

## HUNGARY

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29/4-1/5

### MAY DAY

#### The Rallies in Republic Square and Heroes' Square

From 08.00 onwards, Budapest radio's home service carried a series of outside broadcasts - interspersed with recorded goodwill messages (see below) - describing how workers and young people were gathering in various parts of the capital to join the mass meetings in Republic Square and Heroes' Square. The meeting in Republic Square was a preliminary gathering of 10,000 KISZ members, at which the new Communist Youth Union was presented with a banner by Marosan. The young people then marched to Republic Square behind their new banner, inscribed with the motto "Loyalty to the People, Loyalty to the Party", to join some 190,000 already there to hear Kadar's speech. Apart from marches from various parts of the capital by contingents on their way to the rallies in the two squares, there was no formal May Day parade.

#### Marosan's Speech in Republic Square

The only available version of the speech Marosan made when presenting the KISZ banner was broadcast in Budapest radio's English transmission on 1st May. This transmission was poorly received. The following are audible excerpts from Marosan's address.

"Sixty-eight years ago a small army started out on the way to socialism. This army has grown into millions. Now, when I ... present this banner on behalf of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, I am thinking of my youth. The fact that you are here is due to the fact that thousands went to jail to guarantee your right to be here. The events of October could not destroy our socialist system. I hand over the standard I am presenting to you in the belief that you will be worthy of it. What we ask of you is that you should be loyal to the country and to the cause of peace."

#### Tibor Nagy's Reply

Tibor Nagy, a Secretary of KISZ, in reply referred to "the blood of our comrades who died for our cause" and added: "No oppression or terror shall prevent us from fighting ardently for the cause of socialism." He hailed "the fighting organisation of the Hungarian youth, the Hungarian Communist Youth Union."

According to MTI (2.5.57) the Komsomol delegate at the rally, Stiganov, was "warmly cheered".

#### The Rally in Republic Square: Opening Speech

Budapest radio's live relay from Republic Square included the voice of an unnamed speaker - probably again Marosan - who, after the national anthem had been played, opened the proceedings by recalling the publication of the Communist Manifesto 110 years ago and the decision, taken 68 years ago, to make May Day the day of the international working class movement.



The speaker went on: "I believe that the capitalist and imperialist leaders of the world are watching the May Day rally in Budapest with greater interest than any other. They wonder what is happening here, what we look like, and whether the working class, the progressive intelligentsia and the peasantry will prove that the Hungarian people are rooted deeply and heart-and-soul in the ideals of communism. In October, all the capitalist radio stations of the world, as well as their papers and hirelings, screamed that the principle of communism was alien to the Hungarian people, that they had risen to resist the principle of communism and hordes of hooligans and scum who had always been the enemies of the Hungarian people. Now look at these hundreds of thousands of people - look at the workers of Budapest, the Budapest intelligentsia... Hundreds of thousands have marched here to hear the voice of the Party. If anything will disillusion those people, it is the fact that hundreds of thousands of people are here, testifying to their faith in what you are now chanting as a slogan: 'Long live the Party' - the Party they tried to destroy, the Party which is again present here and which has taken the direction of the country's and the working people's fate into its own hands.

"I greet Party and all other workers of Budapest who are faithful to the working class - the workers of factories and offices - with the cordial affection and fraternal friendship. I greet with particular affection the members of the Executive Committee of Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and of the Hungarian Worker-Peasant Government and members of the diplomatic corps in Budapest present here. Allow me to greet with ardent love the foreign trade union delegations which have come to our country for May Day from the USSR, the CPR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Smallland, Yugoslavia, the GDR, Italy, Scotland, Bulgaria, Albania, Korea, Vietnam, Egypt and Syria, as well as the delegation representing the workers of the chemical industry. I also greet those who have found no room in this Square and the tens of thousands who are still converging on this Square from the streets of Budapest.

#### Tribute to Kadar

"The speaker at today's meeting will be Comrade Janos Kadar. Before calling on him to speak, allow me to say a few words about him in the name of all workers and communist fighters. I hope Comrade Kadar will not mind if I speak frankly in front of hundreds of thousands of workers...

"During the October events, the Hungarian labour movement fortunately had a leader who retained his humanity and honesty, and on whom everyone interested in the fate of the Party and working class turned his eyes. The Communist who rallied round his person the Communist army of the disrupted Party was Janos Kadar. It was under his leadership that we struggled in cruel times and kept to the road which brought us here. The enemy - and others - did not want us to have a leading Party and they wanted this leading Party to have no leaders.

"Comrade Kadar rallied the militants round him: Mennich, Apró, Ronai, Feher, Kiss and others. These people could not be diverted from the correct road. We did not deviate; we gave Comrade Kadar our confidence because we knew that the working class and the Hungarian people had confidence in him. We shall never allow this confidence to ebb. We shall never allow a wedge to be driven between the leaders and the masses. We shall keep for the Hungarian working people the same faith, love and appreciation we feel to Comrade Kadar. By assuming the leadership of the Party, Comrade Kadar enabled us to have a Party and a future again and made sure that there shall be socialism in Hungary. Long live Comrade Kadar!"

Kadar's speech, which is reported below, lasted about an hour. It was frequently interrupted with organised cheering, clapping and slogans shouted in unison.



## Kadar's Speech in Heroes' Square

The following is the text of Kadar's speech at the mass meeting in Heroes' Square, as broadcast live on the home service at 10.20 and repeated from records at 18.20:

### The First Hungarian May Day

"Workers, comrades, workers of Budapest. On 1st May 1890, 60,000 enlightened workers gathered on the spot where we are standing today to demonstrate, for the first time in Hungary, for the principle of proletarian internationalism. That was 67 years ago. In those days the principle of a socialist society lived only in the hearts of the most enlightened workers. The peoples of the Danube basin were enslaved by the capitalist Habsburg monarchy, which looked on the entire demonstration as a matter for the police only. Where is that capitalist monarchy today?

"The workers who took part in that demonstration here have long since turned to dust. But the Hungarian working class lives and is here today to testify that the ideals nurtured in their hearts, and their hopes, have gained substance - are alive and victorious. The workers' Government - the dictatorship of the proletariat - is alive and victorious. So is the Worker-Peasant State - the Hungarian People's Republic. The principle of proletarian internationalism is alive and has become invincible.

"The 67 years which have passed since 1st May 1890 have been stormy ones for the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian working people. The black night of serfdom under capitalist landowners; wars; the red days of revolution and the black, leaden clouds of counter-revolution followed each other. There have been the monarchy, the citizens' republic, proletarian dictatorship, the Horthy-Fascist counter-revolution, and then the liberation, the Hungarian People's Republic - which made the dictatorship of the proletariat a fact - the counter-revolutionary attack of October 1956 and the revolutionary counter-attack which followed it. A stormy fate. During those 67 years the most enlightened Hungarian workers from villages, workshops and offices alike showed on May Day every year that Hungarian workers believed in proletarian internationalism, that they were always faithful to the internationalism of the working class and its common destiny under the Red Flag. Sometimes they demonstrated in secret and amidst persecution; sometimes amidst struggles with Horthy's police and gendarmes; and sometimes festively and in freedom.

### Four Memorable May Days

"I believe history will long remember some crucial fighting May Days: the first - that of 1890 - will always be recalled with respect, for we shall remember the pioneer workers of Budapest. Another memorable May Day is that of 1919, when the Hungarian working class, having thrown off the shackles of monarchy and capital, for the first time celebrated May Day freely in this square. Hungarian history will also long remember May Day 1945, when the counter-revolution, which had been raging for 25 years and the Hitler-fascist conquerors' armed forces had been smashed by the Soviet Army in heroic struggles and when, with its help, the Hungarian working class and the entire Hungarian working people could again celebrate in freedom. Finally, I believe that in addition to the May Days of 1890, 1919 and 1945, this May Day - May Day 1957 - will also remain memorable and of crucial importance.

"At this hour here in Budapest - the throbbing heart of the Hungarian socialist revolution - as in every town and village of the Hungarian People's Republic, we are again celebrating May Day, the great day of international labour - of work - with militant demonstrations - we, the many hundreds of thousands of sons and daughters of the Hungarian working people.

"Dear Comrades, what is the particular significance of today's Hungarian May Day for our people and - we may confidently say - internationally? It is that with the international help of the working class, a decisive victory has been scored on this day over the October counter-revolutionary attack. The Hungarian working people, which scored this victory, is celebrating May Day, the holiday of proletarian internationalism, in freedom.



## Nagy's Treason

"Comrades, in the course of the events of October 1956, the Hungarian Horthy-fascist bourgeois and the traitorous Imre Nagy group, which was wallowing in the morass of the counter-revolution, as well as international imperialism, led by US big capitalists, threatened to overthrow the social system of the Hungarian People's Republic. Mortal peril - the peril of annihilation - threatened the Hungarian worker-peasant State, the people's Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary. The national independence of our people and the cause of peace were threatened. So was the nationalisation of the factories, banks and mines and the distribution of the land - all the great achievements our people brought back in 12 years of social progress.

"Nor can we forget that the grave errors of the past years had caused justified bitterness among the masses. This bitterness was exploited with great guile and effect by the counter-revolution in its attack on the order of the Hungarian People's Republic. Even less can we forget that had the treason of the Imre Nagy group not paralysed the leadership of the country and the Hungarian working masses at the decisive moment, had it not deprived them of leadership, misled them and condemned them to impotence, the counter-revolutionary attack would never have made the headway it did.

"All of us still remember the dark and bloody days of the counter-revolutionary attack. The streets of Budapest were the scenes of counter-revolutionary terror. Communists and progressives were being murdered en masse. Party fighters, leaders of co-operatives, Council Chairmen and followers of socialism were being imprisoned by the thousand and preparations were being made to butcher them. Capitalists, landowners, bankers, princes and counts, with Mindszenty at their head, reappeared on the political stage. They appeared in Parliament and within four days had formed 28 counter-revolutionary parties. They even announced that the notorious 'Hungarian Life' ('Magyar Elet') Party had been set up again. The slogan 'Everything back!' ('Mindent vissza!') reappeared in villages and factories. The dark forces of imperialism were again lined up with cash, with arms, with a comprehensive propaganda machinery, behind the forces of the counter-revolution in October 1956, as they had been in 1949.

### The Calling-in of the Soviet Troops

"Workers, comrades! Faced with a raging counter-revolution, it was up to us Communists to decide whether to go on tolerating the slaughter of loyal sons of the people, the funeral of the People's Republic, the rape of our national independence and the transformation of our country into a hotbed of war; or whether to oppose treason with all our power and to annihilate the counter-revolution.

"We Communists made our decision. We decided to call to arms every man faithful to the socialist revolution and the fatherland and ready to oppose the counter-revolution. At the same time we again appealed for help to the Hungarian people's most unselfish and truest friend - the USSR.

"The Soviet Government and people gave us the help we needed in the name of proletarian internationalism. With the USSR's fraternal aid, the Hungarian people thus defended the cause of socialism in Hungary. This struggle was not fought without sacrifices. On this free May Day, let us recall our martyrs, the Communists murdered by the counter-revolutionaries - those true Hungarian patriots Imre Mezso, Kalmar, Asztalos, Kallai, Szitka and other beloved comrades who are no longer here to celebrate with us.

"Let us remember the Party fighters, members of the State Security authority, of the Army, the police and the Public Order Forces who fought and died for the cause of the socialist revolution, national independence and the Hungarian People's Republic. We must remember the Soviet workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers, who hastened to our aid in the fight, who helped to defend our People's Democratic system, our independent fatherland and peace. We remember with profound respect all those who demonstrated their loyalty, fraternally helping the Hungarian people by making the utmost sacrifice and laying down their lives for the sacred cause of proletarian internationalism. Eternal glory to their memory!



"Dear Comrades! Looking back on this heroic struggle, it can be clearly seen that socialist Hungary was last October waging a life-and-death struggle with the old Hungary of the gentry. Out of this struggle socialist Hungary emerged victorious. It is also clear that this was a clash between great capitalist imperialism, with its aim of subjugating peoples and nations, and proletarian internationalism, which guards the freedom and peace of the peoples. It was proletarian internationalism which triumphed in this clash. The forces of social progress and peace triumphed. This is why the Hungarian May Day of 1957 assumes such great international importance.

"Comrades! On this May Day we celebrate the fact that with the unselfish and self-sacrificing support of the USSR, the Hungarian people successfully defended the cause of socialism and that the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship, its worker-peasant State, and the Hungarian People's Republic therefore still exist. The historic significance of this May Day is that the Hungarian people did overcome the dangerous and bloody attack against the workers' power and after their great trials can today celebrate May Day in a free country as fraternal members of the socialist family, to the joy of our friends and the chagrin of our enemies.

Achievements Since October: Socialist Order Re-established

"Dear Comrades, let us review the road covered since 4th November. If we draw up the balance-sheet of the struggle, we may say, without falling into the sin of conceit, that our achievements have been very considerable. But if we examine shortcomings as well as the results of the struggle we cannot be fully satisfied. We have plenty of shortcomings here and even have some to spare for others. But if we think of the anarchic conditions of 3rd November, when the raging counter-revolution and its imperialist masters and directors thought that power, and indeed the country, were in their pocket, when true patriots, loyal to the cause of socialism, were hunted game in their own country, and when the national economy was completely paralysed - then we may justly state that the main policy line pursued since has been definitely correct and that the results have been great.

"What are the results we can mention? First of all, we can speak of power, of the State, and of law and order. We may, and indeed do, have many critics. We also have enemies who try to find fault with everything. These people call us uneducated, rigid, incompetent, brutal terrorists, Stalinists, and apply every conceivable term of abuse in their dictionary to us. But not even our worst enemies and most ill-intentioned critic can say that we are serving the interests of capitalist and landlords.

"And this is just the trouble. The worst thing for the enemies of our people, and therefore the best and most important result for our people in the course of the development of our People's Republic in the past six months, has been that the power of the workers has grown, while the opportunity to restore capitalism no longer exists. The constitutional legal order of our People's Republic is secure. The constitutional organs of the people's power and the State administration have been restored.

Reorganisation of Armed Forces: The Workers' Guards

"We have reorganised the armed forces of our People's Republic, the people's Army, the frontier guard, the police, and within these the armed units of the Public Order Forces in the first place. Traitors have been removed from key positions. We have included, and will continue to include, the most enlightened workers, miners and peasants in the armed defence of their power. We have organised the workers' guards.

"The formation of the workers' guards is further evidence of the Party's and Government's far-reaching confidence in the masses. The Party and Government lead by relying on the masses. The enthusiasm with which masses of workers have been volunteering for enrolment in the workers' guards shows that hundreds of thousands of workers are ready to protect their power with arms. All this is an eloquent answer to the hostile slanders - the reflection of vain hopes - that the workers attacked the People's Republic in October and that the country is being led by a Government isolated from the masses. We have foreign guests here. Let them take a look at the members of the Party and Government and the masses alleged to be separated from them - the masses standing in this Square in their hundreds of thousands.



## Restoration of Economic and Cultural Life

"In addition to the consolidation of the people's power, our other great achievement has been the restoration of normal order and life in the people's economy. Industrial, mining, agricultural, transport and trade activity has basically reverted to its normal channels. A report from the Ministry of Coalmining has been delivered to us here at this meeting, saying that in honour of this May Day every mining Trust has exceeded its April production plan. While we can state that we have restored the foundations of production, we should also add that very serious shortcomings also exist. However, anyone capable of viewing the condition of our national economy with some measure of objectivity can see that the restoration of the people's economy is progressing more rapidly than expected.

"In addition to the consolidation of the State power and the restarting of economic life, another important result of our work has been that our schools, universities and research and cultural institutes are functioning and are gradually catching up with the development and pace of progress of our political and economic life.

## Frank Statement of Policy the Key to Success

"Dear Comrades! To what do we owe these results? They are due above all to the fact that, discarding our own mistakes as well as those of others, we unmasked the revisionist ideas which had hampered the Party's policy and obscured the clear-sightedness of the masses - which had falsified Marxism-Leninism and betrayed the workers' interests - and returned to the teachings of the great Lenin. We examined the Hungarian situation in the light of these teachings and determined the most important tasks to be carried out.

"Without beating about the bush, we called the counter-revolution by its name. We unmasked treason and said plainly and in terms everyone could understand that there was a proletarian dictatorship in Hungary which relied directly on the working masses while it ruthlessly repressed the class enemy. We discarded the lying slogan of neutrality and said that the Hungarian People's Republic was an inseparable member of the vast family of socialist countries led by the USSR and that she would remain consistently loyal to the Warsaw Treaty.

"We contradicted the counter-revolution's base and inciting anti-Soviet slanders and proved that in the current international situation, the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary are helping to defend Hungary's national independence and the peace of the Hungarian people against the imperialists' adventurous designs. Without beating about the bush, we said that as long as aggressive imperialist circles continue to set up financial funds, the avowed purpose of which is the annihilation of the regime of the Hungarian People's Republic - while they continue to keep in arms for years on end Horthy-ite counter-revolutionary forces in West Germany for this purpose, and while they equip Europe's and the Hungarian people's Hitlerite fascist henchmen with atomic weapons for the same purpose, we consider the unity of all socialist forces of the Warsaw Treaty, and also the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary, a matter of rightful and justified self-defence.

## The Party

"The Hungarian masses' response to this frankness and determination has been a confidence and support which has grown day by day. Apart from this frankness, our results are also due to the fact that we have created a clear-cut situation as regards the Party - the supreme social leading force of the Hungarian People's Republic. We have settled accounts with the revisionist views which have been disrupting the Party, changing its leading role and thus playing into the hands of the counter-revolution. The result of this militant consistency has been that the leading force of the Hungarian people, the vanguard of the working class, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party was reborn in the fire of the counter-revolution.



the Party, tempered in political, armed and economic battles, has reorganised the social forces of the Hungarian People's Republic, and above all the class organisations of the working class, the Trade Unions and the Communist Youth League. These social forces, led by the Party - the leading force of the dictatorship of the proletariat - have defended and strengthened the people's power.

"On this May Day, we salute the trade unions - which can look back on the great militant traditions of the working class and which now again have 1,800,000 members. We salute the women's movement, which is now being reorganised, and the Hungarian Communist Youth Union, which is unfurling its proud flag. These mass organisations, which constitute a great social force, as well as their steadily improving work claim an important share in our achievements to date.

#### The Organs of State Authority

"Apart from the social organisations, our achievements are also due to the fact that the constitutional organs of our State power and State administration have made the Councils and the Ministries resume work in a comparatively short time.

"Speaking of achievements, we owe a special tribute to the reorganised armed forces of our People's Republic - the People's Army, the Frontier Guard and the police - all of which have played an important role in the restoration of law and order - the prerequisite of the resumption of work. The creation of the first Public Order units, and their bravery and steadfastness in crushing the counter-revolutionary gangs, marked a truly heroic period in the reorganisation of the Hungarian armed forces. The predominant role in the consolidation of the power of the Hungarian People's Republic and the restoration of its political, economic and cultural life was undoubtedly played by the worker and peasant masses themselves and by intellectual workers supporting the worker and peasant masses themselves and by intellectual workers supporting the workers' and peasants' efforts. We, who worked in the leadership in those days, must admit that although it grew stronger from day to day, the central direction did not prove effective enough for several weeks after 4th November. A particularly decisive role was played in that period by the active work of workers, miners, co-operative and individual peasants, as well as intellectuals who had correctly recognised their duty and had become conscious of their own strength. They took up a correct political stand against counter-revolutionary provocateurs and loafers.

#### International Socialist Support

"In addition to the efforts of our working class, people, Party and Government, a great share must be attributed to the achievements of the past six months to the material, moral, social and fraternal assistance offered us in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by the countries of the socialist camp, and by the USSR in particular. The Hungarian people also derived strength from the moral and political support of the international and Communist labour movement. In addition to visits and declarations of solidarity by the leaders of the WFTU and of the trade unions of several countries, we received declarations from the Communist and workers' parties of 25 countries. In these declarations, the international labour movement as a whole unanimously condemned the counter-revolutionary attack on the Hungarian People's Republic and the cause of peace, and assured us of its solidarity.

"I can thus state that despite all the damage it did, the counter-revolutionary attack on the social order of the Hungarian People's Republic, launched in October 1956 on the instigation and with the support of the imperialists, has steeled the forces of the Hungarian socialist revolution and at the same time knitted closer and strengthened the liveliness, power and invincibility of proletarian internationalism.

"Comrades, men and women! The 1st May is the militant red letter day of international labour solidarity. On this day, the militant demands of the international working class and of the working peoples echo round the world. Today, as on every May Day, we celebrate the socialist world's struggle to build socialism from the Japanese Sea to the Austrian Alps and the struggle in the capitalist countries to promote the economic demands of oppressed workers and peasants; and in the colonial countries which live under the aggressive threats of the imperialist yoke, the struggle for national independence. On every May Day the demand for peace of hundreds of millions of people echoes round the globe.



"Hungarian workers are confronted on this May Day with the following principal tasks: Our militant May Day programme can be summed up in a single sentence: We shall develop further our achievements and the social progress made in the course of 12 years. Making use of good experience, and carefully avoiding the mistakes of the past, we wish and shall build up completely a socialist Hungary free from any form of exploitation.

"At our May Day celebration, we proclaim in a voice that carries afar - and which should be listened to by friend and foe alike - that our people will heal the wounds caused by the counter-revolution and are firmly resolved to build a free, independent and socialist fatherland - a socialist Hungary - in this Hungarian land, drenched with the sweat and blood of countless generations of workers and peasants, and on which the infamous rule of the gentry left a legacy of nothing but ruins 12 years ago.

### Party Building

"Comrades! To serve this great aim, we must now concentrate our attention on the immediate tasks ahead of us. We should, however, realise that in present circumstances we must examine all our activities from the point of view of the strengthening of the workers' rule. Let us first of all strengthen our State power by the further organising of the Party - the leading political force - by broadening its relations with the masses, by consolidating its unity and discipline and by enhancing its prestige.

"We have broken with old and erroneous practices in Party building. In the past, the old comrades of 1919 were branded 'sectarian'. A considerable number of 'illegal cadres' were thrust aside. It was during the counter-revolution that the loyalty and worth of the old fighters of 1919, of the Hungarian proletarian combatants of the Spanish front, of the comrades who had bravely proved their mettle in the years of the Horthy fascism, was proved. Now the three living worker-generations - the men of 1919, the combatants of the years of illegality and the young post-liberation cadres - are fortunately together. This is one of the principal factors of the Party's present solidarity. At this time, when the Party's prestige is growing, we must guard against sectarian isolation and make sure that all honest workers - those who are ready to make sacrifices for the cause of socialist revolution, who are selfless and fit to fight and work, and workers in the first place - find their way into the Party.

"But only they are wanted. No-one shall become a Party member out of motives of social propriety or out of personal considerations. It is better, both for the Party and the working class and for the people as a whole if the Party is surrounded by a broad camp of well-intentioned sympathisers and friends, than to have within the Party a substantial mass of people who are hesitant at times of difficulty. This is one of the lessons to be learnt by us from October.

"The Party must be protected from unprincipled careerists. Special vigilance is needed against elements who followed Imre Nagy's line of treason and fought against the Party before, during, and after October, but who would now like to get back into the Party and fight against the Party's main line of unity from within.

### Strengthening State Power: The Worker-Peasant Alliance

"Secondly, the State power of the Hungarian dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened on three lines. We must reinforce the basis of State power: the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class. On this subject, we must emphasise that we shall have to avoid all the mistakes which in the past loosened the worker-peasant alliance and hindered socialist evolution. We must also state that the creation of a socialist society means the creation of socialism in Hungarian villages. Our individual peasantry may conclude from several important measures taken by us that we have firmly liquidated the conditions which were detrimental to them. At the same time we have made no secret of the fact that we intend to give full support to the advance guards of socialism in the villages in their correct aspirations. They are the State farms, KTS and the co-operative peasants who have formed voluntary associations and held their ground against the counter-revolutionary attacks, although left exposed.



"The existence in our State of a strong worker-peasant alliance is the political basis on which a nation-wide rally of all strata which identify themselves with the objectives of building socialism can be built. Let us fight so that in addition to the fundamental masses of workers and peasants we should also be able to rally the intellectual workers, and even all progressive elements among the small urban bourgeoisie. Let Communists seek friendship on the basis of co-operation springing from mutual confidence with all who are in agreement with the aims of the building of a socialist society. We must strengthen the State power of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the plane of the development of socialist democracy. We must draw the Party membership and the non-Party masses into the solution of fundamental questions - the drafting of laws and decrees, their enforcement and the supervision of their realisation.

### Crushing the Counter-revolution

"Lastly, we must strengthen the State power of the dictatorship of the proletariat by crushing the counter-revolution and by suppressing the enemies of the people's power even more consistently. The 'Voice of Europe' (sic) and other enemies of the Hungarian People's Republic are spitting their venom in the Press and radio. They claim that Hungary is the scene of appalling terror, of a blood-thirsty campaign of revenge and of mass-internments. Of course they know as well as anyone that all this is a pack of lies. They are making a fuss because they are very anxious for their counter-revolutionary cadres.

"You, dear comrades, are well aware that what our people actually complain of - and quite rightly - is that we have not punished the guilty adequately. Our enemies - and at times those of our friends who, although motivated by good will, are not precisely informed about our situation - complain that we are not merciful enough - that we are not humane and democratic enough. Our people came to know the humanity and democracy of our enemies with a vengeance last October.

"We believe that the criminals must be punished and that those who intrigue against the People's Republic and against the peace and work of the people must be restrained. We hold that the power, life and peace of the people is the most sacred thing in the world. Consequently, our legal organs are actually complying with the requirements of humanity and democracy when they treat the criminals with the utmost severity.

### Economic Plans

"Thirdly, we must consolidate the economic foundations of the people's power and must solve the tasks that lie ahead of us in the sphere of economic construction as soon as possible. I must admit that these tasks are not easy. There are still tensions in our economic life but, thanks to the efforts of our workers, and principally to the economic assistance we are receiving from the fraternal countries, we have restored equilibrium and raised the workers' standard of living. However, there is at present a contradiction between the higher standard of living, the low level of productivity and high production costs. In this situation the task is to preserve the purchasing power of money and the higher standard of living, and to eliminate the contradictions by better work, higher productivity, lower costs, saving raw materials and other similar measures.

"Our economic plans for the current year will soon be made public. We shall then submit our new Three-Year Plan for public discussion. But our Party organisations and trade unions are already faced with the very important task of paying very serious attention to day-by-day production problems, and of mobilising our entire working class, working peasantry and people for the best possible solution of the economic tasks. With regard to economic difficulties, we must emphasise that provided the masses tackle the solution of our problems seriously, every realistic condition exists for making the Hungarian People's Republic strong and firm economically as well.

### Cultural Policy

"Fourthly, we must set cultural life in order. It is no secret that in certain domains of education and culture we have been greatly set back by the counter-revolution



and revisionism. In culture too, the bourgeoisie assumed a mask. The sworn enemies of socialist culture posed under the banner of anti-Stalinism, the abolition of administrative methods and the rectification of mistakes. This banner was found to be a pirates' flag in October. It is enough to cast a glance at the sphere of culture to realise that fascists, Arrow Cross Press leaders and bourgeois bailiffs were rehabilitated under this pirates' flag. These elements then proceeded to rake out their musty cultural products, which they poured over the heads of our people. It is evident that things must be set in order in this sphere too.

#### Internationalism: Relations with Yugoslavia

"Finally, Comrades, the strength of the Hungarian people's democracy must be enhanced by deepening internationalism. Let us overcome the remnants of nationalism and the conception of so-called 'national communism'. Let us strengthen the ideals of true patriotism and proletarian internationalism in the Hungarian people. We regard all internationalist working men as our brethren, wherever they may live in the world, but we regard as our enemy any counter-revolutionary of Hungarian descent who betrays the Hungarian fatherland and the Hungarian people. Let us do everything in our power to strengthen our relations of friendship and alliance with all countries of the socialist camp, and with the USSR in the first place, in the interests of our country unity of the socialist camp as a whole.

"Although our present relations with Yugoslavia are fraught with contradictions, we must do all in our power, short of making concessions on matters of principle, to make our relations with that country not merely such as to correspond to the principles of peaceful co-existence, but also cordial and friendly. Apart from our common interest in good relations, we are also bound to the peoples and leaders of Yugoslavia by the common aims of socialist construction. We stand on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Accordingly, we respect every people and are in favour of peace among the peoples and the peaceful co-existence of countries and peoples living under different social systems.

#### Facing the Future with Confidence

"Comrades! There are great tasks ahead of us. But I say with firm conviction that every friend of the Hungarian People's Republic may look to the future with confidence. The attack of the counter-revolution has taught us a lesson. It has hardened us and welded us together. If we do not forget the mistakes of the past, if we remain vigilant, there is no power which can prevent the complete and victorious construction of our country. Our strength and confidence are enhanced by the fact that within the family of the fraternal socialist countries we share in a protection and strength now unparalleled in the world.

"Comrades and fellow workers! After the October events, this May Day is being watched by both sides, - friends and foes alike. I believe that this May Day will fill our friends with joy and our enemies with disappointment. I do not believe we are wrong to say that this day will lend new impetus to our development at home and will contribute to enhancing the joint strength of the peoples and of the international labour movement under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

"Arise, comrades, to the new work, the new struggle, and the new tasks, and our honest cause will triumph!

"Long live Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism!

"Long live the unbreakable unity of the Hungarian People's Republic with the socialist camp, led by the USSR! (Applause and cheers)

"Long live our dear country, the Hungarian People's Republic, our working people and its main guiding force - the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party!

"Long live peace and the friendship of the nations!

"Long live the First of May, the great festival of workers of the world!"