

HUNGARY

ANNIVERSARY OF ATTACK ON PARTY HQ

Mass Meeting in Republic Square

The home service carried a reportage on 30th October of a mass meeting attended by "the workers of Budapest" in Republic Square "to honour the martyrs who lost their lives in the siege of the Budapest Party HQ on 30th October 1956". Describing the scene, a reporter said that the Party building now showed no trace of the scars inflicted on it a year ago. The square was "packed" with "several hundred thousand workers". (Note: An MTI transmission put the figure at "over 250,000".) Party and Government leaders headed by Kadar, were on the rostrum.

Mrs. Szikes's Opening Speech

The meeting was opened by Mrs. Jozsef Szikes, Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. She said i.a.: "The first time we gathered here was on 29th March last, when we gave a measure of the strength of the Communists of Budapest. Today, we are gathered together here to erect an everlasting memorial to 30th October 1956, the vilest and darkest day of the counter-revolution, when the counter-revolutionary rabble's hordes besieged the Party House and murdered our dear comrades with savage cruelty. We have come here to pay tribute to Communist steadfastness and heroism - to the Communist heroes Imre Mezoe, Eva Kallai, Janos Asztalos, Jozsef Papp, Peter Lakatos, Laszlo Schulz and all who laid down their lives for the power of the proletariat and the Hungarian working people." (Budapest 20.05, 30.10.57)

Speech by Marosan in Republic Square

The main speaker at the rally was Gyorgy Marosan, Minister of State and First Secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, recorded excerpts from whose speech were broadcast in the home service and for Western Europe. An additional passage - including what appeared to be the first reference from Hungary to the Hungarian writers now on trial - was put out by the information service. The following version of the speech is compiled from all three sources, with headings added.

Horrors of Siege Recalled

Marosan said: "We have met here today not to mourn but to gain strength, not to celebrate an Anniversary, but to commemorate it. We have gathered together here to pledge ourselves to prevent the shame of 23rd October and the infamy of 30th October from recurring, if necessary with fire and sword, if necessary by shedding our blood. We pledge that on our oath."

"A year ago today the storm of counter-revolution raged in our country. A year ago today the battle here in Republic Square was over by this hour. Treason revelled in victory while the square was soaked in the blood of heroes. Here in this square lay scattered the dead bodies of the massacred AVO soldiers and Party workers. Communists, hanged by their feet, were dangling from the trees. Their hearts had been torn out and their corpses were spat upon and outraged while still warm."

"The defenders of the Party HQ held out as long as possible. They heeded Comrade Imre Mezoe's words: 'We must hold out in this building because this is the Party's building.' Let us engrave these words deeply in our memory. They are a legacy left to us by a true Communist. These words, and the exemplary conduct of the Communists, made such an impact that the counter-revolutionary rabble had to use tanks and guns to take the Party HQ. These were the means needed to take this Party from its heroic defenders; they held out for hours against superior force.

"Traitors" Failure to Arm Communists

"It had been common knowledge for days that a siege of the Party building in Republic Square was being prepared. But the traitor Imre Nagy and his clique did nothing to avert the attack and to defend the Party's Budapest fortress. And when the counter-revolutionaries launched their attack, the heroic defenders, who were determined to die, were infamously let down. In vain did the comrades turn to Imre Nagy, in vain did they turn to Kopacsi, the Chief of Police: they were given no help at all. Imre Nagy and Kopacsi allowed the Party HQ to fall into the fascists' hands. They allowed our best comrades to be murdered.

"The battle lasted for the better part of five hours - from ten in the morning to half past three in the afternoon. The blood shed here was shed not only for the house of the Budapest Party Committee. Communists and non-Communists defended not only the Party house, but also the people's power, which was under attack. They defended the factories which had been taken from the bourgeoisie to become the property of the working class. They defended the land distributed to the working peasantry. Those who fought here gave their life-blood for the honour of our Party, for the cause of the people - for the people's very existence and future.

"The appalling treason of Imre Nagy and his clique is all the more revolting since there existed a force able to defend the building of the Budapest Party Committee and the workers' power in Hungary. After 23rd October, tens of thousands of Communists came forward in Budapest and the provinces to fight with arms against the fascists. They asked for arms and orders but received none. The traitors put arms into the hands of the fascist counter-revolutionaries and underworld rabble elements. They did not rally or organise the force of Communists who came forward.

"We owe it to historic truth and we owe it to the honour of Hungarian Communists and of the working Hungarian people to tell the international labour movement and the world at large clearly and openly that had decisions in the highest Party and State leadership not been left to traitors like Imre Nagy, Sandor Kopacsi and their associates but to honest men, the Hungarian working class would have swept the filthy flood of counter-revolution and fascism away.

Terror Reminiscent of 1919

"The enemy attacked with rabid fury. He wanted to revenge himself for his defeats in the 12 years since the liberation. He wanted to regain the lost paradise he had enjoyed in the past - at the cost of the misery, blood and life of the Hungarian working millions. He showed no mercy to anyone who stood in the way of his aims. He had no regard for anyone or anything. He even trampled the white flag into blood and mud. When Comrades Mezoe, Asztalos and Papp saw that further fighting in defence of the Party House was futile and hopeless because they had been betrayed, they wanted to save the comrades' lives and sent negotiators to parley under a white flag. They were mortally wounded and murdered here in front of the house. More and more honest people - hundreds of innocent victims - were massacred by the bloodthirsty terrorists.

"Budapest was held in the grip of terror. The manhunt was on. Not only Communists but also decent non-Party people - truly patriotic Hungarians - were reminded of 1919, of the fall of the Hungarian Republic of Councils, which had been

followed by a cruel two and a half decades of gloomy night, a period during which tens of thousands of workers, working peasants, and intellectuals who marched with the people were dragged off to prison or sent to the gallows. We shall always remember all that happened here in this Square, in the streets of Budapest and in the country a year ago.

Intellectual Pioneers of Counter-revolution Belong in the Dock

"After the occupation of the Party house, the White Terror raged on with even more bestial cruelty. That is why we seethe with rage when the inciters and direct supporters of murders and terrorists here at home and in the 'cultured' West brazenly demand an amnesty for murders and bandits. We are guiding the misled back onto the correct path, but the proper place for those whose hands are stained with blood and who prepared the counter-revolution intellectually is the dock."

(Note: This apparent reference to the Hungarian writers now on trial was omitted from the broadcast versions but was contained in an information service report of the speech.)

The Turn of the Tide: Formation of Kadar Government

"The 30th October 1956 is the anniversary not only of shameful and bitter events, but also of the turn of the tide. It was the start of the rallying and organising of the Communist forces loyal to the Party, the working class and the cause of the working people. It was the start in Budapest and throughout the country of the recruitment of Communist Party militants against treason and the traitors. The loyal soldiers of the Hungarian labour movement and of Budapest prepared and went into fresh battles, as did the veterans of 1919, the fighters tempered in the movement between the two wars, and those who were reared by the Party after the liberation.

"When on 3rd November it became publicly known that Comrade Janos Kadar was grouping the forces loyal to the Party, the working class and the people round himself, forces which were ready to fight, a sigh of relief was heaved by those who were concerned for the future of the nation - and not only in Budapest either. The formation of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government was welcomed with confidence and joy in the whole country and the entire international labour movement. The formation of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government and its organised fight against the armed fascist hooligans of the counter-revolutionary forces was a courageous and historic act. The leaders of the re-formed Party, the members of the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government, Party members and other patriots, as well as non-Party people, pledged themselves to battle uncompromisingly to restore the people's power and to ensure the building of a socialist Hungary.

International Support: Suez

"The strength of the masses aligned on the side of socialism and moving into battle was multiplied by the reassuring and uplifting knowledge that we were not alone. It is impossible to recall the aid the Soviet Union gave the forces of socialism in Hungary with the defeat of the counter-revolution and the rehabilitation of our country without undying gratitude. For the second time, our people's great friend liberated us at the cost of its own sons' blood. The forces, countries and peoples of the socialist camp were with us. So were the honest fighters of the international Communist and labour movements.

"The imperialists needed the mad anti-Soviet and anti-Communist slander campaign because the British and French interventionists went to war against Egypt at that moment to regain their usurped rights over the Suez canal, to try to halt the magnificent process of liberation in the Arab world. In the world-wide struggle between the forces of war and peace, between progress and reaction, the imperialists encouraged, financed and supplied the counter-revolution in Hungary with arms to create a strategic diversion.

"A year has passed since the events of last autumn. Many people are debating the question how it has been possible in so short a time to show such great political and economic results - how it has been possible to consolidate the life of the country. All we can say is that it has not been accidental, but natural and even logical. Why? Because the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government do not represent some little cliques, but the forces of the best representatives of the working Hungarian people, uniting them in the work to create a socialist Hungary. Our Party and Government rely on the working masses - on the workers, working peasants and intellectuals faithful to the people - and enjoy the confidence of these masses. That is the secret of the miracle. It is just stupid talk an' imperialists' lies to say that we have wrought our achievements with bayonets. Consolidation cannot be achieved with bayonets and arms. These results and successes are based on the will of the entire working people, on their class-conscious work and on their confidence in the future, in socialism.

How Workers Turned against Insurgents

"Forces were welded together last year, after 30th October and even more after 4th November, in the weeks of disenchantment. There was a day-to-day growth in the host of country-building patriots who wielded a weapon with one hand, successfully resisting every attack, and used the other to build, to repair the enormous damage done by the counter-revolution. The counter-revolutionaries were still trying to organise strikes in Budapest and elsewhere. Their armed gangs rushed from factory to factory, terrorising the unarmed workers into stopping work. Nevertheless, veteran and well-tried workers of factories and mines went into battle against the policy of national suicide advocated by the counter-revolution.

"All these are heartening memories and we must never forget this heroic phase of steadfastness by class-conscious Hungarian workers, and the sober-minded way in which our working people turned against 'all mod. con.' (összkomfortos) strikes, against the plundering of the factories and the maraudings of the workers' councils - composed mainly of fascist elements and directed by imperialist agents. The forces of the people's power and the forces of socialism were always stronger than the hostile forces. As soon as the Hungarian patriots obtained arms, the fascist hordes found out that we were able to settle accounts with them. The Communists organising themselves in the factories, and the reliable men in the State machine, stood consistently by the Party's and Government's hard but correct policy - the only correct policy. Our Party and Government trusted the working masses - the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia marching with the people - and they in their turn trusted the Party and the Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Government.

Party's Candour: The Attack on the Class Enemy

"We have struck mercilessly at the class enemy. We have reacted resolutely and firmly to every enemy attempt. No one can reproach the Party for saying one thing and doing another. We have been sincere with Party members - sincere with the entire working people. We have revealed the difficulties and problems. We have discussed the important questions with the working masses and have solved our greatest worries together with them. We have made every effort to liquidate the old leaders' past crimes and faults and to raise the workers' standard as far as the country's existing resources allowed.

"Now - a year after those bloody events - we can boldly claim that we have defended the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary; that we have made the Party's militants - the militants of the people's democracy and socialism - firmer, and have steeped them further; that we have defended the factories, the land and the freedom of the spirit against the fascists' attacks.

"It is therefore no accident, nor is it due to some exceptional miracle, that we now have order, calm and discipline in the country. It is the outcome of consistent struggles, as a result of which we not only live better than ever today, but have also unmasked, shattered and isolated the enemy, and are still even on the offensive.

Enemy's Hopes of Anniversary Disturbances Frustrated

"The reactionaries and fascists should remember the first mass meeting in Budapest on 29th March. They should remember the unforgettable display of forces on 1st May and tremble at the sight of the masses who today remember with clenched fists at this meeting on the anniversary of 30th October the dirty deeds of the counter-revolutionaries. The enemy is not idle. He did all he could to repeat last year's bloody events on 23rd October. He thought he would again succeed in creating confusion and disquiet. The internal enemy's Western sympathisers and inciters are very angry because nothing has happened in Hungary. But a great many events of very considerable importance have occurred. The Communists and millions of honest folk have thwarted the enemy's new attempts and have rejected these fresh attempts at adventure. And we can now tell the world that today, as on 23rd October, industrious work went on in the factories and offices and that the students have been at their studies at the universities. And we can add that both on 23rd October and today, our factories achieved much better results than in preceding days. This is the Hungarian working people's answer to the brigands at home and the enemy abroad. We have said all this because everyone both at home and abroad can see and understand from these facts that Hungary will never again be the pawn in any imperialist provocation. She did not become one at the time of the Suez attempt, nor during the Syrian provocation.

Lessons of October Events: Importance of Party Unity

"The events of October 1956 taught us and the workers' movement of the entire world valuable lessons. What are the lessons for us? The first and principal lesson is that the class enemy must never again be allowed to join forces with the foreign imperialists and cause a rising to break out. This must be prevented from recurring not only by the steadfastness of the Party and the Government but also of Hungarian Communists, who are backed and supported in their fight by the Communists of the whole world. Never before has there been such vigilance, determination, discipline, preparedness, awareness and readiness to fight both in the Party and among the people as there is now, on the anniversary of the October events. This is so, primarily because we have organised a Party against the unity and militant readiness of which all hostile attempts will shatter. We not merely request but demand firmness and fidelity to principle from every Communist.

"We are defending the Party's ideological, political and organisational unity against every aggressive attempt. We are unmasking the revisionists and the traitors; but we are also rejecting all sectarian attempts. We are improving our Party-building methods so that the Party's unity, order and discipline should radiate towards the broad masses. We shall consolidate discipline still further and strengthen democratic centralism which is still being attacked by the enemy - not accidentally, but in furtherance of his anti-democratic aims.

"The prerequisite of Party unity is that the Party's policy should be correct; that the entire Hungarian working people should adopt it and strive to carry it out. Today we can claim that our Party has a clear, lucid and correct policy which can be followed by every social stratum. And this is precisely the prerequisite and basis of rapid consolidation and healthy development. Now we must proceed to carry out this correct policy without fail.

Relations between Party and Masses: Defending Leaders' Prestige

"Another historic lesson for us is that we must not allow relations between our Party and the working masses to be loosened on any account. We must patiently surmount every difficulty to knit our ties with the working masses closer still. Numerically our Party is not a big one; nor do we wish to repeat earlier faults by unwholesomely inflating it. But our Party plays a vanguard role. It is capable of attracting the working millions to itself and to lead them in the fight - indeed, it is destined to do so.

"Another lesson for us is that we must safeguard the prestige of the Party leadership and defend it against all attacks. Last summer the hostile forces and misled strata under the spell of enemy demagoguery began by running down the prestige of the Party leadership. When this had succeeded, the counter-revolution launched an open assault against the Party and thus against the people's power, against socialism and the people's future.

Communist Morals; Pride in Achievements; Repression

"We must strengthen in our Party the Communist morals which have made Communists so popular with other workers. Courage, steadfastness in battle, diligence, outstanding work, humane relations, sincere friendship with other workers and modesty - these are the criteria of Communist morals; these are the attributes Communists must have. There is no room in our Party for anyone unable to subordinate individual interest to the common interest and the people's cause. We shall regain for the Party workers, whether full or part time (fueggetlenitett vagy nem fueggetlenitett), the honour inherent in the title 'professional revolutionary'.

"One more lesson to us is to be proud of our socialist achievements. Let us not allow the faults to be exaggerated. Let us not allow the magnificent results of 12 years of splendid work by our people to be run down.

"One more lesson has been that the bourgeoisie does not reconcile itself to its loss of power and that the working class and the Party must therefore watch the activities of the class enemy vigilantly. We have already taken measures to curtail the activity of the class enemy and will take further measures if necessary.

Objectives of Party's Class Policy

"We have announced and still declare that any leading post apart from Party functions may be filled by non-Party workers in Hungary. But only non-Party members who serve the people's cause may do so. We shall not allow hostile elements, traitors and cowards into important State or economic positions, in which they could harm the people's cause. We openly declare that we are pursuing a class policy and shall continue to do so; we have never made a secret of it. But this class policy is the policy of the millions of the working class, the working peasantry, the Hungarian working people.

"Its aim is that the working people shall have work; that they shall live in freedom and peace and lead a life which is more and more cultured and pleasant. A class policy was conducted under Horthy for 25 years by a small minority, compared with today's popular millions. It was the policy of the capitalist and landlord class. That class policy was so very superior that working people they did not think trustworthy from the point of view of their regime were denied the very chance of a bare existence, the right to work and a livelihood, the right to daily bread. We are learning from history. We have learned our lesson from last autumn's events. We shall nip every attempt against the people's power and the people's happier future in the bud.

October Revolution Anniversary; The Soviet Earth Satellite

"Working people the world over are making enthusiastic preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution. We Hungarian workers look with pride and happiness on the tremendous achievements of the first socialist country, its great example and its successes, in which we see the realisation of our own future. We celebrate with the Soviet people, with the workers of the world, the anniversary of the day on which the new era of mankind's history was born. This era will be the greatest in human history - an era in which exploitation will cease and Man will truly become Man under the Five-Pointed Star.

"We are celebrating this glorious anniversary at a time when the picture presented by the international situation has fundamentally changed and is still changing. In the daily round of work we may not perhaps have noticed that we are taking part in a historic change, are witnessing it and are combatants in it. We are witnessing the eclipse of the imperialists. We are proud of being members of the Soviet-led socialist camp and derive great strength from the knowledge of belonging to it. We are proud that this camp grew stronger during the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary and has been growing stronger since.

"A new planet, the artificial moon, has been circling the Earth in recent weeks. Even the enemy has had to raise his hat and pause before this magnificent Soviet achievement, which is outstanding in all human history. Some Western Press and political circles have called it the 'Red Moon' in alarm. They have always dreaded the Five-Pointed Star - the Red Star - and behold - the Red Moon keeps flying over their country and their homes. It bears the message that hundreds and hundreds and millions of people have joined forces since 1917 in the sign of the Five-Pointed Star against all the machinations of the imperialist exploiters and that they are emerging victorious out of the accursed heritage of the backwardness caused by imperialism and proving in every sphere that liberated peoples are stronger and more creative.

"We look proudly on the success of our Soviet friends, on the superiority of Soviet technique, on the artificial moon: its light is ours, its shadow the imperialists'. We trust that this shadow will at last make it clear to someone in Washington that the realities of the international situation must be acknowledged and that they must accept the USSR's repeated peace proposals.

Party Committee Back in Rebuilt Premises

"In remembering the tragic days of October 1956 and the heroic struggle conducted in the past year, we report to our Party's Central Committee and Political Committee that we shall put the Budapest Party movement back in the historic place it had earned in its long struggles over the decades. We swear that we shall never forget or hesitate. We swear to you, our Comrades who have died a martyr's death, that we shall fight with the determination with which you shed the last drop of your blood: 1919 and 1956 are cautionary dates for us. We swear we shall not forget their warning and always remain vigilant.

"The Budapest Party Committee now returns to the house destroyed by the counter-revolution. We have rebuilt the Party House. We have healed the scars inflicted on it. We want to heal the country's wounds in the same way - and we shall do so. And we shall always remember what happened on the 30th October 1956. We shall remember, not only on anniversaries but continually, all that happened last October in this house and here in the Republic Square. Every Communist entering this house should look at the memorial plaque to our martyrs and think with his fists clenched of the autumn of 1956 of the counter-revolution and its battles.

"Long live the ideological, political and organisational unity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party! Long live the unbreakable unity of the Party and the working masses! Long live the unbreakable unity of the international socialist camp! Greetings to the Soviet people on the 40th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution!" Marosan concluded.

Plaque Unveiled

He unveiled a plaque bearing the inscription: "To the everlasting memory of the combatants who, faithful to Party and people, sacrificed their lives for the power of the proletariat." The plaque carries the names of 25 soldiers and Party functionaries who died in the siege of the building. (Budapest 20.05 and for Hungarians in W Europe, 19.00, 30.10.57 and Hungarian information service 31.10.57)