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**THIRD CONGRESS  
OF THE  
HUNGARIAN  
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**Matyas Rakosi reports  
on work and future  
tasks of the Party  
on behalf of Central Committee**

**T**HIS year will mark the tenth anniversary of the glorious Soviet Army crossing the Hungarian border, beginning the liberation of our country. This year will mark the tenth anniversary of the convocation of the Provisional Assembly and the formation of the Provisional Government, of the rebirth of Hungarian statehood. This is the tenth year of freedom for our country!

In the space of a single decade the economic system of our country has radically changed, the structure of our economy has completely altered, the mode of production and the relations of production have changed.

Industrial enterprises, transport and banks have become public property, the property of the State of the working class. Trade is being conducted chiefly on state or co-operative lines. The working class has in the main carried out the expropriation of the expropriators. A considerable socialist sector has emerged in agriculture, embracing one-third of the entire agricultural production.

**Radical change**

The class structure of society in our country has also radically changed. The classes themselves have changed, as have class relations. The class of landlords and big landowners has gone out of existence. The industrial bourgeoisie has ceased to exist as a class. The last exploiting class—the rural bourgeoisie, the class of the kulaks—has been restricted to a narrow sphere.

The leading class in our society—the working class now in power—has increased tremendously in numbers, enhanced its consciousness, raised its cultural level, strengthened its organisation and has gained a wealth of experience.

Above all from the ranks of the working class has come that broad leading

stratum which is now directing our State, national economy and society. The split which persisted in the ranks of the working class for decades has been eliminated. The working class has become the leading class of the nation, a united and organised class, guided by a single political force that is conscious of its aim.

Our working peasantry have ceased to be an oppressed and enslaved class, suffering under the yoke of the banks, landlords and kulaks. The majority of them have risen to the status of the middle peasantry.

**Powerful force**

The intelligentsia has become a powerful new force; the majority has ceased to be a bourgeois intelligentsia, for the bourgeoisie itself, the class upon which the existence of this important social stratum depended, has ceased to exist.

During the past decade the material conditions and well-being of the working people in our country have fundamentally changed. In the first half of 1954 the real wage of a factory worker is on the average 57 per cent higher than in the period preceding the Second World War. Unemployment has been eliminated in Hungary. For equal work women receive equal pay with men and young people with adults. Youth enjoys the all-round support of our people's democratic State.

During the nearly ten years that have passed since the liberation of Hungary, a mighty cultural revolution has developed in our country.

During the last ten years under the wise, far-seeing and purposeful leadership of the working class, for the first time in the history of Hungary, a firm alliance has been formed of the two working classes which are the backbone of our nation, the base of our society—the working class and the peasantry.

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Lenin constantly laid emphasis on the interrelation in the alliance of the workers and the peasantry, on the fact that only the dictatorship of the proletariat could save the peasantry and that only an alliance with the peasantry could consolidate the power of the working class. Lenin taught that the chief principle of the Socialist Revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the working class is the support, constant consolidation and strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This wise teaching of Lenin was grasped by the working class of Hungary and by the Hungarian working peasantry.

One of the greatest achievements of the past decade is that through the establishment of a firm and durable worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the new state power, the brilliant teaching of Lenin has been translated into life in our country too.

**More united**

The nation has become more united because the realisation of the alliance between a united working class and peasantry has laid a firm foundation for establishing the new national unity. Our nation has become more united thanks to the remoulding and emergence of an intelligentsia which is to an ever greater extent serving the interests of the people.

All this means that in place of the old bourgeois nation there is emerging a new nation, which year by year, month by month and day by day is becoming more and more a socialist Hungarian nation.

In consequence of the economic, social and political changes that have taken place during the last ten years in our country powerful new motive forces in the development of our society have made their appearance and are playing an ever greater role—forces such as the worker-peasant alliance, the growing so-

cialist patriotism, and also the developing, growing and strengthening moral and political unity of our people.

Together with these new motive forces, another motive force, a new force of almost incalculable significance, has come into play and is affecting our social development—the fact that we are part of the vast 800 million-strong socialist camp and the consciousness of what this means to our working class and our people.

Our great teacher Lenin said that the decisive question of all profound social transformation, of all fundamental social change, of every revolution was the question of power. In Hungary, too, this was the central question of the fundamental social transformation that has taken place in the past decade.

During the past decade a socialist transformation took place in Hungary, as a result of which the working class, which is in alliance with the peasantry, took power.

This transformation was made possible by the fact that the glorious Soviet Army, inspired by the Communist Party, smashed the German fascist army, thus clearing the path for the people's democracy.

However, the Soviet Union did not only clear the way for our development. The Soviet Union has given and is continuing to render us constant economic, political, technical, scientific and other aid to enable our people to overcome initial difficulties and remove the obstacles from our path. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its wise policy based on the granite-like foundation of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin is the guiding star of our entire work.

The utilisation of the possibilities which have arisen from the new situation and the liberation of the country is, however, bound up with an essential and chief condition. This is the existence of a political force, a Party that was capable of standing at the head of the struggle, of setting an example and organising the struggle of the working class, the peasantry, all working masses for a national upswing, for a new, free and independent Hungary, for the rehabilitation of the devastated national economy, for more decent conditions of life, for Socialism.

This Party—our unified Party—has not only proved in the decisive and historic battles of the last ten years that it has no interest other than that of serving the people, but also that it has mastered the fundamentals of the art of the brilliant Lenin-Stalin strategy and tactics and is capable of applying it successfully in the complex conditions of class struggle, revolution and building Socialism!

## *Hungary's foreign policy*

**O**UR country in its own best interests, and as a loyal member of the peace camp firmly pursues a foreign policy of peace, because this conforms in all respects with the interests of our people.

Peace is the major guarantee of our continued development; hence we must exert all our efforts to see that the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Democracy shall contribute to the consolidation of peace, the lessening of international tension and the extension of co-operation among the peoples.

The foreign policy of our country is directed towards co-operation with all other countries, on the basis of equal rights and respect for mutual interests.

The Hungarian People's Republic maintains diplomatic relations with thirty-four countries, including twenty-three capitalist countries; it has foreign trade missions in thirty-one countries. The trade of Hungarian commercial firms extends to a much broader circle of countries. Representatives of our People's Democracy participate in more than one hundred international bodies.

The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Democracy is also guided by the principle that at present there is no disputed or unsolved question which cannot be solved peacefully, on the basis of the common agreement of the countries involved.

### **Normal relations**

In accordance with this, the Government of the Hungarian People's Democracy is striving to establish normal relations with other countries for the lessening of international tension, regardless of the political system prevailing in the countries. Hence, we normalised our diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia last August and reached agreement for the prevention and investigation of border incidents. To develop our relations with our western neighbour, Austria, we reached agreement on Danube shipping problems in 1953.

The basis of our entire foreign policy is firm friendship with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the peace camp. The further deepening of co-operation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, the fullest implementation and continued development of the political, economic and cultural agreements reached with these countries is the fundamental task of our foreign policy.

During the past few years we con-

cluded long-term economic and trade agreements with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania and Albania. During 1953 a new agreement on technical, scientific and cultural co-operation was concluded with China and we concluded an agreement on economic and technical aid with the Korean People's Democratic Republic. As a symbol of the consolidated friendship and growing co-operation our legations in the European People's Democracies and Korea were raised to the status of embassies during the past few months.

### **Preserving peace**

The historical experiences of the Hungarian people indicate that the preservation of peace bears special significance from the point of view of the development of our country. Our country suffered tremendously during the past century from devastating wars, which undermined her independence and considerably retarded her development.

The preservation and consolidation of peace are of special importance for us at present, because only this will make it possible for us to consistently improve the well-being of our people in the continued building of socialism, and to satisfy the material and cultural requirements of the working people to an ever greater extent.

The historical experiences of our country, however, do not only prove the benefits of peace, but also that the Hungarian people could assure their peaceful development only by resolutely taking a stand in defence of their peace and independence alongside the progressive forces in the world.

We can assure the conditions of building socialism today only if we take an active part in the great world-wide struggle between the forces of peace and war, if we contribute in the ranks of the peace camp alongside the liberating Soviet Union, as an independent country, with our own active foreign policy to the consolidation of peace, the lessening of international tension and the ever broader co-operation between the peoples. This is the only possible, genuinely national foreign policy.

The interests of the Hungarian people and the defence of peace demand, above all, that there shall be no resurrection of German militarism, of German im-



## *Rising industrial output*

perialism. For this reason, the Hungarian people have followed with the greatest approval and sympathy every step taken by the Soviet Union for the peaceful, democratic solution of the German and Austrian problems.

Our country has strengthened and consolidated its ties with the German Democratic Republic, the founding of which was considered by the German people generally as a highly promising historical turning point; we joyfully greeted the decision of the Soviet Union to pursue its relations with the German Democratic Republic as with a sovereign State.

The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, therefore, deemed it necessary to express in a special statement its approval and support of the proposals of the delegation of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of an "All European Agreement for Collective Security" at the Berlin Conference. This statement declares that:

"The peace-loving Hungarian people, who for four hundred years lived under the occupation of foreign oppressors and against whom German imperialism, twice within a generation, unleashed the horrors and destruction of war, reject, together with the other peoples of Europe, schemes and attempts aimed at the resurrection of German militarism, because they know well, on the basis of the experience of two world wars, that the revival of German militarism gravely endangers the achievements of the peaceful construction work of the Hungarian people."

The revival of German militarism is indivisible from the plan of annexation of Austria, of a new Anschluss, which if it materialise—as is known by the Hungarian people through bitter experience—would constitute a direct threat to the independence and security of Hungary from the German militarist aggressors.

The foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Democracy wholeheartedly supports all plans designed to create a united democratic peace-loving Germany, because we discern therein the surest guarantee of peace in Europe.

Finally, the Hungarian people deem it necessary that their country shall be granted admission to the United Nations, a pledge given by the Western powers during the signing of the peace treaty, in order to raise its voice therein for the preservation of peace, the lessening of international tension and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

The foreign policy of our People's Republic is a policy of peace and of understanding between nations; we shall do everything within our power to assure the triumph of this policy.

SINCE the Second Congress of our Party, our national economy has developed vigorously. Industrial production, especially heavy industry and the production of the means of production, showed particularly rapid progress.

During the three years since the Second Congress of our Party, from 1951 to 1953, industrial output increased by 73 per cent. In three years the increase in the output of manufactured goods amounted to 307,000 million forints, i.e., in stable prices was 22.5 per cent greater than the value of the entire industrial output of Hungary in 1938.

By the end of the first Five-Year Plan the industrial output of Hungary will already be three times greater than that of 1938. This year, the last year of the Five-Year Plan, socialist industry is producing nearly 180 per cent more than in 1949.

### **More goods**

The output of the mining industry is 109 per cent higher than in 1949; ferrous metallurgy 140 per cent higher; chemical industry about 200 per cent; electric power nearly 120 per cent. Light industry will turn out this year nearly 92 per cent more goods than in 1949 while the output of the food industry will exceed by 160 per cent the 1949 level.

In five years some 65 industrial enterprises have been put into operation and the large-scale reconstruction and expansion of eighty-four plants was completed. During the Five-Year Plan the first project of the Stalin Iron and Steel Works was built and put into commission. A number of shops in the Lenin Metallurgical Works at Diosgyor, including a 700 cubic metre blast furnace, were built. The November 7 power station and aluminium smelting works have been put into operation.

New socialist cities such as Sztalinvaros, Komlo, Kazincbarcika, Oroszlany and Varpalota have sprung up. New up-to-date plants and factories have been built up in such earlier industrially backward places as Bekescsaba, Kiskunfelegyhaza, Debrecen, Gyongyos, Szolnok, Jaszbereny, Hodmezovasarhely, Zalaegerszeg, Nyiregyhaza, Godollo, Veszprem, Kaposvar, and so on.

As a result of the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan our country has been transformed from an agrarian-industrial country into an industrial country!

In speaking of the tremendous progress registered by the Hungarian working

people under the guidance of our Party we must, however, by no means gloss over the serious mistakes and shortcomings which exist in our economic construction. It is not only a question of disproportions within industry, of a relative lag in the development of light industry and the food industry, in the output of power and basic materials.

The most serious disproportion in the development of our national economy is that between industry and agriculture.

The June 1953 decision of the Central Committee, together with supplementary decisions, clear away obstacles from the path of our development. The Central Committee of our Party thereby opened up a new stage in the building of Socialism in Hungary.

The central question of our entire policy, hence also of our economic policy, in the new stage of building Socialism is the further consistent consolidation of the State power of the working class as well as the foundation of this power—the worker-peasant alliance—the broadening and strengthening of the economic basis of the worker-peasant alliance and, in conformity with this, the constant increase in the well-being of the people, rapid advance of agricultural production and the rise in the output of consumer goods.

### **The new stage**

From an economic point of view the new stage in building Socialism in our country is characterised by the following:

1. In our national economy we closely link up the development of the productive forces with the constant raising of the standard of living of the working class and the people as a whole. This means that the basic economic law of Socialism is operating in our society in an increasingly consistent and comprehensive manner.

2. The liquidation of the disproportions which have arisen and the forestalling of new disproportions. The law of proportionate development of the various branches of the national economy will operate more consistently and comprehensively in our society.

3. The policy of socialist industrialisation, as the major means of building Socialism in our country, and the building of a socialist economy in general rely to a greater extent upon economic co-operation with the countries of the socialist camp. This co-operation is realised on

a higher level, particularly through the co-ordination of the Hungarian national economic plan with the national economic plans of the European People's Democracies and the Soviet Union; this makes possible the best utilisation of the economic resources of the country, of its specific national potentialities, its productive capacity, the elimination of harmful overlapping, lowering of production costs and improvement in the quality of the goods turned out.

4. The simultaneous and vigorous development of production, trade and cultural relations between town and village; the sending of agricultural experts to the countryside, the increased supply of agriculture with up-to-date machinery and other means of production and transportation, together with manufactured goods, to an extent that, in comparison with the previous stage, represent a qualitative change.

5. On the basis of all this, the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry will be realised on a higher plane. The leadership of the working class in the worker-peasant alliance will be exercised on a higher level. The state power of the working class, which is in alliance with the working peasantry, will become stronger.

The decisions by which the Central Committee of our Party inaugurated a new stage in the development of our people's democracy define the policy of building Socialism, which alone is correct and leads to the aim. This is the only correct path for promoting the building of Socialism, both in town and countryside. The first significant results, although still only initial ones, are already to be seen.

### Substantial improvements

First of all we have achieved a substantial improvement in the material conditions of the entire population, of all the working people. The two price reductions effected during the second half of 1953 and the reduction in prices of meat and fats effected this March will mean an annual saving of 2,100 million forints\* for the population.

As a result of the implementation of the Party decisions and the Government measures taken in June 1953 and thereafter, the real wages and real income of the working people, including factory and office workers, are rising considerably.

Our working class and technical intelligentsia gave eloquent proof of their wholehearted support of the policy of the Party and the Government when, despite the difficulties, despite the extremely rigorous and unusually long winter of

1953-54, they ensured the uninterrupted working of industry and transport.

At the same time, however, we must point out that not everything is as it should be in the field of industrial production. Far from it. And yet our continued progress, the raising of the material and cultural level depends on putting things in order in a number of spheres of industrial production where things are unsatisfactory at present.

As far as agriculture and the working peasantry are concerned, a considerable change has also taken place in this respect since last June. Primarily, as a result of the policy of the Party and the Government and the implementation of the decisions and measures, the income of the peasantry has risen.

### Help to peasants

In accordance with the decisions of the Party, the Government reduced and fixed for a number of years ahead the obligatory deliveries for the peasantry and afforded considerable advantages to the co-operative farms in the delivery of produce. The Government cancelled the measures which restricted the peasantry in the free marketing of their surplus produce. Likewise, on the initiative of our Party, the Government raised the prices for crops under production contract.

Because of the severe drought in 1952 the Government to a large extent cancelled the arrears in taxes, deliveries and M.T.S. (Machinery and Tractor Station) charges incurred by the working peasants and especially by the co-operative farms. The Government took steps to improve supplies to agriculture. Compared with the previous year capital investments in agriculture have increased by nearly 45 per cent in 1954, while total capital investments in the national economy as a whole diminished considerably as compared with last year.

Thanks to all these measures and the entire policy of the Party and the Government, which was very favourably received by the working peasantry, their willingness to increase production became stronger. Commodity exchange between the town and village has gained momentum.

As a result of the correct policy of our Party, the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry has become firmer. The leadership of the working class within this class alliance manifests itself more confidently and consistently! The prestige of the Party and the working class has increased. Our people's democracy has become firmer and stronger.

In so far as the peasant policy of the Party is concerned it is invariably based

upon the well-known slogan of Lenin: relying firmly upon the poor peasant, we establish a close alliance with the middle peasant, without relinquishing for a moment the struggle against the rich, the kulak. Naturally, our Party and our working class firmly rely upon the co-operative peasants.

So that the small peasants can properly share in and benefit from the development of agriculture, they must receive all kinds of support. The M.T.S. and the state farms must give them assistance in tilling the land. Such assistance brings the poor peasantry closer to the socialist sector of the countryside and will strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

The role of the middle peasantry is exceedingly important at present in the development of agriculture, particularly in strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and thereby in building Socialism. We must do everything in our power to consolidate our alliance with the middle peasantry.

We must see to it that in accordance with the decisions of the Party and the Government the middle peasantry are in a position to make use of the possibilities available, that their striving for increased output, actively displayed by them in recent months, may be realised without hindrance. We must demand that they adhere to civic discipline and meet tax and delivery obligations in full; but they must also be encouraged to produce the maximum and, following deliveries, they should be able to sell easily and without restrictions the remaining produce, thus increasing their income to enable them to obtain all commodities necessary for their production and consumption.

### Will attract them

There is no doubt that the work of the well-run co-operative farms, the rising income and improving well-being of the co-operative membership will also attract, more than ever before, the middle peasants, many of whom are joining the co-operative farms and taking the path to Socialism because they understand that large-scale collective farming is the road to the continued advance of their well-being.

The policy of restriction must be invariably continued towards the kulaks. If the kulaks do not meet their delivery quotas, do not pay taxes, agitate against the co-operative farms and the people's democracy, energetic measures must be taken against them; in this sphere it is necessary to get rid of liberalism, which has raised its head in some party and state organisations and the harmful effects of which are already evident in the village.

\* 33 forints to the £. For easy conversion divide by 100 and multiply by three.



In the development of the socialist sector in agriculture we must focus our attention primarily on the co-operative farms. It must not for a moment be forgotten that precisely this road is inevitable for the building of socialism in the countryside, that sooner or later every peasant will be convinced of the correctness of this road and embark on it.

It is the task of the Party and the Government to work out detailed, far-reaching measures which will help reveal to the full the superiority of the co-operative farms so that they may become the models and attractive examples of socialist large-scale agricultural enterprises and at the same time show a sound numerical growth.

Alongside material assistance, mainly along productive lines, we must ensure co-operative democracy and the observance of all rights of co-operatives and their members; we must ensure that the income of co-operative members exceeds the average income of the middle peasant.

The most important task at present is the strengthening of the existing co-operative farms economically and politically, the raising of their income and yields.

### **Raising yields**

The M.T.S. are a decisive means for the economic strengthening of the co-operative farms, the raising of their productivity and yields and for the socialist transformation of the countryside. The M.T.S. must, of course, help the individual peasants in their production, but their major task is raising the production of the co-operative farms and the dissemination of a higher level of agrotechnical and general agricultural knowledge in the countryside, particularly in the co-operative farms.

The decision of the Party and the Government adopted on December 23 last year devoted a great deal of attention to the improvement of the work of the M.T.S. Last year our machine and tractor stations fulfilled their production plan for the first time. The amount of field work per tractor unit rose considerably. Although the quality of the work also improved there is still much to be done in this connection. The M.T.S., which a few years ago were quite unknown in our country, are firmly rooted in Hungarian agriculture and today the Hungarian village would be inconceivable without them.

The M.T.S. obtained considerable assistance this year from industrial enterprises. The radical improvement in the work of the M.T.S., the improvement of discipline in the M.T.S., better quality of work—this is the central task for the development of agriculture, for the rapid advance of agricultural production and at the same time for the building of Socialism in agriculture.

Our state farms at present account for 12.5 per cent of all the arable land in the country. As far as the grain yield is concerned, our state farms has already exceeded the national average. In 1953 the wheat yield per hectare in state farms was 100 kilograms\* higher than the average yield in the country; that of rye 170 kgs., winter barley 180 kgs. The state farms supplied 22.5 per cent of the wheat, 20 per cent of the rye, 32.6 per cent of the hogs, 21 per cent of the beef cattle and 20 per cent of the milk procured by the state in 1953. This means that our State farms already play an important role in supplying the population of the country.

At the same time we must admit that the majority of our state farms work badly.

The central task is to improve farming, to raise the level of management, to improve discipline, to stabilise the labour force, effectively to protect state property against waste and squandering and to introduce strict order in the entire work of the state farms. These are the prerequisites for a rapid increase in yields and productivity, lowering of production costs, raising of labour productivity and ending deficits.

To achieve this it is essential that in state farms the principle of material incentive for the workers should also be implemented in a consistent way to ensure the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan, to ensure profitability and the reduction of production costs.

## ***The next Five-Year Plan***

**O**UR first Five-Year Plan will be completed this year.

In elaborating the second Five-Year Plan we must ensure the complete or partial elimination of the disproportion existing in our national economy. We must ensure that harmony between the development of the national economy and the improvement in the well-being of the population is constantly and consistently realised during the second Five-Year Plan.

In order to prepare our second Five-Year Plan more thoroughly than the first the Central Committee proposes to the Congress that 1955 be utilised for preparatory work; thus the period of the second Five-Year Plan shall be from 1956 to 1960.

In the period of the second Five-Year Plan we must continue in our country, at a slower pace, to carry out socialist industrialisation which at the present stage is also the main means for building socialism. We must continue building

\* One kilogram equals 2.2 lbs.; one hectare equals 2.4 acres.

socialism not only in the town but also in the countryside, in agriculture.

During the period of the second Five-Year Plan the rapid upswing of agricultural production must above all be ensured. The steep and rapid upsurge of agricultural production is the key problem of the second Five-Year Plan.

The grain problem must be solved during the second Five-Year Plan in our country and supplies to the population of meat, fats, milk, sugar, vegetables, fruit and wine must be considerably increased. The supply of home-produced raw materials to light industry must be stepped up.

During the second Five-Year Plan we must change the proportion between the development of the production of the means of production (group "A") and the production of consumer goods (group "B") in such a manner that the development of group "B" shall at the beginning be more rapid than that of group "A"; this will liquidate the disproportions in the national economy and improve supplies for the population.

### **Cut out waste**

Simultaneously with the slower rate of development of industrial production as compared with the first Five-Year Plan, we must increasingly utilise such basic sources of socialist accumulation as raising labour productivity, reducing the cost of production, as well as overheads in production, construction, transportation, trading and administration, eliminating wastefulness and unnecessary expenditure and in particular the strictest possible enforcement of thrift, not only in national economy but in all spheres of life of the people's democracy.

During the second Five-Year Plan technical development must be considerably promoted throughout the entire national economy, the technical level must be substantially raised in industry, agriculture, transport and in trade. The second Five-Year Plan must be a plan of high quality work, of higher standards of work in industry, agriculture, transport and trade.

During the second Five-Year Plan the ratio between accumulation and consumption must be changed as compared with the first Five-Year Plan in favour of consumption and, primarily, direct consumption by the working people.

During the second Five-Year Plan we must develop national economy not primarily by setting up a large number of new plants, but mainly by means of the more extensive and economic use of the existing production and transport equipment and by the modernisation of the transport network, primarily the railways. Thus we must ensure the necessary means

for setting up new, up-to-date plants in those branches of the national economy where the pace of development urgently demands this.

During the second Five-Year Plan we must ensure to a greater extent than hitherto the output of such important home-produced raw materials as coke and iron ore, which are required for our industries, especially for ferrous metallurgy and machine building. The regular supply to the population and national economy of electric power, coal and liquid fuel must be regarded as a key problem which must be finally solved by means of a corresponding increase in production.

During the second Five-Year Plan we must increasingly adhere to the principles of the international division of labour, first of all between the countries of the socialist camp, on the basis of mutual interests and reciprocity in the spirit of international solidarity.

During the second Five-Year Plan we must further strengthen and develop our national defence and State security in accordance with the real needs and possibilities of the national economy.

As a result of the realisation of the second Five-Year Plan, our present lagging agriculture will be brought into line with socialist industry; the socialist system of production will predominate in our entire economy and the basic law of socialism will operate to the full in our national economy. We will thereby lay the foundations of socialism in our country.

## ***Cultural advances***

**T**HE achievements of our general development are apparent also in the cultural field. The cultural attainments of our People's Democracy are gradually changing the world outlook of our people, broadening their general knowledge, enhancing their consciousness, enriching their lives.

This progress can be illustrated by a few figures taken at random. There were 8,152 printed publications in 1938, appearing in 17,272,000 copies. In 1953, there were 18,767 publications appearing in 51,079,000 copies. The number of radio subscribers in 1938 was 419,200; at present it exceeds 1,100,000. The use of the radio is widespread in the countryside especially. Experimental programmes are under way in Hungarian television.

The broadening culture of our people is best reflected by the development of public education. At present, there are

three times as many pupils studying in the eighth grade of the general school as prior to the war. The number of secondary school students also rose threefold while the increase in the universities and colleges was fivefold. The majority of the students of the secondary schools and universities are of working class and peasant origin; our People's Democracy is creating its own intelligentsia.

The growing cultural requirements of the people call for a qualitative improvement in public education. The general school system, first and foremost the basis of public education as a whole, must be extended and consolidated. We must accelerate especially the establishment of the eight-grade general school system, provided with a specialised teaching staff, by the development of the schools in the villages and hamlets. An educated, cultured, conscious peasantry, with a broad horizon akin to that of the urban population, is the indispensable prerequisite for the socialist development of the countryside.

## **Skilled people**

With respect to the development of lower education, we frequently hear the opinion expressed that it is our desire now to handle higher education as a secondary problem. Of course, this is not so. In our country building socialism there will be in the future, too, more rather than less demand for skilled men and women with a middle school and university education.

We shall not lose sight for a moment of the fact that the worker and peasant majority of university students is just as great, or a greater triumph of the democratisation of public education, as is the fact that we have made the general schools really general. The eight grades of the general school are not only an end in themselves, but a means as well; it is a path for the most talented youth to acquire a secondary school and university education. Moreover, the development of education on a higher level continues to be a timely task, but in the present situation the stress is not on quantity, but on quality!

A few years ago the two most important tasks in the sphere of secondary and higher education was the securing of a majority of students of worker and peasant origin and the quick and extensive training of experts. We can consider this task as having been essentially solved.

In registration for university study, the requirements of talent and outstanding marks must increasingly come to the forefront, alongside social origin. Our country building socialism needs not only trained but excellently trained experts. In our university education, we must assure special training on a genuine university,

scientific level and the more profound study of Marxism-Leninism.

The qualitative development of the universities is a lengthy process and does not mean a sudden raising of the educational requirements without transition. In some of the universities we observe that the slogan of raising quality has been misunderstood. Instead of increasing pedagogical assistance, they leave to themselves students with inadequate preparation, but who otherwise are industrious and talented.

There are still 7,800 university students who were admitted through special matriculation courses and who are mainly of working class and peasant origin. We expect them to study diligently, but at the same time full pedagogical assistance must be extended them to help them overcome the deficiencies of their prior training.

To raise the level of educational work, it is indispensable that we establish an inter-connected, unified, scientifically grounded, firm system at all levels of public education; a system which will put an end to the periodical reorganisations, to uncertainty and the experimental character in all spheres of public education.

Greater attention must be paid to the elaboration of thorough, scientifically worked out curricula and to text books of a permanent character. Alongside the tasks of the dissemination of knowledge we must place greater emphasis on the educational tasks of the schools.

Our teachers, in order to meet the growing requirements, must receive far greater support and appreciation from the family and society. As to the content of education, we must strive to acquaint the students with the great treasures of our national culture. We must strive to deepen their knowledge of the Hungarian language, literature and history, together with a firm grounding of general knowledge.

## **Sports victories**

The results of the good work of our People's Democracy are reflected in the development of physical culture and sports, in the victories of our sportsmen at international meets. These victories strengthen the spirit of peaceful co-existence between the peoples and build up goodwill not only for the Hungarian People's Democracy, but for the entire peace camp.

The patriotic education of our youth must be grounded in a richer presentation of the heritage of our national culture and history. Education in the schools correctly emphasises our pride in the heroic tradition of Antal Budai Nagy, Gyorgy Dozsa, Janos Hunyadi, Miklos



Zrinyi, Imre Thokoly, Ferenc Rakoczi, of the traditions of 1848 and 1919, which mark a step forward in the centuries-old struggle for the liberation of our people.

As is well known, historical development does not consist solely of revolutionary leaps, but also of stages of peaceful evolution preparing the revolution, of reforms which have their own heroes. Our educational work should treat accordingly Janos Apaczai Cseri, Samuel Tessedik, Farkas Bolyai, Istvan Szechenyi, Lorand Eotvos and the other pioneers of Hungarian social progress, of Hungarian science and technique.

Beyond the question of public education, let me say a few words about the patriotic education of our people. Socialist patriotism, the love of our people's democratic homeland, is becoming more embracing and profound, but it still does not permeate the whole of our working people. Our public education and text books will be out of touch with reality if they do not take this fact into consideration.

### **Patriotism**

But we can base ourselves all the more upon the tradition of democratic patriotism, deeply ingrained in the entire people, and on the great achievements through which we have brought to fruition during the past ten years many of those patriotic ideals. The love of our native land, the defence of its peace and prosperity, rallies behind us everybody without exception who is proud of the fact that the country is at last free and strong and cultured. The same is true of all areas of our socialist construction and culture.

The far-reaching change that has taken place in all spheres of the People's Democracy in the past few years also stimulated development in scientific life.

Never before has science enjoyed such social recognition, never before has it received such assistance, as in the state of the working people. As a result of this, scientific work, particularly in the technical and natural science field, has considerably developed.

The Hungarian Academy of Sciences played a great part in attaining these achievements. Since it was recognised in 1949, the Academy accomplished a good deal in satisfying the scientific requirements of our society building socialism. With the participation of many hundreds of scientific workers, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences worked out the first five-year plan of science; the second five-year plan is being elaborated now. Co-operation between scientific and production experts has, to a certain extent, been brought about in the specialised committees of the Academy's technical departments and chemical science departments.

The enthusiastic and devoted work of scientists in preparing the resolution on agricultural development demonstrated the significant assistance science can render to socialist construction. In addition to highly developed technical research, however, the agricultural sciences and the social sciences must be systematically developed.

The introduction of the new system of scientific classification has proved to be highly effective in developing our scientific life. This system enhances the prestige of scientific work and gives an incentive to our research workers to attain better results. The organised form of training scientific cadres, for aspirants of post-graduate degrees, has been realised. At present about 700 aspirants are working at home and 100 in the Soviet Union.

More and more of our scientists are adopting the Marxist outlook and scientific method. Serious work has been launched in branches of the natural sciences of a directly ideological nature on the basis of Soviet scientific results. Debates in certain branches of the social sciences (history, philosophy, economics, literature, law) testified to the ideological development of scientific life. These debates also bring into sharp focus the backwardness and serious internal problems of some highly important branches of the social sciences. This is chiefly true in the case of economics and philosophy.

### **Transition**

In the past years political economy concerned itself hardly at all with the questions of the economy of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, nor with analysing the fundamental characteristics of our socialist construction. As a result it could be of little assistance to our Party in the scientific elaboration of economic policy. Our economists did not analyse the workings of objective economic laws in our national economy.

New stirrings of scientific life are noticeable in economics since the session of our Central Committee last June. Our economists are beginning to reveal the shortcomings in their work so far and are initiating discussions on the theoretical problems of the new stage. The Party must come forward with full support for this effort.

The Institute of Economic Sciences must be set up. Our economic and theoretical periodicals must regard the publication of theoretical articles discussing problems of our national economy on a scientific level as their prime task. On the whole greater publicity must be given to scientific works on economics. The growing number of young economists, together with old-time Marxist

economists, must be drawn more actively into this work.

Another sphere in which we are at present lagging behind the demands made by development is philosophy. Our leading philosophers have considerable achievements to their credit, primarily in criticising reactionary Western philosophic trends. Research into the history of philosophy, however, predominates in their own, and particularly in the work of their students. We must see to it that our young cadres become acquainted with the living social and ideological problems of our age already during their studies.

### **A weakness**

Some philosophers are trying to sanction and justify the weakness of the struggle against contemporary Hungarian manifestations of reactionary philosophical trends by claiming that the domestic representatives of reactionary, imperialist "philosophy" were unimportant. This is true in itself, but it must not mislead us. Just as we find the progressive heritage of Hungarian philosophy not mainly in the works of professional philosophers, but of outstanding poets, writers and politicians deeply concerned with social questions, the "most important" representatives of the reactionary outlook were not professional philosophers either, but writers, historians, and so on.

Can it be said, for instance, that the views of the idealist historians have no influence whatsoever on the social sciences and the way of thinking of the intelligentsia in Hungary today? Marxist philosophers should not look for hostile philosophers under the Horthy regime (although they do exist, even if they were only insignificant), but for hostile philosophical trends, and they will soon have plenty on their hands.

It is one of the important tasks of Marxist philosophers to expose the harmful heritage of the past that is still making itself felt today, and particularly of the counter-revolutionary period between the two world wars, and to analyse the questions cropping up at the present stage of development of our People's Democracy.

New Hungarian literature and art serving the working people and championing the ideas of progress underwent considerable development in recent years. Hungarian films, which made progress in portraying the new life and historical themes, met with considerable success at home and abroad. Our theatrical life is making strides forward. The greater State support to the fine arts is promoting the flourishing of creative work. In addition to the new successes of interpreting musicians, our composers are also attaining new successes.

The successes of literature in portraying liberated life are particularly gratifying. The group of writers educated by the People's Democracy is rapidly growing in strength, and the writings inspired by the spirit of socialist realism are growing in number. Our new literature is enjoying great popularity in the People's Democracies and particularly in the Soviet Union, where the works of contemporary writers, besides the classics, are being published in translation in increasing numbers. During last year twenty-five Hungarian works were published in the Soviet Union in about 1,280,000 copies.

Although recognising the successes, our working people are expecting more from our writers and artists. Many art for art's sake works that turn their back on the burning problems of our people, are still seeing the light of day.

### **Making it easier**

Our Party's policy is making it easier for every writer loyal to the people to find his creative place in the camp of the People's Democracy, including those who are only now coming to recognise the educative mission of their artistic work.

We are giving free rein to creativeness, let our writers and artists reply by fulfilling their task with a still greater sense of responsibility. The people are awaiting rich, many-sided works of a high artistic and ideological standard and they grow fond above all of those artists who boldly reveal the conflicts of life today, passionately criticise the remnants of the past that drag us back, and take a determined stand on the side of the positive forces shaping the new life.

We must oppose symptoms of art for its own sake, pessimism and decadence, as well as sectarian narrowmindedness hampering the development of the arts. We must treat with special care and affection every promising artistic effort to portray life today. Our artists and writers should make use of the possibilities, inspire our people to new victories on the path of well-being and socialism.

The work of guidance by our Party and State needs to be further improved in order to consolidate the new development of literature and the unity of our artistic life. The bureaucratic or too direct interference in the process of creative work must be abolished. The principle that writing is primarily the writer's business must be asserted. At the same time the result of the writer's work, the book itself, is the cause of the people. Whether he is treating the present or a historical subject, he must reply to the questions of the people, siding with the people.

The Party's help in this field is tanta-

mount to making this task easier for writers and artists. This is done by the more thorough mastering of Marxism-Leninism, which in our age is the most important instrument for the writer to obtain a more profound knowledge of social change, of life.

We must put an end to the over-centralisation of Party and State guidance. The principle must be asserted that the ideological and practical problems of the various fields are solved with the Party's help by the artists and critics themselves who work in that field. The Communist and non-Party writers, artists and critics who are supporting heart-and-soul the Party's aims, overcome the remnants of bourgeois ideological and sectarian views in open debates on principle, and evolve a partisan standpoint on the ideological, political and professional problems of artistic, creative work.

Those workshops of cultural life, which are called upon to assist the creative work on the spot, must be given far-reaching authority. We expect artistic associations, book publishers, theatre and film script editors, and editorial boards to show greater initiative, based on greater responsibility and independence.

Principled, consistent and vigilant criticism needs to be esteemed more highly and given greater assistance. The extension of freedom and independence, without improving the standard of criticism might lead to ideological and artistic regression, while with the simultaneous upswing of criticism our gifted writers and artists can more easily spread the wings of their creative abilities for the further flourishing of socialist culture of the People's Democracy.

## ***Tasks of the Party***

**I**N the period between the two Congresses our Party acted in conformity with its mission and role: it led and guided the State of the working people, defined the main political line and the most important tasks arising from it, rallied the working masses for the implementation of these tasks and checked up on their realisation.

During the past years our Party has proved once more that it can work out the best measures for our people in every situation; that it is not afraid openly and boldly to disclose the mistakes committed, and quickly and resolutely make a change when the interests of our People's Democracy demand it. This was done also at the June meeting of the Central Committee, which reviewed all problems of our Party and our country,

pointed out the mistakes and the way to remedy them. By this correct policy our Party extended its influence among the working masses, strengthened its unbroken ideological unity and armed itself for the successful tackling of the tasks of the new stage of socialist construction.

The decisions of the June meeting of the Central Committee concerning a fundamental improvement in the internal life of the Party and in methods of leadership have yielded substantial results. We are successfully eliminating the idealist petty-bourgeois view on the cult of the individual which for many years has been deeply rooted in the Party. The Leninist principle of collective leadership is being increasingly introduced in the leadership of the Party; criticism and self-criticism is developing more boldly. The leading bodies of the Party have drawn closer to the membership and the Party itself to the people. As a result of this our Party has grown in strength; the activity of the Party membership has increased, and Party life in all spheres has taken on a new vitality.

### **Not critical enough**

Although undoubtedly there has been considerable improvement in inner-Party life and methods of leadership, we must still state that we have not been successful in effecting a complete change in this sphere as yet.

Moreover, in the work of a number of Party organisations, including certain county committees, the old style of leadership has remained or returned: instead of collective leadership, they practice one person leadership; instead of convincing, they resort to issuing orders and continue to under-rate the importance of elected bodies. Despite the improvement, self-criticism is not yet developing adequately and the higher Party bodies do not sufficiently encourage criticism from below.

Party life in every Party organisation will be healthy if it is permeated with Communist criticism and self-criticism. Where criticism is exercised freely, the Party organisations listen to the complaints of the working people and take the necessary measures, Party democracy develops, the links between the Party and the broad masses become closer and the prestige of the Party organisations is enhanced.

Criticism is often a form in which the initiative and creative desire of the masses manifest themselves; he who suppresses criticism causes untold harm to our Party.

An atmosphere must be created in the



Party in which a rank-and-file member can criticise and submit his complaints or statements without fear.

The new Draft Rules include a number of measures for strengthening and developing Party democracy. Inner-Party democracy, just like the question of collective leadership, is not an ordinary task or campaign, but a constant, organic part of Party work. Consequently, no comrade can hold a responsible position if he cannot work collectively, if he stifles criticism, withholds from the Party the invigorating fresh air of Party democracy.

We must ensure the complete application of the principle of collective leadership in all spheres of Party work. We must not permit anywhere the elected Party organs to be relegated to the background. Therefore, we must see to it that the elected bodies thoroughly discuss all important questions and take decisions on them.

### Activists

The Party activists are of special significance in our Party. The elected leading bodies of the Party are capable of actively involving the overwhelming majority of the members in struggle for the implementation of the policy of the Party, mainly with the aid and assistance of the Party activists. This is why it is necessary for the leading Party bodies to pay a great deal of attention to the development of Party activists.

We must ensure the uniform and correct understanding of the policy of the new stage. This is all the more necessary, because the tendency to cling to the old is still quite strong in our Party. As an example we can cite the work of the Party Committee in Bekes county, which tolerated "left", sectarian mistakes in the policy towards peasants; it did not consider the middle peasants to be an ally of the working class and, distorting the Party's policy, the co-operative peasants were counterposed to the middle peasantry.

On the other hand, and this could be noticed especially recently, the policy of the new stage is distorted in a right-wing, opportunist direction.

There are some people who believe that the policy of the new stage means a slackening of State and labour discipline. Concern for the working people is interpreted by some to mean that one cannot take such a firm stand against exceeding the wage fund and lowering the norm, that deliveries and tax collection can be neglected because they involve "inconveniencing and molesting" the peasants.

These erroneous views and our failure to wage a consistent fight against them have already caused substantial damage to the State. There are also some comrades who have interpreted the policy

of the new stage as meaning that there is no longer a kulak danger.

The correct policy of our Party must be defended against both left-wing and right-wing dangers and distortions. The correct and uniform interpretation of the Party and Government decisions, and their strict and complete implementation in practice must be assured without fail.

The Party must, therefore, be educated far more energetically in a spirit of vigilance; we must see to it that Communist vigilance shall increase not only in relation to the enemy, but also in relation to left-wing and right-wing distortions apparent in the implementation of the Party's policy.

Since the Second Congress our Party has grown stronger, put down deeper roots, become more experienced, steeled and united. This unity is more firmly cemented by Marxist-Leninist theory, by the application to Hungarian conditions of the example and practical work of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The development of our Party is also shown by the considerable increase in the number of basic organisations since the Second Congress. We had 12,933 basic organisations on January 1, 1951, and by January 1 this year they had increased to 21,551. The number of basic organisations in the socialist sector of agriculture rose during this period from 2,429 to 4,250; this includes the basic organisations in the co-operative farms, which increased from 1,681 to 3,122.

The membership of the Party is at present 864,607\*. Of this figure 810,227 are full members and 54,380 are probationers.

### Membership

As far as the social composition of the Party is concerned the number of workers rose from 490,046 to 521,251; the percentage rose from 56.9 to 60.5 per cent. The proportion of intellectuals also increased, the number rising from 34,503 on January 1, 1951, to 43,161 on January 1 this year. The number of peasants declined by one per cent during the three years, and there are now 124,976 peasants in the Party.

In connection with agricultural development and socialist construction in the countryside we must devote special attention to recruitment to the Party branches in the co-operative farms.

It must also be pointed out that the number of intellectuals in our Party is still low and lags behind the ratio of increase in the number of intellectuals. A change must be made in this respect also, so that the best of the new and old-time intellectuals shall be admitted more boldly and in greater numbers into the Party.

\* Hungary's population is a little short of ten million.

The great tasks confronting us in ensuring an improvement in the well-being of the people and a steep advance of agriculture demand that our agitation and propaganda shall be directed towards the broadest strata of the people, including the working people of the villages and hamlets. Our new objectives call for the activation and participation of the broadest strata of the people and this demands lively, bold agitation and propaganda which in clear, understandable and popular language answers all questions that arise, which mobilises the working people to surmount difficulties and, at the same time, takes a sharp, militant stand against overt or covert enemy propaganda.

### Improve work

From this point of view we must review and improve not only the work of our agitators, but of the radio and press as well.

Heightened Party activity demands the raising of the level of political leadership. Tens of thousands of tried and tested Communists have left the factories and plants, and the enemy will undoubtedly attempt to carry on his destructive activity among the new workers recruited from the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. It has been repeatedly noted that the subversive activity of the enemy takes the form of demagogic and unjustified demands, which undermine discipline, overstrain the capacity of the people's democracy and are raised with the aim of impeding socialist construction.

This phenomenon is all the more dangerous because not infrequently we come up against well-meaning plans and proposals which leave out of account the actual resources and material conditions of the people's democracy. The acceptance of such plans has led to the situation that in quite a few regions instead of economising we live beyond our means, which is causing serious damage to our national economy and hindering the improvement of the living standard of the working people.

Our development increasingly calls for cadres who are not only experienced in Party work but who are educated and have considerable specialist knowledge in one or another field; this, together with theoretical training, enables them to orientate themselves in a complex situation and take the correct decisions. In connection with the development of agriculture the Party demands of its functionaries in the localities a certain amount of agricultural knowledge.

Dealing with cadres is one of the paramount tasks of our Party organs. The Central Committee disbanded the cadres departments two years ago in order to emphasise thereby that dealing with cadres is the obligation of the lead-

ing bodies as well as every department and organisation of the Party.

Numerically our mass organisations became considerably stronger in recent years. The trade unions have 1,913,000 members, the Union of Working Youth 577,000, the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women 560,000 and the peasants' co-operatives 1,300,000 members. Strong and respected mass organisations enhance the Party's influence and reinforce its guiding and leading role.

We must therefore intensify the work in mass organisations and improve the guidance given them by the Party. This is above all true of the trade unions, whose work has improved considerably. In our country, too, the trade unions are the schools of socialism, particularly if we work well in them.

Trade unions are educating hundreds of thousands of non-party workers who for the first time begin to work in factories and mines. Trade unions are that mighty reservoir from which our Party continuously draws its new force. The trade unions are the most important transmission belt connecting our Party to the working class.

### **Help to youth**

Our Party bodies and organisations are still not giving sufficient help to the Union of Working Youth and do not always see clearly the important role the Union is playing in the building of socialism and strengthening the people's democracy.

This must be changed. The Union of Working Youth is the nurseling of the Party and it must therefore help the Union, support it and display constant concern for it.

The future successful work of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women in educating and mobilising working women makes it necessary for Party organisations and State bodies to show greater understanding and give it more assistance.

Our Party organisations must pay much greater attention than hitherto to the agricultural co-operatives. They must make certain that the working peasantry consider these co-operatives to be their own, that co-operative democracy is not infringed and that their members become materially interested in developing the co-operatives.

And finally, Party organisations must devote greater attention to the councils—the largest mass organisations. Party organisations must help and lead them better without, however, substituting for them or taking over their functions.

The political and organisational strengthening of Party organisations must be

carried through primarily where the aims of the new stage demand this. This is chiefly the case in such key industries as the mining industry, metallurgy, electric power and in factories working for agricultural development, as well as in key enterprises of the national economy and foreign trade.

Another decisive field of Party work is the countryside.

The Party has 204,000 members in the countryside; 25 per cent of those working in the co-operative farms and 22 per cent of those working at machine and tractor stations and State farms belong to the Party. This is a great force. We must increase this force further and above all reinforce the leadership of Communists working in the countryside.

Our Central Committee has therefore decided to reinforce rural county Party committees and county councils with politically developed cadres who have a great deal of practical experience. These organs of Party and State power stand closest to the village, and it is primarily they who must ensure the effective carrying through of the Party and the Government decisions.

## ***Strengthen the alliance***

**T**HE general line of our Party is to lay the foundations of socialism in our country, together with the consistent raising of the material and cultural standards of our people, and unflagging struggle to ensure that we can continue our work of socialist construction in peace.

In order to realise the general line of our Party, it is, first of all, necessary to broaden and strengthen still further the Party's bonds with the working people and rally the ranks of our Party still more closely in order to make our Party more united and firmly welded than ever before, since our Party's main strength, apart from the correctness of its policy, lies in its ideological, political and organisational unity, in unity of action of the Party.

The realisation of the general line of our Party depends to a decisive degree on the leading force of our social system, the Hungarian working class, rallying around our Party more united, more consciously and in a more disciplined manner than ever before. We must, with might and main, solidify the ties between the Party and the working class, and we must ensure the leadership of the industrial workers in all fields of socialist construction.

It is essential for the successful realisation of our Party's general line also to strengthen further and render inviolable the worker-peasant alliance, the foundation of our people's democratic State, the guarantee of consolidating our achievements and of new victories in the future.

In order to successfully realise the general line of our Party we must expand the foundation on which the policy of the Party and the people's State rests: we must develop the People's Front of Independence as the broadest union in our country of all patriotic and peace-loving forces, as a united mass movement of all Hungarians of goodwill ready to fight for the happiness and prosperity of their homeland!

### **Active part**

The successful realisation of our Party's general line demands that we continuously strengthen our worker-peasant State, the State of people's democracy: that increasingly broader masses play an active part in the work of the State and supervision.

It is indispensable for the victory of our Party's general line to further extend, consolidate and make closer our bonds with and our people's sincere friendship for the Soviet Union building Communism—liberator of our country and standard-bearer of the struggle for world peace, as well as with the People's Democracies; it is necessary to establish closer ties with all countries waging a struggle against the predatory wars of the imperialists, for their independence and peace!

This decisive change initiated by our Central Committee in June of last year consolidated the ties between our Party and the working class, between our Party and the working peasantry, between our Party and our whole working people. It appears as though the worker-peasant alliance has been regenerated since the June decisions. The June decisions released new forces for the building of socialism in our country. The path laid down by these decisions is the correct path! This is the path we must unswervingly take! Our working class, working peasantry, intelligentsia, all our people are following our Party along this path!

This is the path of advance, of consolidating the national independence of Hungary, the path for a strong, cultured and flourishing Hungary!



# The old Hungary is gone forever says Voroshilov

**M**ARSHAL K. E. VOROSHILOV, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, brought to the Congress the greetings of his Party and of the people of the Soviet Union. Here are excerpts from his speech:

The successes of the Hungarian people are a striking proof of the great vital force of the people's democratic system—the power of the working masses led by the working class.

In this connection it is not amiss to think back to the recent past of Hungary which was an oppressed, dependent and backward semi-feudal country. The Hungarian people groaned for over 400 years under the yoke of foreign conquerors suppressing the vital forces of the nation. The liberty-loving Hungarian people have for centuries led a persistent struggle for the national liberation, the freedom and independence of their homeland. Hungarian soil has been soaked with the blood of its best sons, the heroes of the sacred struggle for liberation.

## **"No interference"**

Then, recalling the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army in April 1945, Marshal Voroshilov quoted these words of Stalin:

"We have not, and cannot have, any such war aims as that of imposing our will and our regime upon the Slavonic or other enslaved nations of Europe, who are expecting our help. Our aim is to help these nations in the struggle for liberation they are waging against Hitler's tyranny and then to leave it to them quite freely to arrange their lives on their lands as they think fit. There must be no interference whatever in the internal affairs of other nations!"

Marshal Voroshilov then went on:

And, indeed, as a result of the liberation of the country from the Hitlerite occupants and their satellites, the Hungarian people gained, for the first time in their centuries-old history, the opportunity to decide themselves the destinies of their homeland. Their age-old dreams of national independence, of a free and happy life have come true.

Gone forever is the old Hungary, with its system of oppression and exploitation, with its horrors of unemployment and with its "auctions of human beings", the

Hungary of "3 million beggars" roaming the land in search of work.

In the course of this brief historical period Hungary has been transformed from a backward agrarian country into a country with a developed socialist industry and an advanced culture.

Today in people's democratic Hungary with her highly developed industry all necessary pre-requisites exist to ensure a further and substantial rise in the living standard of the working people within the shortest possible time, being mindful that the concern for the maximum satisfaction of the constantly growing material and cultural needs for the working people is the supreme law for the Hungarian Working People's Party as it is for every party expressing the true interests of the people.

Since the birth of the new people's Hungary the friendship of our peoples has entered a new historical stage, has acquired a new content. This friendship is based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, on the sincere desire to help each other and ensure mutual economic advance.

The conclusion in February 1948 of the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, based on the respect of the principles of state independence and national sovereignty and serving the cause of peace and security of the peoples, consolidated the friendly relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union.

## **Still closer**

During the six years since the signing of the Treaty the fraternal friendship and alliance of our countries has been even more solidified, the co-operation between Hungary and the Soviet Union has become still closer.

Economic relations between our countries are developing from year to year. As is known, the agreements for economic co-operation and trade between the Soviet Union and Hungary are based on the principle of mutual advantage and have a beneficial effect on the economic development of our countries.

The Soviet people value highly the products of Hungarian industries sent to the Soviet Union: the river and ocean-going ships, the locomotives, the steam engines and numerous articles of mass consumption. The quantity of Soviet deliveries,

machines and factory equipment sent for the Hungarian plants under construction is growing from year to year and so is the volume of raw materials sent for the growing Hungarian industry.

Trade between Hungary and the Soviet Union has increased fourteen fold in the period between 1946 and 1953.

The cause of further extending Hungarian economic relations is served by the long-term trade agreement concluded in 1952 between the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic as well as the agreement concerning the delivery of complete factory equipment and on technical aid to Hungary for the years 1952-1955.

With their creative work for the benefit of the homeland, the Hungarian people are making a valuable contribution to the cause of strengthening the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

Your successes and accomplishments which convincingly prove the superiority of the people's democratic system over capitalism fill with sincere joy our Party, the working people of the Soviet Union and every sincere friend of the Hungarian people. This is quite understandable.

## **Mutual trust**

The relations between the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies are relations of fraternal friendship, of mutual respect, mutual trust and constant mutual aid. The basis of this relationship is the principle of equality of all peoples, big and small, a principle which differs radically from the capitalist principle of the enslavement of the weak by the strong.

Each of the peoples in the great camp of peace, democracy and socialism is justly proud of the successes and achievements of its brothers and considers them as its own successes and achievements. These relations of the new type, entirely new in the history of mankind, secure for the countries of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism the political, technical and economic independence from the capitalist world and is a sure guarantee of the successful advance of each of the fraternal peoples.

The ever-strengthening friendship of the peoples of the democratic camp is an inexhaustible source of strength and invincibility.

The forces of imperialist reaction, obsessed by the idea of unleashing a new world war, are trying in every way to

prevent the relaxation of international tension, are building up military blocs, carrying on an armaments race and are engaged in the intensified remilitarisation of Western Germany and Japan in order to use these countries as jumping-off grounds for preparing war against the peace-loving peoples of Europe and Asia.

In the field of international relations the aggressive circles counterpose the "policy of strength" and of crude pressure and intimidation to the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the peace camp. However, these gentlemen must sooner or later understand that their efforts to intimidate the free peoples are utterly vain and ridiculous.

The striving for world domination of the imperialist monopolies of the United States evokes the just indignation of the masses of the people in every part of the globe. The peoples of the world want no war. The struggle of the peoples for peace is increasingly gaining strength and momentum.

Of late a certain relaxation of international tension has come about. However, we must not over-estimate the significance of these results. The enemies of peace do not rest, they have not given up their intentions, they are openly threatening the world with hydrogen bombs, extending the network of their military bases, increasing their stock-pile of weapons of mass extermination of people.

It is therefore the task of all peace-loving forces indefatigably to expose the intrigues and criminal plans of the instigators of war, to enhance their vigilance and strengthen their organisation in order to thwart all war provocations of the enemies of peace.

### **Let women lead**

This Congress is deciding the major and important questions of the life of the Party and the entire people, defining the further tasks of the country's economic development, of the development of agriculture, of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and raising the living standard of the working people.

In the life of new Hungary the trade unions, the Union of Working Youth and other mass organisations which are unfolding their activity under the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party play a great role.

I would particularly like to speak about the role of the Hungarian women for whom in the people's democratic system every opportunity is open to unfold their abilities and talents.

Like their sisters in the Soviet Union,

China and all people's democratic countries, the women of free Hungary represent a tremendous creative and cultural force.

The task now is further to enhance the role of the Hungarian women in the economic, social and political life of the country, to promote them more boldly to leading positions and more boldly to draw them into the solution of the vital problems confronting the people.

### **Greetings**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union instructed our delegation to transmit to the Third Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party the following greetings:

*The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sends fraternal greetings to the Third Congress*

*of the Hungarian Working People's Party.*

*Under the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party, the Hungarian people have achieved great successes in the consolidation of the people's democratic system and are confidently marching along the road to Socialism.*

*We wholeheartedly wish the Hungarian Working People's Party new successes in the struggle for laying the foundations of Socialism, for the development of agriculture, for the consolidation of the worker-peasant alliance, for constant raising of the material and cultural standards of the working people.*

*Long live the Hungarian Working People's Party, organiser and leader of the working class and all working people of Hungary!*

*Long live the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of Hungary and the Soviet Union!*

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## **Discussion and adoption of report**

**M**ORE than forty speakers took part in the three-day discussion of the report of the Central Committee.

They included Mihaly Farkas, member of the Political Committee, Istvan Hidas, Minister of Heavy Industry, Istvan Bata, Minister of Defence, Laszlo Farkas, secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, Erno Gero, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Rusznyak, President of the Academy of Sciences, Mrs. Istvan Vas, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women, Sandor Nagy, Stalin and Kossuth Prize-winning writer, Bertalan Por, Kossuth Prize painter, and Ferenc Szabo, Kossuth Prize composer.

Congress unanimously adopted the fol-

lowing resolution:

"The third congress of the H.W.P.P. endorses the political line and practical activities of the Central Committee. The political and economic tasks, and those of Party-building outlined in the report must be regarded as the line governing all future activities of the Party."

Guest delegates attended the Congress from Communist and workers parties of China, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Rumania, the German Democratic Republic, Western Germany, Bulgaria, Austria, Britain, the Mongolian People's Republic, Finland, Spain, Persia, Greece, Belgium, Trieste, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Argentina, Switzerland, Israel, Australia, Chile and Tunisia.



# ***Imre Nagy, Prime Minister, reports on tasks of State administration and the local councils***

**T**HE experience of over three years that have elapsed since the Second Congress of the Party makes it necessary to discuss vital questions of work of the state apparatus and local councils.

For the successful solution of the tasks and problems facing our Party and the working class in the sphere of state building, it is essential to make use of the important and rich experience and the theoretical achievements by which the Soviet Union enriched the international revolutionary movement and the achievements which obtain in the People's Democracies of Central and South-Eastern Europe in state building and administration.

The laying down of correct principles for the state executive bodies and the state apparatus, proper clarification of the problems arising and the wide application of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the state in the practical work of state building—this is the urgent task of our Party.

## ***Step forward***

**T**HE fact that our homeland was liberated by the armed forces of the Soviet Union decisively determined the entire subsequent development of the country. Thanks to this Hungary took the path of people's democratic development ten years ago. After a historically brief period of time our country entered the stage of building socialism.

In extremely complex social and political conditions, in the course of the sharpening class struggle, a struggle which daily grew more bitter and which developed first around the democratic agrarian reform, then around the question of nationalisation and later took the form of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, the working class of Hungary showed that under the leadership of the Party it is able to carry out its historical mission—to govern the country—and that it is able to defend people's democracy.

In 1945-46, following the smashing of the Horthy army, gendarmerie and police by the Soviet Army, possibilities were created in our country for gradual re-

organisation of the remnants of the old state and administrative apparatus and the courts.

In 1945-50, as a result of the growing influence of the Hungarian Working People's Party, pressure by the masses from below and gradual liquidation of the reactionary forces and parties, we carried out, even before the setting up of local councils, a number of reforms for the reorganisation of the state apparatus. And thus we approached the task of setting up local councils.

This meant a great step forward in the work of building the people's state by the working class. Through local councils the working class has drawn the broad popular masses, including working peasants, into the job of running the state.

The mere fact of the formation and functioning of local councils is a tremendous achievement in the work of our Party and the working class in building the state, a great stride forward along the path of developing the people's state. The local councils are the embodiment of the state of a new type and help to run the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. Our local councils have solved tasks of exceptional importance and have contributed greatly to building socialism.

## ***Basic alliance***

**T**HE base of our people's democratic state is the worker-peasant alliance. The social system of our People's Republic rests on the co-operation of these two classes. The leading force of this alliance—the base of the state—is the working class which in the course of building socialism has increased its numbers and has become highly concentrated with the development of large-scale industry; its consciousness has developed as a result of the educational work of the Party and the trade unions.

The working peasantry has also undergone essential changes in its social position as a result of the agrarian policy carried out by our people's democratic

state and the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The worker-peasant alliance constitutes the social and political base of people's democracy which is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

V. I. Lenin pointed out: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these; it is an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on its part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism.

## ***People's front***

**I**N the conditions of people's democracy the people's front is that broad, all-inclusive mass movement the backbone of which is the worker-peasant alliance and which embraces the overwhelming majority of the population. The people's front is the manifestation of people's unity and the alliance of all working people and the working class. Due to the fact that it is organised, tempered in battle, has great experience and consciousness, the working class, led by the revolutionary Marxist Party, is the leading force of this great alliance of the people.

The programme statement of the Hungarian Working People's Party at its First Congress in general took the correct path for further strengthening the alliance of the democratic forces when it declared that the Hungarian Working People's Party was working for the creation of a mass political organisation of the unity of the people, the new independence front in place of the former rather loose coalition of democratic parties. This aim, however, was not realised. The policy of the people's front receded to the background and the independent front did not

become a united, active, mass organisation of the democratic, patriotic forces of the people.

### **Task has grown**

The formal existence of the independent people's front, and its activity limited to actions on occasions, did not correspond at all to the important vocation which it should have fulfilled in our people's democratic system, with creation of widest popular unity and broadening of the democratic bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Experiences show that neither the Party, nor the councils nor other mass organisations in place of the people's front were able properly to embrace and draw towards itself the widest masses of the working people, the mass of the peasantry, which led to a slackening of connections with the masses.

And yet, in the present period of the building of socialism, which demands the mobilisation of and wider political activity of greater mass-forces than the period preceding the revolution, the role, significance and task of the People's Front has grown substantially.

Its tasks—rallying the widest, patriotic, democratic masses of the people, educating them and mobilising them for great national tasks—in the absence of any other all-embracing mass-organisation, had to be taken on by the Party.

Mainly because of the political and organisational weakness of our village Party organisations, this task was beyond the strength of the Party, beyond its degree of organisation and its influence.

But the Party, as the vanguard and the leader of the people's democracy, incidentally cannot be the organisational frame and form for popular unity, for the class alliance of the working class and the widest sections of the people.

It is the task of the Congress to draw the requisite political conclusions from this.

The strength of the Party and the Government is in their close contact with the masses. With this in mind a new people's independence front must be set up on the basis of the democratic principles of the Constitution of our People's Republic and of socialist construction, the independence front which, as a broad social and political movement of the people, must be based on the democratic principles and have national and local organs; in determining the forms of these organs the initiative of the masses must be given full rein. This new people's front must be wider and more democratic than in the past.

The achievement of this means that the new People's Front should not be the union of political parties or their frac-

tions, but, with the participation and leadership of our Party, the union of mass organisation and people's committees embracing the widest sections of the working people, in which the trade unions, the Union of Working Youth, the Hungarian Women's Federation, the social organisations in the scientific, cultural and social fields, the National Peace Council and its committees, the various people's committees, production committees, residents' committees, leading personalities in the state, social and church life, representatives of the intelligentsia, and so on, take their place.

In the name of the C.C. of our Party, I propose that the Congress entrust the Central Committee-elect to work out, drawing in on a wide scale the mass organisations and people's committees, the conditions of work, the forms and the aims of the new People's Front.

### **All-Embracing**

In our Party's people's front policy, we must keep before us the fact that, if we want the new People's Front to be in reality the most all-embracing social and political organ of the people's democracy, then we must carry out increased activity on a wider scale among the middle sections, among the masses of the town petty bourgeoisie, among intellectuals and office workers, which have considerable social importance, and the winning of which for the people's democracy is an important condition for the success of efforts directed towards achieving national unity.

The new people's front must become not only a creative movement, it must also be a militant movement. We must, in fact, create a front for the defence of the achievements of people's democracy, for the defence of our freedom, independence and national sovereignty, against the hostile intrigues and undermining work of the reactionaries and the imperialists, both from within and without—a front in defence of peace and against war.

Let the Congress pass a resolution that the new People's Front should hold a review of forces in the autumn, which shall be a mighty manifestation of the strength of the Hungarian People's Republic, of the unity of the Party, the Government and the people, of the patriotic, democratic and peace-loving forces.

### **Vital force**

**O**UR people's democratic state system has created immense opportunities for developing the capabilities of our working class and working peasantry in building the state, in solving public affairs

and in running the state. It has released the forces constituting the firm foundation of our people's democratic state.

This explains why, in contrast to the state of the old regime, the state that oppressed the people and which was formed and strengthened throughout centuries, our young system of councils which has been in existence for barely three and a half years has devotedly, honourably and selflessly served the people, the cause of advancing the homeland and the cause of socialism.

The carrying out of the tasks of the local councils in exercising state power was not, nor are they even today, subordinated to the National Assembly or the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, although our Constitution gives explicit instructions on this point, but to state administrative bodies and, in the long run, to the Council of Ministers, which, three years ago, relegated this matter to the Ministry for Home Affairs.

The vital force of the local councils lies in extending their contact with the masses. An extremely important means of developing their activities along these lines are the sub-committees of local councils.

There is a whole series of unsolved problems in this field too. The greatest shortcoming, however, is that less than half of these committees are actually functioning. One of the most important prerequisites for the consolidation of local councils is to develop the activity of the sub-committees.

Of great significance in the mass work of local councils is the question of the contacts they maintain with other big mass organisations.

All the prerequisites for co-operation with these mass organisations exist inasmuch as the mass organisations—the trade unions, the Union of Democratic Women—are represented on the executive committee of the local council by their local representatives or leaders, and, conversely, the local councils, through their members, are represented in the local bodies of the mass organisations. Notwithstanding this there is still much to be desired in this sphere likewise.

Only close co-operation between the local councils and mass organisations can ensure the active participation of the broad masses of the working people in the management of state affairs.

The fact that the councils are bodies elected by the people and that elected members can be recalled is an important element of the power and mass organisation character of the local councils.

The principle of election and recall not only has great significance from the point of view of the relationship between the council and the people, but is also



a measure of the responsibility of the council members towards their electorate.

This gains greater validity where the election takes place on a territorial basis. Such a basis gives a possibility for supervision of the council members, and through them of the work of the local council; it increases the responsibility felt by the council members for the work they have done in the council on behalf of the electors.

### **Election system**

Because of the differing principles of our electoral system, the reciprocity between the electors and the council members does not achieve adequate validity. Because of the lack of direct election, the working people are not always able to regard the elected council members as their own delegates, and at the same time, the absence of directly territorial election is an obstacle to the practice of the right to recall.

In the interest of consolidating the councils and of broadening the democratic processes, we must in the future turn to a system for the council elections which makes it possible for the council members to be elected on a territorial basis—in person, so that they can strengthen their connections with their electors, increase their responsibility for the work of the council, and so that the possibility of recalling them may be ensured.

The good or bad work of the councils, as local organs of power, depends on the direction of the supreme organ of state power. For this reason, the new tasks which fall to Parliament and the Presidium Council in connection with the work of the councils make necessary good organisation of their activity in this direction and improvement in the work of making laws. In this connection, increased activity must be demanded from the Members of Parliament in the supervision of the practice of state power, the application of laws, and the work of state administration.

Members of Parliament should offer help to improve the work of the councils in their constituencies. They should take part in council sessions, and nurse the vital connection between Parliament and the local councils. Reports from M.P.s should be made a regular thing. We must ensure for them the most far-reaching support from our authorities, and see that their proposals shall be listened to.

Members of Parliament must, in practising their legislative vocation, win for themselves general respect and honour among the wide masses of our working people.

The second most important and wide-

spread sphere of work of our local councils, besides that of filling the functions of state power, is that of state administration.

In the organisation of our local councils, the executive committees stand at the head of state administration. Their supreme direction is solely the task of the Council of Ministers, which carries out inspection and supervision over their operations. It is incorrect that individual ministers should practise this right, as happens at present. This must obviously be modified.

The supreme direction of the executive committees is at present also carried out by the Council of Ministers through the secretariat of the local councils. This is not the correct solution, though this was brought into being by necessity, because an administrative official organ cannot be the supreme directing organ of the elected council executive committees.

This task and sphere of influence cannot be transferred by the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers must deal with the most important problems of the executive committees.

The Council of Ministers must decide the general guiding principles of the connection between the executive committees and the specialist administrative organs; only the Council of Ministers can decide on a change in the resolutions of the county executive committees, or on their annulment.

Only this form of supreme direction can ensure for the executive committees that authority which is necessary to direct the many types of specialist administrative organs.

### **Supervision**

Supervision of the executive committees is the task of the Council of Ministers, and so it must establish a suitable organisation from itself to supervise, to help carry out the resolutions of the Council of Ministers and the work of the executive committees.

This organisation, similar to the organisation working within the framework of the Presidium Council with respect to its legal status, cannot be an authority, which means that important decisions can only be taken by the elected body which directs their work.

In our state administration, the role and sphere of tasks of the council E.C.s are not clearly marked out. The basis of their good work is the close co-operation of three organisations. These are: the council, as an organ of state power, the E.C., as organ of state administration, and the department or board, as a branch administration organ, which have their own tasks and purposes. Certain disturbing circumstances, however, make co-operation difficult.

The E.C. carries out its activity on the basis of the principles of collective leadership, as a body, from which it clearly follows that the E.C. members are universally, but also individually, responsible for the work of the E.C., and further, in conformity with the principle of double subordination, responsible to both the council which has elected them, and the supreme E.C., or the Council of Ministers.

The double subordination and responsibility of the E.C. does not mean that the E.C.s can modify the ministerial regulations, or refuse to carry them out, although the ministers cannot order the E.C.s. At the same time, it seems to be to the point to ensure that the county E.C.s can take certain questions disputed with the ministers to the Council of Ministers for decision.

The growth of the collective leading role of the E.C.s is hindered by that fact that the number of members made independent of the official apparatus within the E.C. grows more and more, and at the same time, the E.C. members who have no specific function are pushed more and more into the background, getting no tasks to carry out, playing a passive role, and at most, taking part in the meetings.

### **A danger**

In this way, those having no office do not feel responsibility for the E.C. work, the consequence of which is that it is mainly the views of the officials that are expressed in the resolutions passed. This hides within itself the danger of moving away from the working people and their interests.

Bringing into E.C. work of these "outer circle" members is therefore an effective method of developing the connections with the masses, the achievement of which is first of all the task of the chairman of the E.C. and his deputies.

Within the local councils, the state administration tasks break off into branches—the departments, boards and groups. The various branches are nationally combined and directed by the ministries, which as the supreme organs of the branches are responsible for their whole work. There is not enough co-ordination and connection between the ministries and the departments or boards under the specialist administration bodies within the local councils. Neither the ministry nor the department feels its responsibility seriously enough.

To ensure the unity of the council organisation, the sphere of influence of the departments and boards of the local council E.C.s must be regulated, as must their relation to the E.C. and the respective ministry. It is not a matter of indifference to the council and the E.C., which is the directly elected organ of the working people of the given area, how

the board carries out its tasks in its territories.

For this reason, the departments of the council apparatus are not only the local organisations of the supreme branch organisations, i.e. the ministries, but also the specialist administration organs of the E.C.s.

The departments therefore have a two-fold subordination. This ensures on the one hand the validation of direction of the local organs of state power elected by the working people; and on the other hand, the centralisation of state administration for tasks of national significance.

For this reason, in state administration of the socialist type, two-fold subordination is a compulsory organisational principle in all sections where it is especially necessary to take into account the local circumstances.

### Centralism

We must put an end to the situation where the departments work as official organs of the E.C.s and create a bureaucratic unit. They have no independence and special responsibilities; their rights and duties are part of the rights and duties of the council E.C.

In state administration of the socialist type, two-fold subordination is the expression of the principle of democratic centralism.

The chief organisational principle of the State of a socialist type is democratic centralism, which must also be applied in our people's democratic system. We have not consistently implemented this principle in the practical work of the local councils.

Our central state apparatus is over-centralised and at the same time inflated and this is precisely the reason why it is too complicated and bureaucratic. The apparatus of our industry, agriculture, public health and of our entire economy is just as centralised, inflated and bureaucratic as the system of the state apparatus itself, and possibly even more so. These two facts have an extremely bad effect on local councils, retard their initiative and activities; they paralyse the activation of the working masses.

The reorganisation of the system of state administration and the work of local councils and switching them over to socialist principles of work call for reorganising the economic apparatus, for doing away with over-centralisation, simplifying and pruning both state and economic apparatus.

It is essential to regulate relations between the organs of state administration, the economic bodies and the local councils.

A great number of new tasks have devolved upon the local councils since their inception but simultaneously with this ex-

treme centralism has been coming to the fore more and more. This led to the intolerable situation in which, although the central administrative organs formally entrusted the local councils with many tasks, the independent activity of local councils, owing to the extreme centralisation, not only failed to develop but considerably diminished.

The struggle against bureaucracy, for simplification and a reduction in costs of the state apparatus, the struggle to bring the state apparatus closer to the masses is a particularly important task of the Party and the Government.

The reason for the spread and growth of bureaucratism should be sought not in the local councils but rather in the work of the higher organs of state administration.

The deluge of papers with which the higher administrative organs flood the council apparatus simply paralyses the work of the councils. One of the most important tasks of the Party and state bodies in the struggle against bureaucracy is to improve the check-ups, simplify office work, co-ordinate the administrative system with the system of our national economy and with the demands which economic development makes on the state apparatus.

### *Incorrect way of leadership*

THE work of local councils can be improved only if the Party workers representing the Party policy in the district and county Party organisations or in the higher organs of state power are familiar with the principles of building the people's democratic State and its rules of operation. We have not yet achieved this aim, but must do so.

Party organisations have directed and are directing the work of the councils and their apparatus through the medium of one person—the chairman of the executive committee. With the adoption of the new Rules, which envisage the formation of Party groups within the local councils, this incorrect method of leadership and contact will be eliminated, and the question of Party guidance of local councils will thereby be solved correctly, in a Party-like manner.

The fact that our rural Party organisations have not grown stronger in proportion to the tasks confronting them but have actually become even weaker in some places has greatly affected the work of our rural councils.

The chief reason for this weakness and backwardness of our rural Party organisations is the lack of close contact with the peasant masses. This manifests itself in the relationship between the Party organisations and the local councils.

Weak Party organisations are in-

evitably accompanied by weak rural councils as well and this is a serious threat to the socialist transformation of agriculture, to the job of directing our working peasantry along the path of social farming.

It is clear from this that the strengthening of our rural Party organisations, the increase of their influence and the broadening of their mass basis constitute the important link in our socialist advance, a link which we must grasp in order to ensure a general advance along the entire front of socialist transformation.

Our local councils, their leaders and members must focus their attention on the decisive tasks which are the central feature of the policy pursued by our Party: a rise in the standard of living of the population, fuller satisfaction of the material needs and cultural requirements of the people, an upsurge in agricultural production, the socialist transformation of agriculture, strengthening of state discipline, ensuring the fulfilment of civic duties and intensification of the struggle against the class enemy.

To raise the standard of living of the population local councils must concentrate on intensifying the development and utilisation of local industries and resources.

In order to improve the supply to the population of mass-consumption goods local councils must pay more attention to the work of local consumer co-operatives, individual handicraftsmen and to better supplies of goods by the retail trade network. Considerable attention must be paid to the work of repair shops and communal services so that the needs of the population are satisfied in all respects.

The implementation of measures aimed at the development of agricultural production, the application of the decisions of the October meeting of the C.C. of the Party to local conditions is the task of county, district and rural councils.

### Qualified men

The successful implementation of the Party and the Government decisions to ensure an upsurge of agricultural production calls for strengthening the leadership of agriculture at all levels of the councils—in regional, district and rural councils. The agricultural departments of the councils should be reinforced with qualified cadres.

Another responsible task of the councils in the sphere of developing agricultural production is to ensure that the specialists who have been sent to help agriculture—the agronomists, engineers and skilled workers—have suitable working and living conditions and that their social and material conditions are improved.



# *Election of the new Political Bureau*

Alongside the general development of agricultural production local councils must pay close attention to the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Local councils have an exceedingly important role to play in the implementation of the task of the economic and organisational strengthening and development of our co-operative farms. A particularly important role belongs to the district councils in the sphere of assisting co-operative farms to increase their incomes and in defending them against the undermining activities of the class enemy. Members of local councils must maintain constant and live contact with the co-operative farms, they must become imbued with a feeling of responsibility for the work of these co-operatives.

## *Protecting the State*

**T**HE solid foundation for the functioning of our organs of state power and administration is socialist law which, while ensuring the rights of citizens, calls for the strict fulfilment of civic obligations and the observance of state discipline. That is why one of the most important tasks in the work of our local councils and other state organs is to improve state discipline.

The councils, as local organs of state power, must, heading the democratic patriotic popular forces, vigilantly stand guard over our people's democratic system and its achievements. The class enemy—former figures of the Horthy regime, the lackeys of the old anti-popular regime, the kulak and capitalist elements—is still conducting undermining and wrecking activities.

Towards the class enemy the councils, as organs of state power, must act with the might and severity of the dictatorship of the proletariat—socialist law, which persecutes and nips in the bud all disruptive activity and machinations of the enemies of the people.

The first elections to the local councils took place in October 1950. The term of office of the deputies then elected is drawing to a close in October this year, according to the provisions of the Constitution. Our councils—their leaders and members—must again appear before the people and give an account of their work.

Despite the great number of shortcomings, our local councils have, during the three and a half years of their existence, traversed the great path of state building. The decisions of our Congress will open up a new chapter in the development of local councils, the first important stage of which will be the elections to the local councils.

**A**FTER Mr. Nagy's speech there was a discussion in which those taking part included: Mihaly Dumitras, Chairman of the Oroshaza District Council; Andras Hegedus, member of the Political Bureau, First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers; Kalman Pongracz, member of the Central Committee, Chairman of the Budapest Municipal Council; Sandor Ronai, member of the Central Committee, Speaker of the National Assembly; Mrs. I. Juhasz, Chairman of the Szolnok County Council; Jeno Varga, Chairman of the Baranya County Council; Ferenc Janosi, First Deputy of the Minister of Culture, and others.

The Congress unanimously accepted the following resolution: "The Third Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party endorses Imre Nagy's report on 'Tasks of State Administration and the Councils' and regards the tasks therein as directives in the activities of the Party."

On following days the Congress discussed and agreed amendments to Party rules, strengthening their democratic character and underlining the principle of collective leadership.

Leading bodies of the Party were then elected by secret ballot.

The new Central Committee, at its first session, decided the Political Bureau should be constituted of nine members and two alternate members.

Members of the Political Bureau: Matyas Rakosi, Imre Nagy, Erno Gero, Mihaly Farkas, Andras Hegedus, Antal Apro, Istvan Hidas, Lajos Acs, Bela Szalai; alternate members: Istvan Bata and Jozsef Mekis.

The Central Committee elected a five-member Secretariat.

Members of the Secretariat of the Central Committee: Matyas Rakosi, Mihaly Farkas, Lajos Acs, Bela Veg and Janos Matolesi.

The Central Committee elected Matyas Rakosi First Secretary of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee elected the following Central Control Commission:

Gyula Alapi, Geza Asztalos, Ferenc Acs, Jozsef Daczo, Imre Dogei, Jozsef Hajdu, Arpad Hazi, Karoly Kiss, Ferenc Konok, Karoly Maroti, Ferenc Nezval; alternate members: Mrs. Laszlo Bernat and Istvan Peteri.

Chairman of the Central Control Commission: Karoly Kiss.

# 'Let us now turn our decisions into deeds'

**T**HE Third Congress of the Hungarian Working People's Party has finished its work. It has balanced the achievements and the mistakes of the last few years: it has outlined the successes which we have achieved in building socialism, in raising the material welfare and cultural level of the working people and in strengthening the increasing unity of our nation.

The Congress has established that, due to the good work of our Party, the patriotism of our people has become more profound, the unity of our nation is of the highest, the country is strong, and its independence is firmly founded.

The foundation of people's power has become more firm, the relation between the Party and the working class closer, and the worker-peasant alliance stronger. In addition, the Congress has criticised, sincerely and openly, the mistakes which we have made during the last few years in our Party policy and in our economic policy—particularly with the exaggerated pace of development of industrialisation. It has worked out the methods of rectifying the mistakes and has laid down the tasks which face our Party and our People's Democracy.

## **Material welfare**

First among these tasks is the further increase in the material welfare and the cultural level of our working people. The most important factor for this increase is the development of agriculture, and it is on this that the forces of the Party and the Government must be concentrated.

The Congress has decided the guiding principles of the second Five-Year Plan, and has appointed as its aim that, during the second Five-Year Plan, we should lay the foundations of socialism in the whole of the national economy—which includes agriculture.

The Congress has brought out the

achievements and the mistakes in the work of the state administration and the local councils, and has worked out regulations the execution of which will strengthen the state power of the People's Democracy, and will make more firm the worker-peasant alliance.

The Congress has accepted new organisational rules which places increased demands before our organisations and our membership.

Congress drew attention to the fact that we must show more concern for young people. We must give more support to the Union of Working Youth.

We must ensure more scope for working women in the building of socialism, in every sphere of the People's Democracy.

## **The villages**

Finally the Congress underlined that our Party must place the greatest emphasis on improving Party work in the villages during the next few years. Of decisive importance for the execution of the Congress decisions is the general improvement of Party work, to guarantee that leadership should be collective in every organ of the Party, to ensure that criticism and self-criticism and the spirit of Party democracy should become valid everywhere.

This is the best guarantee that the relationship between the Party and the working class, the worker-peasant alliance, shall be even more intimate, more firmly welded together. From day to day we must deepen the influence of our Party among the working masses. We must in every way make solid the connections between the Party, the Government and the people. Every member of our Party, and particularly our Congress delegates, must struggle to make our appointed aims the common cause of the working millions through themselves.

Every aspect of the Congress has shown

that our Party and our working people unitedly support our plans for the further building of socialism. This has been shown not only in the behaviour and the contributions of our Congress delegates, but also in that growing momentum of socialist emulation as the working people have got to know of the aims of our Congress.

Socialist emulation, which has been going on parallel with our meetings and becoming more and more vigorous, does not only bear witness to the fact that the whole country, the whole working people, have been following our work with tense attention, but is also a demonstration of the approval which inspires new pledges and new successes in the factories, the mines, the machine stations, the villages and on every work-front.

These manifestations show that our working people take as their own and approve our aims, and immediately set to it to carry them out on their own initiative.

## **United**

The course of the Congress has not only proved that the Hungarian working people stands unitedly behind us and supports us. The comrades have heard contributions from delegates of the Communist and Workers' parties of thirty countries, among them the representative of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union which liberated our country, Comrade Voroshilov, who the Hungarian people long ago took to their heart, the delegates of the Communist Party of the great Chinese people, of the workers of Korea and Viet Nam, fighting so heroically against the imperialists, the people's democratic countries building socialism so successfully.

Our brother parties have sent their representatives to our Congress from every part of the five continents, not only to give proof of their solidarity, to tell us how glad they are at our successes and to wish us further results in our



future work, but also to underline the international significance of our socialist construction.

The representatives of our brother parties could convince themselves that our working people are aware that the socialist construction of our homeland is indivisibly connected not only with the inestimable assistance which the Soviet Union has given us right from the first day since our liberation, not only with the mutual co-operation of the people's democracies, but also with the approving, fortifying support of the workers of the whole world.

They could convince themselves that the militant spirit of proletarian internationalism lives vitally in our working people; that we all know that the cause of our socialist construction is inseparable from the cause of the whole of progressive humanity.

### **Defence of peace**

Every Hungarian working person knows too that every success of the Hungarian People's Democracy, of socialist construction, contributes at the same time to the defence of peace. During their short stay here, the delegates of our brother parties could convince themselves in a hundred ways that the Hungarian people unitedly, firmly and determinedly stands guard on that section of the peace front which is entrusted to them.

It was a new source of strength to us to hear in so many forms at the Congress that, throughout the world where the struggle is going on against the imperialist warmongers and for the liberation of the working people, everywhere the achievements of our work of socialist construction are watched with enthusiasm

and joy, and that the soldiers of people's freedom everywhere have derived encouragement from our successes.

We must realise the international significance of our work of construction, the fact that our achievements and mistakes equally have an effect on the worldwide struggle being carried on for peace and for the freedom of the peoples. This consciousness, this realisation must raise our feeling of responsibility and urge us to new efforts, new successes.

### **Rely on us**

The World Peace Council has been holding its meeting in Berlin simultaneously with our Congress, and has worked out new tasks in the defence of peace. I can state in the name of the Congress that the Hungarian working people can always be safely relied on where there is a question of defending the great cause of peace.

Simultaneously with our Congress, meetings are going on in Geneva where, with the representatives of the Soviet Union at the head, the delegates of the Chinese, Korean and Viet Nam peoples are struggling for the restoration of peace, for the creation of normal, good relationships between the peoples.

The Hungarian working people, like the hundreds of millions of ordinary simple people throughout the world who demand peace, wish full success to this great work of peace with all their hearts.

Comrades! The work of our Congress has planned the way on which our Party and our working people will progress in the next few years in the building of socialism. The tasks are not easy; their achievement demands much sacrifice, much effort, but there's every guarantee

that the devoted work of our Party, steeled as it is in struggle, will realise all our aims.

First and decisive is the unbreakable unity, firmness and concord of our Party and our working people. This has been the secret of our successes so far and will be the basis of all our future victories. Strength comes from unity. So we must nurse and guard the firm unity of our Party as the light of our eyes.

Our aims correctly express the desires and wishes of the whole people, and the wonderful creative strength of our working people, led by the Party and the working class, unitedly supports them as its own.

Finally, the sure banner of our successes is that in the future, as in the past, our liberator, the fraternal Soviet Union, vigorously supports our work of socialist construction, and the friendly people's democracies help in its achievement.

### **Aim is clear**

Comrades! The impetus, confidence and unity which have been manifest in the work of the Third Congress of our Party are a new source of strength for us. It has been shown in a hundred ways that the whole Hungarian working people undividedly support our Party, that the worker, the peasant, the intellectual, every working son of our country, approve our aim and undertake them as their own. Our task now is to achieve these correct aims quickly and fully, using all our forces, for the benefit and prosperity of our whole working people. The road is open. The aim is clear. It is up to us to turn our decisions into deeds.

