

**SOME DOCUMENTS OF HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY AND
HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
27-28 June 1953; 07 AUGUST 1953**

SOURCES:

FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR A PEOPLES DEMOCRACY,

Workers of all lands, unite!

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy !

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers'
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*** From report delivered at meeting of activists of the Budapest organisation of the Hungarian Working People's Party.*

1. Plenum of Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

An enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party was held on June 27-28. Comrade Matias Rakosi and Comrade Imre Nagy addressed the meeting on the political and economic situation in the country. The meetings adopted corresponding decisions based on the reports and the discussion.

The meeting elected the new Political Bureau made up of the following Comrades: Matias Rakosi, Imre Nagy, Ernő Gerő, Andras Hegedü, Istvan Gidas, Istvan Kristof, Rudolf Földvari, Lajos Acs, Mihaly Zsofinecz; Istvan Bata and Bela Szalai were elected alternate members.

The plenary meeting has abolished the Organisational Bureau and the Secretariat, in its previous form, and also the post of General Secretary. A new Secretariat has been formed which will have the function of ensuring realisation of the decisions of the higher Party organs and of allocating the leading cadres. Matias Rakosi, Lajos Acs and Bela Veg were simultaneously elected members of the Secretariat and secretaries of the Central Committee.

In accordance with their new appointment Lajos Acs and Istvan Bata were advanced from the status of alternate members to full membership of the Central Committee; Bela Szalai and Bela Veg were co-opted to the Central Committee.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO 27 (243), FRIDAY, 3 JULY 1953

2. SESSION OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, HUNGARIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

A session of the new Hungarian National Assembly took place in Budapest on July 3-4.

On a motion of the People's Independence Front the session unanimously elected Sandor Ronai Chairman of the Assembly. Jozsef Mekis and Jozsef Nagy-Istok were elected Deputy Chairmen.

The Assembly then elected the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, the composition of which was also submitted by the People's Independence Front. Istvan Dobi was elected Chairman of the Presidium with Jozsef Revai and Daniel Nagy as Vice-Chairmen, Ivan Darabos was elected Secretary.

The Council of Ministers resigned, in accordance with the Constitution, at its meeting on July 2.

On the proposal of the People's Independence Front the session elected the new Council of Ministers. Imre Nagy was elected Chairman of the Council of Ministers, with Ernő Gerő and Andras Hegedüs as Vice Chairmen. The session also appointed the Supreme Prosecutor.

After the election of the Government Imre Nagy, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke about the programme of the new Government.

The programme was unanimously adopted.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

NO 28 (244), FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1953

3. ON MEASURES OF HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY AND GOVERNMENT AIMED AT RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

Imre Nagy,

**Member, Political Bureau, Hungarian Working People's Party;
Chairman, Council of Ministers, Hungarian People's Republic**

The Hungarian working people have achieved considerable success under the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party. They took the reins of power into their hands and began to lay the foundations of Socialism. Gone forever is the old landlord-capitalist regime which left behind it a backward, economically underdeveloped country. The people, in the past deprived of freedom and rights, won victory. The people's-democratic system grew stronger thanks to which intensive development of our country began. The popular masses have broad rights and freedoms and their creative initiative is increasingly developing. In the sphere of economic development we have had results which have radically changed the conditions of the working people. Unemployment and poverty have been abolished. Socialist transformations are taking place in all spheres of life.

The results achieved in laying the foundations of Socialism, in developing the national economy, demonstrate above all the conscious staunchness and selflessness of our splendid working class. Our working class, which holds power in Hungary, is the vanguard and the main force of Socialism. It has proved worthy of its historic tasks and, conscious of its responsibility for the fate of Socialism, despite all the difficulties and the subversive activity of the enemy, is firmly at its post and is the solid force of our homeland now building Socialism.

A worthy role was played in our successes by the industrious peasantry who, combating the elements and the damage caused by them, despite all the difficulties, loyally sided with the people's democracy, and, filled with hope and firmly confident of the future, is now reaping the rich fruits of its great efforts. For their loyalty to the homeland and for their staunchness in serving it, the working class and working peasantry merit profound gratitude and recognition.

A big role was played in these successes by the old intelligentsia and the new, loyal to the people, who devoted all their knowledge and ability to the cause of building Socialism.

The great Soviet Union brought us liberation from the fascist yoke at the cost of the blood of its sons. The Soviet Union, a disinterested friend of big and small nations, the bulwark of peace and freedom, has become the source of all our successes and achievements.

The liberation of our country opened up the splendid, prospects of building socialist society. But without the all-round and effective support of the U.S.S.R., our own forces and the material means at our disposal would not have sufficed for this great work. The Soviet Union, within the framework of the mutual economic aid agreement, gave us invaluable aid and will certainly aid us, in the future too, in our great work of socialist construction and in raising the standard of living of the working people. And so our people are sincerely grateful to the peoples and the Government of the Soviet Union.

I.

We achieved these results under the leadership of our Party—the Hungarian Working People's Party. The Party was the organiser and inspirer of the struggle for

power, for the rehabilitation of the national economy. Heading the working class the Party led the working people onto the broad highway of socialist construction. All our working people are closely united around our Party and its Central Committee. Our people's power is solid and unshakable. The people approve and support the policy of the Party and of the Government directed towards the building of Socialism. The election to the National Assembly, held on May 17, was another step forward along the pathway of strengthening the bonds of Party and Government with the popular masses, along the pathway of democratisation of state life.

The meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party on June 27-28, adopted, on the basis of the reports made by Comrades Matias Rakosi and Imre Nagy and the subsequent discussion, a decision which disclosed the shortcomings that still persist in economic policy, and, taking into account the actual possibilities, outlined ways and means for rectifying them. The meeting proceeded from the fact that in the sphere of developing our economy we, undoubtedly, must take into account the economic possibilities of the country, must not undertake tasks for the realisation of which the necessary conditions are absent, irrespective of whether we speak about raw materials or capital investments, tasks which are beyond the strength and ability of the country or overburden it, or other economic measures which may adversely affect the standard of living of the population.

There is no doubt whatever about the substantial results achieved by our working people in building a socialist national economy, in fulfilling the Five-Year Plan. Large-scale construction was unfolded and the productive forces of our country grew considerably. At the same time the Party and the Government, fully appraising these achievements, are not afraid to say frankly that the goals envisaged by the enlarged Five-Year Plan are, in many respects, beyond our strength. Pursuit of these goals is too great a strain on our resources, retards the growth of the material base for the well-being of the working people, and, what is more, led recently to a definite lowering of the standard of living. It is clear that in this respect essential changes must be made. The development of socialist heavy industry cannot be an aim in itself. We must march towards Socialism along the highway of people's democracy, along the highway of socialist industrialisation in a way that our advance is accompanied by a steady rise in the standard of living of the popular masses, by better satisfaction of the social and cultural requirements of the working people and above all of the working class, the main force of the socialist construction is also necessary to change the one-sided nature of the development of the national economy, There is no justification for industrial autarchy. In addition to the fact that autarchy means economic isolation and overburdens the strength of the country, it predetermines rejection of the favourable opportunities which arise above all from the economic mutual aid and co-operation with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and also with People's China and from more intensive participation by the country in international trade, from trade with the capitalist countries. In their economic policy the Party and the Government will, to a greater degree, take into account these opportunities with the help of which they intend to ease the position of our national economy.

According to the enlarged Five-Year Plan capital investments in heavy Industry and in machine-building were ten times the allocations for light industry and for the food industry. We must now change the course in a way that will enable us to reduce the rate of development of heavy industry producing means of production and to put greater stress, more so than before, on the development of the light and food

industries producing consumer goods, and, in this way, create the prerequisites for ever greater satisfaction of the growing requirements of the population.

Socialist industrialisation of the backward country was, and remains, undoubtedly, the correct line of our policy. This demanded, and demands now, the reconstruction and the further development of agriculture. However, the extremely rapid development of heavy industry and the big capital investments that accompany this development deprive the country of the material means necessary for the progress of agriculture. A consequence of this too rapid development of industry, and almost exclusively of heavy industry, was that agriculture proved unable to ensure the raw material requirements of the rapidly developing industry and the food requirements of the rapidly growing working class and the people.

One of the major tasks is, simultaneously with reducing capital investments in industry, considerably to increase capital investments in agriculture with the aim of ensuring a more rapid and fuller development of agricultural production. On the basis of the directives of the Party and the Government we must, as quickly as possible, regroup industrial production and capital investments in a way that will facilitate uninterrupted reorganisation of our national economy and of our industry, in the first place, and ensure as well uninterrupted production and conscious and disciplined fulfilment of plans.

The point is that fulfilment of production plans in industry is the necessary condition for all the measures which the Government intends to carry out in the sphere of economic policy and in raising the standard of living. Progress in agriculture is also impossible without strict fulfilment of production plans in industry. Thus, the key to, successful realisation of the aims of the Government is in the hands of the working class. This signifies a two-sided obligation. On the one hand, it obliges us, while elaborating these measures, to devote greater attention to raising the standard of living of the working class, to ensuring the maximum satisfaction of its material, social and cultural requirements. We take upon ourselves responsibility for carrying out these measures and we shall carry them out. On the other hand it obliges the working class to strengthen labour discipline and ensure timely fulfilment of production plans. The working class will fulfil this task selflessly and with honour.

II.

Agriculture is the other vital branch of the national economy which confronts the Party and Government with new tasks.

Our agriculture too is not what it was in the past. The agrarian reform thoroughly changed the picture of land ownership. The conditions of the working peasantry are incomparably better than anything they knew prior to the liberation of the country. Increasingly bigger sections of them are beginning to realise that producer co-operative economy helps to improve their well-being and at the same time contributes to the advance of the country. But because of the low, and in recent years relatively lower capital investments, as mentioned above, because of the inadequate attention and inadequate aid given to the individual peasants, because of the too rapid numerical growth of the producer co-operatives, the development of agriculture was halted and in recent years it made no progress. In this respect a big role was played by the frequent ploughing up of the boundaries between the fields, accompanied by numerous abuses and violence in respect to the peasantry for which there is no justification and which, in addition, caused serious economic damage to the peasants. As is known, our agriculture is still based in the main on the

individual households and the country cannot do without their production. Furthermore, the development of their production both in the sphere of crop raising and in the sphere of animal husbandry is carried out in the interests of our country. Hence, the primary task is to support the individual working peasants, to help them with means of production, agricultural implements, fertilizers, high-quality seeds, etc. The usual autumn ploughing of field boundaries, the arbitrary exchange of plots which hindered painstaking husbandry and lessened the production enthusiasm of the working peasantry, is already being prohibited this year.

Although a whole number of producer cooperatives achieved outstanding results in increasing production and although the popularity and attraction of the good producer co-operatives have grown in the eyes of individual peasants, it should be pointed out that the too rapid numerical development of the co-operatives and violation of the voluntary principle contributed undoubtedly, to the unfavourable development of agriculture as a whole. The Central Committee of our Party spoke against this repeatedly. But we were unable to get the necessary results by using the old measures. Some of the co-operatives, owing to the absence of the necessary conditions, could not become consolidated economically and organisationally. On the other hand, this hindered normal work of the working peasantry and led to a decline in the investments necessary for developing agriculture.

The measures taken against the kulaks, which assumed a nation-wide character and went beyond the policy of restricting the kulaks meant, in addition, that the government, year after year, had to worry more and more what to do with the so-called reserve land, abandoned or handed over to the state and which remained uncultivated because of the uncertainty in agriculture and because of the difficult conditions for cultivating the land.

Taking all this into account the primary and urgent task is to create confidence in agriculture.

Hence, we consider it correct to slow down the numerical growth of the producer cooperatives and to carry out a series of measures that will ensure consolidation of democracy inside the cooperatives and observance of the voluntary principle. Simultaneously, the Party and the Government will, in the future, too, give wide support to the producer co-operatives and see to their organisational and economic consolidation. By providing loans and capital investments we shall facilitate their development and growth, add, to the well-being of the co-operative members since we are convinced that this is the only path which leads to the advance of agriculture. We are convinced that the new measures will contribute to the consolidation of the producer co-operative movement, will be a basis for its further development.

The measures planned by the Government are aimed at successful realisation of one of the most important tasks of our economic policy—to secure a flowering of agricultural production. This sincere striving will be welcomed and supported by the broad masses of the peasantry.

In recent years the state extended its economic activity also to spheres where private initiative and private enterprise can still play a big role and contribute to better satisfaction of the requirements of the population. This includes retail trade and handicraft industry. Although the handicraft co-operatives have had big success in their development they are not yet able fully to satisfy the demand for goods of handicraft production. Therefore, we shall provide a place for private businessmen, give those who are entitled to it the right to get permits and also ensure the necessary conditions, and provide them with necessary goods, with credits, etc. We must develop and stimulate the goods turnover between town and countryside for

which we shall have at our disposal, on the one hand, great quantities of industrial goods and, on the other, a considerable surplus of agricultural produce, as a result of the bumper crop.

III.

The sole correct way to build Socialism, one that is acceptable to the working people, is the way that ensures the rising well-being of the population and of the working class in the first place, the way of a steady improvement in their conditions and of a steady rise in their cultural level. This must be the central goal of all our planning and of the development of our national economy. In this sphere we must make good the serious blunders committed first of all in respect to the working class. This is the purpose of the planned measures which will enable us to ensure increased output of high-quality foodstuffs and manufactured goods for the working class and the entire population. The excellent harvest prospects guarantee and will help in carrying out these tasks, will make it possible to ensure an abundant supply of food and in this way raise real wages and salaries of factory and office workers. The Party and the Government have decided to tackle the matter of the high cost of living. After the good harvest has been gathered and when the stocks are increased as a result of industry fulfilling its production plans, the way will be paved for price reductions for some food and manufactured goods which, at the moment, are still high. Prices for many seasonal goods have already been reduced compared with 1951. Prices for many manufactured goods have been substantially reduced and greater quantities of vital consumer goods and foods are available. A big reduction in prices will take place in the autumn, after harvesting.

We shall revise certain articles of the Labour Code. Fines as a disciplinary measure against factory and office workers shall be eliminated.

We shall see to it that the provisions of the Labour Code for labour protection, for protective equipment as envisaged by law and for supplying special foods and overalls are fulfilled unconditionally. In the interests of more effective care for the working people we shall abolish all unnecessary overtime and Sunday work.

By means of considerable capital investments we shall greatly improve the utility services in town and village. By means of considerable state credits, and partly by direct state aid, 23,000 new apartments will be built in 1953 and 40,000 in 1954. The state will help miners to build their own houses. In Budapest, in the working-class districts in the first place, all state-owned houses shall be repaired in the next two years and measures taken to ensure constant care for the houses. Forty per cent of the sum accruing from rent will be spent on repairs to houses and apartments.

We shall considerably improve the conditions of the rural population as well. The veterinary service; for instance, will be free of charge, thus ensuring development of animal husbandry and, simultaneously enabling the peasantry to economise considerable sums. We shall put an end to the obligatory or compulsory character of contracting and by granting considerable privileges and by providing large quantities of industrial goods create conditions that will make contracting desirable and advantageous for the peasantry. We must considerably increase the supply of goods to the agricultural co-operatives so that in assortment and quality they satisfy the tastes and demands of the peasants.

We shall revise the arrears due to the state from the producer co-operatives and annul a considerable part of them as well as the fines which were not always lawfully

levied on individual peasants and producer cooperatives for non-fulfilment of the obligatory quotas.

The system of purchasing agricultural produce will be simplified and the programme contained in the election appeal of the People's Independence Front fulfilled. According to the new system of agricultural purchasing, which becomes effective from 1954, the quotas will be defined for a number of years ahead to enable the working peasantry confidently to conduct their farming and to know exactly and in advance the amount of their quotas and to be able to dispose of their surplus. We are annulling quota arrears for those who fulfil this year's quotas for grain and fodder in good time.

IV.

In addition to the two main production sectors of our national economy—industry and agriculture, the spheres of activity of the two big and closely co-operating classes, the working class and the peasants—we have our intelligentsia with its tremendous role in the spiritual and cultural life of the country. Unfortunately there are still instances when brain work in general and intellectuals, and the old intelligentsia, in particular, are not treated with due respect. The intelligentsia is frequently surrounded by an atmosphere of mistrust which, in the long run, leads to neglecting it; and this is taking place at a time when in almost all branches of our economic, cultural and scientific life we observe a shortage of experienced, well-trained cadres of intelligentsia, at a time when the socialist development of our national economy provides every opportunity for their work. The intelligentsia must enjoy the respect of our people's democracy. Everyone must realise that in conditions of people's democracy education and knowledge enjoy greater respect than under capitalism. This respect must find expression in providing for the intelligentsia every opportunity for activity and in improving their conditions.

In the sphere of higher education we must be more modest. We must pay much more attention than we have done in the past to the primary schools. We must build more schools and educational premises and train more teachers in order to ensure better conditions for primary education of our hope—the growing generation. It must be admitted that because of the blunders made in the sphere of higher education we neglected primary education. Greater attention and more care must be displayed and greater sums allocated for rural schools, for schools in the working-class districts.

Greater patience must be displayed in the sphere of religion. We adhere to the standpoint of conducting patient explanatory work among the population by means of education and conviction. We shall not tolerate administrative or other compulsory methods.

People's democracy rests on the system of justice and law inscribed in the Constitution. Our state system, our economic and social life are based on socialist law, on strict observance of the rights and obligations of citizens stipulated in the Constitution, on the laws of the People's Republic. The organs of state power must ensure not only that citizens fulfil their obligations, but that every citizen, of our motherland is able freely to enjoy the rights accorded him by law.

But in the functioning of the organs of justice and the militia and also of the local councils, law is often not sufficiently observed.

Lawful objections arise from the intolerable, rude, brutal and heartless attitude of some bureaucrats in our offices in relation to ordinary people arranging their affairs.

Modesty, and an attentive and humane attitude are qualities which we require from everyone in public office.

It is necessary to ensure as quickly as possible that the organs of justice and the militia and also the local councils become the firm support of the Government, of law and justice, that they uphold the interests of our working people to a greater degree than hitherto, display more vigilance in safeguarding the security of our state and that together with the people they fight more vigorously against the hardened enemies of our democratic system. We must not give a moment's respite to the enemy who is encroaching on our achievements, on our successes and on our freedom.

In the interests of satisfying just complaints the Government will submit a bill to the National Assembly which provides for the release of all whose crimes are not so grave as to render their release a danger to the state or public security.

V.

The questions touched upon clearly show the pathway along which we intend to go: on a broader basis, together with the entire people, at first, perhaps, more slowly, but all the surer towards the great goal—Socialism.

Our economic policy is fully based on the decision of the Central Committee. The Central Committee has resolved, as stated by Comrade Rakosi at the meeting of the Budapest Party activists, unswervingly to continue the policy of socialist industrialisation as the main course of our Party, but with a slower development of heavy industry and in this way to ensure increased output of consumer goods, more rapid rate of development in agriculture and steady, consistent raising of the standard of living of the working class and the working people as a whole.

The proposals advanced before the people by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and by the Government constitute a programme of broad national unity which will enable us to apply all our creative energies and ability to the cause of the well-being of our country, to improving the conditions of the people. These are aims which can rally our working people closer than ever before around the Party and the Government. All these aims and tasks which our Government plans to carry out, serve the interests of our people and of our country and provide for continuation of socialist construction on more solid foundations. That is why the population regards these measures with joy. The working class of Hungary, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the country as a whole must, as quickly as possible, see and feel that the measures and undertakings of the Government herald serious changes in their lives. By successfully carrying out these decisions we shall strike heavily at the enemies of our people.

The enemy will try to confuse the people with false rumours about our economic policy and the measures arising therefrom. But he will not be able to refute the fact that considerable sections of the people will greet this policy with joy and approval and support it. Hence, all enemy intrigues and foul wrecking designs are foredoomed.

Our aim is to serve the lofty cause of peace. The new tasks and radiant perspectives which open up as a result of their realisation add to the strength of our people, to their determination to fight for peace. The growing economic might of our country, the rising well-being of our people considerably strengthen the sector of the front of universal peace which our country must safeguard.

Of late the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have grown considerably throughout the world. The warmongers seek a way out of the blind alley in which they find themselves, in gambles and foul provocations. The criminal acts of Syngman Rhee aimed at frustrating a truce in Korea and the foul provocation in Berlin all are links in the chain of perfidious machinations of the aggressors. The provocative intrigues of the enemies of peace are aimed at preventing relaxation of the international tension.

The Berlin events have again clearly shown that the worst enemies of peace are ready to commit the foulest provocations, that they resort to the worst perfidy to achieve their designs, activate their agency, intensify subversive activity against the countries of the peace camp. This, in particular, is testified by the exposure in the U.S.S.R. of Beria, foul agent of imperialism who, but lately, in connection with the general activation of subversive activity on the part of imperialist reaction, became especially impudent and let himself go in carrying out his anti-Party and anti-state activity in the interests of foreign capital. In order to rebuff the machinations of the enemies of peace we must close our ranks and sharpen our vigilance.

The Party and the Government rely in all their activity on the unswerving will of the people for peace. Their efforts directed towards preserving peace, are based on solidarity with the peace-loving peoples and sincere friendship with the vanguard of world peace—the great Soviet Union.

We intend, in the spirit of friendship of the peoples and in accordance with our capacity, most widely to facilitate greater economic co-operation and to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the peoples. At the same time we firmly stand on guard for the integrity of our independence and national sovereignty. Our strength is multiplied by the fact that we are not alone, that by our side stands the Soviet Union which helps and supports us, and that we are part of the invincible camp of the world peace movement.

Under the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party and on the basis of the decisions of our Central Committee, in close unity with the people, we shall go ahead with greater confidence with our economic policy, along the pathway of prosperity for our country and well-being for our people, towards the radiant future, towards Socialism.

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4. MEETING OF PARTY ACTIVISTS OF BUDAPEST ORGANISATION, HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY

On July 12 a meeting of Party activists was convened by the Budapest organisation of the Hungarian Working People's Party. At this meeting Comrade **Rakosi** delivered a report on the work of the Plenum of the Central Committee held on June 27-28. He pointed out that the decisions of the Plenum affect vital Party issues and Hungarian people's democracy, disclose the shortcomings in the work of the Party in relation to the economic development of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Plenum worked out measures which in the future will ensure genuine collegiate leadership, inner Party democracy in the leadership and the spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism.

Dwelling on the decisions of the meeting in relation to economic questions Comrade Rakosi stressed that their essence is to raise considerably the standard of life of the working people. But for this, he said, we need more coal, more iron and steel, more machines, housing, clothing, footwear, etc. It follows that every conscious worker must invariably fulfil his plan, observe discipline, economize materials, pay heed to quality and refuse to tolerate waste in production.

Voicing the will of the Party, the Central Committee sees in socialist reconstruction of agriculture the pathway leading to further improvement in the well-being of the working peasantry. In this connection the Central Committee intends, in the future too, to render all possible assistance in the matter of strengthening and developing the producer co-operatives. While pursuing this policy in the past, mistakes were committed, excesses took place in relation to the individual peasants and the voluntary principle in organising co-operatives was violated more than once. Now an end will be put to these mistakes, individual peasants will be ensured normal and tranquil conditions for running their farms.

Comrade Rakosi pointed out in conclusion, that the imperialists have taken the course of provocations such as the provocations in Berlin and Korea. They are spending hundreds of millions of dollars on organising provocations and sabotage and are activating their agents and spies. Such an agent of international imperialism has now been exposed in the Soviet Union in the person of Beria. The Hungarian Working People's Party approves the vigour, resolve and speed displayed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. in this matter. We, on our part, draw the conclusion that we must guard as the apple of the eye the unity of the Party, its collective leadership and firm Marxist-Leninist ideological foundations.

The resolution adopted states that the activists of the Budapest Party organisation express complete agreement with the decisions of the plenum of the Central Committee and Comrade Rakosi's report, and regard them as the basis for their entire future activity.

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5. OUR PARTY IS UNITED AND CONSOLIDATED AS NEVER BEFORE* **Matias Rakosi, Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Workers' Party**

In the period that has passed since the liberation of the country the Hungarian Working People's Party has registered big successes. Our Party raised the Hungarian nation from the almost hopeless situation in which it found itself as a result of the ravages of war. Our Party led the way in rehabilitating the national economy, ensured victory in the struggle against the old regime, against the capitalists and landlords; under its leadership our people began to lay the foundations for a better socialist future in both town and countryside. The most important of our achievements is the rise in the standard of living of the working people, both workers and peasants, which has reached a level unprecedented under the Horthy regime. All Party members and all working people in Hungary are justly proud of these results, and can add that we achieved these results due to the fact

* From report delivered at meeting of activists of the Budapest organisation of the Hungarian Working People's Party.

that in all spheres were aided and supported by the mighty Soviet Union—our liberator and friend.

However, the Central Committee has established that our Party and its leadership in particular also made serious mistakes in the course of their work. Some of these mistakes were due to the incorrect methods of the Party leadership. The meeting of the Central Committee has elaborated measures which will ensure a genuinely collective leadership, ensure inner-Party democracy in the leadership—the necessary guarantee of our sound development—and also the spirit of Communist criticism and self-criticism. We must see to it that inner-Party democracy and criticism and self-criticism are observed throughout Party life, beginning with the central leadership and ending with the branches, and that they help to strengthen and consolidate the bonds of our Party with the working masses.

I.

At this meeting I shall dwell first of all on the measures elaborated by the Central Committee in relation to economic problems. I shall begin with the question of socialist industrialisation. Since the time we completed the rehabilitation of our war-shattered national economy, since the time we smashed the former exploiting classes in political struggle and began to build Socialism, the selflessness, patriotism and enthusiasm of our working people yielded performances and results of which we could not even dream under the old capitalist regime. Every worker, every intellectual, every member of our Party and the working people as a whole are justly proud of such creations as Sztalinvaros, Inota, Komlo and many others.

It must be said, however, that in our eagerness for creative work we also made serious mistakes. First of all we made mistakes in switching to a too rapid tempo in developing heavy industry and the branches producing means of production and often, in our planning, we did not take into account the economic resources and actual possibilities of our country. More than once we left out of account the great possibilities contained in better organisation of co-operation with the Soviet Union and with the countries of people's democracy. But our biggest mistake was made in February 1951 when we raised the assignments of the first Five-Year Plan for industrial development to too high a level. On the basis of the results achieved in carrying out the Three-Year Plan and of the good results of the first year of the Five-Year Plan, we concluded that our economic possibilities were greater than the initial calculations and that in future plans we would make heavier capital investments. On the basis of these calculations we raised the sum of capital investments from 51 billion forints to 80 billion.

Naturally, while increasing capital investments we also decided to raise the standard of living correspondingly. The plan provided for a 50 per cent rise in the standard of living during the five-year period; we also planned to build during this period 220,000 apartments. But, I repeat, our enlarged plan contained mistakes which precluded the possibility of effecting this rise in the standard of living of the working people. The point is that the enlarged plan envisaged capital investments in heavy industry and in the food industry. Small too was the sum earmarked for capital investments in agriculture. But it is precisely light industry and the food industry and also the products of agriculture which, to a considerable degree, should have ensured a rise in the well-being of the working people.

The economic measures elaborated by the Central Committee of our Party aimed at rectifying these serious mistakes. Every comrade of ours and the working people as

a whole must realise that **our proposals signify unchanged continuation of building Socialism** but in a way that enables us to rectify the mistakes made in developing industry when we did not display due care for ensuring a corresponding rise in the well-being of the working people. The essence of the economic decisions reached by our Central Committee is that all our capital investments and plans for the future will be reviewed and revised so as to ensure that the greatest possible attention is devoted to raising the standard of living of the working people, of the industrial workers, and, at the same time, to continuing, although at a slower rate, our socialist construction and, of course, the development of heavy industry. The working people of Hungary have again seen for themselves that our Party is able to take timely and necessary steps and, having recognised its mistakes, boldly to disclose them and take measures for their ratification. We are confident that rectification of these mistakes will result in the further consolidation of our people's democracy, in a further rise in the well-being of our working people. The enemy is also aware of this and this awareness explains why he is striving to prevent these measures from being carried out. At the moment the enemy is disseminating propaganda to the effect that the plan is no longer valid, that it is no longer necessary to fulfil the norms, that we no longer need labour discipline. We must act sharply against this and rebuff the enemy's attempt to prevent us from raising the standard of living of our working people and of the working class.

II.

We shall regroup and reorganise our industry so as to ensure, along with continued capitalist construction, that the maximum sums are earmarked for improving the conditions of the working people. But it is clear to all that we cannot ensure a higher standard of living if output and, it should be added, labour productivity are not raised, if cost of production is not lowered. Consequently, next year too we want to produce more coal and more steel than in the current year and we must produce more since this is the only way to ensure a higher standard of living for our people. The difference will be that the increase in the output of pig iron, steel and coal will be less than in the past, while output of goods of mass consumption will be accelerated. It follows, then, that every conscious worker must always fulfil current plans, must always observe labour discipline. He must economise materials, see to it that production is of high quality and must not tolerate waste. Clearly, all these factors are the basis and the necessary prerequisite for ensuring better conditions for himself, better conditions for the working people as a whole. Anyone who in these circumstances suggests slowing down the tempo of work, lowering norms, who says that fulfilment of the plan is no longer important, who declares that now it is possible to be extravagant with materials and to produce waste—such a person actually plays into the hand of the enemy. Our previous motto: "Produce more and you will live better!" is as topical as ever and, what is more, becomes particularly important at this moment. The slogan that "With us labour is a matter of honour and glory also remains unchanged.

It is necessary to explain to all honest citizens that it is precisely because our production is now taking the path of improving the well-being and raising the standard of living of industrial workers and of all working people we must have better discipline, must act more energetically against those who in any way interfere with our socialist production and disorganise it.

We must do our utmost to ensure that schedules, labour discipline, labour enthusiasm and socialist competition are strengthened, that they contribute to improving the well-being of our working people as quickly as possible.

It is necessary to declare war against the enemy machinations which, by means of indiscipline, excesses and distortions in carrying out the correct directives, seek to prevent realisation of the measures for improving the well-being of our working people.

Let every industrial worker and every intellectual employed in industry know that the role of improving the well-being of the working people depends first of all on their conscious, disciplined and good work. Let every Party member, all agitators, the hundreds of thousands of members of the Union of Working Youth and the one and a half million trade unionists carry out good explanatory work, expose and isolate the enemy and, by their example, ensure complete success for our new aims!

In the recent days all of us saw for ourselves that the majority of the industrial workers, and technical intelligentsia enthusiastically welcomed the measures of our Party for ensuring a higher standard of living for the working people. In response to our suggestions many workers have pledged to increase output. We must see to it that a new upsurge begins in the socialist labour emulation and in all other methods of socialist construction, that these methods help to speed up realisation of the aims which contribute to, raising the well-being of our people. Simultaneously this will be the best answer to the designs of the enemy aimed at undermining labour discipline, at frustrating the carrying out of our plans and of all the measures serving the interests of our socialist construction and of a higher standard of living for our working people.

Time is a necessary factor, among others, for ensuring a higher standard of living for the people, just as it is for any other serious job. The good crop enables us to improve supplies week by week, and to reduce prices for some food items, first of all for vegetables, fruit and potatoes. In this sphere it is precisely in recent weeks that we have observed substantial improvement and lowering of prices. The sugar-beet crop promises good yield and all the indications are that, by October, we shall have sugar in abundance. We have already considerably reduced prices for a whole range of textile goods and footwear. Other measures create the possibility of supplying the working population in the immediate months with considerable quantities of high quality textiles and footwear. But everybody understands that much work is needed to ensure a general improvement in well-being.

Much work and careful work are also needed in order to regroup our capital investments so that part of the investments earmarked for heavy industry is transferred to light industry, to the food industry and agriculture. I should add, however, that we must not underestimate the significance of the gains already achieved as a result of the measures adopted in recent weeks. From the price reductions already effected on clothing, footwear and seasonal goods consumer will gain, calculating for one year, 1,200 million forints. In Budapest we shall begin, in autumn, large-scale work for repairing dwelling houses. Next year's allocations for housing in the country, including Budapest will be 800 million forints higher than in the current year. The measures taken to improve the transport services in Budapest will soon make themselves felt. The very fact that in our economic policy we are now taking the course of improving the well-being of the working people and of the industrial workers in particular, is the guarantee that we shall, slowly but surely, achieve this goal.

III.

I shall now turn to questions concerning agriculture. As mentioned above, capital investments in agriculture declined in recent years due to the excessive industrialisation. This in itself was a mistake since agriculture produces the food which plays a considerable role in raising the standard of living of the working people. But, in addition to this, we made yet another mistake for the sake of quick development of the producer co-operatives and state farms we lost sight of the interests of the individual working peasantry, that is, of the bulk of the working people in agriculture. Mineral fertilizers and agricultural machinery were placed almost exclusively at the disposal of the state farms and co-operatives and they were the first to enjoy the services of the machine and tractor stations. One of the accompaniments of the rapid development of the co-operatives and state farms was the ploughing up of the boundary lines which, frequently, was detrimental to the interests of the working peasants. Our system of state deliveries changed from year to year with the result that the working peasants did not know their obligations to the state for the years ahead. Often, in signing production contracts, the voluntary principle was violated. Not infrequently pressure was exerted and administrative measures taken against those who did not agree to sign contracts. All this, taken together, resulted in the fact that a considerable section of our working peasants was in a state of uncertainty; they frequently abandoned their land and found work in industry or on the state farms.

Aware of this our Party decided that the mistakes must be rectified also in this sphere. We have already taken a number of serious measures. I shall mention but one of them: we have already reduced the agricultural debt by 600 million forints. One of the aims of our revised plans is to invest more capital in agriculture. Especially must we reassure the individual working peasantry, reassure them in every respect. We must give them more help, enable them to obtain mineral fertilizers, the help of the machine and tractor stations and, when they have fulfilled the obligatory deliveries, let them freely dispose of their products as they deem fit. We must ensure by swift, concrete and effective measures that the individual working peasant tills his soil with confidence and that our measures shall not merely boost his productive enthusiasm but also raise his income and his standard of living along with that of industrial workers. We are convinced that the measures elaborated by the Central Committee of our Party will, in the final analysis, not only reassure the individual working peasants, but also raise their standard of living and, at the same time, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance. As a result of the proposed measures the individual working peasantry, who constitute the bulk of our agricultural population, will understand that the Party and the Government are conscious of the things which worried them in the past and want to help them quickly and vigorously. Everyone will understand that our proposals and also the slow-down in forming producer co-operatives aim not at weakening but at strengthening the producer co-operatives. Helping the individual working peasants does not signify any change in our policy which is aimed at giving still greater help to the producer co-operatives. We must clearly and unequivocally declare that **our Party and people's democracy invariably see in the producer co-operatives the path to the socialist reconstruction of the countryside and, accordingly, will in the future, too, do everything to develop and strengthen them.** In this respect there is no change. The consistent aim of our measures in relation to the co-operatives is that they consolidate their successes, become better organised, master the best production

methods, add to their production achievements and in this way raise incomes, the well-being and the standard of living of their members.

Accordingly, people's democracy will, as before, maintain and even extend all the privileges hitherto granted for developing producer co-operatives. We shall continue to go ahead along this pathway.

Our proposals aim at rectifying the mistakes made in the sphere of forming producer co-operatives. We invariably proclaim the superiority of co-operative production, proclaim that the producer cooperative is the sole pathway to economic and cultural advance by the working peasantry. Consequently, we call upon the supporters of the producer co-operatives and also upon the hundreds of thousand of members of producer co-operatives, who in the past years made such great sacrifice and successfully built their co-operatives, to unite and uphold the producer co-operatives. We particularly address ourselves to the Party members, to the Party organisations, to the members of the Union of Working Youth and to the youth organisations in the producer co-operatives, to tractor drivers and harvester-combine operators; rise and head the struggle for defence and consolidation of the co-operatives! Take your place in the front ranks, boldly and resolutely expose and rebuff all enemy intrigues, all attacks! Let the members and supporters of the producer co-operatives be confident that they enjoy the support of our Party, that behind them stands the entire strength of our people's democracy. We shall nip in the bud any attempt on the part of the enemy to undermine the results achieved in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. Neither shall we tolerate anti-co-operative agitation, just as we do not tolerate any agitation against our socialist construction in general.

This must be stressed particularly since we notice that hostile elements expelled from the producer co-operative, and especially kulak are now beginning a general offensive fight against the co-operatives. Party organisations, local councils and above all the members of the co-operatives and their supporters must combine their efforts and firmly repel the enemy attack. As before, we shall not prevent members from leaving co-operative if they want to do so, but only at the end of the economic year. But since we want to see the co-operative consolidated, to see them flower and prosper, we shall not permit impatience or hostile agitation to turn these measures against the co-operatives. The rich harvest will enable co-operatives, precisely this year, to display their superiority to a greater degree. Hence we must do everything to help the co-operatives to gather the harvest in organised fashion and without hindrance and to fulfil state deliveries on time. Accordingly, I repeat, we will not let anyone, either from impatience or with hostile intentions, interfere with the harvesting and with the further development of the producer co-operatives.

We must in particular take action against those kulaks who interpret our measures for raising the standard of living of the working people as a sign of weakness on our part.

We are eliminating and rectifying the mistakes committed in relation to the kulaks, when, in some instances, instead of restricting the kulaks, they were appropriated. But this does not signify that complete freedom of action is now granted to the kulak, that our policy aimed at restricting the kulak has changed.

Our authorities acted correctly when they took into custody those kulaks who came to the co-operative fields and began to reap the harvest or those kulaks who, thinking their time had come violated the laws of people's democracy. While fulfilling with precision our own instructions and effecting the measures for restricting the kulak, we shall not tolerate any interference by the kulak in the socialist reconstruction of the countryside; we shall not tolerate any demand for return of

kulak land which has been ploughed up and handed over to the co-operatives or state farms, or any damage to these, any instigation on the kulak's part against people's democracy. This must be said openly and clearly. The Party members, Party organisations, the people's councils and the authorities must abide by this. I am confident that the working people in the countryside and especially the bulk of the co-operative peasantry will enthusiastically welcome, approve and support this policy of ours.

The central and decisive question in agriculture, the one on which we must focus all our attention and bend all our efforts, is to gather the harvest and complete deliveries in exemplary fashion, quickly and without loss. The harvest this year is the best since the liberation, painstaking organisation of harvesting can rapidly improve the situation in most sphere of public supplies. Hence, we must now avoid anything that in the slightest degree might interfere with harvesting and state deliveries.

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee we shall take a course which ensures that our state authorities, the people's councils and the militia abide by the regulations and see to it that the law is observed. But these measures do not signify that we have forgotten that the enemy is not sleeping. For we notice precisely in these day that, in connection with rectification of our mistakes, the class enemy in the country and outside is astir, has become more active, striving to ensure that our correct measures aimed at raising the standard of living and improving the well-being of the working people, lead to the reverse. We also see in this connection that the enemy resorts to every possible means in attacking people's democracy and our socialist construction. Consequently, we need more vigilance and militancy both in the Party, in the working class and among the entire working people. While rectifying the mistakes made in this sphere we must simultaneously focus attention on the fact that vigilance is more necessary than ever before, and that our Party must act against any attempt of capitulation, against any slackening of vigilance. The Party must act against any attempt by the enemy to utilise our correct measures for his own purposes.

IV.

I would like also to dwell on a question which has often been raised by Party members since the meeting of the Central Committee: what necessitated the organisational changes in the leadership of our Party and in the Council of Ministers. The political leadership of our Party was complex. There were the Political Bureau, the Secretariat and the Organising Bureau under the auspices of the Central Committee and all of them handling political questions. We have now simplified things. In the intervals between meetings of the Central Committee political decisions will be made by the Political Bureau alone. The Secretariat, which consists of three members will now devolve itself in the first place to verifying how decisions are carried out. This reorganisation accelerates the tempo of the Party's political work and unifies it. It brings fresh young forces into the leadership and makes the leadership a genuinely collective and unified leadership.

In the work of the Council of Ministers we noted that a large number of ministries and the Presidium which stands above them and which included the Vice-Chairmen of the Council of Ministers, did not accelerate but on the contrary slowed down the work and delayed matters. Basing ourselves on this experience we resolved to merge the ministries. As for the measure which provides that the job of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and of Chairman of the Council of Ministers shall be done by

two comrades, the reason for this is that each is such a responsible job that it requires all the strength and ability of one comrade.

From what has been said the comrades will understand that the measures of our Party always have as their aim the construction of Socialism. But on the basis of the lessons drawn from the mistakes committed we shall now go ahead with our socialist construction in a better way, paying more attention to the real opportunities and raising the standard of living of the working people more rapidly. The enemy is aware of this. He also knows that a higher standard of living of the working people strengthens and consolidates people's democracy. Hence, he will spare no effort to frustrate our plans, to hinder their realisation.

The internal enemy is fully backed by the imperialist warmongers. The imperialist camp is becoming nervous at the successes of the Soviet Union in building Communism, at the cultural and economic upsurge in the People's Democracies and in the Chinese People's Republic. They are also alarmed by the big growth of the Communist and working-class movement in a whole number of capitalist countries by the upsurge of the liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries. As distinct from the achievements of the camp of peace, there are in the imperialist camp growing economic difficulties and growing antagonisms between the U.S.A. and its satellites.

In this situation the imperialists are conducting feverish activity, striving to increase their pressure on the peace camp and taking the course of provocations such as those in Berlin and Korea. They are spending hundreds of millions of dollars on provocations and sabotage, activating their agents, spies and provocateurs. Such an agent of international imperialism has now been exposed in the Soviet Union in the person of Beria. Our Party approves the vigour, the resolve and the speed displayed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in this matter. For ourselves we draw the conclusion that we must be highly vigilant, must guard as the apple of the eye the unity of our Party, its collective leadership and firm Marxist-Leninist ideological foundations.

Our Party and its leadership are more united and consolidated than ever before. The teaching and the ideas elaborated by Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin and which in the future, as in the past, will always illumine the way to Socialism, constitute the firm and unshakable base of this unity and consolidation.

Our forces and our unity are growing thanks to the deepening friendly relations with the countries of people's democracy and our liberator—the might Soviet Union—and also with the multi-million camp of peace.

Since the liberation our strong and united Party has coped with all the tasks which history placed before it. And motivated by the well-being and flowering of our working people it will also fulfil the tasks confronting it now. For this it is necessary that every member of our Party, every sincere supporter of our people's democracy takes its place in the fighting ranks. We must bring into play once more the factors which have brought us so many successes: the art of patient conviction, steadfastness, ability to make sacrifice, and selfless devotion to the common interests. Let the entire country see that our Party is united and consolidated that every member, every organisation and every agitator approves our aims and is fully determined to expose, repel and defeat all the attacks of the enemy. Let us work boldly and confidently, with faith in the justness and correctness of our good cause, and success and victory will again be ours!

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy!

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6. Party Organisations Popularise Programme of Hungarian Government

The Government programme, based on the directives of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party, has been unanimously approved by the entire country. The people joyfully welcome the Government's decision to raise the standard of living and ensure better satisfaction of the cultural requirements of the working people.

A Budapest meeting of Party activists was followed by open party meetings. The fact made it possible correctly to elucidate the tasks of the Government and the working people whereas, prior to the meeting, many factory workers did not clearly understand that a higher standard of living can be attained only by means of further improving labour productivity and by strengthening labour discipline. Taking advantage of this inadequate under landing enemy elements and those under their influence sought to weaken discipline in some of the enterprises. At numerous meetings the working people resolutely condemned those who violated discipline. Responding to the Government programme, the stakhanovites in the electrical appliances plant pledged to overfulfil the production assignments and ensure production of high-quality goods. The open Party meetings resulted in a considerable increase in the number of pledges calling for fulfilment and overfulfilment of the production plan for the third quarter. During the labour emulation 86 per cent of the young workers took labour pledges. The technical intelligentsia of the No. 14 District, which welcomed with particular satisfaction that part of the programme which states that more respect must be shown for the work of the intelligentsia, are also participating in labour emulation. Ninety per cent of the engineer and technical personnel have taken labour pledges.

The factory committees of the Party and the Party branches are now devoting more attention to improving working conditions and to satisfying the social needs of the working people. For example, the Party committee in the city bus park discussed fulfilment of the collective agreement. It sharply criticised the trade union committee for violating that part of the agreement relating to satisfying the social needs of the workers; it also criticised the trade union for not getting the working people to verify the carrying out of the collective agreement. The district Party committee verified how the money allocated to enterprises for social and cultural requirements and for labour protection measures had been spent. It discovered that the factory producing metal furniture used only 12 per cent of the sum allocated for the first quarter of 1953. Measures were taken to rectify these mistakes.

A plenary meeting of the Party Committee of the No. 14 District was held on July 22 and discussed important matters such as the principle of collective Party leadership, cementing the bonds of the Party organisation with the masses, consistent realisation of the principles of inner-Party democracy. improving work with cadres, strengthening Party and state discipline. This meeting was another step along the pathway of carrying out the principle of collective leadership. Whereas previously the plenums of the district committee often only formally approved plans of work elaborated by the Party committee for the different quarters of the year, the speakers at the plenum disclosed shortcoming in the political and organisational work of the Party and made many valuable suggestions.

We have taken only the first step in popularising the Government's programme. Hence, we must fight against self-complacency, against the view that "things will sort out themselves out". What we need now is still more intensified political education in order to rally all working people in the district for fulfilling and overfulfilling production plans—the necessary condition for raising the standard of living of the working people.

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XIV. Budapest Region

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