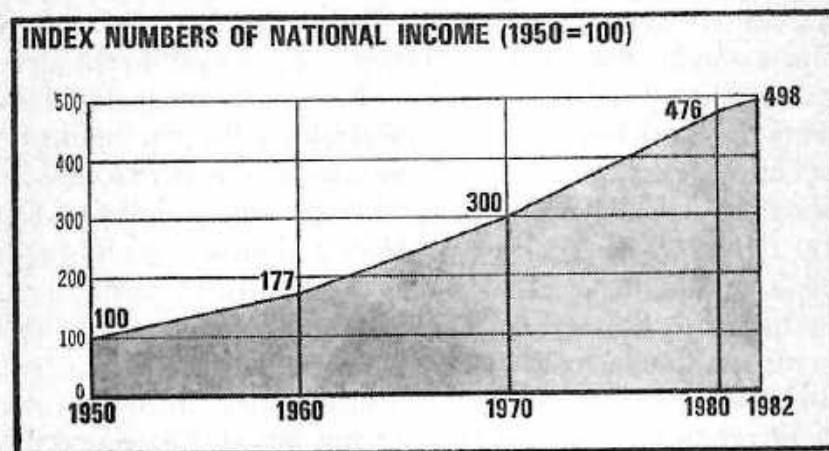
opment we are in the same group as capitalist countries like Italy, Spain and Greece. It is noteworthy that in the past 10-15 years we have drawn significantly nearer to the development level of Austria and the United Kingdom. Therefore a medium development level means that in terms of the most comprehensive indicators, Hungary—as a result of the work of our people over the past 30-35 years—has reached a level which is between those of the most developed capitalist countries in and outside Europe and the developing countries.

Moreover, Hungary's place in the world is determined by her size. The weight of the Hungarian national economy in the world economy is small. Hungary accounts for only 0.25% of the world's population; she provides 0.6-0.7% of the world's industrial production and 0.9% of world exports.

The beginnings of our present economic policy go back to 1957, the period following the defeat of the counter-revolution. The biggest, historically significant event of the period between 1957 and 1960 was the successful socialist transformation of agricul-



ture. The HSWP theses on agricultural policy announced in July 1957 and in December 1958 formulated important tasks involving a more intensified increase of agricultural production and a decrease in production costs in agriculture, to be achieved partly by increasing yields, partly by expanding mechanization. Draw-



ing lessons from the mistakes made in the beginning of the fifties, the party started the socialist reorganization of agriculture by forming co-operatives, adhering to the Leninist principles on co-operatives and the principles of voluntariness and gradualness in doing so. As a result, by 1961 socialist production relations became predominant in agriculture, too.

During the sixties, the increase in labour productivity, the rise in the technological level, the further improvement in the structure of industry and the extension of domestic raw material and energy resources became factors determining the development of our national economy. In agriculture, relative backwardness has to be narrowed down by relying on large-scale socialist agricultural units. We were able to achieve significant results in the increase of the material and cultural standard of living of our working people, through the growth of production and the national income, and the increase in labour productivity.

Production grew as planned but at the same time the growth rate of productivity lagged behind what was envisaged and production costs did not diminish either. The major lesson of this period was that the quantitative growth of production in itself did not provide a sufficient source for economic development.

Evolving the intensive development of the economy became all the more urgent with the predominance of the demands for efficiency. In addition to the quantitative growth of production, strengthening the qualitative features of development was needed to lay the foundations for a further increase in the standard of living and the extension of investments. It follows from all this that at the beginning of the seventies, at the close of the period of extensive development, a new, qualitatively higher stage was begun, the stage of intensive socialist industrial development.

However, from the autumn of 1973, the crisis situation which emerged in the capitalist world, the currency crisis, the realignment of prices and the price explosion affecting energy carriers and raw materials had an extremely unfavourable effect on the Hungarian economy. The external conditions for our development changed; we were not able to compensate for the significant increase in import prices by the increase in our export prices and

this caused losses which ran into thousands of millions. The effects of the upset equilibrium and of price losses were not felt in domestic consumption, as credits were taken up to cover them. However, from the end of the seventies, the attention of economic policy shifted to the restoration of a state of equilibrium in the national economy.

Recognizing the necessity of a change in economic activity the Central Committee of our party emphasized: "The key question of the work ahead of us is to ensure the improvement of the state of equilibrium in the national economy by placing more emphasis on the factors of quality and efficiency. The growth rate of the economy and of domestic consumption must be subordinated to this goal."

The development of the socialist system of economic management was to ensure the implementation of this economic policy. The system of economic management entails systematic and regular economic activity embracing the whole of the national economy; organized by the state, its elements are the institutional and organizational system of planning the national economy, of central regulations and of economic management.

The start of the reform of economic management was closely linked to the period of social management, when in 1957 we reappraised our earlier economic policy. At that time, the scope of centrally planned and detailed compulsory plan indicators decreased and parallel with this, the autonomy of enterprises increased. Compulsory produce deliveries were ended in agriculture and state purchases were introduced instead. The profit incentive system was introduced in state enterprises as a result of which the system of material incentives came to the fore.

The new economic policy introduced after 1956 was further developed by the economic reform of 1968. In planning the national economy economic methods were stressed as a new method of planned guidance instead of the earlier administrative means. In economic direction the method of breaking down plans was ended and the enterprises had to determine their own plans. Profits became the focal point of economic activity and material incentives the focal point for socialist enterprises and enterprise

autonomy; responsibility and risk-taking in decisions became major elements of the reform.

A more flexible price system was introduced by the new economic mechanism, in which three different sets of prices functioned at the same time (fixed prices, prices fluctuating between limits set by the price authority and free prices).

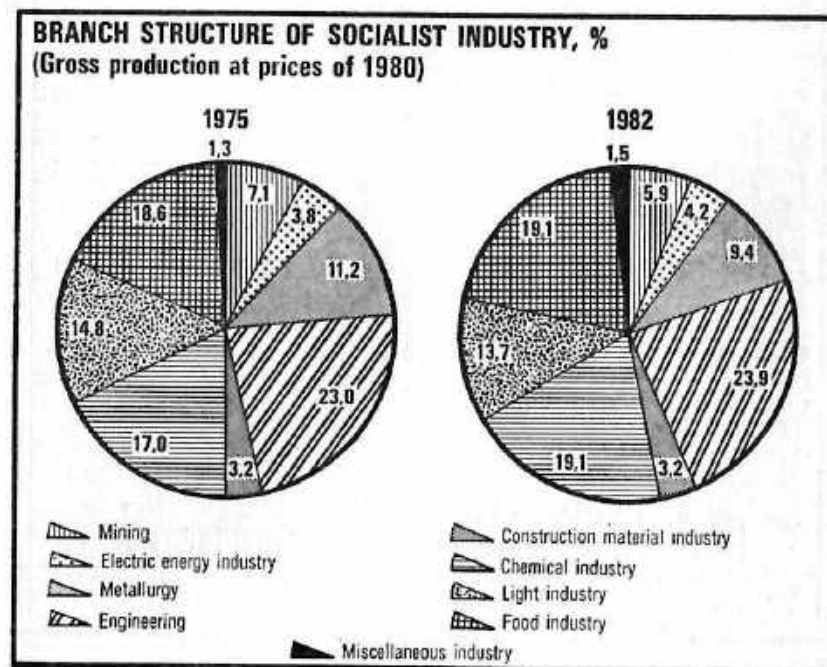
The basic principles of the reform have turned out to be justified and they have served our development well. The changes which had taken place in the world economic environment and the experiences of how the economic mechanism worked made further modifications necessary in 1980.

The main trend in the further development of economic regulation is determined by the most important tasks ahead of us: the restoration of balance in the national economy and increase in efficiency, and linked with these, accelerating the transformation of the economic structure and the modernization of the commodity structure. The main principles operating as a driving force in this work of modification are: normativity, stability and flexibility.

During our national economy's Sixth Five-Year Plan, which runs from 1981 to 1985, the main task of our economic policy is to improve considerably the equilibrium of the national economy and within that the balance of our external economic relations. In order to achieve this we have to advance more rapidly than to date in strengthening the qualitative feature of our economic development, in improving the efficiency of social production, in enhancing our international competitiveness and in accelerating technological development and the modernization of the production and commodity structure.

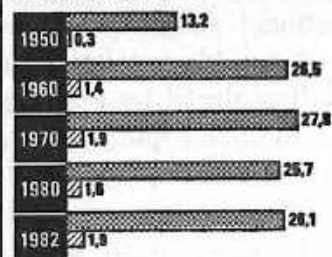
The structure of the Hungarian economy and the weight of the various economic branches are similar to those of countries at a roughly similar level of economic development. Since 1950 industrial production, including that of the food processing industry, grew more than eight and a half fold. Many new places of work have been established and new large-capacity plants have been built, around which new industrial centres and socialist industrial towns have emerged, such as Dunaújváros, Komló, Kazincbarcika, Százhalombatta, etc.

The structure of the branches of industry has been transformed substantially. At the beginning of the fifties, it was above all heavy industry—and within that coal mining, metallurgy and the engineering industry producing investment goods—which were developing the most. The production of durable consumer goods started to increase from the second half of the fifties on. During the sixties, consideration was given to the development of those branches which were most in keeping with the country's endowments: the aluminium industry; the less materially intensive communication and vacuum technology industry within the engineering industry; the instrument industry; the non-serial machine building industry; and, as an indispensable prerequisite for the development of agriculture and the entire national economy, the chemical industry. From the beginning of the seventies, it was the central development programmes which played the biggest role in transforming the structure (aluminium, natural gas, vehicle, computer and olefine programmes).

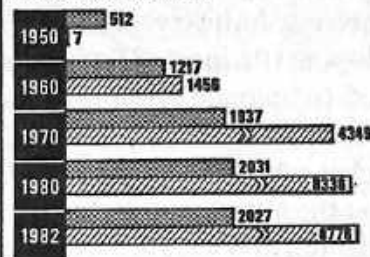


PRODUCTION AND EXTERNAL TRADE OF ENERGY AGENTS

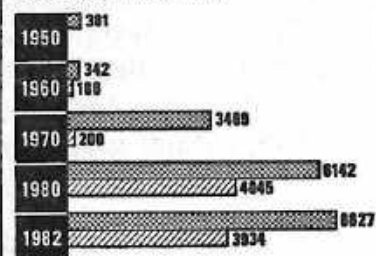
Coal (million tonnes)



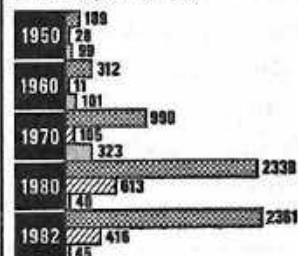
Crude oil (1,000 tonnes)



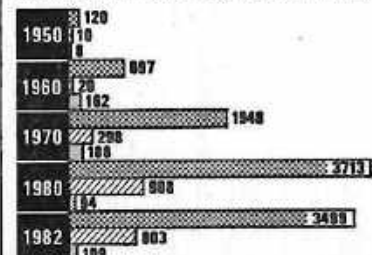
Natural gas (million cu.m.)



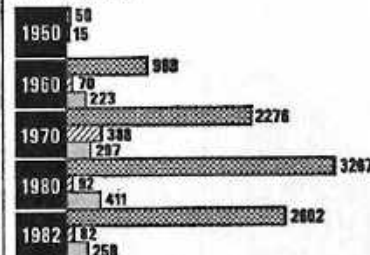
Gasoline (1,000 tonnes)



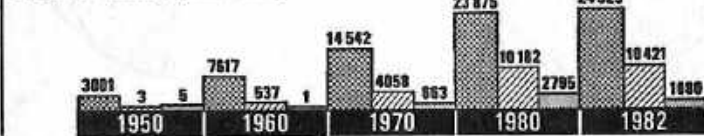
Diesel fuel and fuel oil (light) (1,000 tonnes)



Fuel oil (heavy)



ELECTRIC ENERGY (million kwh)



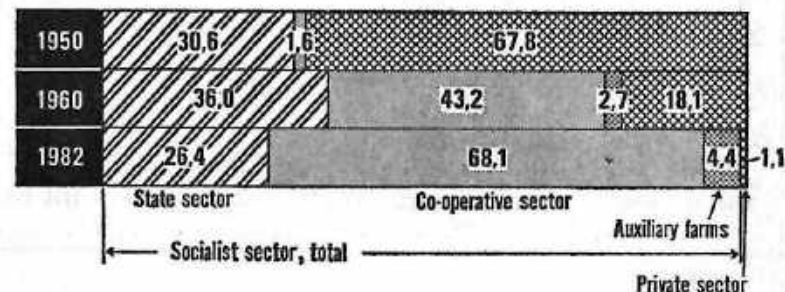
Production Imports Exports

The domestic production of energy is not sufficient to satisfy the energy needs of the national economy. The proportion of imports in consumption is on the increase: it grew from 26% in 1960 to 53.4% in 1979. We receive about 90% of our crude oil imports from the Soviet Union.

Almost half of the energy consumed (45%) goes on industrial production. Transport uses about 7% of all the energy consumed. As a result of introducing more modern vehicles and of using sources of energy which can be utilized more efficiently the amount used in transport has decreased in absolute terms. The energy used by agriculture, which is about 8-9% of all the energy consumed, grew faster than production. The consumption of the population accounts for a quarter of the energy consumption and this proportion has significantly grown as a result of the increase in the number of homes, household mechanization and the expansion of gas supplies and electrification in the countryside.

At the end of the fifties, important changes took place in Hungarian agricultural policy. By the spring of 1961 the socialist reorganization of agriculture had been completed to all intents and purposes. At the present time 64% of the arable land is in the co-operative sector, while 31% belongs to the state sector. As a result of amalgamations and mergers, a considerable concentration of the land has taken place in the agricultural units since 1960. In 1980 there were 131 state farms and 1,350 agricultural

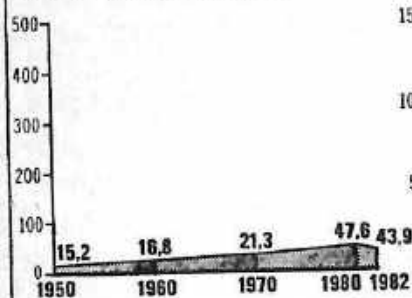
CULTIVATED AREA BY SOCIAL SECTORS, %



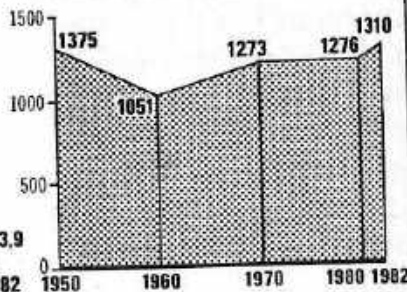
SOWN AREA AND AVERAGE YIELDS OF MAJOR FIELD CROPS

Wheat

Average yield: 100 kg per hectare

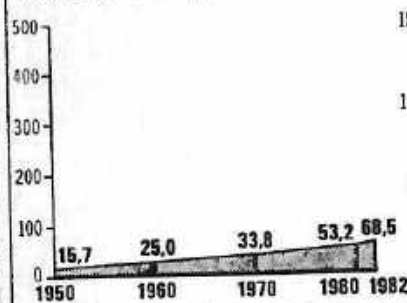


Sown area: 1,000 hectares

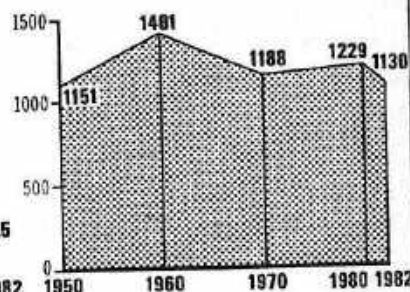


Maize

Average yield: 100 kg per hectare

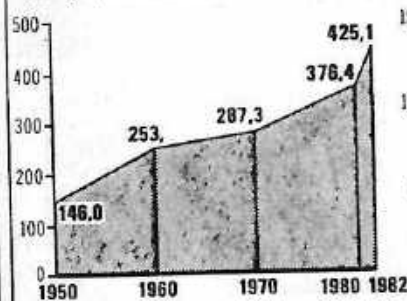


Sown area: 1,000 hectares

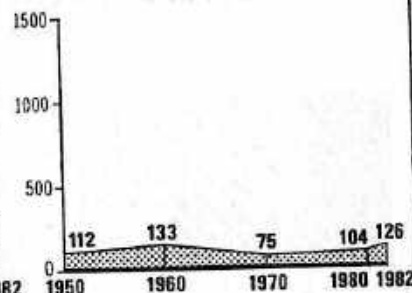


Sugar-beet

Average yield: 100 kg per hectare



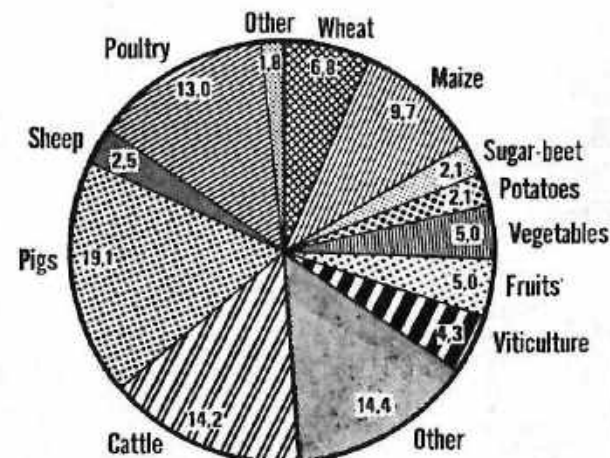
Sown area: 1,000 hectares



co-operatives. Most modern farming is carried out by the joint farming of the state farms and the co-operatives. In the last twenty years the most spectacular development in agriculture took place in grain production, where the advantages of large-scale farming have been realized. Domestic production has been covering the bread and grain needs of the country for a long time and it also provides for exports.

In addition to the big farms, a large number of small farms are engaged in agricultural activities; such are the household plots of co-operative members and the auxiliary farms of workers and employees. At present, 30% of the gross production of agriculture is produced by these small-scale units. Their role is even bigger in the production of potatoes, vegetables, fruit and grapes, as well as in pig-breeding. The production of small-scale farms is supported by the state and the large-scale socialist farms. For example a significant part of the fodder necessary for animal breeding is produced by the large-scale farms and made available to small-scale producers. Part of the work on the land of small producers

PRODUCTION STRUCTURE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS, 1981 (%)



Animal husbandry, total 50.6 | 49.4 Plant cultivation, total

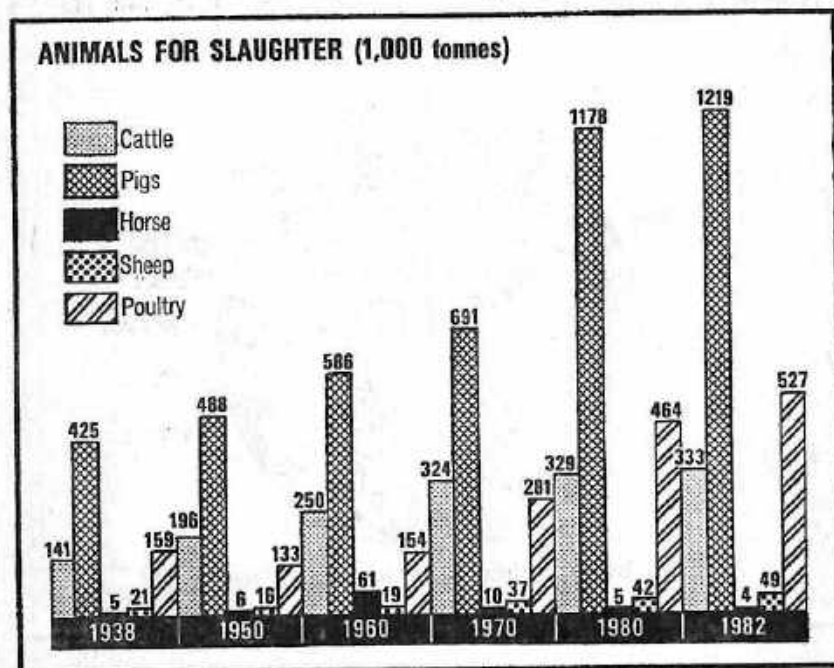
is done by the machinery of large-scale farms and production is underwritten by the guarantee of contracts.

A large part of plants produced is being used in animal husbandry and within that in meat production. The development of animal husbandry has shown itself in the increase in the pig and poultry stock and in the improvement in its composition. Although the cattle stock has not increased quantitatively, the quality has been changed favourably. All this has found expression in the improvement of yields in animal husbandry.

Yields, animal husbandry (annual average)

	1938	1950	1979
Beef production per head of cattle, kg	147	198	441
Pork production per pig, kg	691	809	1,599
Milk per cow, litres	1,353	1,207	3,380
Eggs per hen, pieces	66	70	145

The value of meat production accounts for nearly a third of overall agricultural production. The two million tonnes produced



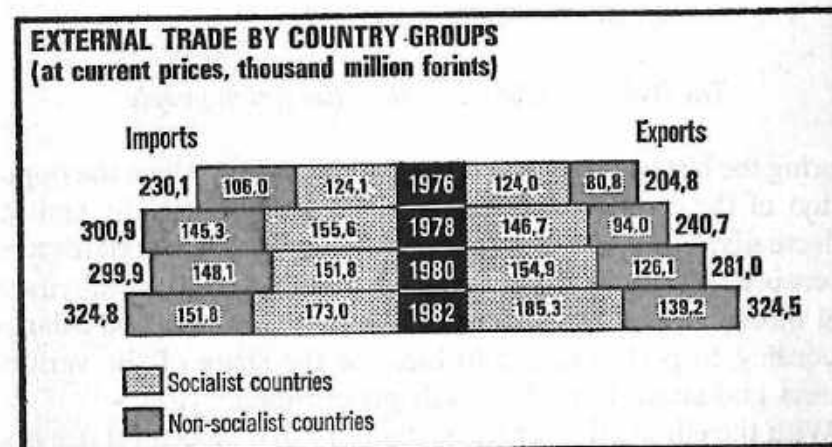
makes it possible to export more as well as satisfying increasing domestic demands. A significant part is exported as beef cattle, but parallel with the building of processing capacity, exports of processed animal products are also increasing.

Today we sell more than three-quarters of our agricultural production as commodities. The production of the food industry which handles the processing of agricultural produce has grown 5.7-fold since 1950.

The leading branch of the food industry is meat processing. Several important investments in this branch of industry were completed during the second half of the seventies. On the one hand these have increased slaughtering capacity (first of all that of pigs) and on the other hand the production capacity for products which are important from the export point of view (salami, canned ham, etc.).

The milling, sugar refining and vegetable oil industries are among the traditional branches of the food industry. The development of animal husbandry has been accompanied by an increase in the consumption of feedstuffs and fodder mixtures with high concentrations of nutrients and protein. Accordingly the production of feedstuff mixtures has grown in the milling industry.

The international division of labour plays an important role in Hungary's economic life. Foreign trade has been growing faster



than the national income over the past thirty years and in 1979 the turnover was fifteen times as high as in 1950.

Since the world market price explosion of 1973-74 the terms of trade have changed unfavourably for the Hungarian economy. Since it was the world market price of energy carriers and raw materials, which figure strongly in our imports, that went up, all in all the increase in import prices has exceeded that of export prices. All this has resulted in significant price losses. In 1979 we were able to import 20% less for the same unit of exports than in 1970.

In 1979 we had foreign trade relations with 149 countries. The larger part of the turnover was with the socialist countries and within that particularly with the CMEA countries. Our largest foreign trade partner is the Soviet Union.

Foreign trade by groups of countries, 1982 %

	Imports	Exports
Socialist countries	53.3	57.1
Developed capitalist countries	36.5	30.0
Developing countries	10.2	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0

In 1978 Hungary's share in the foreign trade turnover of the CMEA countries was 9.5%.

The living conditions of the Hungarian people

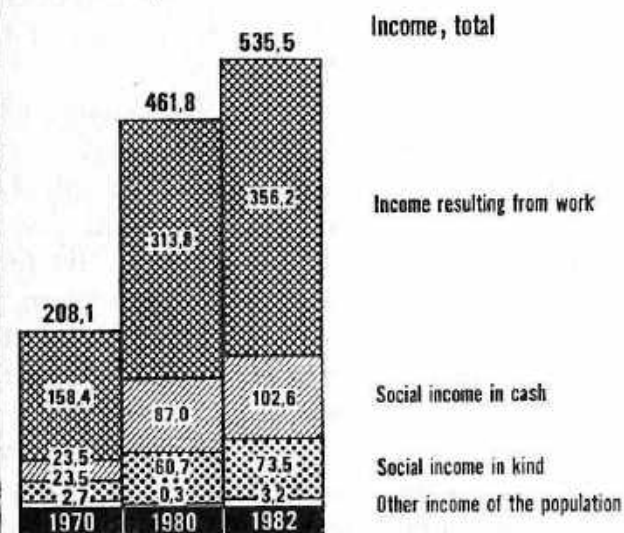
During the last twenty years of the building of socialism the population of the country has become richer both materially and intellectually. The main goals of our policy on living standards are: to ensure security of livelihood by maintaining full employment and through social provisions; to differentiate wages and salaries according to performance; to increase the share of the various classes and strata in social goods proportionately.

With the elimination of the system of large landed estates and of capitalist property relations, large incomes acquired without

AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES AND EARNINGS IN THE SOCIALIST SECTOR, 1980 (forints)

Average wages		Average earnings	
4512	Industry	4692	
4808	Construction industry	4965	
4056	Agriculture	4339	
4228	Forestry	4394	
4765	Transport and communications	5048	
3917	Trade	4129	
4494	Water works and supply	4830	
4114	Other material branches	4430	
4445	Non-material branches	4703	
4396	Total	4624	

INCOME OF THE POPULATION (at current prices, thousand million forints)



work have ceased to exist in our country. Through the increase in production and changes in the distribution of incomes it has become possible to make significant improvements in the material situation of large masses of people who formerly lived in poverty.

About 70% of incomes derives from work. The overwhelming part of this is represented by the wages and salaries of workers and employees. The average monthly wage per wage-earner in 1979 was 3,930 forints, 5.6 times as high as in 1950. Parallel with the increase in average incomes the consumer prices have risen 2.5-fold from 1950 up to the present day. The level of real wages in 1979 was two and a half times that of the 1950 level.

The income policy of the socialist state guarantees on the one hand that the workers receive incomes commensurate with the work performed and on the other that they can meet their basic needs, irrespective of their social position. The basic public health and public education services accordingly are free of charge. Furthermore, care is taken centrally to solve tasks such as the livelihood of the elderly (through pensions) and contributing to the costs of raising children (through family allowances, maternity grants, child-care allowances and the allowance for looking after a sick child). Social provisions in money and in kind together amounted in 1979 to 31% of the total income of the population.

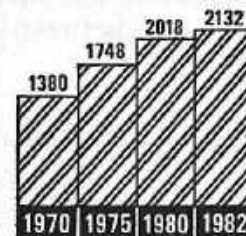
There were more than 2 million pensioners in January 1980; this is almost one-fifth of the population of the country.

The pension system, which accounts for almost two-thirds of social provisions made in money, has been modified several times. The earlier higher pensionable age for co-operative farm workers has been brought down gradually and from 1980 members of co-operative farms have been entitled to a pension at the same age as workers and employees. The state takes care of the elderly sick and of those living alone through a wide network of social care. Fifty-five thousand elderly people are cared for in old people's homes and daytime care centres for the elderly.

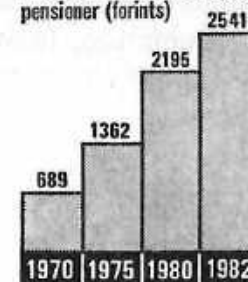
In line with incomes consumption by the population has significantly increased since the Liberation. After 1945, parallel with

SOCIAL ALLOWANCES

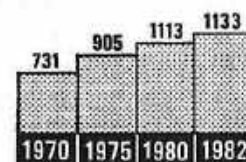
Number of pensioners (thousands)



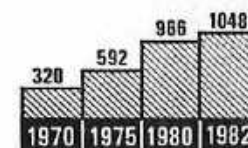
Average monthly amount per pensioner (forints)



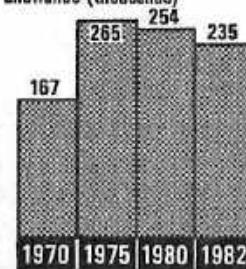
Number of families receiving family allowance (thousands)



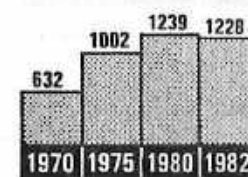
Average monthly amount of family allowance per family (forints)



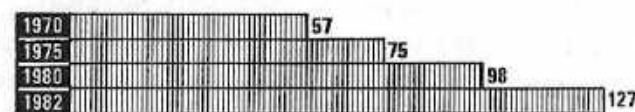
Number of those receiving child-care allowance (thousands)



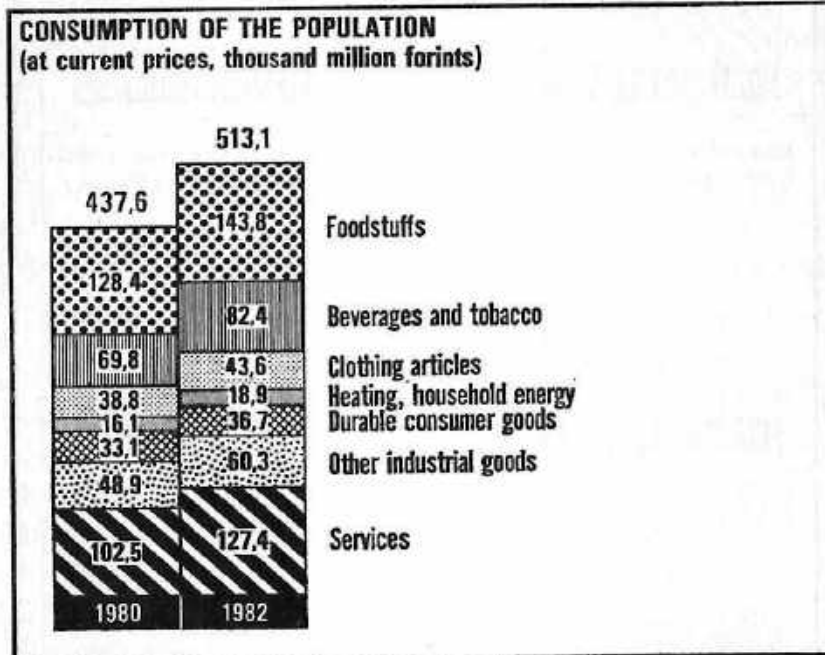
Monthly average of the allowance per capita (forints)



Sick-pay per sick-pay day (forints)



the increase in food consumption, first starvation was ended, and then, beyond the quantitative increase, the proportion of biologically more valuable foodstuffs (meat, milk, eggs) has increased within consumption. The consumption of durable goods has gone up considerably faster than the average—16-fold between 1950 and 1978.



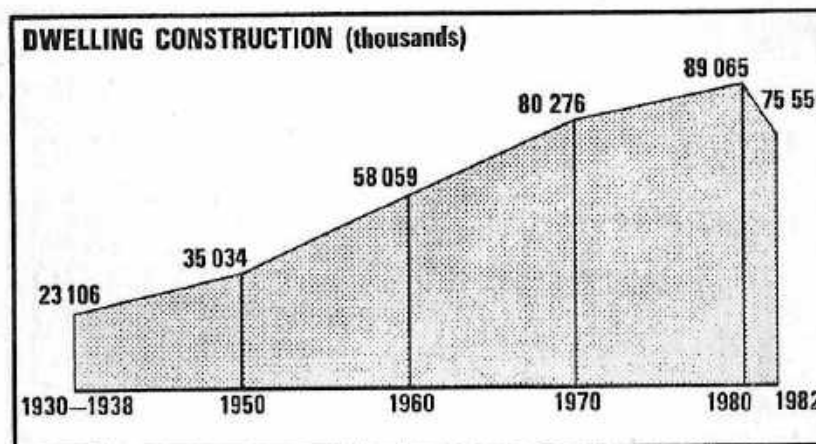
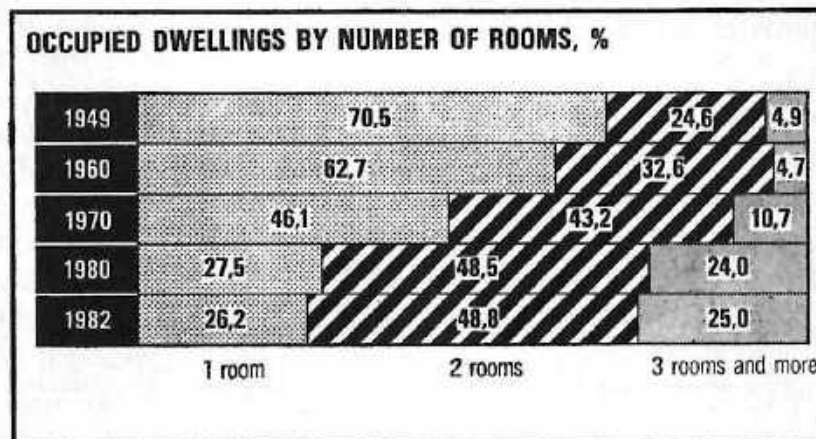
Economic backwardness and a low standard of living before the Liberation was manifest in the housing situation. In 1930 half of the foundations and three-quarters of the walls of dwelling houses were made of sun-dried, unfired bricks and mud, and less than 18% of the dwelling houses had electricity installed.

After the war, the reconstruction and restoration of homes was carried out at a rapid rate. But alleviating the housing problem continued to remain a central social problem.

The rate of house-building increased significantly from the end of the sixties. During the seventies about 90,000 new flats were built annually. In thirty years the balance of homes built and de-

molished increased the housing stock in the country by one million homes. About half the population of the country had been rehoused.

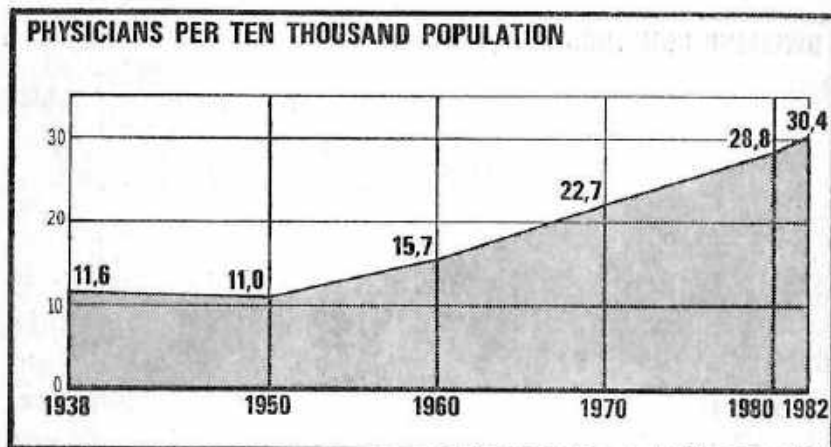
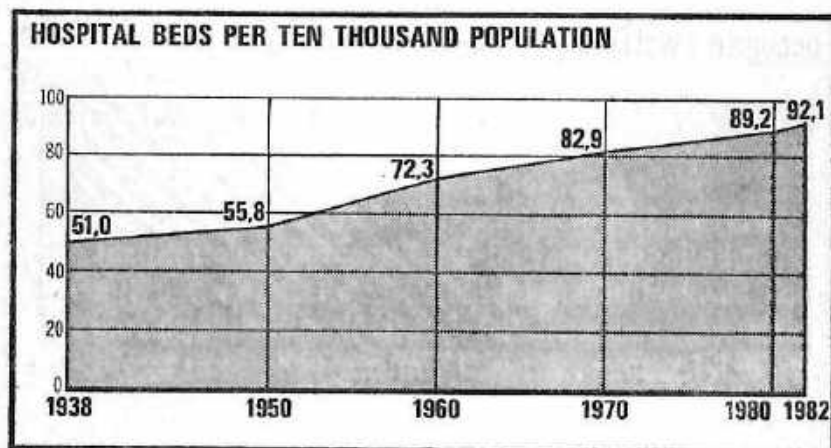
The size and equipment of homes has changed favourably. In 1949 two-thirds of the homes had one room; by the beginning



of 1980 homes with two or more rooms accounted for more than 70% of the total. There is electricity in practically all homes and in more than half of them there is running water.

As a result of the improvement in living conditions, the changes in the eating and housing conditions, the higher general cultural

level and the free medical services accessible to all, the state of health of the population has improved and the structure of illnesses has changed. A significant feature in this change is that tuberculosis and other acute infectious diseases, with the exception of influenza, have ceased or receded as epidemics or the cause



of death. Infant mortality has been greatly reduced. Preventive measures, inoculations and screening tests play a great role in overcoming illnesses.

Medical and preventive work is being done nation-wide by an up-to-date network of hospitals and clinics.

As a result of the massive increase in employment, nowadays the predominant majority of mothers are employed. The greater burdens stemming from satisfying the requirements of the workplace and the tasks accompanying motherhood are made easier in a variety of ways by the state. Maternity leave is 20 weeks, on full salary. In the period before childbirth and in that following maternity leave, the law ensures a number of benefits for mothers at their workplace.

The network of crèches has expanded considerably. From 1967 mothers have been able to avail themselves of the child-care allowance, which in addition to alleviating the problem of providing enough places in the crèches, has made it possible for the working mother to care for and to raise her children in the environment of the home until the age of 3. If a child is ill, working mothers are entitled to 60 days of child-care sick leave for a child up to the age of 3 and to 30 days for one up to the age of 6.

In the kindergartens the care of children between the ages of 3 and 6 and their preparation for school is in the hands of trained kindergarten teachers. During the seventies the development of kindergartens accelerated considerably through wide-scale social co-operation; in 1980, 85 out of every 100 children in this age-group were in kindergarten.

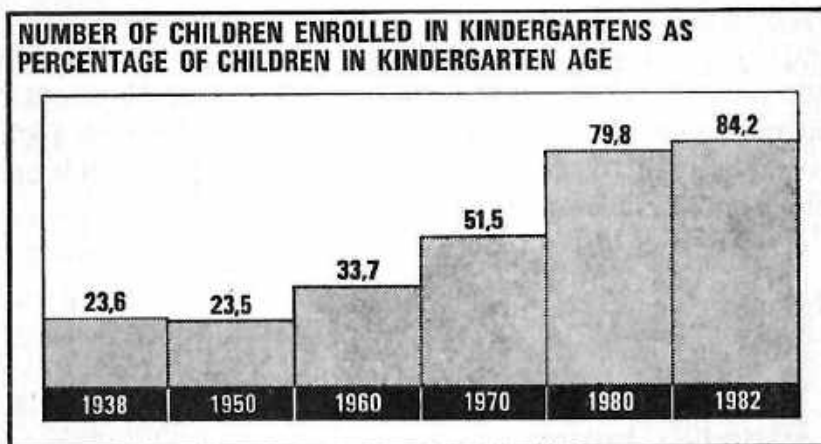
	<i>Kindergartens</i>			
	1970	1980	1981	1982
Number of kindergartens	3,457	4,690	4,800	4,826
Number of kindergarten teachers	12,481	29,437	31,018	31,972
Number of children in kindergartens	227,279	478,100	477,038	446,402
Kindergarten children per kindergarten teacher	18.2	16.2	15.4	14.6

In Hungary there is compulsory general-school education covering eight grades and children are obliged to attend school until the age of 16. Between 98 and 99% of children from the age of 6 to 13 study in general schools. At present about two-thirds of

the population of the appropriate age have completed at least eight grades of primary school. (This ratio was 21% in 1949.)

The conditions of education have considerably improved in the past ten to fifteen years. The number of classrooms has increased, and more than half the schools have a gymnasium. Every school has television, projector and radio. There are school buses and boarding schools for children living far from school. Nowadays there are more than 10,000 pupils in general schools who live in students' hostels, and the number of those who take advantage of the after-school-hour provisions has also increased.

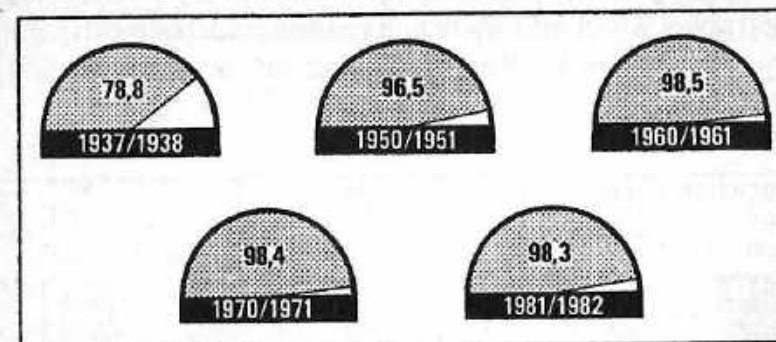
Between 90 and 92% of those youngsters who successfully complete general school continue their studies in some sort of secondary-level educational institution. Among those who continue their studies the proportion of those who receive vocational training is on the increase.



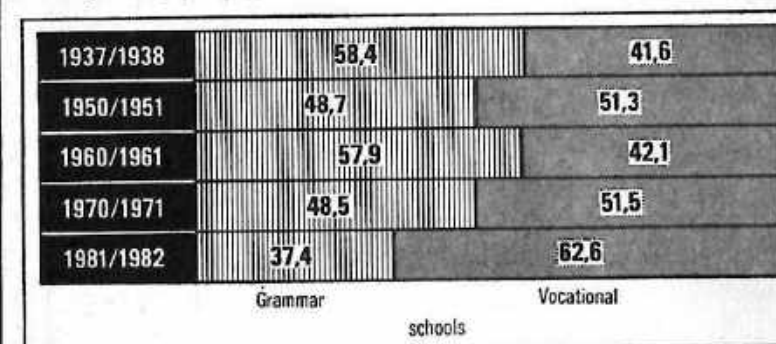
At the beginning of 1980, 23% of the population of 18 years of age or above had at least secondary-school education, in contrast with 5.5% in 1949. Thirty-seven per cent of those who have completed secondary school continue their education in institutions of higher education. The structure of training for high-level specialists also changed after the Liberation in accordance with the national economy's need for experts. The number of female students studying in institutions of higher education has grown

EDUCATION

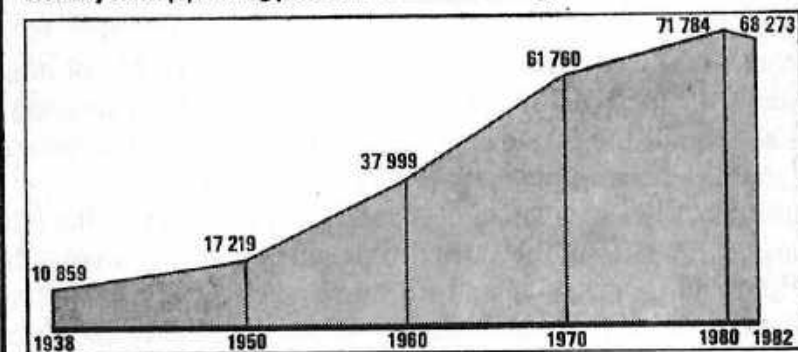
Number of children enrolled in primary schools as percentage of the 6-13-year-old population



Secondary-school pupils by types of school, %



Secondary-school pupils having passed final examinations annually, thousands



considerably faster than the average; today they account for nearly half of all students. In certain areas, particularly in the liberal arts, women are in the majority.

Eighty per cent of university and college students receive scholarship, 40% live in student hostels, 70 out of every 100 eat in student canteens.

EDUCATION LEVEL OF THE POPULATION, %

Pupils who finished primary school by the end of the compulsory schooling age

1970	90,4
1975	89,7
1982	90,9

Pupils attending day-sections of secondary schools as percentage of the 14-17-year-old population

1970	30,3
1975	36,1
1982	39,8

Undergraduates attending institutions of higher education as percentage of the 18-22-year-old population

1970	6,3
1975	6,9
1982	9,7

From 1950 until recently, more than 400,000 people obtained diplomas through daytime, evening and correspondence courses. In the comparable age-groups 1.7% of the population in 1949 and 7% today have university-level education.

During 1982 every branch of the national economy in the Hungarian People's Republic shifted to a 5-day working week; thus all Hungarian workers spend 40 hours a week at work. Every worker is entitled to three weeks of paid basic holiday and to one additional day for every three years in employment.

More free time provides more opportunities for relaxation and entertainment. In the period following the Liberation, the number

of cinema and theatre-goers increased rapidly; this was the period when the radio became general and widespread; television started to spread from the end of the fifties.

On average Hungarian film studios produce 20-25 full-length feature films annually, not counting those prepared for television. Eighty per cent of the cinemas are equipped with wide-screen technology and most foreign films are dubbed. Annually there are 645 visits to the cinema per 100 inhabitants.

The returns from our theatres show that on average there are 10,000 performances a year, 100 premières and a total audience of 1.5 million. The numbers who attend concerts of classical music and opera performances is more than 800,000 a year. Theatre tickets are considerably subsidized by the government.

There are almost 3 million licence holders for radio and television. The three radio stations broadcast nearly 400 hours per week; transmissions relayed by television total 81 hours per week. The decisive majority of the programmes on the two TV channels are in colour.

More than 7 million gramophone records are released every year.

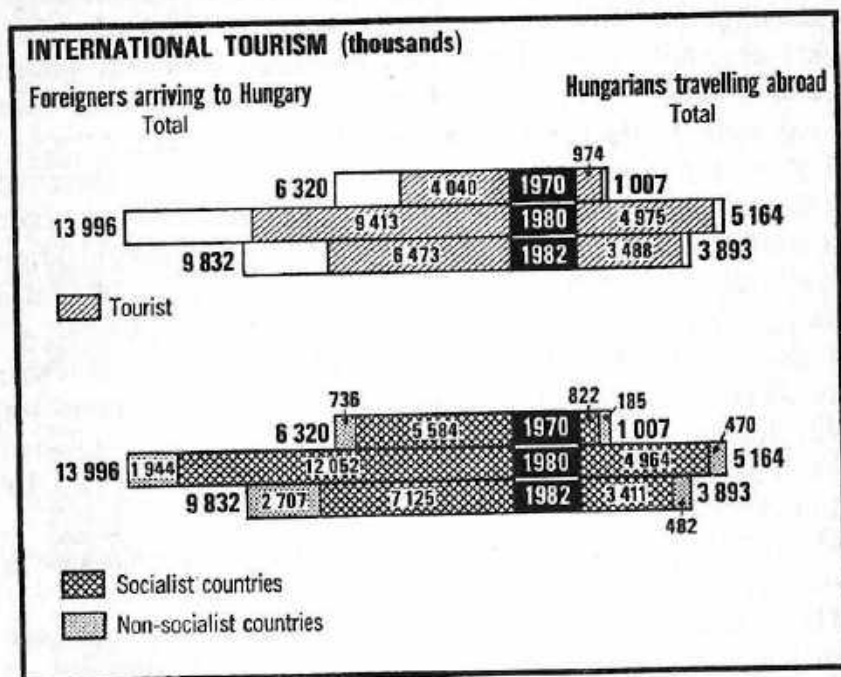
The growth of interest in museums and exhibitions has been particularly rapid from the seventies on. Our museums put on 2,000 exhibitions annually, are visited by more than 16 million people and charge only nominal entrance fees.

Book publishing and the network of libraries play a big role in the dissemination of culture. More than 90 million books are published every year; the libraries lend 54 million books annually, that is 24 books per reader.

The development of home and foreign tourism has been rapid in recent years. Two-thirds of the population regularly take part in holidays at home, excursions and foreign trips. Five million Hungarian citizens travelled abroad in 1979, most of them to the neighbouring socialist countries.

With smaller or greater fluctuations the number of foreigners visiting Hungary has been increasing significantly from the middle of the sixties. In 1979 more than 15 million foreigners visited our

country, 2.4 times as many as in 1970. Within that, the number of tourists was 9.8 million, which is also 2.4 times as high as the figure for 1970.



The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic

The basis for the international prestige of our country is provided by the successes achieved in the work of socialist construction, the stability of our social system and the firmness of our socialist national unity. The main characteristics of our foreign policy are: consistent insistence on the basic principles of socialist foreign policy, proletarian internationalism and peaceful coexistence.

Proletarian internationalism is effective in our foreign policy in two main areas. One of them is the unceasing strengthening of diverse relations and our alliance with the other socialist countries. The other area is that we support the struggle of the workers

in the capitalist countries and of the peoples fighting for their national liberation by every possible means.

The socialist countries, our country among them, have an interest in seeing to it that the outcome of the struggle between socialism and capitalism is decided not by arms but by peaceful economic competition and by political and ideological struggle. An important fundamental principle of socialist, and so Hungarian, foreign policy follows from this: the promotion of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Our foreign policy has won credit through the absence of ambiguity of which Comrade János Kádár spoke in his concluding speech at the 12th Congress of the HSWP: "Never, nowhere and to no one have we made a secret of where we belong. Moreover, as is proper, we introduce ourselves even in the Western world by saying 'You are aware that we live in close co-operation, faithful friendship and fraternity with the Soviet Union. We fulfil the obligations we have undertaken in the Warsaw Treaty honourably and we are and will remain a member state of that treaty until the alliance systems are dissolved simultaneously.'" Those who have established relations with us are aware of this and we can assure them in this respect for the future, too."

In keeping with her possibilities, Hungary in her foreign policy is trying to take part in protecting the achievements of détente and strives to contribute with the specific steps which she takes to the promotion of political and military détente and disarmament. Hungary shared in the initiatives aimed at convening the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in working out the Helsinki Final Act and in those continuous efforts which serve the implementation of the principles contained in the historically significant Helsinki document and the realization of its recommendations.

The past thirty years of our history have convincingly proved that the most important prerequisite for our unbroken advancement and balanced development—in addition to the socialist construction work of our people—is the utilization of the possibilities inherent in the internationalist unity of the socialist countries. This co-operation multiplies our strength and ensures

the realization of our long-term plans. The exchange of experiences acquired in the construction of a developed socialist society help in the successful solution of the tasks ahead.

Our co-operation with the Soviet Union stands out in the network of our bilateral relations. Historical experience convincingly demonstrates that nurturing Hungarian-Soviet relations and strengthening these relations is in the vital interests of our people. We pay special attention to foreign political co-operation, to the development of economic and commercial relations, which are of fundamental importance in terms of the balanced development of our national economy, to the expansion of scientific, technological and cultural co-operation.

Hungarian foreign policy pays great attention to the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Co-operation is particularly good with those countries among them which take an active role in strengthening the anti-imperialist character of the non-aligned movement.

We make consistent efforts to develop our relations with the capitalist countries on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and respect for each other's interests and domestic affairs. The rapidly developing expansion of relations during the first half of the seventies was the consequence of the advancement of the process of détente. But, naturally, the development of co-operation had an influence on the general international atmosphere, too, and usefully served mutual understanding and the strengthening of confidence.

The detectable strengthening of unfavourable tendencies in the international situation from the end of the seventies has encouraged Hungary's foreign policy to make efforts in her bilateral relations to confront the endeavours to revive the cold war and to retain understanding, confidence and mutually advantageous co-operation. Similarly to and in close harmony with the other countries of the socialist community, Hungary attempts through intensified activity to counteract the efforts of the extremist circles in certain capitalist countries to halt bilateral relations.

LIST OF NAMES FEATURED IN THIS VOLUME

GYÖRGY ACZÉL (b. 1917); Secretary of the Central Committee of the HSWP; member of the Political Committee; member of the National Assembly; active in cultural policy.

ENDRE ADY (1877–1919); one of the greatest Hungarian poets; revolutionary reformer of 20th-century poetry.

MRS. FERENC CSERVENKA (b. 1918); member of the Central Committee of the HSWP; Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

GYÖRGY DÓZSA (1470–1514); organizer and leader of the great Hungarian peasant revolt of 1514.

FERENC ERDEI (1910–1971); scientist and politician, agrarian expert and organizer of science. At the time of his death he was General Secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, General Secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front and a member of the Presidential Council.

SÁNDOR GÁSPÁR (b. 1917); trade union leader. Member of the National Assembly; President of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions; President of the World Federation of Trade Unions since 1978; Deputy President of the Presidential Council since 1980.

HOUSE OF HABSBURG; historical European dynasty, whose members were Hungarian kings from 1526. Between 1867 and 1916 Francis Joseph I and between 1916 and 1918 Charles IV were the joint rulers of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

MIKLÓS HORTHY (of Nagybánya), (1868–1957); counter-revolutionary politician; regent of Hungary between 1920 and 1944; a protagonist of the policy of conservative, reactionary big capital and land-owners.

MÁTYÁS HUNYADI (Corvinus), (r. 1458–1490); Hungarian king as Matthias I, founder of the centralized Hungarian monarchy, one of the most renowned rulers of his age.

ATTILA JÓZSEF (1905–1937); revolutionary poet of great influence.

LAJOS KOSSUTH (1802–1894); great Hungarian statesman, outstanding leader of the 19th-century struggles for national independence, for an end to feudal prerogatives and for civil liberties.

GYÖRGY LÁZÁR (b. 1924); Prime Minister of Hungary; member of the Central Committee and the Political Committee of the HSWP.

PÁL LOSONCZI (b. 1919); President of the Presidential Council; member of the Central Committee and the Political Committee of the HSWP.

GÉZA LOSONCZY (1917–1957); journalist, politician. He was arrested in 1951 under trumped-up charges, and then rehabilitated in 1954. During the counter-revolutionary uprising of 1956 he served as minister of state in Imre Nagy's government.

LAJOS MÉHEZ (b. 1927); former minister of industry, now General Secretary of the National Council of Hungarian Trade Unions.

FERENC MÜNNICH (1886–1967); outstanding personality of the Hungarian and international working-class movement; military officer, diplomat, statesman; Prime Minister between 1958 and 1961.

IMRE NAGY (1896–1958); economist and politician; bears great responsibility for the development of the 1956 counter-revolution.

FERENC RÁKÓCZI II (1676–1735); military leader, writer and politician; the leader of the war of independence of 1703–11; ruling prince of Hungary between 1705 and 1711.

MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI (1892–1971); internationally known communist politician; General Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, later of the Hungarian Working People's Party. His policy bears heavy responsibility for the outbreak of the 1956 counter-revolution.

KING STEPHEN I (b. around 970–975; r. 1000–1038); ruling prince, later king; from the first Hungarian ruling family, the House of Árpád; the founder of the feudal Hungarian state.

ISTVÁN SZÉCHENYI (1791–1860); writer and politician; outstanding figure of great influence in the liberal reform movement of the 19th century.

MIHÁLY TÁNCICS (1799–1884); writer and politician; democratic revolutionary of serf origin.

PÉTER VERES (1897–1970); writer, politician; originally an agricultural labourer; played a great political role in the years following the Liberation.