

HUNGARY

May 13, 1957

*for more extensive  
text see B.B.C.  
material*

MEETING OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CONTINUES

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 10, 1957, 1100 GMT--L

(Report on meeting of the Hungarian National Assembly, Friday, May 10)

(Summary)

The National Assembly resumed its work this morning in an atmosphere of lively interest. The visitors' galleries were filled to capacity and many of the heads of the foreign missions were again present. The Speaker, after opening the meeting, announced that 13 deputies wished to take part in the debate on Janos Kadar's report.

Kiss Speech

The first speaker today was Karoly Kiss, who said that the many achievements made since last November proved that the Government's policy was fundamentally correct. He dealt at length with the counterrevolutionary events and said that in dealing with the anti-popular elements the government was following not only Lenin's but Kossuth's advice: "If you are hit with a stone, hit back with lightning."

Speaking of the restoration of normal life, he paid special tribute to our miners, stressing that it was due to no small extent to their heroic stand that mass unemployment was averted in Hungary. He concurred, he said, in the economic measures announced by the Premier in his report of May 9, and thought that the main task of the National Assembly was to lead the country, under the guidance of the reorganized Party, toward the solution of the economic problems. He expressed his faith in the development of socialism in Hungary. He ended his speech by accepting the Government's report on behalf of the Party.

Great interest was shown in the speech by Janos Peter, President of the Institute for Cultural Relations, who in an informal style and without any notes, spoke about his impressions of Istvan Dobi's and Janos Kadar's reports. He pointed out that in his present sphere of work he was presented with ample opportunity to discuss things with many foreign visitors. The first remark of all of them was to express admiration at the astonishingly rapid restoration of the country's life to normalcy.

He gave a detailed report on the work of the Hungarian delegations at the Helsinki meeting of the World Peace Council and at the Warsaw session of the Interparliamentary Union.



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Confidence in the power of our people is manifesting itself not only in the countries of the socialist camp he said. The events in Hungary evoked an echo also in the Western countries, where certain people noted with bitterness, others with rejoicing, that socialism had finally triumphed in Hungary.

Janos Peter ended his speech by thanking the government for their endeavors and by wishing them further successes in their work.

(Of May 10) Gaspar Speech (Report on Meeting of National Assembly, Friday, May 10)

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 10, 1957, 1700 GMT--L (Sum)

(Correspondent's report from the May 10 session of the National Assembly)

(Excerpt)

After the lunch recess Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the Hungarian Trade Union Council commented on the report of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. In his speech Comrade Gaspar stressed, among other things, that it is not true that in recent years labor competition has borne no fruit. Although there were faults in the labor competitions--material and moral appreciation did not predominate sufficiently--it was nevertheless the socialist labor competitions which helped us substantially to develop our productive forces and raise the national revenues. It was in these competitions that the heroes of socialist labor developed. He declared further that in the future these competitions ought to have more purpose; they ought to resolve tasks arising in daily living. The future development of labor competition will become healthier due to the fact that not only outstanding workers but other industrious, brave patriots will also be given material and moral recognition.

Comrade Gaspar then announced that the Hungarian Trade Union Council presidium is submitting a proposal to the Council of Ministers regarding the system of socialist labor competition. Dealing with piece rates, he stated that they should be introduced generally because hourly wages, as experience had shown, do not provide incentives to the workers to achieve higher output and to take up professional training.

Ede Horvath in his speech said that it was intolerable that in the factories of County Győr-Sopron output now amounts to only 79 percent of last September, while wage payments amount to 120 percent. The working class is capable of abolishing this anomaly, all the more since we cannot rely indefinitely on the help of friendly countries.



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Sandor Ronai, Speaker of the National Assembly, then announced that a reply has been received to the greetings telegram sent to Moscow yesterday: the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has sent wishes for success in the current session of the Hungarian National Assembly. Erno Gallo, Clerk of the House, then read out the greetings telegram received from the National Assembly of the Republic of Vietnam to which the Hungarian National Assembly sent a reply.

In the course of the debate great applause greeted the speech by Ferenc Nagy who made a frank declaration of support for the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and stressed that the cause of socialist construction is the concern of a single party and not of the Communists alone but the entire Hungarian people. Then Miklos Beresztoczy spoke.

#### Beresztoczy Speech

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 10, 1957, 1800 GMT--L

(Recorded speech by Deputy Miklos Beresztoczy)

(Text)

Honored deputies of the National Assembly, in speaking of our government's report, and deeply touched by the thoughts of our colleague, B. Nagy, I would like to reply to the question of whether I, a nonparty Catholic believer, can contribute something of importance concerning the report without becoming lost in detail and without losing sight of the all-important basic ideas in the course of my arguments. My answer contains two positive and two negative theses.

My first negative thesis is: I do not follow the government in its ideology. As a Catholic believer, I am not and will not be a materialist because I cannot be one without repudiating my faith. I add that, so far, nobody has asked me to be one.

My second negative thesis is this: I do not follow the government by approving government orders or laws already decreed or to be issued in the future if they clash with my religious view of life. For instance, I did not receive with approval the provisions of the decree known as the "abortions" decree. I add that so far nobody has asked me to support it, either from the confessional or from the pulpit.

The differences in the ideologies and in individual tenets of the ideologies concerned are irreconcilable and there is nothing of which to convince one another. I would cease to be a believer and the materialist would cease to be a materialist if we were to change our faiths. It may be a missionary's task to bring about such a change of faiths, but missionary work is to be achieved by persuasion and not by hatred.



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That is why we can demand mutual straightforwardness and social friendship without abandoning principles and, in all matters in which there is no collision of principles, an accord that will build the country, enrich life, and improve it. That must be emphasized everywhere, in full detail and mutually, by a simultaneous rejection of the principle of force and assertion of the principles of justice.

The fact that in this way we can understand each other and help each other is also a consequence of the fact that there are common positive basic theses in our lives. Our task is to look for and serve the things that join us and not those that separate us.

My first positive thesis is: I want to protect peace with all my powers and with devotion and I believe that it is a matter of conscience to contribute to this cause in the interest of my country and of all humanity.

Whose proposal achieves the consolidation of peace is not important to me. I joyfully receive the Soviet disarmament proposals just as I do the statement of the West German scientists in the struggle against nuclear weapons, the staggering warnings of Pope Pius XII, and the words of Prof. Schweitzer, all of which prove that the continuation of the nuclear tests and the poisoning of the atmosphere will cause the destruction of the present and future generations.

We cannot permit humanity to rush to the brink, or the bottom, of the abyss through the outbreak of a new war. Whether it is the Suez problem, the Hungarian October, Jordan, or hostilities in Central American states, I am grateful to the forces which prevented or are preventing war. In our case, it is the Soviet Union.

Among the main duties of the Hungarian government is the promotion of peace in our country and in the world. The Bench of Hungarian Roman Catholic Bishops, discussions with whom were mentioned in the Government report, in its Apr. 10 statement assured the Government of its support of its peace efforts. It is my conviction that this also means the support of the remainder of the Catholic clergy and of the Catholic faithful.

My second positive thesis is: I regard the present social order in Hungary, the socialism which is being developed, as one stage in our historical development. That is why I agree with another point of the aforementioned statement of the Bench of Roman Catholic Bishops, in which it condemns all efforts directed against the state and the social order of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Socialism is not a matter of time; neither is it a matter of fashion. During the past decades, a variety of ideologies were expressed by wearing shirts or ties of a certain color.



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The fact that the followers of the fascist regime wore black, brown, or green shirts, and those of proletarian internationalism wore red ties was not dictated by the masters of men's fashion; it was dependent on the stage reached by a country's population in the course of its development.

During this development there may be some who try to prevent or delay the normal course of development, but nobody can reverse the wheels of history. The result would be decadence and destruction. That is why I was so shocked during the October events--I was abroad at the time--when I read Horthy's claim to the leadership of the Hungarian People or Otto Hapsburg's statement concerning his return to the throne.

My conviction of the sobriety of the Hungarian people's views was confirmed when, on returning home in the middle of November, I heard the same thing that I was told by a Czechoslovak peasant in Potstesz: "We do not want to be the servants of grand seigneurs again. (Applause)"

The eight parties formed last autumn which called themselves Catholic and proceeded to fight socialism were no association of the Catholic millions. In the past, and since October too, my electors, my friends, and my flock have often asked me not to allow a political party to call itself Catholic, because, as a result of the bitter political controversies and struggles in which the parties are likely to be involved, the religious cause would be seriously damaged.

Rather than by Catholic parties of professional Catholics, careerists or (word indistinct--Ed.) Catholics, we want to preserve the Catholic faith among our flock, among the non-Marxist masses, by the principles of more humaneness, conscientious fulfillment of duties and love for fellow human beings and thus make our socialist progress more perfect. (Applause)

The Hungarian peasant, the worker, and the thinking members of the Hungarian intelligentsia does not want to stop and will not stop on this road to progress and is even less likely to reverse its direction.

In the development of socialism, it cannot be denied, there were certain mistakes here. Our compatriots suffered injuries, both as citizens and believers, and everybody is hoping and working so that these mistakes will not recur.

In that respect too, the Catholic masses received assurance from the Bench of Catholic Bishops which stated: "The Bench of Bishops is watching with confidence the Government's efforts to liquidate the errors of the past and remedy the injuries caused. The realization of these efforts will mean an improvement in the lot of the Hungarian people and the strengthening of socialism. These measures undoubtedly have favorably affected our Catholic believers among the peasants, and intelligentsia."



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As a representative of the clergy, loyal to the people, I express thanks in the name of my fellow priests and also of my flock for these measures in the conviction that the consolidation of our national economy and other favorable consequences will result in a further improvement in the well-being of our people.

Honored deputies of the National Assembly, we have heard the report and the program of the Government. We have sincerely and openly stated the negative points, as a result of which, as non-Party Catholic believers, we cannot follow certain paths of the Government. At the same time, however, in two fundamental matters we have expressed our faith that we can find our role in the building of the country and in the development of its well-being in cooperation with the Government.

In the Government's report, there was an expression of confidence in the industrious efforts of the Hungarian people, their efforts to build the country, and their determination to protect its future. I express the same confidence in these qualities and efforts of the Hungarian people. Our feelings for the efforts of our Government could be best expressed by the concluding words: "We ask the blessing of the Almighty for the success of the peaceful efforts of our people and Government." (Applause)

#### Istvan Antos' Report

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 10, 1957, 1880 GMT--L

(Recording of the speech by Istvan Antos, Minister of Finance, at the National Assembly)

(Text)

Honorable deputies of the National Assembly, in the wake of the counter-revolutionary events in our country, an extremely grave economic situation developed. In November industrial output fell to a mere 18 percent of the amount planned and in December it was 31 percent. At the same time wages far in excess of the planned amount were paid out because factories expended large sums on payments to which the recipients were not entitled.

Confidence in the currency was shaken. The population tried to spend its money at once. Since there were hardly any new supplies of goods, commercial stocks had fallen by the end of December by more than 40 percent, while the amount of money in circulation had risen by about 20 percent. The threat of inflation was a serious danger. The aim of the strike organizers was to thrust the country, after the defeat of the armed uprising of the counterrevolution, into an economic catastrophe.

It is a safe bet that under such circumstances in the capitalist country, soaring prices would have been inevitable and the process of inflation would have set in. Our socialist economic system, however, withstood the test even in that grave situation.



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In the Hungarian people's economy the socialist sector predominates. The stocks of consumer goods, representing a total value of over 14 billion forints, were not in the hands of capitalist businessmen but in the hands of socialist, state-managed economic organs. On the governments' instruction and despite the shortage of goods, prices remained at those fixed by the state for public supplies.

As a wonderful manifestation of international proletarian solidarity, the friendly socialist countries, the Soviet Union above all, sent large quantities of food and industrial consumer goods as aid to our country. These factors, the strength of the socialist system, the help of our friends, the Party's consistent policy, and the correct measures adopted by the Government helped us in that most difficult phase, and enabled us even during the counterrevolutionary events and at the time of the strikes instigated by the counterrevolution to preserve the stable purchasing power of our currency.

The effects of the grave economic damage caused by the counterrevolution, of course, were felt even after the resumption of production. The restoration of the earlier production levels could be achieved, naturally, only by stages. This process was greatly retarded by the coal and power shortage and the disorganized state of the factories.

Nevertheless, thanks to the sacrificial efforts of the miners, workers, and intellectuals, the normalization of economic life made rapid progress during the first quarter and it was possible to reach 80 percent of the earlier production level in the food industry, 86 percent in light industry, and 72 percent in heavy industry.

The workers' income and purchasing power, however, not only approached but substantially exceeded the earlier level. Following the adoption of Government measures, wages have risen in all branches of the people's economy. The abolition of compulsory produce deliveries assures a notable extra income for the working peasantry.

Under these circumstances, the satisfaction of the population's requirements in goods has presented our people's economy with a hard test of strength. The solution of these tasks has been facilitated by the fact that industrial production has risen most in those branches which produce goods of the highest importance from the point of view of mass consumption.

It is too early, however, to state that all is now well in our economic life and that we have left every difficulty behind us.

Many difficult tasks still lie ahead of us. Their solution will be assisted by the people's economic plan for 1957, already approved by the Government. What is the most characteristic feature of that plan? In my opinion, it is that with smaller national revenues than in preceding years, a standard of living substantially higher than in the past is planned.



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Is that possible? The provisions of the plan correspond to this objective. An equilibrium between the fundamental balances of the people's economy is within the realm of possibility.

Correct government resolutions, however, are not enough in themselves to achieve realization of the plan. The fate of the plan will be decided in the factories and the fields. It depends on the day-to-day, purposeful, and self-sacrificing efforts of the working people.

It is important not only how much we produce, but also how much it costs. In the first quarter of the year the level of basic costs in industry was 14 percent higher than last year. The chief reason for high production costs can be found in the fact that productivity in the manufacturing industry has fallen by more than 18 percent, while the average monthly earnings of the workers is nearly 300 forints higher than last year. Everyone must understand that such a situation cannot be maintained for long. To enable the workers to buy more and better goods with their increased wages, to turn the greatest possible proportion of the wage increases into effective real wage increase, it is indispensable that the workers should at least achieve the same output as before in return for the new higher wages.

The provisions of the plan have reduced requirements in spheres where, earlier, unwarranted tensions existed in productivity indexes, which retarded production--the textile industry, for instance. The plan's provisions concerning productivity are completely realistic.

Recently the Government issued a decree about profit shares in factories, which makes all the personnel of the factories materially interested in basic cost reductions. In factories the Party and trade union organizations should explain this new form of material incentive to the working masses so that we may advance with the support of hundreds of thousands on the road of increased economic production.

Owing to the limited nature of our investment possibilities, independent action and initiative by our factories is particularly necessary. It is necessary, by bringing to light production reserves, by the attainment of a suitable range of production and by the improvement of quality, to raise output and increase the profitability of production.

Honorable National Assembly, the greatest economic tension this year is caused by a lack of equilibrium between foreign trade and the payments balance. The deficit is made good by credits granted by the Soviet Union and other friendly countries. Particular emphasis must be placed on the tremendous importance of the assistance represented by the 50-million-dollar foreign currency credit granted us by the Soviet Union and the 25-million-dollar foreign currency credit placed at our disposal by the Chinese People's Republic.



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Out of the credits placed at our disposal by the friendly countries this year we may use up roughly 1.1 billion rubles; that is, 275 million dollars.

In the first quarter of this year of this year we have imported nearly twice as much as we exported. Besides, we had to pay off substantial debts, which had fallen due, to enterprises and banks in capitalist countries. Thus we have already used up more than half of the loan given us by the friendly countries. In the remainder of the year, therefore, the credit means at our disposal will be far less than in the first quarter. This, of course, was taken into account in the plans.

It follows from this that from now on we must raise our exports rapidly in order to achieve from our own resources and as soon as possible an equilibrium between the foreign trade balance and the balance of payments.

We must insure as soon as possible that exports exceed imports. Therein lies one of the most important preconditions for the normal circulation of the people's economy. As in production in general, in producing for export we cannot be indifferent about our production costs and the relationship between basic costs and prices attainable abroad.

Often we come across surprising and unwarranted cost proportions. The Apr. 25 issue of NEPSZABADSAG for instance, in an article entitled "Hungarian Silver," declared: "The beautiful 'Pannonia' sidecar is being produced on the conveyor belt. In the opinion of foreign experts, this model is years ahead of other motorcycles the world over. Around 6,000 have already been produced, and hardly any can be found on the home market because they are bought up rapidly everywhere." This, of course, is all to the good, but to this miracle story the question should be added: Why is the cost of the sidecar, export packing included, 85 percent of the cost of the motorcycle itself, when, on the world market, sidecars generally represent only 45 percent of the cost of the motorcycle, and the difference is obviously paid not by the foreign buyer but by the state budget?

Honorable National Assembly, I wish to deal with the tasks connected with assuring a stable equilibrium between purchasing power and stocks. The bulk buying of agricultural products in the first 4 months of the year, apart from minor mistakes, has been, generally speaking, successful. No black market has developed, and free market prices since March have been lower than last year. We must continue to insure, primarily through a correct economic policy, the prevention of the development of speculative symptoms in the course of bulk buying. And should speculators emerge, we must not shrink from applying the force of the dictatorship of the proletariat against them.

One of the important tasks of the fiscal organs of the councils is to assure the timely payment of taxes and arrears.



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The establishment of a firm equilibrium between purchasing power and stocks depends decisively, of course, on the development of agricultural and industrial production. Taking into consideration the existence of minor tensions in the plan's purchasing power balance, even though it reckons fully with production potentialities and supplementary stocks, in order to insure stable equilibrium, price corrections have become necessary within a narrow circle.

The Government has tried to prevent these price corrections from having an influence on the daily goods requirements of the broad working strata, and, particularly, to prevent their effect being felt on the normal purchases of workers whose income does not exceed average wages. The price increases apply to articles such as motorcycles, bicycles, washing machines, sewing machines, certain agricultural machines, and tools and luxury articles. In regard to these articles, the higher prices are also designed to insure equilibrium between demand and supply.

The Government measures also extend to certain branches of the catering industry. Taking these price corrections into account, by the implementation of the plan without fail, a stable equilibrium will also be achieved in the balance of stocks and purchasing power which will make possible the maintenance in the national economy of unchanged state prices and realistic agricultural bulk-buying prices and the avoidance of the menace of inflation which might disturb our economic progress.

Finally, it must be emphasized that in every sphere of state and social life the utmost economy is called for: economy on a scale unprecedented perhaps. All the resources of the state must be utilized in support of the higher standard of living. It must be understood that every measure for which we have not provided the material prerequisites in advance will reduce the results already obtained through our efforts to date to raise the living standard.

Honorable National Assembly, I am convinced that the Hungarian working people, by fulfilling the people's economic plan for 1957, will surmount all existing economic difficulties and, by bringing to light the ample reserves existing in our people's economy, will create a firm basis for our successful progress along the road of socialist construction.

(Applause)

May 11 Session

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 11, 1957, 1100 GMT--L

(Excerpt)

Today's session of the National Assembly opened with the speeches of Deputies Mihaly Berki and Sandor Katona. In connection with the report of the Government, they described the situation of Borsod and Csongrad counties, respectively, during the counterrevolution and the efforts which led to a settlement.



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ASSEMBLY HEARS DOBI ON OCTOBER EVENTS

Budapest, in English to Europe, May 9, 1957, 2000 GMT--L

(Text)

The Hungarian National Assembly was opened at 1000 hours this morning. Sandor Ronai, Speaker of the National Assembly, in his opening address stressed that the members of Parliament were elected on the basis of a most democratic electoral law and its composition fully represented the Hungarian people. Among the 298 members of Parliament, there are 127 workers, 97 peasants, and 74 intellectuals. But there are no capitalists, bankers, and big landlords in the National Assembly, Ronai stressed and added that this was the reason why Cardinal Mindszenty and Prince Esterhazy intended to dissolve it.

Following this opening address, the Speaker proposed that a telegram be sent by the National Assembly to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, supporting the new proposals of the USSR on banning the A- and H-bombs and on disarmament.

Reporting on the work of the Presidential Council since the last session of the National Assembly, Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, said that it had not left its place during the counterrevolution and thus legal continuity had been preserved in the functioning of the Presidential Council.

Besides reporting on the decrees the Presidential Council issued between the two sessions of Parliament, he spoke in detail of the activity of the Imre Nagy government. He could have used the police and the army for defending the power of the people, Dobi said, if that had been his intention. Instead he denied support to the members of the state police who fought heroically against the counterrevolutionaries and who Imre Nagy knew very well were the sons of peasants and workers, regular conscripts like the soldiers in the Army. At the beginning, Imre Nagy also asked for Soviet help but later he proposed that the Soviet forces be withdrawn from the territory of Budapest and placed his confidence in the armed gangs of the counterrevolutionaries.

Of Pal Maleter, Minister of Defense in the Nagy government, Dobi said that he was not for the maintenance of the people's power in the country as shown by the fact that at a meeting of the Cabinet, Maleter proposed that the information he received on the position and movements of the Soviet troops should be given to the military attache of Great Britain.



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"I told Maleter," said Dobi, "that his proposal implied that he had already passed on information to the British military attache. Maleter did not reply then."

Here, in Parliament, Dobi continued, one had to be blind not to see how the Government shifted more and more to the right and how the leaders tried to outdo one another in giving concessions to the counterrevolution. White terror raged in the streets and though Janos Kadar several times urged the Government to take measures against it, no such measures were taken by the government of Imre Nagy.

Before Anna Kethly left the country, she told a friend of mine, said Dobi, that because of the shifting to the right of the Government it did not seem possible that the socialist achievements of the past year could have been defended. She was most upset about the manhunts and the white terror raging in the streets of the capital. "I do not want to hurt anybody," Dobi said, "but as a matter of fact she called her party, the then reorganized Social Democratic party, a garbage pail and said that she was ashamed that she was to be treated as president of this garbage pail."

Dobi also spoke about the role of Cardinal Mindszenty. If one can credit the notes of Mindszenty, it was Imre Nagy who proposed that he should take refuge at the U.S. Embassy."

Dealing with the proclamation of the Imre Nagy government on Hungary's neutrality and the abrogation of the Warsaw Treaty, Dobi said that he had warned Imre Nagy that the Government had no right to take such a measure and that it was the National Assembly which had the right to decide on such questions." "In those days," Dobi said, "it was generally accepted that the government of Imre Nagy would be quickly replaced by military rule, headed by Pal Maleter." The Government, which based all its plans on the counterrevolution and whose most reliable men were Dudas and Pal Maleter and whose favority ally was Cardinal Mindszenty, was bound to arrive at a point where Imre Nagy was no longer (several words indistinct--Ed.) and the other parties represented in the Cabinet felt free to manifest their anti-Soviet sentiments.

The majority of that government thought it was time to break with socialism and push the country back into capitalism. The Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government formed by Janos Kadar and the help of the Soviet troops saved us from that course. But it was obvious that the functioning of the Imre Nagy government endangered the state and social order of the Hungarian People's Republic. The Presidential Council dismissed it last Nov. 4 and, in accordance with the Constitution, Janos Kadar was appointed Premier of the new Government, said Istvan Dobi, Chairman of the Presidential Council, concluding his report on the work of the Presidential Council since the last session of the National Assembly.

Following the report, the National Assembly confirmed the present members of the Council of Ministers and elected additional members.



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With their speeches, the debate ended on the report of the Council of Ministers.

Janos Kadar, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, then rose and summed up impressively the lessons of the work of the current session of the National Assembly.

Kadar's Concluding Speech

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 11, 1957, 1600 GMT--L

(Report from the May 11 meeting of the National Assembly)

(Text)

On the third day of the present session of the National Assembly, Sandor Ronai was again in the chair. After opening the meeting he announced that in accordance with the agenda, the debate would continue on the report of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

After the speeches by Mrs. Mihaly Berki and Sandor Katona, the debate was concluded, and the reply by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers followed.

Sandor Ronai (recording): Honored National Assembly, as there are no more speakers on the report, I declare the debate concluded. Janos Kadar, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, wants to reply to the comments made in the debate.

Janos Kadar (recording):

Honored National Assembly, dear comrades, I think everyone following the debate in the present session reflects some new and healthy aspects of our public life. The debate discussion and speeches on the report, were not just formal, but touched upon the substance of things. A further characteristic of the debate is that words have regained their meaning.

I cannot forget a statement made by authors about 10 months ago, in which they complained that words had lost their meaning. My opinion is that the authors, even those whom we justly castigate and reprove, were right in certain matters. And if we recall the public life of the past years, we must accept as correct the statement that many words had become divorced from their contents and substance. They had lost their meaning.

If there is one characteristic as far as our present public life is concerned, then it is that words have regained their meaning. Very many of us took an active part in social life during the past years. How many times at conferences and meetings have we referred in one way or other to the dictatorship of the proletariat, or spoken of the savage hate of the bourgeoisie because they lost power?



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But these expressions then were divorced from their meaning, from their substance. We referred many times to the "dictatorship of the proletariat." But we did not give a thought to what it meant. But now, while this debate has been going on, as a consequence of the stormy and bloody October days, all of our people have learned what "people's power" means, and they have also learned what the hate of the former exploiting classes wanting revenge means. The same is true of the (meaning?) of other (words?).

Another characteristic of this National Assembly is its human closeness. I think that here in the National Assembly there is no man who can regard himself as substantially better than the others. There is no one among us whom we must look up to with admiration. This may be wrong, but I think it is useful, because we get close to each other. We see when the other fellow is right. We also see his mistakes, and I think that as a rule we recognize it. This is fortunate. (Applause)

And so only in this way can we express, and to a certain degree are already expressing, that collective wisdom which we Communists understand as our Party, the wisdom of the working class which is the collective wisdom of the hundreds of thousands of Party members, and thus of the people. We can express this people's wisdom, which I think is justly represented in this country, if we only have the courage to listen to the words of the people, to take them into account, and to express them.

In this debate there have been many sensible and timely comments, and even they were sharply expressed, these comments are still almost criticisms. When the Veszprem County miners' representative said that it is not right that a very considerable part of the 8-hour working day was being lost to the national economy, we could take this as a criticism, because the leaders should have noticed it earlier and, as was also pointed out, should have taken the necessary measures. A comment of the same type was the one by our friend Ferenc B. Nagy that, perhaps characteristically, relatively little was said in the report about agriculture, and that in the report of the Finance Minister, agriculture was left out altogether. The new Finance Minister can accept this comment as the first criticism of himself, and, I must add, a just one.

The point has also been raised by my friend B. Nagy that the producers cooperative movement and the agricultural cooperative movement should not represent two entirely separate lines or follow two entirely separate paths. This is not the first time that this question has cropped up. The time will come when we shall devote much attention to this question. The main trouble with our general agricultural cooperatives has been that, in the true sense of the word, they have not functioned as cooperatives. The general cooperatives could be called "secondary state shops;" but they lack the spirit of the cooperative movement. Let us not try to find whose fault this is. But it is only natural that this spirit must be restored.



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At present the position is that, to the great satisfaction of all, we have abolished the produce surrender system.. We will not restore it. Naturally, this presents a new problem.

I remember a peasant who called on one of the county district councils in Trans-Danubia; I could not say offhand which one. He asked if it was true that the produce surrender system had been abolished. It took about half an hour to make him understand that it had in fact been abolished. Then he asked to see the instructions? The person who spoke to him happened to have a copy of the official letter and showed it to him. The peasant was convinced and made his way toward the door; then he turned back. "Well, this is all right. It is right that the produce collection has been abolished; I am reassured. But tell me now, how will the townspeople be supplied with food? A series of similar questions followed.

Once the agricultural cooperatives are able to help solve the marketing and purchasing problems of the peasantry by fulfilling their real and true functions, they will become true cooperatives and will fulfill a specific function and will also help in the socialist transformation of the villages. What sort of cooperative movement have we in which it makes no difference to the population in the villages whether they buy in the state shop or in the cooperative, because both fulfill the same function? This is not a true cooperative movement, and my friend, B. Nagy was quite right in mentioning this.

Reasonable observations have been made in connection with many other similar and concrete questions. The task in this connection is for the various ministers to take proper note of them and to deal with them.

The most important thing about the debate is that there was agreement on the main questions. The absolute majority of the National Assembly unanimously and sharply condemned the counterrevolutionary uprising of October as an attempt to restore the regime of the capitalists and landowners and their fascist state. This has become perfectly clear from the speeches and the echo of the speeches. It has become clear that the overwhelming majority of the National Assembly deputies are in full agreement that the supporters of the popular democratic power and of the popular democratic state approve the implication that the state must insure the building of a socialist society and, ultimately, the completion of this process of building.

There has also been agreement as regards our foreign policy. There has been agreement that our foreign policy is wholly anti-imperialist and that it is orientated toward the international forces of socialism and peace and that it strives to strengthen the unity of the countries of the socialist camp and, within this, Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which is of particular significance from the point of view of our people and country. I may say that the majority of the National Assembly are in agreement on this.



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There has also been agreement that we, although no supporters of policies of military blocs, consider the Warsaw pact the legitimate self-defense organization of the forces of socialism and peace; we support the Warsaw pact; we also support the idea that the Soviet troops should remain in Hungary as long as we are confronted with the aggressive aspiration of the imperialists and such a massing of the forces of the imperialists as (NATO?). There has also been agreement on that aspect of our foreign policy which says that we support peaceful cooperation. This is not an empty phrase either. We are quite content to establish or maintain normal inter-state relations with countries of any social order, as for example, the United States.

#### Relations with U.S.

As regards our relations with the United States, it could easily dispose of (elintezni) Hungary. The United States is a world power, it has vast forces. (Would you think that Hungary matters to it?). They are greatly mistaken because we do indeed count. One can achieve temporary results with money, fraud, and putsch, as the United States has recently been forcibly attempting to do in Jordan. It tried that in Hungary, too. But it is thus that it prepares its final defeat on a worldwide scale. Not only the so-called Communist states, but also all states desirous of an independent and peaceful life, oppose these imperialist aspirations. (Pause)

There is no need to try to prove that Hungarian Government circles do not regard the overthrowing of the state order of Austria as one of their tasks. It is superfluous even to mention this. But it is well known that in certain states, for example the United States, it is part of the program of the government circles to overthrow, for example, the internal social order of the Hungarian People's Republic. When we say that we support peaceful coexistence, that means that for us words and deeds are one. The American imperialists, and even more the people in the journalistic profession, speak of peaceful coexistence and make themselves appear as supporters of peace; but with them words and deeds are diametrically opposed to one another.

It is a very important and good thing from the point of view of our people's peaceful life and further progress that full agreement reigns in the country's supreme legislative body on these fundamental questions.

I am convinced not only that this agreement expresses the views, intentions, and will of the present 298 deputies, but also that the vast majority of the Hungarian people agree on these fundamental questions. The agreement expressed on these main questions logically and rationally implies that an absolute majority of the National Assembly sharply condemns the policy pursued by the Imre Nagy government, which, in the final analysis, betrayed the position of the working class and socialism, too, betrayed the people and the country's independence, on all these fundamental questions.



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We have heard here many facts and critical statements, and I must say frankly that these have been refined, parliamentary versions of the sharp and severe criticisms we have met with where the masses of the working people have gathered. And they were quite right, too. It is implicit in their views on the main questions--and explicit also--honorable deputies, that it was inevitable and lawful, in the circumstances of that time, to set up a new leading organ to go into battle for the cause of the people and to protect their vital interests. If I have correctly understood what has been said in the debate--and it would have been difficult to misunderstand it--the National Assembly endorses the setting up of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and the main line it has followed so far. (Applause)

I hasten to add here that we members of the government have done what I mentioned in the last sentence of my report. The National Assembly has given us the moral and political support which is inevitably necessary if the government is to continue its work. I am thankful for this, honorable National Assembly.

The debate has reflected agreement on the main questions, and also that difference of opinions exist in other questions. In my opinion it is right that this has been reflected in the debate, and frankly, this will later prove even more useful, provided our development as regards internal politics is healthy.

There is something solemn about our meeting of today. This is rightly so, because the National Assembly has in fact drawn up the balance sheet of an historical period. Nevertheless, during the everyday work it will happen that the differences of opinion expressed in certain questions should assert themselves even more forcefully. Why is this important? I welcome the speech of my honorable colleague Deputy Beresztocky, which he began by pointing out the questions where differences of opinion prevailed. Why is this a good thing? There must inevitably be differences of opinion, but as Beresztocky emphasized, there are no ideological differences separating the overwhelming majority of deputies from each other. That there are differences of opinion as regards questions is a fact known by everybody in public life. There are differences of opinion between Communists and non-Communists and also among the Communists. Among thinking people there are differing opinions, and this is not wrong.

What is wrong is to remain silent about this. I believe that what we Communists think of the Central Committee of our Party, or of the national leadership of the Patriotic People's Front or of any other social body, applies to a certain extent to the National Assembly as well. Here I do not want to recommend the Leninist principle of democratic centralism to the National Assembly. But let us see what is the proper course of things? The proper process is that the question should first be debated and then a decision made. However, once a decision had been taken it should be carried out in unity. I believe that this does not mean that we are introducing a communist terror regime. On the contrary, I would like to see discussions take place and decisions made at proper times and then see us jointly start carrying out the decision at the proper time. (Applause)



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Let us take another aspect of this problem. Despite the fact that the session of the National Assembly is taking place in public, and the press and radio gives wide publicity to our discussions, yet the (problem?) remains, which is better: For us here inside to indulge in a little argument on some question which we have not yet decided, or on which our attitude has not yet been formulated, but outside parliament to stand united by the Assembly's decision, or if while we are sitting here in session it seems that everybody agrees with everything here and yet the very moment we leave the Parliament building everybody begins to interpret it differently and represents a different attitude?

I am of the opinion that they further the cause of the people who express their **views** while formulating the decision, and who once it has been taken, deem it their duty to honestly represent it outside in their everyday work and life. Since the idea was given to me by my deputy colleague Beresztoczy, let him not take offense if I use a story. At one time I was Communist Party secretary in the 13th district. One day we were reminiscing, and I said that the cancer of Party life at one time was the fact that at Party meetings we behaved like some sort of bad Catholics. (few words indistinct--Ed.) on account of the tendency.

What was it like in reality? When we met, a creature looking like a church dignitary rose to speak and said what he had to say, and the others listened with pious attention. In these lectures, to continue the metaphor, they said things like: "Do not steal," "Do not be a scoundrel," "Do not be a careerist," "Work honestly," and so forth, to which everybody said "Amen." And after they left the meeting, most of the participants started doing all sorts of naughty and wicked things--exactly the opposite of what they (had just heard?). (Applause) Afterward, to put our conscience at ease, we Communists, too, had our confession--self-criticism. (Laughter and applause)

There were some who called themselves Communists and who thought that--similar to a bad Catholic, who indulges throughout the year in wickedness, and around Easter goes to confession to ease his conscience, and then on Tuesday after Easter starts his wickedness all over again (laughter)--they, too, sat among Communists, professed to be Communists, and thought it compatible to listen to the good instructions and assent to work, then not work well for a year or two and when questioned to voice a little self-criticism, become transfigured, and then continue with their mistakes where they left off. Such things cannot be permitted. (Applause)

[ As regards what has been said on reorganizing the forces of Party, rather let there be fewer of us, but let us be in agreement.



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And those who are not in agreement with us should say so; at least then we shall know where we stand in this respect, too. (Short sentence indistinct, which appears to be an apology for having spoken **disparagingly** of Beresztocay--Ed.). But, at least, we know who supports the National Assembly and the Party, and to what extent. Let us take the (Party?), for example. I am a Party functionary as well, because I am a pluralist (laughter), and I know that I cannot count on my deputy colleague Beresztocay to convert Catholic believers to Communism. (laughter) The example quoted has a humorous side, true, but I only said that we should understand the essence of it, and that essence is that one must state one's views. The decision must be arrived at from this, and we must stick to our decision to carry it out honestly. This is the essence of the matter, (and I believe it is clear?).

I would now like to deal with a few questions raised during or in connection with the debate and which I think should be answered separately. At the same time, I ask you forgiveness for not dealing with every question raised; the fact that I will not deal with all the questions does not mean that they are not important, but one cannot answer every important question (here?). We have heard the following question:

Our deputy colleague, Janos Peter, using a metaphor, said that (words indistinct--Ed.) they were waiting for the autumn to see (words indistinct--Ed.) A similar question was raised by Comrade (name indistinct--Ed.) and a similar question by Comrade (Mrs. Kutas?). Others have also made contributions to this question. What is the essence here?

I believe in the Hungarian working class, the Hungarian working people, the Communists, the soldiers, and the police at least enough to tell them frankly that the causes of the uncertainty and impotence manifested during the October events on the part of the masses, certain units of the Army, and part of the Communists and the policemen are not to be looked for in the masses. We owe this much to our own people, because when we say that the Hungarian people defended the cause of socialism, this is as true as the Gospel.

In this connection, many historical arguments have been brought. But we must state, comrades, that the historic merit goes to the working class--I hope my peasant brethren will not mind my saying so--which since 1918 has fought for the people's power and shed its blood in the fight, never swerving from the cause. (Applause)

It was not by chance and coincidence that it was the Hungarian people, which had suffered badly under a particularly wicked form of capitalism and the very powerful remnants of a medieval system, who were the first, after the Russian and Soviet peoples (as received--Ed.), who suffered under similar oppression,, to achieve the power of the working people. (Applause) In my opinion, this is one of the most important factors in the just pride of the Hungarian nation.



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Unfortunately, I have not been able to give here a detailed account of my personal experiences during the October days. They are interesting. Still, I would like to say something of them. If I treat of the leadership, then I have to take the leadership of the Party and of the country as one. I must say the following: The leadership of those days consisted, fundamentally, of two parts. One part decided in July to eliminate mistakes, and I am convinced that had we followed the line adopted in July, in one year--although not without internal faults, differences of opinion, difficulties, and friction--we could have remedied the mistakes without major damage and sacrifices. This is an important factor. (Applause) One part of the leadership was guided by these aspirations and intentions, and I must state frankly that this part of the leadership (was in?) serious trouble in those days.

(Word indistinct--Ed.) it was difficult, and I speak for myself, to understand what was happening in the torrent of events during those days. Also, (it was difficult to see?) the next step, that is, what was to be done. Yes, it was difficult to grasp what was happening and difficult to see what was to be done. For this reason, there was uncertainty in the smaller but better part of the leadership.

At the same time the other part also took part in the leadership, and I must speak here of the group of Imre Nagy, the other part which had our full (word indistinct--Ed.) I must say this because I am not in a position to deny that I, too, voted for Imre Nagy to become Premier, and I shall never deny this, because, despite his many faults I was convinced that he was an honest man supporting the working class. It became clear only later that he was not so.

(How did this affect the leadership?). This part of the leadership was not in the same position as the other half, which was in the dark about what was happening. They knew what was happening because they were partly responsible for it. Thus, it was not difficult for them to know what was happening.

Consequently, they must have known what they wanted and they were in a position to exert pressure on the other half of the leadership to cooperate with them in the uncertain situation for a while. This is how we got into the position, for which the leadership must be blamed, that the demands of the thousands and thousands of people who expected instructions and guidance from the center of the country, who demanded arms, and who knew better what would have to be done than we who were in the leadership, were not honestly met by the leadership (words indistinct--Ed.)

This is how I came to the realization, on Nov. 1, that this road could no longer be followed. Although things looked different then, I was also certain that the vast masses of the Hungarian people would understand that we had to break away and to find the road leading to a straight fight.



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I believe that the prestige of the leadership does not require that it should keep silent about these things, but that it should say them in a straightforward manner.

I could not dwell at length in my report on that aspect of the October events which constituted a (danger) for you and mankind. Several of the speakers have mentioned this. This danger was immense. Both of its forms were grave. One of them lay in the following. Everyone knows that this counterrevolution was permeated by a desire for imperialist and chauvinist revenge. Everyone knows this. Also, everyone knows Hungary's characteristic, historic position. Hungary has five states as neighbors. There is not a single one of those five whose territory does not include an area which, in the course of history, for a shorter or longer period, long, long ago or recently, did not belong to Hungary.

This was the historic position. We are following the right road when we reject nationalist and chauvinist revenge and, as far as this question is concerned, return to the ideal of Kossuth, which was to realize all our aspirations--the socialist ideal, peaceful and fraternal coexistence--in the form of a common struggle to implement peace. We approve of this. This is the meaning of the Hungarian People's Republic. But those gentlemen cared precious little for the Hungarian People's Republic. (few words indistinct--Ed.) If they had come into power--and I need not exaggerate, therefore, suffice it to say, if they had only consolidated their power which they could have done in 2 or 3 weeks--they would have set the country ablaze. Even the blind and the feeble-minded can see this.

There was also another form of danger. (one-minute passage indistinct--Ed.) This was the opposition government (ellenkormany) in Trans-Danubia. (This is not a scene from a Punch and Judy show!). This is a blood-sodden historical fact. The object of the opposition government in Trans-Danubia was to turn Hungary into a second Korea. Not quite in the same way, though, that is not into South and North Hungary: They wanted a West and an East Hungary and this is where imperialism wanted to create a new hotbed of war in the heart of Europe. Never in the course of history has there been a purely local war in the heart of Europe; local wars have always developed into world wars. Thus, the warning by our deputy colleague Janos Peter was well justified (words indistinct--Ed.)

The question of the Patriotic People's Front has also been raised here. I am not in a position today to outline a program or an organizational structure for the People's Patriotic Front. But, I can refer to a historic fact. The Patriotic People's Front started after the Second World War in the form of the historic memorial committee (toertenelmi emlekbizottsag), Hungarian Front, and similar (word indistinct--Ed.) organizations; these later became the Hungarian Independence Front; the Patriotic People's Front is their direct offspring.



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Of course, when it was born, it had living contents; there was no need to search for its contents; it was created with that ideal through the initiative of the Communists; it is not Party pride that makes me say this. It is a historic fact. (Applause).

I think that while we might say here that the masses look forward hopefully to the future of the Patriotic People's Front, the masses have in fact gone ahead of us. Because, what in fact has taken place in front of our eyes since Nov. 4, the activization of the public and political life, means that the masses are ahead of us and the outline and the nucleus of the Patriotic People's Front has already been born in the form in which life itself demanded. (Applause)

Here, for example, let us take May Day, or if you like, the four meetings which have taken place in Budapest. (These took place under the aegis of the Communist Party and of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government?). It is a well-known fact that there are still rather sharp arguments among our people; no one can tell me that, if there are 7 million adults in Hungary, all 7 million will say, "Long live the revolutionary workers Party" and "Long live the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government"; there are in fact views in this country which are in opposition to the Government.

We are not going to deceive ourselves by pretending that there are none. But the fact that, at the call of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, to those four meetings in Budapest came--well, of course, figures allow for argument--100,000 or 140,000, or shall we say, only 80,000 people and on May Day here in Budapest--of course, no one took a count, and we do not want to understate the figure, but we are certain that there were at least 200,000 people at that meeting --shows that there is no doubt that, taking the country as a whole, about 600,000 or 800,000 at least assembled.

Please, compare the figures. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party has about 300,000 members. (Sentence indistinct--Ed.) Those meetings, called by the Party, were attended by three, four, and even five times as many people as there are members in the Party. Who are these people? These include non-Communists, honest workers, peasants and intellectuals to whom the main thing is--and in my view this is the meaning of the people's front these days--to be united in condemning the counterrevolution, in defending the peoples republic, and in building socialism.

And our task, and maybe the special task of Comrade Apro who, at present, is the chairman and a member of the Patriotic Peoples Front (burst of laughter), is to harness into suitable shape the healthy trend, which in my view already exists in our people, to revive the Patriotic Peoples Front. (Applause).



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For this, it is necessary to know the opinion and wish of the masses and this must always be taken account of if, as is usually the case, it coincides with progress. But if it does not, then one must lead the masses in another direction. Part and parcel of this is that one who claims to be a leader and wants to be regarded as one--and here there is no difference between the village leader and the country's leaders, since it is the same honor to be selected for a village leader--must always have the courage to express what is in the interest of the masses. He must do so, whether he gets applause for it or whether it at first causes displeasure. (Applause)

In my opinion, the masses will 10 times more respect those leaders, or for that matter, that leader, who tells them that they are not right, later coming round to the leaders' view, than they will those leaders who court them and by (word indistinct--Ed.) demagoguery and try thus to gain their respect. Later, such leaders will not be regarded as leaders by the masses; they will be successful only temporarily. But leadership will have authority only if it always answers the questions of the masses, always bears in mind the interests of the masses, and does not act under the influence of the mood of the moment.

Now for the problem of our youth: What happened with the Hungarian youth during the October events is a lesson for them, but it is even more of a lesson for the adults--much more so. What should the lesson be for the adults? It follows that young people are always inclined to idealize things. They are looking for ideals, and sometimes those ideals are embodied in personalities. This is a law of nature which we cannot alter but in order that it is not abused, it is very important that we do not idealize anyone in the eyes of the youth and that we do not idealize life's realities.

We must not forget that it was more on emotional than intellectual grounds that these young people were followers of the people's democracy and of the idea of socialism, and they saw some contradictions. Socialism as it is written down is a wonderful thing, but we have never claimed that this society is with us yet; it is just being born, amid pain, struggles, troubles, difficulties, as has been the case with every other new world. If we told the youth that the present is socialism, we did not tell them the truth. If we spoke in terms of personalities, we made a mistake.

It is shattering for youth to suffer emotional disappointment, and some young people got into a situation where they had to suffer such disillusionment, because they were strong, not intellectually, but emotionally--and they suffered a shock. One must always use big words and superlatives sparingly. This is my opinion.



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*any party*

I want to mention here that Z. Nagy, who says that it is not a simple thing to build socialism, is quite right. This goes without saying. I would also like to add here that I would not like to get involved in a party question! But I would like to say that there should be no misunderstanding. We are Communists loyal in our thinking to the Party. We have always known that the Party stands high; the Party is not an end in itself; the Party's duty is to fight for the interests of the working masses in accordance with the scientific ideology of the working class. The Party must organize, unite, and lead the people (Applause).

There were also other problems. Comrade Gaspar has spoken on the reasons why there was a certain measure of discontent among the workers. For instance, they did not have enough influence as far as the management of the enterprises was concerned. There was discontent also with regard to other matters, such as the standard of living and similar things. I would like to deal here with one idea and it is the following, concerning the relationship of the leaders and the masses. I think, first of all, that the leadership can fulfill its task only if it never disregards the standpoint and will of the masses. *hooky*

What is required for this purpose? First of all, one must know the masses, one must be there among them, one must find out what the people are preoccupied with, and one must give them an answer. Without this (rest of sentence indistinct--Ed.) For instance, I spoke to one trade union man, who said that our trade union people should mix more with the masses than they are doing at present.

One cannot avert the questions put forward by the masses. There are always problems which concern the masses; they expect an answer to those problems, and they must get the answer from somebody. If we do not give the answer, the enemy will give it, of course according to his interests. We must therefore be there among the masses; we should not be afraid of them, not even of their questions, because if our standpoint is just, we can safely answer the masses.

To that I must add that in my opinion the task of the leaders is not to put into effect the wishes and will of the masses, and this statement will sound rather strange. In my opinion, the leaders' task is to realize the interests of the masses. Why do I differentiate between the wishes and will and the interest of the masses? In the recent past we have encountered the phenomenon that certain categories of workers acted against their own interests. Well, what is the task of a leader in such a situation? Is it, perhaps, to mechanically implement incorrect ideas? No, it is not. The duty of the leadership is to represent the interests of the masses.



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We must always consider very carefully before we say "the best," or "the greatest," because we will always be called to account for it when the thing proves even less than mediocre. This is very important to bear in mind. (Applause)

But in my opinion there is no reason for despair, because I remember the times of the Horthy regime--please do not take it amiss, for I have a thought to develop: In 1932 I was already one of the Communist working youth. At that time, the famous Otvos college Communist case caused a sensation. The newspapers were full of it, and--I am not aiming at the Catholic Church when I say this--MENZEIT UJSAG and UJ MENZEDEK (Catholic papers--Ed.) carried editorials which really made one cry. What they said was that the Otvos college case had proved that the youth of the ruling classes were on the side of the working class.

What was the interesting aspect of this case? A Communist youth conspiracy was discovered. There were something like 47 members, and among those arrested were the children of the best families in the country, those of landowners, factory owners, the son or nephew of the Budapest Assistant Commissioner of Police, the son of a bishop, and so forth, and so the UJ MENZEDEK and MAGYAR NEMZET (as heard--Ed.) were right in stating in despair that the Communists had snatched our own youth from us. I think that what happened in 1932 was natural and right. It is the way of human progress that the progressive working class gains for its ideas that part of the youth of the ruling classes which supports the good.

The abnormal thing is what we have experienced in the recent past: that among the children of the working class those that were most hesitant were gained by the counterrevolution and fascism for its side, for its ideas. What are those ideas? You adults sitting here know them. Is it normal, is it possible, can one allow it? Can one allow ideas of murder, sucking the blood of the people, and robbing the nation of its independence to gather under its flag even five working class or peasant children? No, one cannot allow this to happen; this must not be repeated, and it is up to us adults. Only afterward will we have the right to allow young people to draw the lesson for themselves.

Here there is another question of an ideological nature with which I want to deal. Our fellow deputy Parragi made the following claim: the Government must show patience and humaneness and show that the barriers are down, either here or at the borders, as far as those who want to return are concerned. In my opinion this is correct and good, but it requires certain amplification. This is necessary as far as the guilty are concerned. Especially must one mention that it seems necessary to deal with this question: When we fight against errors, we fight against the errors and not the men. Why is this important? We require those with erroneous views to give those views up, but if we associate the wrong views with the men and go on beating and strangling them all the time and without stopping, continuing to regard them as having wrong views, they will be branded till the end of their days, and this is not good for the healthy development of our future.



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We are fighting against mistakes giving no quarter and very toughly; we hit the error and with it the man who is its carrier, but if he gives it up, then he can find his place in (society?). (Applause)

Unfortunately, this tolerance and humaneness must be supplemented by severity for the guilty. I will frankly say here that we must look at a case as a whole and see what has been done against the people, because it is not true that the 170,000 or so young people who in their first fit of madness left the country are enemies of the Hungarian people. This is not so. Not a few of them have returned. It is a sacrifice for the nation, (for?) they would have died. I am sorry also for those who lost their lives on the other side of the (front?). This is why we must deal severely with the guilty. The people's life is dearer to us than anything else. (Applause)

There are certain worries concerning this. There are some who say: What about the principle of legality, dictatorship of the proletariat, and so on? Will there be no trouble again if we go on punishing people, and so on? I do not think there is any justification for these fears. Why? First of all because if there were such cases in the past--and I am sorry to admit that there were--that one pointed to a man and said he was guilty and it was then his task to prove that he was not, this was the wrong starting point, as people might have invented some crime he (had never committed?).

But what is the position at present? Do we need any thing like this? Do we have to look around and say: It is more than 3 weeks since I have seen an enemy, we have got to fight the enemy? We are not in such a situation, in such a poor situation in that respect. (Laughter) There are plenty of real anti-people crimes which must be investigated and the (guilty punished?). That no mistake is made is another matter. First we must get the facts and investigate them. Secondly I stress that the crime must be punished and not the man, and (this may be contradictory?).

I must also say that for those who did not commit a capital crime, the way back to society must be found. The penalty must be severe, and if someone committed a capital offense, he must get what he deserves. Why? So that we can restrain others who are not guilty as yet so far as crimes against the people are concerned. So it is that we can show tolerance and humaneness without neglecting the obligation of defending the interests of the people. If we do not arrest and punish the inciter, then we offend against those (30?) young people who tomorrow and next year will be snatched from us against their own interests. (Applause).



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Now to economic matters. We could not go into details. Work must go on all the time, the National Assembly will have to debate (few words indistinct--Ed.), it will be a guiding rule for later work. It is correct that in addition to industry, agriculture and other sectors have also been dealt with. I would like, however, to mention here the following. We have been forced to introduce a measure which is not popular. The authorities have been forced to increase the prices of certain articles. This is how I see the task now.

We have reached a certain stage. How did we reach it? There were measures by which the standard of living was partly fixed by law and partly decided by us. We must remember this: There were workers councils and who knows what other organizations at the time. When there was no central direction, they took the checks, went to the national bank for cash, and paid people according to their whims. All this had to be legalized to a certain degree. There was no other alternative, and perhaps to act otherwise would not even have been right.

Other wage increases and the abolition of compulsory deliveries were decreed by the Government. The result was a certain raising of living standards. Now, of course, what we are doing is a bitter pill. Raising prices makes things a little bitter, and the increased price of wine makes the taste of it a little sour. This is true.

When we were arguing some time ago with these people--and there were some people among the trade unions who suggested hair-raising wage increases and also wrote about them in the newspapers, even without first discussing them--everyone was competing with each other, everybody wanted to be a good boy. I had a little argument with the comrades and told them this was not a good division of work. When I talked to the trade unions, they only came forward with wage proposals. They were the good ones, and we in the Government were the bad ones.

When I talked to the newspapermen, they argued about freedom and about the right to criticize and who knows what else. I told them, this is not a good division of work. How is it that the task of the Government is to make mistakes and the task of the newspaperman is to write about these mistakes? (Laughter) Well, I certainly do not want to accept this state as permanent. One must suppose that even the Government can do something good and even the newspapermen can make a mistake. (Laughter)

There must be some equality in the division of work, as otherwise I would have to change my job and go over to the trade unions, and I am sure I would be able to draft a wagelist that no Premier in the world would approve. Or I would become a journalist and point out mistakes in such a way that they would be very hard to explain away. And that is why this is not right division of work.



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Well, then, what is the matter now? We told the people at the time: "Look here, this carnival with all its comforts (cannot go on?)." When they came and told us, "We are not going to work"--those were not the real representatives of the workers, but people who at that time could present themselves as workers' representatives--"until this and that is done." We told them: "People, look here, we are not mine or factory-owners. If you speak for the workers, then you talk about your own case. You are not hurting us if you do not work for 3 days or a week, you are hurting yourselves."

Those were hard times and they have had their consequences. We had to draw up the balance sheet and the result of it was that (adjustments?) had to be made. Should we ask for the wages to be repaid? This is impossible. People who live on wages cannot be asked to do that. But something must be done to balance the relationship between wages, income, and goods.

Is it perhaps our duty to supply industrial products and sometimes wine at a price detrimental to the public, so that with every liter of wine we hand as a national gift 5 forints to the man who drinks the wine? (Laughter). Or with another article, the fellow comes, puts money on the counter, and when he takes the article, actually takes from the cash register 180 forints from public money for doing us the favor of buying the article?

We must also state that an increase in prices is not a trend in our economic policy. But this time it was necessary to put things in order, and this is an economic measure of the same kind as those taken in the political field. And there will be order; and our economic life will be put in order.

I know there would be many more cheers if I could say that we are increasing wages in some categories by 20 or so percent, or that we are reducing the price of some articles by 30 percent. But our duty is to insure the solidity and balance of our national economy and in that way protect the standard of living. This is why we had to take these steps.

Well, in conclusion, I see that there is confidence here in the Government. I admit frankly that this confidence is very gratifying and (I like it?). I would also like to say something about our own (appointments?), at least as far as I am concerned. I think, and I have the feeling that the others also think, that before we became members of this Government we had a variety of posts. And I think that not only myself but all my colleagues want from life only to be allowed to live as decent (Communist?) people. We have no special ambitions.

As far as I am concerned I certainly have had years when I felt I had enough of glory, and I resigned from positions which were not small. (One sentence indistinct--Ed.) But we have felt that it is our duty.



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I must say that although perhaps it is not right to joke about such a great matter, I still feel that around here on Nov. 1 (it was difficult to find people?) who would rightfully claim the post of Premier. This is my opinion.

It was so because it was necessary to stand up and take things in hand. I will say, frankly, and I think everybody will agree with me, that the circumstances in which the Government was formed and started work were everything but enviable. And I did not see any scramble as far as the ministerial posts were concerned (laughter), or (words indistinct--Ed.) similar scramble.

Even now there are very decent people, who are our friends and supporters, and who still stand somewhat aside. They approve of what we are doing, but they want to wait another little bit, until we wash the dirty linen even whiter. They will put in an appearance in the fighting arena immediately when eternal peace has set already in. (Laughter) There are such people. We are not angry with these people. I am convinced that they will help, as their conscience and their loyalty to the people require it. We are not rushing them, because our pleasant experience has been that since the government is helping, fighting, and working, every day more and more people support the Government actively. (Applause)

And as far as we are concerned there could be no greater reward for our work than that. Our wish is to be able to justify this confidence in us. Because this confidence is such a (responsibility?), I sometimes feel scared, because of the love, of (the confidence?). When I meet people now, they greet me and they look at me in such a way that I am quite humble, because all this love, gratitude, and confidence impose such a responsibility, which taken seriously could not easily be ever fully satisfied, and mainly in cases of people in such high positions. And so I thank you for the confidence expressed here, and I ask you to approve my report and support the Government in its (struggle?).

#### Mandate Extension Bill

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 11, 1957, 1910 GMT--L

(Excerpt)

At today's meeting of the National Assembly Kalman Pongracz submitted a bill on behalf of the law, administration, and judiciary committee on extending the mandate of the National Assembly elected on May 17, 1953. The mandate of the National Assembly expired on May 17, 1957, but as the bill says, according to Art. 18 of the Constitution, the National Assembly can declare an extension for a definite period of its mandate in the event of war or other exceptional circumstances.



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The exceptional circumstances which arose after Oct. 23, 1956, and to which the preamble of the bill refers, justify the prolongation by 2 years of the National Assembly's mandate. Art. 2, of the bill says that the mandate of the Presidential Council of the Republic shall last as long as the newly elected National Assembly elects the Presidential Council of the Republic. Deputies Imre Ahacz and Kalman Nagy spoke on the bill, after which the National Assembly passed the bill in its third reading.

#### Assembly Conclusion

Budapest, Hungarian Home Service, May 11, 1957, 1910 GMT--L

(Excerpts)

The National Assembly today approved the report by the chairman of the Council of Ministers unanimously and with appreciation. Deputy Erik Molnar proposed the bill on the modification of the Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Accordingly, Para. 22 of the Constitution will be supplemented as follows: "The highest organ of the state administration is the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic, the Hungarian Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government."

Para. 24 is replaced as follows: "The ministries of the Hungarian People's Republic are listed in a separate law." The preamble to the bill states that this change is necessary because the former Para. 24 lists the ministries of the Hungarian People's Republic. In the past, therefore, because of this legal position it was necessary, in every case of government reconstruction, which in substance did not entail any modification of the Constitution, to alter Para. 24 of the Constitution several times in a year.

Par. 67 of the Constitution deals with the coat of arms of the Hungarian People's Republic. Accordingly, the coat of arms of the Hungarian People's Republic is a red-white-green (words indistinct--Ed.) shaped escutcheon on a light blue background, held together on both sides by wheat sheaves. On the left wheat sheaf there is a red-white-green ribbon and the right-hand one, a red ribbon. The five-pointed red star atop the escutcheon emits golden rays.

Para. 68 is modified as follows: "The Hungarian People's Republic's flag is red, white and green." This modification dispenses with the need to display the national coat of arms on the flag. The preamble states that it is not necessary that the flag, which is the official emblem of the state, should bear the coat of arms, which is another official state emblem.